

Thesis Abstract

Exploring the role of religious faith in distinguishing Christian faith-based organisations from secular NGOs working with women and children in Cambodia

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Faith-based organisations (FBOs) and secular non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are significant service providers in the developing world, yet limited research has systematically compared these organisations. Adding knowledge to the field about the faith-based and secular actors implementing social policy, this thesis explores the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish Christian FBOs from secular NGOs. It elucidates this by comparing organisations working with women and children in Cambodia who have been sexually trafficked, abused, or involved in the sex trade.

Analysing data from thirteen Christian FBOs and twelve secular NGOs, including from interviews, websites and organisational documents, this study examines the ways in which religious faith in FBOs distinguished their: 1) goals and missions, 2) motivations, 3) approaches to care, and 4) conceptions of success—areas of research that have had limited exploration in a development context. An existing typology is built upon and operationalised in the study that, in particular, de-complexifies the process of categorising FBOs and allows for more accurately classifying secular NGOs.

Faith was found to distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs in all four of the dimensions comparatively examined in this thesis. The findings illuminate the ways in which FBOs understood and integrated faith in their organisations, providing a richer understanding of the role of religious faith in FBOs. It is argued that the contrasts between the two types of organisations, in terms of faith, relate to both the infusion of faith in FBOs and the development context in which they work—a concept referred to here as Context-Infusion Convergence. This theory ensures the study's wider significance, providing an avenue for future comparative research on FBOs and secular NGOs in other geographical locations.

This thesis thus empirically examines the extent to which faith may distinguish FBOs from their secular counterparts and provides theoretical insight about why these differences may exist. Doing so, it adds to knowledge about religious faith in FBOs and in the study of social policy.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Overarching Research Question

In June 2017, *Christianity Today*, a popular US-based magazine, published a cover story about the role of Christian faith-based organisations (FBOs) in the decline of human trafficking in Cambodia (Shellnutt, 2017). It highlighted some of the support these organisations had provided to trafficking survivors, as well as to the police, and government officials were recorded as applauding the work of Christians on this matter.

Two months later, though, controversy erupted. According to the *New York Times*, the Prime Minister of Cambodia declared that he wanted to shut down one of these FBOs because of coverage by CNN which had brought shame on the country (Wallace, 2017). The controversy began when, in August 2017, CNN did a brief follow-up story on a 2013 documentary that it had produced about sex trafficking in Cambodia. For that documentary, CNN had worked with the FBO now under fire to document the stories of three of their clients.

The Cambodian government accused the FBO of exaggerating the current extent of sex trafficking in the suburb in which it worked, near Phnom Penh. While the government related this exaggeration to the organisation wanting to raise more funds, the government's main concern was the headline of the CNN article—later changed by CNN—that was deemed as insulting Cambodian mothers for selling their daughters (Wallace, 2017). In fact, the girls featured by CNN were of Vietnamese ethnicity. Accusing Cambodian mothers in the international media of selling their children was a “serious insult,” the Prime Minister said, according to the *Cambodian Daily* (Roeun, Zsombor, and Chhorn, 2017). “Whatever the cost, this organization must leave Cambodia and is no longer allowed to stay,” the Prime Minister was reported as saying (Roeun, Zsombor, and Chhorn, 2017).

A government investigation into the FBO's activities ensued. Three weeks later, the *Phnom Penh Post* stated that, after the CEO of the FBO publicly apologised

and provided an explanation, the Prime Minister had pardoned the FBO, and would not force it to close (Handley, Kong, and Mech, 2017).

This recent media story represents the potential tensions which organisations working with survivors of trafficking, exploited persons, and those in the sex trade may experience. It highlights the importance of understanding organisations—what they do, why they do it, and how they go about their work—to better ensure that misunderstandings which might arise during their work may be prevented or mitigated.

As explained further below, this thesis examines specific aspects of Christian FBOs and secular non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that provide services in Cambodia. The insights provided in this thesis explore the social policy role of faith-based and secular NGOs in this development context, elucidating the nature of these organisations, and bringing a clearer understanding of their organisational processes and work. Through examining four dimensions of these organisations, detailed in the next section, this study answers the following overarching research question:

Overarching Research Question
To what extent, and why, might religious faith distinguish Christian FBOs from secular NGOs working with women and children in Cambodia who have experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or have been involved in the sex trade, when comparing their goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success?

The approach of this study is original, in that it examines religious faith in FBOs by comparatively exploring FBOs and secular NGOs working in a particular niche area of service provision, in a country context that has featured little in the extant literature and not at all in terms of structured, comparative, empirical studies of FBOs and secular NGOs. The overarching research question seeks to interrogate the ways in which religious faith in Christian FBOs may distinguish these organisations from secular NGOs, and why. In doing so, the overarching research question allows for the possibility that religious faith may or may not be evident in these FBOs. It also allows for the possibility that religious faith is manifested in both FBOs and secular NGOs.

The overarching research question echoes the issues raised by Thaut (2009: 326), who recognized that, while FBOs maintain many of the goals and methods of

their secular counterparts, “the primary question must be *how* and *why* faith-based agencies diverge from their secular counterparts if and when they do so.” Distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs are not always easy to draw though (Tomalin, 2012), and in contexts in which religion is deeply integrated into the culture, distinguishing organisations as ‘faith-based’ and ‘secular’ may not be particularly useful (Tomalin, 2012; Hershey, 2016). For example, Hershey’s (2016) study in Kenya found that faith was manifested within FBOs *and* secular NGOs, albeit in nuanced ways. Furthermore, as reported by Taylor (1995: 101), some may consider FBOs as operating very similarly to their secular counterparts, believing faith elements to be, “like dressing on the salad, adding a bit of flavour but not greatly affecting the substance.”

How faith affects NGO programmes, and how it is visible in organisations, can thus be unclear, and additional research can bring further clarity to the role that faith plays—or does not play—in programmes and outcomes (Hershey, 2016). Thaut (2009: 321) notes that the lack of research about Christian FBOs in humanitarianism is “particularly glaring,” and states: “Relatively few studies address the mechanisms through which faith translates into the work of faith-based humanitarian agencies” (Thaut, 2009: 328). Furthermore, she argues that exploring the connection between Christian FBOs and religious identity is “particularly important” (Thaut, 2009: 326). This study addresses this lacuna in the extant literature.

Overall, the purpose of the study is not to descriptively catalogue the variety of ways in which the FBOs or secular NGOs integrated (or did not integrate) faith and religion into their programming or organisations. Instead, looking at specific areas of FBOs and secular NGOs (as further detailed below), this thesis analyses the ways in which religious faith was experienced and expressed within FBOs in the study, and contributes comparative knowledge to the field about similarities and distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs in a particular context. In doing so, the study explores the “so-called ‘religious’ values, identities, and practices that distinguish FBOs from their ‘secular’ counterparts” (Schwarz, 2018: 3-4). The thesis also builds theoretical understanding of why the element of religious faith in FBOs may distinguish these organisations from their secular counterparts.

This chapter introduces the study and takes the following form. The section above has highlighted the overarching research question, and briefly located it in the

existing research, which will be done further in the Literature Review chapter. The supporting research questions are presented below, after which definitions of key terms used in this thesis are presented. The conceptual model and theoretical framework are then introduced, and the research rationale and significance are discussed. Rationale for the research location is then presented, and the final section of this chapter presents a layout for the remainder of the thesis, providing an outline of the following chapters and a preview of the study's empirical and theoretical contributions.

1.2 Supporting Research Questions

This thesis systematically and comparatively interrogates the influence of religious faith from four different angles, presented below as four supporting research questions. These supporting research questions expand upon the overarching research question, examining issues related to the operations and processes of FBOs and secular NGOs (rather than the effectiveness and outcomes of their services). These questions comparatively consider the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, their motivations, approaches to care, and the ways in which success was conceived. In doing so, this study disaggregates religious faith in Christian FBOs, exploring its organisational functions. Each of the supporting research questions is explored in one of the four findings chapters (chapters 5-8) of this thesis.

Chapter	Subject	Supporting Research Question
5	Mission	To what extent, and why, might religious faith distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs in their goals and missions?
6	Motivation	To what extent, and why, might there be similarities and differences in why Christian FBOs and secular NGOs provide the services they provide?
7	Services	To what extent, and why, might religious faith influence the ways in which FBOs work with their clients?
8	Success	To what extent, and why, might leaders of Christian FBOs and secular NGOs conceive of their work as being successful, and to what do they attribute that success?

The comparative analysis pursued in this thesis is an original contribution to the extant literature. Through this study, the four supporting research questions will be

tested to determine their usefulness for interrogating FBOs and secular NGOs in future comparative studies in other development contexts. These questions, in many ways, reflect the suggestion of Rakodi (2012b: 648) that some studies of FBOs and secular NGOs—especially in those contexts in which most people are religious, and where dividing organisations as religious and secular may be difficult or inappropriate—could benefit from identifying “a sample of organisations involved in similar activities,” and assessing “how religion is manifest in their (and their staff and volunteers’) aims, choice of activities and ways of working, as well as examining the outcomes of their work.” Rakodi (2012b) argued that it is essential to compare FBOs with their secular counterparts if the aim of a study is to identify whether FBOs are distinctive. She stated: “Focusing on organisations in a particular category (religious or developmental) may be useful when seeking to reveal and explain similarities and differences and to identify the implications for policy and practice” (Rakodi, 2012b: 648).

This study contributes to recent scholarship on the differences between FBOs and their secular counterparts. Rae and Clarke (2013) recommend exploring how faith identity is reflected in their organisational practices, and the extent to which these practices function in producing different outcomes when compared with secular NGOs. Furthermore, Green, Mercer and Mesaki (2012) state that policy initiatives exploring FBOs as one type of developmental organisation suggest a need to examine differences between faith-based and secular development actors; and Tomalin (2012: 689) argues, “Further assessments of the characteristics, roles, and activities of all types of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are needed to assist in the choice of development partners...”

Given that decisions affecting FBOs may ultimately impact the lives of many of their clients (e.g. the example above, about the Prime Minister of Cambodia threatening to expel an FBO from the country), it is important for policy stakeholders to have a clear understanding of the work of FBOs, including the function that faith plays in them. This thesis contributes knowledge about both FBOs and secular NGOs—how they operate, how they compare and vary within their type, and why they do what they do—reducing assumptions and enhancing empirical and theoretical understanding of these organisations.

1.3 Definitions

This section defines key terms used in this thesis. These definitions ensure clarity and provide the conceptual boundaries of the study.

1.3.a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO)

Following Vakil (1997: 2060), NGOs can be defined as “self-governing, private, not-for-profit organizations that are geared to improving the quality of life of disadvantaged people.” Furthermore, Lewis (2013: 62) states that, “For the purposes of social policy analysis, NGOs can be understood as part of the subset of third-sector or non-profit organizations that are engaged in development or humanitarian action at local, national and international levels.”

In this study, ‘NGO’ refers to an international or local independent, nonprofit organisation in a developing country with a service delivery mission. While Limoncelli (2017) defined international NGOs as those operating in two or more countries, in this study ‘international NGOs’ also refer to NGOs with international leadership, for example, those that were founded by non-Cambodians, as well as those with headquarters outside of Cambodia, or operating in more than one country. Furthermore, in this thesis, ‘NGO’ may also refer to social enterprises, given that, as Nicholls (2013) states, social enterprises often remain nonprofit in nature.

1.3.b Religion, Faith, and Faith-Based Organisation (FBO)

While this thesis uses the terms ‘religion’ and ‘religious,’ the terms ‘faith’ and ‘faith-based’ are also used, which often serve as a substitute for ‘religion’ and ‘religious’ (Tomalin, 2013a; Clarke and Ware, 2017). *Faith* is a term that is widely used in the development context (Fitzgibbon and French, 2016; Hershey, 2016). It is useful as it refers to religious practices and personal religious beliefs held by an individual (Hershey, 2016). Similarly, *religion* may be understood, for example, as “a system of beliefs and practices – often but not necessarily related to an ultimate being, beings, or to the supernatural, and...involving that which is sacred in a society, including beliefs and practices which are widely regarded as inviolate” (Haynes 2007:14).

The term ‘faith-based organisation’ (FBO) has been the subject of much discussion (e.g. Smith and Sosin, 2001; Wuthnow, Hackett and Hsu, 2004; Sider and Unruh, 2004; Ferris, 2005; Clarke and Jennings, 2008). ‘FBO,’ as a label, is broad,

including a wide range of organisations, and precisely defining an FBO can be challenging (Hefferan, 2015), though the term is most commonly used for religiously inspired development organisations (Tomalin, 2013a: 4). One way of defining an FBO is by distinguishing it from its non-religious counterparts, based on whether the organisation “includes an explicit religious identity or goal in its mission, is under the auspices of a religious organization, and is regarded by its director as a faith-based organization” (Wuthnow, Hackett, and Hsu, 2004: 3). Alternatively, Clarke and Jennings (2008: 6) refer to an FBO as “any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith.” One author recently pointed to two important considerations when determining whether an organisation is faith-based: whether or not an organisation understands itself to be faith-based, and how it is perceived by outsiders (Queen, 2017).

The definition of an FBO adopted for this thesis is: An independent, nonprofit organisation that identifies with, or is otherwise committed or connected to, a religious belief, and that engages with or promotes social development, poverty alleviation, or the public good (Martens, 2002; Berger 2003; Bradley 2005). Adopting this definition is not meant to homogenise FBOs, nor does using the term intend to convey that all FBOs incorporate faith in the same manner. While the term arose in a western context, and has been considered problematic in some ways (Rakodi, 2011), the term as used in this thesis relates, specifically, to Christian FBOs, and was found to be an appropriate term to use in this context.

While practice in the literature varies, worshipping communities (e.g. churches) are not included in this definition of FBOs. Jeavons (2004: 144) argues that these types of religious organisations should not be considered FBOs “under any circumstances,” because the term “blurs the very distinctions that are critical for policy purposes.” Furthermore, while the term FBO can refer to a wide array of organisations, for the purposes of the empirical study in this thesis, FBOs are considered to be NGOs, as defined above.

1.3.c Secular NGO

According to Tomalin (2012: 701),

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

Following this understanding, the term ‘secular NGO’ (SNGO) will be used in this thesis to refer to NGOs that do not claim religious influence or affiliation and are not ideologically shaped by a religious framework. The role and meaning of ‘secularity’ will be further discussed in Chapter 2, and the definition of secular NGO, as it applies to the organisations in this study, will be further detailed in the typology set out in Chapter 4. This typology considers secular NGOs in such a way that enhances the understanding of what secular may or may not mean, in terms of religious elements incorporated within the programming of these organisations.

1.4 Conceptual Model

An input-output model was used to conceptually structure the study, enabling a systematic examination of FBOs and secular NGOs. As explained further in Chapter 4, the conceptual model is important to the study because it schematically presents relationships between concepts in the thesis, helping to facilitate a structured, comparative exploration of FBOs and secular NGOs. Ware, Ware, and Clarke (2016: 324) contended that, “understanding the impact of faith on FBOs’ development activities require a point of comparison,” and stated that the points of distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs provide insight into the impact of faith in FBOs. Structuring the study through an input-output model allowed FBOs and secular NGOs to be compared in the light of possible differences that may exist between them. Each of the supporting research questions focused on at least one element of the input-output model, as discussed in Chapter 4.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this thesis ensures that the study’s findings and theoretical constructs are meaningfully grounded in existing research, and it allows

findings from a particular study to be generalisable. Ebaugh, et al. (2003) wrote of religion as something that infuses FBOs, for example, in the ways in which an FBO presents itself, makes decisions, and interacts with clients. They found that the culture of FBOs “significantly differentiates” these organisations from their non-faith-based counterparts, with FBOs in their study “supporting a culture thoroughly imbued with religious values in terms of staff interactions with clients” (Ebaugh, et al., 2003: 423).

Two propositions are considered in this thesis, as discussed further in Chapter 4. First, building on the work of Ebaugh, et al. (2003) in a development context, it is posited that a faith ethos infused the FBOs in this study in such a way that significant differences were observed between these organisations and secular NGOs. The theoretical framework, therefore, explores the relationship between the input and infusion of faith in FBOs and the extent to which these organisations, because of this, can be distinguished from secular NGOs. Second, it is posited in this thesis that factors related to the development context in which the organisations worked led to clear demarcation between the two types of organisations.

This study thus brings further understanding about the extent to which faith infuses FBOs and the extent to which the development context in which they work may lead to distinguishable differences between FBOs and their secular counterparts. This is demonstrated through an examination of their goals and missions (Chapter 5), motivations (Chapter 6), provision of services (Chapter 7), and conceptions of success (Chapter 8). Finally, in the concluding chapter, in the light of the findings of the thesis as a whole, these two propositions are positioned as converging into a new theoretical contribution that brings further understanding of why distinctions may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs. It will thus be argued that it is the *convergence* of the infusion of faith in FBOs and factors in the particular development context that may lead to distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs.

1.6 Research Rationale and Significance

In March 2017, *The New York Times* published an article about a Christian FBO, Compassion International, ceasing its child sponsorship operations in India. The article reported that, as a result, 145,000 children in the country would lose sponsorship, which totalled \$45 million per year. The organisation’s shutdown was reportedly related to the Indian government’s “suspicion of (the organisation)

engaging in religious conversion,” and to the fact that it came at a time when the government sought to curtail foreign money flows (Barry and Rajmarch, 2017). Compassion International had been working in India for forty-eight years (Compassion, 2017), and was one of more than 11,000 NGOs in India that had lost their permission to accept foreign funds since 2014 (Barry and Rajmarch, 2017).

Income tax investigators were said to have raided offices affiliated with the organisation, “apparently seeking evidence that funds were being used to convert Indian families” (Barry and Rajmarch, 2017: n.p.). In one raid, an executive affiliated with the organisation was interrogated in the middle of the night, being asked questions, such as: ““Why did you have a spiritual component to the program? What do you do in the area of spiritual development?”” (Barry and Rajmarch, 2017: n.p.).

The problems faced by Compassion International in India highlight the importance of policy stakeholders having a clear understanding of the work of FBOs. This includes the ways in which faith may or may not be integrated into their programming, and if this should matter, as decisions that affect organisations ultimately may potentially have an impact on a large number of people.

This section provides the rationale for, and explains the significance of, this study. The subsections below consider this by examining the importance of: a) adding an empirical, comparative study to the literature; b) contributing to the theoretical understanding of faith in FBOs; and c) exploring the role of faith in FBOs for improved policy and practice.

1.6.a Adding an Empirical, Comparative Study to the Literature

Human trafficking issues have been of particular concern to both FBOs and secular NGOs, which have been launched in significant numbers to serve those who have been trafficked or who have survived other forms of exploitation. Yet the nexus between faith and anti-trafficking is under-researched, with a need to better understand the ways in which religious dynamics shape the field of anti-trafficking and action against modern slavery (Joint Learning Initiative, 2017). Studies are under-represented in the literature that focus on FBOs and secular NGOs that serve women and children who have been trafficked, experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or been involved in the sex trade. Furthermore, Muraya and Fry (2016: 217), based on their systematic review focused on aftercare services for child victims of sex trafficking, stated that there is a “great need for research” about the provision of

services to child victims of sex trafficking, as it is an area that is not documented well, and an enhanced evidence base could inform policy and practice.

Despite many FBOs and secular NGOs giving attention to formerly trafficked and/or exploited persons and those involved in the sex trade, no study has been conducted that comparatively examines their organisational processes, such as their aims, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success. Furthermore, the current literature is lacking in attempts to explain why FBOs may (or may not) be different than secular NGOs, including how and why. This study fills these gaps. This thesis elucidates the work of non-state policy actors working in this particular area of service delivery, and in a specific development context, thus bringing insight into the ways in which faith is shaping social policy, in terms of organisational processes and service delivery.

This study contributes new empirical knowledge about Christian FBOs, which are the type of FBO that are more numerous in most developing countries (Rae and Clarke, 2013). While “further research and nuanced understanding of the role religion plays” in international development has recently been called for (Heist and Cnaan, 2016: 1), without a base of literature that examines the role of religious faith in the work of FBOs, little analytical clarity will exist about how these organisations differ, or do not differ, from their secular counterparts, and why. This is important because FBOs are among the most prominent non-state actors providing services both in Cambodia and beyond. This study brings further understanding to the complexities of FBOs and secular NGOs, contributing to the wider literature on FBOs and the ways in which religion can influence service delivery in a development context.

1.6.b Contributing to the Theoretical Understanding of Faith in FBOs

In addition to greater empirical understanding of FBOs and secular NGOs working in a particular development context, this study develops theoretical contributions that illuminate what Clarke and Ware (2015: 46) state is “little clarity” as to the distinctions and similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs. In the early days of research on FBOs, Tyndale (2003) asserted that FBOs—compared to secular NGOs—had a different vision of what development is about. In what cases, though, might this be observed, and why? What theoretical propositions may help explain such differences, if and when they exist, and how might this advance understanding of FBOs and future enquiries about the role of faith in FBOs? While scholarly output has

brought further clarity to the analysis of FBOs and the role of faith in them, this study pushes toward a clearer theoretical understanding to answer these questions.

Furthermore, this thesis includes a typology which serves as an analytical tool to help provide further descriptive knowledge about the organisations in the study. Importantly, it is a tool that improves previous FBO typologies, expanding the notion of ‘secular’ which has, until now, been conceptualised as a single category in the typologies in the literature. The typology and its application are discussed in Chapter 4.

1.6.c Exploring the Role of Faith in FBOs for Improved Policy and Practice

While, along with secular NGOs, FBOs are relied on significantly to provide services to women and children who have been sexually trafficked, exploited, or involved in the sex trade, controversy still exists about their work. Assumptions and perceptions about what difference religious faith makes in these organisations may possibly influence policy affecting them (e.g. the case of Compassion International in India). This begs the question as to what, if any, differences related to faith actually exist between organisations that are faith-based and those that are not, and why.

As long as FBOs are questioned, criticised, or lauded for integrating faith in their work, the current policy environment, which includes these organisations, would benefit from better insight about whether, and if so how, and why, faith distinguishes these organisations from their secular counterparts. Better understanding the role of faith in FBOs could help policy stakeholders evaluate FBOs other than through a ‘faith’ lens, thus ensuring that these social policy actors are better understood and evaluated. This study brings insight to the need for better understanding the complex and controversial relationships between politics, development and religion, and their implications for policy (Tomalin, 2014). As a result, important policy implications could follow from having a clearer knowledge of the role played by faith in these organisations.

Furthermore, given that many of the organisations in this study provide services to individuals who have been trafficked (or are at risk of being trafficked), this study also contributes to research specifically in the field of anti-trafficking. In the anti-trafficking field, there is a need for secular and faith-based actors to be better networked (Joint Learning Initiative, 2017). Better understanding about, among, and between, these organisations—as provided in this thesis—can provide insight about

the potential role of collaborative partnerships and consultative groups that could help ensure high quality provision of service delivery and rapprochement in contexts where a strong divide between FBOs and secular NGOs may exist.

This section has highlighted the rationale for, and significance of, this study, highlighting the benefits of further research in this field. This section detailed the importance of this study for: a) bringing empirical insight to an area that has lacked attention in the extant literature; b) developing a better theoretical understanding of faith in FBOs that can enlighten understanding of these organisations more widely; and c) improved policy and practice.

1.7 Rationale for Research Location

It has been argued that, in the context of developing countries, there is a need for “a more complex account of what ‘faith-based’ actually means” (Tomalin, 2012: 691). While a significant number of studies have considered FBOs in both developed and developing countries, comprehensive research on FBOs within the Cambodian context has been limited.¹ Yet Cambodia is of particular interest to FBO research, as a report looking into organisations of various religious persuasions operating there found that the work that they do, both as a whole and also individually, “is generally poorly known,” with “patchy knowledge and bias in practice” preventing much of their work “from being seen as an integral element of development strategies and programs” (Delaney and Scharff, 2010: 12). Furthermore, a study on the roles of faith in efforts to counter human trafficking in Cambodia stated that a question that emerged from that study, and that calls for “further analysis, discussion, and policy reflection, is the role that the faith of groups working to counter trafficking plays, especially in aftercare” (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012: 7). In writing within the context of, specifically, international anti-trafficking actors in Cambodia, Marshall (2013a, n.p.) states, “significant religious issues arise, but generally in indirect and masked ways. These are especially worth a focus in looking to the Cambodian experience for insights,” adding that many faith-inspired and secular

¹ Notable exceptions are two reports from the World Faiths Development Dialogue: *Faith Roles in Cambodia’s Efforts to Counter Trafficking in Persons*, 2012; and *Faith-Inspired Organizations and Development in Cambodia*, 2010.

actors share common values, yet work and maintain development approaches that significantly differ.

This is the first known empirical, comparative study of FBOs and secular NGOs in Cambodia. In Cambodia, and the greater region, there are many organisations, including Christian FBOs, which work with individuals who have been trafficked, sexually exploited, or are involved in the sex trade, providing important social policy roles. Despite this large number of actors, however, the extant literature about their goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success is limited. This lack of organisational insight is also the case for organisations doing similar work in other geographical regions. This study, therefore, furthers knowledge about these organisations, not only illuminating understanding of the Cambodian case, but also adding theoretical insight that can provide wider understanding to other geographical areas.

Cambodia thus served as a prime research location given the combination of: 1) the high number of Christian FBOs and secular NGOs working in the country providing services to women and children who have experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or have been involved in the sex trade; and 2) the need for greater insight into the work of FBOs and secular NGOs there. In addition, by limiting the case study location to one country, consistencies were maintained in terms of cultural and contextual issues. Furthermore, the focus of this study allows for country-specific reflection on a question about social policy in the developing world that, in some ways, relates to this thesis: “Do NGOs continue to feature as pivotal actors in contributing to meeting social policy needs in developing countries, and is their presence a benign one?” (Surender, 2013a: 28).

1.8 Layout of the Thesis and Preview of Contributions

In addition to the present chapter, this thesis contains eight other chapters: a literature review, a contextual overview, a chapter detailing the methods, four empirical chapters, and a conclusion. The layout of this thesis, and a preview of the contributions this research makes to the field of study, are summarised below, chapter by chapter.

The next chapter presents an overview of the literature related to this thesis, including an overview of the literature about the role of faith in FBOs and distinctions between notions of ‘faith-based’ and ‘secular’.

Chapter 3 presents a contextual overview of the study, including insight into sex work and trafficking in Cambodia. It also provides an overview of FBOs and secular NGOs that support individuals who have been involved in sex work, or been victims of sex trafficking and exploitation.

Chapter 4 provides details of the methods used for data generation and analysis in this thesis. It also introduces the typology used to categorise FBOs and secular NGOs in the study.

Chapter 5 is the first of the four empirical chapters in this thesis. It comparatively explores the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs in their *organisational goals and missions*, an area of research that has had limited exploration in a development context. The chapter explores the presence of faith in FBOs, and the extent to which there was uniformity or variation in the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs. The chapter includes findings about the extent to which faith was integrated into the thinking and actions of FBOs, and contributes theoretical insights relating to distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs.

Chapter 6 examines *motivating factors* for FBOs and secular NGOs and their personnel, providing a comparative analysis and adding to the literature empirical data about the motivations of non-state actors. The chapter explores the extent to which there was uniformity or bifurcation in the personal and organisational motivations of these actors, providing insight into the extent to which religious faith distinguished FBOs from their secular counterparts. It considers the relationship between faith-related motives and FBO respondents' personal spiritual experiences, providing insight into faith as a motivating factor. The value of comparing motivational factors as a way of parsing out what difference religious faith makes in FBOs is also examined. The chapter brings theoretical insight into the extent to which faith-related motivations were expressions of the ways in which religious faith infused FBOs in the study, and it considers the extent to which the development context led to greater bifurcation and distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs.

Chapter 7 examines the similarities of, and differences between, the *approaches to care* of FBOs and secular NGOs, including the extent to which, and why, faith might influence the ways in which FBOs worked with their clients (Frame, 2017). The chapter assesses the ways in which organisations sought change in their clients, and the ways in which they resembled or contrasted with each other. The

extent to which FBOs were congruent in how they maintained a concern for the spiritual needs of their clients is also considered.

Chapter 8 examines the ways in which organisational leaders² conceived of *success* (Frame, 2016a). It discusses the ideological environments of the organisations, and the key elements of organisations that were conceived of as relating to their success. It considers the extent to which notions of faith in FBOs had an impact on their narratives of success, as well as to what extent, and why, faith might be conceptualized as contributing to client change. As in other chapters, the findings extend the theoretical understanding of faith infusing FBOs—and the value of considering the development context—when seeking to compare FBOs and secular NGOs.

Finally, the concluding chapter synthesises the findings of the study and further relates them to the study's conceptual and theoretical framing. The findings are further discussed and integrated into the extant literature, and the contributions of the study are presented, as are directions for future research. It explores how, as a whole, the thesis brings knowledge to the field beyond the case of Cambodia, building theoretical understanding of reasons why FBOs may, in certain contexts, differ significantly from their secular counterparts.

² The interviewees in this study are collectively referred to here as 'leaders.' Chapter 4 provides further description of these individuals (namely section 4.4.c), as does Table 4 in the Appendix.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Faith-based organisations have gained attention in policy and research, with a key question being whether, and in what ways, religious faith makes any difference in their work. While some may consider religion to be an obstacle to progress, its potential in bringing about positive outcomes in the developing world is being recognised (Haynes, 2007). Yet religiously affiliated development actors are controversial, with some people believing that they are not only problematic, but dangerous (Jennings, 2013). Some small FBOs have even been called ““weird”” and ““wacky”” (Davy, 2014: 807). Yet despite strong views for or against FBOs, Barnett and Stein (2012: 11) highlight that there can be “bluriness” between the boundaries of FBOs and their secular counterparts. They state that the categories of ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ obscure the many types of faith in the developing world, and that religion is not the only type of faith, even arguing that “all humanitarian organizations are faith-based—but they are faith-based in different ways” (Barnett and Stein, 2012: 23). If Barnett and Stein (2012) are correct, and that all humanitarian organisations are faith-based to some extent, how might researchers and other stakeholders evaluate the degree of their ‘faith-based-ness’? Could research from Cambodia enlighten our understanding about the blurriness that may (or may not) exist between ‘secular’ and ‘faith-based’ organisations?

This thesis addresses questions about religious faith in FBOs, and to what extent, and why, faith might distinguish FBOs from their non-faith-based counterparts. To this end, this chapter positions the overarching and supporting research questions, introduced in Chapter 1, in the literature, providing an overview of key themes in the relevant literature. It introduces topics explored in the remainder of the thesis, preparing the reader to theoretically locate the study within the context of the literature on the topic. The following section presents an overview of the policy framework of FBOs and other NGOs as policy actors.

2.2 FBOs, NGOs, and Social Policy

FBOs and their secular counterparts have taken on significant responsibilities to provide services in addition to, or in lieu of, states, and are thus important social policy actors in the developing world. Yet it has only been recent that NGOs in developing countries have piqued the interest of social policy researchers (Lewis, 2013). A few years ago, it was said that findings from social policy research in developing countries are often not related to studies of social policy in the West, and that there is a “compartmentalization of comparative social policy research” that is “a major impediment to the production of universal generalizations about welfare phenomena in the modern world” (MacPherson and Midgley, 1987: 6). Traditionally, social policy has primarily focused on industrialised countries, and has “tended to downplay non-state actors,” though this area of study is being considered more now because of conversations between those in social policy and development studies (Lewis, 2013: 60). Importantly, since the mid-1990s, social policy discourse in developing countries and in international forums has been guided by the Millennium Development Goals,¹ focusing on human rights and reducing poverty (Surender, 2013a).

The institutional welfare mix in developing countries is complex, with NGOs serving as an important component among the multiple policy actors contributing to social policy services in these countries (Surender, 2013b). Serving many functions, NGOs “can play a wide range of roles within social policy” (Lewis, 2013: 67), though they are complex organisations that are diverse and difficult to understand and manage (Lewis, 2014).

Lewis and Kanji (2009: 39) identify FBOs as being a “newly important type” of organisation, and note that a “resurgence of religious identities” has added to the current interest in policy related to them. Haynes (2016) also cites the widespread resurgence of religion as leading to the increased prominence of faith in issues of development, but also links it to two other developments, which occurred during the 1990s: the impact of globalisation and popular concern with the lack of development in developing countries. Haynes argues that it was the impact of these factors that “made it impossible to ignore faith’s influence on development in many parts of the developing world” (Haynes, 2016: 352). Yet historically, religious organisations have

¹ And now, it could be argued, by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

provided development services for centuries, with the history of such faith-based services not simple or uncontested (Deacon and Tomalin, 2015).

New York Times columnist, Nicholas Kristof, referred to American evangelical Christians as the “newest internationalists” (Kristof, 2002; see also Kristof, 2010). Similarly, Bornstein (2005: 8) states that the significance of the Protestant faith in development “can no longer be denied.” While the United States has been the setting for most research studying the influence of faith on health and human service provision (Flanigan, 2009), governments of developing countries continue to rely on FBOs (as well as secular NGOs) to play an important role in providing services to those in need. In fact, FBOs are prominent, and sometimes dominant, players within the NGO arena (Clarke and Ware, 2015). Haynes (2014) points out that more than 300 FBOs engage with the United Nations in a variety of ways, including many that have a regular voice in global policy debates, and Carrette (2017: 10) argues that religion is “part of the fabric of interventions that make up the ‘chameleon politics’ of diplomacy at the UN.” Yet the role of FBOs or other religious actors in development work is not always clear. In their recent paper, Basedau, Gobien, and Prediger (2017: 37) identify what they deem to be a major question that has remained unanswered: “What role do FBOs and other religious actors play in relation to the different dimensions of sustainable development?” Perhaps this question is related to the wider public not being aware of much of the work of these actors on the ground. For example, in terms of the response to Ebola in West Africa, Marshall (2017) argues that the important roles of religious actors should be more fully recognised.

There is an important relationship between FBOs, religion, and social policy—the latter’s definition, following Jawad and Yakut-Cakar (2010: 658), is “understood broadly as both state and non-state interventions in the public sphere aimed at influencing social welfare and development.” Though the literature on the nexus between religion and social policy has been identified as being “overly fragmented” (Pavolini, Béland, and Jawad, 2017: 240), the importance of the connection between faith and service provision was highlighted by Jawad (2009: 142), who stated, “to a large extent, religious welfare is an essential component for understanding the dynamics of social policy in developing countries.” As Jawad (2012a: 55) states, while the role of religion in social policy includes how religion may influence the content of policies and social welfare, it also involves its form, i.e. the ways faith-

based actors shape the *provision of* non-state social welfare. She states, “The import of religion to social policy is therefore that it helps re-open long-standing debates about the meaning and nature of social welfare and wellbeing... The welfare of the one is intricately bound up to the welfare of the many” (Jawad, 2012a: 240).

The Christian faith can be seen as integral to Christian actors working towards stopping trafficking and sexual exploitation (Crawford, 2014), though faith-based actors, of course, are not the only ones influential in shaping the provision of non-state social welfare. Among great concern to both FBOs and secular NGOs has been human trafficking, and providing services to those affected by it. Tzvetkova (2002: 61) claims that NGOs are often understood as the “conscience of government,” stating that NGOs have stepped in when governments have not taken proper initiative. She argues that NGOs are “well-placed” to provide services to trafficked women, and concludes that they actually take on considerable work in anti-trafficking issues, addressing the needs of victims and at-risk persons (Tzvetkova, 2002: 61). The services faith-based and secular actors provide to victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation will be explored throughout this thesis within the context of Cambodia, beginning with Chapter 3.

As introduced in the previous chapter, this thesis comparatively examines Christian FBOs and secular NGOs, and the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish FBOs from their secular counterparts. The question of distinction between FBOs and their secular counterparts has been an important one in the literature. As expressed below, there are those who argue, on one end, that distinction between the two is not clear or, at least, should be problematized. Alternatively, other research highlights the distinct role faith plays in FBOs. To frame this discussion, and to highlight relevant, topical areas particularly relevant to this thesis, several key areas within the extant literature will be highlighted in the remainder of this chapter. First, a brief exploration of the literature considering faith and development will be presented, which provides context and further rationale for the study. Second, the literature on FBO typologies, and distinctions between FBOs and their secular counterparts, will be introduced, as well as the role and meaning of secularity in secular NGOs. Then, FBOs—the focus of this study—are more fully introduced, and an overview of the literature is presented on the role of faith in organisational approaches to care and motivation, as well as the relationship between faith and the ways in which

organisational success is conceived. To ensure Christian FBOs are positioned into the wider literature on FBOs, the chapter concludes with a section introducing literature on non-Christian FBOs.

2.3 Examining Faith and Development

It has been acknowledged in the literature that the study of religion in the social sciences has been marginalised. For example, Dinham (2009: ix) writes of the “low-level background hum of prejudice and stigma against ‘faith’ and nowhere more so than in the social science academy.” Similarly, Ager and Ager (2011: 456), note the secularist framing of the discourse of contemporary humanitarianism, stating, “While in principal ‘neutral’ to religion, in practice this framing serves to marginalize religious language, practice and experience in both the global and local conceptualization of humanitarian action.”

Using the term ‘religious nongovernmental organizations,’ Berger (2003: 15) states that these organisations “constitute a new breed of religious actors shaping global policy—an organizational hybrid of religious beliefs and social activism...” that have been largely ignored. Faith tradition has often thus been ignored in the literature on NGOs (Gerstbauer, 2009), and it has been argued that, in development studies, the role of religion and faith has not been adequately addressed, in terms of its role in affecting the lives of poor people in developing nations (Clarke, 2008). Writing within the context of international Christian FBOs, King (2011) states that there has only been limited interest in the nature of their religious identities, even though the outcomes associated with their work have been recognized and appreciated. Similarly, Tomalin (2006: 103) wrote that “development studies has an uneasy relationship with religion,” such that there was an earlier “neglect” of FBOs in the field; there is “undoubtedly a need to develop a wider knowledge of FBOs” (Tomalin, 2012: 700).

Development’s secular leanings have been related to the belief that religion is a problem for development, supporting ways of living and views of the world that counter its goals, as well as an underlying belief in much of the secular development world that, as societies modernise, religion will disappear (Tomalin, 2011). As a result of the neglect of religion in development studies, Rakodi (2012b: 648) writes that policymakers, researchers, and practitioners that work in development “are mostly

illiterate when it comes to religion.” Deneulin and Rakodi (2011: 52) argue that “religion needs to be ‘brought back in’ to development research,” and that “it is important that development studies acknowledges the religious dimension of people’s lives; understands the relationships between religion, societies, and states; and appreciates the motives and characteristics of the organizational expressions of the faith traditions, including FBOs.” Furthermore, increasing knowledge of how FBOs operate vis-à-vis secular NGOs can lead to both types of organisations being more effective and efficient (Clarke and Ware, 2015).

Despite its former neglect, a growing interest has arisen in researching FBOs in developing countries (e.g. Rae and Clarke, 2013; Tomalin, 2012; James, 2011; Bradley, 2009; Clarke, 2007; Davis, et al., 2011), and policymakers have, as Clarke (2013a: 13) puts it, “rediscovered religion.” Tomalin (2014: 530) identifies the “formal rise of the FBO” to have been in the 2000s, and points out that the new interest in religion within development policy, research, and practice is connected to the global renewal of interest in religion, at least since the terrorist attacks of 9/11. While religion in development studies has been called the current ‘hot topic,’ (Fountain, 2013: 10), Ferris (2011) has noted that there has been limited academic research comparing the work of FBOs. She argues that most of what is known about FBOs comes from their own organisations, journalists, and general observers.

While the field of FBOs working in international development is “taken for granted and rarely documented,” faith “plays a key role” in development work, and further study is clearly warranted in this field (Heist and Cnaan, 2016: 14). Writing within the context of FBOs receiving funding from the Canadian International Development Agency, Vander Zaag (2013: 340) calls for more qualitative research on faith in FBOs, “to characterise and analyse why and how NGO faith perspectives are expressed in specific ways in their development programming, and the impact of these expressions.”

While much analysis has been undertaken on the organisational structures of FBOs and their potential advantages, the extent to which religion is a “critical factor” in FBOs is less addressed (Jennings, 2013: 368). It is important, therefore, to decipher whether or not ‘faith’ makes an FBO “substantially different” in its effect (Jennings, 2013: 368). Similarly, Rakodi (2011: 121) argues that to “assess the characteristics, contributions and possible distinctiveness of religious organizations involved in welfare, development and advocacy, detailed studies of a subset of organizations are

also needed.” She also argues for the value and need for context-specific research on the role of faith in the developing world (Rakodi, 2012a)—something this thesis specifically provides.

2.4 Comparing FBOs and Secular NGOs

Discussion has ensued as to the extent to which FBOs and non-faith-based organisations are distinct from each other (e.g. Clarke and Ware, 2015; Grettenberger, Bartkowski, Smith, 2006; Johnsen, 2014). The ‘faith’ in FBOs is often assumed to differentiate these organisations from those that are secular, and the role of faith in these organisations continue to draw curiosity from policymakers, taxpayers, and researchers. Yet in some cases, the principles of FBOs may not include any religious references—what Deneulin and Bano (2009) call secularised FBOs—and Rakodi (2011: 101, 121) states that categorising FBOs and secular NGOs into two distinct categories is “problematic,” a conclusion based on findings from research conducted in the University of Birmingham-based, and Department for International Development-funded, Religions and Development Research Programme. Perhaps such a conclusion is exclusively intended to pertain to the contexts and organisations in their studies—that it is problematic to attempt to divide into two categories the FBOs and secular NGOs that they studied. At the very least, Rakodi is stating that, in *some* contexts and cases, distinctly categorising organisations into two separate categories of religious and secular is problematic. Such a conclusion would be difficult to challenge. Yet, one early, broad review of nonprofit organisations that sought to analyse the field sociologically, reported that studies of religious and secular nonprofit organisations “often find systematic differences between them” (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990: 149). Furthermore, even as recent as this past year, le Roux and Loots (2017: 733), argued that, while conversations between secular and faith development actors have made progress, “a distinct binary still exists,” which, they state, “could potentially be limiting a holistic response to gender-based violence...”

Discussions about distinctions in faith-related approaches are, thus, not old or new. Yet, Clarke and Ware (2015) note that, while a perception exists in the literature that a distinction exists between FBOs and secular NGOs, the distinction is often made by the organisations themselves for fundraising purposes. In short, scholars have concluded that clear distinctions between FBOs and their secular counterparts

are not always evident, in both developed and developing countries (Clarke and Ware, 2015; Grettenberger, et al., 2006; Johnsen, 2014; Kissane, 2008). Deneulin and Bano (2009) add that differences between the two types can be challenging given the circumstances of their founding, such as Oxfam having been started by the Vicar of Oxford, and the vision for Voluntary Service Overseas coming from two Anglicans, with support from a bishop. Several key aspects of the literature related to the inability to clearly distinguish between the FBOs and secular organisations are reported below. This is then followed by a review of research that provides an alternative perspective.

Thaut (2009: 324) states that “there is debate over the actual role of faith in Christian faith-based agencies and the degree to which religion impacts the structure of the agencies and the assistance provided by aid workers.” Similarly, arguing that distinctiveness is not always clear between secular NGOs and FBOs, Clarke and Ware (2015: 37) state that, in development literature, “little agreement exists” as to their similarities and differences. They state,

Within the development studies literature there is some confusion as to the nature and make up of FBOs when contrasted to NGOs. ... FBOs are described in various ways and there is yet little clarity as to the similarities and distinctiveness of FBOs in contrast to NGOs and also how they are positioned in regards to the wider civil society. (Clarke and Ware, 2015: 46)

After setting out various typologies to depict the relationship between FBOs and NGOs, they argue, “Clearly more work is required given the importance of FBOs in both development programmes in developing nations and also in advocacy in developed nations” (Clarke and Ware, 2015: 46). This thesis takes one step forward in bringing better understanding to how FBOs and secular NGOs differ from each other in their operations (Clarke, 2013b: 11), and why. This thesis brings empirical insight to what Leurs (2012: 707) points out is a lack of clarity about the nature of FBOs and their differences with secular NGOs, “underlining the need for more empirical study in particular contexts.”

Indeed, when seeking to explore the influence of religion on organisations providing development services, thinking in terms of ‘faith-based’ and ‘secular’ may not always be helpful (Tomalin, 2013a), and recent research has identified the

continued challenges related to the notion of ‘faith-based.’ For example, In the Pakistani context, the term ‘FBO’ has been deemed problematic by Kirmani (2012), where, for example, her study found that most organisations that identified faith as being central to their identity and mission did not explicitly identify as ‘faith-based’ (Kirmani, 2012: 745). Such a finding is particularly intriguing considering the findings of the present thesis, which relate to whether ‘FBO’ is a term that can be appropriately used in Cambodia.

As Tomalin (2013a: 239) notes, while some FBOs are explicitly faith-based, other FBOs “may not acknowledge that religion plays a role in what they do. This could be for political reasons, but also because they exist in a context in which religion influences almost every aspect of life...” Elsewhere, she states, “the distinction between faith-based and secular organisations is not always easy to draw” (Tomalin, 2012: 698). In other words, the distinction between the faith-based and secular “may not be useful in contexts where religion permeates almost all aspects of people’s lives” (Tomalin, 2012: 700). For example, one empirical study in two districts in Tanzania found there was “nothing to suggest that faith or religious affiliation makes the activities of religious organisations distinct or contributes to their effectiveness” (Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012: 730). Faith-based and non-faith-based organisations alike depended on external funding, and development agendas were typically externally driven. Furthermore, religion is generally influential in Tanzania, including across institutional settings (Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012). These researchers contributed important insight into the development context of civil society organisations. They included churches in their sample, thus providing a broad, accurate view of faith-inspired actors on the ground. While their study did not describe the religious activities of FBOs (or any religious activities of secular NGOs), it focused on their development-related activities. The authors reported that, “faith was important to nearly all in different ways, from the institutional to the personal,” regardless of whether or not they were faith-based (Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012: 729).

In Kenya, Hershey (2016) found many similarities between secular NGOs and FBOs, where faith was incorporated in both, and where programme funding and the religious context of the country played significant roles in the ways in which the organisations operated their programmes. She highlights this in a significant passage in her article:

Staff reports that faith was not explicit in programs were surprising among religious NGOs. If Christianity was such a key element of these organizations, why was it not explicitly promoted in programs? Moreover, why did secular NGOs look so similar? I argue that this was because religious NGOs reigned in religion in their programs, while secular NGOs included basic, religious practices. This occurred because religious NGOs felt pressure from donor restrictions and because they were worried that ‘preaching’ might scare away program attendees. What remained were the opening prayers and religious language that are ubiquitous in Kenya. Second, because secular NGOs operated in a culture steeped in Christianity and Islam—a culture that ascribes legitimacy to religion—they produced programs that maintained a respect for faith and integrated the same culturally appropriate practices as the religious NGOs. A levelling process emerged, whereby the religious NGOs washed faith elements out of their programs and secular NGOs injected enough religion to gain legitimacy, resulting in programs that look quite similar. ... Staff at the religious NGOs explained that the lack of faith elements in their programs was intentional. They sequestered curriculum and program activities from the reaches of faith and did so in order to protect the programs’ wide appeal. ... staff at the religious NGOs also endured pressure from donors to separate their religious and service activities. (Hershey, 2016: 168-169)

Hershey (2016) found that secular NGOs in Kenya adopted religious elements, in part, to make clients feel comfortable, and that including religious elements added to their legitimacy, such that their programs mirrored those of their faith-based counterparts. She explains disparities she found across the two types of organisations, demonstrating that, despite disparities that may exist organisationally, their programming can remain rather similar. She stated that, while there may be an expectation that faith will be explicitly revealed in programmes, actually, “faith reveals itself in complex ways throughout organizational characteristics and practices,” and she calls for greater nuance when approaching the subject, “teasing out the ways that faith manifests itself and, thus, matters (Hershey, 2016: 170). Hershey’s (2016) study is a valuable contribution to research seeking to understand what, if any, differences may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs and their programmes, and why. Though her study included only two local FBOs and two local secular NGOs, it was an in-depth, comparative analysis that adds important insight to this thesis. Unlike Green, Mercer, and Mesaki (2012), who focused on the extent to which religious organisations were distinctive in their development work, Hershey (2016)

explicates the ways in which faith manifests across the organisations and their programmes. This type of in-depth, empirical research is uncommon in the extant literature, and, therefore, is particularly important to the theoretical understanding and framing of this thesis.

In another study, Leurs (2012: 717) argued that, even though HIV/AIDS-focused faith-based and secular NGOs in Nigeria were found to have both similarities and differences, dividing organisations into “simple ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ categories” was believed to be “inappropriate,” given that “faith manifests itself in their aims and activities in varied ways.” While similar characteristics existed across FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, differences were evident in their programme design and organisational characteristics, with secular NGOs emphasising physical wellbeing and FBOs combining this with spiritual aims (Davis, et al., 2011; Leurs, 2012). Yet even though these differences existed, Davis, et al. (2011: 11) write, “it is clear that differentiating between faith-based and secular organizations is problematic, and that it is more appropriate to focus attention on the ways in which religion influences the characteristics and operations of development organizations.”

As Occhipinti (2015: 331) notes, faith is not typically an ‘add-on’ to the work of most FBOs but, rather, the primary reason they do what they do. Yet, she presents the question, “is it really so easy always to distinguish between faith-based and non-faith-based organizations, particularly in settings where religion permeates all aspects of life?” Such an acknowledgement sets up a tension in the religion and development arena: FBOs may operate with a component that very much distinguishes them from their secular counterparts, yet, in some cases and contexts, it may not be particularly easy to distinguish between these organisations and their secular counterparts, as discussed above (e.g. Hershey, 2016).

Though researchers have contended that distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs can be minimal or unclear, other researchers have presented alternative views. Thus, the studies presented above contrast—or at least provide alternative insights—to some degree with the conclusions of others. In some cases, FBOs have been perceived to have advantages over secular NGOs. For example, Flanigan (2009: 170) stated that staff from FBOs believed faith brought “added value” to the services they provided, though these perceptions differed based on country context and religious tradition. Similarly, in Cambodia, a report from a consultation that mostly included leaders from religious organisations, faith-inspired development institutions, and

academic institutions, stated that participants emphasized that faith traditions put an emphasis on dignity, humanity, and compassion, which was an emphasis perceived to be lacking in development approaches that were ‘secular’ (Bodakowski, 2009: 26). This, of course, was based on perceptions of those active in the field and present in the consultation, and may have been challenged had there been representatives of service-providing secular NGOs present. Still, however, it is telling that these values were not only perceived to be emphasised by faith-based approaches to service delivery in Cambodia, but that also these values were perceived to be lacking in secular approaches. While the impact of faith on services certainly varies among FBOs, another report from Cambodia reported that, “Concepts of love, compassion, and forgiveness heavily influence how faith actors approach and deliver services” (Delaney and Scharff, 2010: 48). This thesis provides further empirical insight that helps in understanding to what extent these concepts are prevalent in Christian FBOs working in a particular niche area of service provision.

As highlighted by Mcleigh (2011), in the increasingly competitive development world, FBOs are asked to define what distinctive value they offer, and many are interested in ensuring that their religious identity is consistently applied in their organisations, especially those that are decentralised. This thesis empirically highlights distinctions of FBOs, and provides insight on how they might articulate what unique value they each offer in light of these distinctions.

Considering FBO health service delivery in sub-Saharan Africa, Lipsky (2011: 28) argued that, while the literature suggests ample similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs, the two types do have “significant differences,” with faith affecting FBOs’ programmes, policies, and other organisational aspects. She stated that FBOs may be comparatively advantaged when it comes to securing paid staff and volunteers, and that the most important advantage FBOs hold may be their moral and ethical standing—a strength that underlies all that FBOs do, providing a “dynamic that is inaccessible to secular NGOs” (Lipsky, 2011: 26). Similarly, while not stated as being advantaged, per se, Clarke (2006: 845) states that FBOs “draw on elaborate spiritual and moral values” that represent a “distinct adjunct” to the discourse of secular NGOs, and that FBOs have many characteristics by which they are distinguished from their non-faith-based counterparts.

Wilkinson’s (2017) study on secular NGOs brings light to the value of local FBOs in the eyes of beneficiaries. Discussing secular NGOs responding to Typhoon

Haiyan in the Philippines, Wilkinson (2017) stated that recipients of aid from secular NGOs described them as having little interaction with them, and that they focused only on the material. This was contrasted with local FBOs that made regular visits, and were valued for asking people how they were getting on. Yet assuming that FBOs and religious leaders are automatically grassroots may not be accurate, as secular organisations may also be close to the communities they serve (Tomalin, 2013b), and caution is thus important when considering potential ways FBOs may be ‘better’ or different than their secular counterparts. Grounding engagement with FBOs and religious leaders in empirical knowledge of the context is important (Tomalin, 2013b). Context can play an important role in how faith manifests in an organisation (Leurs, 2012: 717), and is thus a critical factor when evaluating FBOs and secular NGOs. In considering distinctions and/or similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs, an important issue thus surfaces that relates to organisational and geographical context—one that relates to the theoretical framework guiding this thesis, as further explored in Chapter 4. Through this theoretical contribution, this study takes one step forward in this field of uncertainty, where some scholars report that claiming differences between FBOs and secular NGOs can be problematic, and yet others claim that distinctions do exist.

It should be stressed that the ‘faith’ aspect of FBOs is not a tangential part of their work, but essential to all that they do (Clarke and Jennings, 2008). Thus, the defining characteristic of FBOs could be their reliance on faith—something which may cause them to use different methods in their programmes; alternatively, they may actually use the same methods used by secular organisations, but in a more fervent way (Graddy, 2006). Yet, regardless of how faith may (or may not) be integrated into FBOs, the extent to which these organisations discuss the role of religious faith in their organisations may be different among them. Tomalin, Haustein, and Kidy (2017), reporting on an FBO workshop that discussed the Sustainable Development Goals consultation process, write that where or when FBOs include faith into discussions pose challenges to many organisations. The context in, and extent to, which FBOs express their faith beliefs will thus vary.

While Berger (2003: 19) states that FBOs and secular NGOs operate within the same political and legal frameworks, the missions and operations of FBOs are “guided by a concept of the divine and recognition of the sacred nature of human

life.” Berger (2003: 19) states that while NGOs, in general, are a moral entity, challenging the ‘wrong’ and working to change inequitable power distributions to support the disenfranchised, FBOs “recognize the religious rather than purely ‘reasoned’ origin of the values, which they seek to realize.” Yet, differences observed between FBOs and their secular counterparts may result from characteristics in an organisation that are unrelated to faith (Cnaan and Boddie, 2006), and as Kirmani (2012) stated, faith is one of *many* variables that influence organisational identity and activities. One question, then, that surfaces relates to differentiating between the variables of an organisation’s culture. If faith is only one variable influencing organisational culture, to what extent can it be disentangled from other organisational influences?

While Deneulin (2013) states that a Christian perspective on international development shares many commonalities with the human development paradigm, she notes that, for Christians, social and economic wellbeing is not sufficient, as ultimate human fulfilment is found in God, thus leading to a different concept of what development entails; in this perspective, there is inseparability between the physical and spiritual dimensions of life. Bornstein (2002) found theological concepts and practices (i.e. ‘holism’, ‘lifestyle evangelism’, and prayer) permeating the FBOs in her study, and she posited that faith in an FBO can structure their initiatives and interpretation of economic development. Similarly, Netting, O’Connor, and Yancey (2006) state that strong religious belief systems may inspire the organisational and programmatic cultures of FBOs, and that these should not be ignored. Similarly, Tyndale (2003) notes that, even when FBOs and secular NGOs share the same goals, ideas about how to reach those goals may be different. Likewise, Kearns, Park, and Yankoski (2005: 228) found that FBOs in their US-based study had an “alternative service philosophy,” and stated, “The exploration of organizational culture is particularly important when defining what constitutes a ‘faith-based’ organization and describing the impact of faith on the services provided” (227). This ‘different vision’ or ‘alternative service philosophy’ may thus be critical when analysing FBOs in comparison to their secular counterparts.

It has been stated that faith is integrated differently among FBOs (Smith and Sosin, 2001), and Ferris (2011: 606) even states that findings from her study suggest “differences between faith-based actors are often greater than those between secular and faith-based organizations.” She states that “the world of faith-based organizations

is an incredibly diverse one” (Ferris, 2011: 622), and that “it is often difficult to establish the precise relationship between an organization and religion” (Ferris, 2011: 613). Similarly, Steinke (2016: 272), in her study of two humanitarian FBOs in Haiti, described one organisation as operating with what she called “strategic secularism.” For the other organisation, she used the phrase, “outright religious vocation,” to describe how faith informed its work in different ways (Steinke, 2016: 272). Yet, while the author focused her study on two FBOs, they had important differences in addition to the ways in which faith was reflected in their work (one was an international organisation from Germany; the other was a local branch of an international NGO—the entire staff of which was Haitian—and this organisation was identified as Haitian). When considering differences between FBOs in the extent to which faith informs their work, therefore, organisational differences are worthy of examination. However, organisational differences (i.e. local v. international) do not necessarily impact the ways in which faith influences their work, as will be seen in the present thesis.

This section has explored the value of comparing FBOs and secular NGOs. The varied findings in the literature beg a question about when, and in what contextual circumstances, FBOs and secular NGOs are clearly demarcated. This thesis contributes to this debate, adding to the discussion about the extent to which faith distinguishes FBOs from secular NGOs in a particular development context, and why. Furthermore, while FBOs are diverse within their own type, the similarities they maintain can also be significant. The present study thus focuses not only on distinctions (and similarities) between FBOs and secular NGOs, but also highlights the ways in which FBOs—despite that they can be quite diverse (e.g. Steinke, 2016)—may be significantly similar. The following section furthers the discussion on similarities and differences among FBOs, and between FBOs and secular NGOs, by looking at the ways in which typologies in the literature have sought to distinguish between them. This presents a background for a revised typology that is introduced and applied later in this thesis.

2.5 FBO Typologies

As explained by Occhipinti (2015: 336), a typology offers “additional analytical clarity, allowing a more nuanced view than a binary of ‘secular’ or ‘faith-based’ can

capture...” Presented below is a brief overview of typologies in the literature on FBOs. Over the past fifteen years, these typologies “have broken new ground in exploring the links between beliefs and practices of religious actors doing development work” (Smith, 2017: 73). This overview serves as a theoretical backdrop for the typology introduced in this study, presented in Chapter 4.

FBOs can be defined in multiple ways; and like other terms used in research, “faith-based” is somewhat ambiguous (Thomas, 2008). Hefferan and Fogarty (2010: 2) state that ‘FBO’ is a “slippery term”; they can be very diverse, including in size, motivation, and theology. Furthermore, it may be difficult to distinguish some FBOs from their secular counterparts, as some FBOs may not address beneficiaries’ spiritual issues (Thaut, 2009). There is a “spectrum of possibilities” in terms of the religiousness of organisations (Jeavons, 2004: 141) and, as Sider and Unruh (2004) state, the literature recognizes that a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ cannot answer the question of whether or not an organisation is faith-based. They caution that it is important for studies to carefully distinguish a sample’s religious characteristics so that the role of faith in programme outcomes is not understated or overstated (Sider and Unruh, 2004).

The literature on FBOs includes several typologies that provide a framework for categorising FBOs, and better classifying the role of religious faith in these organisations (e.g. Monsma, 2002; Sider and Unruh, 2004; Ware, Ware, and Clarke, 2016; Borchgrevink and Erdal, 2017). While a critique of typologies is that they oversimplify reality (Hefferan 2015), typologies “provide the opportunity to examine the scope and scale of FBOs according to their level of faith” (Scott, 2002: 23). They “provide a framework for arranging FBOs along a continuum ranging from those that are indistinguishable from secular organizations to those that have a high degree of religious integration...(helping to) highlight the point that some organizations may exhibit high levels of (faith) integration in one area and appear indistinguishable from secular organizations in other areas” (Goggin and Orth, 2002: 53). While typologies help to abstractly map FBOs, they are less helpful when attempting to analyse individual organisations (Schwarz, 2018: 10).

As pointed out by Koschmann (2013), studies that have sought to classify FBOs through typologies and similar structures have treated religion as a descriptive variable to classify organisations. Yet typologies that have sought to categorise FBOs have demonstrated that these organisations “constitute a very broad spectrum,” and

that “the influence of faith on the characteristics of the organisations and their programmes varies greatly” (Ware, Ware, and Clarke, 2016: 324). The following paragraphs explore some typologies that have been developed to classify FBOs.

The focus of many typologies in the literature has been on classifying FBOs in the United States. An early and important typology was developed by the US-based Working Group on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (2003), subsequently modified and re-published by Sider and Unruh (2004). They suggested a scale whereby organisations and their programmes are classified across a six-fold typology, ranging from secular to faith-permeated, with the latter indicative of organisations where “faith is evident at all levels of mission, staffing, governance, and support,” and where “programs extensively integrate explicitly religious content” (Sider and Unruh, 2004: 119). This typology is the typology which Hefferan, et al. (2009) revised and which is further revised and applied in this thesis.

Sider and Unruh (2004: 116) note that the literature agrees that determining whether or not an organisation is faith-based is not always simple, given that the “faith nature of organizations is multidimensional, requiring a range of types.” In delineating their typology, the authors acknowledged the need to “develop conceptual categories and descriptive language that capture (FBOs’) complexity,” and they hoped the typology to be practically beneficial to organisations “in understanding and describing their own religious character for purposes of strategic planning, fundraising, and evaluation” (Sider and Unruh, 2004: 132). Yet the authors state that the complexity of organisations is not easily captured in a typology, with many organisations and programmes falling in the “gray area” between types, or representing a combination of elements of different categories (Sider and Unruh, 2004: 119).

In another early typology, Jeavons (1998) notes that it is conceivable for there to be three possible ways for an organisation to be identified as ‘religious.’ These include: 1) an organisation self-identifies as such; 2) the organisation’s major purpose is that of advancing a particular faith or providing for public worship; and 3) the organisation appears that it is devoted to a religious purpose and carries out its mission with religious principles. However, Jeavons (1998) goes on to note that, rather than assessing organisations broadly, such as with the three modes above, particular dimensions of the organisation can be analysed to better determine its “religiousness.” Given that the actual religious nature, or the degree of its

religiousness, is sometimes difficult to determine, he suggests seven questions to make this assessment, noting that determining the answers to the questions would allow one to place an organisation on a scale from strictly secular to strictly religious:

First, how religious is the organization's self-identity? Second, how religious are its participants? Third, how religious are its material resources and their sources? Fourth, how religious are its goals, products or services? Fifth, how religious are its decision-making processes? Sixth, how religious is its definition and distribution of power? Seventh, how religious are the other organizations or organizational fields with which it interacts? (Jeavons, 1998: 81)

Whether some typologies are truly multidimensional was challenged by Ebaugh, et al. (2006: 2269), who contended that the religiosity of an FBO cannot be determined by a uni-dimensional continuum of religiosity, such as that of Jeavons (1998). They state, "religiosity is a multi-dimensional concept...The use of a single continuum to indicate variations in the *degree* of religiosity of an organization is too simple to convey this multidimensionality" (Ebaugh, et al., 2006: 2270). Instead, they identified "three discreet dimensions on which organizations vary in terms of religiosity" (Ebaugh, et al., 2006: 2270). These are: 1) how the organisations relate to clients (service religiosity); 2) how staff are hired and how staff persons relate to one another (staff religiosity); and 3) how organisations present themselves to the public (organisational religiosity).

Thaut (2009) states that little is known about how Christian FBOs differ from one another in their operations and orientation. She states that there is a "necessity to distinguish between the types of faith-based agencies and the influence of religion in their work" (Thaut, 2009: 324), and she also argues for the necessity of considering the role of faith multidimensionally. Contending that some FBOs are difficult to distinguish from secular NGOs, she sets out a taxonomy that considers the influence of faith across four dimensions: the FBO's mission, its connection to a religious base or authorities, the organisation's staff policies, and its base of donor support. Furthermore, she sets forth three ideal types of Christian faith-based humanitarianism—based on Niebuhr's (1951) paradigm of the ways in which Christians interact with society—that relate to the ways in which Christian theology is reflected in FBOs. In what she calls "*Accommodative-Humanitarianism*," FBOs do not explicitly emphasise a faith-based mission. In "*Synthesis-Humanitarianism*," FBOs maintain clear faith motives, and services are a "witness to God's love" (Thaut,

2009: 337). In “*Evangelistic–Humanitarianism*,” FBOs work with an explicit faith motivation and provide services, along with evangelism, to “expand the fellowship of Christian believers” (Thaut, 2009: 341). Christian FBOs should not be considered a homogenous group of agencies with identical goals and operations, as variations in the ways in which faith is manifested in these organisations is rooted in the theological tradition that underlies their practices and underlying beliefs (Thaut, 2009). It is therefore important for donors, policymakers, practitioners, and scholars to be aware of differences that can exist between FBOs, as concerns relating to one FBO should not be generalised to all of them (Thaut, 2009).

Despite efforts to typologise FBOs, the principle of such a practice has been criticised. As Rakodi (2012b: 648) highlights, “Many would challenge not only specific typologies but also the idea that it is sensible and feasible to categorise organisations into clearly differentiated types according to their organisational characteristics, activities or scale of operations.” Similarly, Huguen and Venema (2009) argue that FBOs’ religiosity delineated via a continuum is a problematic or limiting means of measurement. Such a continuum assumes that “the strength of religiosity in a program is based on either the quantity of explicit religious practices in a program, the intensity of religious experiences offered to participants, or the strength of motivation and commitment of program staff” (Huguen and Venema, 2009: 424). Their study shows that measuring faith in FBO programs must take into account “a wide diversity of conceptual and operational models as to how programs express faith, along with whether it is mandatory, invitational, or manifested indirectly through the compassionate care or prayers of the staff for participants” (Huguen and Venema, 2009: 424).

As the brief overview above demonstrates, there are similarities and shortcomings among the typologies offered in the extant literature. The typologies have typically focused solely on classifying FBOs, and have given little or no attention to secular organisations. This is likely because the primary purpose of the typologies offered in the literature is to classify FBOs. For example, Berger’s (2003) conceptual map of religious NGOs did not consider secular organisations, but rather focused on FBOs organisationally, structurally, and in terms of the types of services they offered, bringing attention to the nature of religious identity and the functions of the many organisations in her sample. Similarly, Smith and Sosin’s (2001) discussion of religious coupling in religious-based welfare agencies also focused exclusively on

FBOs. The typology introduced in Chapter 4 and applied in this thesis addresses this shortcoming related to positioning secular NGOs in typologies primarily focused on FBOs. The typology applied in this thesis, as explored later, is thus an original contribution to the literature, as it is an improved analytical tool for conceptually categorising both FBOs and secular NGOs. The following section further examines the concept of secularity, considering its role and meaning in secular NGOs.

2.6 The Role and Meaning of Secularity in Secular NGOs

Oxfam's website recently published a blog post that included a question related to secular and religious organisational collaboration. The author, whose question taps into an issue with significant policy implications, stated, "Oxfam is committed to supporting local humanitarian leadership, but as a secular organization, how should we interact with local religious organizations whose practices merge with and diverge from our own in important ways?" (Stevens, 2017). Such a question—rooted in a potential concern about the religious nature of local religious organisations—could also lead to a discussion about what it means for Oxfam to be a 'secular organisation.'

This section provides further clarification about the role and meaning of the term 'secular.' This is important because, as explored above and below, organisations are not necessarily institutions that can be considered in binary concepts of 'faith-based' and 'secular.' For example, Grettenberger, Bartkowski, and Smith (2006: 227-228), in their US-based study, wrote of the "inadequacy of such simplistic categorizations" in research on FBOs and their secular counterparts, as "some faith-based agencies operated, by their own admission, primarily secular programs. And some secular programs encouraged religious practice and regarded themselves as deeply spiritual organizations." In an earlier paper, they stated,

differences between FBOs and secular organizations are subtle; many FBOs and secular organizations have overlapping missions and similar program goals and outcome objectives. Only a relatively small percentage of all FBOs are distinctly different from secular agencies or other types of FBOs. Religious discourse and symbolism is a part of many secular agencies as well as FBOs receiving public funds. (Smith, Bartkowski, and Grettenberger, 2004: 26)

Such findings demonstrate that distinguishing between FBOs and their secular counterparts is not always clear. Johnsen (2014: 414) concluded, in her UK-based

study, that strict differentiation between FBOs and their secular counterparts is a “false dichotomy,” and that FBOs and secular organisations have many more similarities than differences. An important value of Johnsen’s (2014) work is that, not only did it bring the topic of FBOs into the specifically focused social policy literature, as few had done before, but it brought well-rounded, comparative insight into the complexity of notions of ‘faith-based’ in organisations serving homeless persons.

Focusing on humanitarian service provision, Paras and Stein (2012: 211) argue that the “boundaries between secular and religious organizations are fuzzy rather than sharp,” with “the sacred” pervading “the conversation and the lived experience of both religious and universalist humanitarian organizations” (Paras and Stein, 2012: 214). In their study of four large humanitarian organisations, both faith-based and secular organisations were found to “locate their authority in the language of the sacred, to give a deeper sense of purpose to their actions, promote global solidarities, and imbue their actions with a deep sense of moral worth” (Paras and Stein, 2012: 229). They stated that more was found uniting these organisations than separating them; their work and the services they provided were “both a demonstration of human solidarity and an enactment of sacred moral principles. Whether these principles are ‘religious’ or ‘secular’ has little bearing on their sacred value” (Paras and Stein, 2012: 229).

The fluidity of religious identity can thus problematise definite categories of ‘faith-based’ and ‘secular,’ with organisations maintaining a sense of the sacred in their work regardless of how they may be classified. Yet, as explored in the present study, notions specifically related to religion and religious identity, including the ways in which actors within organisations expressed their motivations, for example, can continue to be distinct between FBOs and secular NGOs, even though they should not be assumed *a priori* that they are different.

Understanding secularity in secular NGOs can be aided by drawing on two aspects of Taylor’s (2007) notions of ‘secularity’ in the Western world. He states secularity may refer to: 1) public spaces lacking reference to God, and where norms do not refer to religious beliefs but, instead, rationality; 2) a decline in religious belief and practices; and 3) a reshaping of society from where belief in God is unchallenged, to an understanding that many options exist (Taylor, 2007: 2-3). Appropriating these theoretical conceptions to non-state actors could allow an understanding of what

secularism means, for example, in secular NGOs. First, the ‘secular’ nature in secular NGOs can align with Taylor’s first conception above: secular organisations lack reference to notions of faith, as their norms do not refer to religious beliefs. Taylor summarises this conception as “secularized public spaces” (2007: 20). In addition, secularism in secular NGOs could also relate to Taylor’s second notion, which he summarises as “the decline of belief and practice” (2007: 20); as some NGOs were historically aligned with religious ideals, they may have subsequently become increasingly (or now exclusively) secularised. Thus, secular organisations (which were at, one time, faith-related) may have reduced or eliminated religious influences in their organisations. While Taylor also conceptualised secularity, in this case, as “people turning away from God” (Taylor, 2007: 2), in such cases at the organisational level, it is not so much organisations turning away from God as it is their deciding not to be identified as faith-based. In such cases, secularisation has occurred, perhaps gradually or after some consideration, at an organisational level. This organisational evolution relates to notions of political secularity, where governments and societies have secularised from a once-religiously grounded milieu.

Hurd’s (2004) synopsis of secularism can also be informative and applicable to contexts with non-state actors. Hurd (2004: 235) states that secularism:

identifies something called ‘religion’ and separates it from the ‘secular’ domains of the state, the economy and science. The ‘secular’, then, ... carries no overt references to a transcendent order or divine being. In normative terms, secularism is characterized by its universalist pretensions and its claim of superiority over non-secular alternatives.

Secular NGOs may define themselves as secular in order to ensure they appear to remain neutral and willing to support all clients, promoting inclusive ideologies that are devoid of bias. Secular NGOs, juxtaposed against those that are faith-based, could be perceived as being a type of organisation with a single ideology or approach—one that rejects all things religious. As stated in Chapter 1, following Tomalin (2012), ‘secular NGO’ refers in this thesis to NGOs that do not claim religious influence or affiliation, and that are not ideologically shaped by a religious framework. Yet this does not indicate that there is necessarily a total absence of religion in secular NGOs. Instead, as Tomalin (2012: 701) states, in secular NGOs, “religion is not considered to have a formal or direct influence on the organisation.” Therefore, in ‘secular’ NGOs,

religion may be tolerated, or even fostered. For example, Fitzgibbon and French (2016) highlight the American Red Cross's (a secular organisation) disaster spiritual care programme. In the programme, spiritual care providers and professional chaplains provide spiritual care that is aligned with the organisation's principles of impartiality and neutrality, thus serving as an example of the ways in which secular organisations may choose to integrate spiritual care or faith into their programmes without compromising their secular values.

Writing on secularism in the context of Southeast Asia, Koshy (2015: 272) states that in Asian cultures, "it is difficult to disentangle the religious from the nonreligious and therefore practically impossible to separate strictly every religious from every nonreligious practice." Some of the findings in this thesis bring insight to Koshy's proposition as, while religion may be included within secular NGOs, their non-religious status and organisational culture may very well contrast with those of their faith-based counterparts.

The notion of 'secular' may also indicate plurality, or a recognition by an organisation that many religions are represented and valued within it. In other words, though religion is not constitutive, or a defining element, of a secular NGO, its approach to religion may not be one that is antagonistic to it. 'Secular,' therefore, in the development sense, should be considered in a nuanced way, recognizing that not all secular NGOs will operate vis-à-vis religion the same, rejecting (or incorporating) it similarly. Instead, 'secular' in secular NGOs may be considered a frame that guides these organisations in eliminating notions of religious preference or influence in their ideologies and services. In this sense, these organisations could be understood in terms related to Taylor's (2010: 33) assessment of secularist regimes in contemporary democracies: "conceived not primarily as bulwarks against religion," but as those who "attempt to shape their institutional arrangements...to maximize the basic goals of liberty and equality between basic beliefs." Secular NGOs should thus not be exclusively considered antagonistic to, entirely free from, or even completely neutral about, religion. Drawing on the concept of religious and secular spheres (e.g. Taylor, 2007; Casanova, 1994), secular NGOs manage and may accommodate religion in their preferred, yet perhaps diverse, ways, within their secular sphere.

2.7 The Role of Faith in Approaches to Care

One of the four supporting research questions in this study comparatively examines the approaches to care of FBOs and their secular counterparts, asking, *to what extent, and why, might religious faith influence the ways in which FBOs work with their clients?* A “huge variation” has been identified among the character and practices of FBOs (Bradley, 2009) and, despite growing research in the field, Thaut (2009) indicates that there is limited awareness of how Christian beliefs influence the principles and activities of FBOs and how they are different from secular NGOs. Rae and Clarke (2013) argue for further investigation into how FBOs operate, how their faith identity plays a role in organisational practices, and how outcomes from these practices compare with secular NGOs. Such information can be critical to supplying accurate information to decision makers who may rely on anecdotal evidence about FBOs, given a lack of empirical knowledge of their work (Keikelame, et al., 2010).

In the UK, Johnsen (2014: 420) found that, when comparing the aims and ethos of FBOs and secular nonprofit organisations, their similarities “far outweigh any differences.” She stated that interviewees reported, with few exceptions, no obvious differences in the care provided by staff in organisations that were known to be faith-based and those that were secular. This was also found to be the case by Kissane (2008: 110), who stated that clients in her US-based study did not find that FBOs provided them with more care or “personal touch.” She found this to contrast FBO personnel’s belief that their organisations provided a more caring and personal treatment to clients than their secular counterparts. Sager (2011: 201, 202), writing within the context of church-based soup runs in the US, wrote that there is “little known” regarding how the spiritual aims of FBOs are enacted in their service provision, and there is “much to be learned about the role of faith and how faith is incorporated into social services.” Other studies from the US are also worthy of noting. Fischer (2004: 30) stated that FBO social service programmes, at their core, “contain many of the same elements as their secular counterparts...The degree to which the services are infused with a faith or spiritual component could be seen simply as a reflection of a difference in the underlying service model.” Huguen and Venema (2009) stated that, though FBOs may share among themselves a similar “call to service,” they can carry out their programmes very differently, and discerning the

distinctive capacities and strengths of FBOs is needed, as are strategies that draw on these organisations' special resources and characteristics (Hugen and Venema, 2009).

Yet religious elements are not always integral to the nature of FBOs, and clear distinctions between FBOs and their secular counterparts do not always exist, as highlighted earlier in this chapter. Among faith-based service providers themselves, Tangenberg's (2004, 2005) US-based study revealed differences in service philosophy and integration of religious elements, such that the author stated they "varied considerably in how closely religious beliefs were integrated in service design and delivery" (Tangenberg, 2004: 21). While she argued that increased awareness of faith-related services, in terms of their complexity and diversity, is critical for policy decisions (Tangenberg, 2005), she notes that the spiritual aspects of FBOs are seldom discussed when policy initiatives encourage increasing FBO involvement in service provision (Tangenberg, 2004).

Ragan (2004) notes that a lack of evidence exists about how the faith element of FBOs affects the services they provide, and Ferguson, et al. (2006: 1514) note that "it continues to be a challenge to understand the myriad ways in which FBOs use faith to intervene in clients' lives." Attempting to measure differences within FBOs of different religious persuasions across three different cities (Los Angeles, Nairobi, Mumbai), they found that FBOs provided similar types of social services, leading the researchers to assert that FBOs across the world have, despite varying practices because of their contexts, similarities in service provision, faith components, and results (Ferguson, et al., 2006).

FBOs have found it important to give clients hope, help them with self-esteem, and build a sense of family within the organization (Campbell and Glunt, 2006). Harden (2006: 486) states that FBOs "usually strive for social and spiritual transformation," and that their programmes "facilitate the process of conversion and spiritual growth." Thus, FBOs may integrate proselytisation within their programming. Tam and Hasmath (2015: 296), identify the "'two-legged' approach" of rendering services along with proselytisation as a "holistic, integrated approach." Yet, such integration of evangelistic faith into FBO operations and programming is not reflected in the nature or mission of all FBOs. While religious conversion is not a goal for all FBOs, the notion of proselytising was noted as a concern among participants in a study in Cambodia regarding Christian FBOs whose work may be "colored" by efforts to convert clients to Christianity (Delaney and Scharff, 2010: 50).

As Fountain (2015: 80) clearly put it, proselytism is “arguably the prickliest subject in the emerging field of religion and development.” Indeed, among the critiques of FBOs is the argument that faith-based actors seek to proselytise their clients, and even that their religious beliefs may not lead to a constructive approach to development. For example, de Kadt (2009: 786) argues,

Yes, religion has to be taken seriously both in research and in policy related to development. Yet researchers and policy-makers had better also remember that the stronger those religious beliefs, and the more convinced the believers are of their total truth, the more likely it is that, on balance, they will not have a positive effect on the chances for development.

However, FBOs, as discussed above, are widely varied in terms of the ways in which faith is or is not incorporated into their practices. Lynch and Schwarz (2016) counter critics of FBOs by asserting that they paint FBOs with a broad brush, ignoring the distinctions between them in how they understand proselytism and evangelism. They claim that Christian FBOs are not united in terms of promoting religious conversion, and that the matter is debated within and among themselves. They state, “Christian humanitarians themselves hold very different visions about what it means to enact Christian beliefs in the provision of aid” (Lynch and Schwarz, 2016: 644). Furthermore, forms of proselytism also can exist in organisations that are not faith-based. Lynch and Schwarz (2016) highlight a different notion of proselytism—the proselytising aspects of donors—which they discuss using the term, ‘donor proselytism.’ They found that pressure from donors “shape aid to conform to neoliberal conceptions of efficiency, sustainability, and measurable results” (Lynch and Schwarz, 2016: 636). Though the neoliberal pressures and practices promoted by donors are not identified as ‘religious,’ they are instilled with the notion that the provider knows best, and they involve attaching strings to aid, such that attempts are made to change the cultures and customs of their intended recipients. Lynch and Schwarz (2016: 642) argue, “Promoting programs and techniques required by donors is akin to providing Bibles or requiring participation in prayer meetings as a condition for receiving aid. In each case, recipients of aid engage in specific practices related to an ideological or faith tradition to obtain assistance.”

Fountain (2013) also argues that proselytisation practices are apparent in secular initiatives that aim to transform people’s behaviour and attitudes, presenting

one of the most critical voices in the literature about how development studies, and wider notions of development, have imagined and established “dominant secular ideologies as normal, neutral and morally superior” (2013: 11). He writes that discourse on FBOs constructs religion as an object which is positioned against ‘development,’ which is believed to be neutral (Fountain, 2013).

Similarly, Hovland (2008: 180) argues that development has—or is itself—a mission; it has “grown its own creeds, visions and prophecies,” and maintains “a grand utopian vision that needs to be taken largely on faith” (Hovland, 2008: 180). She states there is a fear of religion in the development field, and FBOs, unlike their secular counterparts, not only have to acknowledge their foundational values, but also split this off; she argues that the assumption that secularism is opposed to, or separate from, religious practice and thought must be challenged. The consequences of this fear, she found in her study, was that bilateral funding for a Norwegian Protestant NGO did not fund some of the organisation’s most interesting work because it integrated religious aspects into its programming. Thus, what she calls the “potential synergy effect between religion and development” is, in theory, lost in bilaterally funded projects (Hovland, 2008: 180).

While faith, in many ways, can affect the services and approaches to care of FBOs, the motivations of actors in FBOs also can reflect many values. The motivations arising out of belief systems have been found to influence service delivery (Netting, et al., 2006). Yet as explored later in this thesis, motivational factors can be wide ranging, and related to, for example, personal experiences, pragmatic needs, and spiritual beliefs, which can be crucial to their work. A literature overview related to the role of faith in the motivations of FBOs is examined in the following section.

2.8 Faith and Motivations

Researchers have concluded that religious faith motivates FBOs and their actors (Netting, O’Connor, and Yancey, 2006; Mylek and Nel, 2010; Hertzke, 2006; Flanigan, 2007). For example, Campbell and Glunt (2006) and Bornstein (2005) found in their studies of FBOs in the USA and Zimbabwe, respectively, that religious faith was an important motivating force in employees’ work. Similarly, Occhipinti (2015) writes that, for most FBOs, faith is often the primary reason they engage in

development work. Bisesi and Lidman (2009: 20) posit that the unique contribution of FBOs and people of faith “results from their foundation in compassion, whether motivated by spirituality, doctrine or both.” Similarly, Bradley (2005: 340) discussed the association of compassion with Christian duty and spirituality, stating that the desire to help those in need:

is more entrenched and longstanding in those that articulate and experience compassion through religion. This is not to say that members of secular NGOs are not compassionate beings, but merely that the motivation felt is not brought to language through such an elaborate symbolic narrative that stresses the forging of bonds between those that have and those that are without.

Faith has been found to be key to the altruism and strong commitments of FBO staff (Bassous, 2015; Bradley, 2005; Harris, Halfpenny, and Rochester, 2003), and the moral dimension of faith-based care can be strongly evident in the services provided by FBOs and their personnel. For example, Jawad (2012: 240), writing within the context of religious welfare and social policy in the UK, wrote of faith-based actors providing their services “not just because it makes them and those they are helping feel good but also because they know that it is right.”

While “putting one’s faith into action” can be critical for those seeking to express their faith more completely (Bisesi and Lidman, 2009: 10), and while distinctive values have been found to motivate FBOs (Moyer, Sinclair, and Spaling, 2012), Johnsen (2014) noted that faith motivates not only employees in FBOs, but also those in secular organisations. Green, Mercer, and Mesaki (2012) also found in their Tanzania-based study that faith-related values influenced the stated motivations of individuals working in civil society organisations, regardless of whether or not they were faith-based.

Motivations can be complex, originating from various sources. For example, Flanigan (2010) found that almost two-thirds of FBO employees and nearly three-quarters of secular NGO employees chose their positions because of previous professional experience, among other reasons. Bassous (2015) concluded, from a study of several hundred paid workers in three large faith-based international nonprofit humanitarian organisations, that an FBO’s mission, vision, and impact are directly linked to the motivation staff have to achieve organisational objectives. He also found that FBO employees “adopt the concept of altruism and exhibit high social

commitment that increases their level of intrinsic motivation” (Bassous, 2015: 375). Similar conclusions could be made for employees in secular organisations, as well. Schepers, et al. (2005) stated that motivation research on the nonprofit sector has been limited, and concluded in their review of some of the literature that, compared to employees in for-profit organisations, different factors may motivate employees of nonprofit organisations, such as altruism, personal growth, learning opportunities, and intrinsic rewards. Yet, while De Cooman, et al. (2009) found notable differences between employees in for-profit and nonprofit organisations, these differences did not extend to their work effort, or levels of intrinsic motivation. However, they found that nonprofit employees valued making a positive difference in the lives of others more so than those in the for-profit sector; they valued social service more, and were primarily motivated by the mission of their organisations and attaining their values through that mission (De Cooman, et al., 2009). The social mission of nonprofit organisations, and their commitment to values, is thus essential to the motivation of their employees (De Cooman, et al., 2009). Brown and Yoshioka (2003) also found that employees’ positive attitudes toward a nonprofit organisation’s mission were related to employee satisfaction and their plans to remain working in the organisation.

As reflected above, the findings in the extant literature demonstrate that significant faith motivations are found among FBO actors, and that actors in secular organisations may also be motivated by faith-related or other values that lead them to work in the third sector. Yet comparative studies on motivational factors are quite rare. This thesis comparatively examines the motivations of organisations and their personnel within a Cambodian context, a comparison that is missing from the literature. Within the context of the overarching research question, this study examines motivational factors that are represented in FBOs and secular NGOs, considering the extent to which there are similarities and differences in why Christian FBOs and secular NGOs provide their services.

Another key focus of this thesis involves the role of faith in the ways in which success is socially constructed, examining the ways in which representatives from both FBOs and secular NGOs conceived of success, and to what this was attributed. The literature exploring the relationship between faith and organisational effectiveness is explored in the following section.

2.9 Faith and Measuring Success

FBOs have been perceived as bringing about changed behaviour and improvement in their clients (Ferguson, Wu, Dyrness, et al., 2007; Johnson, Tompkins and Webb, 2002). However, researchers have debated whether these improvements can rightfully be attributed to organisational faith elements (Bielefeld and Cleveland, 2013; Noyes, 2008; Tomalin, 2012). There is a general lack of data in the literature about what faith practices are used by FBOs in developing countries, as well as how these practices are believed to make a difference in the lives of clients. For example, Delaney and Scharff (2010) suggested that aspects of the work of FBOs in Cambodia, such as humility and compassion, need better articulation and more effective measurement. While Neff and MacMaster (2005) conceptualised spirituality and spiritual change as playing a mediating role when considering behavioural change as an outcome of substance abuse treatment, Grettenberger, et al. (2006: 228) stated that “the actual role of faith as part of a program intervention and the attendant outcomes are frequently poorly specified.” They stated that comparative studies that assess claims about differences between FBOs and secular organisations, and their relative effectiveness, are important in policymaking discussions (Grettenberger, et al., 2006). Furthermore, in studying FBO effectiveness, it is important to “unravel the more subtle foundations and components that make them distinct,” so that their unique and relevant variables can be studied (Netting, O’Connor, and Yancey, 2006: 284).

Organisational effectiveness has been of great interest to scholars (Lecy, et al., 2012; Sowa, et al., 2004; Rojas, 2000), though research has been inconclusive about how best to measure effectiveness (Sowa, et al., 2004; Wadongo and Abdel-Kader, 2014). Effectiveness research is deemed to be difficult (Monsma, 2006), as is measuring performance (Sawhill and Williamson, 2001), and many NGOs have neglected to develop ways of assessing how well they are doing (Lewis, 2014), with conceptual works, not empirical studies, having dominated the scholarship on NGO effectiveness (Lecy, et al., 2012). The difficulty of outside researchers accessing sensitive organisational data has possibly influenced the extent to which the evaluation of NGOs has been the subject of research (Lewis, 2014). Furthermore, scholars have concluded that measuring effectiveness is controversial (Herman and Renz, 1998, 2008), even contending that the technical difficulties of measuring mission accomplishment across different types of organisations makes the feat

impossible (Herman and Renz, 1998). After interviewing senior leaders of thirty large nonprofit organisations, Sawhill and Williamson (2001: 378) stated that none of the organisations had “solved the general question of measuring success.” As one of their interviewees said, “Measuring mission success is like the Holy Grail...much sought after, but never found” (Sawhill and Williamson, 2001: 379).

Along with the enigmatic nature of measuring organisational effectiveness, the definition of effectiveness has also been debated (Mitchell, 2013). In their review of 64 studies, Lecy, et al. (2012) found that effectiveness can be defined in different ways by scholars from different disciplines. There is, therefore, a lack of understanding about what organisational success and failure even is (Rojas, 2000; Sowa, et al., 2004), with some contending that organisational success is more difficult to decipher than organisational failure (Helmig, et al., 2014). Many scholars have expressed that organisational success is multi-dimensional, with Helmig, et al. (2014) stating success includes consideration of a variety of organisational aspects, including, *inter alia*, financial performance, quality of services, goal achievement, and stakeholder satisfaction.

Organisations will conceive of their effectiveness in a variety of ways. Some FBOs, for example, may frame success in terms of their “effectiveness in spreading the gospel” through their humanitarian work (Thaut, 2009: 342). Yet, distinct differences between FBOs and their secular counterparts are not always evident, in terms of their success. For example, in a study of FBOs and secular NGOs in Nigeria, Leurs (2012: 715) reported that “no significant differences” emerged in the perceived performance of the organisations.

Much of the extant literature on FBOs relates to organisations that are affiliated with Christianity. To ensure that this study is positioned in the wider context of FBOs, this chapter concludes by briefly introducing research on FBOs of other religious affiliations.

2.10 Non-Christian Faith-Based Organisations

A range of FBOs have quickly increased in number since the mid-1990s, along with an increase in NGOs (Lynch and Schwarz, 2016). Nevertheless, the influence of religion in matters of poverty and development are not new. Lunn (2009: 943) writes that Christian missions have been active for centuries, as have Islamic actors, and that,

“Historically, charitable work and social service is evident across many other religions too.” Religions have different organisational structures and hierarchies; for example, across South Asia, Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism have less hierarchy than Christianity, so there can be ambiguity as to the status of FBOs, associated with these religions, representing these faiths (Clarke, 2007: 88). Hence, while religion has been an important element in charitable action, religious belief systems and organisational structures can lead to differences between organisations.

Writing within the context of humanitarian organisations, Barnett and Weiss (2011: 22) state, “arguably it is Christianity and Christian faith-based organizations that so far have had the most significant influence on contemporary humanitarian action.” Still, organisations rooted in religions other than Christianity continue to make a strong impact around the world. Buddhist organisations, for example, have been studied for the impact they have made after natural disasters (Kawanami and Samuel, 2013), where Samuel (2013: 202) concluded that Buddhist aid organisations serving in Buddhist societies “may be able to provide culturally appropriate religious services ... and their status as Buddhists may lead to their being trusted in ways that other aid workers, affiliated with secular or other religious organizations, are not.” Similarly, Lee and Han (2016) detail the work of a Buddhist relief organisation relied on by Malaysia Airlines, after the MH370 incident, when distraught families in China who had lost loved ones were in need of support. The authors detail how this FBO delivered services that the government and corporate enterprise were not able to easily provide, specifically a transnational volunteer network and a “spiritual healing element” (Lee and Han, 2016: 2356). Their case study demonstrated how an FBO “derives strength from its transnational networks, moral teachings, and compliant political attitude toward the government” (Lee and Han, 2016: 2353). FBOs of faiths with particular regional importance can thus be important non-state actors, providing services to people familiar, if not devoted, to the religion with which the FBO is affiliated.

Contrasts can be seen across religious organisations in terms of the extent to which religious motivations propel actors to engage in their work. Flanigan (2010) reported that Buddhist FBO interviewees in Sri Lanka framed motivation within the context of a Buddhist and/or Gandhian call to social action, often framing this call in terms of fulfilling obligations to family or community. Her study included interviews with more than one hundred staff in Buddhist, Catholic, Druze, Orthodox Christian,

Protestant Christian, Shiite Muslim, and Sunni Muslim FBOs, and she reported that interviewees from most of these religious traditions believed the faith orientation of their organization brought benefits in terms of their provision of services (Flanigan, 2009).

Additionally, whereas Jaquet and Walton (2013: 67) recognise that, in Myanmar, “Buddhist beliefs have helped to shape the ways in which many people and local organizations conceive of, and carry out, relief work and other types of social engagement,” they balance this assessment with their observation that charitable motivations may also be understood as more ‘universal’ than religious. However, the same is typically not said of faith-based actors affiliated with Islam, where it has been stated that expressions of Islamic aid, whether they be at the governmental, organisational, or individual level, are typically motivated by religious ideas of strengthening the religion and helping others who share the faith (Riddell, 2013). Concurring, Ghandour (2003: 15) contended that “one of the main vocations of Islamic NGOs” is extending the religion in places believed to be amenable to Islam, and reviving the religion in areas it has existed for many years. Yet, Islamic FBOs have been argued to rely on professional, as well as religious, sources of authority to claim legitimacy, as they are professional while furthering Islamic values (Borchgrevink, 2017). Jawad and Yakut-Cakar (2010: 666) also state that, in some cases, Islamic social welfare can “act as an arm of political Islamism,” with Atalay (2017) concluding that Islamic FBOs in Turkey solidify patriarchal values.

In terms of the stated motivations of Islamic actors, Flanigan (2010) found regional differences between Lebanon and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Islamic FBO actors in Lebanon were more likely to cite religious scripture as a strong motivating factor for entering the NGO profession, whereas interviewees in Islamic FBOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicated that promoting positive behaviour and helping humanity drew them to their work (Flanigan, 2010). As these researchers have demonstrated, FBO actors across religious faiths have a wide array of motivations and aims for the work they do. This brief review of FBOs from other religious persuasions allows the findings from this thesis to be situated within a broader context, enhancing comparative knowledge about Christian FBOs and those affiliated with different religions.

This chapter has positioned this thesis into the wider extant literature. Bringing the study into context, and theoretically locating it, this chapter began with discussing FBOs within a policy framework. It then presented an overview of the literature exploring distinctions between FBOs and their secular counterparts, the role and meaning of secularity in secular NGOs, and the role of faith in organisational approaches to care, motivations, and conceptions of organisational success. Finally, the chapter positioned Christian FBOs into the wider literature covering FBOs of other religious affiliations.

Cambodia, with Buddhism as the official religion, offers a unique setting within which to consider Christian FBOs vis-à-vis secular NGOs. The following chapter presents an overview of the Cambodian context in which the organisations examined in this study worked. It includes a brief religious and socio-political overview of the country, including the role of NGOs. It also presents an overview of sex work, and trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia, including the FBOs and secular NGOs that work on these issues.

Chapter 3

Contextual Overview

3.1 Introduction

In January 2004, Dateline NBC, a popular television programme in the United States, featured a report about children offering sexual services for sale near Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The footage included young children propositioning adults, as well as a raid on a brothel, conducted with the support of a Christian FBO from the United States. The broadcast “galvanized worldwide awareness of sex trafficking and support for action in Cambodia” (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012: 11), and is largely believed to be the “catalytic media event” that brought an “influx” of programmes and funding into Cambodia to address sexual exploitation and trafficking (Brammer and Smith-Brake, 2013: 14). The television publicity is said to have “inspired a deluge of faith-inspired organizations and other NGOs to focus on Cambodia, informed largely by what they had gleaned from the media, and eager to act” (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012: 11).

Between 2004-2008, NGOs in Cambodia working on issues of anti-trafficking “increased tremendously” (van der Keur, 2013: 122), and many organisations continue to work in this field. Among the services they offer are direct care services to women and children that have experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or have been involved in the sex trade. Many organisations also work towards preventing abuse or provide other supports. Marshall (2013a: n.p.) states:

the significantly different approaches to the problem of trafficking by varied groups illustrates the common reality of potentially conflicting development philosophies at work. Some groups focus on the specific phenomenon of trafficking while others see far greater merit in working to resolve root causes such as gender discrimination, poor education, and poverty. Among those addressing trafficking directly, different emphasis on law enforcement approaches versus care and reintegration of victims can suggest very different policies and practical programs.

The UN Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking has stated there are over 100 NGOs that work on human trafficking issues alone in Cambodia (UNIAP, 2008). The

intensity of concern has been great in Cambodia for issues related to sex trafficking, sex work, and the involvement of children in the sex trade. Few geographic locations compare with Cambodia in terms of the quantity of Christian FBOs providing direct care services in this area of work.

This chapter brings context to this thesis by providing an overview of relevant factors related to the case study location. First, the country context is explored, including a brief religious overview of Cambodia, as well as a synopsis of the sociopolitical context and the work of NGOs. A background on sex work, trafficking and exploitation in Cambodia is then provided, as well as a contextual overview of the organisations providing services in this area of work. The aim of this chapter is to enlighten the reader on further contextual issues of particular importance to the present study.

3.2 Country Context

3.2.a Religious Overview

Cambodia is a post-conflict country that suffered a harsh genocide by the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979), and which continues to experience severe poverty. During the Khmer Rouge regime, efforts were made to eradicate Buddhism in the country. With the Khmer Rouge's policy to belittle and eliminate Buddhism, within four years, the religion nearly disappeared (Suksamran, 1993). Yet, the religion's "enduring popular appeal and cultural importance" became evident in the period following the regime, and Buddhism was renewed and restored (Haynes, 1998: 207).

Theravada Buddhism originally became popular around the 13th century, and it "became grafted onto local traditions of ancestor and spirit worship" (Kent, 2015: 141). A basic institution of society, and a "unifying force in creating a strong sense of national identity," Bit (1991: xv) states that Buddhism, as practiced by most Cambodians, "is more an expression of the Cambodian way of life than a separate institution or faith." He states that it "has entered the fabric of everyday life, and forms the core of idealized moral standards" (Bit, 1991: 24); it's the "basic force which shapes social and moral development" (Bit, 1991: 41). Similarly, Suksamran writes, "For the Khmer, Buddhism and Khmer identity are synonymous" (1993: 145).

Buddhism is a unifying structure, and Cambodians often consult monks and nuns in local monasteries about both spiritual and physical issues (Haynes, 2007).

Monks may provide blessings of protection upon people, give sacred amulets, or create tattoos (Kent, 2006). The country has many new and restored pagodas, and people in the villages of Cambodia, in particular, seek to reconstitute their religion, with even the very poor trying to provide something to the pagoda during major religious festivals (Kent, 2006). Some pagodas provide services for the community, or offer meditation or services, though others are basically dormant (Kent, 2015: 143). Many pagodas, as Kent (2015: 144) explains, are “important centers of cultural activity for festivals, death rituals, and merit-making activities,” with “extraordinary efforts” inside some to bring spiritual healing to disorders that have disrupted the culture. The pagoda is also a place for education, including Buddhist and public schools, and some monks are seeking to revive and reimagine its traditional role as an important social resource for communities (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012).

More broadly in the region, Haynes (1998: 191) reports that Buddhism “has profoundly influenced the cultural, economic and political development of Buddhist nations, and continues to mould the social and political values of a great majority of the people.” It has served for a long time “as one of the main socializing, acculturating, and unifying forces” in some societies in the region, and “may be seen in many cases as the root from which national identity and the political and social heritage grow” (Haynes, 1998: 191). Yet, as Walton (2016: 10) notes, ‘Theravada,’ as a term, is a heuristic concept used more by scholars than religious practitioners; furthermore, it being a meaningful and recognisable category is also contested.

Complementing Buddhism in Cambodia is an acknowledgement of the spirit world, or animism. Coggan (2015: 16) writes, “Cambodian religion is a complex blend of Hinduism, Buddhism and animism. Hinduism provides the Khmer with gods, Buddhism with an ethical framework, and animism a rich world of spirits. All three together make up the mandala of Cambodian spiritual life.” Bit (1991) notes that, while spirit worship is not formalised, beliefs are informally disseminated, with spirit-associated rituals and ceremonies important to rural religious practices. In addition, “The supernatural forces of the spirit world confirm the basic helplessness of the individual before powers which must be appeased or carefully avoided but above all understood as having control over current lives” (Bit, 1991: 97). Thus, in Cambodia, life is deeply connected to the spirit world, as it is believed to explain and control fertility, death, dreams, and health (Coggan, 2015). While Cambodian culture highly

values harmony in relationships and society, Cambodians' focus on past and future lives has been said to impede their acting in ways that could improve their immediate social conditions or circumstances (Bit, 1991).

While Buddhism and animism are strongly valued in the country, Christianity seems to be growing in popularity. Using historical and projected data published by Gordon Conwell Seminary, Mitchell (2013), on his personal website, stated that Cambodia was ninth on a list of the top twenty countries where Christianity has the highest percentage of growth. Yet, according to 2008 estimates, the percentage of Christians is just 0.4% of the population, compared to Buddhists (96.9%) and Muslims (1.9%) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). Coggan (2016) noted that the rapid growth of Christianity in the country seems to be mostly overlooked in the literature on Cambodia. He writes that, in the country, "Christianity is becoming increasingly Cambodianised...the leaders of today's Christian communities are more likely to be Cambodians than foreigners, and more and more conversions are coming about through direct contact between Buddhist Khmers and lay Christian Cambodians rather than through traditional evangelism" (Coggan, 2016: n.p.).

3.2.b Sociopolitical Context and the Work of NGOs

As Surender (2013a) notes, weak governments in developing countries have allowed opportunities for other actors, including NGOs, to shape and provide for their social welfare needs. Cambodia is no exception. Cambodia has experienced social conflict and governance problems (Suárez and Gugerty, 2016). A hybrid of democracy and authoritarianism, it is considered to be a country with high amounts of corruption (Vuković, 2018). Since the Royal Government was established in 1993, it has relied on foreign assistance for more than half of its budget (Kwon, Cook, and Kim, 2014). Aid dependency in Cambodia is rooted in the historical and political contexts of the country (Khieng, 2014), and Strangio (2014: 233) states that the "destructive pattern" of foreign aid shows few signs of fading. Chandler (2008: 300) concludes that the Cambodian government seems unprepared to respond to the needs of its citizens, and that the country's short-term and medium-term prospects seem "very bleak." Furthermore, Turner (2013: 281, 279) argues that patronage systems operate within a "Weberian shell" of formal institutions, and that Cambodian citizens "have seen a neo-patrimonial system of patronage exploit state and society for personal benefit diverting resources and effort that should have been directed toward enhancing the

public good.” Patronage and increasing authoritarianism indicate that the country is not moving toward liberal democracy (Frewer, 2013).

Among ASEAN countries, Cambodia has the second lowest rank on the Human Development Index (Myanmar is lower) (UNDP, 2016). The sociopolitical situation of Cambodia, including its history of war, corruption, economic hardship, and poverty, has prompted a large response from international and local organisations that have sought to respond to the needs of the Cambodian people. After the Comprehensive Cambodian Peace Agreement was signed in 1991, an “influx” of funding from donors sparked the “mushrooming” of NGOs in Cambodia (Bañez-Ockelford & Catalla, 2010: 10). Norman (2014: 247) notes that the arrival of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in 1992, “created a level of stability that had been absent in the country for decades, and heralded an unprecedented increase in the numbers of international NGOs arriving in the country.” Similarly, Strangio (2014: 193) stated that, with the coming of UNTAC, the country soon became a “mecca” for the aid industry.

NGOs formed a “third sector” in the country beginning in the early 1990s (Hughes, 2003: 143). Today, the country remains host to a large number of NGOs—faith-based and secular—engaged in numerous development activities. External financial assistance is critical to the survival of NGOs in Cambodia (Ou and Kim, 2014), and Frewer (2013) calls Cambodia a “hot spot for development aid and intervention.” Cambodia’s Prime Minister, Hun Sen, was reported as calling Cambodia “heaven” for NGOs, stating they served as partners with the government in efforts to develop the country (Xinhua News, 2009). Registered with the Cambodian government, and working in cooperation with it, NGOs play important roles as non-state actors in the implementation of the country’s social policy. They implement programmes that contribute significantly to Cambodia’s social and economic development (Ear, 2013). NGOs in Cambodia have significant revenues (Coventry, 2017: 55) and play an important role in the provision of services and in policy advocacy, providing or managing about twenty-percent of all aid to Cambodia (CRDB, 2010). Mysliwiec (2004: 19-20) reported that “donors and NGOs virtually fund the social sectors, education, health and rural development...” Consequently, NGOs are significantly relied upon for providing services to citizens, in lieu of the government.

Though concerns about human rights and corruption are high on the agendas of donors, Frewer (2013: 103) notes, “very few NGOs are able to successfully navigate the near impossible constraints of working in partnership with an authoritarian government while simultaneously having the space to criticise and challenge state actors.” Interestingly, however, in writing about NGOs that serve trafficking victims, DoCarmo (2012) writes that the policy and political structure in the country is such that international NGOs and donors maintain political and financial power, and have faced few consequences for not complying with government policies. She states that implementation of policies established by the Cambodian government often take a long time, and weak monitoring can lead to NGOs developing their own protocols and standards (DoCarmo, 2012).

Civil society has expanded rapidly and currently fulfils many functions that, typically, would be considered the responsibility of the state (Waibel, 2014). In a 2012 census of civil society organisations, there were 1,315 NGOs and associations in Cambodia, approximately 86% of which had funding (CCC, 2013). Among this total were 670 local NGOs, 321 international NGOs, and 324 associations. These organisations primarily provided services related to education, health, and agriculture, and the total budget of all organisations was estimated to be between US\$600-700 million (CCC, 2013).

Approximately 72% of NGOs in Cambodia are local and 28% are international (Bañez-Ockelford and Catalla, 2010). Approximately one-third of international NGOs in Cambodia are incorporated in the United States; 18% are incorporated in either the United Kingdom or France (Suárez and Marshall, 2012). Additionally, 27% of *international* NGOs in Cambodia identified as religious, the most common religion being Christianity; in contrast, 7% of *local* NGOs were religiously affiliated (Suárez and Marshall, 2012). The second largest NGO in the country, World Vision, is a Christian FBO (Royal Government of Cambodia, 2011).

Social enterprises in Cambodia are typically operated by NGOs, or are registered as associations, though some are registered as businesses, and not all of them are nonprofit (Lyne, Khieng, and Ngin, 2015). For NGOs in Cambodia operating social enterprises as part of their programming, the revenues from these operations only account for partial sustainability of their organisations (Lyne, 2012).

Western conceptions of civil society in Cambodia—believed to be greater than in neighboring countries, such as Vietnam—is understood to have been brought about

by development aid (Norén-Nilsson, 2018), and Ojendal (2014: 35) states that the significance of civil society in Cambodia has “drastically” increased over the past two decades. However, Turner (2013: 282) argues that local civil society “lacks political muscle,” and is weak in their advocacy for justice and government accountability. Local NGOs in Cambodia face issues related to depending on outside financial sources, which can lead to organisational mission drift and “a lack of organizational autonomy in setting their own agenda and policy priorities” (Khieng and Dahles, 2015: 1415).

In addition to social policy provision, NGOs are relied upon as knowledge resources for the Cambodian government (NCCT, 2015). NGOs take part in policymaking and planning in various ways, and many are important to the government because of the services they deliver, the roles they play in capacity development, and the other inputs they provide (Bañez-Ockelford and Catalla, 2010). However, the involvement of NGOs in planning and consultations has been stated as sometimes “tokenistic,” given that it is often unknown how their inputs are considered by the government during the policymaking process (Bañez-Ockelford and Catalla, 2010: 18).

Complex relations can exist between the Cambodian government and NGOs, and not all NGOs have found the government appreciating their work. In July 2015, the Cambodian Parliament passed a controversial law—the Law on Associations and Non-Governmental Organizations (LANGO)—which, critics from NGOs and civil society said, would “curb the activities of NGOs in key ways” (Strangio, 2015). The law sought to regulate NGO registration in the country, which raised concerns that the government could close NGOs or block them from registering (Norman, 2014). Opposition parliamentarians in Cambodia boycotted the vote on the law, and protesters against the new legislation gathered in the capital city. In a news article, Strangio (2015) interviewed a member of civil society who said that the Cambodian government looks at NGOs “with great suspicion,” and that the government is fearful of the potential for a Cambodian equivalent to the Arab Spring. Plans for LANGO even brought reaction from the European Parliament, which passed a resolution urging the Cambodian government to withdraw the draft law, noting that the European Union is Cambodia’s largest partner in development assistance (European Parliament, 2015).

In a news article, the Prime Minister of Cambodia was reported as having a “fractious relationship” with some NGOs; he was quoted as saying, “NGOs are out of control...they insult the government just to ensure their financial survival” (Nette, 2008). While the emphasis of this purported statement may have been directed towards human rights and advocacy groups (and not necessarily the organisations studied in this thesis), the political landscape—including LANGO—can widely affect NGOs nationwide. Coventry (2017: 59) writes of a “growing concern” that the government is increasing intimidation on people in communities where NGOs work, as well as on NGOs and their staff, as they can be “perceived as agents of foreign interests and sometimes also as oppositional forces against the government.”

3.3 Sex Work, Sex Trafficking and Exploitation in Cambodia

While Cambodia has a thriving sex trade industry, in many ways it has changed in recent years. At present, rather than brothels, ‘entertainment establishments,’ such as karaoke bars and beer gardens, are a primary means for the sex trade to exist, and these are where transactions for sex often originate (van der Keur, 2013). Women and older girls work as ‘entertainment workers’ in these businesses, for example, as karaoke singers, masseuses, and servers and customer companions. Sexual services can be negotiated between patrons and those employees amenable to engaging in sex work. After an agreement is made, the parties leave the premises and go to another location, such as a low-cost hotel room. It is common among some men, as a group, to plan ahead as to whether they will engage entertainment workers as part of a night out, with peer pressure leading some men to acquiesce to their friends’ plans (PSI and FHI, 2007).

The 2008 Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, and the subsequent closure of brothels in Cambodia, led to the entertainment industry serving as a more significant base for sex work (Chhorvann 2012; Hsu, et al., 2016). However, women are still involved in street-based sex work. Those who work in the sex trade are at very high risk for problems associated with sexual and reproductive health (Yil, et al., 2015). In addition, children and women have been victimized through sexual abuse, rape, and exploited in commercial markets.

Phnom Penh is the location of the majority of sex workers in Cambodia (Derks, Henke and Vanna, 2006). Prostitution increased in Cambodia during the

UNTAC years when, as Findlay (1995: 140) states, “The press seemed to delight in highlighting the number of white UN vehicles parked outside Phnom Penh bars and brothels.” Another factor contributing to increased prostitution in the 1990s, besides the presence of the UN workers, was economic liberalisation (Hughes, 2000). Kane (1998: 7) states that “liberalisation and rising economic development in Cambodia increased rather than discouraged the growing sex trade.”

In 2008, there were an estimated 27,925 total sex workers and trafficked women and children in Cambodia (Steinfatt, 2011), up from approximately 18,256 in 2003 (Steinfatt, 2003). Of the 2008 estimate, approximately 1,058 were trafficked persons (Steinfatt, 2011). As for demographics, research in Cambodia has shown that individuals involved in the sex trade are between 13 and 44 years old, with most being above 18, but very few above the age of 27, and the majority having entered sex work voluntarily (Derks, Henke and Vanna, 2006). Nearly 40% of sex workers in one Cambodia-based study had had 50 or more sex partners in the past 30 days (Couture, et al., 2011). Furthermore, the median monthly income for sex workers was US\$100, and the median length of employment was just over four years, though their “‘career’ trajectories” are little known (Couture, et al., 2011: 5).

Kane (1998: 2) states that women in Cambodia are “essentially seen as a source of pleasure,” and that men regularly engage in transactional sex, even after marriage. As for male demand for prostitution, Farley, et al. (2012), in their study of 133 Cambodian men who had purchased sexual services, found that 80% had had their first sexual encounter with a prostitute. Of these 133 respondents, 9 out of 10 purchased sex at least once per month, and about one-fourth purchased sex at least one time per week (Farley, et al., 2012).

The reasons people enter the sex trade in Cambodia are varied, such as few employment opportunities, gendered divisions in labour, health care costs, lack of welfare safety nets, landlessness, and a sense of duty that daughters feel to help financially support their families (Sandy, 2007). FHI 360 and UNICEF Cambodia (2012: 10) reported that most female sex workers in their study had come from “very poor families where there was reportedly a lack of emotional love and support.” Furthermore, most had “entries into sexual activity” that were non-consensual, and the main reason they were engaging in transactional sex was because of family financial needs (FHI 360 and UNICEF Cambodia, 2012: 10).

Such ‘pull’ factors are common in locations outside of Cambodia, as well. For example, reasons for entering the sex trade in India included general economic reasons linked with illiteracy, low social status, and few employment options (Dandona, et al., 2006). In a study of 673 sex workers in India, 84% reported that they began sex work to provide for themselves and their families (Reed, et al., 2010). Suresh, Furr, and Srikrishnan (2009) noted that the two major reasons the women in their India-based study entered the sex trade involved issues of a sex worker’s parents or husband. Parental problems included death, unemployment, or economic conditions. Problems related to husbands included death, separation, abuse or alcohol use, infidelity, or lack of support. Women with little opportunity, such as those who are illiterate, can have difficulty earning money for themselves and their families. In a survey of 6,648 female sex workers in India, almost 75% were illiterate (Dandona, et al., 2006). In a Thailand-based study, 20% of the sex workers interviewed had less than four years of education (Wawer, et al., 1996). Couture, et al. (2011) recorded that, of the sex workers in their Cambodia-based study, 40% had no education (not even primary education). Low education in Cambodia has also been correlated with rape; among 541 rape victims, approximately 83% were either illiterate or only had education at the primary level (Keo, 2010). Furthermore, among these same victims, 72% were girls under 18-years-old (Keo, 2010).

Given the nature of their work, sex workers can be victims of violence and mistreatment from clients, the police, and others. In an article with a title focused on Thai Buddhism, Khuankaew (2002, as cited by Tomalin, 2006) posits that violence against women in Buddhist societies results from the traditions, beliefs, and values that originate from a patriarchal society influenced by Buddhism; furthermore, a link is made between prostitution and a lack of leadership roles in Buddhism for women. Nevertheless, while Starkey and Tomalin (2013: 69) state that Buddhism may allow for patriarchal values to influence the education and life of women, they also state that it can “act as a resource to empower women in contexts where they are oppressed and disadvantaged in relation to men.”

Maher, et al. (2011: 5) reported that nearly all the sex workers in their Cambodia-based study “reported exposure to violence, including acts perpetrated by clients, gangsters, owners/managers, partners and police.” Transgendered women involved in the sex trade in Cambodia have experienced similar difficulties, with

Davis and Miles (2018) reporting on the stigma and assault these individuals have experienced, including by the police.

Human Rights Watch (2010) also recorded a number of violations against sex workers in Cambodia by police and government workers, citing that they beat, harassed, raped, and otherwise cruelly treated sex workers. This was also found to be the case by Maher, et al. (2015) who concluded the abuses were consequences of the 2008 Cambodian Law on Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation. They concluded that enforcement of the new law “had seriously counterproductive effects,” as it displaced sex workers from brothels to street and entertainment settings, thus increasing their vulnerabilities to HIV infection and violence (Maher, et al., 2015: 103). Such closure of brothels, along with criminalising sex work in Cambodia, has been associated with an increase in sex workers having unprotected sex (Wong, et al., 2018). Keo, et al. (2014: 202) also argue that serious unintended consequences have resulted from the 2008 law, and posit that the law is “repressive,” that it targets consensual commercial sex, and has become an “instrument of corruption and injustice against powerless individuals.” They argue that the law—a result of pressure from international NGOs, aid donors, and the USA—was written poorly and confounds trafficking and prostitution. Furthermore, they reported that 80% of imprisoned traffickers in Cambodia are poor, uneducated women (Keo, et al., 2014).

While many sex workers often begin their work out of a necessity or desire to earn money for themselves or their families, others begin their work after being sold, tricked, or forced by their parents into the trade. Some women continue sex work after having first been trafficked into it, and complexity around entry into sex work can make the aspect of ‘force’ difficult to determine. In a Thailand-based study, 40% of sex workers had begun sex work before they were 18-years-old (Wawer, et al., 1996). Similarly, in another Thailand-based study, Davis, Glotfelty, and Miles (2017) reported that eleven of the fifty males included in their study had also reported entry into sex work before they were 18-years-old.

Sarkar, et al.’s (2008) study of 580 sex workers in West Bengal, India, found that 24% of participants stated they were cheated or forced against their will to begin sex work; another 8% were forced directly or indirectly by a spouse or family member, and 68% voluntarily began sex work, the reason being primarily due to poverty. In Thailand, 10% of a national sample of female sex workers were found to have met criteria for being trafficked when they began sex work (Decker, et al.,

2011). McCauley, Decker and Silverman (2010), examining data of 136 sex-trafficked women in Cambodia, found that the parents of almost one-third of the respondents had participated in the decision to traffic them. In another study in Cambodia, Brown (2007: 55) concluded that the sale of virginity “is arguably the largest factor contributing to entry into commercial sex,” and the 2011 US Trafficking in Persons Report stated that selling virgin girls in Cambodia continues to be a “serious problem” (US Department of State, 2011: 110). The report also stated that corruption in Cambodia hinders the progress of stopping trafficking, stating that there is direct and indirect involvement of police and judicial officials in the crime.

It has been argued that a Western “hegemonic agenda” related to security, morality, and human rights triggered a worldwide “security and moral panic” about trafficking (Keo, et al., 2014: 204). Kempadoo (1999) states that sex workers in developing countries are most commonly associated with terms like slave, trafficked, and victim, noting that these terms evoke images of helplessness. Similarly, Sandy (2007) points out that debates in the West have connected sex trafficking and prostitution too simplistically. As described above, Cambodia’s reputation as a location of sex trafficking has fueled interest from groups like FBOs and secular NGOs and, in some discourses, ‘sex worker,’ it seems, has become synonymous with ‘trafficking victim.’ In terms of the dominant discourse around sex work, Hoefinger (2016) states that, in Cambodia, prostitution and trafficking are conflated among NGOs that work to assist women to leave the sex industry, and that sex work is always perceived as being an act of violence against women. The image that sex workers are victims and broken people overshadows the rhetoric about prostitution and trafficking (Hoefinger, 2013), and the colloquial terminology for ‘trafficking,’ ‘prostitution,’ and ‘exploitation,’ is often ambiguous among actors in FBOs and secular NGOs. Hoefinger (2013) argues that those involved in the sex trade should not all be grouped together as traumatized victims needing rehabilitation, and states that the notion of sex slavery tends to lead much discourse of NGOs in Cambodia; some organisations, particularly Christian FBOs, see sex work as oppressive and exploitative—sex workers are vulnerable, powerless, and manipulated, and need saving (Hoefinger, 2013).

Shih (2014: 21) criticizes anti-trafficking NGOs for having “created a cottage industry of ‘victim repair’ through vocational training,” where organisations sell

goods (e.g. jewelry, bags) produced by trafficking victims to Western buyers to raise funds and awareness about human trafficking. She writes,

The focus of anti-trafficking NGOs on moral re-education, labor training, and selling their products does not favorably alter the long-term economic prospects of former sex workers. It does generate income for NGOs and privilege the perspective of First World rescuers. Rather than rescue, sex workers have long asked for enforcement of policies around employer accountability, measures for health and safety, and protection from police abuse. The focus on rehabilitation through labor, particularly when framed within the interests of human trafficking, has silenced these concerns and has resulted in increased surveillance, stigmatization, and unwarranted—and sometimes unwanted—focus on ‘rescue’ from sex work. (Shih, 2014: 22)

As for notions of trafficking victimisation, Keo’s (2010) findings complicate common perceptions about those who are trafficked. He stated that the majority of 109 sex trafficking victims in Cambodia were willing to be recruited and knew that they would enter some form of direct or indirect sex work. He stated that his findings bring up considerations about whether someone can consent to being sexually exploited. Keo (2010: 25) concludes that most sex workers in Cambodia were willing to work in the sex trade, and poses the question: “When one enters the sex industry willingly, can the individual be considered as a victim of sex trafficking?”

As Peach (2005:125) points out, “Since prostitution is not viewed as inherently immoral or degrading in Buddhist teachings, the same level of stigma and moral condemnation that attaches to women who engage in prostitution and other forms of sex work in Christian contexts does not necessarily attach in Buddhist ones.” Nevertheless, in Cambodia, a common name in Khmer used for sex worker is “*srey koich*,” which means “broken woman” (Miles and Miles, 2010: 46). Human Rights Watch (2010: 16-17) stated, “Stigma and discrimination against sex workers in Cambodian society, combined with a lack of viable economic alternatives, means sex workers and victims of trafficking often feel they have few options but to continue this work.” Sex workers have been known to self-stigmatise, given that the nature of this type of work is perceived negatively in Cambodia (FHI 360 and UNICEF Cambodia, 2012). However, Busza (2004) found that the notion of shame among migrant Vietnamese sex workers in Cambodia was found to be complicated by the

pride they felt in earning money for their families. Busza's (2004) study further demonstrated the complications of sex work in Cambodia. Before entering the sex trade, her interviewees "underwent a complex decision-making process that took into consideration family expectations, financial incentives, and personal ambition" (Busza, 2004: 244). Most respondents knew that they would be engaging in sex work within a debt system, yet Busza (2004: 238) states that, for some, "sex work represented an opportunity to achieve a financially independent lifestyle." The complexity, therefore, of women engaging in sex work involves more than dire impoverishment. Busza (2004: 238) quoted an 18-year-old as saying, "Because I want to have money and I like going out with friends, so that's why I want to do this."

The terms 'entertainment work' and 'entertainment workers' have gained popularity in policy discussions, as individuals often do not self-identify as a 'sex worker' (Hoefinger, Ly, and Srun, 2017). In this thesis, "entertainment worker" and "sex worker" are used interchangeably and refer to individuals who engage in sex work. In explaining the ways in which Cambodian sex workers talk about themselves, Derks (2008: 93-94) found that the Khmer term that translates closely to the word 'prostitute' is rarely used among sex workers. Instead, they call themselves women who sell their bodies. She found that the experiences of sex workers were diverse and complex, and that they have "encountered different forms or degrees of coercion as they have entered the business through various routes led by peers, family members, or middle (wo)men" (Derks, 2008: 118).

Hoefinger (2013: 104), in her book, *Sex, Love and Money in Cambodia: Professional Girlfriends and Transactional Relationships*, argues that, rather than thinking of sex work as exploitation, it can be understood, for many, as engaged in because of one's "lack of access to resources, family obligation and poverty, as well as global imagination, the desire for mobility, the appeal of flexible schedules, immediate financial returns and even the potentially enjoyable aspects of being an object/subject of sexual desire and attention." She states elsewhere how sex workers in Cambodia "utilize bar girl subculture, alternative kinship systems, linguistic ability, consumption, intimacy and interpersonal partnerships in order to improve their social status, secure their futures and achieve a sense of enjoyment in their otherwise complicated lives" (Hoefinger, 2011: 244). Such transactional relationships can cloud the boundary between what is and is not sex work (Monto, 2014). Hoefinger (2011:

244) also added that sex work allows sex workers to “experiment with their sexualities,” and observed how friendships between young sex workers provided them with important social support. However, Hoefinger (2013: 89) does not ignore the fact that there is a “darker side of the sexual landscape” in Cambodia that includes incest, child sexual exploitation, virgin sales, gang rape, debt bondage, trafficking, and exploitative marriage brokering.

On one side of the debate on prostitution are those who view sex work as a legitimate form of work. On the other side are those who view sex work as inherently exploitative. Aradau (2008: 29) states that feminism is “radically split” on the issue of agency, and whether prostitution can be freely chosen. One side states that prostitutes do not have agency; the other side states that they do. Prostitution is, therefore, either deemed slavery or considered a form of labour (Aradau, 2008). The notion of choice is critical to this debate and, while Pettman (2003: 167) states that the distinction between voluntary and coerced action is difficult to maintain, she notes that choice is “suspect” when economic need, lack of other options, and power issues are at play. Doezema (2010) explains that those who hold this perspective, coined as ‘abolitionist feminists,’ see consent as irrelevant, define prostitution as violence, and see it as a human rights abuse. It is argued that such a position is perceived as disregarding the complex realities of those who are involved in sex work, and assumes that those who engage in prostitution are treated as objects with no agency or autonomy to make decisions about their work (Davidson, 2005). Individuals who see prostitution as wrong see it as commodifying and objectifying a woman, which “extinguishes her as a subject” (Davidson, 2002: 92). Barry (1995) argues that when a person is objectified—regardless of consent—that person has been violated. She sees prostitution as “the cornerstone of all sexual exploitation” and something that destroys and dehumanizes someone (Barry, 1995: 9). Peach (2005: 118) discusses a contrast to this abolitionist perspective—anti-trafficking groups that take a “Reformist stance.” Such groups, though opposed to trafficking, per se, believe in a person’s ability to consent to engage in sex work, and thus promote the rights of sex workers, lobbying for sex work to be legitimized.

The task of defining sex work as work has shaped sex work activism in recent decades (Maher, Pickering, and Gerard, 2014). Those who believe sex workers can have agency and are not inherently victimized by their work see the term ‘sex worker’ as one that legitimizes sex work as a form of labour (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998).

Recognizing sex workers as having agency helps to locate sex workers as people who can make their own choices (Kempadoo, 1999).

Appropriating this discourse to minors (under eighteen-years-old), Melrose (2013: 22) states that child sexual exploitation discourse is “incapable of acknowledging the agency” of minors involved in sex work, given that it always presents them as victims. Identifying all minors involved in sex work as victims, she posits, is powerful for organisational fundraising purposes. However, complicating the involvement of minors in sex work, Montgomery (1998) writes of children in her Thailand-based study who provided sexual services to foreigners because of their strong obligation and duty to support their parents. Children in her study rationalized their actions, did not like to be called prostitutes, and demarcated between what they did with their bodies and what affected their sense of identity. Similarly, findings from another study demonstrated that young women and children in Cambodia and Thailand typically did not consider themselves as having been ‘forced’ into the sex trade, and became “willing participants” in exchanges that they knew would bring them money or other benefits (Blackburn, Taylor, and Davis, 2010: 115).

Child sex trafficking is an “extremely complex problem” in the Greater Mekong Subregion, rooted in gender inequality, poverty, and injustice (Davy, 2014: 793). As for the demand for commercial sex with children in Cambodia—which mainly comes from the local population and other Asians (US Department of State, 2015; van der Keur, 2013)—there are many indications that it remains an issue of concern, though its prevalence has been considerably reduced over the past ten years (van der Keur, 2013).

3.4 FBOs and Secular NGOs Providing Services to Clients Affected by Sex Trafficking and Exploitation, or Involved in the Sex Trade in Cambodia

FBOs and secular NGOs in Cambodia provide nearly all services to women and children who have been trafficked, sexually abused, or involved in the sex trade. The increase in the relatively recent past of organisations providing these services may be an indication of an increase in persons in need of these services, attention from donors on issues of sexual exploitation and human trafficking, and Cambodia being an ‘easy’ country for NGOs to work in (Davy, 2014; Aberdeen and Zimmerman, 2015). Also, it

has been suggested that the increase of NGOs working on anti-trafficking issues between 2004-2008 was connected to international media attention on the issue of child sexual exploitation, as detailed in the beginning paragraphs of this chapter (van der Keur, 2013). A report that focused specifically on FBOs addressing human trafficking issues stated that many FBOs in Cambodia have been “moved and motivated by a shared anger at the injustice of trafficking” (World Faith Development Dialogue, 2012: 11).

In her study on the complexities of responding to child sex trafficking in Thailand and Cambodia, Davy (2014) reported on differences in the resource base of local NGOs and their better-funded northern-based counterparts. Such resource and capacity differences need to be acknowledged, as a concern was highlighted by Mauney and Srun (2012: 28) that some organisations that provided services to clients involved in trafficking in Cambodia were “not able to provide basics for all residents such as food, clothing and bedding due to budget limitations.” They concluded that there was a range in the quality of psychosocial counselling among the organisations. Devine (2009), for example, noted the variations between the qualifications and competencies of organisations serving trafficked persons in Cambodia. He stated that some respondents in his study suggested that “care being provided is not necessarily in the best interest of the trafficked persons and may in fact have a negative impact on their recovery and ability to achieve some sense of normality in their lives” (Devine, 2009: 32).

Importantly, in recent years, the client base of FBOs and secular NGOs serving victims of sex trafficking and sexual exploitation has been changing. The FBO that captured the footage broadcasted on American televisions in 2004 (described above) recently sought to quantify the number of minors (age 17 or younger) participating in the commercial sex trade in three major cities in Cambodia. Finding a substantial decrease in their numbers, they stated, “From 2012 to 2015, *the overall prevalence of minors in commercial sexual exploitation in commercial sex establishments across the three cities declined by 73 percent (from 8.16% to 2.22%)*” (IJM, n.d.: 2, italics in original). Furthermore, in a recent study of organisations providing services to victims of sex trafficking, most beneficiaries had been victims of rape, domestic violence, or were *vulnerable* to trafficking (Mauney and Srun, 2012). Accordingly, the organisations that were explored in this thesis often provided services to a wide array of clients, as further discussed in Chapter 4.

Services assisting trafficked and exploited persons are sustainable only with international donor support, given corruption in, and weak commitment from, the Cambodian government (Aberdein and Zimmerman, 2015). The government in Cambodia is poorly funded (Khieng, 2014), and there is an “over-reliance” on donor-funded care (rather than government-supported care) for psychosocial support of trafficked and exploited persons (Aberdein and Zimmerman, 2015).

The Cambodian government refers victims of sexual exploitation and trafficking to NGOs (Aberdein and Zimmerman, 2015) through the Cambodian Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSAVY). MoSAVY pre-assesses each case and assigns each client to an NGO that takes responsibilities for providing appropriate services, given that it does not have the resources to do so itself (van der Keur, 2013). Organisations then provide services to clients with monies they have raised through their own sources. Though MoSAVY is to provide oversight to NGOs, it does not implement any systematic follow up, and its role as an oversight, monitoring and quality assurance body has been cited as “limited” (van der Keur, 2013: 122).

The attention Cambodia has received about human trafficking has been connected to reasons that include: perceived links between trafficking and prostitution; the narratives surrounding the involvement of children; and publicity around Western men who were subject to prosecution under the US PROTECT Act for their participation in sexual acts with children (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012).

The *Dateline NBC* broadcast described at the beginning of this chapter was also believed to be linked to greater US policy interest in Cambodia (Brammer and Smith-Brake, 2013). Later in 2004, Cambodia was named among seven other countries to receive \$50 Million in additional funding to address human trafficking (US Dept. of State, 2004). The funding was to focus primarily on “fighting sex slavery...by increasing criminal prosecutions while rescuing, rehabilitating, and reintegrating trafficking victims” (US Dept. of State, 2004: para. 9). Funding that was allotted to Cambodia from the US government supported trafficking prevention, including job placement assistance and start-up capital for persons beginning a business (US Dept. of State, 2004). In addition, reintegration assistance was provided to trafficking victims, and the legal definition of trafficking in the country was strengthened (US Dept. of State, 2008).

With new non-state actors on the ground, coordination between the organisations, as well as with international partners and the Cambodian government, was a “significant problem” (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012: 11). Soon, a coalition of Christian FBOs, the Chab Dai Coalition, was developed to improve partnerships and to seek funding for their work on issues of human trafficking and exploitation (Sworn, 2016a; 2016b). The Chab Dai Coalition is now a network of over fifty organisations (almost all of which are Christian FBOs) that work with victims of human trafficking, sexual abuse, exploitation, and those involved in the sex trade. It has a vision “to see individuals, organizations and agencies work together toward addressing human trafficking and exploitation, built upon the Biblical framework of working together as the body of Christ...,” and its values include helping sexually abused, exploited, or trafficked individuals, as well as families and communities at risk, to “be all that God created them to be” (Chab Dai International, 2017: n.p.). Organisations affiliated with Chab Dai, along with others, often provide an array of services—from those focused on preventing sexual exploitation and keeping at-risk individuals out of sex work, to services geared specifically for rehabilitating or supporting those who have already experienced these circumstances.

NGOs working on anti-trafficking issues also provide support to the government in capacities other than service provision. Per the National Plan of Action of the National Committee for Counter Trafficking, representatives from civil society serve as vice chairs for all seven working groups affiliated with the national committee that oversees trafficking policy issues in the country (NCCT, 2015). The National Plan of Action identifies civil society as serving as partners in implementing the Plan, by providing services to trafficking victims and building police capacities (NCCT, 2015). NGOs have been building capacities of the police to more effectively deal with cases related to sexual exploitation and human trafficking. They have supported the police in several ways, including providing them with new equipment, and providing training on how to conduct investigations and initiate court proceedings (van der Keur, 2013).

Chab Dai has also acted as a policy player influencing and advising the Cambodian government on matters of human trafficking (Brammer and Smith-Brake, 2013). Chab Dai, as well as World Vision, influence policy and conduct trainings for Cambodian government personnel on social work issues, as well as trainings on enforcing the government’s Policy and Minimum Standards for the Protection of the

Rights of Victims of Human Trafficking (World Faiths Development Dialogue, 2012).

More widely, beyond the realm of matters related to trafficking and exploitation, NGOs play other important roles as policy actors in Cambodia. They provide other trainings to government personnel (Suárez and Marshall, 2012), and collaborate with the Cambodian government via workshops and conferences to discuss ways of bringing about improvement in the lives of Cambodians (Ear, 2013). NGOs also play a role in policy advocacy, with sixteen of nineteen government Technical Working Groups having representatives from NGOs (Royal Government of Cambodia, 2011).

This chapter provided a contextual overview of the case study, including an overview of the religious and sociopolitical context of Cambodia, as well as the work of NGOs in the country. It also illuminated the issues of sex trafficking and sex work in Cambodia and the roles of organisations working on these issues. The next chapter presents the methods used in this study. It includes further details of the case study, including the methods for data generation and analysis. In addition, it brings further contextual understanding by introducing the organisations explored in this thesis.

Chapter 4

Methods

4.1 Introduction

As stated in the overarching research question, this thesis comparatively explores four critical organisational aspects of FBOs and secular NGOs—organisational goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and social constructions of success—bringing theoretical insight into the extent to which, and why, religious faith in FBOs might distinguish these organisations from their secular counterparts. This chapter articulates the methods used in the study. This study was approved by the University of Oxford’s Central University Research Ethics Committee.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, the conceptual model and theoretical framework of the study is presented. An overview of the case study is then provided, including the methods for selecting cases, and generating and analysing data. The typology developed for, and applied in, this thesis is then discussed. Finally, the organisations explored in this study are then described.

4.2 Conceptual Model

As introduced in Chapter 1, a conceptual model guides this study, allowing key variables to be conceptually related and explored. This section further details this model and how it is integrated into this thesis.

When considering the religiosity of an NGO, it is important to ask *how* an organisation is religious, rather than *if* it is religious (King, 2011), and Thaut (2009: 327) suggests that the role of faith in FBOs should be considered by analysing “various organizational dynamics.” According to Rakodi (2012b), it is essential to compare FBOs with their secular counterparts if one is seeking to identify whether FBOs are distinctive; she suggests that it may be best to evaluate a sample of organisations involved in similar activities, where religion can be assessed in terms of how it manifests itself in their (and their staff’s and volunteers’) aims, activities, and ways of working. She suggests that, in determining whether, how, and why FBOs “make distinctive contributions to development and service provision,” researchers

could consider their inputs (their activities, programme design, and funding), the ways in which they operate (e.g. recruitment processes, use of religious practices and teachings), and the outcomes (results) and impact (contributions to development objectives) of what they do (Rakodi, 2012b: 646).

Rakodi's (2012b) recommendation to identify relationships between inputs and outputs closely aligns with the Production of Welfare (POW) model (Knapp, 1984; Kendall and Knapp, 2000). In the POW model, inputs include "resource inputs" (e.g. staff, capital) and "non-resource inputs" (e.g. intangible inputs, the caring milieu). "Intermediate outputs" refer to the volume and quality of services provided. The POW model also includes a domain for final outcomes (Knapp, 1984; Kendall and Knapp, 2000). Informed both by Rakodi (2012b) and the POW model, this study incorporates an input-output conceptual model, as explained below.

The aim of this study focuses on the organisational processes of service provision (inputs and intermediate outputs, to use the language of the POW model), rather than on their results (i.e. outcomes). The input-output conceptual model in this study aids in understanding the relationship between the organisational input of religious faith and organisational intermediate outputs in FBOs vis-à-vis secular NGOs, allowing a systematic exploration of the extent to which the role of faith in Christian FBOs distinguishes these organisations from secular NGOs.

In this study, organisational inputs refer to resource and non-resource inputs,¹ including the caring milieu and religious faith. Intermediate outputs refer to the approaches to care of, and services provided by, FBOs and secular NGOs.²

¹ Knapp (1984) describes non-resource inputs as what is embodied in personalities, activities, and attitudes of those involved in social care. Knapp, et al. (2011) identify an example of a non-resource input as a care setting's social milieu, and Kendall and Knapp (2000) state that non-resource inputs include, inter alia, organisational ethos, and ideologies of staff that weigh-in on the environment. In this sense, religious faith is considered in this study to be a non-resource input, given its potential influence on the caring environment, motivations of staff, and other elements of an organisation.

² The literature is somewhat ambiguous as to whether intermediate outputs relate to the actual provision of services (as used in this thesis), or a quantified output related to the provision of services (e.g. the number of clients served through the provision of services). Knapp (1984: 22) states, "The attainment of intermediate objectives (the production and delivery of services) is the *intermediate* output." He also briefly defines intermediate outputs as "services provided, e.g. residential places" (Knapp, 1984: 26). Furthermore, Knapp states that intermediate outputs are "defined in terms of the care services themselves...expressed in terms of levels of provision, throughput and quality of care" (Knapp, 1984: 32). However, Kendall and Knapp (2000: 122) state that intermediate outputs are "volumes of goods and services produced..." which may or may not refer to the numbers of services provided, or number of clients served, rather than the activities themselves. However, they later give examples of intermediate outputs as "meeting government officials, organizing conferences..." (Kendall and Knapp, 2000: 118). This study defines intermediate outputs as the actual services themselves, including

Importantly, the non-resource input of religious faith was of particular interest to this study. Thus, this study explores the extent to which this non-resource input affects organisational intermediate outputs.

The conceptual model was important for this study because it provided a structure that analytically guided the research design, allowing the role of religious faith in FBOs to be considered in a variety of ways. The conceptual model was fully integrated throughout the thesis, informing the research design, guiding the construction of the research questions and topic guide (see Appendix), structuring the presentation of the findings, and ensuring conceptual and analytical clarity. Each of the four findings chapters engages with the conceptual model in the following ways:

- 1) Chapter 5 comparatively examines intermediate outputs and explores the relationship between religious faith (a non-resource input) in FBOs and their organisational goals and missions (one form of intermediate output), exploring the importance of the input of religious faith on organisational goals and missions.
- 2) Chapter 6 provides a comparative analysis of non-resource inputs in FBOs and secular NGOs. Anheier (2005: 193) identifies motivations as a non-resource input,³ and this chapter explores the motivations of FBOs and secular NGOs and their actors. It examines differences and similarities in motivations across both types of organisations, as well as the role of religious faith as a non-resource input influencing the motivations of FBOs and their actors.
- 3) Chapter 7 is a comparative analysis of intermediate outputs of FBOs and secular NGOs, namely their services and approaches to care. Furthermore, it explores the relationship between a non-resource input and its influence on intermediate outputs, examining the influence of religious faith on the nature of FBOs' services.

organisational approaches to care. This interpretation resonates with another definition of intermediate outputs (which, in the following quote, are called 'intermediate outcomes') by Beecham and Knapp (1995: 246): "Final outcomes are changes in the users' welfare, ends in themselves; whereas intermediate outcomes are couched in terms of the means to those ends, such as provision of services or offering a supportive, high quality residential environment."

³ Anheier is writing in reference to the Production of Welfare model, stating that "Kendall and Knapp (2000) follow the production of welfare framework (POW) that has been developed by the Personal Social Service Research Unit at the London School of Economics."

- 4) Chapter 8 comparatively explores the ways in which actors in FBOs and secular NGOs conceived of the success of their intermediate outputs. Examining socially constructed success across both types of organisations, the chapter considers the intermediate outputs that respondents attributed to their success. Doing so, the chapter examines the relationship between the non-resource input of faith and conceptions of success in FBOs. This chapter explores the multidimensionality of socially constructed success, and the ways in which the input of religious faith in FBOs served as an important conceptual lens through which FBO leaders viewed their work and client change.

This thesis is the first known study explicitly using an input-output conceptual model to examine distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs in a development context. Applying the conceptual model in this thesis contributes further knowledge about the appropriateness of its use in future research on FBOs and secular NGOs. Furthermore, it provides insight into the extent to which religious faith can be adequately conceived of as a non-resource organisational input, and how the model may be used to examine other variables and relationships between organisations.

4.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study provides a base for the theoretical constructs and main arguments presented in this thesis. As detailed in Chapter 2, there has been discussion in the literature about distinctions between FBOs and their secular counterparts. This study contributes to theoretical knowledge about the relationship between FBOs and secular NGOs in two ways. First, this thesis builds on the work of Ebaugh, et al. (2003), in a Cambodian context. As stated in Chapter 1, Ebaugh, et al. (2003) wrote of religion as something that “infuses” FBOs, for example, in the ways in which an FBO self-presents, makes decisions, and interacts with clients. They found that the culture of FBOs “significantly differentiates” these organisations from their counterparts that were not faith-based, with FBOs in their study “supporting a culture thoroughly imbued with religious values in terms of staff interactions with clients” (Ebaugh, et al., 2003: 423). This thesis posits that a faith ethos infused the FBOs in this study (and thereby influenced every aspect of FBOs) such that

significant differences were observed between these organisations and secular NGOs. Furthermore, the FBOs maintained similar theological beliefs, and the organisations provided services to a very specific clientele within this context, further limiting the likelihood of FBOs diverging in the ways in which faith infused them.

Second, this thesis furthers understanding of the importance of understanding the development context when analysing FBOs and secular NGOs, thus building on Leurs's (2012: 717) conclusion that "organisations' characteristics, ability to operate, and the ways in which faith is manifest in their activities also depend on the context in which they operate." It is posited in this thesis that the Cambodian context heightened the distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs in this study. Unlike some other geographical contexts and studies (e.g. Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012; Leurs, 2012), Cambodia is a country where Buddhism and animism serve as important cultural and religious staples, and few faith-related commonalities existed between the Christian FBOs and secular NGOs in this context. Though considerable differences exist between the countries in Southeast Asia where Theravada Buddhism is the dominant religion, this religion remains a "major factor" in their cultural identities, economies, and politics (Swearer, 2010: xi). As the "historical, cultural, social, economic, and political contexts cannot be divorced from a religion" (Swearer, 2010: xvi), it is critical to consider the religious context—part and parcel of the wider development context—when assessing distinctions that may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs. This study considers important differences between secular NGOs and FBOs that are rooted in a religious ideology (i.e. Christianity) that is different from that of the context in which they operate.

The context in which these organisations worked was a sociopolitical milieu that had attracted organisations seeking to assist victims of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and those involved in sex work. Furthermore, Cambodia is also a context in which secular NGOs and FBOs have been highly NGO-ised within a secular narrative, and where secular NGOs were careful to express that their organisations did not have religious or political biases. Also relating to the development context, nearly all respondents from secular NGOs did not identify as Christian, and, while secular NGOs sometimes expressed openness to religion or religious customs (see Chapter 7) they were not identified in this study as having a particular affinity with Christianity.

In addition, it is posited that the lack of donor restrictions to FBOs in the Cambodian development context allowed for differences to be observed between

FBOs and secular NGOs that may not be seen in other contexts where donor pressures constrain FBOs from integrating large amounts of faith into their programming (e.g. Hershey, 2016). Working within an unrestrictive, faith-friendly funding milieu, including the clients they served and the services they provided, FBOs in the present study did not seem to be constrained by donors requiring limits on the influence of faith in their organisations, and they included religious elements as they wished.

Operating within this development context, this study considers to what extent the input of religious faith infused FBOs in such a way that these organisations were distinguished from their secular counterparts. Ultimately, this thesis argues that it is the convergence of the infusion of faith in FBOs, along with factors of the development context, that can lead to distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs. This theoretical proposition—referred here as Context-Infusion Convergence—is developed in this thesis by examining the infusion of faith in FBOs, and the extent to which the development context influences differences between FBOs and secular NGOs. This is systematically explored through a comparative examination of the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, (Chapter 5), their motivations (Chapter 6), approaches to care (Chapter 7), and conceptions of success (Chapter 8). Progressively developed throughout this thesis in each of the four empirical chapters, Context-Infusion Convergence is finally positioned in the Conclusion chapter as a new theoretical contribution this thesis makes to better understand why differences between FBOs and secular NGOs may (or may not) be acute. Rakodi (2012b: 635) states that “theory puts forward ideas about how social phenomena can be explained,” and the theoretical framework in this study allows for exploration of the extent to which the context of a case study, as well as the extent to which faith infuses FBOs, may lead to differences between secular NGOs and FBOs.

4.4 Case Study, Case Selection Process, and Overview of Sample

To answer the overarching research question, comparative, qualitative research was conducted in a single country using a multi-site case study approach. This section provides an overview of the case study method, describes the process undergone to select respondents, and highlights characteristics of the organisations assessed in the study.

4.4.a Case Study: Overview

The unit of analysis for the study was organisational, namely FBOs and secular NGOs, and each organisation was considered a site. Using a multi-site method, Miles and Huberman (1994: 29) argue, “adds *confidence* to findings,” and embarking on a case study allowed for an assessment of a convergence of a variety of data, illuminating how phenomena were influenced by the context in which the case was situated (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

Flyvbjerg (2006: 235) notes that one advantage of using a case study approach is that it provides the opportunity to “close in” on issues in a particular region, and “test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice.” Case studies enable the researcher to ask poignant questions and understand the complexities of organisations (Gable, 1994). Also, as Yin (1993: 34) states, “The development of consistent findings, over multiple cases and even multiple studies, can then be considered a very robust finding.” Furthermore, a case study approach enables an in-depth focus on the research questions with organisations and individuals selected who can best bring knowledge to the research topic. Interviews provide rich narratives that highlight the complexities of interviewees’ work and goals (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

While case studies provide certain benefits, they are sometimes thought to be inferior to other social science methodologies. One limitation to theory generated from case study research is the possibility that it be weak. For example, theory may be generated that is too complex, given vast amounts of data, or it could be too narrow (Eisenhardt, 1989). Furthermore, while the case study approach may provide an opportunity to “capture the richness of organizational behaviour,” conclusions from the case study “may be specific to the particular organizations studied and may not be generalisable” (Gable, 1994: 113). Though this may be considered a limitation, case studies allow for valuable insight into organisations, and the present study allowed for the generation of theoretical implications based on the study’s findings.

4.4.b Case Selection

The study was designed to explore the research questions across a purposeful sample of cases (i.e. organisations) (Goggin and Orth, 2002). Focusing on one country allowed for a close exploration of organisations in one geographical location. Furthermore, by limiting the parameters of the study to one type of religious FBO, a

clearer understanding of Christian FBOs operating in this development context emerged, as well as how these FBOs compared to secular NGOs.

In many ways, the case selection process in this thesis was similar to the method of “structured, focused comparison” (Goggin and Orth, 2002: 49). Explaining the principles of structured, focused comparison, and relating them to a study of faith-based and secular organisations, Goggin and Orth (2002: 49) state that cases in a comparative study are purposely selected “on the basis of similarity and comparability” so that they “vary on the dimensions that are theoretically relevant” (e.g. organisation type, level of religious integration), and yet are “similar in as many other respects as possible.”

To be eligible for the study, respondents needed to be from organisations that maintained a focus on providing direct care services to women and/or children who had experienced, or were vulnerable to, sexual abuse, sexual exploitation or trafficking, or had been involved in the sex trade in Cambodia. Many organisations also served other clientele. The degree to which they focused services on women and children who had experienced sexual exploitation, trafficking, abuse, or involvement in the sex trade differed between them. While differences existed between the organisations, as further explored below, they represented the types of organisations that were eligible for inclusion and that provided these services in Cambodia.

Organisations either had to be Christian faith-based or secular (i.e. non-faith-based). Including respondents from secular NGOs was important for better understanding to what extent, and why, religious faith may distinguish Christian FBOs from secular NGOs. It is worthy to note that no Buddhist organisations (or organisations of other religious persuasions) were identified that focused on directly serving persons who had already been trafficked, abused, or involved in the sex trade. Buddhist-led organisations that addressed trafficking issues often provided services related to *preventing* trafficking, addressing social and economic root causes in poor communities (Marshall, 2013b). Focusing on Christian FBOs ensured the study was an analytically clear, comparative analysis of secular NGOs and one type of FBO. All FBOs aligned with Protestant Christianity.

In 2013, this researcher spent six months in the field in Cambodia, conducting interviews and getting acquainted with the culture. During this time, attention was given to determine which organisations met eligibility requirements. Determining organisational eligibility included: A) internet research, including viewing the

websites of FBOs and secular NGOs; B) interviewing key informants who were able to provide insight into the context of the study; C) reviewing membership lists of consortiums that included organisations that worked on human trafficking issues; and C) information from interview respondents about other potentially eligible organisations. Furthermore, in some cases, this researcher directly contacted organisations to determine their eligibility.

As for the key informants, as part of the case screening and selection process (Yin, 2006; Hartley, 2004), and as a way to increase knowledge about contextual matters, approximately thirteen informal, unrecorded interviews were conducted with ten key informants (these informants were not part of FBOs or secular NGOs eligible for the study) prior to and during the research period. Edwards (1998: 203) states that, rather than, or in addition to, pursuing a direct study of a particular group, “There is a history of researchers relying on professional and/or lay informants to provide a source of information on the social world under investigation...” The key informants that participated in this study were typically affiliated with organisations and were knowledgeable about human trafficking, the sex trade, and NGOs in the region, as well as the contextual landscape of service provision to women and children in Cambodia. The key informants included four individuals affiliated with an organisation that seeks to ensure justice and the protection of human rights for victims of human trafficking, sexual assault, and exploitation; one individual affiliated with a human rights organisation that seeks to end child trafficking and exploitation; one Christian missionary; one Catholic nun and former NGO volunteer; one representative from the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP), the director of a network of organisations working to prevent the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Cambodia; and the founder of a coalition of Christian organisations working in Cambodia on issues of sexual abuse and human trafficking. While insight gleaned from these conversations was not part of the data generation or analysis phases of the project, these interviews were important in inducting this researcher into the field, and provided crucial insight into the search for eligible organisations for the study.

A list of potentially eligible organisations was compiled by this researcher on an Excel spreadsheet. This list of organisations was coded in the following ways: 1) whether or not the organisation was faith-based (and for those that were FBOs, to what extent they publicly displayed their religiosity on the internet); and 2) the

services the organisation provided. Organisations were classified as “R” for religiously overt; “N” for not religiously overt; and “S” for secular. Far more FBOs were classified as “R” than “N,” and, thus, more FBOs that were classified as “R” were included in the study.

Organisations on this list were also coded in a matrix based on the types of direct care services and supports they provided to their clients: 1) Outreach (i.e. the organisation provided services to individuals in various venues, including ministry supports or regular trainings); 2) Vocational training; 3) Residential care; and 4) Social enterprise endeavours.

As interviews commenced, additional eligible organisations were identified. Effort was made to ensure that organisations included in the study represented the diversity of services offered by all eligible organisations. By the end of this researcher’s time in the field, twenty-two FBOs and twenty-three secular NGOs had been identified as eligible for the study. The majority of these organisations were contacted and invited for an interview. Ultimately, thirteen FBOs and twelve secular NGOs were included. Some of the organisations were social enterprises (or organisations that included social enterprise operations), and these encompassed various industries (e.g. café and catering, beauty services, and clothing and accessories). All FBOs in the study (as is typical in Cambodia) had what Smith and Sosin (2001: 657) noted as a “public mission or a social policy goal of their own,” in that they provided services to people outside their own faith. Smith and Sosin (2001: 657) state that these type of agencies “confront the crucial public policy issues about employing faith in a secular society.”

Forty-one semi-structured interviews were conducted with forty-three participants (in two cases, participants wished to be interviewed together) in the thirteen Christian FBOs and twelve secular NGOs. Twenty-three interviews were conducted with FBO respondents and eighteen with secular NGO respondents. The research design planned for more FBO respondents, given the importance placed in the study on exploring religious faith in FBOs. Similarly, Flanigan (2010) is one example in the literature where more participants from FBOs than secular NGOs were interviewed.

Interviews took place over three of the six months of fieldwork, and interviewees were selected and contacted over this three-month data generation period. Selection was done based on evaluating the organisations already included

vis-à-vis organisations which were thought to be beneficial for inclusion based on the services they provided, organisational characteristics, or the organisational name surfacing in a previous interview. A few cases were selected, in part, based on this researcher's access to potential respondents (i.e. meeting key leaders of organisations and discerning their amenability to being interviewed).

While many organisations operate in the capital, Phnom Penh, organisations outside of the capital that met the study's eligibility criteria were also included. A variety of organisations were included so as to obtain a sufficient number of cases and interviews to analyse, and because, as Noor (2008: 1604) states, including several organisations in the research “enhances the accuracy, validity and reliability of the results by capturing the holistic essence of the subject studied.”

To ensure consistency and comparability, effort was made to select organisations that indicated they provided services particularly—at least to some degree—to the specific clientele that ensured their eligibility. In other words, organisations were targeted that maintained some level of focus on providing direct care services to women and/or children that had experienced (or were at risk of experiencing) sexual exploitation, trafficking, or abuse, or who had been involved in the sex trade. This presented some level of ambiguity, as some organisations had a much wider purview of services than others. Some organisations deemed ineligible provided services to many types of clientele (e.g. street children, poor families) without specifically articulating a focus on providing services to sexually exploited, trafficked, or abused women and/or children, or those involved in the sex trade (though, given their large size, they likely, or in fact, did serve this clientele). In other cases, some organisations included in the study also provided services to many other types of clientele. In the end, the extent to which organisations actually focused on providing services to sexually abused, trafficked, or exploited persons, or those involved in the sex trade, differed among those in the study.

The method of case selection used for this thesis was criterion-based or purposive sampling (Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam, 2003: 79), which ensured that “all the key constituencies of relevance to the subject matter” were considered, and that diversity was included among the sample to better explore the issue of religious faith. Furthermore, following a replication logic (Yin, 1994) was deemed important in the study, and multiple cases of secular NGOs and FBOs that provided similar services were selected. Yin (1993) states that a replication logic should be used in multiple-

case studies; multiple cases are used because it is predicted that similar results will be found among the cases studied.

Cases were selected using both literal replication and theoretical replication (Yin, 2009). The two contrasting types of organisations (FBOs and secular NGOs) were selected following a predicted theoretical replication, as results were expected to contrast for “anticipatable reasons” (Yin, 2009: 54). For each type of organisation, cases were selected that followed literal replication, as similar results were predicted among them (Yin, 2009).

A depth of information on the research questions was obtained during fieldwork and concluded after considerable data had been generated. Brannen (2012: 16) states, “as many textbooks on qualitative research remind us, collecting more data becomes unnecessary when ‘saturation’ is reached in terms of the identification of new themes.” Eisenhardt (1989: 545) also states that “researchers should stop adding cases when theoretical saturation is reached,” which is often combined, she notes, with “pragmatic considerations such as time and money.” At the time field research concluded, the number of organisations that had been selected and included, and the themes generated from the questions on the topic guide, was believed to have reached saturation, pursuant to the overarching and supporting research questions explored and the overall research design.

4.4.c Overview of Selected Cases

The strengths of this study include the number of cases, and the similarities and diversity in their characteristics, allowing for a clear, comparative study of Christian FBOs and secular NGOs. Table 1 (see Appendix) depicts the types of services provided by each FBO and secular NGO included in the study. While similarities existed between both types, there are some noticeable differences. For example, four secular NGOs (and no FBOs) provided services to support sex workers in their work as sex workers. Also, a higher number of FBOs included social enterprise models in their organisations.

Table 2 (below) provides a summary of descriptions of the organisations, and Table 3 (below) provides a summary of participant demographics. Table 4 (see Appendix) provides more details of participants and organisations. The organisations in the study are further discussed later in this chapter (section 4.7), as well as in the organisational profiles in the Appendix.

Table 2		
Description of Organisations		
Description	FBO	SNGO
Organisations included in the study (25 <i>in toto</i>)	13	12
Organisations that were international (i.e. offices in multiple countries or led by non-Cambodian leadership)	12/13	4/12
Organisations that were local (i.e. founded and led by a Cambodian)	1/13	8/12
Organisations that began operations in the year 2000 or before	4/13	8/12

Table 3		
Demographics of Participants		
Description	FBO	SNGO
Interviews conducted (41 <i>in toto</i>)	23/41	18/41
Total number of interviewees (43 <i>in toto</i>)	24/43	19/43
Cambodian nationals included in the study (23 <i>in toto</i>)	8/24	15/19
Foreign nationals included in the study (20 <i>in toto</i>)	16/24	4/19
Respondents that identified as Christian	24/24	1/19
Founders of organisations included in the study	8/13	3/12
Median number of years (non-founder) respondents had worked or volunteered in their organisation	3.5	6.5

The study included interviews with key, insightful organisational actors of FBOs and secular NGOs, described in this study as leaders. As illustrated in the job titles listed in Table 4 (see Appendix), the level of responsibility differed among interviewees. Interviewees included executive leaders, managers, and non-managerial staff with important organisational responsibilities (e.g. social worker). Herman (2016: 167) defines executive leadership simply as an organisation's "top staff." In this study, 'executive leader' represents a Founder, CEO, Country Director, or other high-level representative. Approximately 60% of interviewees were classified as executive leaders. The term 'manager' in this study reflects those with positions of leadership below the executive leader, including middle managers and line managers. Focusing interviews on leaders in this study allowed the perspectives of a specific category of organisational personnel to be more fully explored. Other studies of FBOs have interviewed similar respondents. For example, Flanigan (2009) also interviewed management-level staff in her study of the benefits of religion in organisations providing services in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lebanon, and Sri Lanka; and Paras

(2014) interviewed senior administrators in her study of Canadian Christian FBOs. All interviewees in the present study had ample knowledge of, and many times first-hand experience with, the direct care work of their organisations.

As stated in Table 4 (see Appendix), most respondents from secular NGOs identified as Buddhist, though four had no religious preference, one identified as “spiritual,” and one identified as Christian. All respondents from FBOs identified as Christian. Seven of these specified they were non-denominational. Nearly all FBO respondents regularly attended (Protestant) church services and many were, or had been, involved in various forms of church leadership.

4.5 Data Generation and Analysis

This section provides further details on the research process, demonstrating the reliability and validity of the study and its findings. It provides additional information on interview respondents and the ways in which data was generated (i.e. collected) and triangulated, and details the ways in which data was analysed and interpreted.

4.5.a Overview of Data Generation

Semi-structured interviews took place with twenty-six executive leaders and seventeen managers or staff persons from FBOs and secular NGOs. Executive leaders were contacted via email, and interviews were conducted with these leaders, or their designees. Though the first interviewee usually had significant awareness of, or was directly involved in, service provision, in most cases, this individual was asked, at the end of the interview, if another employee in the organisation (who had a close connection with service provision) could also be interviewed for the study.

In addition, documents provided to this researcher, or downloaded from websites, were examined in the data analysis phase of the study. Furthermore, official websites and Facebook pages of organisations were reviewed, which provided further information about the organisations. As Schnable (2016: 220) states, “The strengths of website data are their ubiquity and orientation towards the interested public,” and these sources of data may be the main or only source of information for key organisational data for the public. Analysis of online media and documents occurred for all organisations in the study, though, in some cases, documents or online media were not available. While online data was typically easy to acquire, documents from

organisations varied, which is to be expected in a study of twenty-five organisations. For example, Morgan, Green, and Boesten (2013) acknowledged that, in their study of three FBOs in Tanzania, not all had the same quantity of documents to analyse. Furthermore, they stated that restrictions in organisational access affected their ability to collect and analyse organisational documents.

Interviewees typically had extensive direct contact with clients. While including data from clients of FBOs and secular NGOs could have brought further insight into the work of these organisations, the research questions guiding this study primarily focused on processes of service delivery and organisational aspects that did not relate to the measurement of organisational outcomes. Therefore, including clients and outcomes-related data was not necessary to answer the research questions in accordance with the research design. The research questions were best explored through interviews with organisational personnel (rather than clients).

If clients had been included, data generated from them may need to have been interpreted with caution. Flanigan (2007) states that many NGO clients are likely to be reluctant to share discontent with researchers about the organisations that are assisting them, given power dynamics existing in such settings, and that clients rely on them for their own survival. For example, Leurs (2012: 712), in a study that did include some clients, states that clients had positive perceptions of the work of organisations, and that it is possible that clients “gave a positive picture in the presence of researchers unknown to them, especially when the researchers were accompanied by programme staff.” Furthermore, and significantly, finding amenable gatekeepers that would have allowed this researcher access to clients would have been especially challenging, not the least because the circumstances of some clients included abuse and sexual assault. Bosworth, Hoyle, and Dempsey (2011: 770) reported “the insurmountable barriers” they faced with gatekeepers in making personal contact with women trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation, whom they were ultimately unable to access. Similarly, Gan, Ha, Kao, et al. (2014), stated that they did not include clients in their study of NGOs in Cambodia that served women and children who had been sexually exploited or abused, given sensitivities and difficulties in gaining access. In a conversation this researcher had with a key informant in Cambodia in the early stages of research design, the key informant stated her belief that some researchers in the past had done more harm than good. Given privacy concerns, and the sensitive nature of the clients the organisations in the

present study serve, it is very unlikely that most gatekeepers would have allowed this researcher to conduct participant observation. Instead, the research questions examined in this thesis—which focused on organisational processes rather than outcomes—were answered using other methods.

The large number of cases examined in this study (25 in total) allowed for an exploration of the research questions across a wide range of organisations. Having examined organisations at a rather broad level, nuances within and between organisations may not have been as clearly apparent as in studies that included fewer organisations, analysed at a ‘deeper’ level (e.g. Bornstein, 2005). Studies with fewer organisations that include ethnographic methods, interaction with clients, and observation of activities, inevitably allow for a closer examination of organisations, including at what levels and specific programmes, if any, faith manifests throughout organisations. However, ethnographic methods have limitations, and a researcher would only see certain segments of life in an organisation. For example, clients that shouted or cursed at organisation staff (as reported, for example, by some respondents in this study) may not act the same way if a researcher were present. As it was, the present study focuses on organisations from an administrative level, offering contributions from a wide-angle perspective rather than from a narrower, ethnographic perspective.

4.5.b Semi-Structured Interviews and Conceptual Framing of the Topic Guide

At the start of each interview, participants were asked to consent to being interviewed, and the consent form ensured interviewee anonymity. This researcher’s interest in better understanding organisations and increasing knowledge about them, and the ways in which they implemented their services, was stated. For analytic reasons, so as not to increase bias or be overly directive, the words “faith” and “religion” were not introduced at the beginning of the interviews. This approach reduced bias, helped broaden the scope of the study to include secular NGOs, and ensured that interviewees from both FBOs and secular NGOs spoke broadly about their organisations. For another example of this approach, see Walker, et al. (2013), who studied experiences of poverty and shame, but did not introduce the words “poverty” and “shame” in interviews or recruitment material.

Some participants wished for their organisations to be named in the research, which had been done in other research reports in the region. Therefore, participants

were asked if they would like their organisation named in a report on the research findings. The majority of participants desired this and recorded this on their consent forms. The names of these organisations will be stated in a follow up report based on the findings in this thesis.

The topic guide (see Appendix) was designed to generate comparable data from each organisation in the study (Goggin and Orth, 2002). The conceptual model (explained above) provided the structure for the topic guide, and the questions on the topic guide were formulated to coincide with the supporting research questions as delineated in the Introduction chapter of this thesis. Similar to the method of structured, focused comparison⁴ as discussed by George and Bennett (2004: 67), these research questions focused on certain theoretically relevant aspects of the examined cases, reflecting the research objectives, to ensure data generation was standardised across the study.

The purpose of the topic guide was to guide conversations with interviewees to ensure that the same topics were covered in basically the same sequence. The topic guide was slightly adjusted after piloting it at the beginning of empirical fieldwork. Naturally, some interviewees responded more on some questions than others. The questions on the topic guide brought insight into similarities and differences between FBOs and secular NGOs in the study. Questions were asked of respondents from both secular NGOs and FBOs, though one or more questions that pertained particularly to FBOs were asked only of respondents from those organisations. The relationship between the conceptual model used in this thesis and the general topics explored in interviews is presented in Table 5 (see Appendix).

The questions included on the topic guide coincided with some of Rakodi's (2011: 130) suggested questions for studies examining what circumstances, if any, "FBOs make a distinctive contribution to the achievement of development objectives." Among her suggested questions for such studies are those that relate to: the goals, missions, and motivations of FBOs and secular NGOs; their programmes and activities; the ways in which staff are recruited; the ways in which faith manifests itself in organisations; how religion is integrated into programmes and the organisation; religious practices of staff within the organisation; in what ways faith is perceived to influence programme outcomes; how organisations evaluate their work;

⁴ The method of 'structured, focused comparison' is also discussed earlier in this chapter, in relation to cases selected in a comparative study.

how effectiveness is defined and perceived; and perceived differences among organisational outcomes compared to others working in the same sector.

Demographical questions were asked at the end of each interview. These included questions about the number of years the organisation had existed, numbers of clients served, length of time respondents had worked in the organisation, respondents' nationality, religious preference, and religious involvement.

Interviews typically lasted at least 90 minutes, though some were shorter and others significantly longer. Most interviews took place in the capital, Phnom Penh, though some took place in other cities, and five interviews were conducted via Skype voice calls. Most interviews were recorded on a digital recorder (with the permission of the respondent) and transcribed. Seven respondents did not grant permission for the interview to be recorded and notes were taken and typed shortly afterward. Five of these seven respondents were from secular NGOs.

All interviews were conducted in English. Given differences in the demographics of respondents, some respondents were speaking their first language in the interview, while others were not speaking their first language. The first language of twenty-three of the forty-three interviewees was Khmer. The first language of the other respondents was English or another language. As this researcher does not speak Khmer, sometimes difficulty was experienced in communicating the meaning of questions to Cambodian interviewees and interview questions had to be re-phrased or repeated.

Many FBO respondents were native English speakers, likely allowing them to describe their work with greater versatility. Differences between Cambodian nationals and foreign nationals thus included the ways in which respondents communicated their responses. Such differences inevitably influenced the ways in which respondents answered questions and spoke of their organisations, with those from western backgrounds having more fluency in English and providing greater detail about the ways in which their organisations provided services. As it is to be expected, nuances in phrasing were naturally not as clear with those whose first language was not English. However, respondents, regardless of their nationality, provided responses that were key to answering the research questions focused on in this thesis.

An interpreter was used in two interviews. In a third, an interviewee arranged for a colleague to assist with translation, as needed. Edwards (1998: 206) refers to "working with" interpreters rather than "using" them, though interpreters in the

present study only participated as a provider of a service (rather than also informing the analysis or other aspects of the study). Working with interpreters can bring challenges and potential shortcomings to data collection, including the quality of the data generated, its accuracy, and completeness. For example, reflecting on using interpreters in a study that included interviews interpreted into twelve languages, Wechsler (2016) stated that one risk in using interpreters is that, through the process of interpretation, meaning may be lost. In the present study, by using an interpreter, respondents were able to be included who otherwise would not have been able to have been interviewed. Interpreters were instructed to speak in the first person when interpreting the interviewee. As Wechsler (2016) emphasised, the importance of maintaining confidentiality was discussed with the interpreters hired by this researcher. The interpreters signed a confidentiality form that declared their intent to keep all information shared during interviews confidential.

4.5.c Triangulation

Multiple sources of data were used in this thesis, thus ensuring confidence in the findings of the study. Dixon, Singleton, and Straits (2016: 329) define triangulation as “addressing a research question with multiple methods or measures that do not share the same methodological weaknesses,” and state that it “refers to the use of two or more dissimilar methods to address the same research question,” where “the strengths of one method offset the weaknesses of the other.” Similarly, Denzin (2009: 297) describes triangulation as “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon.” Ritchie and Lewis (2003: 275) state that triangulation “assumes that the use of different sources of information will help both to confirm and to improve the clarity, or precision, of a research finding.” It enables different ways of looking at the same phenomenon, and adds to “credibility by strengthening confidence in whatever conclusions are drawn” (Patton, 2002: 556).

Triangulation extends understanding and gives “a fuller picture” of the organisations and themes explored in this thesis (Ritchie, 2003: 44). In line with Dixon, Singleton, and Straits (2016), who stated that triangulation refers to using at least two dissimilar methods to answer a research question, this study included data from semi-structured interviews and data from documents and online media.

In total, this study took into account the following types of data sources: 1) interviews with executive leaders of FBOs; 2) interviews with executive leaders of

secular NGOs; 3) interviews with managers of FBOs; 4) interviews with managers of secular NGOs; 5) review of online media and documents of FBOs; and 6) review of online media and documents of secular NGOs. Further explanation of sources are provided in the chapters exploring empirical data (Chapters 5-8), as some chapters use more data sources than others, based on the supporting research question it addresses.

Furthermore, there were five additional sources of supplementary information that brought insight to the study and context of the research site. While they were not envisioned as part of the original research design, and, as such, were generally not included as part of the data analysis and writing up of the study, they provided supplementary insights and opportunities for the researcher to gain further contextual knowledge of the field. These included:

1) Informal interviews with key informants. As detailed earlier in this chapter (see 4.4.b), background and contextual information was gleaned from interviews that took place with ten key informants while in the field. These key informants provided valuable insight for the study, including knowledge about the NGO environment in Cambodia and possible organisations to include in the study, as well as background on the context of human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and sex work.

2) Visits to NGO sites. This researcher visited programme sites of thirteen of the twenty-five organisations included in the study. Many of these sites were open to the public (for example, cafés operated by organisations that provided vocational training). These visits were typically brief, and they included seven cafés, one overnight hostel, two hair salons, one church service (operated by an FBO), and seven other centres and programme sites. These visits brought further insight about the work and culture of the organisations in the study.

3) Online videos. YouTube videos discussing human trafficking and sex worker issues in Cambodia were viewed by this researcher, allowing greater contextual awareness about the research site.

4) Volunteer work in an FBO. While in Cambodia, this researcher volunteered occasionally (as a report editor and videographer) with an FBO not included in the study. For example, this researcher was able to accompany the executive director to field sites, and was invited to attend a large youth camp. While this was not considered participant observation, these experiences brought further enlightenment about the context and work of Christian FBOs in Cambodia.

5) In-depth interviews conducted for an unrelated project. This researcher interviewed three Cambodians (one security guard, one garment factory worker, and one elderly entrepreneur) for a project unrelated to this thesis. While these in-depth interviews did not discuss FBOs or secular NGOs, the respondents provided further contextual information about life, culture, family, and work in the country that added value to this researcher's knowledge of the geographical location of the research.

4.5.d Data Analysis and Interpretation

After interviews were transcribed, this researcher ensured the accuracy of transcriptions by listening to the audio files while reading each transcript and making meticulous corrections. The first task was to become familiar with the data. While reviewing each transcript, and before analysis and writing up occurred, faith-related themes in the data (from FBO interviews) were identified. This was done by handwriting all references to faith in a notebook. This faith-related material was then classified and indexed using the Framework method (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2003) by typing notes and verbatim quotes from the notebook into a Microsoft Excel document. To organise this material in Excel, topics and themes were inductively drawn out from the data. This process created a comprehensive and organised matrix of all faith-related issues that had surfaced in interviews with FBO respondents.

The four supporting research questions that guided data generation also guided analysis of the data in the classification and interpretative stages. Prior to writing each of the four findings chapters in this thesis (each empirical chapter examines one of the four supporting research questions), data from the semi-structured interviews were selected that related to the single question examined in each chapter. This data was colour-coded in the interview transcripts, extracted and put into a new Word document, and then, when possible, summarised, or retained verbatim for further analysis. Using the Framework method (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2003), this data was then transferred to an Excel document where it was indexed into a matrix created using themes drawn out inductively from the data. Further sorting occurred to organise data, understand, and interpret it.

A similar process for analysing data from online media and documents was also completed for the chapters that relied on data from these sources. These sources were reviewed for data applicable to the supporting research questions and treated in the same manner as interview responses. First, data was input into a Word document.

Using the Framework method (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2003), summaries and/or verbatim texts were then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet. Themes were identified inductively at this stage and sorted and analysed.

4.6 Typology Applied in this Thesis

This section presents a typology used to classify the organisations examined in this thesis. It is incorporated into this study as a way to provide more thick description and context. The typologies in the literature (see Chapter 2) do not allow for an accurate assessment of all organisations in the present study, and the typology introduced below addresses this matter. The typology applied in this thesis, as described below, is important not only because it allows for more accurately categorising secular NGOs vis-à-vis FBOs, but also because it contributes to the literature a de-complexified instrument that will allow researchers to more simply typologise organisations in future studies.

Both Leurs (2012) and Hefferan, et al. (2009) recognise that, while a typology helps to draw comparisons across a range of organisations, it should not be expected that any one organisation will perfectly 'fit' into one type. Arguing for the use of typologies in research on FBOs and secular NGOs, Leurs (2012: 717) states that it is "useful for analytical and practical purposes to have a basis for distinguishing between organisations," and that a typology, which can be based on theoretically informed and practically relevant criteria, "should be used for locating organisations on a spectrum and identifying their salient characteristics rather than expecting them all to fit neatly into particular categories." As explored below, the typology used in this thesis does this by classifying organisations according to theoretically informed and relevant criteria into meaningful categories based on their religious (or secular) nature, aiding in dialogue and understanding about the work of both types of organisations providing services in this particular geographical location (Sider and Unruh, 2004).

Rakodi (2011) states that, while a typology can be used to analyse and compare organisations, it may also be suitable to adjust a typology in light of empirical investigations. Hefferan, et al. (2009) developed a typology that revised the typology offered in Sider and Unruh (2004) (discussed briefly in Chapter 2). Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology, like its predecessor in Sider and Unruh (2004),

clearly sets forth categories in which organisations can be assessed and classified into types, including one category for secular organisations. Hefferan, et al. (2009) revised Sider's and Unruh's (2004) typology, which originated within a U.S.-based FBO context, so it would be more applicable to organisations in a Latin America and Caribbean context. Similarly, in this thesis, Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology has been revised so that it is more useful and applicable to the organisations in this study (see Table 6 below).

Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology was selected for adaptation in this thesis because, whereas some typologies focus solely on FBOs (and not their secular counterparts), Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology also includes a category for secular NGOs. Only having one category in a typology to classify secular NGOs, however, can be rather limiting, as differences may exist in the ways in which religion is accommodated in secular NGOs. The single secular classification in Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology did not allow for the secular NGOs in the present study to be accurately classified. A revision and expansion of Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology was thus made that allows for variance in terms of religious integration observed within the programming of the secular NGOs in the study. To accommodate for the need in this study to classify secular NGOs into more than one type, the revised typology includes one additional secular classification, allowing these organisations to be classified more accurately in terms of whether or not they accommodate culturally relevant religious elements into their programming (a matter further discussed in Chapter 7). With this revision, the revised typology allows for secular NGOs to be more accurately assessed and compared with other secular NGOs and FBOs. This expansion can be found in the "SFA" column in Table 6.

The notion of 'faith' itself is not an obvious or fixed value or category (Haynes, 2014), and this typology considers the prevalence of faith in the nature and characteristics of both religious and secular organisations. Helping researchers and policy stakeholders determine to what extent non-state actors integrate religion into their organisations, this typology helps to construct clarity about the role of religion in these organisations, highlighting that religion is not always clearly separated from secular actors, nor integrated the same way in FBOs.

While it is acknowledged here that the primary purpose of Hefferan, et al.'s (2009) typology, and its predecessor in Sider and Unruh (2004), was to classify FBOs, their typologies may imply an assumption that there is 'variety' among FBOs, and no

‘variety’ among their secular counterparts (because, in the typology, there are five classifications to type an FBO, but only one classification to type a secular organisation). The revised typology therefore takes into account that, in some contexts, ‘secular’ is not always absent of religion. As Tomalin (2012: 694) states, “Not only are many members of so-called secular organisations motivated by religious values, but organisations operate in contexts where the secular and religious are not clearly differentiated.”

Other refinements were made in the typology, as well, including reducing the number of types by which an FBO may be classified. Whereas Hefferan, et al. (2009) had allowed for five possible classifications, the present one allows for only four (see the horizontal row in Table 6). This modification allows for a simpler instrument that is better streamlined to allow for researchers and policy stakeholders to evaluate FBOs more broadly.

In addition, there was a reduction in the number of vertical categories by which organisations are to be assessed, thus further contributing to a de-complexified analytical instrument. For example, a category on organisational funding has been omitted; both FBOs and secular organisations often receive funding from a variety of sources (religious and secular), and complete data on sources of finances are not always readily available. While having a detailed instrument can be beneficial, it may cause obstacles if details about an organisation are not known. The typology presented here allows for basic categorising of FBOs and secular NGOs without researchers or practitioners being concerned about missing small details that may complicate the typologising process. Other tweaks have been made, as well, such as in the category “Founded/Organised” (see Table 6), where it has been clearly stated that organisations—despite whether they are faith-based or secular—were begun for the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service. Therefore, while the typology used in this thesis retains many elements of Hefferan, et al.’s (2009) typology, this study goes beyond testing or applying it. Instead, Hefferan, et al.’s (2009) typology is revised here to introduce into the literature a streamlined conceptual tool more suitable for classifying empirical data. The revision retains conceptually important factors by which organisations are assessed and for which data are more readily available for analysis.

The typology includes categories that relate to both organisational traits and programme content. As for religious content in programming, following Sider and

Unruh (2004), organisations are classified based on explicitly religious programme content, which is verifiable and most relevant to policy debates. The typology is detailed below in Table 6. Conceptual organisational categories are listed on the left and classificatory types are listed on the top. A description within the typology matrix details the meaning of each type and category.

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Table 6 FBO – Secular NGO Typology [Adapted from Hefferan, et al. (2009) and Sider and Unruh (2004)]							
	FBO: Faith-Centred (FC)	FBO: Faith-Affiliated (FA)	FBO: Faith Background (FB)	FBO: Faith-Secular Partnership (FSP)		Secular NGO: Secular (S)	Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating (SFA)
Self-description (Mission Statement or other public presentation)	Includes an explicit reference to faith	Faith references may be either explicit or implicit	May have implicit references to faith (e.g. references to values)	No reference to faith in mission of the partnership or of the secular partner		No faith content, but references to values are often present	References to values are often present.
Founded/Organised	For the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service; by faith group and/or for faith purpose	For the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service; by faith group and/or for faith purpose	For the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service; may have historic ties to a faith group or purpose, but that connection is no longer strong	For the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service; faith partners founded by faith group or for faith purpose; no reference to faith identity of founders of the secular partner; founders of the partnership may or may not be religious		For the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service; no reference to faith identity or spiritual views (if any) of founder(s)/organiser(s)	For the purpose of providing a development, care-related, or other service; possible reference to faith identity or spiritual views (if any) of founder(s)/organiser(s);
Management/Leaders	Faith commitment typically a prerequisite	Normally share the organisation’s faith orientation, but explicit faith criteria may be considered irrelevant or improper	Faith criteria considered irrelevant or improper	Required to respect but not necessarily share faith of the faith partners		Faith criteria considered improper	Faith criteria considered improper

Staff	Faith commitment is important; most or all share organisation's faith orientation; faith commitment may be an explicit selection factor for tasks involving religion, but may be less important in other positions	Staff are expected to respect but not necessarily share the faith orientation of the organisation	Little to no consideration of faith commitment	Staff expected to respect faith of the faith partner(s); program relies significantly on volunteers from faith partners	Faith criteria for any staff considered improper	Faith criteria for any staff considered improper
Organised faith practices of personnel (prayer, devotions, etc.)	Faith practices often play a significant role in the organisation; personnel may be expected or required to participate	Faith practices are optional and not extensive	Faith practices are rare and peripheral to the organization	Faith partners may sponsor voluntary faith practices; secular partners do not	No organised faith practices	Generally, no organised faith practices
Faith content of program	In addition to acts of compassion and care, faith content is integrated into the programme, or offered along with, or adjacent to, provision of care; beneficiaries may be encouraged or possibly expected to participate in this faith programming, but may have the option not to participate; beneficiaries may also be invited to faith activities outside the program parameters	The faith component is primarily in acts of compassion and care; program includes little (and entirely optional) or no explicit faith content; staff may invite beneficiaries to faith activities outside program parameters or hold informal faith conversations with beneficiaries; faith-related programming may be initiated by programme staff, rather than guided by administration	No explicit faith content in the program; faith materials or resources may be available to beneficiaries who seek them out; the faith component is seen primarily in the motivation of individual staff members and/or volunteers; faith-related programming may be initiated by programme staff, rather than administration or policy	No explicit faith content in program activities designed by secular partners; faith partners sometimes supplement with optional faith resources and activities	No faith content, but organisation may help facilitate clients' religious preferences (by taking them to church, etc.)	Organisation indicates that they may help facilitate clients' religious preferences (by taking them to church, etc.), and/or that culturally valued faith-related content may be occasionally included among programming offered

Following Tomalin (2012), the typology used in this thesis serves several functions: 1) it is used here to identify, describe, and classify a large set of organisations that represent distinctly different types; 2) the typology locates each organisation among and within the economy of different types of organisations and defines the religious characteristics of these organisations in this particular geographical setting; 3) the typology can also assist future researchers with selecting different types of organisations for further research; and 4) the typology can be used to inform stakeholders and policymakers about the organisations that work in this field and how they may possibly be engaged.

While, as indicated above, all organisations cannot be expected to “fit neatly into particular categories” (Leurs, 2012: 717), according to the above typology, twelve of the thirteen FBOs were classified as Faith-Centred; one was classified as Faith-Affiliated. Six of the twelve secular NGOs were classified as Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating; six were classified as Secular NGO. Organisations were typologised based on what was indicated in interviews with respondents from organisations, or discovered through assessing online resources. Thus, organisations typologised in this study as a “Secular NGO” did not indicate that religion was included as part of their programming. The classification of each organisation is stated in the organisational profiles in the Appendix.

Thaut (2009: 321) states that FBOs are often understood to be homogenous, but that this assumption “overlooks how variations in the religious roots of these agencies inform divergent modes of humanitarianism.” Furthermore, writing within a US context, Grettenberger, Bartkowski, Smith (2006: 228), state that faith may be implicit or explicit in organisations and programmes, and there is a “wide array of possible combinations between secular and faith-based characteristics at the organizational level and the program level.” The typology in Table 6, like the one presented by Hefferan (2015), aims to, “help researchers to make sense of the religious and secular dimensions of an organization,” and help facilitate discussion among scholars researching FBOs in various contexts (Hefferan 2015: 42). Understandably, ethnographic research could be helpful in clarifying the classification of some organisations. Ethnographic research, and a more complex typology, could allow for further organisational analysis and taxonomising of where

and how faith manifests throughout organisations, including at what levels and in what programmes. However, further complexifying the instrument would negate one of its primary aims: to be a simple instrument to easily classify FBOs and secular NGOs.

While typologies are useful, Smith (2017: 69) notes that “categorizing development actors by type arbitrarily positions them, limiting understanding of their complexity and fluidity in different contexts.” As mentioned above, typologies have their limitations, including the one presented and applied in this study. For example, while an FBO may be classified as faith-centred, there could be different ‘degrees’ of this category; one FBO may more formally or systematically incorporate faith into their programming, while another may do so more informally, for example, through the initiative of some staff. Some FBOs have stronger faith integration in their organisations and programmes than others, and categories in typologies are such that nuances or ranges between organisations may not always be classifiable. For example, two organisations may be classified the same way, but may operationalise faith somewhat differently, with one integrating faith more or less than the other. The typology used in this study—being an instrument that classifies organisations more widely—only allows for an FBO (or secular NGO) to be classified within a general classification. Future work building on the typology could thus allow for levels of organisational faith integration to be clarified.

The purpose of the typology is to serve as a taxonomy of organisations, providing further descriptive clarification about them. Without a typology, organisations may be perceived as including or not including religion in the exact same ways. By applying the typology in this study, however, readers can better understand the variety—as well as the similarities that are retained—between organisations, and researchers may find the typology to be more suitable than other typologies in the extant literature, depending on the context in which they are working.

4.7 Further Description of the Organisations in the Study

This section provides further description of the twenty-five organisations examined in this study, expanding on the discussion of the organisations above. Additional

details about the organisations can be found in the organisational profiles included in the Appendix.⁵ This section first explores and describes contrasts found between the FBOs and secular NGOs in the study. It then further describes how organisations were similar and different within their type by exploring, in brief, their services and programmes.

Contrast existed between FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, as most of the secular NGOs were local organisations (i.e. founded and led by a Cambodian) and most FBOs were international (i.e. an organisation had offices in multiple countries or was led by non-Cambodian leadership). Cultural differences of those working in and leading the organisations (i.e. Cambodian nationals vis-à-vis foreign nationals), is also acknowledged.

Some organisations (including some identified in this study as international) provided services exclusively in Cambodia, while others served clients in Cambodia and beyond. However, all organisations—secular and faith-based, national and international—received funding from outside Cambodia. They thus all had international influences. All FBOs and secular NGOs employed Cambodian personnel.

Similarities and contrasts seen in this study would likely also exist in many other development contexts where a mix of non-state development actors provide services. For example, in a Tanzania-based study of three FBOs working in the area of HIV/AIDS, Morgan, Green, and Boesten (2013: 316) recognized that, while the organisations selected as cases were all FBOs, “organizational differences existed between the three cases, which affected comparison across the three cases.” Surtees (2013) also observed, in a study of 252 former victims of trafficking (62 of whom were sexually exploited) across the Greater Mekong Subregion, contrast among the organisations that provided (re)integration services to these individuals. She stated that the victims included in her study, even though having had similar experiences,

⁵ The organisation profiles in the Appendix provide a brief overview of the organisations examined in this study. Their purpose is to add thick description, briefly introducing each organisation and, specifically, the services they provided to women and children who have been (or were at risk of being) sexually exploited, trafficked, or involved in the sex trade. The profiles highlight similarities and differences in their programmes. At the conclusion of each profile is a statement about their funding, and how it has been typologised by this researcher. These profiles have been abbreviated for inclusion in this section of the present chapter.

received very different levels of support, depending on which agency was assisting them.

Albeit of a different form, heterogeneity was seen in Flanigan's (2009) research, where, in a study of FBOs and secular organisations, about 70% of the total participants were from local FBOs and secular NGOs, and about 30% were from international FBOs and secular NGOs. In addition, Steinke (2016), in her study of two humanitarian FBOs that built homes in post-earthquake Haiti, compared two heterogeneous organisations that were different in size, capacity, and international influence. One was a German-based FBO that had built (or reconstructed) more than 2,000 homes. The other was a branch of an international Catholic organisation, identified by the author as a local organisation, which had built 157 homes, and had an entirely Haitian staff. As was likely the case in Flanigan (2009) and Steinke (2016), the similarities and contrasts among the organisations included in the present study reflected the reality of the organisations working on the ground in Cambodia.

Secular NGOs were more likely to provide services to a wider array of clients, such as those with other backgrounds. Some secular NGOs, for example, resembled an orphanage-of-sorts, housing poor children or children who had been involved in labour trafficking, some of whom had experienced sexual abuse or exploitation, or were at risk of it. FBOs, on the other hand, were more likely to focus their entire organisation—or a sizeable unit—on providing services to women and/or children who had been (or were at risk of being) sexually exploited, trafficked, or involved in the sex trade. In other words, both types of organisations provided services to this clientele, but there was diversity in the extent to which some organisations—namely secular NGOs—focused services on these individuals.

As would be expected, some organisations provided services to a larger number of clients than others; and while some organisations focused on a particular sub-type of client (e.g. abused children), other organisations primarily served others (e.g. sex workers). Yet, the organisations included in the study reflected the economy of organisations serving this diverse group of clients. In a study dealing with multiple organisations serving a wide array of clients, it would be quite normal, this researcher would argue, to have dissimilarities among the organisations included. These differences could be considered positive elements of a study for

theoretical implications. Scapens (1990: 273), for example, states that choosing an “extreme case” in a multiple case study is done to “extend a theory to cover a wider range of circumstances.” In this case, then, dissimilar cases in a case study can be used to extend theory more widely (Scapens, 1990).

As mentioned above, social enterprise initiatives were a common element of some organisations in the study. About twice as many FBOs had (or were made up entirely of) a social enterprise. In the cases where an organisation was itself a social enterprise, it was still, at least in some way, supported by donor funds. In some cases, the social enterprise was a substantial part of the organisation (e.g. operating a t-shirt making factory); and in some cases, it made up the entirety of the organisation. Other organisations operated social enterprise initiatives, or income generation activities for some clients, on a smaller scale. Some FBOs operated large-scale employment programmes with their social enterprise activities, the scale of which was unseen in secular NGOs. The greater number of FBOs engaged in social enterprise activities was likely because of the international nature of most FBOs, and their resources and capacity, though the one FBO that was not international also employed a social enterprise model. Three-fifths of the secular NGOs that included a social enterprise model were international.

For those that included a social enterprise model, profits were re-invested back into the organisations and, in at least some cases, social enterprise endeavours provided stable income to clients working in the programme. In other organisations, it was unclear if, or how much, clients directly benefited from their work in a social enterprise beyond the training and other organisational support they received.

The purpose of this study was not to descriptively catalogue similarities and differences across organisations, or the variety of ways—or levels of intensity—in which faith was integrated into programming. Rather, looking at a large number of organisations from a wide-angle view, the study focuses on the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish FBOs from their secular counterparts, regardless of their other differences. While Table 1 (see Appendix) shows FBOs and secular NGOs doing similar work, distinctions are acknowledged in the scale of the organisations. While it was not the focus of this study to ascertain the capacity levels of the organisations (e.g. the quality of their psychological rehabilitation services),

international organisations were more likely to have higher staff capacities, international staff, and other resources that set them apart from local organisations. Budget constraints, for example, were more likely to be shared by respondents from local organisations rather than by respondents from international organisations. Thus, while it is argued that religious faith can be analysed in this study despite organisational contrasts, differences between the organisations in the present study are acknowledged.

4.7.a Faith-Based Organisations (numbered in this study from 1 to 13)

As indicated above, nearly all FBOs in the study were typologised in the same category, representing remarkable similarity in terms of the way faith was incorporated into the culture of their organisations. Their programming was, as it would be expected, tailored to the particular clients they focused on. Their budgets were different sizes and the numbers of clients they served varied. FBOs obtained funding from a variety of sources, including: individual sponsors, monies raised through support offices, churches, grants from faith-based and non-faith-based foundations, organisations, and governments, and through sales of products. In general, this was faith-friendly funding, and thus faith-related programming was not restricted by funders. Yet, faith-related activities were not uniform across all of the FBOs. In some cases, activities that were specifically religious seemed to be initiated more by staff of an FBO; in other cases, it was part of the organisation's formal programming.

Assessing the thirteen FBOs in this study through Clarke and Ware's (2015) four types of FBOs, only one FBO is directly linked to a church denomination, but it is incorporated separately from that religious body; the other 12 are independent organisations that self-identify as being Christian (but are not linked to a church denomination). FBOs ranged in size from large, international FBOs serving many clients in and beyond Cambodia, to those working exclusively in Cambodia, with a smaller number of clients. An example of the former, for example (FBO 1), focuses attention on particularly difficult cases involving girls, aged 9-17, who have experienced sexual abuse, trafficking, or exploitation. They provide assessment

services, specialised counselling support, secure residential care, life skills training, education, and legal support.

Another FBO (FBO 2) provides services in Cambodia and two other nearby developing countries. Concentrating on trauma recovery, their services include residential care (including a girls', boys', and women's facilities), transitional care, case management services, counselling services, health services, catch-up education, skills training, and reintegration.

FBO 3, while an independent legal entity, is affiliated with a major Protestant church denomination in North America. It operates an assessment centre for girls who have experienced trafficking or sexual assault. It is thus a secure facility, providing an initial place of safety and stability, where clients are assessed (mental and physical health), cared for, and where plans for more long-term treatment are made.

FBO 4 has a transitional home for approximately thirteen clients between 17-25 years old. Their aim is to help clients transition from long-term care to independent living, and provide psychosocial care to their clients, including intense trauma counselling.

FBO 5 has two secure residential homes for children, as well as a transitional home for clients moving towards independent living. They provide life skills and counselling, and various services and ministries in a particular neighbourhood near Phnom Penh, where they build relationships with the community through providing free community health care, provide a government-certified school, organise young adult education, organise travelling sports teams, and maintain a gymnasium, which has trained nearly two dozen professional sports persons. They hold Sunday morning church services, as well. They also do intentional outreach to individuals working in Karaoke clubs. At the time of fieldwork, the organisation had one factory, and was in the process of establishing another, where they produce jewellery and t-shirts for overseas sales.

FBO 6 has operations in several countries, and maintains several projects in Cambodia, including residential facilities, vocational training, outreach, and employment opportunities for clients. The organisation serves clients under 18 years old, though they continue providing services to clients after they surpass this age.

They operate a café which provides vocational training to some clients, and provide other vocational opportunities. They conduct outreach inside karaoke and other entertainment establishments to meet potential clients.

An important project of FBO 7 is its culinary training school, serving six clients. This training centre includes a restaurant with a full menu, and a training centre. In addition, another programme in the organisation serves six clients, training them how to make handbags, shirts, and skirts, sold in the United States.

FBO 8 is the only FBO in the study that is categorised as a local FBO, though its funding comes from international sources. One of its programmes is an outreach ministry, where volunteers and staff in small teams visit karaoke bars and beer gardens. The organisation provides counselling, a space for some clients to live, and beauty training from their salon. They also convene regular meetings where clients and potential clients gather.

FBO 9 operates a residential facility and centre where clients live and receive counselling, and vocational and life skills training. Clients start earning money from the first day of the programme, and the organisation seeks to help them with their work ethic.

FBO 10 operates a beauty salon, café, and tea room, where clients are trained in vocational skills. During the one-year hair and beauty programme, clients are trained on hair styles, make up, pedicure, and manicure techniques. Other clients receive cooking and housekeeping training.

FBO 11 is a social enterprise, registered as a business, but affiliated with an umbrella FBO operating other projects in Cambodia. They design and sell bags and other handicrafts, sold in the United States through house parties, where customers learn about the organisation and buy their products. They operate an intensive vocational and life skills training and work programme for twelve women, but also have a larger factory employing poor and vulnerable persons. Clients are paid a salary.

FBO 12 is a social enterprise, registered as a catering company. Its clients are also paid employees. The organisation partners employees with leaders in the organisation to support the training process. Employees are on career paths, with appropriate pay increases based on their advancement.

FBO 13 is an organisation that, in addition to operating as an NGO, also manages several registered businesses (e.g. cafes, guest houses). Their model is one that provides employment opportunities for individuals in the sex industry, if they wish to leave the sex industry. They also provide therapy and counselling, and aim to help clients become independent.

4.7.b Secular NGOs (numbered in this study from 14 to 25)

As with FBOs, secular NGOs tailored their programming according to the emphases they focused on. The numbers of clients they served, along with their budgets, varied. Secular NGOs obtained funding from a variety of sources, which included individuals and grants from organisations and foundations. In some cases, funding was obtained online through their websites or a fundraising platform. Corporate sponsors and private fundraising initiatives were also among the mix of funding sources. At least one organisation received funding from churches. Two organisations received funding from an organisation that funnels funding from USAID, and at least one organisation had received funding from foreign embassies and UNICEF.

Secular NGOs ranged in size from organisations working only in Cambodia, to large, international organisations serving many clients. For example, one is headquartered in Singapore but maintains programmes exclusively in Cambodia (SNGO 14). Their programmes include those that support vulnerable children and families living in impoverished communities. Some of their clients are involved in sex work. They provide life skills and vocational support, as well as financial support to some families.

In contrast, SNGO 15 is a local NGO, providing most of their services to women and girls in crisis. Their services include prevention, protection, prosecution, and advocacy. The organisation seeks to build capacity in their clients, empowering them, and helping them to know their rights.

SNGO 16 was founded by foreign nationals, but operates only in Cambodia. It operates a vocational training centre and residential transition home. The organisation is known for the up-scale jewellery it produces and sells abroad. The

focus of their programmes, geared for girls and young women, aged 15-25, is to provide clients an opportunity other than sex work to make a living.

SNGO 17 operates programmes that include community development. They also include a trafficking prevention programme, and they maintain a shelter for approximately twenty abused or at-risk children and young women. Their organisation also supports entertainment workers—specifically street-based sex workers—and organises a union for these sex workers.

SNGO 18 operates an intensive program that aims to help traumatized girls recover and self-sustain in society. It was founded by foreign nationals but offers services only in Cambodia. It encompasses four programs: a residential shelter, a transitional home for graduates of the shelter, a family assistance programme, and a career programme that seeks to help inspire clients to consider careers that are atypical for Cambodian girls.

SNGO 19 maintains one shelter for girls, one shelter for boys, and two transitional (halfway) homes for older clients who are in the process of reintegrating into the community. They also have a facility for children who have returned to Cambodia after having migrated. They provide psychosocial counselling, health and legal services, and vocational skills training.

SNGO 20 provides outreach services, housing, training, and reintegration for girls and young women who have been victims of trafficking, or who work in the sex trade. Their HIV outreach program reaches those involved in the sex trade in entertainment establishments.

SNGO 21 operates programmes related to family livelihood and village development, including a water project, as well as a protection shelter for children. The organisation seeks to be proactive, identifying high-risk children, particularly girls aged ten or older. The shelter is set up for children who are deemed unable to live safely in their own communities, with victims and at-risk children interacting and living with each other.

SNGO 22 provides services to entertainment workers, as well as to male sex workers, and maintains programmes that support children. These include, for example, day care programmes for pre-school children, and a child protection and prevention programme. Non-formal education programmes in the organisation cross

over into the programme that supports entertainment workers, offering education and vocational training (i.e. sewing, cooking, hair dressing).

SNGO 23 is affiliated with a nonprofit organisation in Japan. It provides services to clients aged 15-19-years old who come from backgrounds of poverty, trafficking, domestic violence, or who are orphans. Their programmes include shelter services for males and females, and vocational training.

SNGO 24 operates a shelter for children, a restaurant that provides vocational training, and provides support to families in the community, for example, through microloans, skills training, advocacy, self-help groups, and income generation support.

SNGO 25 operates several programmes, including community development, and services for entertainment workers. Entertainment workers are met often in their places of work and are also supported in the organisation's drop-in centre. The organisation provides counselling, and facilitates health checks at a health provider.

4.8 Conclusion

In accordance with the overarching research question and supporting research questions delineated in Chapter 1, this thesis is comprised of four empirical, comparative chapters that explore the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish Christian FBOs from secular NGOs working with women and children in Cambodia who have experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or have been involved in the sex trade. This is interrogated by comparatively examining: 1) the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs; 2) their personal and organisational motivations; 3) their organisational approaches to care; and 4) the ways in which they conceive of success.

Like Jawad's (2012a: 224) contributions, this study adds insight into the literature on "what it is that religion and religious welfare organisations bring to the table of social policy interventions." Adding to the "limited but growing" literature on FBOs (Rae and Clarke, 2013: 581), this study contributes knowledge about FBOs and their secular counterparts as implementers of Cambodian social policy, adding to the discussion on organisational and administrative aspects of non-state actors that have had large-scale social responsibilities transferred to them by a state. The next

chapter is the first of the four empirical chapters in this thesis, exploring the goals and missions of the organisations in the study.

Chapter 5

Goals and Missions

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the first of the four supporting research questions explored in this thesis. It is also the first of four empirical chapters, each specifically aimed at disaggregating different aspects of the operation of religious faith in FBOs. This chapter brings comparative insight into the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, exploring the question: *To what extent, and why, might religious faith distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs in their goals and missions?* This chapter can be seen as one step toward responding to the call for a more complex understanding of the notion of ‘faith-based’ (Tomalin, 2012).

A participant at a consultation in Cambodia that focused on discussing the potential contributions of faith-inspired organisations in tackling Southeast Asia’s development challenges asked: do FBO actors “have a well-articulated, coherent consensus about the difference in goals of faith-inspired organizations versus secular agencies?” (Bodakowski, 2009: 58). This question, asked by an employee of a large international FBO, implies that differences in the goals of FBOs and secular NGOs—or at least a wider understanding of possible differences—may be unclear. This chapter addresses this area of enquiry. In doing so, it provides further thick description that brings clarity to the ways in which the organisations were typologised, as discussed in the previous chapter.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, this study employs an input-output conceptual model (informed by Rakodi, 2012b; Knapp, 1984; Kendall and Knapp, 2000), in which religious faith is considered as a non-resource input. Knapp contends that intermediate outputs are the production and delivery of services (1984: 22), and in this thesis, organisational goals and missions are also considered as a form of intermediate output. This chapter comparatively examines these intermediate outputs, and explores the relationship between the non-resource input of religious faith in FBOs and the intermediate output of goals and missions in these organisations.

The findings in this chapter add to the limited literature comparing FBOs and their secular counterparts in development contexts. Faith has often been ignored in the literature on NGOs (Gerstbauer, 2009), though it has become a matter of interest more recently. While some have identified difficulties in clearly demarcating FBOs and secular NGOs in some contexts, as discussed in Chapter 2, this chapter uses the Cambodian context to evaluate what, if any, distinctions might be found between the goals and missions of these two types of organisations.

This chapter presents three arguments. First, a methodological argument is presented, related to the value of conceptually demarcating organisational goals versus organisational missions. Second, it is argued that the input of religious faith infused FBOs in the study, distinguishing them from secular NGOs, and that, therefore, faith served as the underpinning value within which their goals and missions were nested. Accordingly, this chapter builds on the concept of religion as something that infuses an FBO (Ebaugh, et al., 2003), for example in the ways in which it presents itself. Third, it is argued that differences between FBOs and their secular counterparts relate, in part, to the Cambodian context in which they operated, clarifying how the development context may influence important differences between the two types.

The findings resulted from analysing data as discussed in Chapter 4. More specifically, using the Framework method (Ritchie, Spencer, & O'Connor, 2003), content in transcribed interviews that related to organisational goals was sorted and synthesized in a matrix. First, transcripts were screened for content that related to the supporting research question analysed in this chapter. This content was pasted into a Word document where it was summarized or transferred verbatim to an Excel spreadsheet for further inductive analysis and indexing into themes. Various themes were more clearly observed through this sorting and analysis phase. Columns of organised themes were then transferred from the Excel spreadsheet to a Word document for final analysis and writing up.

Organisational goals from FBOs and secular NGOs were also identified from a selection of official websites and Facebook pages, and documents provided to the author by interviewees, or publicly available. These resources were treated in the same manner as the interview responses; first, data were analysed and input into a Word document, after which summaries and/or verbatim texts were transferred to an

Excel spreadsheet. Themes were identified inductively, then sorted and analysed, after which they were transferred to a Word document for final analysis and writing up.

Data from interviews, documents, and websites were substantiated by a comparative analysis of organisational missions.¹ In line with Swales' and Rogers' (1995) observation that mission statements come in different shapes and sizes, missions in this study ranged from one phrase to several sentences in length. The value of examining organisational aims, using both goals and formal organisational missions, is examined later in this chapter.

This chapter proceeds by analysing the goals, and then missions, of the organisations in the study. Theoretical implications related to the findings are then discussed, along with implications for policy and practice.

5.2 Findings

Both uniformity and variation (Blair-Loy, et al., 2011) were observed in the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, and this section comparatively examines these similarities and differences, in three parts. The first part (5.2.a) provides a comparative analysis of organisational goals as stated in interviews by respondents from FBOs and secular NGOs, and as presented in organisational documents and websites. The second part (5.2.b) substantiates the findings through a comparative analysis of organisational missions. Table 7 presents a list of categories examined in these first two parts. The third part of this section (5.2.c) explores the presence of religious faith in the missions of FBOs, demonstrating the extent to which faith was consistently reflected in these organisations.

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¹ Mission statements, stated missions, or statements that were deemed to be mission statements during this stage of analysis, are referred to in this chapter simply as 'missions.'

Table 7
Organisational Goals and Missions
Categories

Goals	Missions
• <i>Client Care and Change</i> • <i>Client Protection and Safety</i> • <i>Client Faith</i>	• <i>Client Recovery</i> • <i>Empowerment</i> • <i>Reducing Poverty</i> • <i>Supporting and Serving Clients</i> • <i>Preventing, Eliminating, Protecting, and Rescuing Persons from Abuse</i> • <i>Human Rights and Justice</i> • <i>Organisational Partnerships and Raising Awareness</i> • <i>Evangelism</i> • <i>Employment and Business</i>

5.2.a Organisational Goals

Goals of FBOs and secular NGOs, expressed in interviews, documents, and online, were ultimately classified into three categories: *Client Care and Change*; *Client Protection and Safety*; and *Client Faith*. These three categories surfaced inductively through examining the data. The first category, *Client Care and Change*, relates to aims that organisations had involving the provision of care to their clients, as well as the improvements and changes they hoped to see in those they served, including the empowerment of clients. The second category, *Client Protection and Safety*, relates to organisational aims focused on keeping clients safe and protecting them from abuse or human rights violations. The third category, *Client Faith*, relates to aims that organisations—namely FBOs—had that either referred to God or were, in some way, faith-related. Organisations naturally had goals that related to more than one category. The three thematic categories will now be considered in turn.

Client Care and Change. As would be expected, both FBOs and secular NGOs maintained goals related to client care and client change. As for goals related to client care, language typically differed between the two types. For FBOs, a vocabulary of

restoration and healing was clearly present, connecting goals for client reintegration into society with wider elements of holistic recovery. This focus on “restorative care,” as one respondent termed it, is likely to be related to two factors:

- 1) the particular clientele they served—FBOs provided services that typically catered more to sexually exploited persons, or those previously involved in sex work, whereas secular NGOs had a more diverse client base that included active sex workers, poor children and families, and those vulnerable to exploitation. These variations, therefore, led to differences in the ways in which both types described their goals for client care and change.
- 2) FBO respondents, given the emphasis of spiritual healing in Christianity, were versed in a culture and vocabulary that emphasised transformation and restoration. In this case, the input of faith in these organisations was manifested in the language they used to describe their goals.

The following quote from an FBO respondent, and a statement, below, from an FBO’s sales catalogue, illustrate the emphasis FBOs maintained on healing and restoration, and how these are closely conceptually connected to the notion of transformation:

We’re founded on Christian values. We have a Word that really stood out to us as we started, it was Isaiah 61, verse 1-3...It talks about, you know, releasing the captives into freedom. It talks about bringing hope to the hopeless. It talks about those things, and so that becomes—that’s still a foundation and the statement of where we come from, the reasons why we do it...to bring change, to see transformation. That’s our goal, definitely, and to release them into – got to look at it – (as if) they’re doves. They’re getting white and they’re getting healed so they can hopefully fly into freedom on healed wings. So we want to release them into, you know, launch them into being members of society in a good way. [FBO 9. 38-W-1]

There are many ways that people can be exploited. No story is exactly the same as another’s, though the fruit of trafficking is often identical: brokenness, hopelessness, low self-worth, shame, deep wounding and life-quenching despair. (Our organisation) exists to offer rescue, rehabilitation and restoration to the vulnerable and exploited in Cambodia. Our desire is to end trafficking’s devastating cycle of abuse by restoring dignity and transforming lives. [FBO 11, sales catalogue]

Of course, language highlighting notions of restoration and healing is not exclusively Christian, and one secular NGO respondent, from an organisation that focused

entirely on rehabilitating formerly sex-trafficked and exploited girls, also emphasised the importance of clients healing from their past experiences. Discussing goals related to client healing, preparing clients to live in society, and enabling them to realise their potential, this respondent stated:

Well, (what) we are trying to achieve is to help the girls in our care heal from their traumatic experience through a comprehensive therapeutic component. We are trying to provide them with a loving and caring environment where they can learn how to take care of themselves. So, focus on life skills, you know, on things that they didn't get a chance to be taught: how to cook, how to clean, how to take care of their bodies, how to take care of their clothes and, you know, how to stay healthy, and engage in healthy sexual behaviour; and there's a sex ed. component, and how to recognize pimps in the future—all of that kind of learning that they need. That's a goal of ours—to have the girls graduate from our programme prepared to be out in Cambodian society. And a third goal would be to help them realize their potential and their dreams. [SNGO 18. 34-T-2]

While client recovery was stated among the goals of secular NGOs, successful client reintegration was a common theme. For example, a secular NGO described on its website its emphasis on assisting clients to reintegrate: “Today we are constantly working towards our goal - to help underprivileged children and youths in Asia become reintegrated into society” [SNGO 23]. On a brochure, another organisation stated, among its three objectives, “To develop and optimize prevention, assistance, rescue efforts, repatriation, rehabilitation, vocational training and reintegration of (trafficked women and children)” [SNGO 20]. Furthermore, a respondent from this same organisation stated:

Our goal is to equip the survivor with the skills to improve their livelihood and to (sustain) their livelihood with financial independence; so this is our goal. Starting from (when) they choose to (proceed with) reintegration with financial independence. (Our organisation) has reintegration support. We provide them (resources) to run their business, to use the skill they trained (for in) the shelter. [SNGO 20. 22-A-1]

As with client care, client change was a common goal among both FBOs and secular NGOs. Organisations wanted their clients to increase their skills, obtain better

employment, and have overall wellbeing. As explained below, empowerment was also an important theme related to client change.

Goals naturally pertained to the specific programming organisations focused on, and though both types of organisations phrased goals similarly, subtle differences were observed. The following two quotes from FBO respondents illustrate the conceptual connection between goals relating to transformation and client care:

Our goal is to enhance the lives and transformation of lives of the victims of trafficking and sexual abuse...And to ensure...sustainable reintegration through the protective, preventative, and restorative care. That is our programme...most of the victims, they experience in the very hard situation in the past. They've gone through family violence, dysfunctional family, they were exposed to violence...they were forced to have sex – something like that. And they were in the poor economy, and they also experience and have no education...We want them to see how the world is good, so that (they can) transform from what they had been to another life. They are sent to education. They know what is love means to them, through our staff. [FBO 1. 14-W-2]

(The organisation's) goal is (to) provide a very good care, to provide quality care to women and children that come from the background of human rights abuse so that they become resilient member(s) of society. This is our goal, yeah. So when they become the resilient member(s) of society...when they get restored, they (are) full of resilience, they can face with a community, they (aren't) afraid anymore. For women, when they are strong, they can take care of their kids and they have a job; they can support their kid to (attend) school, and that is their role, (the) full life that they want. And for kids—education; when they go back home (from residential care) and (are) strong...they know how to protect themselves to not get abused again. [FBO 2. 20-H-2]

Both types of organisations had goals related to clients having dignity, and being stable members of society. Goals about good citizenry related to clients being motivated, responsible, good role models, interested in helping others, and becoming agents of change. A respondent from a secular NGO discussed an organisational goal in terms of wider community change, connected with other goals related to helping individuals stay safe, which aligned with the organisation's services to poor families:

And we have a mission to prevent child trafficking and exploitation, and to (see no more) exploitation (among) adults and families. And then our life mission is to transform the family and community in the

slum community to be more independent in terms of financial support, as well as personal development. And our goal—our short-term goal—is to provide...a safe place for children. And long-term goal, we want to see the family get financial independence. ... We want to see, in the future, the changes in the community, like adults who were unemployed have jobs. Adults who make less income can earn more income—they can support their children and their family. Better future. [SNGO 14. 4-R-1]

Though both types of organisations sought improvement in their clients' lives, inferences about faith, sometimes expressed as hope, or spiritual transformation, were unique to FBOs. One FBO, for example, stated on its Facebook page that it “seeks to help victims...into a situation of safety, freedom and dignity, to find wholeness, and to become all that God created them to be” [FBO 13]. In short, faith was seen as a foundation for the goals FBOs had for change in their clients, which was important to how their goals were distinguished from those of secular NGOs.

While FBOs and secular NGOs provided opportunities for sex workers to receive skills training to engage in other ways to gain their livelihood, some secular NGOs supported their clients to continue their work in entertainment work and the sex trade. Yet both FBOs and secular NGOs desired their clients to be able to sustain themselves in safe, fair, and healthy work. They readily provided education, vocational training, life skills, and alternative employment to their clients. Aims for clients to acquire skills and sustainable work varied little between both types of organisation, and included clients gaining education, increasing in personal development, and becoming financially independent.

As for client empowerment, while both types desired clients to be empowered to have an improved life and future, they expressed these goals in different forms. The varied programmes of secular NGOs—which included activities spanning from helping sexually abused children and women recover, to supporting active sex workers—were reflected in their varied goals related to client empowerment. FBOs, however, while also having varied programmes, had less diversity in the ways in which they understood empowerment (e.g. empowering sexually abused persons to recover, and helping women be empowered so that they would not have to work as sex workers), which was reflected in unified goals related to client empowerment.

FBOs wanted their clients to be empowered to be self-supportive and successful, and, as one FBO leader stated, to “be empowered to take steps that lead

them into a...higher quality of life where they're not being exploited" [FBO 13. 2-D-1]. They sought to empower the poor, and desired clients to be empowered to have a future that looked different from their past. One FBO's goal to "help Cambodians empower Cambodians to be who they are meant to be" connected with its goal to empower their (Cambodian) *staff* [FBO 4. 30-R]. This sentiment was similar to another FBO's goal, stated on its website, to "empower our staff and the communities we serve to take part in building a better future for Cambodian children" [FBO 1].

Among the goals of secular NGOs were for clients to be empowered "to understand their rights and what they can contribute to peaceful society" [NGO 15. 5-C-1], and to participate in society and to make their own decisions. For some secular NGOs, goals related to the empowerment of clients continuing their involvement in the sex trade. The goals of secular NGOs also related to families being strengthened, and for clients to be empowered economically, and to improve their life situations. Like their FBO counterparts, secular NGOs also desired clients to have a better future, and to be empowered to live sustainably and peacefully.

Client Protection and Safety. FBOs and secular NGOs maintained similar goals about client protection and safety, and differences between the two types were subtle. In the following quote, an FBO respondent emphasises the importance of protecting clients from abuse, or re-abuse.

For those who were abused, we would like for them to be able to go back to a certain degree of normalcy, to be able to deal with the memory of the trauma and yet continue on with their lives and make sure that they're not going to be abused again. But more importantly, to be able to help these families and these communities to address the vulnerabilities of these individual families and the communities in general, to make sure that that's prevented from happening and that the children who have been abused will not be re-abused again. Our main goal in child protection is to make sure that children are not violated, and that's why we give premium to—we give premium to preventing that from happening. So we're basically working with those who are most vulnerable. And if they fall in a crisis situation, we provide them those types of services, with the hope that they'll be healed and then they will not be re-abused again. [FBO 1. 6-W-1]

A respondent from a secular NGO similarly stated, "The goal is to reintegrate them back into society. And we protect—we protect or prevent, you know, protect them

from the re-trafficking or abuse, or any discrimination from the society” [NGO 19. 21-C-1]. Another representative from this organisation stated that the organisation wanted to see clients have peace, get justice, be away from abuse, and become stable in the community [NGO 19. 31-C-2].

Goals of FBOs and secular NGOs that related to client protection and safety focused on keeping clients safe and preventing their abuse and re-abuse; some related to promoting the rights of their clients. For example, one secular NGO’s goal to promote the rights and safety of sex workers was ultimately similar to the goals of other organisations in the study: that clients be safe and free from abuse.

Client Faith. Unlike secular NGOs, some FBOs maintained goals relating to the religious wellbeing of their clients, though these varied across FBOs. In interviews, such goals were often implicit (i.e. they related to hope and transformation, as explored above). For example, one FBO respondent stated that one goal included seeing women working in karaoke bars and beer gardens have hope for their lives, and that they would feel dignity, value, and equality [FBO 8. 2-P-1].

One FBO stated in a document its desire for children to “experience the love of God in meaningful ways,” while also noting that the organisation is mindful that it is a guest “in cultures that hold many diverse beliefs” [FBO 1]. Typically, only brief references were made in interviews, documents or on websites regarding aims for clients to engage personally with faith or to become Christians. While various aspects of faith were discussed in interviews by all FBO personnel, including the importance of faith to their organisations, and if and how faith is reflected in the lives of clients, most respondents did not explicitly express an organisational goal that clients should become Christians. However, this was sometimes expressed, such as one respondent’s statement that she wanted clients to “know the unconditional love of Christ” [FBO 10. 23-O-1], stating that it was the organisation’s first priority. Similarly, another respondent stated that their organisation wanted clients to “love the Lord” [FBO 11. 27-S-2].

Deciphering conceptual distinctions between an organisation’s stated vision and goals complicated the interpretation of FBOs’ goals about clients’ faith. Some FBOs included references to religious faith in their vision statements, though these were not classified in the study as pertaining to organisational goals, but rather relating to their vision, and are discussed in the following chapter (on motivations).

For example, one FBO stated in a newsletter that its vision was to see “...Cambodians come to faith in Jesus Christ and (that) godly leaders are prepared to go out into the communities and businesses and live the Gospel” [FBO 12].

5.2.b Organisational Missions

Written missions (i.e. mission statements, or statements of mission) were available for 24 of the 25 organisations in the study. A variety of missions were articulated, inductively classified into nine categories:

- *Client Recovery* (i.e. missions related to restoring and reintegrating clients, and seeking improvements in their lives)
- *Empowerment* (i.e. missions related to clients being self-sustaining and self-confident, improving intellectually and economically, and finding better labour conditions, etc.)
- *Reducing Poverty* (i.e. missions related to reducing or alleviating poverty)
- *Supporting and Serving Clients* (i.e. missions related to caring for and serving clients)
- *Preventing, Eliminating, Protecting, and Rescuing Persons from Abuse* (i.e. missions related to preventing abuse or protecting or rescuing victims from it)
- *Human Rights and Justice* (i.e. missions related to promoting justice and human rights)
- *Organisational Partnerships and Raising Awareness* (i.e. missions related to organisational partnerships that could support the organisation’s work, or raising awareness about the problems the organisation sought to address)
- *Evangelism* (i.e. missions related to sharing the Christian faith with others or encouraging others to become Christians)
- *Employment and Business* (i.e. missions related to client employment and/or businesses affiliated with the organisation)

Though greater in number, these categories aligned with the organisational goals presented above. Organisations typically had missions that were classified here under multiple categories. Because data in mission statements is quantifiable, given their formalised and written format, the findings below include the number of FBOs and secular NGOs that were classified in the above categories.

Client Recovery. Sixteen organisations (FBOs n=6) expressed missions that were related to client recovery. Mission statements of FBOs included expressions about restoring “broken lives” so that clients can have “life in all its fullness” [FBO 2], restoring and reintegrating abused persons, facilitating “holistic recovery” [FBO 13], teaching clients about making healthy choices and taking responsibility, and

promoting “human transformation” [FBO 1]. Included in the ways in which secular NGOs expressed this mission were statements about restoring lives and being committed to clients’ rehabilitation and reintegration, as well as working to achieve lasting improvements for the poor, promoting the wellbeing of clients and communities, and aiding young clients in becoming well-rounded adults. For example, one secular NGO stated in its mission its aim “to provide an education and life skills that will give survivors the ability to sustain their own futures with dignity” [SNGO 19]. While similarities were expressed in both types of organisations, there were nuanced differences in language and intent. Since FBOs also typically included references to their faith in their missions, as explored further in the next section, their aims related to client recovery could be inferred as including spiritual or metaphysical dimensions.

Empowerment. Eleven organisations (FBOs n=4) included client empowerment in their mission statements, though not all of them used the word “empower.” While this was represented in the mission statements of one-third of FBOs, it was represented in more than half the mission statements of secular NGOs. FBO missions revolved around organisations empowering clients to be self-sustaining and not poor, and for clients to have improved lives and exploitation-free work. The missions of secular NGOs related to clients being intellectually empowered, sustainable, self-confident, and able to participate in, and benefit from, society; their missions also included empowering clients to claim their universal human rights.

Reducing Poverty. Seven organisations (FBOs n=5) included similar missions that focused on reducing or alleviating poverty. Most of these organisations were FBOs, and their missions included concerns about alleviating poverty, providing “transformational development” [FBO 1], providing a way out of poverty, and providing help to the poor.

Supporting and Serving Clients. Seven organisations (FBOs n=4) included references in their missions about serving or supporting clients. Secular NGOs identified their organisations as supporting, or caring for, vulnerable persons and victims, and FBOs stated this in ways such as their being “committed to serving” [FBO 4], “providing a loving and caring Christian environment” [FBO 10], and providing a space for clients

to “grow and experience the unconditional love of God—a place where they can feel valued and esteemed” [FBO 6].

Preventing, Eliminating, Protecting, and Rescuing Persons from Abuse. Seven organisations (FBOs n=2) included missions about preventing abuse or protecting or rescuing victims from it. Few differences existed between FBOs and secular NGOs in the ways these missions were expressed. Organisations stated their missions as preventing sex slavery, protecting the vulnerable, stopping child trafficking, and eliminating violence.

Human Rights and Justice. Five organisations (FBOs n=2) had missions related to human rights or justice. Differences were observed in the missions between FBOs and secular NGOs; of the two FBOs, neither mentioned human rights. Of the three secular NGOs, none mentioned justice. While a third FBO did include the term human rights, it was not included in this category, given that the context related to client recovery, thus demonstrating the potential for missions (and goals) in one category to overlap with those in other categories.

Organisational Partnerships and Raising Awareness. Five organisations (FBOs n=2) included a mission regarding organisational partnerships or bringing awareness about the problems their organisations sought to address. A key distinction was that the missions of secular NGOs related to direct client outcomes; FBOs, however, expressed missions that were focused on organisational partners (churches and people of influence), rather than missions that related directly to their clients.

Evangelism. Though nearly all FBOs included a faith component in their mission statements, as detailed further below, only four FBOs included an evangelical mission, meaning that their mission statement included a reference to sharing the Christian faith with others or encouraging others to become Christians. One expressed this through its commitment to “being an agent of change in Cambodia’s social, economic, and spiritual landscape” [FBO 4]. Another FBO stated, as part of its mission, its desire to share about Jesus to those who are in the grip of poverty and bondage.

Employment and Business. Four organisations (FBOs n=2) maintained missions that centred on client employment and/or businesses affiliated with the organisation. Similarities included missions related to assisting clients in obtaining exploitation-free work, or providing them with sustainable employment.

5.2.c The Presence of Religious Faith in FBO Missions

Of the thirteen FBOs included in the study, written missions were available for twelve, and eleven included at least one specific reference to faith. The one FBO that did not include a faith component in its mission statement included other public references to faith, such as on its website.

While the religiosity of FBOs may span a continuum, with some mission statements being indistinguishable from the mission statements of secular NGOs (Benedetti, 2006), the inclusion of faith components in FBO missions in the present study indicates their clear demarcation from secular NGOs. That said, references to faith within FBOs were varied; for example, some FBO missions contained only one reference to faith, while others included more. Three of the FBOs simply identified as a Christian organisation, without further explaining what that entailed. The others either: 1) identified as a Christian organisation and provided additional details about faith-related matters; or 2) included explanations of the ways in which faith was operationalised in, or important to, the organisation but without explicitly identifying as a Christian FBO. An inductive analysis found six types of faith components in the missions of FBOs, as seen in Table 8.

Table 8
Faith Components Found in FBO Missions

- 1) Identification as an FBO (e.g. a “global Christian organization”)
- 2) Evangelism as part of the mission (e.g. the FBO “seeks to bring the Good News of Jesus”)
- 3) Faith as underpinning the work of the FBO (e.g. the FBO’s mission is accomplished “through Christ’s love and Gospel”)
- 4) Reference to collaboration with churches (e.g. the FBO starts and equips churches to prevent sexual slavery)
- 5) Faith as integral to client care (e.g. the FBO provides a place where clients can “experience the unconditional love of God”)
- 6) Other reference to faith (e.g. a faith proclamation in the mission statement or reference to prayer)

Table 8 illustrates the nuanced ways in which FBOs publicly identified with their faith-orientation, demonstrating variety in the ways in which faith was expressed in these organisations. While nuanced differences in FBO missions probably related to how FBOs chose to articulate faith, the manner in which FBOs formally recognised the importance of faith in their missions provides insight into the significance of religious faith in these organisations as a whole. The inclusion of faith in these missions is important to understanding how FBOs, collectively, understood and articulated religious components in their organisations. It is argued here that more significant than the nuances in the faith components of FBO missions, depicted in Table 8, is the consistency of FBOs in publicly identifying with their faith.

5.3 Discussion

The aim of this chapter has been to explore the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs, in terms of their goals and missions. Some have argued that distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs are not clear (e.g. Clarke & Ware, 2015), and Heist & Cnaan (2016) have pointed out that FBOs working in international development are infrequently documented. Comparing and contrasting the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, this chapter presents a unique contribution to the extant literature about these organisations.

The findings demonstrated that Christian FBOs and secular NGOs shared, to a large extent, similar goals and missions, though with some subtle and significant distinctions between them. In addition, the findings showed that FBOs, while similar to one another, can be diverse within their own type. For example, the findings showed no great disparity in FBOs publicly identifying with their Christian orientation, as demonstrated in their missions, though the findings did show diversity in the ways in which they expressed this.

Similar to the findings of Kearns, Park, and Yankoski (2005) in their US-based study, while the faith-orientation of FBOs distinguished these organisations from secular NGOs, the two types were found to be comparable. This was related to several factors, including a desire to provide quality client care that sought the good of their clients, and a legal framework that required organisations—as holders of memoranda with the Cambodian government—to provide services that met certain

standards. Furthermore, the organisations in the study included similar clientele among those they served, though some organisations primarily served adults, while others served children, or both, and these differences are likely to have affected specific aspects of their goals and missions. For example, whereas an FBO that served sexually exploited children expressed restorative notions in their missions [e.g. FBO 2], a secular NGO that focused programming on issues related to violence against women and children maintained language that related more to helping clients claim their rights and be empowered [e.g. SNGO 15]. Similarly, while all organisations served, to a certain extent, clients who had been—or were vulnerable to being—sexually exploited, abused, trafficked, or involved in the sex trade, organisations differed in the percentages of their clients who fitted these demographics, and provided services to clients who had other backgrounds.

This chapter presents three primary arguments, detailed below. First, a methodological argument is made for the value of conceptually distinguishing between organisational goals and formal statements of mission. Second, related to the conceptual model that guided this study, it is argued that the input of religious faith infused FBOs in the study. Not only did this distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs, it was present among FBOs in a substantive way such that it was a factor in the sort of uniformity that existed among them. Furthermore, this infusion of faith, it is argued, led FBOs to nest their goals and missions within the context of the faith milieu in which they operated. Third, it is argued that the development context further led to differences between the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs; yet the development context did not lead to substantive differences in how FBOs related faith to their goals and missions. These arguments are discussed below in sections 5.3.a – 5.3.c, after which policy and practice implications are presented.

5.3.a Conceptually Distinguishing Between Organisational Goals and Missions

This study examined both organisational goals and written statements of organisational missions. Missions are formal statements which are likely to have been discussed, analysed, and critiqued before they are presented to the public. They are meant for a broad audience, including those inside and outside the organisation. They are succinct and clear, summarising the aims and essence of an organisation, and do not typically go into detail about an organisation's work.

Presenting additional detail in relation to this brief, wide-angle organisational perspective are organisational goals that are articulated, for example, through interviews and publications. Goals discussed in interviews are likely to include greater specificity; they will be articulated in different ways, and are going to be up-to-date, perhaps even specifically related to a particular client group or area of service provision. Furthermore, though not always the case, goals may be reflective of more impromptu responses about an organisation's aims, thus serving as a useful complement to the thought-out written mission.

In the present study, compared to goals, elements in missions were classified in a larger number of categories. This is because the nature of these statements allows them to be easily structured, categorised, and quantified. Their form and nature allow them to be systematically compared and explored, allowing for clear comparison between organisations.

As demonstrated in this chapter, organisational missions—pithy, organisational-wide statements—can be examined alongside organisational goals, which are articulated in less formal ways. Conceptual demarcation of goals versus missions can be useful when examining the aims of organisations, so that by analysing both, organisational aims can be more clearly understood from both a formal perspective and an on-the-ground, programme-specific perspective. A researcher could use one to triangulate or verify the other. Researchers may wish to examine, for example, to what extent goals—articulated in interviews and in publications or websites—align with formal mission statements. This could benefit organisational scholars who wish to analyse the extent to which an organisation is aligned in the ways in which it communicates its organisational aims.

5.3.b The Infusion of Faith in FBOs

As discussed previously in this thesis, an input-output model was used as a conceptual model for the study. In this chapter, intermediate outputs (i.e. goals and missions) were comparatively examined, and the relationship between the non-resource input of faith in FBOs and their intermediate outputs was explored. The study found that the input of faith influenced the goals and missions of FBOs. Faith was found to infuse FBOs in such a way that their self-presentation was differentiated from that of their secular counterparts (Ebaugh, et al., 2003). This resulted from faith influencing the essence of these organisations, thereby leading to differences in some of their goals

and missions when compared to secular NGOs. This coincides with how FBOs were typologised in the previous chapter, with nearly all FBOs classified as ‘Faith-Centred.’

The findings from this study relate to those from Paras (2014: 447) who, in a study of how seven Canadian Christian FBOs constructed boundaries between notions of “missions” and “development,” found that all the organisations’ activities were “infused with religious significance.” Importantly, though distinctions were evident, FBOs and secular NGOs in the present study also shared similar organisational goals and missions. Providing insight into the relationship between organisational inputs and outputs, this finding highlights that dissimilarities in non-resource inputs may or may not affect certain organisational intermediate outputs.

While it would be normal for goals to be communicated differently by different people, as the findings demonstrated, FBOs nested their goals and missions within the context of the faith milieu in which they operated. This finding can provide insight to understanding FBOs, and how they may be similar to or different from secular NGOs in other geographical locations. The integral nature of faith in FBOs in the present study led to important differences between the two types of organisations. FBOs pursued an integrated approach, structuring their organisational goals and missions within the context of faith, which complemented, motivated, and undergirded the services they provided. Thus, faith served as an underpinning value that provided a framework for organisational goals and missions, and the ways in which these were communicated. In this way, FBO goals and missions were nested within the faith ethos that grounded and guided these organisations.

In addition to considering the extent to which, and why, religious faith distinguished FBOs from secular NGOs in their goals and missions, the findings demonstrate the ways in which FBOs publicly identified with faith, and how they expressed faith as integrated into their organisations. The findings also revealed the variety of ways in which religious faith was manifested in FBOs. Faith was clearly positioned as integral to the missions and goals of FBOs. The findings support Amstutz’s (2001) claim that many FBOs define their aims and purposes using spiritual terminology. They also coincide with Berger’s (2003: 19) notion of FBOs’ missions being guided by “a concept of the divine and recognition of the sacred nature of human life.” Yet Berger (2003) noted that FBOs can vary considerably in how they emphasise spiritual or religious foundations, with the mission statements of some

FBOs being indistinguishable from those of their secular counterparts. In the present study, however, considerable differences were not observed among FBOs' missions, though the study found that faith-related elements were expressed differently across FBOs. Despite this diversity found in the faith components of FBO missions, the clear presence of faith in their missions demonstrated some uniformity among FBOs in how they understood themselves and publicly acknowledged their faith orientation. All FBOs had a high religious orientation, confirming the connection between the greater role of religion in FBOs and the greater likelihood that religion will be explicitly expressed in their missions (Thaut, 2009; Kniss & Campbell, 1997). Publicly identifying with their religious affiliation points to the way in which FBOs clearly understood faith as part and parcel of their identity and work. Such a finding is significant, as FBOs in other contexts may not have such uniformities. For example, Johnsen (2014: 426), in her UK-based study on organisations that served homeless persons, stated that "differences amongst FBOs can be extreme."

While important similarities existed among FBOs, the findings illustrated some differences, as should be expected when examining different organisations. For example, some FBOs in the present study had aims related to clients engaging with faith, while others did not. Complicating this, though, was that FBOs may or may not have expressed—as formal missions and goals—overtly spiritually related aims. Organisational goals about clients engaging with faith, though not formally expressed, may have existed in practice, serving as an example of distinctions that may exist between "official" and "operative" goals (Perrow, 1961). Evangelistic goals were not often articulated as organisational goals, and most FBOs did not formally express goals that were overtly religious, though respondents did discuss the importance of faith in their organisations, as well as their faith-related programming (e.g. Bible studies, prayer), demonstrating the importance of faith in the life of these organisations. Faith principles and, along with this, desires for clients to engage personally with faith, were important elements of FBOs in the study—though operationalised in different ways and to different degrees—undergirding goals for clients to be rehabilitated, transform or move forward in life. As discussed later in Chapter 7, faith was typically facilitated through onsite programming, or off-site options for clients to engage in via a church partner. FBO respondents believed that, through the Christian faith, true healing, hope, and life change could be found. This

also relates to the motivational factors of FBOs and their actors, discussed in the following chapter.

Looking beyond the context of this particular study, three possible reasons why FBOs may not express overt goals about client faith engagement are worth considering. First, whilst faith may be an input that motivates the work of an organisation, the organisation may not have specific aims about influencing clients' faith. In this case, evangelisation is not a goal of the organisation; instead, organisations may emphasise that clients' engagement with faith—if it happens—should be guided by the clients themselves, though perhaps fostered by partner organisations (e.g. churches) with which clients may be invited to engage. Thus FBOs may not consider changes in clients' faith as an organisational goal per se, but as a natural outcome of their learning about Christianity. In other cases, some FBOs may operate as secular organisations, and thus evangelisation and client faith engagement are not in their purview. Second, a goal about clients' faith might be held among some personnel in an FBO, but falls short of a formally verbalised organisational goal. Third, FBOs may wish not to be perceived as proselytising.

The concept of spiritual transformation is critical to consider when exploring philosophical differences between FBOs and secular NGOs. The findings in this study coincide with Sherman's (1995) assertion that faith-based service providers—at their core—aim to transform lives. While Grettenberger, Bartkowski, and Smith (2006: 228) note the limited literature that defines 'transformation' and its indicators, FBOs seemed to desire their clients to be spiritually transformed regardless of whether this was declared as a goal. This highlights conceptual differences between FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, coinciding with Tyndale's (2003) notion that, even when FBOs and secular NGOs share the same goals, ideas about how to reach those goals may be different.

5.3.c The Development Context

The similarities and differences in the ways FBOs and secular NGOs expressed their goals and missions correspond with the different emphases, priorities, and inputs of the organisations, as well as differences in the ways in which goals and missions are communicated. Similarities were likely to result from the common development context in which they operated: both provided services as NGOs; they shared similarities in the realm of service provision they focused on; and they both operated

within the same geographical location. Similarities in how they described their work reflected this common development context. In addition, organisations—faith-based and secular—are likely to discuss their goals and missions professionally, in relation to the standards and expectations of the field. ‘NGO-speak,’ Lynch (2011: 205) states, is used by both FBOs and secular NGOs to communicate their objectives, seek funding, and assess their outcomes.

However, alongside the similarities in their goals and missions were differences, and three possible reasons are highlighted here to explain why these differences existed. First, differences in programming models were likely to have influenced the ways in which FBOs and secular NGOs expressed their goals and missions. Differences in programming—whether large or small—would naturally be reflected in the ways in which organisational representatives communicated their goals and missions.

Second, nearly all respondents from secular NGOs did not identify as Christian, contrasting with respondents from FBOs, where all identified as Christian. Such religious differences were likely to have led to differences in how they communicated their goals and missions. Differences between the organisational milieux of faith-based and secular organisations, also led to differences in their goals and missions. The milieu of FBOs included the input of the Christian faith, with a vocabulary emphasising faith being used to express their goals and missions, as discussed above. Thus, there was a connection between the input of faith and the goals and missions of FBOs. Given the religious milieu of Cambodia, however, a cultural connection with Christianity was not present among the secular NGOs, as has been seen in other geographical contexts (e.g. Hershey, 2016).

Third, and most importantly, though the development context facilitated some commonalities in the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, it is argued that the (Buddhist and animistic) development context in which they operated, as discussed earlier in this thesis, heightened the differences found between them. This context is unlike that of other studies in which FBOs and secular NGOs were found to differ less markedly (e.g. Green, et al., 2012; Hershey, 2016). In the Cambodian context, whereas secular NGOs did not overtly incorporate religious values into their missions and goals, FBOs did. However, while the Cambodian context is posited to have influenced the contrasts between FBOs and secular NGOs, this context was not

one where substantive differences existed among FBOs, in terms of the relationship between faith and organisational goals and missions in these organisations.

An important consideration related to the development context is funding. FBOs received funding from sources that apparently did not restrict them in terms of if, or how, they included religious elements in their organisations and programming. FBOs in other contexts may not always have such faith-friendly funding, however. For example, a study comparing FBOs and secular NGOs that worked on HIV prevention in Kenya found that FBOs (as well as secular NGOs) were constrained by restrictions in donor funding (Hershey, 2016). In that study, FBOs reduced faith elements in their programmes, both in order to have a wider appeal to clients and also because they felt pressure from donors to separate religious and service activities. While FBOs included prayer and used faith-related language, they did not include activities that were more explicitly religious. In this way, their programmes appealed to both Christians and non-Christians, and conformed to donor pressures (Hershey, 2016). The context in Cambodia, however, was found to be different. FBOs were not constrained in a similar manner, and faith was often widely included in their programming, albeit typically in a way that was stated as being voluntary for clients, as will be examined in Chapter 7. Though Hershey's (2016) study relates to the integration of faith in programming, rather than their goals and missions, it serves as a useful information base from which to analyse the importance of considering the development context when exploring distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs.

While the lack of FBO donor constraints relates to the development context in Cambodia, it also relates to the conceptual model guiding this thesis; unrestrictive, faith-friendly funding was an important input into FBOs. This provides insight not only into differences between FBOs and secular NGOs in the present study, but also into how FBOs in Cambodia may differ when compared to FBOs in other geographical locations. For example, while FBOs in Cambodia included faith elements in their public profiles, some FBOs in other contexts may choose not to do so. In these cases, concerns related to seeking funding from secular donors may lead to FBOs limiting their public expressions of faith, for example, in their mission statements, or incorporating faith differently in their organisations. However, Ebaugh, et al. (2003) found a high ratio of FBOs in their US-based study identifying their religious affiliation in their mission statements. Similarly, Moyer, Sinclair, and

Spaling (2012) found that all the Christian FBOs in their Kenya-based study clearly stated faith convictions in mission statements or other texts.

Various factors can thus affect the extent to which faith is clearly positioned in FBO missions and goals, including the faith background and theology of the FBO, as well as factors related to the wider development context, including the types of service the organisation provides, the clients they serve, the funding context, and the cultural and religious milieu. These contextual factors play a significant role when seeking to explore similarities and differences among FBOs, and between FBOs and secular NGOs.

5.3.d Policy and Practice Implications

Echoing Johnsen (2014), these findings should caution stakeholders not to exaggerate differences between FBOs and their non-faith-based counterparts. Policy stakeholders should also be reminded that faith is integrated differently among FBOs; they are not all the same (Smith & Sosin, 2001). Yet important similarities were retained among the FBOs in the study, and this distinguished these organisations from their secular counterparts.

The findings demonstrated that solely comparing organisational goals and missions may not be an accurate method for determining distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs in practice. This is because the stated goals of organisations may not fully encompass priorities rooted in their ethos or foundational values. Important cultural, religious, or philosophical aspects may undergird organisations regardless of their faith affiliation, or lack thereof. Complementing an appraisal of goals and missions, therefore, should be a review of other organisational aspects, which can be important to understanding an organisation's priorities. This will be done in the following three empirical chapters.

The lack of any reference to faith among secular NGOs in the study coincided with Bart's (2007: 682) findings of "specific and significant differences" between the mission statements of faith-based and non-faith-based hospitals. Yet, despite such dissimilarity between the organisations in terms of faith, values were observed in the goals and missions of both types, thus confirming the argument posited by Chen, Lune, and Queen (2013) that values—promoted in mission statements and other ways—are reflected and propagated in *all* organisations. FBOs and secular NGOs alike hold values that influence their service philosophy. Ensuring that organisational

values, aims, and practices align with policy objectives is important before engaging any type of organisation to implement new policy provisions. Importantly, when stakeholders are considering organisations for policy implementation, the ‘faith factor’ is *not* likely to be the most important factor by which an organisation should (or should not) be selected. Rather, organisations should be evaluated on the likelihood that they will implement quality services and obtain the final outcomes desired.

Finally, the study highlights the value of mission statements and goals that are presented publicly, and practitioners should consider the importance of accurately presenting organisational goals and missions. It has been argued that goal ambiguity is a primary characteristic of third sector organisations (McGill & Wooten, 1975). As Lewis (2014: 221) states, there is typically a gap between what a third sector organisation formally declares as its goals and what it actually pursues each day. Thus, it is important to have clear organisational goals and missions. Missions should be clear, concise, and easily identifiable as a formal mission statement to those interested in learning more about an organisation. The mission of a nonprofit organisation is the reason it exists (Worth, 2017); it clarifies the purpose of an organisation and clearly envisions its future (Brown and Yoshioka, 2003). Mission statements are intended to capture an organisation’s core values, practices, and unique purpose (Bart, 2002), with a stable mission and identity providing “a source of values that guide decision making” (Sinha, 2013: 580). As Fairhurst, Jordan, and Neuwirth (1997: 243) state, mission statements are “an increasingly popular genre of corporate communication” that are widely communicated to different audiences. FBOs and secular NGOs would do well to ensure their missions and goals reflect organisational values, initiatives, and distinctives as they interpret them. This is also in the interest of the organisations, as Swales and Rogers (1995) contend that mission statements facilitate employee ‘buy-in’ and assist employees in fostering identification with their employer.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the extent to which, and why, faith distinguished FBOs from secular NGOs in their goals and missions, an area of research that has, to date, had limited exploration in a development context. Examining the relationship between

organisational inputs and outputs, the study demonstrated that dissimilarities in non-resource inputs may or may not affect certain organisational intermediate outputs (i.e. goals and missions). One implication is that solely comparing organisational goals and missions may not be an accurate method for determining actual distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs, as organisations may maintain many similar goals and missions but, in practice, maintain important differences. Furthermore, while the presence of faith was found in the study to be unique to FBOs, the study illustrated the ways in which FBOs consistently and publicly identified with their Christian orientation, though this was expressed in various ways.

Three arguments were developed from the findings presented in this chapter. First, a methodological argument was made for the value of conceptually differentiating between organisational goals and formal missions. It was argued that, by analysing both, organisational aims can be more clearly understood, from both a formal perspective and an on-the-ground, programme-specific perspective, as goals may include additional, up-to-date, and specific detail to augment brief, formal statements of mission. Second, while similarities existed across FBOs and secular NGOs, it was argued that the input of religious faith infused FBOs in the study, differentiating some of their goals and missions from those of their secular counterparts. Through an integrated approach, faith served as a framework to structure FBO goals and missions. Faith was not something simply added into FBO goals and missions, but was the underpinning value within which their goals and missions were nested. Third, it was argued that differences between Christian FBOs and secular NGOs in the study relate, in part, to the Cambodian context in which they operated, contributing theoretical insight relating to how the development context may influence distinctive differences between FBOs and secular NGOs. It was argued here that the inherent religious differences between Christian FBOs and the Buddhist and animistic context of Cambodia heightened distinctions between the two types of organisations. This demonstrates the importance of considering context when seeking to distinguish differences between FBOs and secular NGOs in other geographical contexts.

Finally, this chapter considered the first of four supporting research questions in this thesis. The following chapter discusses the second supporting research question, comparing the organisational motivations of FBOs and secular NGOs and those of their personnel.

Chapter 6

Motivational Factors

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the extent to which, and why, religious faith distinguished FBOs from secular NGOs in their goals and missions was examined. This was the first of four disaggregations of different aspects of the operation of religious faith in FBOs explored in this thesis. The chapter highlighted how religious faith was reflected in the goals and missions of, and thus integrated into, FBOs, exploring the extent to which FBOs integrated faith similarly, and were distinguished from their secular counterparts. Furthermore, the chapter examined the extent to which there was uniformity or variation in the missions and objectives of FBOs and secular NGOs.

The chapter built on the conceptual model used in this thesis by considering the ways in which organisations' intermediate outputs relate to the non-resource input of religious faith. While similarities existed in the organisational goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, religious faith infused the goals and missions of FBOs, distinguishing these bodies from their secular counterparts. FBOs consistently and publicly identified with their Christian orientation, though this was expressed in various ways. Faith was not simply something added into these organisations, but was part and parcel of their being, such that faith served as a framework to structure their goals and missions. The chapter also argued that differences between the FBOs and secular NGOs relate, in part, to the Cambodian context in which they operated, drawing out how the development context may influence distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs.

The current chapter examines the second of the four supporting research questions in this thesis. Adding to the comparative research on motivation levels of FBOs and secular NGOs that Bassous (2015: 377) states could bring greater knowledge about motivating workers in the nonprofit sector, this chapter considers the question, *To what extent, and why, might there be similarities and differences in why Christian FBOs and secular NGOs provide the services they provide?* There have been different views in the literature as to whether there are clear distinctions between

FBOs and their non-faith-based counterparts (e.g. Clarke and Ware, 2015; Grettenberger, Bartkowski, Smith, 2006; Johnsen, 2014). This chapter explores the extent to which, and why, significant distinctions between these two types of organisations may be demonstrated through their motivational factors. It also provides insight into the value of comparing motivational factors as a means of parsing out the ways in which religious faith may or may not distinguish these two types of organisations.

The motivations of organisations and their leaders can play an important role in the direction of an organisation's agenda, including the programming it offers. Writing within the context of a US-based study, Netting, O'Connor, and Yancey (2006: 279) argue, "To fully capture faith-based programs, it is necessary to understand the assumptions underlying each program's expressed values of accountability to God and service. Only then will we understand what really motivates the persons who work and volunteer in these programs."

Following the input-output conceptual model that guides this thesis, this chapter continues examining the non-resource input of religious faith in FBOs. As motivations are a form of non-resource input (Anheier, 2005: 193), this chapter therefore examines two non-resource inputs, and the relationship between them: religious faith and motivations. The chapter explores differences and similarities in motivations across both types of organisations, and examines the role of religious faith in the personal and organisational motivations of FBOs. In doing so, it provides further context to the FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, adding further insight into the ways in which these organisations were typologised in Chapter 4.

This chapter makes two substantive arguments that contribute to the theoretical understanding of, and extant literature on, FBOs and secular NGOs, and that build on the findings from the previous chapter. First, this chapter builds on the notion of faith infusing FBOs (Ebaugh, et al., 2003), arguing that faith-related motivations were expressions of the ways in which faith infused FBOs in the study; this distinguished FBOs from their secular counterparts, and included the ways in which faith was a framework in which FBOs nested their values-based organisational motivations (similar to the nesting of goals and missions within a faith-based framework discussed in the previous chapter).

Second, the chapter provides insight into the relationship between the development context in which these organisations operated and the extent to which

differences were observed between their motivations. The chapter argues that the Cambodian context led to greater bifurcation and distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs, developing theoretical insight about the importance of considering the development context when examining similarities and differences between FBOs and secular NGOs.

The findings below resulted in part from an analysis of the interviews discussed in Chapter 4. Respondents were asked to provide reasons why their organisations helped clients, and the motivations for doing so, as well as why they had chosen to work for (or found) the organisation.¹ Interview transcripts or notes were screened for comments related to motivation, and these were colour-coded and copied into a Word document. Quotes were then copied verbatim or summarised and indexed into an Excel matrix using the Framework method (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2003). Inductive analysis (Patton, 2002) was then completed and data was indexed into more specific themes. Various themes were more clearly observed through this sorting and analysis phase.

As for documentary data, statements were reviewed that related to organisational motivations (including vision statements and values), selected from organisational websites and a range of organisational Facebook pages, as well as from documents that were given to the researcher at the interview or downloaded from websites. These resources were treated in the same manner as interview responses: first, data applicable to the supporting research question examined in this chapter were identified and input into a Word document, after which summaries and/or verbatim texts were transferred to an Excel spreadsheet. Themes were identified inductively at this stage and sorted and analysed, after which data from each organisation were transferred to a Word document, along with data from interview respondents, for final analysis and writing up.

As for data classification, in some cases, responses that fit into one motivational category below could also have fitted into another, which could potentially allow for expressed motivations to be classified in different ways by different researchers. Furthermore, difficulty in classifying responses was sometimes found in deciphering between personal and organisational motivations. Forty per cent

¹ In one double interview, an interviewee exited the interview before the topic of motivation was discussed.

of the organisations in the study were small organisations managed by their founders. Founders, in general, spoke of both personal and organisational motivations, though obviously these had porous boundaries. Naturally, whether responses related more to personal or organisational motivations was a matter of interpretation.

This chapter proceeds by first exploring the organisational and personal motivations driving the work of the organisations in the study. These findings are then analysed in the Discussion section, including the role that religious faith served as a critical organisational and personal motivating factor in FBOs. Theoretical implications are developed in the chapter, where it is argued that the contrast found between FBOs and secular NGOs related to both the infusion of faith in FBOs and the development context in which they worked.

6.2 Findings

Informed by Weber's (1978) social action typology, the expressed organisational motivations of FBOs and secular NGOs were classified into two categories: instrumental and values-based. Expressed personal motivations were classified into four categories: instrumental, values-based, pragmatic, and emotional. First, the organisational motivations driving the work of FBOs and secular NGOs are examined (sections 6.2.a and 6.2.b), after which these findings are then substantiated by an exploration of the work-related personal motivations of respondents (sections 6.2.c, 6.2.d, 6.2.e and 6.2.f).

6.2.a Organisational Motivations: Instrumental

Responses that referred to instrumental organisational motivations included motivations that related to social concerns (e.g. abuse) and the lack of services provided to those in need. These motivations were classified as instrumental motivations given that social concerns are the *raison d'être* of the organisations in the study (i.e. the reason they exist is to address particular social concerns). FBOs and secular NGOs alike stated that social concerns motivated their work, citing violence, trafficking, poverty, rights-related issues, and other problems needing attention. Similarly, they stated that there was a need for the services they provided, with some also mentioning the inability of the government in Cambodia to meet those needs. The similarity in responses, and their abundance, across FBOs and secular NGOs reflect

the fact that both types of organisations work for a common cause, with similar clients, targeting similar social concerns with their programmes.

6.2.b Organisational Motivations: Values-Based

Values-oriented motivations included those that related to organisational values, including written statements about organisational vision, as well as the faith motivations of FBOs. Organisational values, vision, and faith motivations will now be taken in turn.

Organisational Values. FBOs and secular NGOs shared many organisational values. FBOs believed it to be important to value people and be committed to those in need; similarly, the values of secular NGOs included justice and dignity, the sacredness of girls, and a desire to help people in need. Despite these shared similarities, however, disparities existed. Spiritual dimensions infused the values of FBOs, and this was sometimes reflected in the ways in which their organisational values were communicated. For example, Bible verses were occasionally cited as being significant to the values of FBOs.

Three examples are presented below that show similarities and differences between the expressed values of FBOs and secular NGOs. First, a brochure of one FBO emphasised love as a value of the organisation, connecting this value with a Bible verse:

‘Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres’ (1 Cor. 13:6-8). This verse is at the heart of (our organisation’s) Anti-Trafficking program. We understand that to break the evil pattern of human trafficking, we need to shed the light of truth on those countries and perpetrators exploiting people for capital gain. We understand that because we love those who’ve been pulled from the trafficking world, they can once again feel safe, learn to trust and, ultimately, picture a brighter future for themselves. The restorative power of love can transcend any and all things.
[FBO 3]

A secular NGO stated its core values as:

Dignity: all persons regardless of their social status, gender, disability or other differences are living with dignity.
Justice: all human beings should enjoy equal access to policies and practices that seek equitable distribution of power, resources and opportunities.

Accountability: resources and responsibilities for decision making should be used in ways that are transparent and answerable to donors, constituents and communities. [SNGO 15]

Another secular NGO stated:

We believe every girl is capable of achieving her dreams with the right support and encouragement.

Every girl is sacred.

Every girl deserves dignity.

Every girl needs to dream.

And no girl should ever be sold. [SNGO 18]

Organisational Vision. Secular NGOs centred their visions on the emotional and physical wellbeing of clients and Cambodian society. This related to peace, dignity, safety, and increased quality of life, where people could happily participate in society, be empowered, and live without poverty and discrimination. Similarly, FBOs also envisioned that their clients and others would be safe, treated with dignity, and that they would have futures with opportunities. However, the visions of FBOs had a significantly different bent. Though they did centre on the emotional and physical wellbeing of clients and Cambodian society, their visions also included dimensions of spiritual wellbeing, described for example, as “fullness of life” [FBO 1], and people having hope.

In general, spiritual dimensions were typically clear in FBOs’ vision statements. For example, one stated that they envisioned hope for a future in which everyone has the freedom, dignity and wholeness that comes through having a relationship with the Creator [FBO 7]. FBOs included hopeful references about clients reaching their full potential, their lives changing and being transformed, and even that human trafficking would end someday. In sum, the nature of the change and transformation envisioned and hoped for by FBOs was distinctly spiritual. While secular NGOs also indicated a desire for change, they envisioned and hoped for change that was solely physical, social, and emotional.

Faith Motivations. FBOs shared a wide array of organisational motivations related to the Christian faith that were key to their purpose and central to what inspired them to do what they do. Examples included: being motivated by the love of Christ; following the example of the biblical parable of the Good Samaritan; existing for “the least of these” (which refers to a saying of Jesus in the Bible) [FBO 3]; showing Christ’s love to others; operating so that people could “know God and ...

have God in their lives” [FBO 5]; and being motivated by a love for clients and “to see them made whole” [FBO 6]. Further examples included having a sense that God had called them to help the oppressed, fight injustice, and care for clients; referencing God as having led the organisation; and referring in a mission statement to being “driven by Jesus’ teachings” [FBO 9]. Faith motivations of FBOs included connecting their work with serving God and following God’s commandments, with one organisation describing a duty to help their clients as a “mandate from God” [FBO 6].

Respondents from FBOs desired clients to experience God’s love, engage with faith, and be healed spiritually. For example, one respondent, connecting the name of the FBO for which she worked with a biblical story, and relating themes of healing and Christian salvation to their work, stated:

(Our organisation) is a Christian NGO, and the (name of our organisation) is from the Bible...(This person in the biblical story) was abandoned by the family and (had) no hope, no help. But God (heard) them and (provided for) them. So that’s why we have women and children in our care. It’s about (this person in the biblical story). (Our organisation) is about women and children—that God who hears their need and provides them with their need. And Jesus comes to seek and to save the lost; his purpose is singular—to seek and save the lost. So (our) purpose is singular, restoring broken lives. So we do just like Jesus’ example. [FBO 2. 20-H-2]

As discussed in the previous chapter, about one-third of the FBOs in the study included an evangelical mission in their mission statement (i.e. a reference about sharing the Christian faith with others or encouraging others to become Christians). While explicit connections between organisational aims and clients becoming Christians were typically not stated, this was sometimes expressed, providing insight into faith-related motivations.

While the above examples demonstrate the myriad ways in which faith was communicated as an organisational motivation, they also illustrate the importance of the Christian faith to FBOs. This is in contrast to what was found among secular NGOs, where only one respondent referred to a faith-related concept as an organisational motivation, by referencing a Bible verse and suggesting that love had motivated the organisation to do what it did so persistently. However, the respondent did not explicitly state that the Christian faith was an organisational motivation, and emphasised that all decisions were made independent of personal faith beliefs, thus

clarifying the separation of personal faith beliefs and organisational practices—a bifurcation that typically did not exist within FBOs.

6.2.c Personal Motivations: Instrumental

Personal motivations that referenced alignment between one's background and one's work were regarded as instrumental motivations. Respondents from both FBOs and secular NGOs shared similar responses, and these related to skills, professional experiences, and prior personal experiences that accounted for their interest in their current work. In total, almost three-fifths of respondents reported a motivating factor for their present work that was classified as instrumental.

Included among FBO responses were prior life incidents or circumstances (e.g. abuse, orphan status) that motivated respondents to assist those with similar backgrounds. Prior volunteering or association with the organisation in which they served was also stated as a factor, as was observing certain events, such as one FBO respondent who reported the significance of seeing sex workers in cages during a trip to Taiwan when she was a teenager. Another FBO respondent mentioned how learning that his wife's childhood friends had been deceived into becoming sex workers was integral to the work he and his wife were now conducting with their organisation. Similarly, respondents from secular NGOs also stated personal prior experiences as a motivating factor for their choice of work, such as previous volunteering, working with children, or prior life events (e.g. helping children while in college, or witnessing abuse or poverty).

6.2.d Personal Motivations: Values-Based

Values-based motivations were responses that included references to values or existentially motivating factors compelling respondents to engage in their work. Two types of these motivations surfaced in the data: 1) social concerns, and 2) religious faith or existential obligations.

Motivations from Social Concerns. In some cases, sentiments of FBO and secular NGO respondents about motivations related to social concerns were similar, though expressed differently. A respondent from a secular NGO stated:

...for me it's always been about injustice...and the fact that the world is an unjust place and that there's something each of us can do to

make that world more just. And, you know, I was born very lucky and so if I get to share the fact that I was lucky, you know, if that means that my life gets to be devoted to people who weren't lucky, for me that makes sense. [SNGO 18. 34-T-2]

Another respondent from a secular NGO, connecting her motivation with her desire for the improved capacity of women and their empowerment, stated:

I work with (this organisation) because (this organisation) works with women, to empower women...Because I want to help the women—to build capacity of women. [SNGO 17. 11-C]

One FBO respondent stated her desire to help those who cannot afford the training she felt fortunate to have received:

...before I got trained (as a hairdresser), mum and dad (the organisation's founders), yes, they talked to me. They said if I get trained, I have to train the other girls, yes. And because that's—you know the love of Christ in you, you want to share, you want to share experience with other people and you want to encourage and you want to help people—so that's one of my vision, that I want to help (as) many girls as I can who cannot afford to go (to an) expensive school or afford to learn hairdressing skill...I wanted to have a skill for my life and then I wanted to share my experience with many girls and help them, yes. [FBO 10. 29-O-2]

For FBO respondents, social concerns included a desire to help and care for those in need—making a difference in their lives—and it was connected to a desire to see change in circumstances of both clients and country. Respondents from secular NGOs expressed a desire to help those in need, solve the problems they were aware of, and support clients through empowerment; their concerns were rooted in sadness for clients or the lack of opportunities that were available in the country.

Motivations from Religious Faith or Existential Obligations. Most significantly, differences existed between respondents from FBOs and secular NGOs when it came to their delineating existentially motivating factors that compelled their values-based motivations. More FBO respondents reported an existentially motivating factor for doing their work, and the findings illustrated that faith motives could encompass multiple factors. While the majority of FBO respondents were motivated by their faith, it was not emphasized by everyone.

Significantly, responses from FBO interviewees were often imbued with references to their sense of ‘calling.’ For example, one respondent stated:

...if I didn’t know that God called me here I don’t know if I would still be here. I don’t even know if I would come. When I think of the career that I had back home in investment banking...But this is a greater passion because it’s a greater purpose. I can’t compare. I’m investing in lives for an eternal purpose. [FBO 4. 30-R]

Referencing the importance of a spiritual ‘call,’ and the notion of doing work for a spiritual purpose, this quote serves as an example of the significance of faith in the motivation of FBO actors, including its importance to their beginning and continuing in their work. Similarly, another FBO respondent stated:

I feel that it’s something...God has called me to invest in, to focus my life on...For me, that is to create opportunities (for) those who (didn’t) have opportunities before. The burning passion in my heart is to see people come in connection with the creator, that God had created us who gave me a chance, who accepted me even though I was full of sin, created me, gave me so many opportunities, and most of all, gave me a clean heart, accepted me for who I am and forgave me from all my sins. And now that I can be connected with my Father, that’s the highest joy of my life, the biggest value that I have in my life, where I get my inspiration, my driving force, my energy, my encouragement. I get from the Lord our God and my relationship with God...When I read the Bible...it tells me a lot about my responsibility as a human being to reach out to the poor and to the broken. That’s the initial connection. That’s something I would like to pass on, to multiply to other people that I might meet here...The love that I feel that I have in my heart for the people around me, I think speaks louder than just teaching about religion. It’s not– it doesn’t feel harder or it doesn’t feel difficult to come up with ways of sharing. It’s more a driving passion or, like I said, a life calling that I feel in my heart that drives me. [FBO 9. 38-W-1]

Demonstrating the multifaceted nature of faith motives, this quote highlights the importance of faith in personally motivating the work of this respondent. In addition to a motivation to help others that is connected to his own personal spiritual experience, his faith-related motivations included a sense of calling, feeling obligated and responsible to help those in need, and a desire to help facilitate others to have their own spiritual experiences.

Faith-related motivational factors among respondents from FBOs also included being part of a “grander scheme,” sensing the need to obey the Bible, and an awareness of God’s love for others. One respondent, connecting motivations for serving clients with desiring to see client change, stated:

For me, as the leader, I just love to see a changed life. I love to see how they come in and how they walk out. That lights my fire because you can see it over the weeks. You can just sit back and watch the change, the change, the change. And graduation night is very emotional for me because I just see, I see these little young women now that have got confidence. This is what motivates me—the end product, really...I want them to know Jesus...I just want them to know that he loves them. And that there’s someone in this world who will never leave them. That’s what I want them to know more than anything. [FBO 10. 23-O-1

Faith motives of FBO respondents reflected ideologies that were significantly distinct from those of their secular counterparts, though there were some respondents from secular NGOs that stated existential obligations as personally motivating factors. Existential obligations reported by secular NGO respondents even sometimes mirrored responses from FBO respondents. For example, one FBO respondent stated that “something” was “driving” her and her team, referring to God calling them to stand up with, and on behalf of, exploited persons [FBO 2. 10-H-1]. Mirroring that sense of obligation was a founder of a secular NGO who had a dream that inspired him to help children he saw in his dream. Though somewhat different from a ‘calling’ as expressed by FBO respondents, his experience served as a visceral ‘call’ to help children in need.

All in all, however, though respondents from both types of organisations were motivated by values-based motivations, distinctions in their motivations and ideologies illustrated how Christian religious beliefs played a significant role in the worldview of FBO respondents. Whereas respondents from FBOs emphasised faith-centric ideologies influencing their personal motivations, respondents from secular NGOs were more likely to express the role of personal agency, as demonstrated by the following quote from a secular NGO respondent:

And then the fate comes in because I asked the question, I want to do something with education, but what do I do with education? Then, I met this girl out of nowhere who mentioned an organisation

that was (this NGO). And the way that she described it resonated with me because I'm (an) Asian who was lucky enough to grow up in Australia and stuff. And I was like, yeah, it makes sense for me to go back to Asia and be with Asian people. So it's like reconnecting with my roots. So that sent me overseas to Cambodia. [SNGO 16. 9-S]

In contrast, the faith-centric ideology of many FBO respondents is reflected in this quote from an FBO respondent:

I just have that desire to see lives changed through what we do and it's the gifts and talents that I have been given and I feel that that's what God wants me to be doing ... For me personally, it's a calling...I heard from God very clear. He said, 'I want you to go to Cambodia using the gifts and talents that I've given you...' [FBO 12. 1-C]

As demonstrated by the contrasts in the two quotes above, differences existed in the worldviews of respondents from FBOs and secular NGOs, and this was reflected in differences relating to their decision-making processes. The secular NGO respondent emphasised the exercise of personal agency in the decision she had made to come to Cambodia, whereas the FBO respondent emphasised his “calling” from God. Furthermore, the secular NGO respondent referred to fate and being “lucky,” whereas the FBO respondent referred to God communicating with him, and being a recipient of a God-given talent.

While one respondent from a secular NGO identified as a Christian, as previously stated, and indicated that a study from her church pastor had inspired her work, all in all, significant ideological differences were key to distinguishing between the personal motivations of respondents from FBOs and secular NGOs.

6.2.e Personal Motivations: Pragmatic

Very few respondents expressed pragmatic reasons for why they chose their work (e.g. the need to earn income). Examples included a flexible work schedule that was attractive to an FBO respondent, as well as the timing of a position opening in an FBO. Similarly, responses from secular NGO respondents included the need to earn income to support one's family, and taking a position as a career move.

Rather than stating pragmatic motivations, respondents may have wished to highlight what they believed to be more ‘worthy’ motivations. However, pragmatic motivations were not as applicable to some staff as others; some international FBO

staff fundraised in their home countries to fund their salaries, and at least one was a volunteer who only received nominal stipends. In these cases, and probably also in the cases of staff who could have easily obtained employment elsewhere, pragmatic motivations were not applicable to their work, thus accounting for the few reports of this type of personal motivation. This is further explored in the Discussion section below.

6.2.f Personal Motivations: Emotional

Emotional motivations, such as references to sentiment (i.e. what an individual likes), included, for example, respondents from secular NGOs who stated that they enjoyed their work and the organisation they worked for, as well as the opportunity to learn (about society or social problems). Only about two-fifths of all respondents stated a motivation that was classified as emotional. This relatively low number of responses could be because, like pragmatic motivations, respondents may have considered emotional motivations as less important compared to instrumental and values-based motivations. It could also be that an emotional motivation may not have applied to some respondents, that some preferred not to share personal feelings about their work, or that it didn't come to mind when they reflected on their motivations.

6.3 Discussion

The aim of this chapter has been to explore the extent to which, and why, similarities and differences might exist in the organisational and personal motivations of FBOs and secular NGOs examined in this study. In doing so, it explores what, if any, difference religious faith makes in the organisational and personal motivational factors of FBOs. Following the conceptual model used in this thesis, this chapter considered religious faith and personal and organisational motivations as non-resource inputs. The chapter thus examined the extent to which one non-resource input influenced the other. In addition to distinctions found between the two types of organisations because of the input of religious faith in FBOs, the findings demonstrated several similarities between their organisational and personal motivations, namely that instrumental and values-based motivations (rather than pragmatic and emotional motivations) surfaced more clearly as motivational factors in both types of organisations.

While some previous studies have considered motivation in FBOs with limited numbers of organisations, or without comparison with secular NGOs (Bradley, 2005; Mylek and Nel, 2010), the present study included comparative data from twenty-five organisations. All in all, the findings illuminated nuances across the complex motivations of actors and organisations in the study (Akintola, 2011).

This chapter presents two primary arguments based on the findings above. First, building on Ebaugh, et al.'s (2003) notion of faith infusing FBOs, it is argued here that personal and organisational motivations of FBOs are expressions of the ways in which faith infused these organisations, differentiating them from secular NGOs.

Second, it is argued that the contrast found between FBOs and their secular counterparts resulted not only from the infusion of faith in FBOs, but also from the development context in which they operated. As explored more fully below, the context is likely to have heightened the distinction found between the two types of organisations, leading to a clear demarcation between these two types of organisations. These two arguments are discussed below, as are further insights and reflections on the findings.

6.3.a Faith Infusing FBOs

The findings demonstrated that personal and organisational motivations of FBOs were expressions of the ways in which faith infused FBOs in this study. Important to consider here are differences that existed in the religious beliefs of respondents from FBOs and those from secular NGOs. All FBO respondents identified as Christian, and they generally reported their faith as being very central to their lives. However, with only one exception, respondents from secular NGOs did not hold these same religious beliefs.

The findings from FBO respondents in this study coincide with the “motivational depth of belief systems” found in faith-based actors in a US-based study (Netting, O’Connor, and Yancey, 2006: 267) in which they were found to be “motivated by moral imperatives.” The findings also support Delaney’s and Scharff’s (2010: 58) statement that actors from various religious persuasions in Cambodia were motivated by a variety of motivations: “values of caring for the poor and the sick, charitable and sacrificial giving, respect for fellow humans and other living beings, and compassion and assistance for the poor.” Faith-related personal motivational factors substantiated the findings related to the organisational motivations of FBOs, as

the values-based motivations of FBOs also included distinctly spiritual dimensions. Furthermore, similar to what was observed in Chapter 5, which showed that FBOs nested their goals and missions within a faith-based framework, the findings demonstrated the ways in which faith was a framework in which the values-based organisational motivations of FBOs were nested.

Motivations of FBOs were often linked to a worldview that humans are in need of spiritual transformation or healing, and often entailed an existential mandate or spiritual call. This two-pronged faith motivation (to be motivated by a desire to see spiritual transformation and personally or organisationally to feel called to their vocation) was critical to their identification with, and understanding of, their work. As one FBO respondent stated about his faith, “That’s the whole reason for being here” [FBO 9. 38-W-1]. Importantly, these faith-related motives were not just inspired by an abstract concept of faith. Instead, they were part and parcel of the respondents’ personal spiritual experiences, demonstrating that Ebaugh et al.’s (2003) notion of the infusion of religious faith may not only apply to organisations, but also to the staff working within them.

For some FBO respondents, the sense of calling may have been connected to feeling motivated to evangelise. Ware, et al. (2013: 446), in a study of Pentecostal fieldworkers in Southeast Asia, stated that the motivation for helping clients practically *and* for evangelism cannot be separated, given the desire to “offer either or both unconditionally out of humanitarian concern to help people holistically. Both are seen as aspects of what Jesus did, and of the salvation people need. The one motivation is behind both.” However, Cloke, Thomas, and Williams (2012: 107) state that, in secular literature, “too often” it is assumed that proselytisation motivates FBOs. Such an assumption does not allow for the complexity of the motivations of FBO actors. In the present study, FBO respondents often expressed a desire that clients engage with faith, experience God’s love, or be spiritually healed. In addition, the inclusion of faith-related activities in FBOs demonstrated the ways in which FBOs constructed the importance of client spiritual development (Frame, 2017; see Chapter 7). It can therefore be reasonably argued that, for many FBO respondents, sharing faith with clients also served as a motivating factor in their work. For these respondents, as was found by Ware, et al. (2013) among Pentecostal fieldworkers, the desire to help clients practically was connected to their desire to help them spiritually. As Ware, et al. (2013) found, the spiritual dimension was an important motivating

factor for the services provided by FBOs, given that their motivation was holistic, including both the practical and the spiritual. Thus, any policy that might separate services from faith elements and the ability to evangelise, as Ware, et al. (2013: 447) contend, “would impose a false division that contravenes the motivation driving” these actors.

Furthermore, religious faith could be ascertained as a value that motivated FBO actors to produce a social good, giving them “resilient motivation” (Howell-Moroney 2009: 38) to help them continue through difficult times. The role of religious belief is, therefore, critical to understanding the motivations of FBO actors in this study.

Though the role of faith was found to contribute significantly to the value-based motivations of FBOs and their actors, this finding does not imply that secular NGOs in the study were not influenced by morals or existential obligations. While Crawford (2014) articulates that part of the ‘DNA’ of Christians is their standing against sexual exploitation, findings in this study demonstrate that sexual exploitation and other moral wrongs are also concerns of secular NGO actors. This concern for those in need—regardless of faith-based or secular status—is an example of Barnett’s and Stein’s (2012: 25) argument that “humanitarianism is part of the sacred.” They discuss, within the context of humanitarianism, the “‘gray’ zone of secularization and sanctification,” where ‘religious’ action and ‘secular’ action are blurred (Barnett and Stein, 2012: 11). They argue that what unites humanitarian actors, regardless of their religion or lack thereof, “is their shared sense of the sacred in the work that they do, and the ongoing, difficult, challenging, and demanding dialogue with the profane as they enter into the everyday world to alleviate the pain of those who suffer” (Barnett and Stein, 2012: 29). Whereas the notion of religious faith, and the values connected with Christianity, infused FBOs in the present study, the infusion of (non-faith-related) values can also be seen in the motivations of secular NGOs and their personnel.

6.3.b Cambodian Context

Distinctions between organisations that are faith-based and secular are not always easy to draw (Tomalin, 2012). Furthermore, distinguishing organisations as ‘faith-based’ and ‘secular’ may not be particularly useful in contexts in which religion is a strong element in the culture, such that FBOs and secular NGOs share many

commonalities (Tomalin, 2012; Hershey, 2016). However, this study demonstrated that, in this specific context, while many motivations between FBOs and secular NGOs were of a similar nature, a clear distinction existed between the two types.

While the infusion of religious faith in FBOs is argued above to be an important factor in distinguishing FBOs and their secular counterparts in this study, it is also argued that their contrasts relate to the Cambodian context in which they worked. As highlighted in Chapter 3, Theravada Buddhism plays an important role in Cambodian culture (Swearer, 2010). Buddhism has “permeated the life” of Cambodia and the Buddhist nations of Southeast Asia, “leaving its distinctive mark on social, cultural and individual activity” (Haynes, 1998: 191). Cambodian Buddhists integrate spirituality into their daily living (Whipple, Hall, and Sustaita, 2015), and Buddhism in Cambodia is also syncretised with animistic beliefs (Strangio, 2014). Accordingly, the integration of Buddhism and animism into the development context relates to the extent to which (Christian) FBOs were distinguished from their secular counterparts. Unlike some comparative studies in other geographical contexts (Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012; Hershey, 2016), few faith-related commonalities existed between the Christian FBOs and secular NGOs explored in this study. The FBOs in this study were not Buddhist, nor were the FBO respondents who were interviewed. Christian FBOs in this study were, at least in some significant ways, thus ideologically distinct from secular NGOs. It is posited here that the development context, in which secular NGOs and their personnel did not share similar religious beliefs as those maintained by FBOs, heightened distinctions found between the organisational and personal motivations of these two types of organisations, with one being distinctly religious, and the other not.

The findings in this chapter demonstrated the multifaceted nature of expressed personal and organisational motivations. While FBOs, unsurprisingly, cited faith-related organisational motivational factors, these were communicated in a number of different ways, demonstrating the variety of ways in which Christian religious beliefs can act as significant motivating factors. As for personally motivating factors, while respondents from both types of organisations shared similar instrumental motivations, contrasts were found among their values-based motivations, with the faith-related motives of FBO respondents reflecting significantly different ideologies. These findings sit in tension with those of Green, Mercer, and Mesaki (2012), who reported that individuals in secular organisations, as well as FBOs, in Tanzania were motivated

by faith-related values. Yet, while religiously based motivational factors did not feature strongly among secular NGO respondents in the present study, the national identity of Cambodia “is primarily based on religious values” (Haynes, 1998: 205). In this context, then, the Christian faith of the FBOs is quite counter to a strong national identity. Tomalin (2015) points out that, given that people may not consider what influences them as being ‘religious,’ clearly separating religious and secular is often not possible. In the present study, a clear demarcation was found to exist between secular and faith-based actors, pointing to the Cambodian development context—despite the importance of Buddhism in it—as being critical to the ways in which FBOs and secular NGOs were distinguished from each other.

Similar to the findings in the present study, Glosnek (2017), in his study of the motivations of Christian FBO and secular NGO actors in Guatemala, concluded that most secular NGO actors in his study were not motivated by faith, though actors from both types of organisations were motivated by similar values. While the present study demonstrated that religion was not part of the discourse of motivations in secular NGOs, the possibility remains that it may have played a role, to some extent, among the personal motivations of some respondents, as well as in the work of secular NGOs, given that religious-related elements were, to some degree, included in the programming of secular NGOs, as described in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

If religious beliefs were motivating factors for respondents from secular NGOs, the question is why these motivational factors did not surface in the data. Given the finding that pragmatic and emotional motivations were expressed less than other motivational factors, it must be acknowledged that any respondents from secular NGOs who may have been motivated by religious beliefs may have not considered it worthy of sharing, or wished to state it. If this were the case, respondents may have wished to present themselves as being in alignment with the secular norms they believed were most acceptable in their development context. Lynch (2011), in her research with NGO actors who were Muslim, observed that, though some religious motivations were expressed by individual actors, individuals often emphasised secular notions of identity and did not typically connect the services they provided to religious motivations or principles. The secular identities claimed by these actors, Lynch notes, must be related to the background of the global war on terror and Western anxieties about Islam. These actors were positioning their work outside (Islamic) religious motivations that may have been perceived as a constraint to

sources of support. In the Cambodian context, secular NGOs positioned themselves within the discourse of secular development, being careful to express that their organisations did not have religious or political biases. This tendency, along with the religious contrast between Christianity and the religious milieu of Cambodia, points to the importance of considering the development context when exploring similarities or differences between two seemingly different types of organisations.

6.3.c Further Reflections

In total, NGOs and civil society in Cambodia employ 24,000 paid staff, of which approximately 1,100 are foreign employees (CCC, 2013). Ou and Kim (2014) claim that staff from NGOs often change in Cambodia, moving from one organisation to another, or into other sectors, often abandoning their acquired skillsets. This leaves their organisations in need of trained personnel and, they claim, has negative implications on NGO clients. They point to “poor career advancement potential”—resulting from post-conflict reconstruction in the early 1990s—as possibly contributing to the “opportunistic nature of NGO staff” (Ou and Kim, 2014: 193).

As reported in Table 4 (see Appendix), respondents from both FBOs and secular NGOs had generally worked for their organisations for several years. In some ways, this could be interpreted as indicating a commitment these individuals had to their work, or perhaps to other aspects of their organisations (e.g. the type of work, philosophy of the organisation, work colleagues). This longevity, found among workers in this study, could indicate that respondents were driven more by values-based, instrumental, and emotional motivations, instead of pragmatic motivations. In fact, as noted above, few respondents declared personal motivational factors that were classified as pragmatic, coinciding with Bassous’ (2015) conclusion, from a quantitative study of several hundred paid workers in three large faith-based international nonprofit humanitarian organisations, that there was not a significant relationship between motivation and monetary rewards. Though the present study is limited to a small sample of leaders, the findings about the longevity of their stay in the organisations affirms what was claimed by Delaney and Scharff (2010: 129): that FBO actors stay in one position given their calling “by a God whose love is enduring despite the challenges.” Likewise, the findings could be interpreted as sitting in tension, to a certain degree, with the assertion from Ou and Kim (2014: 193) that

NGO personnel in Cambodia “commit themselves less to the beneficiaries and the cause, and more to their own career advancement.”

Jobs in the NGO sector in Cambodia can compensate Cambodian nationals well in comparison to other employment options, and the local labour market could have affected the employment retention of some respondents, given the potential difficulty of their finding alternative employment. As Coventry (2017: 55) stated, NGOs in Cambodia “are perceived as a lucrative opportunity for employment.” Furthermore, while there were differences between the socio-economic status of international staff working for some international organisations and Cambodian staff, those who were compensated as salaried employees were likely to be reliant on their jobs to provide income for their daily living expenses.

The reporting of few pragmatic motivations in the present study could either indicate that pragmatic motivations were a motivating factor in only a few cases, or that, more likely, respondents deemed this type of motivation as inferior to other motivations, leading to decreased reporting. Pragmatic motivations, therefore, whether or not they were reported, were probably a strong motivating factor for both local staff and many international staff.

The findings of this study have implications for both FBOs and secular NGOs, including those beyond the Cambodian context. First, the array and multifaceted nature of work-related personal motivations points to the importance of organisations being aware of the motivations driving their employees. Following the recommendations of Akintola (2011), who studied volunteer AIDS caregivers, organisations could intentionally recruit staff whose motivations match those of the organisation, and plan how to assist staff in satisfying their motives. Secondly, while ‘calling’ is often used in a spiritual sense, secular NGOs could join their FBO counterparts in further embracing the notion of ‘calling’ to help employees to understand and engage with their work, and increase employee buy-in. Flanigan (2010), in her exploratory qualitative study of management-level staff in FBOs and secular NGOs in three developing countries, reported that more than eighty per cent of secular NGO personnel referenced a calling that had drawn them to their work, though the calling was from the work itself, rather than faith.

While non-state service providers across the developing world include a wide range of providers—from NGOs to for-profit enterprises (Batley, 2006)—the findings

demonstrate that understanding the motivations of FBOs and their personnel better parses out what difference religious faith makes. Future research could include examining motivations of FBOs of other faith persuasions to provide insights about the role of faith in other types of FBOs, such as the study by Kirmani (2012).

6.4 Conclusion

Despite the large presence of FBOs and secular NGOs operating in Cambodia, comparative analysis of their motivations has lacked attention in the literature. In response, this chapter has demonstrated the multifaceted, yet similar, nature of organisational and personal motivations evident across a study of twenty-five organisations in the country. The findings provided an examination of the degree to which different types of motivation were seen as organisationally and personally important, showing the extent to which, and why, religious faith distinguished FBOs from their secular counterparts. Furthermore, the chapter provided insight into the relationship between two types of non-resource inputs, demonstrating that one non-resource input (i.e. religious faith) can have an important influence on other non-resource inputs (i.e. personal and organisational motivations).

While the chapter's insights include analysing the underlying ideologies motivating FBOs and secular NGOs and their personnel, the chapter makes two arguments that contribute to the theoretical understanding of, and extant literature on, FBOs and secular NGOs. First, faith-related motivations were expressions of the ways in which faith infused FBOs in the study, distinguishing them from their secular counterparts. Second, the chapter argued that the development context in which the organisations worked led to bifurcation and distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs, providing a theoretical contribution that can demonstrate the importance of considering the development context when examining similarities and differences between FBOs and secular NGOs. Unlike in some other contexts (Leurs, 2012; Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012), the role of faith as a motivator in the personal motivations of secular NGO respondents was generally not apparent in the present study. This finding points to the value of acknowledging the development context as critical to similarities or differences that may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs, including the ways in which religion may or may not influence their motivations (or be described as doing so). The development context should therefore be taken into

account when considering similarities and differences that may or may not exist between FBOs and their secular counterparts in other geographical locations. Bringing knowledge to the field beyond the case of Cambodia, this study builds theoretical understanding of the reasons why FBOs may be, in some contexts, notably different than their secular counterparts.

Finally, this chapter considered the second of four supporting research questions in this thesis. The following chapter discusses the third supporting research question, examining similarities in, and differences between, the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs, including the extent to which, and why, faith might influence the ways in which FBOs worked with their clients.

Chapter 7

Approaches to Care

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, motivating factors for FBOs and secular NGOs, and their personnel, were comparatively examined. This was the second of four disaggregations of different aspects of the operation of religious faith in FBOs explored in this thesis. The similarities and differences in personal and organisational motivations were explored, providing insight into the extent to which, and why, religious faith distinguished FBOs from their secular counterparts. The chapter argued that the contrast in motivations found between FBOs and secular NGOs related to both the infusion of religious faith throughout FBOs and the development context in which they worked.

The current chapter examines the third of four supporting research questions in this study: *To what extent, and why, might religious faith influence the ways in which FBOs work with their clients?* Doing so, it explores the similarities of, and differences between, the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs, and provides insight into why, in the Cambodian context, a demarcation exists between these two types of organisations that is not always clear in other contexts (e.g. Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012; Johnsen, 2014). Furthermore, it assesses the ways in which organisations sought change in their clients, and how the outcomes they sought resonated and/or contrasted with each other. It considers the extent to which FBOs were congruent in how they maintained a concern for the spiritual needs of their clients, and the similarities that existed between them in their organisational faith practices. The chapter also considers religious elements in secular NGOs, and the extent to which these differed from those in FBOs, thus providing further insight into the ways in which organisations were typologised, as discussed in Chapter 4.

This chapter addresses a call for further discussion on, and analysis of, the role that faith plays in FBOs in Cambodia which work on matters related to countering human trafficking (WFDD, 2012). More broadly, it brings insight into the similarities and critical differences found among key actors involved in social policy provision to

women and children in the Cambodian context.

Among the findings presented below is the emphasis that FBOs often gave to spirituality in their approaches to care. As Chamiec-Case and Sherr (2006) point out, spirituality is the name given to the search for, and expression or experience of, what is understood to be transcendent and/or ultimately meaningful. Importantly, in the case of FBOs in this particular study, spirituality is understood within a Protestant Christian context.¹

Spirituality is an important dimension to explore within the context of care provision. For example, those providing care provision may find it important to incorporate, in various ways, their spirituality into their workplace, or they may experience personal tensions when negotiating boundaries between spirituality and the care they provide at work (Chamiec-Case, 2009; Considine, 2007). Considering the potential advantages of spirituality in processes of care, Jawad (2012a: 231-232) states “how a better integration of religion, belief and spirituality into healthcare... (may) release greater care resources on the part of healthcare professionals.” Yet, Ver Beek (2000: 36), writing about the tendency for development organisations to ignore the importance of the role of spirituality in the lives of many they seek to assist, states:

Given the apparently integral link between spirituality and issues central to development, it would seem reasonable that spirituality would occupy a relatively prominent place in development theory and practice. However, the subject is conspicuously under-represented in development literature and in the policies and programmes of development organisations.

While faith-based organisations may provide for the integration of services and spirituality, these aspects deserve further consideration. This chapter contributes to this important conversation.

As in previous chapters, this chapter furthers the theoretical understanding of the ways in which faith infuses FBOs (Ebaugh et al., 2003), and points to the value of acknowledging the wider development context when considering differences that may exist between the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs. It addresses the lack of attention paid in the extant literature to comparative analysis of approaches to care in FBOs and secular NGOs. It also builds on the conceptual model integrated into this

¹ As reported in Chapter 4, all FBOs aligned with Protestant Christianity.

thesis, in particular the connection between the non-resource input of religious faith and the intermediate outputs of FBOs (i.e. services and programmes). In doing so, this chapter provides a comparative analysis of services and approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs.

As explained in the Methods chapter, interview transcripts and notes were screened for comments that related to approaches to care and service delivery. These were colour-coded and copied into a series of Microsoft Word documents, where interview quotes were then summarised or retained verbatim for further analysis. During this phase, each organisation was classified as seeking or enabling spiritual change or behavioural/recovery change in their clients. In many cases, organisations were classified as engaged in both. The interview material was then sorted and indexed into an Excel matrix using the Framework method (Ritchie et al., 2003), which allowed the material to be further analysed in themes. A review of organisational mission statements was also completed for additional material relevant to the research question explored in this chapter.

This chapter takes the following form. First, the services provided by organisations in the study are presented. Second, the input of religious faith in the approaches to care of FBOs is explored, as is the role of religion in secular NGOs. The findings are then discussed, including the ways in which both types of organisations sought or enabled change in their clients, as well as the role of faith in the approaches to care of FBOs.

7.2 Findings

7.2.a Provision of Services and Approaches to Care

All twenty-five organisations in the study were identified as operating with an approach to care that sought behavioural or recovery outcomes from their clients, though these varied depending on the clients an organisation served and whether it was faith-based or secular. Table 7 presents an overview of the types of services organisations offered to victims of trafficking, exploitation, and those involved in sex work.

Table 7 Services provided by FBOs and secular NGOs to sex trade-involved or sexually exploited or abused clients							
Type	Clients Under 18	Clients Over 18	Outreach -- Ministry or promote learning new skills	Outreach -- Support to continue sex work	Education, Skills, or Vocational training (or facilitates w/partner)	Residential Care	Org. model includes a social enterprise
FBOs	10/13	12/13	5/13	0/13	13/13	9/13	10/13
Secular NGOs	10/12	12/12	5/12	4/12	12/12	10/12	5/12

Table 7 shows the variety, commonalities, and diversity in services provided by the organisations in the study. It also shows similarities between the FBOs and secular NGOs, including client ages and services provided. As discussed in Chapter 5, only some secular NGOs provided outreach to support adult sex workers in their work. All FBOs that worked with adult sex workers provided skills training, assisting their leaving the sex industry or encouraging them not to re-enter it. In contrast, secular NGOs that supported sex workers in the sex industry sought outcomes that related to clients practicing safe sex, managing potential violent situations, knowing and claiming their rights, and keeping up with their health. However, these organisations also offered skills training and encouragement to those who wished to leave the sex industry.

The range of services the organisations provided included residential programmes, counselling and trauma treatment, outreach, vocational and soft skills training, and employment. Residential programmes typically involved a group of individuals living in a home staffed twenty-four hours a day with support staff. Vocational and skills training ranged from life skills classes to job training. Training and employment included opportunities in, for example, cafés, a guesthouse, beauty salons, and catering service. In some organisations, clients created and developed products (e.g. jewellery, handicrafts) sold to international customers. The following photos illustrate some of the entrepreneurial or employment training programming offered by three FBOs and two secular NGOs:



Photo 1: Factory operated by an FBO.²



Photo 2: Boutique store in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, operated by an FBO.³ The author of this thesis visited this store and adjoining café.

² Photo: <https://benttree.org/stories/children-at-risk-from-slavery-to-freedom/>

³ Photo: <https://www.silverkris.com/14-fair-trade-restaurants-and-stores-around-the-world/>



Photo 3: Afternoon tea at a café operated in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, by an FBO.⁴ The author of this thesis visited this café, as well as the adjoining beauty salon.

⁴ Photo: <http://www.khmer440.com/k/2012/10/cake-and-crumpets-in-cambodia-afternoon-tea-in-phnom-penh/>



Photo 4: Jewellery displayed that was made by clients of a secular NGO.⁵



Photo 5: Hostel and restaurant run by a secular NGO.⁶ The author of this thesis stayed one night in this hostel.

⁵ Photo: https://cdn.shopify.com/s/files/1/1255/4317/collections/Q_Pearl_Soc_Media_37df0448-ff42-4e6b-8339-c774ce7c667e_large.jpg?v=1477592061

⁶ Photo: <http://tiny.cc/hostel-restaurant>

Organisations serving children who had been victims of trafficking or exploitation sought outcomes that related to their psychological recovery and reintegration into society, and these outcomes were also sought by the majority of organisations that worked with adults. These organisations provided a variety of services, including counselling, trauma recovery, and psychological support. While measuring the capacities of organisations to offer psychological services was beyond the scope of this study, to some extent, these services varied, in part, based upon the types of clients the organisations served.

References to client recovery in mission statements from FBOs and secular NGOs included both similarities and nuanced differences, where FBOs expressed missions that could be inferred as including spiritual or metaphysical dimensions of recovery, as explored in Chapter 5. For example, these included expressions about restoring “broken lives” so clients could have “life in all its fullness,” restoring and reintegrating abused persons, and facilitating “holistic recovery.” FBOs’ references to providing holistic services related to the spiritual dimensions they offered to, or facilitated for, their clients, as well as the multiple dimensions of care that they offered (e.g. vocational training, shelter, counselling, and family supports). For example, one FBO respondent stated:

So we consider the whole: the mind, the body, the soul, the spirit; the social, vocational, and financial. So we try to cover those areas. And I will only work with 12 women here because it’s comprehensive; that’s a lot of work to do in one year with a lot of people. So you narrow it down, you bring it to a few people and you can manage it. So we work with, yeah, the whole, the whole person. [FBO 11. 25-S-1]

When secular NGOs described their services as holistic, this was defined by the comprehensive nature of the services their organisations provided, including emotional supports, rather than added-in faith components. The following response highlights the way in which a respondent from a secular NGO conceived of the organisation as a holistic one, focusing on the notion of the organisation staying well connected to the clients:

I like to think of it as a very holistic organisation, where it’s not just about bringing in the girls and then they become numbers and then we show these numbers to the donors. We’re very hands on and very connected with the girls and families that we work with. When I was

leading the projects, I knew every single student...I'd converse with them and stuff, so it's very involved that way. And I made sure that all the staff members and volunteers would be part of that bigger picture. No one's behind a desk all the time. [SNGO 16. 9-S]

Respondents from FBOs and secular NGOs described the ways they cared for their clients, broadly speaking, in relatively similar terms, though FBOs were more likely to use words such as “healing” and “restoration.” The following two responses illustrate depictions of care. The first quote is from a respondent from an FBO; the second quote is from a respondent from a secular NGO.

But, for us, as part of their restoration and proper reintegration, if you will, and building resilience into them, is to have that spiritual component. Not just the physical, the educational, the economic, but to have them understand their identity. That their identity—if they know they are in Christ, it doesn't matter what this culture tells them they are. And I don't know if you've heard the Cambodian proverb already, but it says, you know, “Men are like gold, women are like cloth”. And so that mindset is very much a problem here...we reiterate, reinforce what our partners have already shared with them (about the Christian faith)...and just adding to that-- keep planting those seeds, if you will, as part of their own development. So the spiritual piece to us is quite important. [FBO 4. 30-R]

...I really appreciate with our team, that they have a good heart and they work very hard and they commit a lot. And they have a lot of compassion. Because working with the slum community is not easy. Like adults—some of them are drug-addicted... (The children) don't listen to the parent. And when they enrol in our project, the person in charge and the teacher—I really appreciate with all of them—they are compassionate and they are patient to talk with them. Even at the beginning, they don't listen to (the NGO staff). But (the staff) still talk to them friendly. And motivate them to come to class. This is one thing that we see that is unique to our organization—that (we) have a staff who have a good heart and compassion. [SNGO 14. 4-R-1]

For both types of organisations, caring for clients and encouraging and supporting them was important, as was being relational and building trust. Family-like relationships between clients and staff were described, exemplified by one secular NGO leader who stated, “I was thinking all of the children here is my children” [SNGO 24. 37-H]. Respondents from both types described the ways they provided their services as persistent, relational, and compassionate, and they sought to bring value and worth

to their clients. One secular NGO respondent explained how the quality of the products the clients made helped to reiterate or instil their inherent personal value:

On the humanitarian front, we do want to provide safe and fair working conditions for girls who may not find work places that are like that. Because they're so familiar with crappy crappy unfair working conditions. With all the stigma, they think that they're not worth it, so we're trying to re-instil their kind of worthiness in them. Which is also tied in with why we chose the jewellery that we chose, the types that we choose, like the high quality...for lack of a better word, to superficially associate them with something of high value; to say, 'Hey, you're worth it. We trust you to deal with these fine crystals that are worth a lot of money, so that you can create these beautiful things, and these can be sold for lots of money, which you are capable of earning.' [SNGO 16. 9-S]

A respondent from another secular NGO stated, "We are trying to provide them with a loving and caring environment where they can learn how to take care of themselves" [SNGO 18. 34-T-2]. Furthermore, she said, "We keep in touch with graduates for at least three years. And then, after that, at any point if they want to reach out to us and ask us for advice or assistance, we're always there forever...we have that kind of relationship." She stated that the founders of the organisation maintained the perspective that they should give to their clients what they would give to their own children. Likewise, an FBO respondent stated that house parents in their residential programme are to treat clients:

as if they are their own children. So they are their mentor, they are the one that helps them when they're sick and loves them. You know, there is a very real bond. They call them 'mum' and 'dad', although we always encourage a continued relationship with their natural parents...we're looking for people who have a genuine love for children; it can't be just a job for somebody. It's got to be someone who has got a heart, a heart for kids, and is prepared to take on a motherly role. [FBO 6. 17-D-1]

Respondents from secular NGOs described working with clients to help them discover their dreams, and to be positive about having a better future, encouraging them to reach their potential. Similarly, FBO respondents also spoke of helping clients identify their goals and motivating them to reach their dreams, though they sometimes associated hope for the future with faith-related notions, such as making connections

between hope, God, and purpose. This is exemplified by the following response from a leader of an FBO:

Well, (hope is) a consistent message that, particularly, our counsellors and the house mothers would have to instil in the girls. For example, in counselling sessions, one of the things that we would like the girls to think about is, what are their dreams? What do they want for the future? What are the things that they would want for themselves or for their families or for their siblings? How do they see themselves in five years? So, having a dream. Because some of these girls, when they come in—especially those who have been abused...they don't know. They wouldn't have an immediate response. ... So, like in counselling, part of the conscious conversation is, what are their dreams? How do you think you would achieve your dreams? How do you feel? Or even just managing the anger just so that they can pass that feeling of anger, and sometimes guilt, so that they can think about what they want to do in the future. [FBO 1. 6-W-1]

Similarly, a leader of a secular NGO also detailed the importance of dreams for clients, and the model they used for instilling hope for the future, and fostering new ideas:

...our motto is, 'freedom begins with a dream', and one of things that we realized in working with the girls we are working with is that they have a decimated image of their lives and their futures. And most of the girls' aspirations in life are to be subsistent. Can I be a cleaner? Can I be a hairdresser or house keeper, or something very menial?...So what we wanted to do was figure out is there a way to set a girl's aspirations higher, and what happens to her emotionally and physically if she does that? So there's a number of elements that we have in place programmatically from the day they come to the day they graduate that are about helping them to aspire to more in their life than they have currently...So what we realized is we're actually going to have to spark that idea and then throw some tender on it, and then some sticks and twigs, and then logs to get an actual fire burning for what an actual dream could look like. And so we have a somewhat proprietary process that we take girls through—little things that we know will trigger or spark an understanding of choice, inspiration, and aspiration...So, in terms of choice, the moment that a girl gets there, she picks her sheets, her clothes, her shoes, her toiletries, all that—she's choosing those things. We intentionally do it so that they're going, "Oh, I'm responsible for making these choices, somebody doesn't just hand me a bunch of crap, 'here's your stuff'." They are choosing like, "Oh, it's this, and it's that. Alright, another choice. Oh, it's this and this and this." To the day that they are leaving, they're involved in all of those decision-making processes. And then there's the inspiration piece. It's, "So, you want to be a house cleaner or you want to be a chef? Or you want to be a—?" How about meeting women that might be in positions of power, leadership, management, (and) hearing their job perspectives. So having

successful women come in and talk about their jobs, inspiring them to see women in a whole different position, or job shadowing with a woman who is doing some kind of job that they might want to do in the future creates inspiration, and that effects aspiration. [SNGO 18. 19-T-1]

FBOs and secular NGOs believed it was important to help empower clients, and this included methods such as teaching clients about their rights, building their capacity, facilitating their decision making, and including their voices in the operation of the organisation. The following two responses from FBO leaders describe practical ways their organisations helped to empower clients:

And the same applies for the girls that come into our program—to give them opportunities to contribute, from a very early stage, according to what they have of giftings, and desires, so they bring ownership not just to be a client in the program, but to be a part of a community, a part of a family. That’s something we value a lot and we try to bring out. We also see that as a big point of success—when they feel that they belong and they’re needed and they’re wanted. It can be small tasks or even bigger tasks depending on where they are in their stability or maturity. If we see a girl who definitely has a desire and a gifting within teaching, we, as soon as possible, bring her in on the teaching team to teach the basic things to the new girls. So when I’m talking about the basic skills happening at the centre now, those are run by the girls who have already gone a couple of steps ahead. So the main teachers at the centre are girls who have gone through the program and are finished with their vocational training but have a skill and have a desire to be a model or a teacher. So we try to look at the potential and try to bring that out. [FBO 9. 38-W-1]

We help victims of trafficking or sex workers of any type who are in the sex industry in Cambodia leave the sex industry. And the way we help them is through empowering them rather than creating some kind of dependence, some NGO approach that is more institutionalised—that is the type of thing we try to avoid. So we do this through a number of means, one of which, key one, is to provide jobs. ... we want (our clients) to be empowered, to have...quality of life in the areas that matter for their own sake rather than our numbers or something to do with (our organisation)...we want to help them be independent, be sustainable, live life successfully in a way that’s healthy for them. ... So financially, most of them have debts or a gambling addiction. It’s a big area that we try to empower them to make choices to curtail activities that are just going to cause more problems for them. So we try to always throw it back on the client to look at, to rationalize about the impact on her life if she keeps doing this. It’s no good telling people, “Don’t do that, it’s not going to—it’s wrong.” It’s to do with how is it helping her

in this process of change? So, the process of change would also involve looking at her finances and is she managing to cover what she needs to spend money on for health, for family, rather than it all goes in this gambling game the night of salary, you know, pay day. [FBO 13. 12-D-1]

Likewise, the following responses from secular NGO leaders also highlight specific ways their organisations incorporated strategies and programmes that led to the empowerment and improved wellbeing of their clients:

Because normally, you may know, that the Asian people—many Cambodians—when the girls lost their virginity, (or) they get raped, they get trafficked, and then they lost hope. (These girls say to themselves), “Ok, I may not have any family in the future. I have no future anymore. I’ve been raped. The society labels me as a bad girl or something like that.” So the work we are doing, and (the goal of our organisation’s founder), is to empower the victim to become the survivor, and empower the survivor to become part of the solution. So, right now, we are doing it. At the centre, we have recruited (a) team’s leader. So we made a vote, like once every 6 months the beneficiary—the girl(s) (themselves)—they need to select to vote amongst themselves to select the one that they are confident (in) and they trust enough that that girl can be their leader—can lead, can bring out their voice to be heard to the management as well as to the society, like to speak with media or something like that. So, to meet the goal, as I said earlier, (our organisation) tries to integrate the survivor to work in every program. ... If there is any public forum, we also send them to attend. Like last year and this year, we were with UN Women because they had a program—the regional program in Bangkok. They bring many survivors (from) around the world—like 10 to 15 countries come—and meet together in Bangkok to share about each country’s experiences and problems. So, we send the girl from (our organisation) to attend there, and she can share, you know, about her personal experience and about the general situation of Cambodia. [SNGO 20. 22-A-1]

We have had many women to prevent from HIV. And we have (helped clients receive services at) the hospital. And we educate the women about the social life, yes, because...women, they just only at the workplace stay. They don’t want to go outside. So that’s why they don’t know how to communicate in the social. When we go to educate them, we not only provide assistance related to HIV-AIDS. We provide (services) also related to how to communicate, and how to persuade clients who use violence on her. ... (Our organisation) wants to empower the women to be strong, to help women from the bad situation to the (good) situation...Before, the entertainment workers, they don’t know how to protect (themselves), or how to prevent themselves from (acquiring) HIV, or how to protect themselves from the client violence. And when we do (our program), we reach them, we educate them, so

they know they can prevent, or they can protect themselves. When they are ill, they can go to the hospital. Or, when they (experience) violence from the male client, they can go to (an NGO that specialises in providing free legal services). [SNGO 25. 41-P-2]

The above quotes about empowerment relate to the missions about empowering clients as reported in Chapter 5. Nearly one-half of the organisations in the study included references to client empowerment in their missions. For example, the following two excerpts from organisational missions connect their mission with their services. One secular NGO reported their mission was to “enhance the capacity of women in Cambodia through empowerment, access to education and by providing health services and a safe shelter for those at risk” [SNGO 15]. Furthermore, an FBO stated in their mission statement their desire to empower clients to leave the sex industry, stating one of their goals was to “enable sex-workers to exit the sex industry permanently, by providing services that empower them internally and that create sustainability of their life-style change” [FBO 13].

7.2.b The Input of Religious Faith

Along with similarities in the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs was significant divergence resulting from the input of religious faith in FBOs and their approaches to care. This finding builds on the notion of religious faith as an element that can infuse FBOs in clearly evident ways. This input of religious faith was a critical element that influenced the intermediate outputs (i.e. services and programmes) of FBOs in the study. FBOs were found to use an approach to care that, as Cloke, et al. (2005) discussed in their UK-based study, elevated the perceived spiritual needs of their clients alongside other needs. Elevating spiritual needs was connected to the religious beliefs of FBO actors which, as reported in the Methods section, were markedly different from those of secular NGO respondents. While the notion of elevating clients’ spiritual needs alongside other needs was described by FBO respondents in various ways, FBO respondents typically understood God as bringing about change, healing, and transformation in clients, though some emphasised the importance of clients’ spirituality more than others.

Some FBO respondents mentioned the value of faith driving the commitment of staff. For example, one FBO respondent stated,

And in terms of client change...it's not about the client being Christian, it's about our staff being passionate with what they do because of the motivation they have due to their faith....obviously, there's a lot of issues about skills, as well. But the passion, the motivation, the dedication of the staff who have that strong faith—it really makes a lot of difference with the changes that's happening with the client, particularly when it comes to how much time they spend with the client and how much—you know, what kind of affection they show, keeping them feel secure. [FBO 1. 6-W-1]

There was both consistency and variation in faith-related approaches to care among FBOs, as they differed in the methods they used to enable spiritual outcomes, as well as the extent to which they incorporated a faith-related approach to care in their organisations. The approach to care of FBOs was one that enabled or sought spiritual outcomes in clients, such as spiritual transformation or religious commitment. Further demonstrating religious faith as infusing FBOs, many FBO respondents identified faith practices and spiritual matters as being important for clients. FBOs included in their approaches to care a variety of ways to introduce clients to the Christian faith. These faith-related activities included conducting group Bible studies, singing together, praying, extra-curricular church events, and conducting small and large group devotions. One example was an organisation's regular class to assist clients to break spiritual ties with former prostitution customers, focusing on forgiveness, healing, and personal value. The leader of this organisation described the dynamics she observed in this class:

I would say the majority of our freedom comes in that class. ... When I hold (this) class, and you have new girls and not-new girls in the same room...the new girls are watching the not-new girls' lives just being poured out. Because pouring out their pain and seeing the healing come for them, their eyes open, they begin to love God, they begin to question, they begin to see, they begin to ask for their own selves, and they just like catch it. They're not forced. It's up to them...And you know, after they become a Christian, they'll say, "I can think clear. I can see. I can hear. I feel smart. My eyes are open. I've become more wise." Like, they see for themselves. So it's easy for them to see the result. [FBO 11. 25-S-1]

Faith-related activities ranged from occurring once to many times per week, and could last from a few minutes to one hour, or longer. Only one FBO reported not conducting faith programming within the confines of the organisation, though prayers at meals took place and clients were offered opportunities to go to church services and

activities. This organisation was the only FBO that was not typologised in this study as “Faith-Centred.”

FBO respondents maintained beliefs that God could bring healing to clients, articulated the importance of demonstrating God’s love to them, and connected clients’ value with the way in which God values people—all of which were absent from secular NGOs. The types of spiritual outcomes that FBOs sought to enable through their programmes were often expressed in terms such as healing, transformation, and clients becoming aware of God’s love. Emphasising God’s love as a value that supports clients, one FBO respondent stated:

God so loved the world, he gave his only son; we have a central doctrine that says you are important. God loves you as an individual not just as mankind. So when we impart those elements and those values to these kids, we see them flourish, we see them do well and it’s not to say they are all perfect. There are still a lot of bad decisions that get made along the way. But it’s a great starting point for us to work with...they can always come back to it; when things go off track, we pull them back to those central, central values. [FBO 6. 17-D-1]

Respondents noted the importance of respecting and facilitating clients’ wishes to engage in activities that were believed to be helpful to their well-being and recovery. Some FBOs reported supporting clients’ wishes to participate in religious practices that were not Christian, for example, by facilitating visits to Buddhist pagodas, given that they recognised clients’ spirituality as a part of holistic recovery. FBOs readily facilitated clients attending church services and activities. In some FBOs, outings to church services were part of the weekly plan of events in which clients could participate. Other FBOs simply recommended a church if clients expressed an interest in attending one.

Churches provided retreats and extra-curricular activities (e.g. English classes, a dancing group, leadership programme), and attending church services was reported by respondents as being a fun weekly outing for clients that allowed them to interact with people their own age, play games, and have experiences that they would otherwise not have, such as opportunities to perform songs in front of a church congregation. Churches thus provided a resource that would not otherwise be available to FBO clients, and they were seen as good partners because they reiterated values to clients and contributed to clients’ well-being. Support systems provided through churches were seen as significant to clients’ restoration and spiritual

development. Adding insight into clients' involvement with churches, Miles, et al.'s (2012) study, focused on "researching the lifecycle of survivors of sexual exploitation and trafficking" in Cambodia, reported the experience of one client of an FBO who reported feeling pressure to attend church services despite not desiring to go. However, the report also mentioned several clients—stated as having converted to Christianity while receiving services from FBOs—who did not feel pressure to attend church services while living in an FBO residential care facility.

Incorporating faith informally into daily life through conversation or encouraging words was widely reported and was used to build resilience in clients and to motivate them to care for their bodies, refrain from self-harm, and understand themselves as valuable and created individuals who had a purpose and were loved by God. The following two responses from FBO respondents are examples:

I think those one-to-one interactions with the house mothers are very meaningful, just the love that's shown essentially, not being judgemental, of listening to the child, of encouraging, of showing affection—all those sort of positive parenting things, and for the child to realize that they are valued. [FBO 3. 15-W-1]

If we see someone on a given day that seems like they're having kind of a rough time, we are gonna ask them about it, and we might pray with them about it if we aren't sure what else to do at first, or we're gonna remind them (by saying), "This is what God says about who you are. He says you're loved. He says you're valuable. He loves you. He calls you his son or his daughter." We're gonna remind them of things that are true about them if they're struggling with – *all I can hear in my mind is, My mom just says I'm stupid. I don't think I can learn how to sew this bag because my mom – everybody has always said I'm just stupid.* We would say, "No, God doesn't say you're stupid. God created you to have a mind that can work and function. He put gifts inside of you and skills and talents and he wants you to use those things." [FBO 11. 27-S-2]

Another aspect of a faith-related approach to care reported among FBOs was the notion of *showing* faith to clients, through staff exemplifying love and Christian principles through their actions. One FBO respondent stated,

...we want to do what God told us to do—to love our neighbours as loving ourselves. We just want to care for our children, show love to them. So most children who live in the shelter don't know about Jesus...we treat them like our sisters or treat them like our daughters...what we are doing every day now is

helping them to feel complete love from God...we give our attention, our care to them. [FBO 5. 35-A-2]

In some cases, faith-related activities were initiated by staff of an FBO; in other cases, it was part of the organisation's formal programming. Thus, in some cases, faith-related activities may have been more directed by the practices and desires of caregivers. In such cases, employees had discretion to integrate faith as they wished.

Love was a very common theme among expressions of care in FBOs. Showing love and demonstrating faith-based care was believed to help clients understand Christianity and contribute to their recovery. For example, one FBO respondent explained how the way the organisation had incorporated love into their work had an affect on a client:

We actually have a girl who gave her testimony recently, and she talked about being told she was special. She was told lots of times, but (she felt), *I never believed that*. And, then one day, because she was loved for four years, (she said), "I realized, I am special." We try to express that love...It isn't expressing an emotion; it's by what we do, right? And how we do it for the people involved. [FBO 5. 24-A-1]

The importance of love was also seen in the policies of FBOs. One FBO respondent described a 'three-strikes-and-you're-out' warning system for clients, where the FBO sought to understand *why* clients broke rules. If clients showed change in their behaviour, the FBO would "extend grace" and remove the warning. This practice was connected to one way that the organisation could show the "real love of Christ," stated as respecting clients and "loving them no matter what" [FBO 4. 30-R]. A similar practice was explained by another FBO leader, who stated that clients are part of the process of choosing to accept a former client who has returned to the organisation after having left on bad terms:

FBO: Even though (the clients who left and returned) might have frustrated us, (and) they might have done a lot of mistakes—maybe even stolen some things as they ran out; (They) might (have) even, you know, verbally or physically abused others on their way out—if they come back and sincerely ask for forgiveness and realize their faults and mistakes, we do forgive and give them a new chance, we do.

J: Has it been a difficult thing for you guys to do?

FBO: Oh, yeah, of course. Especially, maybe for—if someone has been hurt in the process of the girl leaving. She might have stolen something from someone else without even confessing to it but everyone knows that she might have taken it. It could have been, you know, some of them are struggling with getting off drugs and so they're doing weird things to people and to things. (Our clients are just feeling), *Why should we receive her back when she has done this to us?* But usually, that's done in a group setting, as well. So the group is part of accepting their friend back and giving them a new chance. We try to somewhat have everyone involved, you know, in taking ownership and welcoming their friend back. And most of them realise they've all done mistakes, as well. [FBO 9. 38-W-1]

FBOs did not express conditionality by withholding services from clients who they thought did not obtain spiritual outcomes, though one FBO indicated they only selected new clients that sought a changed life and, therefore, were perceived to fit well with the organisation. Only in a minority of FBOs were participants expected to participate in faith-related programming. Typically, FBO respondents emphasised that faith-related programming was not mandatory for clients. While Christian faith development was typically understood as integral to the well-being of clients, some reservations were made by FBO respondents about promoting or teaching about faith in a rehabilitative setting to clients who had experienced trauma and were undergoing psychological therapy, including concerns about client volition as it related to their participation in faith-related programming. These concerns revolved around the vulnerability of clients, namely children, and not wishing to impose religious beliefs on them. As one FBO country director stated, "...we're not here to take advantage of the vulnerability of those children...pushing our personal beliefs or faith onto them" [FBO 3. 15-W-1]. This respondent's expression of concern, though, was balanced with a desire to introduce clients to faith, and highlights the tension regarding elements of faith-related approaches to care that surfaced among some FBOs.

As discussed in Chapter 5, while a faith component was included in the missions of nearly all FBOs in the study, only four FBOs included an evangelism-related reference about sharing the Christian faith with others or encouraging others to become Christians. Similarly, only a small number of respondents stated faith conversion was an organisational goal, and conversion terminology was rarely used. Instead, FBOs sought to enable or facilitate spiritual outcomes through their programmes and approaches to care.

7.2.c The Role of Religion in Secular NGOs

While religious faith was found to infuse FBOs in this study, and while a Christian ethos drove their approaches to care, secular NGOs prioritised spiritual issues differently, if at all. Without religious faith as an organisational input, secular NGOs reported a clear separation from religious involvement, emphasising the secular nature of their organisations and their policy not to discriminate.

However, as indicated in the ways in which secular NGOs were typologised in Chapter 4, religious elements were included in the programming of some. However, these were different in nature and scope from the religious elements in FBOs. The religious elements incorporated into secular NGOs were aligned with the development context in which the organisations worked. Thus, while some secular NGOs did include limited, religious elements into their approaches to care that were culturally relevant or believed to helpfully support clients, religion, as a whole, was not holistically integrated into these organisations, as it was in the FBOs in the study.

Secular NGOs varied in the ways in which they approached matters of spirituality—from organisations that stated clients were free to choose and practice their own religion, to organisations acknowledging the importance of faith in clients' lives and facilitating some aspects of their spirituality, though to a much lesser extent than FBOs. Respondents acknowledged the value of clients engaging with religious communities, such as churches or pagodas, and a small number of respondents mentioned the value of integrating Buddhist values and teachings into client counselling. At least four secular NGOs invited a Buddhist monk or nun into their organisations to talk to clients, though, in at least one case, also a Catholic priest. It was reported among secular NGOs that they facilitated clients going to Buddhist pagodas, and some facilitated, or considered the idea of facilitating, their clients going to church services, if they desired to attend. Acknowledging Buddhist holidays, important to Cambodian culture, was readily reported.

The extent of religious practices in secular NGOs clearly differed from that of FBOs. Whereas FBOs were typically aligned in terms of their faith-related approaches to care, and faith was often heavily integrated into their organisations and programmes, it was an adjunct to the programmes of secular NGOs. Secular NGOs indicated that they did not wish to direct the faith of their clients, though they were open to facilitating clients' religious preferences and needs based on the personal

desires of clients, or cultural customs and expectations (e.g. visiting a Buddhist pagoda on public religious holidays).

While religion was acknowledged to be beneficial to clients, secular NGOs were typically reactive to clients' faith-related needs or desires. FBOs, in contrast, were proactive in providing faith-related programming that they believed best served their clients.

7.3 Discussion

Considering the extent to which, and why, religious faith might influence the ways in which FBOs serving a particular demographic in Cambodia work with their clients, this chapter used an input-output conceptual model to evaluate faith as a non-resource input in FBOs, comparing the approaches to care (i.e. intermediate outputs) of FBOs and secular NGOs. Following this conceptual model, this chapter provides insight about the significant influence of the non-resource input of religious faith on the approaches to care of FBOs in this study. The findings point to why the input of religious faith in FBOs led to a clear demarcation with secular NGOs, given the development context in which the organisations operated. This builds on the conclusion of Leurs (2012: 717) that the characteristics of organisations, and how faith is manifested in their activities, depend on their context. While secular NGOs included religious elements that were integral to the (Theravada Buddhist) religious context of Cambodia, the understanding of these elements was wholly different from the (Christian) religious elements that were part and parcel of the programmes and ideologies of FBOs.

While only FBOs enabled or sought *spiritual* outcomes in clients, all organisations operated with an approach to care that sought behavioural and/or recovery outcomes. Many of these desired outcomes were similar, and included capacity increases, changes related to lifestyle (e.g. leaving the sex trade or using condoms with all sex partners), or improvements in situations stemming from psychological trauma or stigma. This finding aligned with other scholarship in the field, such as Ware, et al. (2016: 330), who contended that, though FBOs and secular NGOs operate from different belief systems, "they tend to lead to quite similar sets of behavioural expectations." Furthermore, Heist and Cnaan (2016) stated that both FBOs and secular NGOs seek conversion through their work with clients (see also

Cloke, et al., 2005), and Thomas (2004: 27) stated that “missionaries” from both FBOs *and* secular organisations proselytise, “each according to their understanding of modernity and development.” Similarly, Druker (2006: xiv) argues that organisations such as those in this study are “human change agents;” their “product” being a changed person. While Jeavons (1992: 406-409) contends that Druker’s claim is not universally applicable, he does cite the “values-expressive character” of many such organisations, for example, environmental advocacy groups that seek to “convert” people to embrace a different attitude toward the environment.

One important contrast that existed between FBOs and a subset of secular NGOs related to their view of the sex industry, demonstrating how religious faith, as a non-resource input of FBOs, directly affected their organisational outputs. FBOs were united against practices and lifestyles that they considered morally wrong, such as young women providing sexual services to paying clients. FBOs did not support, in any way, the sex industry, and they understood sex work as inherently exploitative, as did some secular NGOs. These organisations equated not being involved in sex work with a higher quality of life, a better future, and one that was free of exploitation. Their aim was for current and future clients not to (re-)involve themselves in the sex industry. The FBOs that provided outreach to women working in this industry provided supports that would not be construed as support for the sex industry itself, including befriending and supporting women and assisting them out of the sex industry, when possible. This extended to FBOs’ goals related to client empowerment, which focused on helping clients become empowered so that they would not need to work as sex workers.

FBOs and secular NGOs both provided support and skills training that aided sex workers who wished to leave the sex industry, though a subset of secular NGOs also maintained organisational practices that ultimately supported women in the sex trade, for example, by providing training about matters related to disease prevention and safe sex. Central to these secular NGOs was their aim to promote the safety of sex workers and protect their rights (Hoefinger, 2013). The organisations in this study implemented programmes that they believed served the ultimate good of their clients, though there was sometimes substantial variation between the two types in what this entailed. FBOs were not alone in providing avenues out of the sex industry, however. Secular NGOs that provided outreach to sex workers also provided them with support and opportunities to increase their capacity, learn new skills and change their work, if

they so desired. Like their FBO counterparts, they expressed an aim for their clients to have a safe, fair and sustainable livelihood, though some of them considered sex work to be a legitimate earning activity.

Similarities sought in client behavioural or recovery outcomes point to an underlying commonality in the approaches to care of both FBOs and their secular counterparts, and Hope's (1995) concept of "sanctuary" is useful when considering these similarities. Hope (1995) articulates the idea of the Judeo-Christian tradition of sanctuary as a paradoxical place of both refuge and change. It is dual in form: a place of community and a place of judgement and liberation. The FBOs and secular NGOs in the present study sought to create places that were a sort of "sanctuary," such as residential centres and other places for clients to comfortably receive services, but that also sought change. The clients of residential services surveyed in Miles et al. (2012: 39) expressed frustrations about what the authors stated as the "institutional aspect of their assistance program experience," or the rules and discipline that were part and parcel of the care environment. These places of sanctuary paradoxically ensured refuge while encouraging specific outcomes, with organisations providing services to their clients, while enforcing rules to ensure proper order of the care environment.

7.3.a Faith in Approaches to Care

FBOs maintained a high regard for the spiritual needs of their clients and typically incorporated faith practices and activities into their programming to some degree or another, believing them to be important for clients' well-being, including their well-being after they left the organisation's care. The one FBO that was typologised in this study as "Faith-Affiliated"⁷ partnered with at least one church to provide faith-related activities, rather than having Bible studies, etc. on the organisation's own premises. Clients could then choose whether or not to attend church activities. However, this organisation previously had onsite faith programming.

Incorporating faith-based practices in activities should not be considered standard in Christian FBOs in all other contexts (e.g. Campbell and Glunt, 2006), and it is a key finding that all FBOs in the study maintained an approach to care that emphasised the importance of faith in the lives of their clients. Yet the ways in which FBOs operationalised faith practices, as well as whether and how they intentionally

⁷ As reported in the Methods chapter, 12 of the 13 FBOs were typologised as Faith-Centred.

sought spiritual outcomes, differed somewhat among them. Building on the notion of ‘nesting’ discussed in the previous two chapters, faith and faith programming were nested within the wider services FBOs offered.

Engaging with faith was believed to lead to various changes in client spirituality, including spiritual healing, transformation, and a new awareness of, and spiritual connection to, the Christian understanding of God. While respondents often emphasised that clients were not forced to take part in faith-related activities, a minority of FBOs did expect or assume client participation in such activities. Though they did not mandate conversion from their clients, the nature of some of this programming may complicate the notion of client choice.

The findings in this study confirm the argument made by Berger (2003: 32) that what renders faith-based services religious is “the nature of the worldview on which they are based and the motivation from which they spring.” The findings also align with those of Gerstbauer (2009), who found that faith identity can affect the nature of the work of FBOs in multiple ways. While secular NGOs communicated that they maintained a clear distinction between their services and religion, FBOs provided services that enabled spiritual outcomes; they were imbued with a distinctive ‘faith culture,’ and biblical beliefs and religious values were incorporated into their organisations.

FBO approaches to care—often expressed in terms related to love—were guided by an ethos that seems to echo a statement from Delaney and Scharff (2010: 48) who reported that, among FBO actors in Cambodia, “The concepts of love, compassion, and forgiveness heavily influence how faith actors approach and deliver services.” They reported that actors in FBOs “place special emphasis” on approaches such as those that cultivate healing, spiritual transformation, and ethical consciousness, as they see these as “key aspects of truly sustainable development” (Delaney and Scharff, 2010: 48-49). Furthermore, the findings reflect those in the study by Bornstein (2005: 6), who found that FBOs adopted “holism”—a theological practice that explains the urgency with which FBOs combine spiritual and material approaches. As Haynes (2007) states, the holistic dimension of human development found in FBOs significantly differs from that engaged in by their secular counterparts. Indeed, this differentiation was clearly evident in this thesis, reflecting the argument put forward by Jennings (2013), who stated that FBOs provide for the spiritual needs of clients, as the physical life is believed to be only one part of a person’s total

existence. Grettenberger, et al. (2006) note that FBO discourse often advances the assumption that an important difference between FBOs and their secular counterparts is the former's focus on spiritual and emotional transformation, presumed to result from their "holistic approach" to service delivery. However, secular NGOs also understood their organisations as providing holistic services.

While FBOs in the present study maintained a faith-based ethos that influenced their approach to care, they offered a range of programmes and activities that reflected the extent to which they enabled or sought spiritual outcomes in their clients. According to Miles, et al. (2012), who conducted research with survivors of sexual exploitation and trafficking in Cambodia (most of whom had received services from FBOs), 94% of clients surveyed reported having spiritual beliefs, and 75% of those participants embraced Christian beliefs or practices. In some sense, offering faith-based programming in FBOs could be understood as supporting clients who either have, or would like to embrace, Christian beliefs.

Findings from the present study indicate that not all FBO respondents agreed that faith and client recovery should go hand-in-hand. Some FBO respondents maintained concerns somewhat similar to those of Thaut (2009: 326), who stated that FBOs that "incorporate Christian witness as an integral part of their mission and/or operations employ a thinly veiled form of religious imperialism by taking advantage of unfortunate situations of human suffering to spread the Christian message to a necessarily captive audience, even if acceptance of that message is not a prerequisite for aid." Despite differences among individual FBO respondents related to this matter, the findings showed an overall congruence among FBOs in terms of their enabling or seeking spiritual outcomes; they either incorporated faith services into their programmes, or offered clients to attend church activities, or both.

Future ethnographic research could be helpful in better understanding the degree to which faith was integrated across organisations, providing further, more in-depth detail about the integration of faith into programming and the faith practices of clients, including more about how these may differ between FBOs. For example, while one FBO may allow clients to join in Bible studies conducted for staff, others conduct Bible studies exclusively for clients. Future research could provide better insight into the extent to which organisational practices related to religion—in FBOs and secular NGOs—may be, at least to some degree, defined and organised from below, rather than originating from formal organisational policy. In doing so, nuances

within organisations—with some integrating faith more than others—could be clarified through ethnographic research, providing further and more accurate insight into the different levels and ways in which religion may be included in FBOs and secular NGOs at the programme level.

In the present study, some secular NGOs, even when articulating their position as secular, or free from religious bias, incorporated religious elements into their programming when it was believed to be appropriate to do so. There was a clear distinction, however, between religious elements included in the programming of FBOs and the ways in which secular NGOs adopted religious elements, when they did so. Similar to Hershey's (2016) findings from Kenya, religious elements in the programming of secular NGOs were included as a way in which to make clients feel more comfortable and because (Theravada Buddhist) religious practices are integrated into the culture of Cambodia. Future ethnographic research could clarify the ways in which these practices were understood by staff, administrators, and the clients of these organisations, as well as the extent to which secular NGOs allowed staff to include religious-related activities at their discretion. As Rakodi (2012a: 626) notes, religion is not only about personal beliefs or embracing religious values cognitively, and religion is often adhered to and religious practices are often pursued "because these are part of the fabric of society." As highlighted by Narayanan (2013: 137), practitioners in secular NGOs also need to be aware of their worldviews being "highly shaped by religion, whether or not they themselves claim such affiliation."

The findings in this study aligned with those of Ebaugh, et al. (2003) who contended that, even though religion was not entirely absent from the secular organisations in their study, religion was found to infuse FBOs in a number of ways, differentiating the two types of organisations. FBOs in the present study elevated the spiritual needs of their clients and sought or enabled spiritual outcomes through their faith-based culture and programming. Building on the understanding of faith infusing FBOs, the findings showed how the congruence among FBOs, in how they sought or enabled spiritual outcomes, demonstrated a clear contrast with secular NGOs. This clear contrast is a key finding in the light of research in other contexts that contends that the two types cannot always be easily differentiated (Green, et al., 2012; Johnsen, 2014). The findings from the present study show a clear demarcation between the two types. Though secular NGOs were not devoid of some religious elements in their

approaches to care, these religious elements were very different in nature from those offered by FBOs.

This study has demonstrated that the context in which organisations work can affect the extent to which FBOs are distinguished from their secular counterparts. The Christian FBOs operating in this particular development context demonstrated uniformity in their approaches to care, namely in terms of the ways in which they prioritised faith. It is argued that this demarcation with their secular counterparts relates to the wider development context, where Theravada Buddhism is the state religion of Cambodia. Unlike FBOs, secular NGOs generally refrained from incorporating religious ideas into their approaches to care that were not already embedded in the development context.

This distinction also relates to the unrestrictive, faith-friendly funding context of FBOs, first mentioned in the Methods Chapter. Unlike in some geographical contexts (e.g. Hershey, 2016), FBOs in this study did not appear to be constrained by donors in terms of if, how, or what kind of faith programming could be integrated into the services they provided to clients. Rather than FBOs providing services that looked quite secular, faith was often included in the programming of FBOs, though it was typically stated as being optional for clients. These findings add theoretical insight into understanding the development context as heightening the distinctions found between Christian FBOs and secular NGOs, and as critical to the ways in which religion may or may not influence their approaches to care.

7.3.b Implications

While FBO respondents typically indicated that faith-related programming was voluntary, given the importance of faith practices to the services FBOs provide to their clients, FBOs would do well to always allow an environment in which clients have complete freedom to choose whether or not to participate in faith-related programming. Echoing the recommendation by Miles, et al. (2013: 101), it is important for FBOs to assess and balance the “vulnerabilities, age and context” of clients when spiritual supports are offered by FBOs, including through discussions with clients that may assist them in thinking about their own beliefs. It has also been suggested that FBOs include the topic of spiritual abuse in their child protection policies, thus willingly and transparently acknowledging to policymakers their practices related to incorporating faith-based programming into their organisations.

Zimmerman (2017) argues that FBOs should voluntarily adopt the “Code of Conduct for Religious Institutions, Faith Communities, and Faith-Based Organizations for Their Work with Survivors of Forced Labour, Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery,” which stipulates, in part, that religious activities or education shall not be compulsory, and that religious literature or instruction—which must never be offered by the organisation providing primary care—should only be provided when solicited by the client. Yet faith-based programming should not be lightly tossed by the wayside; Pandya (2017) argues, in her study across thirteen countries, that programmes that include spiritual interventions in residential care are effective for bereaved children who had lost both parents—a finding that can inform the approaches to care of people from other backgrounds.

The findings from this study bring better awareness about the ways in which religious elements influence organisational approaches to care, facilitating understanding across ideological divides that may separate organisations seeking similar goals. Furthermore, the findings can facilitate dialogue within FBOs and secular NGOs, and among policy stakeholders, about the extent to which similarities and differences may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs, including those beyond the geographical context of Cambodia, so that better understanding between them can be fostered.

Davis, et al. (2011) state that decisions about engaging with FBOs must be made on an individual basis, with an understanding of the organisations being considered and their context. Neither a standard approach nor a general preference is appropriate, they contend; nor would it be for considering engagement with secular NGOs.

This chapter has served as one step toward bringing more knowledge to the field about one aspect of FBOs that Hefferan and Fogarty (2010) states is needed: a better description of what FBOs do on a day-to-day basis. Rae and Clarke (2013: 574) state that, currently, there is “little empirical evidence” in terms of distinctions between the operations of FBOs and secular NGOs, and this chapter has provided important insight into the similarities of, and distinctions between, the services of a sample of FBOs and secular NGOs in Cambodia. Given that most research on the influence of faith in service provision has been conducted in the USA (Flanigan, 2009), this chapter has brought knowledge about the role of faith in services in a developing country context.

7.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to examine the extent to which, and why, religious faith might influence the ways in which FBOs in a particular development context work with their clients. Responding to the desire for “understanding better the work of the faith-inspired world” in Cambodia, reportedly expressed by some secular organisations and donors (Delaney and Scharff, 2010: 26), the chapter analysed FBO and secular NGO approaches to care. It found that all organisations in the study sought behavioural or recovery outcomes in their clients. This chapter contributes to the literature by providing insight into the similarities of, and differences between, FBOs and secular NGOs providing services to a particular clientele in Cambodia. It provides empirical knowledge to address a need suggested as a result from recent policy initiatives: the “need to explore the difference between religious and secular actors in development practice” (Green, et al., 2012: 722).

This chapter highlighted how the outcomes sought by both types of organisations resonated and contrasted with one another. It revealed a congruence among FBOs in how they maintained a high regard for the spiritual needs of their clients, though there were sometimes differences in how they incorporated faith practices into their programming. While FBOs’ inclusion of faith-related programming reflected a clear demarcation in relation to their secular counterparts, secular NGOs also, at times, included religious elements in their programming, though these differed in nature from those offered by FBOs, given that these religious elements were already embedded in the religious and cultural context of the country.

This chapter builds on the work of Ebaugh, et al. (2003), demonstrating that faith infused FBOs in the present study in a way that demonstrates clear demarcation between the approaches to care of FBOs and their secular counterparts. Developing this theoretical understanding, the findings examine specific ways in which this was empirically evident, clarifying significant differences observed between the two types of organisations. Furthermore, this chapter considered the findings in relation to the development context, adding insight to the literature on the importance of taking into account the context in which organisations work when seeking to decipher differences that may or may not exist between FBOs and secular NGOs. The findings point to the Cambodian context—namely the (Theravada Buddhist) religious milieu—affecting

the extent to which (Christian) FBOs were distinguished from secular NGOs. It is argued in this chapter and, more widely in this thesis, that the development context, along with the infusion of faith in FBOs, heightened distinctions found between the Christian FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, leading to clear demarcation between the two types. This distinction contrasts with other research that problematises the notion of clearly demarcating organisations as ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ (e.g. Hershey, 2016).

This chapter considered the third of four supporting research questions in this thesis. The next chapter discusses the final supporting research question, examining the ways in which respondents conceived of success.

Chapter 8

Conceptions of Success

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the third of four disaggregations of different aspects of the operation of religious faith in FBOs examined in this thesis. The similarities in, and differences between, the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs were comparatively examined, including the extent to which faith was integrated into the programmes and services of FBOs. Furthermore, the chapter examined the extent to which FBOs resembled one another in how they maintained a concern for the spiritual needs of their clients, as well as the similarities that existed between them in their organisational faith practices. All in all, it addressed the lack of attention paid in the literature to comparatively analysing the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs.

The current chapter examines the last of the four supporting research questions in this study, considering the extent to which there are similarities and differences between leaders of FBOs and secular NGOs in terms of how they socially construct success. Accordingly, this chapter addresses the question, *To what extent, and why, might leaders¹ of Christian FBOs and secular NGOs conceive of their work as being successful, and to what do they attribute that success?*

Herman and Renz (2008) argue that organisational effectiveness is socially constructed, stating that different stakeholders and leaders will assess effectiveness in their own way, based on their own criteria, like one might judge art. This chapter draws on the work of Herman and Renz (1998, 1999, 2008) on the social constructionist perspective of organisational effectiveness, which evaluates organisational effectiveness through the lens of the judgements of stakeholders. In the social constructionist perspective, there is no distinction between actual effectiveness and an evaluation of effectiveness (Herman and Renz, 1999). Judgements about effectiveness, in other words, are based on the perceptions of those who make them.

¹ See Chapter 4, section 4.4.c for an explanation of why the interviewees in this study are referred here as 'leaders.'

In this sense, the notion of ‘success’ is socially constructed by respondents, as explored below. Osborne and Tricker (1995) argue that a social constructionist perspective of organisational effectiveness necessitates rich qualitative data so that ambiguities and differences within perceptions can be explored.

Employing again the input-output conceptual model used in this study, this chapter builds on the previous chapters, comparatively exploring the intermediate outputs (i.e. the services the organisations provided and aspects of the organisations that related to their provision of care) that respondents associated with the success of their organisations’ work. In doing so, the chapter examines the relationship between the non-resource input of religious faith and the ways in which actors in FBOs conceived of the success of their intermediate outputs. There is a focus here on the multidimensionality of socially constructed success, and the chapter demonstrates the ways in which the input of faith in FBOs served as an important conceptual lens through which FBO leaders viewed their work and client change. Furthermore, the chapter includes the theoretical propositions of this study, especially relating to religious faith infusing FBOs, thereby influencing the ideological environments of FBOs, and leading to significant differences between these organisations and their secular counterparts.

The findings below resulted from analysing the transcripts from the interviews discussed in Chapter 3. Transcripts were analysed for references to conceptions of success and client change. The transcripts were screened and colour-coded for how respondents conceived of their organisations affecting clients; what they believed was unique, or better, about their organisations; and how successful they perceived their organisations to be. When applicable, transcripts were also colour-coded for responses related to how respondents perceived faith affecting client change, and if and why they believed faith to be important to client change.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, an overview is provided of the ways in which success was generally conceptualised in the organisations in the study. Attributions of success are then further explored in four organisational categories, following Lewis’s model (Lewis, 2014) of the four interrelated areas of NGO management: a) the organisational environment, b) activities, c) organisational structure and processes, and d) relationships. The findings are then further discussed, including the extent to which the inclusion of faith in FBOs was observed as affecting

the ways in which leaders of these organisations socially constructed success. The chapter concludes with practical implications for those involved in service provision.

8.2 Findings

The notion of ‘success’ was conceptualised and constructed multidimensionally by respondents in the study, with some, for example, referencing success in terms of high numbers of clients served, perceived improvement in client behaviour and attitude, and low recidivism (i.e. few numbers of clients re-entering the sex trade or being re-victimized, or returning to the organisation after reintegrating into society).

While a small number of respondents stated that they were unable to assess organisational success because they felt their organisation had not been operating for a long enough period of time, respondents typically cited their organisations as being successful, though caveats were made that success could be improved. While some clients were believed to have improved in their conditions—learning new skills, recovering from past trauma, or changing their behaviour—others were believed not to have improved sufficiently. Respondents, therefore, understood success in a tension between wholehearted affirmation on one hand, and a (smaller) perceived lack of success on the other, sometimes nuancing their comments affirming success with statements about disappointments or struggles faced in their organisations. One respondent from a secular NGO stated,

...there are a lot of girls who slip through your fingers. There are a lot of girls who go back into (the sex) industry. There are a lot of girls who don't see the value of what you're offering. You know it is good, but they don't see it as good. And they think it's still unfair and they deserve everything else. And stuff like that. And they leave and get into worse-off situations. That hurts! And it's very discouraging. It's like, *So why am I doing (this) in the first place?* But then, you do get the girls...you do get the cases where they have taken everything on board, or as much on board as they can, and will continue to grow from it; you see it. Yeah. [SNGO 16. 9-S]

Success was often highly attributed to the commitment and qualities of staff, with their teamwork, trustworthiness, and other qualities, such as patience and reliability, stated as important to the success of both FBOs and secular NGOs. Some respondents attributed organisational success—at least in part—to the clients they served.

While respondents typically communicated success in relation to perceived outcomes, this section further explores the ways in which respondents socially constructed success in their organisations. This chapter draws on Lewis's (2014) four interrelated areas of NGO management as a prototype model for examining attributions of success. It is used to structure analysis of the findings, considering the ways in which success was conceived in terms of organisational activities, organisational structures and processes, partner relationships, and the organisational environmental milieu (Figure 1). Each of these four areas relate to intermediate outputs that are examined in this chapter, and thus are related to the overall conceptual model guiding this study. Using Lewis's model allowed it to be tested for its applicability in future research on organisational success or, more widely, in other empirical qualitative studies on NGOs.

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Figure 1
The Interrelated Areas of NGO Management
(Lewis, 2014: 28)

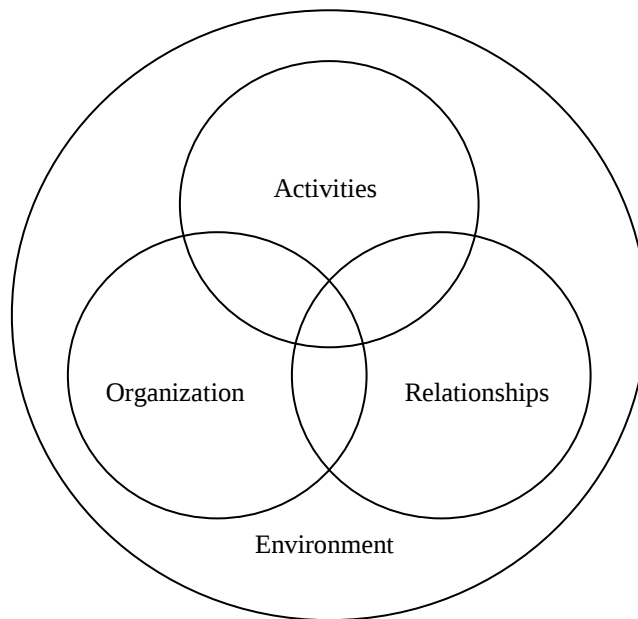


Figure 1 portrays the domains of NGO management as overlapping circles, within the greater circle of the broader environment in which they are situated. According to Lewis (2014: 28-29), the *activities* domain relates to an organisation's programmes and projects; the *organisation* domain considers the management of internal structures and processes; and the *relationships* domain involves the management of partners and other institutional actors. As for the *environment*, it is a crucial variable for accurate analysis of an organisation's work, and it is "the context in which NGO management must be understood" (Lewis: 2014: 84). Lewis (2002) states that both organisational culture—the shared values and practices among staff—and societal culture have a bearing on organisational issues, and argues that research about the different norms and values held among third sector actors, as well as the contexts in which they operate, are important, given their diversity, values, and worldwide importance. Accordingly, this chapter expands on Lewis' model, building on the notion of environment as more than the political and societal contexts in which organisations work, and further explores the religious or secular character of organisations (i.e. ideological environment) as being critical to understanding differences that may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs.

This chapter, therefore, explores the extent to which success is attributed by organisational leaders to the four areas of Lewis's (2014) model: a) environment, b) activities, c) organisational structures and processes, and d) relationships. This section continues by first exploring the external and ideological environments of the FBOs and secular NGOs in the study, giving particular attention to the connection between the religious ideological environments of FBOs and the ways in which success was socially constructed in these organisations. It then proceeds by exploring the extent to which respondents attributed organisational success to their activities, organisational structures and processes, and relationships, including aspects perceived by respondents as being unique to their organisations, thus bringing insight into how leaders understood their organisations in comparison to others.

8.2.a Environment

As explored in previous chapters, Theravada Buddhism, the official religion of Cambodia, is an important contextual element of the external environment in which the organisations in this study worked. This religion has had an "active presence" among the Khmers for approximately 1500 years (Harris, 2005: 225). It has contributed to the notion of nationhood in Cambodia (Harris, 2005), and has a "central role in Cambodian social and political life" (Swearer, 2010: 125). In Cambodia, Buddhism is syncretised with animistic beliefs, being "intermingled with a host of other ancestral deities and animist guardian spirits" (Strangio, 2014: xii). Whipple, Hall, and Sustaita (2015) state that Cambodian Buddhists integrate spirituality into their daily living and, more widely, that spirituality is central to the culture of Southeast Asia.

Also common to this development context is the local sex trade, and concerns about issues of human trafficking and sexual abuse and exploitation. As explored in Chapter 3, the reasons people enter the sex trade in Cambodia are varied, including few employment opportunities (Sandy, 2007). The Cambodian government has had difficulty responding to the needs of its citizens (Chandler, 2008), and NGOs have arrived on the ground to offer a variety of services, including those provided to sex workers and victims of sexual exploitation and trafficking. More widely, NGOs are central to the delivery of aid in Cambodia (Suárez and Gugery, 2016) and, through their programmes, they contribute significantly to the country's social and economic development (Ear, 2013).

While the external environment of the organisations retained many similarities, as stated above, this chapter builds on Lewis's idea of 'environment' to emphasise the value of examining the ideological milieu of the organisations in the study. Respondents emphasised that their organisations typically maintained a pleasant environment, including good camaraderie between staff and clients, and the following sub-section considers the ways in which understanding organisational religious ideologies is critical to understanding their differences, including the ways in which they socially constructed success.

8.2.a.i Religious Ideological Environment of FBOs

While all of the organisations in the study operated within a similar development context, FBOs had a faith-centric ideological environment which significantly influenced how they understood organisational success and client change. FBO leaders understood God as one they could heavily rely on, and believe in, to help clients, and there was a strong connection between faith-based beliefs and perceptions of success, though respondents also attributed success to a combination of factors. For example, one FBO respondent stated:

...one of the reasons for our success is this...it's this approach of empowering people in sustainable ways within their own sort of real life contexts, rather than taking them out of that context, so that change is then real, and one step at a time. They're building something that eventually brings about, you know, the overall change. Success is also due to having some skilled foreign volunteers and foreign staff that transfer their skills to the Cambodian staff. It's also due to having incredible Cambodian staff that are very trustworthy and very committed...So those are some of the elements. I'm also a Christian and I pray a lot and I believe that God is the one who ultimately loves these girls more than me, and has helped us to be successful in lots—many, many ways...We also pray about the problems the girls have. So, very regularly there'll be horrendous things going on in a community such as a baby is about to be sold by the father or by the mother to a trafficker and it's a horrendous outcome for the baby, believe me...So we pray about these problems, and we believe that God intervenes and helps because we have so many answers to our prayers, and in critical areas in which we can't do very much. So all those reasons contribute to our success. And another element I will add is that—to one factor of success is that the girls stay out of the sex industry. Most of them stay out permanently. And one important element that helps with that is the way that my Cambodian staff treat the girls from the moment they come to (this organisation). They're

treated as an equal, and they're treated with value, with dignity. They're treated as a human being with worth which they have never experienced before in their lives in Cambodia. And this builds their self-worth right from day one, and that self-worth is a very protective factor. It's a maintaining factor, if you like, in keeping them out of the sex industry because they've found something that they want to cling onto and that's self-worth. So it's a very important factor in there. [FBO 13. 12-D-1]

In the ideological environment of FBOs, the notion of success was, at least in part, attributed to God. The faith-centric ideology that imbued FBOs, and their understanding of the positive affects of faith on their clients and organisations, stood in contrast to that of respondents from secular NGOs. This faith-centric ideology involved beliefs about God and God's ability to supernaturally intervene in the organisation and lives of clients. Examples included respondents attributing miracles and positive occurrences (e.g. funding for the organisation or client change) to prayer and the work of God. A faith-centric ideological environment was evident in each FBO in the study and, as at least one interviewee called it, part of their organisational "DNA." This finding aligns with the way in which FBOs in the study were typologised in this thesis.

Part and parcel of the FBOs' faith-centric ideological environment was the understanding that the Christian faith could effect positive client change. It was perceived as helping clients flourish and feel hopeful, and it provided a framework in which a supernatural being understood their problems and pain. Describing her organisation's inner healing and prayer ministry, one FBO respondent stated:

We all have brokenness; there are areas of vulnerability, or weaknesses. And part of that complete healing comes from when the Lord is there to speak to you and I directly, and say, 'I was there in that room when you were raped.' And really begin to walk with them through that process...part of inner healing is really to help them connect with the Creator, with Jesus himself. Because when God can speak to them, and they know that they can hear from God and they can hear from Christ, that actually becomes a huge factor—when they know that this Jesus that we talk about understands their suffering and pain. Because he himself was mocked and crucified and beaten and persecuted and spat on. And all of a sudden they go, 'Oh my gosh. This God—he identifies with my pain. He identifies with my suffering.' And so it's like a revelation. A light bulb goes on. ... (Trauma care programmes are) good, but

they're limited. To me that extra piece (God ministering directly to clients and providing healing) moves forward to do the complete healing. [FBO 4. 30-R]

In this regard, clients' faith in God, and their pursuing the Christian way of life, was believed to bring lasting spiritual change and healing to clients. A respondent from another FBO described how engaging with faith changed a young client, who previously had misbehaved:

J: So, do you see that the girls who go to church or that are part of the Bible study – do you see that that affects them in any way?

FBO: For sure.

J: How do you or your staff see that?

FBO: We see first the way (in how) they think, the way they sing, the way they behave... We have many cases (where) before they go in church—they join church—they like a gangster, or something like that. They (do not) listen; but after church, they respect, they obey the staff and their behaviour becomes acceptable. And, one case—now she became a generous person. When she goes (to) church, she do dessert making or something, and (takes it) to the church... Before she coming to the centre, she was a gang on the street, and she was the gang in the bar and in the centre; she make others in trouble, including staff—fighting others, (making) conflict...(Nowadays,) sometimes, when she has money, she buys, you know, second-hand clothes for children, and she take to the church so the children can take.

[FBO 1. 14-W-2]

FBO respondents typically understood the value of client participation in faith-related activities to relate to the faith elements of those activities, not just their involvement in them. These elements included believing in God or Jesus, having faith, or becoming a Christian, though it was not mentioned by all respondents. Some FBO respondents held a nuanced view of faith affecting clients (saying, for example, that faith positively affected *some* clients, or suggesting the possibility of other religious beliefs besides Christianity also positively affecting clients). Some FBO respondents emphasised a connection between faith affecting client change and staff care. In other words, the faith commitments of staff, and their ability to demonstrate faith, love, and care, were believed to be important for clients.

As some FBOs provided psychological treatment to clients, the value and importance of a non-faith-focused psychological treatment process was also emphasised. Furthermore, as stated in Chapter 7, FBO respondents sometimes held reservations about faith-based programming in their organisations because they were of the persuasion that children, for example, should not be unduly influenced by faith-based beliefs while receiving treatment in a protective care environment.

8.2.a.ii Non-Religious Ideological Environment of Secular NGOs

While FBO respondents emphasised faith-centric ideologies and the affect of faith on client change, respondents from secular NGOs did not wish to direct their clients in faith matters. As introduced in the previous chapter, Secular NGOs preferred to leave faith issues in the hands of the clients themselves, yet remained open to facilitating client requests about faith-related matters. A respondent from a secular NGO stated:

So, in a trauma sensitive environment, we realized that we wanted to come out from a very secular point of view as a professional organization to meet their needs. I want (clients) to identify for me what their faith needs are...we support anyone in any faith they come from. So the majority of the girls we serve are Buddhist. We respect their faith and beliefs; we want to help them anchor and connect to their own faith as a source of strength; and we don't want to influence or manipulate them in any way. ... I think everyone's faith affects them in some way...Here in Cambodia we see girls that come from Buddhist backgrounds, carrying around some shame generated by the idea of karma—that if life dealt me this blow of being sexually exploited then maybe I should just live that out so that the next life will be better. And so there are things that we do, we have to address in terms of religion and faith to help them get a proper prospective around that. But we also want to encourage girls—some girls feel very strongly connected to their Buddhist faith, you know, and being compassionate, and being giving and...So we want to help girls identify where those positives in their faith backgrounds (are) and also addressing some of the negative things that are carried over. We do have a couple of girls in the program now that identify as Christian, so we provide opportunities for them to attend church services to practice their faith, and to participate in events that will help them continue to grow in their own faith journeys. ... but we don't want to direct that, we don't want to influence it. We don't want to impact that because it is not a part of successful treatment.

... in most situations over the last nine years that I've been doing this, I've actually seen—if programming is faith-based, it can actually be a greater impediment to girls' successful reintegration within their own context. It creates more problems than it actually solves. ... it needs to

be a self-directed path. These are girls that have had so much forced upon them that that journey needs to be self-directed. And we need to be stewards of that journey and be responsible in the way that we interact with those clients to give them the best possible trajectory. [SNGO 18. 19-T-1]

Unlike FBO respondents, secular NGO respondents were more likely to consider religions as equal, rather than preferring one over the other. A clear demarcation from religious matters was often maintained by secular NGOs, though some respondents understood religion as important and beneficial, generally because of its capacity to educate people or help them emotionally, rather than spiritually transform them. One respondent, commenting on the value she saw faith playing in the lives of clients in her organisation who were also affiliated with an FBO, stated:

The girls who go to the faith-based NGO—they do like sing about God and sing about Jesus and ... it just gives them something to believe in. It gives them a sense of gratefulness to be out of the situation that they were in. Some of the girls have said to me, ...“Thank God that you are in our lives.” They—yeah, it impacts certainly. It gives them something to believe in after so much that they’ve been through. They went through all forms of degradation and things like that. They’ve been able to like lift themselves up and have something to look up to. And for some of them, it’s God. It gives them a reason, like, “I’ve been rescued because of God.” And it helps. It helps. I’ve got nothing against that. [SNGO 16. 9-S]

Another secular NGO respondent explained:

We do not say, “(If you) stay here you have to be Buddhist. You have to be Christian. You have to be Islam.” It depends on the girls. However, they have to respect each other and they have to follow the policy that even if they are involved in another religion or Christianity, they can pray but they cannot pressure other girls. ... For me, I think all the religion is good because it educates people to respect other people. They don’t want to make any mistake to other people. All religion is education for the people. ... I think if (our clients) go to church or a pagoda, it means that they can get more education from other people. So, they can change their attitude, they can change their behaviour. [SNGO 19. 21-C-1]

Given the ways in which secular NGOs understood the role and place of religious faith in their organisations vis-à-vis FBOs, the ideological environments in which both types of organisations worked were wholly different.

8.2.b Activities

Respondents affirmed the success of the activities of their organisations, namely programmes and services for their clients, which, as discussed in Chapter 7, included residential care, training, employment, psychological therapy and counselling, and outreach (e.g. conversing with entertainment workers, seeking new clients and, among some secular NGOs, assisting entertainment workers to remain safe and healthy in their work). These activities were perceived as aiding clients in behaviour change, recovery, and their overall improvement. Respondents sometimes illustrated the success of their activities by telling a short story of a successful client who had improved as a result of the services their organisation rendered. In some cases, clients began a programme traumatized and emotionally downtrodden, but were perceived to improve during the course of their time in the programme.

Leaders of FBOs and secular NGOs attributed success to their programmes and services in similar ways, citing the comprehensive services they offered, staff persistence, the nature of their programming, and their understanding of, and ability to address, client needs. Furthermore, success was attributed to their practices, such as staff engaging with, caring for, and empowering clients.

As explored in Chapter 7, FBOs incorporated faith elements in their activities that made their programmes strikingly different than those of secular NGOs. For example, FBOs regularly provided, or made available, various forms of faith-related activities in which clients were invited to participate (e.g. in-house Christian devotions, attending church services). Activities that related to religion in secular NGOs were far more limited and of a different nature. These included, for example, celebrating Buddhist holidays, inviting in a Buddhist monk to teach clients, or allowing clients to attend church services. Though some secular NGO respondents identified emotional benefits that could come from faith-related practices, activities, or education, FBOs perceived significant spiritual benefits that arose out of their clients' participation in Christian faith-based activities or education. These included, for example, healing and hope, which were believed to be critical to improving clients' wellbeing. One FBO respondent stated:

At the heart of (the organisation) there is a very strong faith element, so all of our staff are Christians, and we encourage the girls and allow them to explore Christianity, if they choose too, as well. And we've

seen that a lot of girls have responded very favourably to that—having a faith and a hope for the future has been a big part of that...It also introduces them to a new community, a new base of friends and people who are very interested in them, love them, and encourage them, who don't have a fatalistic outlook on life. [FBO 6. 17-D-1]

Similarly, another FBO respondent stated that, if the organisation did *not* address spirituality, they would be doing clients a disservice. Highlighting the importance of faith-based programming, this respondent stated:

I think that if we didn't have (faith-based programming), we wouldn't be successful. Because I think that if you don't deal with the spiritual level of things, you're doing them a disservice. I believe that wholeheartedly. So yeah, I see that that's what makes it successful. If I were asked to multiply (the organisation) without Christianity, I wouldn't do it...because everything that I know that I believe is why it's successful. [FBO 11. 25-S-1]

Respondents cited a variety of aspects of their activities that they believed were unique or different in comparison to organizations doing similar work, and these primarily related to the uniqueness of their programmes and the care that they offered. About twice as many responses were provided that related to programme uniqueness than those related to care. These included the comprehensive nature of the services they provided, as well as other aspects, such as having a model that ensured clients learn or take personal responsibility during the course of their programme. As for unique aspects of care, respondents offered a variety of responses, and these included, *inter alia*, a commitment to offering the best care, considering clients as their own children, and providing extra-curricular activities that added to the care experience, such as providing gifts to clients and hosting birthday parties.

8.2.c Organisational Structure and Processes

Only a small number of respondents related organisational success to operational issues, such as their organisational structure and processes. Responses were varied and included quality facilities, maturing organisationally, and the ability to resolve problems. They also included having a vision and executing a model that was perceived to work well, maintaining systems, and having a good management team and policies.

Respondents identified a range of characteristics related to organisational structure and processes that they perceived to be unique about their organisation, such as its size, history, and expertise. Niche focus was also identified as being a unique organisational aspect, including the goals of the organisation and the specific clientele with which they worked. Unique aspects also related to having an organisational model that was sustainable, team-based, or structured to ensure the provision of best care.

8.2.d Relationships

The institutional relationships that organisations maintained are best understood as partnerships with local authorities, other NGOs, collaborative networks, and donors. Organisations valued these relationships, and many respondents attributed organisational success to them. For example, one FBO leader explained how other FBOs had provided support to their organisation when it was establishing its client services arm (it had previously served exclusively as a donor organisation to other FBOs), mentioning the Chab Dai Coalition, a large collaboration of FBOs working on issues related to anti-human trafficking:

And even here in terms of our partners—you know, because they're all faith-based organisations, they have helped me set up the NGO office operation here. A lot of the procedures and policies that we developed here have come from information shared by them to us. You know, and again, that's why Chab Dai's model for us is a model that we really love because it's a coalition, and we are forming our own little coalition. And, so...in terms of our successes, like I couldn't have completed that MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) as quickly as we did if it was not God working through Chab Dai helping us. ... most MoU's take over a year and a half, and we got both MoU's within less than a year. That is totally God's favour. And, again, that comes from having connections with Christians here—our partners—who can speak into those situations and (help us) through that process. [FBO 4. 30-R]

The following is an example of a respondent from a secular NGO articulating the value of partners to their organisation:

We have a lot of networks...Without good collaboration from (our) partners, maybe we could not (have) success (with) our adult programme and vocational training program. And (as for) some abuse cases, or human trafficking cases for children and adults in this

community, (our organisation does not) have a legal service regarding human trafficking. But in case that happens to the children or families in the community, (our organisation) plays a role as coordinator to find the partner NGO who has a mission to, and program, (to support these individuals).

... when the volunteer comes in and works very hard, we are motivated to continue (our) mission. And we say to our NGO partners and local authorities, as well as the families who work very good (and) cooperatively: without this group of stakeholders (working cooperatively), (our organisation) cannot see success; (we) cannot see change for the individuals' lives, as well as the families that get involved with our projects. [SNGO 14. 4-R-1]

Both FBOs and secular NGOs relied on NGO partners to provide programming and training for clients. Some contrast between the two types of organisations was observed, namely, while some FBO respondents stated that they relied on supporters in other countries to pray for their work, some secular NGOs sought relationships with owners of entertainment establishments in order to help facilitate work-site programming to entertainment workers. This is exemplified by the quote below from a secular NGO respondent who emphasised the importance of partnerships in relation to a programme that worked with entertainment workers. Yet, the respondent also recognised the value of organisational and operational issues to their success, such as the importance of having experienced staff, a system for working with clients, and having provided services for a long period of time. Responding to a question about why the organisation was successful, the respondent stated:

I think for (one of our projects that works with entertainment workers)—because we already have long-term activities working with entertainment workers, and we make good relationship(s) with (the) local authority, with (the) healthcare provider, (and with) entertainment (establishment) owners, so, I think—. We have another activity—a quarterly meeting—with entertainment workers and another local authority...we let them know about (our organisation) doing important achievements...no one knows (that) our projects are successful. Because sometimes the donor comes to visit; the result they know already, but they need to know about our relationships, our collaboration with (the) local authority, or with (entertainment establishment) owners, yes...But the thing behind our staff (is) that they have experience in working with entertainment workers...We have a system in place already to work with entertainment workers. [SNGO 25. 40-P-1]

While both FBOs and secular NGOs acknowledged and appreciated their partnerships and supporters, secular NGOs were more likely than FBOs to relate success to their relationships.

Some respondents stated that their relationships with institutional actors—such as working with network partners, maintaining good working relationships with local authorities and owners of entertainment establishments—were a unique aspect of their organisation. These responses were few, and all but one were stated by respondents from secular NGOs.

8.3 Discussion

Organisations working with those involved in the sex trade, or affected by sexual exploitation, abuse, or trafficking, may measure success in various ways, e.g. whether sex trade-involved persons are using condoms with all sex partners and regularly getting health check-ups, the number of beneficiaries leaving sex work, or the ability of beneficiaries to earn income from sources other than sex work. Crawford and Kaufman (2008), writing within the context of anti-trafficking NGOs in Nepal, stated that, rather than a systematic reporting of project outcomes, individual stories of ‘success’ were often focused on in reports. They argue for a universal system of outcome assessment, used by researchers and funders, that fosters “empirical evaluation of intervention effectiveness for both prevention and remediation efforts, using both attitudinal and behavioral outcomes” (Crawford and Kaufman 2008: 914-915). As it was, they found “an almost complete lack of systematic outcome measurement,” with organisations typically stating the activities in which they engaged clients and the numbers of clients that participated (Kaufman and Crawford 2011: 659). Such measurement coincides with reflecting on, and evaluating, outputs.

While notions of success can vary from organisation to organisation, the aim of this chapter has been to explore the extent to which leaders of FBOs and secular NGOs conceived of their work as being successful, and to what they attributed that success. The study drew on a social constructionist perspective of organisational effectiveness (Herman and Renz, 1998, 1999, 2008) to evaluate notions of ‘success,’ as well as the extent to which faith affected the social construction of success in FBOs. The findings, analysed through Lewis’s four interrelated areas of NGO management (Lewis, 2014), comparatively explored the ways in which the religious ideological context of an organisation critically relates to the ways in which their

leaders conceived of success. The chapter demonstrates the value of examining conceptions of success and, in particular, the ideological environment of organisations when comparing different types of organisations working within a similar development context. As a whole, the chapter provides further insight into the ways in which organisations were typologised in Chapter 4.

Green et al. (2001) found that self-reporting was a reasonably reliable method for assessing organisational effectiveness, and Sowa et al. (2004: 720) recommend that researchers “probe staff beliefs about the efficacy of their programs.” Given that a criticism of relying on subjective measures of perception is that stakeholders can lack consensus (Wadongo and Abdel-Kader, 2014), assertions about organisational effectiveness must be qualified based on the person making the assertion, since “a single objective organizational effectiveness independent of the judgments of various stakeholders is no longer tenable or useful” (Herman and Renz, 1997: 202). As Forbes (1998, 195) states, through this approach, “assessments of effectiveness are not regarded as objective facts but neither are they regarded as arbitrary or irrelevant.” The theoretical significance, Forbes (1998: 196) contends, is not from their ability to actually measure effectiveness; rather it is “from their potential to illuminate the way that effectiveness is conceived of, negotiated, and measured” among nonprofits.

The study brought comparative insight into the ways in which leaders of organisations conceived of, and attributed, success. It demonstrated that respondents from both FBOs and secular NGOs perceived their organisations as successful, resembling findings from studies in other developing countries (e.g. Davis et al., 2011; Khang and Moe, 2008). However, they sometimes qualified their notions of success with caveats about desiring further improvement, thus assessing organisational success in a tension between perceived success on the one hand and some level of disappointment or desire for greater success on the other. Furthermore, the findings clarify similarities among, and distinctions between, secular NGOs’ and FBOs’ social constructions of success as they relate to Lewis’s model. For example, in terms of their ideological environments, whereas faith elements were included at the core of FBOs, and respondents accounted for the effect of faith on client change, respondents from secular NGOs clearly demarcated their organisations from religion and did not wish to direct their clients in faith matters. Despite such a contrast at the core of their organisations, they both cited their activities, including the comprehensive services they offered, staff persistence, and their ability to address

client needs, as relating to their success. Furthermore, while respondents readily pointed to the nature of their activities as being integral to their success, significant differences were not revealed between the two types of organisations in terms of the extent to which only some respondents related organisational success to operational issues, such as organisational structures and processes. As for the connection between external relationships and notions of success, both FBOs and secular NGOs acknowledged and appreciated their partnerships and supporters. Similarly, Gan, et al. (2014) found that most NGOs in their study in Cambodia also recognized the importance of partnerships to their success, as they connected cooperation with other NGOs, as well as strong commitments from government agencies, with the performance of their programmes.

Organisational success can often be understood as multidimensional (Helmig et al., 2014), and respondents described a wide variety of reasons for the success they had experienced in their organisations. Yet, in many ways, perceptions of success were expressed in similar ways. These similarities were likely to have resulted from each respondent socially constructing success based on his/her organisation's own set of goals, missions, and values. For example, whereas a secular NGO working with sex workers may have deemed success as sex workers attending regular health checks, an FBO would have deemed success as sex workers obtaining vocational training and leaving sex work. Both 'successes' involve behaviour change, though the actual success sought by each is quite different.

Similar to the multidimensionality found in the ways in which respondents conceived of success, respondents provided a wide range of responses to—and a lack of consistency in—what they understood as being unique, or better, about their organisations. These findings illuminated the ways in which respondents compared their organisations to those doing similar work. As Herman and Renz (1999: 110) assert, organisational effectiveness “is always a matter of comparison,” either with other organisations, an ideal type, or with itself at an earlier time. Identifying what respondents understood as unique in their organisations, therefore, brought further insight into how they socially constructed success.

8.3.a Theoretical Contributions and Ways Forward

The findings in this chapter bring clarity to the ways in which effectiveness is conceived of among leaders in FBOs and secular NGOs (Forbes, 1998). In addition,

Lewis's model (Lewis, 2014) was used in this study as a way to structure and examine social constructions of success, thus demonstrating the applicability of this model for comparatively evaluating socially constructed success across two types of organisations.

In line with the input-output conceptual model used in this thesis, this chapter comparatively explored the ways in which success of intermediate outputs was socially constructed. Religious faith, as an input, was found to affect the ways in which FBO respondents perceived success and client change. Faith significantly affected the ideological environments of FBOs, considered here as a form of intermediate output, as the environment is related to the care and services these organisations provide. In fact, there was a striking distinction between the ideological environments of FBOs and secular NGOs, with one of the most significant findings of this chapter involving the extent to which the religious ideological environment of FBOs affected the ways in which they conceived of their success. A faith-centric ideology was profoundly evident in FBOs, including the beliefs of FBO respondents, indicating that their work, as well as how they perceived success, was seen through a lens that attributed success and client change to God. This chapter thus deepens understanding of the ways in which faith-centredness in organisations may affect the ways in which leaders socially construct success.

FBOs attributed positive client change to faith in ways that were markedly different from their secular counterparts. In contrast to FBOs, secular NGOs either did not include religion at all in their equation of success and client change, or considered effects on clients from religious involvement differently than their FBO counterparts. While some respondents from secular NGOs recognized the value and importance of religion to clients, the benefits of faith-related activities were typically perceived by these respondents as social and emotional; FBO respondents, though, perceived faith-related activities—and the personal connection of clients with faith—as providing spiritual benefits, as well. Similarly, Huguen and Venema (2009) also found that some FBOs in their study reported faith as critical to client change, and Ferguson et al. (2006) found that staff in Christian, Islamic and Hindu FBOs perceived religious and spiritual practices to be important to a programme's successful results. As Bornstein (2005: 7) found in her ethnographic study of two international FBOs, faith for FBOs “becomes the conceptual fuel for the prospect of change.”

Compared to the perceived success of secular NGOs, the perceived success of FBOs was associated with faith. While FBOs, like their secular counterparts, also attributed success to other organisational domains, such as their organisational models and programmes, the greatest difference between FBOs and secular NGOs in how they socially constructed success and perceived client change involved the ideological environments in which the organisations worked, including the faith beliefs of respondents. An awareness of the differences in these environments is critical to understanding and conceptualising the importance of faith to FBOs. Faith was part and parcel of the ideological environments in which all the programmes and activities of FBOs operated. Rather than faith being understood as an added dimension, it is most accurately understood as affecting the ideological core of the FBOs in this study. The findings operationalise an investigation into the theory of faith infusing FBOs (Ebaugh et al., 2003), with faith significantly differentiating FBOs from their secular counterparts, providing a lens through which they socially constructed success.

The findings also explicate the role of the wider development context that can lead to distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs. In this study, the Cambodian context included a Buddhist and animist culture with few faith-related commonalities existing between Christian FBOs and secular NGOs. This context also included a sociopolitical milieu that had attracted organisations seeking to assist victims of sexual exploitation and trafficking and those involved in sex work (see Chapter 3). Yet, despite both types of organisations operating within this same development context, clear differences were found between them in terms of how they conceived of success. Adding to the findings in Chapters 5-7, this demarcation provides further theoretical insight into the extent to which the development context can lead to differences found in FBOs and secular NGOs.

While perceptions have been assessed in other studies of FBOs (for example, Ferguson, et al., 2006; Flanigan, 2009; Kissane, 2008; Wuthnow, Hackett and Hsu, 2004), it cannot be determined here whether success, as perceived by respondents, was real or imagined (Flanigan, 2009). Sowa et al. (2004: 720) argue that “staff perceptions of program elements are integrally related to how they are carried out each day,” yet the “culture of action” in organisations, Lewis notes (2014: 142), may focus staff on getting work done, rather than on assessing their success. Furthermore, organisations want to demonstrate their effectiveness, and admitting that some of their

work is not effective may damage their reputation and threaten future funding (Lewis, 2014).

While the present study examined the social construction of success by leaders from two different types of organisations, future research could include multiple constituencies, as different people can assess organisational effectiveness differently (Green and Griesinger, 1996; Herman and Renz, 1998). Though Herman and Renz (1998) go as far as to say that multiple constituencies must be part of the approach to understanding organisational effectiveness, the present study centred on and illuminated conceptions of success from the standpoints of leaders of organisations working with a specific clientele in a specific development context (Forbes, 1998).

Lewis's model (Lewis, 2014) of the four interrelated areas of NGO management served as a way to explore socially constructed success and, more widely, distinctions that can exist between FBOs and secular NGOs. Future research could continue to test this model, or modify it, to better evaluate its value in serving as a model for examining socially constructed success across different types of organisations.

8.3.b Implications for Practitioners and Social Policy

Beliefs can lead to assumptions that guide practice within FBOs (Netting, O'Connor and Yancey, 2006), and the findings in this study demonstrated the importance of considering the integration of faith in service-providing organisations, including the personal faith beliefs of leaders, and how faith and personal beliefs can affect the ways in which organisational success is conceived. Understanding the ways in which leaders of FBOs and secular NGOs socially construct success has practical implications. For example, the present study's comparative focus can provide knowledge to policymakers and funders about the importance of faith to FBO leaders, allowing them to better interpret the ways in which FBOs perceive and communicate their success.

Given that the integration of faith can be quite evident among some FBOs, social workers and organisational leaders can seek to understand how this integration may affect relationships within these organisations (Tangenberg, 2005). Netting, O'Connor and Yancey (2006: 283) state that the deeply integrated faith-related guiding philosophies of FBOs "are not only externally driven by a transcendent force, but they have been completely and developmentally internalized into the worldviews

and sets of assumptions held by the persons who participate in the delivery of these programs.” Social workers and organisational leaders need to be aware of the ways in which strong faith commitments may lead to tensions between professional boundaries and the moral duties which some practitioners may feel to share their faith (Netting, O’Connor, and Yancey, 2006).

This study has highlighted the value of leaders and other workers in FBOs and secular NGOs critically reflecting upon their own ideas of organisational success. Forbes (1998: 198) states that considering issues of effectiveness can provoke leaders to “rethink their understandings of critical issues at every level of their organizations, leading, in some cases, to the reaffirmation of existing organizational practices and, in other cases, to a search of new ways of doing things.” Furthermore, organisation leaders involved in administration should be aware of how they perceive and articulate success, as well as how others may prefer them to communicate their success. As Herman and Renz (1998) point out, it is in the interests of leaders of organisations to facilitate dialogue with stakeholders about effectiveness so that they can understand and proactively shape how stakeholders make their judgements about effectiveness. Herman and Renz (1997) state that leaders should learn what criteria are important for stakeholders and tailor communication about organisational effectiveness to them based on those criteria, providing favourable information based on how each stakeholder judges effectiveness.

8.4 Conclusion

Distinctions between leaders of FBOs and secular NGOs in how they conceive of success, and reasons for any differences, have not been fully addressed in the relevant literature to date. This chapter centred on the question: *To what extent, and why, might leaders of Christian FBOs and secular NGOs conceive of their work as being successful, and to what do they attribute that success?* Drawing on a social constructionist perspective of organisational effectiveness (Herman and Renz, 1998, 1999, 2008), and using Lewis’s model (Lewis, 2014) of the four interrelated areas of NGO management, this chapter revealed the multidimensionality of socially constructed organisational success among leaders of FBOs and secular NGOs.

The findings point to clear similarities and distinctions between the ways in which leaders of secular NGOs and FBOs socially constructed success. Using Lewis’s

model (Lewis, 2014) as a means to structure these constructions of success, the findings demonstrated clear distinctions between the religious ideological environments of FBOs and secular NGOs. Yet, despite this contrast, both types of organisations cited their activities, including the comprehensive services they offered, as relating to their success.

This study provides an example of the value of considering both the wider development context as well as the ideological environments of organisations when seeking to compare FBOs and secular NGOs. While both FBOs and secular NGOs worked within the same development context and perceived themselves as successful, the faith elements of FBOs, including the religious beliefs and ideologies of their leaders, had a profound impact on their narratives of success, serving as an important conceptual lens through which they viewed their work.

The findings provide insight into how leaders of FBOs conceptualised the role of faith in their organisations, building on the theoretical understanding of faith infusing every aspect of FBOs, and thus differentiating them from their secular counterparts. This chapter has highlighted the critical role that faith can play in certain FBOs, and has explored the ways in which their ideologies can differentiate them from their secular counterparts, despite both types of organisations working with similar clientele in a similar development context.

This chapter has considered the fourth of the four supporting research questions in this thesis. The following chapter concludes this thesis, providing an overview of the study and key arguments, as well as a delineation of the study's primary contributions.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction and Key Argument

FBOs and secular NGOs provide critical social policy services to many people in need, often filling gaps where services are not provided by the state. Until more recently, faith has largely been ignored in the development policy community (Clarke, 2010); it “resides outside mainstream development thinking” (Clarke, 2011: 22), and has typically been “neglected, despite its pervasiveness and importance” (Rakodi, 2011: 19). Given research over the past twenty years, however, FBOs are now “increasingly well-documented” (Ware, et al., 2016: 322). Yet, while there is growing research on FBOs in both developed and developing countries (see chapter 2), comparison of FBOs and secular NGOs in the Cambodian context has received little attention, despite a recent influx over the past decade by Christian FBOs providing services to women and children who have been trafficked, abused, or involved in the sex trade.

This overarching research question guiding this study was: *To what extent, and why, might religious faith distinguish Christian FBOs from secular NGOs working with women and children in Cambodia who have experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or have been involved in the sex trade, when comparing their goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success?* This thesis systematically compared thirteen Christian FBOs and twelve secular NGOs, developing a richer understanding of the role and function of religious faith in FBOs, the ways in which, and reasons why, faith distinguishes these organisations from their secular counterparts, and developing theory that ensures the study’s wider significance. This study adds to the ongoing conversation on the role of religion in policy and practice in the development context. Furthermore, it provides a more nuanced understanding of FBOs and secular NGOs in Cambodia that are involved in a particular area of service provision, pushing toward clearer theoretical knowledge for explaining their similarities and differences, which can be used for analysing service provision in other geographical contexts.

This thesis began by introducing a typology that, like its predecessors, allows for FBOs to be classified based on the ways faith is manifested in these organisations. Furthermore, the typology uniquely contributes to the field a tool for better conceptualising and more accurately classifying secular NGOs. It also functions as an instrument that de-complexifies the process of categorising organisations. This is further discussed below under the conceptual contributions of this thesis.

This thesis then interrogated the overarching research question through four supporting research questions, each examined in an empirical chapter. These chapters explored the ways in which faith in FBOs distinguished these organisations from secular NGOs, and why, thus answering the overarching research question.

This study brought further understanding about the importance of taking into account both the particular development context, as well as the extent to which faith infuses FBOs (thereby influencing every aspect of these organisations), when seeking to decipher differences that may (or may not) exist between FBOs and their secular counterparts. This thesis has argued that the *infusion of faith* in FBOs in this study is key to distinguishing FBOs from their secular counterparts. In addition, it has argued that the contrast between these two types of organisations also resulted from the *development context* in which they operated.

Importantly, this final chapter pushes these findings and arguments one step further. Taking into account findings from the four empirical chapters as a whole, it is argued that it is not just the infusion of faith in FBOs or the development context that led to faith distinguishing FBOs from secular NGOs, but actually their convergence. In this thesis, this theory is called Context-Infusion Convergence, and the development of this theory is an original contribution of this thesis, bringing better understanding not only to why distinctions existed between FBOs and secular NGOs in this study, but why distinctions may exist between these types of organisations in other geographical locations. This argument is further discussed below in the section detailing the theoretical contributions of this thesis.

This chapter takes the following form. First, a brief synopsis of the findings from each of the four empirical chapters is presented. Second, directions for future research, and limitations of the study, are then presented. Finally, the empirical, conceptual, theoretical, and policy contributions of the thesis are highlighted, after which final remarks conclude the chapter.

9.2 Summary of Empirical Findings

9.2.a Goals and Missions

The first empirical chapter (Chapter 5) comparatively explored the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish FBOs from secular NGOs in their organisational goals and missions. Following the input-output conceptual model guiding the study, a certain type of intermediate outputs (i.e. goals and missions) were comparatively examined, and the relationship between the non-resource input of religious faith in FBOs and these intermediate outputs was explored. While the faith orientation of FBOs distinguished these organisations from secular NGOs, they shared, to a large extent, similar, though sometimes nuanced, goals and missions. This was related to their desire to provide quality client care that sought the good of their clients, a legal framework that required organisations to provide services that met certain standards, similarities in the clientele they served, operating within a common development context, and articulating their goals and missions per the standards and expectations of the field.

Among their similarities, however, were subtle and significant distinctions. For example, for goals relating to client care, a vocabulary of restoration and healing was clearly present in FBOs, with goals for client reintegration connected with wider elements of holistic recovery. This focus of FBOs on restorative care likely related to: 1) their providing services that were typically more catered to sexually exploited persons, or those previously involved in sex work, whereas secular NGOs had a more diverse client base; and 2) the culture and vocabulary of FBOs emphasising transformation and restoration. Though both types of organisations sought improvement in their clients' lives, inferences to faith, sometimes expressed as hope, or spiritual or abstract transformation, were unique to FBOs. Unique to some secular NGOs was their support for clients to continue their work in the sex trade, which was not similarly found among any of the FBOs.

As for stated missions, since FBOs typically included references to faith in their missions, aims related to client recovery could be inferred as including spiritual or metaphysical dimensions. While the inclusion of faith components in FBO missions in the present study clearly demarcated them from secular NGOs, references to faith within FBOs were varied; for example, though nearly all FBOs included a faith component in their missions, only four FBOs included an evangelical mission.

The manner in which FBOs formally recognised the importance of faith in their missions provides insight into the significance of religious faith in these organisations. Faith was deeply integrated in these organisations, though differences existed in how they expressed this integration. Thus, more significant than the nuances in the faith components of FBO missions is the consistency of FBOs in publicly identifying with their faith.

Three primary arguments were made in this chapter. First, a methodological argument was made for the value of demarcating between organisational goals and missions. By analysing both, organisational aims can be more clearly understood, and organisations more accurately compared.

Second, relating to the theoretical framework of this study, it was argued that the input of religious faith infused FBOs, demarcating some of their goals and missions from those of their secular counterparts. Faith, the underpinning value within which the goals and missions of FBOs were nested, served as a framework to structure their goals and missions. Differences existed between the organisational milieux of faith-based and secular organisations, where the milieu of FBOs included the input of Christian faith, and where a vocabulary that emphasised faith was used to express their goals and missions.

Third, it was argued that differences between Christian FBOs and secular NGOs were related, in part, to the development context in which they operated. While the development context is posited as having heightened the demarcation found between the goals and missions of FBOs and secular NGOs, differences in programming models also influenced the ways in which FBOs and secular NGOs expressed their goals and missions.

The chapter thus explored various factors that can affect the extent to which faith is positioned in FBO missions and goals. These include the infusion of religious faith in the FBO, factors related to the wider development context, including the type of service and clients the organisation serves, the funding context, and the cultural and religious milieu of the region. These contextual factors play a significant role when seeking to explore similarities and differences among FBOs, and between FBOs and their secular counterparts.

9.2.b Personal and Organisational Motivations

Examining key motivating factors for FBOs and secular NGOs and their personnel, Chapter 6 comparatively examined why organisations and the respondents within them do what they do. The findings illustrated the degree to which different types of motivation were reflected as organisationally and personally important, providing insight into the extent to which, and why, religious faith might distinguish FBOs from their secular counterparts. Informed by Weber's (1978) social action typology, organisational motivations were classified into two categories: instrumental and values-based. Personal motivations were classified into four categories: instrumental, values-based, pragmatic, and emotional. The findings showed both uniformity and clear demarcation in the personal and organisational motivations of both types of organisations, as well as the multifaceted nature of these motivations.

In terms of *organisational* motivations, FBOs and secular NGOs alike stated that social concerns motivated their work, citing social problems needing their attention. Both types of organisations worked for a common cause, with similar clients, targeting similar social concerns with their programmes. Similarly, FBOs and secular NGOs shared many values, though spiritual dimensions infused the values of FBOs, and this was sometimes reflected in the ways in which their values were communicated. Additionally, while both types of organisations maintained visions that related to the emotional and physical wellbeing of their clients, the visions of FBOs had a significantly different bent, including dimensions of spiritual wellbeing.

In terms of *personal* motivations, respondents from both FBOs and secular NGOs shared similar responses that were classified as instrumental, such as skills, professional experiences, and prior personal experiences that accounted for their interest in their current work. However, faith motives of FBO respondents reflected ideologies that were distinct from those of their secular counterparts, though some respondents from secular NGOs also stated existential obligations as personally motivating factors. Most significantly, differences existed between respondents when it came to their delineating existentially motivating factors that compelled their personal values-based motivations, with more FBO respondents reporting an existentially motivating factor for doing their work. Significantly, responses from FBO interviewees were often imbued with references to their sense of 'calling.' A two-pronged faith motivation (a desire to see spiritual transformation and to personally or organisationally feel called to their vocation) was critical to their

identification with, and understanding of, their work. The extent to which respondents from FBOs and secular NGOs personally affirmed religious beliefs was critical to understanding differences in their motivations, with faith-related motives strongly connected to FBO respondents' personal spiritual experiences.

This chapter (and this thesis as a whole) did not argue that secular NGO actors were not religious. Rather, this chapter demonstrated that religion was not revealed as a motivational factor among these organisations or, broadly speaking, their actors.

Despite their differences, the findings demonstrated several similarities between organisational and personal motivations, namely that instrumental and values-based motivations surfaced more clearly as motivational factors in both types of organisations than pragmatic and emotional motivations. In fact, few respondents expressed pragmatic reasons for why they chose their work (e.g. the need to earn income) or motivations that were classified as emotional. This is believed to be because respondents may have considered pragmatic and emotional motivations as less important compared to instrumental and values-based motivations, or these may not have been applicable to some respondents.

The chapter made two substantive arguments related to the theoretical framework of this thesis. First, faith-related motivations were expressions of the ways in which religious faith infused FBOs in the study. Religious faith was found to infuse FBOs in such a manner that their motivations were, in some ways, significantly different from those of their secular counterparts. Second, the chapter argued that the development context, in which secular NGOs and their personnel did not share similar religious beliefs as those maintained by FBOs, heightened distinctions found between their organisational and personal motivations. Findings from this chapter sit in tension with those of Green, Mercer, and Mesaki (2012) who reported that individuals in secular organisations, as well as FBOs, in Tanzania were motivated by faith-related values. This points to the value of acknowledging the development context as critical to similarities or differences that may exist between FBOs and secular NGOs, including the ways in which religion may or may not influence their motivations.

While the clear bifurcation between the motivations of FBOs and their secular counterparts related to both the infusion of religious faith in FBOs, as well as the development context in which these organisations worked, this chapter also developed understanding of the application of the conceptual model used in this thesis. By examining the relationship between two types of non-resource inputs (religious faith

and motivations), it demonstrated that a non-resource input (i.e. religious faith) can have an important influence on other non-resource inputs (i.e. personal and organisational motivations), thus building understanding of this conceptual model for future studies comparing FBOs and secular NGOs.

FBOs shared a wide array of organisational motivations related to the Christian faith that were key to their purpose and central to what inspired them to do what they do. Yet, while FBOs cited faith-related organisational motivational factors, these were communicated in a number of different ways, demonstrating the variety of ways in which Christian religious beliefs can act as significant motivating factors. Faith was clearly found to serve as a critical organisational and personal motivational factor in FBOs, bringing forward a wider understanding of the value of comparing motivational factors as a way of better parsing out what difference religious faith makes in FBOs.

9.2.c Approaches to Care

Chapter 7 contributes knowledge about the similarities of, and differences between, the organisational approaches to care taken by FBOs and secular NGOs, including the extent to which, and why, faith might influence the ways in which FBOs work with their clients. Addressing the lack of attention in the literature comparing the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs, this chapter considered the ways in which both types understood faith and religion in their organisations, and how the outcomes they sought resonated and contrasted with each other. While only FBOs enabled or sought spiritual outcomes in clients, all organisations operated with an approach to care that sought behavioural or recovery outcomes, which varied depending on the clients an organisation served. Many of the desired outcomes of organisations were similar, and included increased capacity of clients, changes related to their lifestyles, or improvements in situations stemming from their psychological trauma or stigma. For both types of organisations, caring for clients and encouraging and supporting them was important, as was being relational and building trust. Respondents from both types described the ways they provided their services as persistent and compassionate, and they sought to bring value and worth to their clients.

It is a key finding that all FBOs in the study maintained an approach to care that emphasised the importance of faith in the lives of their clients, and they

maintained congruity in highly regarding the spiritual needs of their clients. Yet, the ways in which FBOs operationalised faith practices differed somewhat among them, as well as whether and how they intentionally sought spiritual outcomes. Thus, there was both consistency and variation in faith-related approaches to care among FBOs, as they differed in the methods they used to enable spiritual outcomes, as well as the extent to which they incorporated faith into their organisations. FBOs included in their approaches to care a variety of ways to introduce clients to the Christian faith. Yet, while Christian faith development was typically understood as integral to the well-being of clients, some reservations were made by FBO respondents about promoting or teaching about faith in a rehabilitative setting to clients who had experienced trauma and were undergoing psychological therapy, including concerns about client volition as it related to their participation in faith-related programming. These concerns revolved around the vulnerability of clients, namely children, and not wishing to impose religious beliefs on them.

FBO respondents articulated the importance of demonstrating God's love to clients, and connected clients' value with the way in which God values people. The findings thus coincided with Bornstein's (2005: 6) study that FBOs adopted "holism"—a theological practice that explains the urgency with which FBOs combine spiritual and material approaches. While FBOs' references to providing holistic services related to the spiritual dimensions they offered to, or facilitated for, their clients (as well as to the multiple dimensions of care that they offered, e.g. vocational training, residential care), when secular NGOs described their services as holistic, this was defined by the comprehensive nature of the services their organisations provided, including emotional supports, rather than added-in faith components.

As was the case with Hershey (2016), who found that secular NGOs in Kenya adopted some religious elements, secular NGOs in this study also, to a certain extent, incorporated religious elements into their organisation's programming. However, there was a clear distinction between religious elements included in the programming of FBOs and the ways in which secular NGOs adopted religious elements, when they did. In contrast to FBOs, secular NGOs reported a clear separation from religious involvement, emphasising the secular nature of their organisations and their policy not to discriminate. Yet, in some cases, secular NGOs were categorised in the typology earlier in this thesis as accommodating religion through their programming. While these secular NGOs did include limited, religious elements into their approaches to

care that were culturally relevant or believed to helpfully support clients, religion, as a whole, was not holistically integrated into these organisations, as it was in the FBOs in the study. Secular NGOs varied in the ways in which they approached matters of spirituality—from organisations that stated clients were free to choose and practice their own religion, to organisations acknowledging the importance of faith in clients' lives and facilitating some aspects of their spirituality, though to a much lesser extent than FBOs. Secular NGO respondents acknowledged the value of clients engaging with religious communities, such as churches or pagodas, and a small number of respondents mentioned the value of integrating Buddhist values and teachings into client counselling. Secular NGOs indicated that they did not wish to direct the faith of their clients, though they were open to facilitating clients' religious preferences and needs based on the personal desires of clients, or cultural customs and expectations. The clear contrast between the FBOs and secular NGOs is a key finding in light of research in other contexts that contends the two types cannot always be easily differentiated (e.g. Green, et al., 2012; Johnsen, 2014).

The chapter showed how the non-resource input of religious faith significantly influenced the intermediate outputs of FBOs (i.e. services and programmes). Significant divergence resulted between the approaches to care of FBOs and secular NGOs because of the input of religious faith in FBOs. This finding builds on the notion of religious faith as an element that can infuse FBOs in clearly evident ways. Confirming the findings in previous chapters, this chapter argued that the infusion of faith in Christian FBOs, combined with a development context in which secular NGOs did not incorporate religious practices into their approaches to care to the degree that their FBO counterparts did, led to a milieu in which Christian FBOs and secular NGOs had clear, observable differences.

9.2.d Conceptions of Success

Chapter 8 comparatively explored the ways in which respondents in the study conceived of success, including what success was attributed to, and the extent to which, and why, faith might be conceptualized as contributing to client change. The findings also revealed the multidimensionality of socially constructed success, with some respondents, for example, referencing success in terms of high numbers of clients served, perceived improvement in client behaviour and attitude, and low recidivism. Success was often highly attributed to the commitment and qualities of

staff, with their teamwork, trustworthiness, and other qualities, such as patience and reliability, stated as important to the success of both FBOs and secular NGOs. Some respondents attributed organisational success—at least in part—to the clients they served. Yet, despite this multidimensionality, in many ways, conceptions of success were expressed similarly. These similarities likely resulted from each respondent socially constructing success based on his/her organisation's own set of goals, missions, and values. Though respondents conceived of their organisations as successful, they sometimes qualified these notions with caveats about desiring further improvement, thus assessing organisational success in a tension between perceived success on one hand and some level of disappointment or desire for greater success on the other.

This chapter also detailed the ways in which respondents provided a wide range of responses to—and a lack of consistency in—what they understood as being unique, or better, about their organisations. These findings illuminated the ways in which respondents compared their organisations to those doing similar work. Identifying what respondents understood as unique in their organisations, therefore, brought further insight into how they conceived of their organisation's success.

Following the input-output conceptual model guiding the study, the chapter examined the relationship between the non-resource input of religious faith in FBOs and the ways in which the success of intermediate outputs (i.e. services provided) was conceived. Doing so, it continued the theoretical framework of the study, providing insight into the value of considering both the infusion of faith in FBOs, as well as the wider development context, when seeking to compare FBOs and secular NGOs.

The chapter also drew on Lewis's (2014) four interrelated areas of NGO management as a prototype model for examining attributions of success. This structured the analysis of the findings into four categories: the organisational environmental milieu (in particular, religious ideological environments), organisational activities, structures and processes, and relationships. The chapter thus explored the extent to which success was attributed by respondents to these four areas, and this will now be summarised in turn.

The findings demonstrated clear distinctions between the religious ideological environments of FBOs and secular NGOs, with the faith-centric ideological environment of FBOs significantly accounting for differences in the ways their respondents conceived of success. While all the organisations in the study operated

within a similar development context, all FBOs had a faith-centric ideological environment which significantly influenced how they understood organisational success and client change. One of the most significant findings of this chapter involved the extent to which the religious ideological environments of FBOs affected the ways in which they conceived of their success. In fact, the greatest difference between FBOs and secular NGOs in how they conceived of success and client change involved the ideological environments in which the organisations worked, including the faith beliefs of respondents.

For FBO respondents, the notion of success and client change was, at least in part, attributed to God. Faith was an important conceptual lens through which FBOs viewed their work, with their conceptions of success clearly associated with faith. Secular NGOs either did not include religion at all in their equation of success and client change or typically considered effects on clients from religious involvement quite differently than their FBO counterparts.

In terms of activities, despite contrast in their ideological environments, respondents from both types of organisations attributed success to their programmes and services in similar ways, citing the comprehensive services they offered, staff persistence, the nature of their programming, and their understanding of, and ability to address, client needs. Respondents affirmed the success of the activities of their organisations, namely programmes and services for their clients, which included residential care, training, employment, psychological therapy and counselling, and outreach. These activities were perceived as aiding clients in behavioural change, recovery, and their overall improvement. However, though some secular NGO respondents identified emotional benefits that could come from faith-related activities, education, and practices, FBO respondents perceived significant spiritual benefits that arose out of their clients' participation in Christian faith-based activities.

Significant differences were not revealed between FBOs and secular NGOs in terms of the extent to which only some respondents related organisational success to operational issues, such as organisational structures and processes. As for relationships, both FBOs and secular NGOs relied on partners to provide programming and training for clients. Some contrast between the two types of organisations was observed, namely, while some FBO respondents stated that they relied on supporters in other countries to pray for their work, some secular NGOs

sought relationships with owners of entertainment establishments in order to help facilitate work-site programming to their workers (i.e. clients of the organisation).

While the above section summarised the findings of this thesis, chapter by chapter, the contributions of this study are delineated below, drawing further on the study as a whole. Before this discussion on contributions, the following section explores avenues for future research and limitations of the study.

9.3 Future Research and Limitations

This section outlines the limitations of the study and considers avenues for future research. Each is described under a separate heading below.

9.3.a Scope

Future research could test the four dimensions examined in this thesis (i.e. goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success) to determine if they may serve as a potential model for studies comparing FBOs and secular NGOs in other locations. This could also help clarify the extent to which the findings are generalisable to locations outside of Cambodia and the developing world. Such research would provide opportunities to compare the findings in the present study with organisations in other contexts.

Comparative research in other geographical locations could further develop the Context-Infusion Convergence theory, bringing additional theoretical knowledge to the field about what specific contextual components relate to distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs. This would build on this study's argument that the development context plays a role in the extent to which faith distinguishes FBOs from secular NGOs.

Furthermore, applying an ethnographic method to a comparative study of fewer organisations would allow additional insight that could be compared with the findings from the present study. In this endeavour, narrowing the focus of research to organisations that were closely parallel in multiple aspects (e.g. scope, size, international influence), could provide deeper understanding in terms of how they compare. In addition, such a study could provide additional knowledge about the ways in which FBOs differed among one another, including nuances about how they integrated faith into their programmes, and to what extent this was initiated by staff or

administration. Additional knowledge about caregiver-directed faith-related practices vis-à-vis faith programming that is organisation-directed could add understanding that would help in policy dialogues about FBOs, such as how they—formally or informally—integrate faith into their services. Moreover, ethnographic research could bring important additional knowledge about the ways in which religion is included in the programming of secular NGOs.

9.3.b Organisational Capacities

In the present study, the ways in which organisations were compared and contrasted related, in part, to how respondents perceived their organisations. Perception has been measured in other studies of FBOs, as well (e.g. Keikelame, et al., 2010; Flanigan, 2009; Ferguson, et al., 2006; Kissane, 2008; Wuthnow, Hackett and Hsu, 2004). While the ways in which organisations conceived of themselves was integral to this study, how they compared in their capacities or outcomes was not evaluated. While some organisations probably did provide services that led to more efficient or better outcomes, future research could comparatively assess FBOs and secular NGOs in terms of the extent to which their differences in capacity may affect various organisational aspects, such as their programmes. Such an endeavour could consider the extent to which one organisation did superior work to another, or to what extent international influences in some FBOs or secular NGOs may relate to their outcomes.

9.4 Contributions

This study contributes to the growing body of literature on FBOs, helping to bring clarification to the “confusion” that Clarke and Ware (2015: 46) state surrounds the nature and composition of FBOs in comparison to secular NGOs, and addressing, empirically and theoretically, what they state is “little clarity” as to the distinctions and similarities between both types of organisations. It addresses the need for more empirical examination of the operations of FBOs and secular NGOs in particular contexts (Kirmani, 2012), bringing understanding to specific aspects of organisational life, and reducing assumptions and enhancing theory about these organisations.

This thesis is one step toward a more comprehensive understanding of the subtle foundations and components of a particular set of FBOs vis-à-vis secular NGOs working in Cambodia. It has addressed an issue brought forward in a 2012 WFDD

report on the role of FBOs in anti-trafficking initiatives in Cambodia, where the authors stated that further analysis, discussion, and policy reflection was needed that relates to

the role that the faith of groups working to counter trafficking plays, especially in aftercare. Widely different views on both ethics and practical dimensions emerged in the discussions, ranging from a conviction that faith and healing are inseparable and that Christian faith is a necessity and a blessing, to others who see converting trafficking victims to Christianity as unethical given their vulnerability and likely future path in the society. (WFDD 2012: 7)

This study advances knowledge about the nexus of faith and anti-trafficking efforts, which has been under-researched, with there being a need to better understand the ways in which religious dynamics shape the field of anti-trafficking and action against modern slavery (Joint Learning Initiative, 2017). It also elucidates the ways in which a particular set of FBOs understands and integrates faith into their daily work. As Clarke and Ware (2015: 46) state, understanding the ways in which FBOs operate vis-à-vis secular NGOs “can result in more effective and efficient operations of both these important civil society stakeholders.” Through this comparative exploration, this thesis adds insight about the ways in which faith is shaping the provision of social policy.

The FBOs included in this thesis were comparable to secular NGOs, yet they maintained many characteristics related to their faith orientation that distinguished them from their secular counterparts—a finding shared with Kearns, Park, and Yankoski (2005), in their US-based study. Furthermore, the FBOs in this study clearly integrated faith into their organisations and programming in a way that chimed with King’s (2011) assertion that religion is central to their motivations and practices. Thus, this study has explored the ways in which FBOs in this study resembled one another, adding insight about the diversity of FBOs (King, 2011), and bringing to the literature knowledge that, as Hoffstaedter and Tittensor (2013: 408) state, looks at the complexities of FBOs that “problematize their operation.” This study thus adds to the base of literature that examines the role of religious faith in the work of FBOs, and how they compare to secular NGOs, enhancing analytical clarity about these organisations. This study is significant because, not only does it bring comparative knowledge about FBOs and secular NGOs to a literature that has few similar studies, the findings differ from those found in Kenya, for example, where religion was found,

in a study of four local organisations, to be downplayed in FBOs and included in secular NGOs (Hershey, 2016).

The findings in this thesis also differed from Steinke (2016: 272), who found the two FBOs in her study in Haiti to “differ highly in the extent to as well as the arena in which faith informs their work.” Whereas in this thesis the ways in which faith was found to infuse FBOs was quite similar across the FBOs examined, Steinke (2016: 272) described one of the FBOs in her study as applying “strategic secularism,” and the other as having an “outright religious vocation.” There was thus no “blurring of the boundaries between the religious and secular,” as Johnsen (2014: 426) had concluded from her UK-based study of FBOs and secular homeless service providers, where a programme’s faith affiliation was not always obvious. Furthermore, while research should be sensitive to the variety of potential combinations between secular and faith-based characteristics at the organisational and programme level (Grettenberger, Bartkowski, and Smith, 2006), this study has contributed to wider awareness of how and why religious faith may relate to organisational processes and service provision in a development context.

This thesis empirically explored important spiritual aspects of FBOs, with the findings having implications for research, policy and practice, as discussed later in this chapter. Simply put, the contrasts found between FBOs and secular NGOs in this study clearly relate to the argument that FBOs, compared to their secular counterparts, have a different vision of development (Tyndale, 2003: 25).

The sum of the findings from this study points to the FBOs explored here having an “alternative service philosophy” (Kearns, Park, and Yankoski, 2005: 228), supporting the view that religious faith in FBOs can lead to important differences between these organisations and secular NGOs. This thesis also posits the theoretical reasons for this, as further explained below. In the remainder of this section, the empirical, conceptual, theoretical, and policy contributions of the study are articulated.

9.4.a Empirical Contributions

While King (2011) states that the nature of an FBO’s religious identity has been of little interest in the development world, he argues that stakeholders must not only ask *if* an NGO is religious, but *how* it is religious. Accordingly, this study showed how (and why) faith was critical to FBOs in each of the four areas examined. Doing so,

this thesis has made a step forward in enhancing the empirical knowledge of FBOs so that anecdotal understandings or assumptions may be evaluated, addressing a concern mentioned by Keikelame, Murphy, Ringheim, and Woldehanna (2010). In their study on perceptions of HIV/AIDS leaders about the influence of FBOs on HIV/AIDS stigma in South Africa, they stated that, given the lack of empirical or evaluative information on FBO activities, many FBOs are susceptible to criticism, with decision-makers perhaps relying on anecdote that may or may not be accurate.

This thesis makes several empirical contributions, and the findings are significant for several reasons. First, it is one of relatively few comparative studies examining FBOs and secular NGOs in a development context, and it is the first study of its kind comparatively and systematically exploring FBOs and secular NGOs in Cambodia, where many organisations of both types operate. Furthermore, no previous study has set out to comparatively examine FBOs and secular NGOs working with women and children who have been trafficked, sexually abused, or involved in the sex trade, though many organisations are working in this field in both developing and developed countries. The findings from this study are particularly important given the number of organisations—faith-based and secular alike—that give attention to issues of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and sex work.

Second, this study is one of the first to empirically examine how and why the input of religious faith in FBOs may differentiate these organisations from their secular counterparts in a development context. As discussed further below, this study elucidated findings which brings further theoretical understanding to religious faith in FBOs, which can be helpful when thinking about distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs in other contexts.

As a whole, this study has also brought insight into the ways in which FBOs and secular NGOs can be similar and different within their own type. While Aberdeen and Zimmerman (2015) stated that a spiritual factor can be important to the recovery of those who have been victims of trafficking or exploitation in Cambodia, this thesis has examined the ways in which this spiritual factor is manifested in FBOs, including the ways in which faith-based actors conceptualised the role of faith in their organisations. Similarly, this contextualised overview of the integration of faith in FBOs contributes to the importance of careful theological reflection that is important for more fully understanding the relationship between development and religion (Plant and Weiss, 2015). With further understanding, a clearer knowledge can exist of

the role played by faith in FBOs, and how this may differ from organisations that identify as secular.

Third, although questions about differences and similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs exist, no previous study has examined the missions and goals, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success across FBOs and secular NGOs. Heist and Cnaan (2016: 1) call for “further research and nuanced understanding of the role religion plays” in international development, and this thesis has explored religious faith multidimensionally in FBOs through these four angles. Its comparative focus has thus brought further understanding to FBOs, and the variation and similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs. This can help bring further knowledge addressing Tomalin’s (2012) call for a better account of the meaning of ‘faith-based.’ It has explained why FBOs may be different than secular NGOs, including how and why, and has brought clarity to the ways in which religion can influence service delivery in a development context. Better conceptualising the role of faith in FBOs could help ensure that these actors are more clearly understood and evaluated.

This study thus furthers knowledge about these organisations, not only illuminating nuances in the Cambodian case, but also adding theoretical insight that can provide wider understanding applicable to other geographical areas, as discussed further below. It has also demonstrated the importance of evaluating multiple organisational dimensions when seeking to determine differences between FBOs and secular NGOs. An implication of the study is that examining only one dimension (e.g. goals and missions) of FBOs and secular NGOs may not be an accurate way of evaluating their actual distinctions, as the organisations may have similarities within that dimension, but actually be quite different in terms of the ways faith distinguishes FBOs from secular NGOs. The research design thus demonstrated the importance of analysing faith in FBOs from multiple organisational perspectives. In doing so, this thesis has tested the value of examining these four dimensions for determining their usefulness for interrogating FBOs and secular NGOs in future comparative studies. Examining organisations using these four areas of enquiry uniquely parses out what difference faith plays in FBOs. Accordingly, these four dimensions provide a way forward for future studies comparing FBOs and secular NGOs.

Fourth, this thesis collected and analysed responses from actors representing twenty-five organisations working in a similar area of service provision, bringing

further light to the contributions FBOs and secular NGOs bring to social policy in Cambodia, and allowing comparison between this relatively large and varied group of service providers. Compared to other qualitative studies (e.g. Bornstein, 2005; Hershey, 2016), this thesis examined a rather larger number of organisations, thus contributing to the literature research from a broader—yet, still geographically defined—perspective. Collecting and analysing this data can be helpful for the actors involved in these services to better understand their own work within the larger context of other organisations in the country. The data can also benefit those researching FBO and secular NGO actors in other contexts. It brings knowledge about a specific set of non-state actors in Cambodia, as well as the wider development sector in this country, and can potentially open up dialogue in other geographical locations where FBOs and secular NGOs are providing services to women and children who have been, or are at risk of being, trafficked, abused, or involved in the sex trade (e.g. India, Thailand). In addition, this thesis provides details about the current social policy context of a niche area of service provision that may be useful for historical examination in the future, should the economy of service provision in Cambodia change.

Hefferan, Adkins, and Occhipinti (2009: 1) stated that, “despite their rise in profile and practice, little is known about FBOs, what they are, what they do, or why they do it.” This thesis has provided broad, comparative knowledge about a particular subset of FBOs. As recommended by Tomalin (2012), this thesis has contributed to the need for developing a wider knowledge of FBOs, doing so by focusing on non-state organisations active in a particular sector, working to address a particular development issue, in a specific geographical area. Doing so, the study has implications for wider scholarship, providing insight into debates on differences and similarities between FBOs and secular NGOs, as well as to studies from other contexts that explored distinctions between these two types of organisations (e.g. Hershey, 2016; Green, Mercer, & Mesaki, 2012).

Furthermore, this thesis speaks, in part, to a question that Basedau, Gobien, and Prediger (2017) state remains unanswered: what role do FBOs play in relation to the various dimensions of sustainable development? Insights from this thesis can help to tease out connections between the Christian faith and the work of faith-based actors that make faith-based development distinctive (Mitchell, 2017). This study thus adds to the growing research on FBOs, providing knowledge about differences among

FBOs, how actors in these organisations understand their work, and how people in FBOs understand themselves as religious actors (Paras, 2014).

9.4.b Conceptual Contributions

This thesis has brought further understanding to the value of comparing FBOs and secular NGOs through an input-output conceptual model, informed, in part, by Rakodi (2012b) and Kendall and Knapp (2000), thus making an analytical contribution to the literature on comparing FBOs and secular NGOs. The conceptual model used throughout this thesis was significant in designing the research questions and topic guide. Each of the supporting research questions focused on at least one element of the input-output model:

1. Supporting research question 1 comparatively examined intermediate outputs, and explored the relationship between the non-resource input of faith in FBOs and its influence on intermediate outputs;
2. Supporting research question 2 was a comparative analysis of non-resource inputs;
3. Supporting research question 3 was a comparative analysis of intermediate outputs and the relationship between the non-resource input of faith in FBOs and its influence on intermediate outputs;
4. Supporting research question 4 comparatively explored the ways in which actors in FBOs and secular NGOs conceived of the success of their intermediate outputs. It examined the relationship between the non-resource input of religious faith in FBOs and the ways in which the success of intermediate outputs was conceived.

The conceptual model provided a structure for systematically understanding similarities and differences between FBOs and secular NGOs. It allowed for faith to be considered as a non-resource input, which was then examined in relation to the influence it had on intermediate outputs. The model thus allowed for intermediate outputs to be conceptually compared. The findings demonstrated that, despite faith playing a significant role in FBOs, and distinguishing them from their secular counterparts, similarities were found in the intermediate outputs of both types of organisations. This model can be seen as a prototype that can be tested in future studies for its general applicability to examine FBOs and their secular counterparts more widely.

Furthermore, this researcher built on an existing FBO typology (that itself was based on a typology in the literature) to create a typology that was operationalised in

the study. This contributes to the extant literature by providing a better means by which a range of FBOs and secular NGOs can be classified and understood more clearly, allowing them to be assessed and classified side-by-side in theoretically important ways. It is an analytical tool that is a contribution to the current academic and policy discourse on FBOs and secular NGOs. Importantly, the typology allows for secular organisations to be classified in more than one way, allowing researchers to more accurately categorise secular NGOs that accommodate religious programming in their organisations. It can thus contribute to future comparative studies of FBOs and secular NGOs in a development context where culturally valued religious elements may be integrated into secular NGOs. The typology is arguably a simpler instrument than those in the extant literature, and researchers can easily apply it to studies of FBOs and secular NGOs. As the typology is built upon and advances previous efforts to typologise organisations, it can itself be further expanded and revised by researchers in the future.

In some contexts, researchers have identified FBOs as having gone through a secularisation process. Flanigan (2010: 68), for example, identified this secularisation process in some FBOs in Sri Lanka. For the Christian FBOs in which this secularisation process had occurred, she observed that it reflected “a historical trend of secularization among older Catholic and mainline Protestant international FBOs.” In the present thesis, while faith was integrated in different ways by different FBOs, a secularisation process was not identified among the FBOs, though most of the FBOs stated that faith elements in programming were voluntary for their clients and, as stated earlier in this thesis, one FBO stated that they no longer included faith programming in their services; instead, church-based activities were provided by their partners (though prayers occurred in this FBO).

Though faith in the FBOs in this study played a clear role in these organisations, other Christian FBOs in Cambodia may include faith differently, or not at all. Frewer (2013), for example, identified a Christian FBO in Cambodia that appears, from the outset, to be different in terms of the way faith is manifested in the organisation, when compared to the FBOs in this thesis. Frewer (2013: 104) stated, “although it was a faith-based NGO, neither (the director) nor any of the other staff

had any interest in Christianity.”¹ This could be a case where an FBO in Cambodia, instead of being defined by a strong infusion of faith, appears more secular than faith-based. It would likely be typologised quite differently than the FBOs in the present study, representing the potential value of this analytical tool.

While FBOs were distinct from their secular counterparts in this study, the thesis found that the idea of ‘secular’ does not always mean that religion is absent. ‘Secular’ can coexist with religion, as was revealed in secular NGOs in the study that implemented religious elements in their programmes. Though not the focus of this thesis, secularism can even promote religious pluralism, by offering neutral space wherein religions are freely practiced or not practiced. Thus, notions of ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ must be defined in context. Through the development and application of the revised typology, this study has made one step toward better clarifying notions of ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ in non-state actors.

9.4.c Theoretical Contributions

This thesis contributes theoretical insight that can be helpful in understanding faith-based and secular social policy actors beyond Cambodia. The development of this theory thus ensures this study’s wider significance and generalisability. The meaningfulness of the findings from this study, therefore, extend beyond the empirical and conceptual discussed above.

While black and white differences between FBOs and secular NGOs should not automatically be assumed, the findings from this study demonstrated that important distinctions between these two types of organisations were apparent. This study moves one step forward in analysing why this was the case. The findings in this thesis elucidated the ways in which religious faith infused every aspect of FBOs, playing a significant role in distinguishing their missions and goals, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success. Understanding their faith-centric ideology is critical to evaluating the importance of faith to the FBOs in this study, and how FBOs are distinguished from secular NGOs. These findings are significant in the light of some scholars positing that differences between FBOs and their secular counterparts can be negligible or unclear, as highlighted in Chapter 2. For the FBOs in this study, the input of faith was integrated in such a way that their services were

¹ Frewer’s (2013) research focused on the themes of civil society and ‘good governance,’ and thus it did not include in its scope what faith meant or did not mean to this particular FBO.

nested within the faith ethos in which they worked. Faith was not simply an add-on to these organisations, but the foundation on which everything else was grounded.

Furthermore, this thesis has argued that, in addition to the infusion of faith in FBOs, the distinction between FBOs and secular NGOs in this study also related to the development context in which these organisations operated. This includes the contrast found between the Christian faith of the FBOs and the Buddhist-Animist religious context of Cambodia. Unlike the results of some comparative studies in other geographical contexts (Green, Mercer, and Mesaki, 2012; Hershey, 2016), few faith-related commonalities existed between the Christian FBOs and secular NGOs explored in this study, though other similarities did exist, as explored in the empirical chapters.

Within this context, both FBOs and secular NGOs have been highly NGO-ised within a secular narrative, and secular NGOs positioned themselves closely within this discourse of secular development, being careful to say that their organisations did not have religious biases. With only one exception, no respondents from secular NGOs identified as Christian, contrasting with respondents from FBOs, where all respondents identified as Christian. Thus, given the religious context of Cambodia, a similar affinity with Christianity was not present among the secular NGOs, as has been seen in other geographical contexts (e.g. Hershey, 2016). Furthermore, the development context relates to the faith-friendly funding of FBOs (as highlighted in the organisational profiles in the Appendix) that did not constrain their faith-related activities. It is thus posited that a lack of donor restrictions to FBOs allowed for differences to be observed between FBOs and secular NGOs that may not be seen in other contexts (e.g. Kenya), where donor pressures might constrain FBOs from integrating large amounts of faith into their programming (e.g. Hershey, 2016), given the clients those organisations served and the types of services they provided. The context thus allowed FBOs the freedom to include faith to the degree to which they wished.

The development context of this study also included a socio-political milieu that had attracted organisations seeking to assist victims of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and those involved in sex work. Thus, the development context also relates to the client group the organisations served. Trafficking and sexual abuse have drawn interest from many organisations, including Christian FBOs. As demonstrated in this study, these FBOs approached this client group similarly, with their aims,

services, and ideologies closely resembling each other. Examining organisations that worked with women and children who had experienced sexual exploitation or abuse, or had been involved in the sex trade, revealed unique similarities across FBOs, in terms of the ways in which faith manifested in their organisations. Had the client group or area of work these organisations concentrated on been different, it is possible that there may have been differences between FBOs which were not observed in this study, given Frewer's (2013) finding, described above, about the Christian FBO in Cambodia wherein faith did not seem to manifest in the organisation.

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, taking into account these theoretical insights and building on them further, the evidence from this research strongly suggests that it was the convergence of the infusion of faith in FBOs and factors related to the development context that led to differences between the two types of organisations explored here. Their contrasts, in terms of faith, thus relate to *both* the infusion of faith in FBOs and the development context. This relationship between the infusion of faith in FBOs and their development context is here called Context-Infusion Convergence. This Context-Infusion Convergence—first introduced in the Methods chapter, and also stated above as the primary argument of this thesis—provides theoretical understanding of why differences between FBOs and secular NGOs in this study were marked.

While scholars have pointed out that there is no single way to understand FBOs vis-à-vis their secular counterparts, this theoretical contribution adds to the international conversation on religious faith in FBOs related to why, and in what situations, faith may distinguish these organisations from their secular counterparts. For example, in some contexts, where FBOs and secular NGOs *are* found to be quite similar, this theory can be applied to better understand why they are similar, just as it can be applied to cases where the two types are found to be rather distinct. As stated above in the opportunities for future research, this theory can be tested in future comparative studies to further refine it and examine the extent to which it is widely applicable.

9.4.d Policy Contributions

In the developing world and beyond, non-state actors, like the FBOs and secular NGOs included in this study, play important roles in policy implementation. For example, Flanigan (2007) states that it is undeniable that FBOs are often among the

only organisations that have the capacities to provide services in the developing world, and that it would be detrimental if cooperation with FBOs ceased. Clearly, these organisations are integral to the provision of services to many people in need, with religious faith supporting these organisations in various ways (Frame, 2016b). Opening dialogue with FBOs about their beliefs can be helpful for those making decisions about selecting FBOs for service provision (Cameron, 2004), as decisions that affect FBOs may potentially have an impact on a large number of people, such as the closure of Compassion International in India, reported in Chapter 1 of this thesis. This study highlights the importance of accurately conceptualising FBOs vis-à-vis secular NGOs to better ensure that misunderstandings which might arise during their work may be prevented or mitigated.

Accordingly, this thesis contributes to policy discussions about FBOs, including the importance of faith to these organisations, the role of faith in processes of service delivery, and the ways in which FBOs conceive of their work. For example, this study has contributed, from a specific development perspective, understanding about the ways in which faith-based actors conceptualise wellbeing in the services they provide to their clientele. Policymakers can thus better understand service provision from a faith-based perspective, including the “deeply moral nature of social policy,” adding insight to a “religious perspective on social welfare” that “may potentially open up new avenues for exploring new meanings of wellbeing” in a development context (Jawad, 2012b: 622).

Decisions about engaging with FBOs must be made on an individual basis, considering context, rather than a standard approach for a preference for, or against, engagement (Davis, et al., 2011). In the present study, FBOs were found to have important similarities, and were typologised across only two of the four possible categories in the typology. It is argued that Context-Infusion Convergence played an important role in these similarities. Thus, while it has been argued in the past that faith is integrated differently among FBOs, and that they are not all the same (Smith and Sosin, 2001), this thesis showed how and why there can be remarkable similarities among FBOs.

FBOs have often been considered to be, in some cases, starkly different from their secular counterparts, given the role that faith may play in some of these organisations. However, secular NGOs may also include culturally relevant religious elements in their programming. Including religious elements in programming should

not automatically alarm policy stakeholders, but can, instead, be accepted as organisations pursue their missions and implement the types of programming they believe to be most beneficial to their clients. Policymakers and stakeholders should be aware, therefore, that while religious elements of secular NGOs and FBOs may or may not be similar, commonalities may exist between them in terms of the ways in which they appreciate religious values in their organisations, though this may be at different scales.

Better understanding among and between FBOs and secular NGOs—as provided in this thesis—can provide insight about the potential role of new consultative groups that could be established to ensure better provision of collaborative service delivery in contexts where ideological divisions may exist. In countries with undeveloped social welfare systems, people needing services may not be able to choose the organisation(s) from which they receive services (Flanigan, 2007). Ensuring goal congruity between organisations and policymakers will ensure goal alignment in service provision and policymaking (Fredericksen and Witt, 2011).

Both FBOs and secular NGOs hold values that influence their organisations, and policy stakeholders should assess the congruence between the outcomes they seek and the aims of organisations, their practices, and approaches to service delivery, including the outcomes they seek from, or enable in, their clients. Thus, when stakeholders are evaluating organisations, the ‘faith factor’ is not likely to be the most appropriate factor by which an organisation should be selected, or not selected. Instead, policy stakeholders can evaluate organisations on other dimensions, such as the likelihood that they will meet policy goals and provide excellent services to those entrusted into their care.

Similar to those who Rakodi (2011) articulated may benefit from her guide to analysing the relationships between religion and development, those who may benefit from this study include development actors and donors interested in understanding the Cambodian context, and the organisations working in this context, especially those interested in the role of faith in FBOs. This study can help actors to better understand the greater context in which they work. It can also assist actors interested in engaging in dialogue, new partnerships, or developing new programmes, informing them with empirical knowledge, rather than their being guided by biases or lack of understanding (Rakodi, 2011).

Given the view that a vibrant third sector offering a selection of different types of NGOs is valuable to a society (Lewis, 2013), having a diversity of FBOs and secular NGOs providing services should be generally viewed as positive. Such a range of organisations is comparable to Brett's (1993: 298) conception of a "pluralistic organizational universe," a term coined to encompass the voluntary sector, government, and private business. In the case of Cambodia, the wider and more pluralistic the "organizational universe" of service providers, the greater the range of organisations—FBOs and secular NGOs alike—the government can rely on to provide services to its citizens.

While large numbers of organisations responding to concerns of human trafficking have emerged in the Greater Mekong Subregion, interagency collaborations have also emerged (Davy, 2014). Yet, Davy (2014) noted, specifically in relation to child sex trafficking in the subregion, that the lack of unity among the vast number of anti-trafficking organisations complicates an effective policy response. While some ideologies differentiate organisations, this study demonstrated that they also have many similarities in their goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success. Yet, Delaney and Scharff (2010: 49), in their report on faith-inspired organisations and development in Cambodia, published by the World Faiths Development Dialogue, stated that "many in the secular development world look askance at (FBOs') value-laden approaches (and certainly vice versa, with faith-inspired groups skeptical about the technocratic merits of development theologies)." The findings from this study may prompt FBOs and secular NGOs to consider the perceptions they hold of one another, with the findings facilitating dialogue in FBOs, secular NGOs, and among policy stakeholders about the extent to which similarities and differences may actually exist between organisations, and why. Haynes (2007), writing in the context of development thinking and practice, states that improving the relationship between faith and secular approaches is not easy, given that each considers problems from different starting points. This study provides insight that can bring about better understanding and rapprochement across ideological divides that may separate organisations seeking similar goals.

9.5 Final Remarks

Looking at a particular sample of organisations in Cambodia working with a particular client group, the purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which, and why, the role of religious faith in Christian FBOs might distinguish these organisations from secular NGOs. This thesis has brought forward empirical and theoretical understanding about these organisations and is important for three reasons. First, while Cambodia has a large number of organisations working with women and children, systematic, comparative knowledge about them has been lacking in the literature to date. This study thus fills a research gap about these organisations in this particular country. More widely, this study adds to the relatively few number of comparative studies that have examined FBOs and secular NGOs in a development context, providing further knowledge about FBOs and secular NGOs that have taken on the responsibilities of social policy provision.

Second, this study was the first of its kind to compare secular NGOs and Christian FBOs across the four organisational dimensions examined in this study. Thus, while this study has focused on religious faith in Christian FBOs, it has more widely brought insight into organisational aspects (i.e. goals and missions, motivations, approaches to care, and conceptions of success) critical to comparing FBOs and secular NGOs. This analysis has brought wider knowledge to the field about the faith-based and secular actors implementing Cambodian social policy.

Third, the study posited a theory, Context-Infusion Convergence, that adds to our understanding about why FBOs may be distinct from secular NGOs, thus bringing wider significance to this study. This theoretical insight provides an avenue for future comparative research on FBOs and secular NGOs in other geographical locations. While some scholars have argued that distinctions between FBOs and secular NGOs are unclear, that distinctions are minimal, or that categorising organisations as faith-based or secular may not be particularly useful, this research has shown not only that the FBOs and secular NGOs in this study were clearly distinguishable from one another, but also why this was the case.

This study has explored FBOs and secular NGOs addressing a particular policy concern in the Cambodian context, elucidating and providing a richer understanding of the role of faith in FBOs, and exploring how these organisations are distinguished from secular NGOs. As a whole, this study supports our understanding

of FBOs and secular NGOs working with women and children in Cambodia, strengthens our knowledge about the role of faith in FBOs and, more widely, highlights the importance of considering issues related to faith in the study of social policy.

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Appendix

Table 1							
Selected services provided by FBOs and secular NGOs included in the study							
[Note: FBOs numbered 1-13; Secular NGOs (SNGOs) numbered 13-25]							
	Clients Under 18	Clients Over 18	Outreach -- Ministry or promote learning new skills	Outreach -- Support to continue sex work	Education and/or Skills/Vocational training (or facilitates w/partner)	Residential Care	Org. model includes a social enterprise
FBO 1	X				X	X	
FBO 2	X	X			X	X	X
FBO 3	X	X			X	X	
FBO 4	X	X			X	X	
FBO 5	X	X	X		X	X	X
FBO 6	X	X	X		X	X	X
FBO 7	X	X			X		X
FBO 8	X	X	X		X	X	X
FBO 9		X			X	X	X
FBO 10	X	X			X		X
FBO 11		X	X		X	X	X
FBO 12		X			X		X
FBO 13	X	X	X		X		X
SNGO 14	X	X	X		X	X	X
SNGO 15	X	X			X	X	
SNGO 16	X	X			X	X	X
SNGO 17	X	X	X	X	X	X	
SNGO 18	X	X			X	X	
SNGO 19	X	X			X	X	
SNGO 20	X	X	X	X	X	X	
SNGO 21	X	X			X	X	X
SNGO 22		X	X	X	X		
SNGO 23	X	X			X	X	X
SNGO 24	X	X			X	X	X
SNGO 25		X	X	X	X		

Note: Tables 2 and 3 are included in Chapter 4.

Table 4								
Basic Demographics of Respondents and Organisations								
Interviewee	M/F	Nationality	Date of Interview	Year began working in org	Position Level	Religion	Org founded by non-Cambodian?	Year org began
FBO 1. 6-W-1	M	Filipino	5/1/2013	2007	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	1950
FBO 1. 14-W-2	M	Cambodian	5/17/2013	2005	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 2. 10-H-1	F	Australian	5/6/2013	2009	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	1997
FBO 2. 20-H-2	F	Cambodian	6/7/2013	2005	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 3. 15-W-1	F	British	5/23/2013	2007	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	1996
FBO 3. 16-W-2	F	American	5/24//2013	2010	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 4. 30-R	F	Canadian	6/22/2013	2011 + 6 yrs vol.	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	1989
FBO 5. 24-A-1	M	American	6/13/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	2005
FBO 5. 35-A-2	F	Cambodian	7/4/2013	2006	Staff	Christian	~	~
FBO 6. 17-D-1	M	Australian	5/29/2013	2011	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	2002
FBO 6. 18-D-2	F	Netherlands	6/3/2013	2012	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 7. 8-C-1	M	American	5/3/2013	2011	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	2008
FBO 7. 13-C-2	F	American	5/11/2013	2011	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 8. 2-P-1	F	Cambodian	4/24/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	N	2010
FBO 8. 3-P-2	M	Cambodian	4/24/2013	2013	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 9. 38-W-1	M	Norwegian	7/19/2013	Co-Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	Co-founded w/Cambodian	2008

FBO 9. 39-W-2	F / F*	Cambodian / Cambodian	7/19/2013	less than one year—both respondents	Staff / Staff	Christian / Christian	~	~
FBO 10. 23-O-1	F	Australian	6/13/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	Quasi-founded w/Cambodian	2008
FBO 10. 29-O-2	F	Cambodian	6/21/2013	Quasi-founder	Executive Leader	Christian	~	~
FBO 11. 25-S-1	F	American	6/14/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	2007
FBO 11. 27-S-2	F	American	6/19/2013	2010 + 2 yrs vol.	Manager	Christian	~	~
FBO 12. 1-C	M	Australian	4/23/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	2010
FBO 13. 12-D-1	F	British	5/8/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Christian	Y	2007
SNGO 14. 4-R-1	M	Cambodian	4/26/2013	2009	Executive Leader	Buddhist ("flexible")	Yes	2007
SNGO 14. 7-R-2	F	Singaporean	5/2/2013	2010	Manager	Christian	~	~
SNGO 15. 5-C	F	Cambodian	4/29/2013	2010	Executive Leader	Buddhist ("kind of")	No	1997
SNGO 15. 28-C-2	F	Cambodian	6/20/2013	1999	Manager	Buddhist	~	~
SNGO 16. 9-S	F	Australian	5/3/2013	2010	Executive Leader	Spiritual	Yes	2010

	F / F*	Cambodian / Cambodian	5/6/2013	1984** / 1982**	Executive Leader / Manager	Buddhist (used to go to church) / Buddhist	No	1993
SNGO 17. 11-C								
SNGO 18. 19-T-1	M	American	6/6/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	No preference	Yes	2006
SNGO 18. 34-T-2	F	American	6/26/2013	2012	Executive Leader	No preference	~	~
SNGO 19. 21-C-1	M	Cambodian	6/8/2013	1996	Executive Leader	Buddhist (half-half)	No	1995
SNGO 19. 31-C-2	F	Cambodian	6/24/2013	2007	Manager	Buddhist (open to going to church)	~	~
SNGO 20. 22-A-1	M	Cambodian	6/11/2013	1997	Executive Leader	Not religious	No	1996
SNGO 20. 32-A-2	M	Cambodian	6/25/2013	1997	Manager	Buddhist	~	~
SNGO 21. 26-S	M	Cambodian	6/17/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Not religious	No	2006
SNGO 22. 33-K	M	Cambodian	6/25/2013	2006	Manager	Buddhist (prev. Christian)	No	1991
SNGO 23. 36-K	M	Cambodian	7/12/2013	2003	Executive Leader	Buddhist	Yes	2000
SNGO 24. 37-H	F	Cambodian	7/12/2013	Founder	Executive Leader	Buddhist	No	1997
SNGO 25. 40-P-1	M	Cambodian	7/25/2013	2012	Executive Leader	Buddhist	No	1998
SNGO 25. 41-P-2	M	Cambodian	7/26/2013	2011	Manager	Buddhist	~	~

* As stated in Chapter 4, on two occasions, two respondents were interviewed in one interview.

** These interviewees worked at a now-dissolved organisation that preceded the founding of their current organisation.

Table 5	
Relationship between Conceptual Model and Interview Topics	
Inputs	
• Qualities desired in, and numbers of, staff and volunteers; • How motivation fed into what the organisations did and how they did it; • Why interviewees were involved in trying to improve the conditions of their clients; • Financial resources; • The extent to which faith was part of the organisation; • How FBOs understood faith elements in their organisations.	
Intermediate Outputs	
• The services the organisations provided and the ways in which they were provided; • Organisational goals; • Relationships with clients; • Unique aspects of the organisation;	
Other (Perceived Final Outcomes)	
• How organisations assessed client change; • Perception of success and what 'success' was attributed to; • Conceptions of the role of faith in client change.	

Note: Topic guide below.

Topic Guide for Interviews

SERVICES

Briefly share about the services you provide.

--In what ways has the organisation worked to help/sought to improve the conditions of its clients?

--What services does the organisation offer to trafficked or sex-trade involved persons?

How would you describe the way you do what you do?

GOALS

What would you say are the organisation's goals for the programmes you administer (i.e. what are you trying to achieve)?

Describe the methods the organisation employs to accomplish its goals.

Are there any specific goals you have for clients?

Do you/how do you measure whether those goals are achieved?

Does the organisation attempt to measure change in clients while receiving services from the organisation?

If so, what do you mean by change, and how do you measure that change?

If/when you believe the organisation to be successful in the outcomes it obtains with clients, to what do you attribute that success?

ADMIN

From where do you obtain your financial resources and other physical capital (buildings, service sites, etc.)?

What kinds of qualities must staff have?

Are there any specific requirements they must meet?

Does the organisation have any volunteers?

If so, where are they drawn from?

RELATIONSHIPS/UNIQUENESS/EVALUATION

Describe the relationship that you have with clients.

What recent story/ies (i.e. examples) come to mind when you think of relationships you have with clients?

Is there something about the organisation that makes it stand out, or different, or better, than similar organisations?

How successful, or otherwise, do you think the organisation has been in helping improve clients' lives/affecting their clients?

MOTIVATIONS

What are some reasons that the organisation seeks to help its clients?

Why have you chosen to work for (or found) this organisation?

Explain some of the motivations behind the work this organisation does.

Why has the organisation chosen to work with this particular client group?

FAITH (some questions only for FBOs)

Are the clients connected with a faith community?

If so, do you perceive that this affects them in any way?

To what extent is faith an important feature of the organization?

If it is, how does that faith affect what the organization does, how it does it, and the outcomes it achieves?

Based on your understanding, to what extent is faith one of the drivers of client change?

What does this look like?

Does faith play a role in the lives of the clients?

If yes, describe how.

Describe how you understand the role of faith (the "faith factor") in your organisation.

Does staff do any devotions/Bible study together?

Do you consider the organisation to be a faith-based organisation?

If faith was not part of the organisation, do you think the organisation would be different?

(note: this question added in after research commenced, so not asked of all FBO interviewees)

DEMOGRAPHICS

If a social enterprise or business, is the business registered as a business, or part of NGO/FBO?

Number of staff

Number of clients

Year organisation began

Position title

Length of time in present position

Previous positions in organisation

Length of time in organisation

Nationality/citizenship

Religious preference

If so, how 'active' in that religion

Organisation connected with any international organisation?

Anything else you'd like to share about your organisation or add to what you've said already?

Organisation Profiles

Below are brief profiles of the twenty-five organisations examined in this study. After each profile is a statement about their funding, and how the organisation has been typologised by this researcher, based on known information, using the typology introduced in Chapter 4. A summary of these profiles has been placed at the end of Chapter 4.

FBOs (numbered 1-13)

FBO 1

FBO 1 is a very large international FBO, working in many countries. Along with other types of services provided to a variety of clients, it focuses attention on particularly difficult cases involving girls, aged 9-17, who have experienced sexual abuse, trafficking, or exploitation. These involve cases where girls were trafficked by their own parents, by a relative who is still at large, or a powerful neighbour, as well as cases involving senior government officials involved in trafficking. They provide assessment services, specialised counselling support, secure residential care, life skills training, education, and legal support. They can provide services for approximately 40 clients in the residential element of their programme.

The organisation seeks to provide rehabilitation and protection of their clients, and helps them in the reintegration process. For example, the organisation supports families and the wider community to be prepared for client reintegration. Sometimes the organisation provides capital seed money so families can invest in a small business. They may also help to improve the security of the child's home, to ensure it is safer for the child when returning. One respondent stated, "We work through God's guidance and we follow his guidance. ... We work for God's ministry" (14-W-2).

The organisation has a long history in Cambodia and has had a good reputation with the government. They provide training to government social workers and have helped the Ministry of Social Affairs promote the minimum standard of care (for NGOs) by training other organisations providing services to children and women.

They obtain funding support from a variety of sources, including sponsors, monies raised through support offices, government grants, and grants from private organisations. It is typologised as Faith-Centred.

FBO 2

FBO 2 provides services in Cambodia and two other nearby developing countries. They are a specialised organisation providing a range of care services. These include residential care (including a girls', boys', and women's facilities), transitional care, case management services, counselling services, health services, catch-up education, skills training, and reintegration. They also support clients in terms of legal protection, ensuring that a client has citizenship rights or that they are supported through their court cases. They concentrate on trauma recovery and assess clients to measure the level of trauma they are experiencing.

The country director stated that other organisations will refer clients to their FBO if the other organisation is unable to care for a client, because of the complexity of a case. The organisation seeks to help clients with their unique needs, dreams, and hopes, supporting them through their journey of recovery. The country director stated that, over the previous two years, they had reached around one thousand clients. The organisation has client committees, where representatives are nominated and voted on each year.

The FBO receives a variety of funding sources, including from faith-based and non-faith-based foundations, churches, and individuals. It is typologised as Faith-Affiliated.

FBO 3

FBO 3 is an FBO affiliated with a major Protestant church denomination in North America, though it is an independent legal entity (the only FBO in this study with a denominational affiliation). It operates an assessment centre for girls who have experienced trafficking or sexual assault. It is thus a secure facility, providing an initial place of safety and stability, where clients are assessed (mental and physical health), cared for, and where plans for more long-term treatment are sorted. While the organisation typically accepts girls 5-18 years old, they are flexible with these guidelines, and can serve up to 30 clients at one time. Their facility is located on a

compound with play equipment and where some animals (rabbits, chickens and a pig) are raised.

Activities in their facility include, for example, art, maths, Khmer language learning, and life skills training. Clients typically reside in the facility for about two months. The staff seek to establish trust and build relationships with their clients, helping them recover from their trauma, as they work to complete a thorough assessment. Their services also include assessing and supporting families of clients, so that clients may be satisfactorily, and safely, integrated back into their communities, when possible. This support includes supporting the family financially, for example, by purchasing pigs they may raise to earn money, and twice building a home for families.

The Country Director stated that their funding comes from various sources, including, at one time, a grant from the US Department of State, and a grant from the Asia Foundation. Their funders also include a large Christian FBO, with most funds coming from large denominational churches in the USA. It is typologised here as Faith-Centred.

FBO 4

FBO 4 was founded by a foreign national. It had been a funding organisation (for five other FBOs in Cambodia) until it opened a transitional home for approximately thirteen clients between 17-25 years old. The organisation continues its funding capacity while also serving clients in a direct way through this transitional home. Their aim is to help clients transition from long-term care to independent living. They provide psychosocial care to their clients, including intense trauma counselling.

They chose a location for their transitional home near a large church where clients can attend classes throughout the week, which is part of the FBO's plan for supporting the clients with a sustainable, community environment. The organisation offers clients weekly house meetings and a quarterly questionnaire that allows clients to offer feedback about their care.

The organisation seeks to promote a communal, family atmosphere in their facility. Staff and clients eat together, and the country director and programme manager take one client out for an evening each month, as a way to build further rapport.

Most of their funding is Christian-based funding, including from foundations, churches, individuals, and offerings from a stadium-sized Christian youth rally in the USA. It is typologised here as Faith-Centred.

FBO 5

FBO 5 provides many services to their clients. While it only provides services in Cambodia, its founders are foreign nationals. They have two secure residential homes for children, providing what the director calls holistic aftercare for clients. They also have a transitional home for clients moving towards independent living. They provide life skills and counselling, as well as various services and ministries in a particular neighbourhood near Phnom Penh, where they build relationships with the community through free community healthcare, a government-certified school, young adult education, travelling sports teams, and a gymnasium, which has trained nearly two dozen professional sports persons. They have Sunday morning church services at their facility in that neighbourhood, as well.

They also do intentional outreach to individuals working in karaoke clubs, with teams going into the establishments, singing karaoke, and showing the workers a video, with an invitation to leave their current work to join the organisation. As of 2013, the organisation had one factory, and was in the process of establishing another, where they produce jewellery and t-shirts for sales abroad. Their t-shirts, for example, are marketed to churches and Christian organisations in the USA needing to buy t-shirts for camps and events. According to the director, the factory has excellent working conditions and pays the average of three times the minimum wage. In another town in Cambodia, they offer a beauty salon and health clinic that caters to karaoke club employees.

Their direct care clients include children and young adults. One respondent stated, “For the children who live in the centre—in the shelter—we treat them like our sisters, or treat them like our daughters” (35-A-2). The organisation follows up with reintegrated clients each month, continually (with no end date), which they believe shows their commitment and care to clients, as they aim to do their work with perseverance and love.

Their funding comes from various sources, including churches, foundations (most of which are Christian), and individuals. In total, they have approximately 1500 donors. The founder had been a pastor of a large church in the USA, so this

network had initially allowed them to obtain support when they began. It is typologised as Faith-Centred.

FBO 6

FBO 6 has operations in several countries, and maintains several projects in Cambodia, including residential facilities, vocational training, outreach, and employment opportunities for clients. The organisation serves clients under 18 years old, though they continue providing services after they surpass this age. Clients who have been placed with the organisation live in one of their residential homes, most of which are supervised by a married couple, who serve as house parents, in order to provide a Christian family environment. Clients are able to attend churches, which offer them opportunities, such as English classes.

The organisation seeks to help clients understand their value from a Christian perspective. They provide education and trauma treatment, and seek to reintegrate clients back into their own communities. The organisation operates a café, serving Western-style meals, which provides vocational training to some clients. Another part of the organisation is a jewellery making operation. Another involves sewing classes where clients learn sewing skills through an 18-month programme. Clients who complete the sewing programme are then given a pedal sewing machine to begin their own business, as well as sewing jobs contracted out to them by the organisation which has contracts with clothing suppliers in Australia. All clients are provided various types of training, including financial and life skills.

Another project is a direct intervention project, where teams visit karaoke and other entertainment establishments to meet potential clients (under 18 years old), inviting them to talk the next day about opportunities the organisation offers. The organisation is persistent in following up with those they contact, offering them housing, care, training, and alternative employment, namely in their jewellery making business.

Whereas the clients in the residential homes have been placed there because they have been victimised, clients who join the jewellery making operation join on their own volition. This operation is considered a rescue programme. In the residential facilities for clients enrolled in the jewellery making project, clients are supervised by women who serve as ‘older sisters.’ As of 2013, this particular programme had operated only for a few months, and had nearly 100 clients

The organisation aims to increase their number of rescues in a desire to provide more opportunities to more clients who wish to leave the entertainment business. Clients who choose to join the organisation receive a basic salary for the first three months, after which they are paid as a contractor based on each piece of jewellery they make. Their accommodation, food, and care services continue to be provided. Jewellery made by clients is sold at jewellery parties in Australia and the USA, where the mission of the work of the organisation is introduced to attendees.

Funding comes from donors—many times from Australia and the United States—who provide funding to sponsor clients. In addition, the café, jewellery sales, and sewing programmes bring in funds. Outside teams will often visit the organisation, learning more about its work, and purchasing items that clients have made.

The organisation receives one grant from another FBO for one of their projects. Some supporters will host fundraisers to raise funds for the organisation. In one case, a church in Australia donated \$20,000 dollars towards one month of expenses for one of their projects. Churches invite speakers to share about the organisation. Through the organisation's website, it receives earmarked monies for specific projects. Western staff receive an allowance but are encouraged to seek their own support from friends, family, or churches in their home communities. It is typologised as Faith-Centred.

FBO 7

FBO 7 operates in Cambodia, but has its headquarters in the USA. Their projects include a culinary training centre serving six clients. This training centre includes a restaurant with a full menu. The director of this programme is a professional chef from the USA. The programme operates with a hands-on, relationship-based approach, training the clients in culinary skills, including Western and Asian cuisines, incorporating tests and competitions to assess the cooking skills of clients. The programme also includes life skills, computer, and English classes.

They work with clients to help them achieve their personal goals, helping them develop through young adulthood. Empowering clients and showing love is important in the programme. The director sees her role as friend, teacher, and mentor. The programme operates five to six days per week, and the group typically has a fun activity on Sundays.

New clients are paired with a mentor—a graduate of the programme. Clients take turns going to the farmers' market to buy supplies and lunch, learning the process of going to the market and bartering, and responsibly spending money. In addition, another programme in the organisation serves six clients, training them how to make handbags, shirts, and skirts sold in the U.S. This project was once a residential programme; however, because such a model removes clients from their homes, they were revamping the programme. In addition to vocational training, it includes life skills and education in literacy, maths, and computers. As part of this programme, social workers meet with the families, in the organisation's efforts to assist the whole family, not just clients.

Their funding comes from churches, individuals, and client sponsors (of clients in the culinary training centre). Funding is also acquired through sales of products (made through another programme that supports impoverished women) via a boutique store in the USA and retail partners. It is typologised here as Faith-Centred.

FBO 8

FBO 8 is a local faith-based organisation that includes a registered business as part of its operations. One of its programmes is an outreach ministry, where volunteers and staff in small teams visit karaoke bars and beer gardens every other Friday night, order food and drinks, and seek to build relationships with women they meet who work there. They aim to give value to the women they meet, and may speak about faith issues with them, as well as inform them about the opportunities provided by the FBO, should they wish to leave their present employment.

The organisation provides counselling, a space for some clients to live, and beauty training from their salon. They also have a meeting each month where clients who are receiving vocational training come to the office to obtain their financial support. At another monthly event, these women, as well as women met on the Friday night outreaches, are invited to gather to meet each other and enjoy time together, play games, and have training on a relevant topic. Occasionally, Christian teams from other countries may assist with this gathering, making it a larger, more eventful, experience.

The FBO obtains funding from various sources, including a Christian foundation and other faith-related groups, churches, and individuals. It is typologised here as Faith-Centred.

FBO 9

FBO 9 began as a ministry to street children, but changed its focus after being asked by other organisations and churches to help those working in the sex industry. It was founded by a married couple - a foreign national and Cambodian.

While the sex workers they met were making a monthly salary of \$50, various expenses (e.g. clothes, make up) were cut from their income, and they often found themselves indebted to their employer. The FBO first started with volunteers, then formalized into a programme that housed former sex workers, supporting them to gain skills, with the organisation paying the sex workers' debts. To ensure their commitment to the organisation, the understanding was that the sex workers would repay these funds. The organisation rented rooms for the first ten individuals in their programme. They then discussed the opportunity for the clients to begin working with street children, which the clients then began to do. This opportunity allowed the clients to support children.

Out of this beginning came more of a residential facility and centre where clients could live, receive counselling, and vocational and life skills training. The organisation encourages clients with children to live with them, either together at the residential facility, or in other accommodation.

In the first few months of the programme, clients focus mostly on social skills and social awareness, working on crafts and other activities, and spending time with counsellors, and in group discussions. They consider various opportunities to gain vocational skills. Clients start earning money from the first day of the programme, and the organisation seeks to help them with their work ethic. After six months, clients choose one skill that they want to learn, and they obtain vocational training through the organisation's partner organisations, or through their own beauty care salon or tailor shop. After they gain skills, clients are given equipment to begin their own business.

The clients continue serving children through the 'kids club,' where clients cut children's hair, prepare school uniforms, and tutor children. This element of the programme has been found to help the clients, as well as the children they support.

Relationships in the organisation are very important, and they work to operate as a family, with clients, their children, and staff going on social outings together, such as birthday parties. If a client leaves the organisation on unfortunate terms, they are welcomed back, if they wish to return.

Clients are given practical tests to ensure that they can pass all their skills training, for example, in subjects such as literature, computers, Khmer, and English. Clients who are skilled at teaching and have completed their vocational training also support and teach new clients basic skills. There are currently 25 clients in the women's programme. The organisation also provides services to impoverished males and to communities needing wells.

The organisation receives funds from the director's connections in his home country (in Europe), including from family, friends, his church, and other individuals (Christian and non-Christian) who hear of the organisation and wish to visit it during their holiday. The director's church in his home country sponsors his salary, and sometimes this money is also used to help run the organisation. Some individuals organise fundraisers, such as selling food at a festival, as well.

They receive funding for their well installation programme through a large, secular international foundation that requires the monies only be used for humanitarian (and not religious) purposes. The director acknowledged his trust in God in terms of providing for the organisation's finances. Occasionally, teams from partnering churches will visit. Crafts made by clients are sold to teams and to churches outside of Cambodia. It is typologised here as Faith-Centred.

FBO 10

FBO 10 was founded by foreign nationals, but operates only in Cambodia. It is a nonprofit social enterprise with a beauty salon, café, and tea room, where clients are trained in a range of skills. During their one-year programme, clients are taught hair styles, make up, pedicure and manicure techniques. Other clients receive cooking and housekeeping instruction. Life skills training is an important feature of the training. Some of their clients are from other organisations, and some are private paying students from the community.

Some clients continue working in the sex trade while they receive training. After clients graduate from the programme, they readily obtain employment opportunities, and there is often a waitlist of employers seeking graduates. If clients

did not satisfactorily complete the training, the organisation continues to train them at no additional cost (to them or the organisation that may be sponsoring them). The training emphasises excellence, discipline, and customer service. They also conduct training in a residential facility for another FBO, and have a salon in one of the red-light districts in Phnom Penh. During the first five years of the programme, approximately 150 clients have been trained. They desire to help clients with self-love, self-care, and motivation, and wish for everyone to feel accepted and loved. The organisation aims to maintain a pleasant environment for customers and clients.

The organisation is partially self-funded, from customers and training fees from partner organisations and private pay students. The international advisor emphasized that the organisation relies on their faith to bring in funds. Two professional Australian Christians have regularly funded the organisation with monthly donations and one-off monies to help the organisation begin projects. Other support comes through family, friends, a small church, and other donations, including Australian businessmen who have appreciated their training model. It is typologised as Faith-Centred.

FBO 11

FBO 11 is a social enterprise, registered as a business, but affiliated with an umbrella FBO operating other projects in Cambodia. It was founded by a foreign national.

They design and sell bags and other handicrafts which are sold in the United States through house parties, where customers learn about the organisation and buy their products. They operate an intensive vocational and life skills training and work programme for twelve women, but also have a larger factory employing poor and vulnerable persons. Clients are paid a salary.

Clients in the intensive programme are often taken from referrals from partners, but are interviewed prior to being accepted to make sure they are not simply seeking a job, but life change. Some of them live communally in the organisation's residential facilities.

The organisation also does intentional outreach to connect with people working in the entertainment industry, and they provide training and support to people in impoverished areas. In total, the organisation employs 150 persons, including people who work from home creating parts of their product.

The organisation focuses its strongest efforts on the twelve women in the intensive programme, seeking to help rehabilitate and empower them. The director stated they “consider the whole – the mind, the body, the soul, the spirit” (FBO 11. 25-S-1). The organisation seeks to be relational and family oriented. The organisation seeks to help clients overcome their past, forgive, and move forward with sustainable skills. One respondent stated, “...we value them as individuals. We teach them that God values them...” (FBO 11. 27-S-2). After they complete the programme, clients receive a bicycle and items they need to start a sewing business, with most still sewing for the organisation after reintegration.

While the organisation covers many of its expenses through sales of their products, their umbrella organisation has supported the organisation. In addition, the organisation received funds from an FBO in the United States for their vocational training centre. This funder also supported the intensive programme for one year. New planned projects are also available for support on a project basis. Church-based teams visit the organisation. At least one foreign volunteer is supported by churches, family, and friends. The director attributed their funding, in part, to faith. The organisation is typologised as Faith-Centred.

FBO 12

FBO 12 was founded by a foreign national, and is a social enterprise, registered as a business (a catering company). Its ‘clients’ are paid employees. The founder aims for the organisation to be friendly and welcoming, with everyone treated equally.

The organisation seeks to maintain high standards. They want to teach the trade to their employees using compassion, partnering employees with supportive leaders. They begin teaching employees—which includes teaching methods such as cartoon pictures—at a very basic level (hygiene and the importance of wearing a clean uniform). Employees advance through the programme as they are able, taking exams after training. The founder sees the organisation as being successful in building up the self-esteem of employees, helping them to take responsibility for their own destiny. Employees are on career paths, with appropriate pay increases based on their advancement.

The founder takes time to sit down with employees twice per month, to hear complaints or comments about the organisation. Once every three months, the organisation organises a Family Day, where employees bring family or significant

others to a special event, such as a picnic. The organisation seeks to honour special events (births and birthdays) by sending gifts, “so they know we’re thinking of them and love them” (FBO 12. 1-C). The founder states they are consistent and committed to their clients and run the business with integrity.

The founder receives funding from a church in Australia, and the business finances itself. When the founder began the business, he received a \$30,000 low interest loan from an American interested in supporting his work. The founder states that they “operate wholly and solely on faith” (FBO 12. 1-C), running it in accordance with Christian business ethics. The organisation is typologised as Faith-Centred.

FBO 13

FBO 13 was founded by a foreign national. It is an organisation that, in addition to operating as a faith-based NGO, also manages several registered businesses (e.g. cafes, guest houses). Their model is one that provides employment opportunities for individuals in the sex industry, if they wish to leave the sex industry. Clients thus work in these businesses, which include opportunities to sew or make products that are sold. The organisation was serving approximately 140 clients in 2013.

The FBO provides therapy and counselling. They aim to help clients become independent, and support them in fulfilling their goals and dreams. They seek to treat clients as equals, with value and dignity, through a loving, supportive, family milieu. Many clients have debts or gambling addictions, and the organisation supports the clients, helping to empower them to make positive life choices.

The organisation obtains funds from donor organisations, some of which provide a one-time donation to support the start-up of a business, which quickly becomes sustainable. Smaller donors typically provide support for other aspects of the organisation, apart from the businesses. Individual donors also sponsor clients, by providing a portion of their salary, especially the salaries of trainees who are new clients. Donors usually hear about the organisation through word of mouth, and through relationships with people who have recommended the organisation, though some funds have come through applications to calls for proposals. Teams from Western countries regularly visit the organisation during their visits to Cambodia, learning more about the trafficking situation. The organisation is typologised as Faith-Centred.

SNGOs (numbered 14-25)

SNGO 14

SNGO 14 has its headquarters in Singapore, with programmes operating only in Cambodia. The organisation provides several programmes that support vulnerable children and families living in impoverished communities. The organisation seeks to have friendly staff, and to help clients feel valued, so they will “understand they are very much more than what they think” (SNGO 14. 7-R-2).

Their services provide supplemental education to clients, including small children preparing for school. They provide life skills and vocational support, as well as financial support to some families. The organisation seeks to provide a safe place for clients, and they have a small clinic where they provide healthcare. They provide social work services to their clients and families, including counselling services.

The organisation provides direct care services to over 400 children and adults, in addition to social work support to families and others in the communities in which they work. They want clients to be safe, financially independent, and to see positive changes in the communities in which they work.

Financial, life, and vocational training supports are readily offered through the organisation and their partners. They support children to attend public school (i.e. with uniforms, shoes, study materials, and daily school fees). Furthermore, the organisation supports exceptional students, who would benefit from private education, by paying their tuition. The organisation has schoolhouses where children receive support and care, including daily snacks before they go to public school.

They provide a six-month pre-vocational training for 30 youth who have dropped out of school, providing education in topics, such as life skills, Khmer literacy, maths, basic English, and computers. The curriculum also covers topics related to safety, for example, how they can identify if they have been abused or how to speak up about it. This programme offers field trips for clients to see vocational training options at partner organisations. The programme aims to build self-esteem and confidence. After graduation, clients may choose to continue their studies in public school, or receive additional training through a partner organisation.

The organisation provides a weekly boarding option, where a small number of vulnerable children and adults can stay up to seven days per week, receiving food and support. The organisation also offers a day care room. It seeks to work with families, thus their services range from serving small children through to adults. Some of their clients are involved in sex work, and the organisation desires to promote education, skills training, and other supports to them and their families. One of their programmes particularly serves sex workers living in the communities the organisation services. The organisation invites these women to social outings, such as meals or fieldtrips, planned every two to three months, where attendees are encouraged to consider skill-building opportunities. Classes are then formed with about 15 of these women. Sewing is a popular option they choose, and those who learn this trade receive a sewing machine after they have completed their training. Other vocational training options are provided by the organisation's partners. Furthermore, a direct cash aid programme was piloted that supported some clients, and the organisation provides work opportunities for some clients through making school uniforms.

Approximately 80% of the organisation's funding comes from individuals, and 20% comes from organisations and foundations. Among their fundraising efforts is a biannual gala dinner in Singapore to raise funds. The organisation did not indicate that religion was part of their programming, and it is typologised here as a Secular NGO.

SNGO 15

SNGO 15 is a local NGO, providing most of their services to women and girls in crisis. When they were first established, they focused on domestic violence, which still is an important part of their service provision. Their services are considered comprehensive, ranging from prevention to protection, prosecution, and advocacy.

The organisation seeks to build capacity in their clients, empowering them, and helping them to know their rights. They support clients with legal services, assisting clients to file complaints against their perpetrator, if they wish. They also work to increase the capacity of those working for the government who provide services for vulnerable women and girls. They also work with men on anger management.

Care services for women include psychosocial counselling, legal counselling, a short stay shelter, as well as a long stay residential centre, where women, with their children, can stay for several months. Twice each year, clients in the shelter go together to a resort area of the country, which allows them recreation and an opportunity to provide feedback about the organisation.

They offer clients vocational training, life skills, literacy, and business management training, and provide for their health needs. The organisation also supports clients with reintegration and conducts assessments.

After reintegration, the organisation follows up with clients three times in-person, and informally after the first year, while also coordinating with the government agency that also follows up with clients. The organisation provides reintegrated clients with materials (e.g. kitchen utensils, rice) and sometimes a grant to begin a small business. When possible, they help facilitate a self-help group in the community. The organisation has advocated for law enforcement, and has been involved in the development of laws on domestic violence and protection of victims.

The organisation receives funding from grants from various organisations, including those in the Netherlands and Germany, as well as private donors and those who visit the organisation. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating.

SNGO 16

SNGO 16 was founded by foreign nationals, but operates only in Cambodia. It manages a vocational training centre and residential transition home. In addition, they administer a programme for small children in vulnerable communities, helping them and their families with education and other social supports.

The organisation is known for the up-scale jewellery it produces and sells abroad. The focus of their programmes geared for girls and young women, aged 15-25, is to provide clients an opportunity other than sex work to make a living. The organisation provides counselling and jewellery training, working to help empower them, help them learn life skills, make good choices, and train them to be good employees. Clients receive a salary for making jewellery.

The programme is ten months long and has twenty students per intake. Clients live in a partner organisation's shelter or the residential facility at the

organisation. They support clients with nutritional and medical needs and seek to have a very holistic and hands-on approach.

They implement a behavioural programme that quantifies clients' behaviour on a daily basis. Clients receive points each day and can go to the in-house 'store' to redeem their points for various items. This also supports the clients in being responsible with the concept of money.

Clients not only make jewellery, but have developed skills to design it, as well. Clients complete internships for two months (e.g. in the hospitality industry), which includes a weekly debriefing session in order to share about their experiences with other clients. The organisation seeks to instil values into their clients and informs clients that, outside of the organisation, they are ambassadors of the NGO.

Overhead costs are covered by corporate grants and private fundraising initiatives. The organisation hosts many fundraisers in the United States to promote the jewellery and to raise funds for the programmes. They also sell jewellery on their website. Also on their website, they receive donations for their children's programme. The organisation did not indicate that religion was part of their programming, and it is typologised here as a Secular NGO.

SNGO 17

SNGO 17 is a local NGO with programmes that involve community development. These include working with women's groups in villages to discuss and seek to resolve issues of concern, such as domestic violence. The organisation's programmes also include a trafficking prevention programme that provides education in communities about the problems of trafficking. They also maintain a shelter for approximately twenty abused or at-risk children and young women. The shelter programme provides girls and young women, aged 8-20, an opportunity to attend a nearby public school, obtain vocational training, and receive counselling.

Their organisation also supports entertainment workers—specifically street-based sex workers, and organises a union for these sex workers. They focus on health issues, rights, safety, and minimizing the spread of HIV/AIDS and STIs, and serve approximately 400 clients in this programme. They work to help clients resolve problems, such as the violence they experience. The organisation has built and maintained positive relationships with entertainment workers over the years.

They provide education and seek to empower them, and their services include distributing condoms. Peer educators (who are also sex workers) and staff regularly work with clients through outreach activities at their homes, places of work, and a nightclub.

The sessions in the nightclub, for example, are 10-15 minute discussions to share information and encourage the women to go for health check-ups. The organisation also seeks to reduce the use of illegal drugs among their clients. They work with organisational partners to support clients who are interested in leaving sex work and receive vocational training. Furthermore, the organisation hosts a small support group for people living with HIV/AIDS. They help them receive health services and provide emergency funds and food for ill clients.

The organisation obtains funding from organisations, including ones in Australia, the Netherlands, and Japan. They also have obtained funds from online donations through the Global Giving website. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating.

SNGO 18

SNGO 18 operates an intensive programme that aims to help traumatized girls recover and self-sustain in society. It was founded by foreign nationals, but offers services only in Cambodia. It encompasses four programmes: a residential shelter, a transitional home for graduates of the shelter, a family assistance programme, and a career programme that seeks to help inspire clients to consider careers that are atypical for Cambodian girls. The organisation serves less than thirty clients, in addition to the families of clients they also support.

The organisation works with girls 13-18 years old, though their transitional house has clients over 18 years old. Clients go through several phases in the programme, graduating each phase and earning a medallion that symbolizes their accomplishments. The programme includes therapy, life skills, education, basic attitude and behaviour markers, and psychological assessments. Their therapy programme is specifically focused on complex sexual trauma. The organisation desires clients to heal from their traumatic experience, realize their potential, and identify and pursue their dreams. House mothers are to lovingly care for clients, and clients are engaged in therapy twice a week. A weekly house meeting allows clients to provide feedback on how things are going. They aim for clients to dream for a

brighter future and prepare them for this. This includes helping girls not to carry shame.

Volunteers help clients consider career possibilities (e.g. film editing, photography). Clients attend the daily career programme, or attend private school, or vocational training outside of the organisation. The organisation has regular educational classes, such as English, computers, maths, and Khmer literacy. The organisation funds clients who want to go to college.

The organisation has sought to professionalise the care provision field, implementing a strong systems-based approach to providing care and case management. They desire for clients to be holistically healthy, including physically, mentally, emotionally, and socially. Therapy seeks to help clients towards psychological wellness and wholeness. Some clients serve in leadership roles, mentoring newer clients.

The organisation takes clients on an annual holiday. They involve clients in physical fitness activities, such as hip-hop dancing and skate boarding. They desire for clients to dream and have high aspirations, and clients continually engage in decision making. After clients graduate from the programme, the organisation stays in contact with them for at least three years.

The organisation hosts two teams of international guests per year, inviting applications from people interested in their work, and selecting team members to visit Cambodia. In the early days of the organisation, most donations were from major gift donors, who were asked by the founder to provide funds. The organisation then received most of its funding from secular foundations. Churches and corporate sponsors have also supported the organisation. The organisation has volunteers and others who spend a lot of time speaking in the United States (e.g. at meetings, universities, churches). They also developed a sponsorship programme for individuals to sponsor clients. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO.

SNGO 19

SNGO 19 is a local NGO, maintaining one shelter for girls, one shelter for boys, and two transitional (halfway) homes for older clients who are in the process of reintegrating into the community. They also have a facility for children who have returned to Cambodia after having migrated.

They provide psychosocial counselling, and health and legal services to their clients. They support them to attend public school, and provide some clients with vocational skills training, such as sewing, weaving, hairdressing, car mechanics, and housekeeping. The organisation has supported clients to attend university. Their clients, who range in age from 3-25, include those who have been victims of trafficking, domestic violence, and those who are vulnerable, poor, and high-risk, as well as those who have been involved in the entertainment industry.

While some clients in the shelter may live there for several years, clients in the transitional (halfway) house stay there for 6-12 months, while they work and save money through a savings programme—where the organisation collects \$5 per month from each client and later returns it to them.

They house over 150 clients, and provide community support to additional persons. After reintegration, the organisation follows up with clients several times per year and collaborates with the government agency that monitors reintegrated clients.

At one time, the organisation had only one major donor. While they have received additional donors, funding has been a struggle to obtain. Donations typically come from organisations in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, the UK, and Spain, at least one of which is a Christian organisation. Individual donors also contribute small donations. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating.

SNGO 20

SNGO 20 is a local NGO providing outreach services, housing, training, and reintegration for girls and young women who have been victims of trafficking, or who work in the sex trade.

Their HIV outreach programme reaches those involved in the sex trade in entertainment establishments, such as massage parlours and karaoke clubs, providing information about safe sex, providing condoms, and encouraging them to accept free health care services offered by the organisation or other health partners, even providing them with transportation. Peer educators offer education about various topics, such as how to negotiate with customers about using condoms. They also share services about the organisation, should these individuals wish to leave their current labour situation.

The organisation wishes to bring empowerment to their clients, who range from teenagers to those in their twenties. Clients vote for a client leader to be their voice to management and media.

The organisation integrates clients as employees in their organisation, such as caregivers or trainers. It has three residential centres serving a total of approximately 200 clients. The organisation has a legal investigation team which works closely with the outreach team.

When a new client joins the organisation, a medical assessment is given, along with psychological counselling. The organisation provides them care, support, and non-formal education, along with training in life skills and business management, and assesses the client and her family and community. Vocational training options include sewing, hairdressing, and weaving. Each year, the organisation arranges an annual retreat where clients and staff from the three centres meet to relax and talk with each other.

After reintegration, the organisation follows up with clients for up to three years. It has also sought to educate the wider population about trafficking, holding at least three annual human trafficking days. In the past, a dignitary, such as the Prime Minister's wife, has spoken in a morning session, and a ticketed event in the evening has featured a famous rock band that appealed to Cambodian teenagers.

The organisation has been closely connected to a popular spokesperson who has brought worldwide attention to the trafficking situation in Cambodia. This individual's foundation has provided about 50% of the organisation's funding. Other donors include organisations in Germany, the USA, Canada, France, Singapore, and Australia. They also receive funding from individuals via their website, or when they visit in person. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating.

SNGO 21

SNGO 21 is a local NGO, maintaining programmes related to family livelihood and village development, including a water project, as well as a protection shelter for children. The organisation seeks to be proactive, identifying high-risk children, particularly girls aged ten or older. Children are introduced to the shelter through a fourteen-day stay to ensure they adjust well. The organisation uses partners for counselling and legal assistance. The organisation teaches hospitality skills and job training at a nearby hostel and restaurant the organisation maintained.

The shelter is set up for children who are deemed unable to live safely in their own communities, with victims and at-risk children interacting and living with each other. While the organisation's reach through their family and community outreach programmes is wider, the hostel training centre and shelter house serve approximately 60 clients.

Services thus target vulnerable communities, identify victims and at-risk children, and provide assistance. They encourage empowerment, for example, by sending some clients to a nearby country to share their stories with an organisation. They aim to be comprehensive in their services, helping clients know about their rights, how to save, budget, and spend money, and learn business skills.

The director and his family live onsite and, thus, the director's family is integrated with clients, spending time with clients and eating together, and the director's children play with the children living at the shelter. The director said he sees the children as his own. Children at the shelter attend school, and are encouraged to take responsibility for their own futures through income-generation activities.

The director stated funding was a major challenge for them, though they have received funds from organisations in the USA and the Netherlands, for example, and through individual donors, some of whom are Christian. The organisation did not indicate that religion was part of their programming, and it is typologised here as a Secular NGO.

SNGO 22

SNGO 22 is a local NGO that offers several programmes, including services provided to entertainment workers; they are among the few organisations in Cambodia receiving funds to operate the SMARTgirl programme. In addition, they operate other programmes, including those for male sex workers, and programmes that support children. These include, for example, day care programmes for pre-school children, and a child protection and prevention programme. The programme of interest to this study is the SMARTgirl programme.

An important focus of the SMARTgirl programme is HIV prevention, getting entertainment workers to go for regular health check-ups, and family planning. The programme educates entertainment workers, aged 18-36, working in

karaoke, beer gardens, restaurants, and massage establishments about their rights, the importance of using condoms, and the importance of caring for their health. Peer facilitators and staff conduct trainings with clients, and meet with them individually, facilitating their health check-ups, for example. Education and support—also provided in at least one drop-in centre—is provided to clients. Support groups related to drug use are also offered. The organisation supports nearly 1700 female clients through this programme. Non-formal education programmes in the organisation cross over into the SMARTgirl programme, offering education and vocational training (i.e. sewing, cooking, hair dressing) to interested clients.

The organisation cooperates with owners of businesses to conduct training at the workplace. The organisation works across 73 locations. They work in cooperation with the police to also conduct training to their clients, namely about rights.

The organisation receives funding from an organisation who funnels funding from USAID to them and other organisations offering the SMARTgirl programme. Other donors provide funding for other programmes. The organisation did not indicate that religion was part of their programming, and it is typologised here—in terms of the SMARTgirl programme—as a Secular NGO.

SNGO 23

SNGO 23 is affiliated with a nonprofit organisation in Japan. It provides services to clients aged 15-19-years old who come from backgrounds of poverty, trafficking, domestic violence, or who are orphans.

Their programmes include shelter services for males and females, vocational training that includes sewing, furniture making, as well as other options available through the organisation's partners (i.e. motorbike repair, beauty services). Clients in the shelter can attend public school. Some clients make furniture onsite, which is sold, thus serving as an income generating activity.

Another programme serves children in conflict with the law, where the organisation works with youth in two prisons, providing informal education, vocational training, and other supports. Social workers encourage clients to think about their future and what skills they will need. Clients return to their families two times per year and take an annual trip together.

Clients typically stay onsite for three to four years, though some stay longer or shorter, and some clients stay beyond 19-years old. The organisation supports clients through their first two years of university, and provides them a loan for the following two years, if needed.

Clients are provided psychosocial support and healthcare, as well as educational opportunities. Each client has a bicycle and the freedom to come and go from the site, or have friends visit them onsite. The organisation serves 35 clients in the centre, in addition to other clients. The organisation maintains an alumni club, where former clients return to the centre, giving them an opportunity to speak to, and encourage, current clients. The organisation maintains a sewing room and looms, and they raise silk worms.

They obtain funds from their affiliated organisation in Japan, as well as other supporters, including individual donors. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating.

SNGO 24

SNGO 24 is a local NGO that operates a shelter for children, a restaurant that provides vocational training, and provides support to families in the community, for example, through micro loans, skills training, advocacy, self-help groups, and income generation support.

Vocational training at the restaurant provides skills to ten clients 17-years old or older. Other vocational training includes weaving, sewing, and handicraft production.

Their shelter programme houses approximately 60 children, aged 3-18-years old. Children in the shelter attend public school, and receive counselling and other education, for example, in Khmer, English, and computers, and they learn and participate in cooking. The organisation hosts field trips and celebrates birthdays throughout the year. The organisation provides dance training, and clients perform dance programmes occasionally for special events.

The director stated that she thinks of the children as her own, and the shelter programme is divided into housing units, each having a housemother and housefather. The organisation seeks to help support clients so that, when they are reintegrated with their families, they will be able to help their families through gardening and animal raising. When clients are reintegrated, the organisation

supports the family, for example, by giving them a pig, food, or through providing school fees, if needed. Social workers follow up regularly with the reintegrated clients and families.

The organisation has received funds from various funders, including from organisations in the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and Singapore, as well as from at least two foreign embassies, and UNICEF. It is typologised here as a Secular NGO: Faith Accommodating.

SNGO 25

SNGO 25 is a local NGO, operating several programmes, including community development, and services for children and entertainment workers. Two programmes geared for entertainment workers are the SMARTgirl project (note: this programme is also offered by one other secular NGO in this study, as described in a previous organisational profile), and a business and educational development programme, which had only recently been piloted at the time of interviewing respondents from the organisation.

Their clients range from 18-35 years old, though younger clients may also be served. The business and educational development programme provides basic literacy, communication and educational training to clients, with the aim of providing them further education about how to maintain a small business, such as writing a business plan. The pilot educational and business training programme serves fifty clients. The organisation provides loans to clients to support their small business endeavours. Clients can be part of a savings programme, as well.

The SMARTgirl programme provides outreach, education, and support to entertainment workers, including on HIV/AIDS and STI-related issues, as well as on preventing pregnancy and promoting condom use. The organisation serves more than 1000 clients in the SMARTgirl programme. Clients are met in their places of work—entertainment establishments—and clients are welcome to the drop-in centre. The drop-in centre is a place for clients to relax, receive counselling, education, or sing karaoke with friends.

The organisation provides free condoms, counselling, and facilitates health checks at a health provider, though sometimes blood tests are offered at clients' places of work. Using peer outreach workers is important in working with their

clients. Clients are educated not only on topics related to preventing HIV/AIDS, but also in communication and negotiation techniques to help them stay safe.

In group meetings, clients and leaders play games. Furthermore, the organisation hosts parties, for example, for Women's International Day and World AIDS Day, and has organised at least one large outreach party.

The organisation receives funding from several secular organisations and foundations, including the umbrella organisation that oversees the SMARTgirl programme (which receives funding from USAID). The organisation did not indicate that religion was part of their programming, and it is typologised here—in terms of the programmes working with entertainment workers—as a Secular NGO.