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MANAGERIAL PRACTICE IN FAITH-BASED WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

Abstract

This article deals with the practical, everyday life of managers in two faith-based welfare organizations. The purpose of the article is firstly to compare managerial roles and practice with managerial practice in other relevant organizations, and secondly to discuss how well general theories fit when applied to managers in faith-based welfare organizations. Seemingly, management in practice at these institutions indicates that managing such organizations is quite similar to management in general. Managerial practice is fragmented, consisting of many activities, shift of focus and day-to-day operations. At the same time, issues with a longer perspective and of strategic importance surface in discussions, especially during many planned and more ad-hoc meetings. There are also differences concerning how executive managers address institutional values, which frames professional services in light of the organizations' faith-base. Management should be understood as comprising both of a core responsibility for binding the organization together functionally and in relation to its faith-base, but also of more functional roles analyzed by two central dimensions: internal-external and task-relations.

Keywords: Faith-based welfare institutions, management (leadership), welfare-mix, managerial behavior

Introduction

One way of conceiving differing types of organizations is to consider the purpose by which they were founded (Jeavons 1992). Organizations are founded for a reason or purpose and are carriers of distinct goals, ideals and values. Faith-based welfare organizations mostly have a self-imposed identity based on a religious tradition, separating them from market-based or public organizations. Yet, the task they perform and services they provide might be quite similar to other organizations. Faith-based welfare organizations are organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from a religious tradition, and which operate on a voluntary, non-profit and independent basis to promote articulated ideas about the common good (Askeland 2011: 153). Their core activities are more and more often professional services, based on publicly sanctioned standards. The faith-base of the organization primarily was the rationale for establishing and shaping the mission and identity of the organization. The managers studied manage organizations operating on the interface of the voluntary and public sector. The historic and current role of these organizations in the welfare sector have been described in earlier studies, even if their role in the developing Scandinavian welfare states has been underestimated (Leis-Peters 2014). Less attention has been given to the managerial functions and management practices in these organizations. Still the assumption of distinctiveness is claimed to influence management and managing in these organizations (McMurray et al. 2010: 437). Others have claimed that the differences are fewer than assumed, pointing to such differences as relevant only in application and not in principle (Drucker 1998: 2). Such assumptions should, in my view, be questioned and addressed based on empirical research.

The field of welfare and religion has for some years been emerging in the intersection between research on existing welfare regimes and the study of religious, or FBWO, organizations as significant social agents in civil society (Angell 2007; Bäckström 2011; Leis-Peters 2014; Repstad 2001). The current context is marked by a growing mixed economy and austerity of welfare as public agencies withdraw and increasingly seek cooperation (especially in the Nordic countries) with private actors.

In general, much attention has been given to researching management and the work of managers; partly to understand management as a phenomenon and partly to investigate what constitutes good or effective management. Less attention has been paid to the fundamental task of relating descriptive observations of what managers actually do, to the questions of the way they do it and why they do it (Hales 1999; Mintzberg 1994; Tengblad 2012). This might be of special interest in FBWO's as the faith base is thought to be a factor shaping the role of managers and the exercise of management. Even if management practices in these organizations has been found to be largely similar to management in other welfare organizations, managers also seem to take on a critical role in framing the activities within the faith-tradition through focusing important narratives of this tradition and through articulating identity, values and mission which is informed by the faith-base (Askeland 2014).

This article deals with the practical, everyday life of managers in two faith-based welfare organizations, Diakonhjemmet Hospital in Oslo and Røysumtunet Diaconal Foundation in the municipality of Gran north of Oslo, Norway.[1]

The purpose of the article is firstly to compare managerial roles and practice in faith-based welfare organizations with managerial roles and practice in other relevant organizations, and secondly to discuss how well general theories fit when applied to analyzing and understanding the role and practice of managers in faith-based welfare organizations.

The contribution of the article lies primarily in two aspects: Firstly, it adds insights to a more general tradition in management research, managerial work and practice, by studying managers in faith-based welfare organizations, responding to an articulated need for comparing managers' role and the practice of management in various sectors (Noordegraaf and Stewart 2000: 430). Such a comparison will mainly relate to patterns of managerial behavior. It has been claimed that such an analysis, based on observations, will not sufficiently contribute to understanding the characteristics of management of faith-based organizations. To probe deeper into the nature of management, a combination of methods (observation, interviews and document analysis) is applied in the cases reported. Therefore, and secondly, the article discusses and develops earlier typologies of managerial work based on empirical approaches focusing on managerial roles and behavior. Central contributions are reviewed and developed in accordance with both a theoretical discussion and fit with the empirical material of this study.

Theoretical framework: Managerial work and practice

Management research is a diverse field of study that consists of several traditions. In this article, I build on and extend research traditions that have focused on empirically based studies of managerial work. The early research emphasized two general and broad categories of managerial behavior which have been labeled task-oriented or initiating structure, and relations-oriented or consideration (Vie 2009: 11; Yukl et al. 2002: 15). These categories were documented as distinct dimensions of managerial work in the early Ohio State Leadership Studies (Fleishman 1953) and the Michigan Studies (Likert 1961). These categories has been further utilized in later theory development, and might be of special interest to faith-based welfare organizations in which relating to sharing basic values are important along with relating to the constituencies served.

While classical management theories might be labeled normative as they describe what «effective managers should do,» the managerial work-behavior approach has been more concerned with the descriptive task of exploring what managers actually do or the functions they fulfill in organizations. Chester Barnard articulated an early focus on executive functions by using «the functions of the executive» in the title of his book. He also introduced the dimensions of task and relational orientation by concluding that «the expansion of cooperation and the development of the individual are mutually dependent realities» (Barnard 1938: 296). The classical functions of management were introduced by Fayol in his work on general and industrial management (Fayol 1949), comprising functions such as *planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating and controlling*. Later elaborations and expansion added functions such as *recruiting, reporting and budgeting*.

The main objective of this approach has been to understand the manager's job in order to develop a more relevant and empirically based understanding of management. This article combines an empirically based analysis of what managers do with a theoretical discussion on the functions and roles they play in organizations. Most of this research has been based on observation of managers (Mintzberg 1973), but it has also been supplemented by interviews (Vie 2009). The studies have mainly been analyses at the micro-level; comprising studies of individual managers and where the researcher, through the compilation of behavioral data, seeks to understand managerial work (Noordegraaf and Stewart 2000: 428). This line of research might be labeled positional; managers are defined as those in a formal organizational position who have responsibility for the operations and results of a discrete organizational unit and vested with formal authority over those working in the unit (Hales 1986). They are also responsible for the functioning and results of a whole organization or an identifiable unit (Mintzberg 2009: 12). At the same time, it is proclaimed that what specifically characterizes managerial work is its complexity, anchored in responsibility for the functioning and results of organizations or organizational units.

While many scholars have pointed out crucial singular management factors, others claim that management cannot be viewed as one singular factor: «Managing is not one of these things but all of them: it is controlling and doing and dealing and thinking and leading and deciding and more, not added up but blended together» (Mintzberg 2009: 44). Such complexity points towards management being a contextually based practice that might vary from organization to organization. In addition, managers execute tasks, which are not originally managerial, but their involvement is required in certain situations. A manager's status, contacts and knowledge are particularly useful in special circumstances (Mintzberg 2009: 47). Others have criticized the research for being too occupied with the variations and should rather seek to reveal the common patterns existing across studies enhancing theorizing (Hales 1986). This research interest has led to mostly descriptive analyses, and it has been argued that there is a need to turn to explaining the content of and contribution of management in and for organizations (Hales 1986, 1999; Martinko and Gardner 1985).

The interest in an empirical approach focused on managerial (or leadership) behavior has been broader, including functional perspectives, and can be divided into three subgroups of approaches. The first, and probably most dominant in management literature, is the *factor analysis approach*. This stream of research examines the pattern of covariance among items on a «behavior item questionnaire, «describing managers, and this might be administered both to managers, subordinates and students. This work has created several taxonomies, for example by Gary Yukl and colleagues, resulting in three broad categories: Task behavior, relations behavior and change behavior (Yukl et al. 2002). The second is a *functional deductive approach*, where the researcher tests a-priori-assumptions against the daily activities of managers. An important example is Quinn's (1984; Hart and Quinn 1993) model of competing values. The work of Quinn and several colleagues, originates from a framework for organizational analysis (Quinn and Rohrbaugh 1983). Three dimensions emerged through their analysis, which in turn were used to construct the framework: While two of the dimensions, the internal-external and the stability-change, formed the basic division in a model with four quadrants, the last dimension (concern for ends and concern for means) was used to label the content of four models.

Four middle range models for organizational analysis thus emerged; the Rational goal model, the Open systems model, the Human relations model and the Internal process model (Quinn and Rohrbaugh 1983: 372). These dimensions were interpreted as sets of competing values, representing recognized dilemmas in organizational life. Different managerial roles have been deducted from this framework, two related to each quadrant: *Producer and Director* (rational goal quadrant), *Facilitator and Mentor* (human relations quadrant), *Innovator and Broker* (open systems quadrant), *Coordinator and Monitor* (internal process quadrant). A popularization of this model, Adizes' PAEI-model, has been used in a Norwegian context, analyzing the roles and profiles of manages in both the public and private sector (Strand 1993), but also in church related management (Angell forthcoming; Askeland 1998)[2]. The model of Adizes consists of four managerial roles: Producer, administrator, entrepreneur and integrator. Both these approaches are based on a sociological and functional perspective, leaning heavily to the AGIL scheme developed by Talcott Parsons (Parsons 1956). Thirdly, the *content analysis and classification approach* collects empirical data on work activities of managers, which are then judgmentally classified and described. Examples of researchers in this tradition are Henry Mintzberg (Mintzberg 1973, 1994, 2009) and Fred Luthans and colleagues (Luthans et al. 1985; Luthans et al. 1988). From his observation of managers, Mintzberg registered five main groups of activities: Sessions of office work, telephone conversations, planned meetings, unplanned meetings and rounds in the unit. From analyzing the material, he described ten managerial roles, divided in three main groups of roles: Interpersonal roles, informational roles and decisional roles (Mintzberg 1973). These findings have later been revised, describing how the manager operates at three different levels (informational, actor and action) with increasing involvement in the operations of the organization, while at the same time managing both inside and outside the organization or unit (Mintzberg 1994: 48).

The models emerging from these approaches show considerable overlap, but also distinct differences. One dimension, common to both approaches is the relationship between an internal and an external orientation. Whereas, in the work of Quinn and Rohrbaugh, there is a distinct theoretical link to the organization's ability for long-term survival, Mintzberg, by observation of practice, has developed this dimension as a critical characteristic of the leader's task. The next key dimension is related to stability and change, and is particularly evident in the functional approach of Quinn, but which also seems to be an important dimension of researchers working from the approach of factor analysis (Yukl et al. 2002). The third key dimension, which reflects a long-standing orientation in studies of managerial behavior, is related to the task or relationship orientation. This dimension is particularly evident in the work of Yukl, but also seems to underlie the recent model development of Mintzberg. Especially the work of Mintzberg (2009) has been of importance to this study, with his focus on the daily practice of managers as the basis for developing models of managerial work and roles.

A way of combining the models reviewed, relating closer to the classic dimensions of task- and relations-orientation is applied in recent studies of relevant organizations within the voluntary sector. Schmid argues for a model based on these dimensions in his analysis of human and community service organizations (Schmid 2010). In a recent work, Angell (forthcoming) also argues that religious or faith-based welfare organizations are not satisfactorily captured by the model of Adizes, which seems derived from Quinn and Rohrbaugh. His main argument is that FBWO's do not only face demands on efficiency, but equally meet demands of legitimacy. Their supplementary role, being faith-based in a predominantly public field, cannot be taken for granted (Angell forthcoming). While change and stability might be a better choice in studies at the meso level, where organizations and their functioning and long term survival are focused, tasks and relations might be more suitable studying managerial practice at the micro-level. In the model of Schmid (2010: 199), these two dimensions form four quadrants labeled Task oriented-Internal, Task oriented-External, People oriented-Internal and People oriented-External, while Angell (forthcoming: 20) has developed four roles labeled Administrator, Supplier, Integrator and Bridge-builder. I find this argumentation to be highly relevant in analyzing managerial roles in faith-based welfare organizations. This is due to the utilization of this dimension in earlier work, and to the importance of these organizations relating to both internal and external constituencies. A model based on these dimensions will guide the analysis of data from Diakonhjemmet Hospital and Røysumtunet, and its applicability is discussed at the end of the article.

Of special interest to the study of management in faith-based organizations are the questions of identity and values on the one hand, and the relationship to the context on the other hand (Askeland 2011, 2012; Skjørshammer et al. 2012). The question of values and identity has not enjoyed prominence in management research focusing on managerial practice; neither does it in the contributions reviewed in this article. The exception among those presented earlier is Mintzberg, who underlines the task of strengthening culture as a part of leadership. Although he highlights this task, it is not clearly elaborated (Mintzberg 2009: 68–71). Attention is drawn to the work of Selznick (1957: 27–28) on the task of leaders to work for institutional embodiment of the purpose of the organization, where the institutional leader is concerned with the promotion and protection of values.

Methods and data

The purpose of this article, as stated earlier, has led to the application of a broader range of methods for data gathering than has been usual in the managerial work behaviour approach. Observational studies has mainly contributed to a better understanding of the content of managerial work, and thus been limited to answering what managers actually do. Earlier research has been criticized for being unable to account for why managers do as they do (Hales 1986), and how management is embedded in a larger institutional context (Grey and Willmott 2005). To expand from description to an understanding of the functions and role of managers in and for organizations, data concerning intention of managers and purpose of organizations seems necessary. A combination of methods has therefore been used, consisting of semi-structured observations, interviews, and analysis of both policy documents and previous case-studies in the two organizations. This article analyses and discusses the material obtained by all three methods.

Data collection has been carried out in two Norwegian organizations, Diakonhjemmet Hospital and the Diaconal Foundation Røysumtunet. Both institutions define themselves as diaconal institutions, Diakonhjemmet Hospital is owned by Diakonhjemmet Foundation while Røysumtunet is an independent foundation. In various ways, they operate on contract with either state-owned health enterprises or local municipal agencies. Diakonhjemmet Hospital functions as the local hospital for the Western parts of Oslo and as a national centre for rheumatology. Røysumtunet operates under contract with health enterprises and municipalities within psychiatric care and in the rehabilitation of epileptics, offering long-term care for epileptics. The prerequisites for the choice of institutions were primarily that they defined themselves as diaconal institutions and consisted of several managerial levels.

The study sample consisted of six leaders, three from each institution. In both institutions, the director (CEO) participated, while the rest was purposely selected to represent different leaders at different levels and gender. One of the four was a mid-level leader (department) while three were first-line leaders (ward). Each leader at Diakonhjemmet was observed for one day, during spring 2005, and those at Røysumtunet were observed for two consecutive days during fall 2011 and spring 2012. Whereas certain authors describe the method as «structured observation» (Mintzberg 1971), others use the definition «shadowing» (McDonald 2005). Using this technique, the researcher studies the various activities of the participant by walking around with him or her from the moment they begin their working day until they leave for home.

While providing data closely related to practice and rich in details and dimensions, the participant observation studies reveal some methodological problems. Two main problems mentioned are that researchers have not adequately understood the managers' personal intentions and have therefore only to a small extent been able to investigate *why* managers act the way they do (Hales 1999) and that the actual length of the observation gives few opportunities to explore the long lines of managerial work (Noël 1989). Given the purpose of this article, a main objective has been to supplement the observational material. Firstly, the managers were asked to comment on their activities, in order to understanding intention. Secondly, through interviews, both critical incidents from the observations and other themes were addressed. Interviews took place when the observational data were registered and received for preparation by the informants prior to the interview. This data collection made possible an analysis of why managers acted as they did and how they conceived of their managerial role. Thirdly, relevant documents were gathered and analysed. Such documents consisted of organizational national white papers and policy document, policy documents of the organizations (annual reports, strategic plans etc.), but also of earlier and relevant studies and evaluations conducted in the case-organizations. In this way, analysis of context was made possible.

Observations were registered in a semi-structured form (Askeland 2011; Olofsson 2006). The basic dimensions registered for each activity were; Start time, activity, place of activity, notes on content, participants, initiative, and duration. Additional overlay information was registered in a designated column. The interviews, therefore, were designed to address incidents of and supplement the observational material. Questions additionally covered issues such as personal leadership history, conception of their role as leaders and main responsibilities, relations to the value-base of the institution and patterns of interactions. National welfare policy documents were collected as were institutional policy documents concerning strategy, identity and values. Also earlier studies conducted in the actual institutions were reviewed (Aadland and Skjørshammer 2011; Brottveit 2004; Jacobsen 2005; Sanna and Granerud 2009; Undheim 2009).

The observational data, transcriptions from the interviews and policy documents have formed the empirical basis for analysis. The preliminary analysis consisted of reading through the documents, written data from observations and the transcribed interviews guided by a case study approach. Data from the semi-structured observation were analysed using descriptive statistics. The manager's activities were continuously recorded on the form, and have in different ways created a basis for analysing activity patterns of the different managers (cf. Table 2 and 3). Within single activities, e.g. office work or a meeting, various incidents or which issues were being discussed, have also been recorded. In this way, it has been possible to view a more integrated totality of the activities. A second phase involved a thematically analysis to better understand how the managers conceived their role as managers.

The managers were asked and agreed to participate. The aim of the interview was explained, the recording form explained and an interview guide given to each one.

Table 1: Tasks and descriptors of activities for each functional role

Internal orientation		External orientation	
Task orientation	**Relations orientation**	**Task orientation**	**Relations orientation**
Planning short/long term Design organization/ systems Deeming/Monitoring performance Control quality/standards Rules and procedures Objectives (goals/ results) Budgeting/distributing Accounting Reporting: fiscal Coordinating operations Delegate/authorize Do casework and proceedings Processing paperwork General deskwork	Influencing through talk Leading meetings Motivating Recognizing Advising/coaching, Supporting Dialoguing/convincing, Managing conflict, Socializing/small talk HR – developing/ retaining Managing projects	Monitoring environment (threats and opportunities) Information disseminating Initiating/supporting change and innovation Adapting and developing Profiling/Presenting organization (branding) Attaining provision of public services	Representing Negotiating Linking and networking Conveying Gaining resources Building coalitions Bridging and buffering

Reviewing earlier research and behavioral descriptors used in existing models (Luthans et al. 1988; Mintzberg 1971; Quinn 1984; Yukl et al. 2002) and a preliminary analysis of observational data formed the basis for assessment of previous categories and the process of developing new categories. Based on registration and notes in the observation form, the subsequent analysis was conducted in two phases. Firstly, observed activities were sorted according to the actual dimensions of earlier research. This sorting took into consideration the main tasks and responsibilities articulated during the interviews. Based on this first step, I chose the further analysis to be guided by the dimensions suggested by Schmid (2010) and Angell (forthcoming); one dimension concerning internal and external orientation and one dimension concerning task or relational orientation.

Further constructing of categories has combined descriptors from overlapping categories of the models reviewed with those of Schmid and Angell. Based on the overall picture that emerged, labels and descriptors were attached to main roles (see Table 2). An elaboration of the content of each role is discussed in a later section of the article.

What do managers actually do? Patterns in the observational material

To compare managerial practice in this study with managers of other organizations, the categories developed by Mintzberg (1973) was used. All six managers' working days were somewhat longer than average working hours. During these nine days, 390 various activities were recorded: 241 for the ward managers, 33 for the department leader at Diakonhjemmet and 116 for the directors of the two institutions. Compared to several previous studies, these numbers are not particularly high. The observational data showed that many activities were linked to meetings, conversations and operation of each unit. Even a cursory interpretation of the daily life of six managers at the two institutions, indicates evident parallels to results appearing in other studies. The managers' jobs are hectic and varied, but also include longer periods, particularly caused by participation in meetings. In all observations, many activities were about communication, mostly oral. The managers were involved in conversations of varying lengths with co-workers and fellow managers. In diverse activities, the managers served as central points for the unit, both by direct interaction and by chairing meetings. Additionally they represented their unit in the interaction with fellow managers and superiors. If unforeseen situations occurred, managers were consulted, or became involved in negotiations, monitoring or discussions. Such general descriptions underscore more specific patterns, which have been analyzed by coding the material quantitatively (see Table 3).

Firstly, the analysis partly confirms a generally accepted fact that the daily life of managers consists of many different, short activities. The daily life of managers showed distinctive differences in the pace and volume of activities, which is also reported in earlier studies (Arman et al. 2009; Olofsson 2006). While activities lasting less than nine minutes occupied two thirds of total time, the longer activities occupied half of the time at Røysumtunet. Equivalent findings have appeared in studies of Norwegian hospital managers (Olofsson 2006: 42) and Swedish healthcare managers (Arman et al. 2009). These findings might be due to coincidences or actual challenges of the day, but might also be related to structural factors. Firstly, it may be related to differences in core activities of the institutions. The caring services of Røysumtunet had a longer time frame, in comparison with the more hectic somatic and clinical services at Diakonhjemmet. This seems to fit findings across the LIP-project where the core tasks of an organization do form the work and pace of managers (Aakenes 2013; Rajesan 2013; Sirris 2013; Tveit 2013). It might also leave some discretion with the individual to manage his or her time (Arman et al. 2009: 726).

Regarding allocation of time, data show that the activity occupying most time was planned meetings, followed by office work and unplanned meetings. Compared to previous studies of health managers in Norway and Sweden, these findings indicate both similarities and differences. Planned meetings take the overall largest proportion of time, followed by either unplanned meetings or office work (Arman et al. 2009: 723; Olofsson 2006: 44). These studies also confirm differences between individual managers and especially between those on different levels. Front line managers operate close to production, which is the natural explanation for their extensive interaction with subordinates. Executive managers usually spend more time in meetings.

Table 2: Pattern of time distribution on activities for managers by level and institution, within key dimensions: duration of activity, initiative, location and pattern of interaction-partners. Percent.

	Directors		Middle manager	Ward managers		
	DH	RT	DH	DH	RT(f)	RT(m)
Activity: scope and time						
Number of activities	40	76	33	69	94	78
Share of activities 0–8 min	65	19,1	64	83	27,0	14,3
Share of activities 9–60 min	33	47,2	33	17	49,5	77,6
Share of activities 60 min+	2	33,6	3	0	23,5	8,1
Pattern of activities						
Unplanned meetings	19,2	4,5	19,7	40,9	16,3	13,4
Planned meetings	37,9	46,7	59,6	40,4	43,7	15,5
Telephone conversations	7,5	6,6	2,1	4,1	8,7	3,9
Office work	25,0	33,7	10,8	8,7	20,4	53,5
Inspection	10,4	8,4	7,3	5,9	11,0	13,8
Total						
Total time	412 min	978 min	426 min	460 min	830 min	862 min
Location of activity:						
Own office	64	42,4	30	26	32,3	56,1
Common areas	33	57,6	60	70	41,8	26,3
Other areas or external to unit	3		10	4	25,9	17,7
Share of interaction with other participants						
Subordinates	75	73,4	74	78,2	39,7	42,7
Colleagues	6	0,0	22	14,3	24,2	26,3
Superiors	6	0,0		5, 4	12,8	22,9
Patient(s)		8,7		0,5	12,9	1,9
External/other	12	17,8	4	1,5%	10,3	6,2

As in a Swedish study (Arman et al. 2009), it appeared that most of the manager's interaction and communication was with their own subordinates. Only on a few occasions, they were observed to interact with superiors or external participants. Earlier studies have pointed at such external contacts as more frequent (Kotter 1982; Mintzberg 1971). Such contacts could be related to necessary coordination with external agencies, with collaborating organizations or negotiations solving problems that had arisen. Common for all the managers, was that many of the spontaneous, unplanned conversations took place in areas such as corridors, reception and the staff room. An overall impression from the observations presented above show that these managers' orientation was mostly internal, regarding both interactions and the location of activities. The directors had several external contacts, but also here the main impression was an internal orientation. The operational work of the day also implied a need to consult or inform others, which was also prevalent among the others.

Looking at the time spent communicating we find that it was consistent with other studies in that managers' communications are mostly oral. They spent from 50 to over 80 percent of their time in verbal interaction with others, consisting of meeting, phone calls and short conversations and greetings during rounds of inspection. It was during these conversations that the managers dispersed information, assisted in explanations and decisions and received information about the operation of their unit.

Both directors spent much time in their own offices and this implied working with a wide variety of issues. Some issues, which naturally involved the directors, were issues involving reporting, inquiries and other messages from the units, in addition to several larger, externally oriented issues requiring more time. In this aspect, the ward leaders and department leader had more similar days and tasks; their office work consisted of updating, administrative tasks, brief writing sessions and answering e-mails. The directors of both institutions had several activities that might be related to what has been labeled institutional leadership (Selznick 1957), a finding that also has been reported from a study of general managers in Sweden (Tengblad 2006). Such activities consist of representing and greeting at anniversaries or planning a values-seminar (Diakonhjemmet) and leading a weekly devotion and chairing meetings with external partners on behalf of different units of the organization (Røysumtunet).

Thus, the research design sheds light on short term and day-to-day activities, while the long-term features of the managers' jobs were less obvious. Such an analysis documents the question of what managers do, but do not really grasp the questions of why and how managers do as they do. Those questions need data about the framework forming and guiding managerial work and on the intentions of managers obtained through interviews.

Why do they do as they do? Functions and roles of managers

The second purpose of this article, to address how well general theories fit when applied to the role and practice of managers in faith-based welfare organizations, should stem from a careful in-depth analysis of the observed daily lives of managers.

Three dimensions are important, underlying the typologies reviewed: Internal versus external orientation, orientation towards stability or change and orientation towards task or relations.

The analysis of the observed activities of the six managers shows that they were mainly oriented towards internal matters and relating to internal actors such as their own subordinates. At this point, it seems that Mintzberg (2009) is right in claiming that maintaining the organization seems to be the focus of everyday managerial work. Time spent with co-leaders and own leader mostly appeared in scheduled and unscheduled meetings. Two out of three ward managers also spent some time with patients, approximately 10 percent, both in clinical and general communicative activity. For the directors, about the same amount of time was spent in relation to external actors. Besides meetings and different forms of communication, deskwork in their own offices consumed much time. This point at administrative work, monitoring and coordination of work, which has been reported to be a critical task in managerial work (Arman et al. 2009; Engvik 2013; Hales 2002; Vie 2010). Mintzberg's discard of this as a separate category is thus challenged by empirical observation, even though he indicates that such activities could be integrated in his model through the controlling dimension (Mintzberg 2009: 57). Trying to operationalize and categorize the deskwork, one runs into considerable difficulties using his sub-roles (Mintzberg 2009: 90). It seems therefore preferable to reintroduce a function (or role) of integrating the different activities of an organization in a coherent and consistent way. Such a function has been labelled Administrator by several researchers (Angell forthcoming; Strand 2007), others divide it into the roles of Coordinator and Monitor (Quinn 1984) or the function is just labeled Task oriented-Internal (Schmid 2010).

On the other hand, the lack of an external orientation in the observational material should not necessarily lead to discarding it based on empirical evidence. First, this concerns the short time of observation and uncertainty about the representativeness of those days observation took place. Secondly, time allocation is not necessarily indicative of the importance of activities or functions. It seemed necessary also to take into consideration both a judgmental assessment of those external contacts, and the analysis of the interviews highlighted this issue.

Asked how they understood the main responsibility of the managerial job, there is a noticeable distinction between the views held by the two top-level managers on the one hand, and the middle and first line managers on the other. The directors both clearly mentioned two important common dimensions: An overarching responsibility to hold different units and activities together and to perform according to expectations. This conception was also held by the department manager (mid-level) at Diakonhjemmet, who pointed to his responsibility for the overall results of the department. More importantly, both directors articulated a responsibility to put the faith-based mission on the agenda. One of them, the CEO of Røysumtunet, expressed this concern in a rather distinct way:

> For me to enter this position one requirement was that I should be a consecrated deacon – which has given me professional depth and personal motivation. This is in line with an understanding that this foundation is an integrated part of the work of The Church of Norway.

Also the director at Diakonhjemmet quite explicitly tied his personal understanding of being a top executive to such a personal commitment, even relating this to the term of «ministry» (Askeland 2011: 165). These considerations are quite in line with what has been labelled institutional leadership by Philip Selznick, in which the manager (or rather leader) is concerned with institutional embodiment of purpose through «the promotion of values» (Selznick 1957: 27–28) or as the «management of meaning» (Smircich and Morgan 1982). Besides these concerns of wholeness and values, which were related to the faith-base of the organization, they also mentioned responsibilities that are more functional. The other managers mentioned these functions, to some degree, also.

During the interviews, both the middle manager and the three first line managers gave their account of how they conceived their main responsibilities as managers. While these managers also underlined a general managerial role, they indicated more specified areas of responsibility. By comparing data across the two organizations and managerial level, it seems that the managers of this study point to a general and formal position as manager of the unit. Such a role could be further differentiated into sub-categories such as coordination of operations and economy, personnel, developing and securing professional (clinical) services, and representing own unit (Jørstad 2013). In many ways, the answers indicate a different orientation among top- and mid-level managers compared to first-line managers. This reflects the level of operating and breadth of responsibility of their different positions. Adjusted for level, many of the same functional areas were mentioned (see Table 3). While all managers were concerned with external partners and general developments in the sector, this was a special concern for the directors. First-line managers seemed more focused on external relations in which they had direct contact affecting the functioning of the unit. These findings indicate that the managers had a perception of their management jobs, which resembles the requirements of managerial reforms of the health sector in Norway, emphasizing a unitary management approach (Askeland 2011; Olofsson 2006). Thus, the understanding of management responsibility can relate to contextual framing, since it sets the interpretation frame for the managerial job. None of the managers explicitly mentioned administration, but it seemed implicit in their underlining of monitoring and coordinating operations and also in their economic and fiscal responsibility, which implies monitoring, and reporting. Both the stress that was laid on clinical or professional responsibility along with the economic responsibility, were connected to the organizations being involved in publicly funded welfare services.

Table 3: Conceptualizing the role as manager and sub-categories emerging from statements in interviews, distributed by level of management

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Director (executive manager) of the organization</th><th colspan="2">Manager of organizational units</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Overall responsibility for performance of the organization
Addressing purpose and values of the organization in relation to faith-base
Monitoring and being information broker
Representing organization at inter- and intra-organizational arenas and meetings
Profiling, representing and networking externally</td><td colspan="2">Being in charge of operations and performance
Addressing purpose of and values in work and professional practice
Representing unit at intra-organizational arenas and meetings
Profiling, marketing and networking externally</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="4">Functional areas of directors</th></tr>
<tr><th>Developing services</th><th>Personnel policy</th><th>Coordinating</th><th>Representing externally</th></tr>
<tr><td>Proper services with quality
Adjusting to changing conditions
Developing strategy and services
Clinical supervision and coaching</td><td>Securing competence
Recruitment and personnel policy
Training others as leaders</td><td>Planning and participating in development of strategy
Directing
Information to action
Allocating tasks and resources, budgetary control and reporting</td><td>Figurehead
Representing with stakeholder groups
Networking and giving information
Securing contracts and funding
Negotiating contracts</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="4">Functional areas of first-line managers</th></tr>
<tr><th>Clinical/professional quality and development</th><th>Personnel (HR)</th><th>Coordinating operations</th><th>Representing</th></tr>
<tr><td>Proper services
Relations to patients
Quality
Developing services
Clinical supervision and coaching</td><td>Managing conflict
Follow-up sick leave
Working environment
Modelling action
Recruitment</td><td>Planning and participating in development of strategy
Directing
Work scheduling
Staffing and allocating work
Hiring when understaffed Budget
Fiscal control and reporting
Purchase
Billing</td><td>Contact with relatives
Contact with contracting parties
Stakeholder groups
Collaborating professionals and agencies</td></tr>
</table>

At the same time, this creates a natural frame for further analysis of the correlation between work awareness, experience of the manager's daily life and practical management. Even though these days might be more or less typical, several managers mentioned additional and important issues: Adapting and developing had a longer time horizon and would require processes of their own, case work had to be prepared for executive and board meetings and then implemented, and there would often be some work with linear projects. In addition to these recurring issues, there would always be unpredictable incidents, which require time and attention.

Most of the models reviewed earlier, as most management theories; seem based on research that is especially relevant for market based business organizations. Even if they seem to be of relevance for public (and probably voluntary) organizations experiencing market exposure, Angell argues that an alternative would be to substitute the stability/change dimension with the task/relations dimension (Angell forthcoming: 18). The main argument is connected to the institutional environment experienced by general and faith based welfare organizations. In such environments, legitimacy should be emphasized as much as efficiency (Angell and Wyller 2006). Achieving legitimacy requires the organization to appear and to be recognized as relevant and aligned with societal values and standards. Such a position necessitates a broader understanding of the external orientation of organizational leadership. While Mintzberg explicitly has been criticized for omitting an understanding of the institutional aspects of environments (Willmott 1987), Quinn might be criticized for a too narrow and strategic-instrumental understanding and coining of the external roles of leaders. I suggest that this line of arguing is relevant for understanding the kind of organizations studied here. One argument is their role as suppliers of services on behalf of public agencies, relating to and negotiating for contracts. Many researchers in the field of science of diaconia are also presenting arguments for the mediating role of such organizations (Eurich 2012). This is because of their dual role as mediators of public services towards patients and as mediators on behalf of groups in need toward public policy-makers and agencies. Also Schmid (2010), reporting from community service organizations, underlines the critical relation of interacting with and mediating between the organization and the community. Such an orientation was also clearly articulated in the interview data of this study.

Whereas Quinn and Mintzberg argues for understanding management as a complex set of roles, often intertwined in practical life, Schmid has been more interested in understanding the patterns of management that were most suitable in different organizations. A central finding of this study, the perception of a core overarching responsibility of managers, has been fitted into the model developed (see Figure 1). Indications of such a dimension, as it might be manifested in concrete activities of the daily lives of managers, has been dispersed into the other roles (indicated by the broken line of the circle). Different aspects and functions of managing might as well be seen as blended together rather than distinctly separable (Mintzberg 2009: 44).

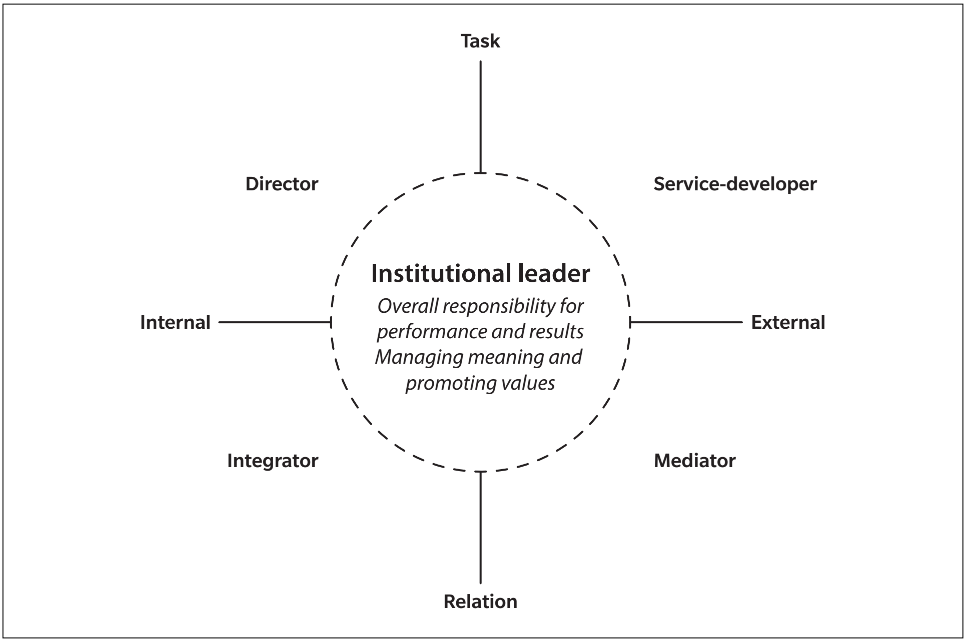

Figure 1: Alternative typology of organizational functions and managerial roles

- *The Institutional leader* represents the overarching responsibility for the performance and results of an organization or organizational unit. At the same time, this also represents the notion of «institutional leadership» in which the management of purpose and meaning and the promotion of values (or faith-base) are central.
- *The Director* combines both functions of initiating structure, developing procedures and monitoring compliance, and also coordinating and planning work processes in order to achieve goals in an efficient manner. Thus, the role has a broader definition than the Administrator-role as used by Angell (forthcoming).
- *The Service-developer* combines the traditional functions of the producer and the innovator. The role is external in its orientation, focusing on how tasks are accomplished by developing strategic services and goals based on monitoring and adjusting to the external environment.
- *The Integrator* is internally and relationally oriented, focusing on functions necessary to bind the system together as a functioning whole. Such functions are related to motivating employees, developing and empowering them as competent actors, consulting with them and guiding them into an integrated team.
- *The Mediator* is externally oriented and has an orientation towards building, maintaining and developing external relations. The more instrumental, and efficiency oriented, aspect of the leader's responsibility is downplayed while provision of legitimacy is given priority. Mediator functions include forming of alliances and also balancing and buffering of external pressure.

Analyzing the data, guided by these dimensions, indicates that the main role profiles are related to the internal roles of the Director and the Integrator. This is consistent with findings from several of the studies undertaken in the LIP-project, that show a main orientation towards internal issues such as taking care of and organizing the operations of the institution as well as functioning as leader of the working team. Only to a minor degree are they oriented toward the environments, and these functions are primarily performed by the directors of the institutions. This supports the argument of Mintzberg (2009) that managerial work behavior is mainly oriented towards maintenance of the organization or unit. On the other hand, the amount of time spent on external relations does not necessarily express the relative importance of such tasks and functions. Two additional factors may explain why these functions are given less attention. First, the managers were observed for only a day or two. External orientation, especially a more strategic innovative or adaptive development of services, is probably linked to the process of developing strategic plans. Such processes are mostly performed on an annual basis based on monitoring of long-term developments, or in connection with more abrupt changes in policies or incidents. As the data indicates, one of the ward managers spent 6,2 percent of his time on the Service-developer role. The activities in this category were coded for the preparation of an external meeting to present and represent Røysumtunet as a strategic alliance partner and service provider. Emphasis was put on institutional leadership, especially by the directors, underlining both a holistic responsibility but also on articulating the faith-base and diaconal identity of the institution.

Conclusions

On the surface, management in practice at Diakonhjemmet Hospital and Røysumtunet indicates that managing diaconal, vocational based organizations on a daily basis, is largely quite similar to management in other organizations. Much time is spent on the operation of the enterprise, both at meetings and not the least in extensive interaction and conversation with the employees. At the same time, issues with a longer perspective are discussed, especially in meetings.

There were distinct differences among the managers studied, especially the directors of the institutions differed from the others. First, the accounts of their roles incorporated what might be called institutional leadership. As managers of the organization, they pointed clearly at a responsibility for keeping the organization together and making different units work in the same direction. Such an orientation also included representing the organization in relation to external partners and the wider community. These findings are consistent with findings reported for managers in other sectors (Tengblad 2006). To understand the management of faith-based welfare organizations, yet another finding is of importance. The diaconal profile was particularly an important topic in the directors' conception of their role and partly in their practice. At Diakonhjemmet, such orientation was observed in the suggestion of a long-term project about values in practice in the actual planning of a management workshop in the fall. At

Røysumtunet the director led a devotional gathering and also raised the question of values in revising the personnel regulations of the institution (Askeland 2013). The focus on diaconal identity and agenda were even more readily apparent when studying the institutions' plans and through analyzing the interviews.

This indicates that the research method mostly used in the MWB-tradition, namely observation, is faced with challenges. Data from the observational material, especially when limited to one or two days, tends to illuminate the short horizon of the day-to-day manager's life: Operational management and leadership. The manager's long-term agenda, links to ideology and basic values etc., would probably require longer periods of observation to be dealt with satisfactorily. These shortcomings were limited by triangulation of methods, including field notes, interviews and document analysis.

The profile of managers of faith-based welfare organizations can constructively be analyzed by the alternative categorization of managerial roles suggested in this article. The new model combines crucial dimensions of models developed by Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983) and by Mintzberg (2009). Studying managerial behavior at the micro-level benefits from using a dimension including orientation towards tasks (or structure) and relations (or consideration). Such a model is supported by the analysis of deacons of the Church of Norway (Angell forthcoming) and of human and community service organizations (Schmid 2010). Developing such a model tends to highlight the relational aspects of external orientation, through the building of alliances and cooperation with external stakeholders and collaborates. One further development of the model might be to incorporate the holistic responsibility of the leaders and managers to keep the different parts of organization together, to align resources for unified direction, to maintain the functions of institutional leadership that contribute to «infusing the organization with values» and to represent the «management of meaning».

I further argue that it is reasonable to state that leading at different organizational levels creates several characteristic differences in day-to-day management. This is apparent in the number of activities, where the directors and the department leader had fewer activities, but longer meetings. Because they are closer to «production», the ward leaders have significantly more frequent contact with subordinates and are involved in minor and major decisions, both vocational and administrative. Everyone gets involved in random occurrences whether by brief discussions, decisions, or by an actual attendance.

Observational studies produce a great deal of material, which after coding helps to illuminate the patterns of management in practice. Close-up studies of managers and management in context provide opportunities to see both common patterns and individual variations, due to context and to the individual. For example, one may see common patterns relate to conversations and meetings. The more individual profiles, which is also evident in the material, would probably require an even closer analysis of categories of activities such as for example meetings, relational and communicative style and how decisions are made. Also, the proposed model need to be tested more thoroughly trough coding of activities according to the descriptors suggested. This study has aimed at providing a relevant analysis of actual management practice and the opportunity to develop categories that link management to functions in and for the organization.

Notes

1 This article reports from a study, which is part of an ongoing research project: Leadership in practice (LIP) at Diakonhjemmet University College. Several case studies has been undertaken, within the master degree program in value based leadership, resulting in both master theses (Olofsson 2006; Aasen 2006; Gunnarson 2009; Sirris 2013; Aakenes 2013; Tveit 2013; Rajesan 2013; Engvik 2013; Riber 2014), book chapters (Askeland 2012) and articles (Askeland 2011, 2014; Sirris 2014).

2 I am grateful to the author, O. H. Angell, for the access to this unpublished article, allowing for quoting and discussing central aspects of theory development.

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Several recent policies encourage the involvement of faithâ€based organizations (FBOs) in the delivery of social services to the poor. Relying on data from Indianaâ€™s randomized welfare reform experi...Â In general, results suggest that the most disadvantaged welfare recipients are more likely to receive assistance from FBOs than from NROs; however, welfare reform has inconsistent effects on the receipt of social services from these organizations. Results also suggest that FBOs are significantly more likely than NROs to have tightened service eligibility criteria. Faith-Based Organizations has been added to your Cart. Add to Cart. Buy Now.Â â€œRaising the core question, â€˜what would happen to welfare services in Europe if faith-based organizations ceased to exist,â€™ this book provides insight on a new approach to theoretical understanding of faith-based organizations in contemporary European society, grounded on empirical solid information. Lately, Faith Based Organisations too have come under greater scrutiny (Hall, 2002). This has been as a result of greater funding by governments and international agencies, coupled with a number of scandals in FBOs such as cases of abuse among Tele-evangelists and allegations of abuse in the Roman Catholic Church (ibid).Â Based Organisations in Uganda in order to develop a framework for corporate governance best practice in Faith Based Organisations in Uganda .