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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Tradition and organizational identity in religious entrepreneurship

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ABSTRACT

Religious entrepreneurial organizations face a distinctive dialectical tension as they negotiate between honouring and preserving their religious traditions while responding to entrepreneurial imperatives. Yet, our understanding of how these tensions impact organizational identity negotiation in such organizations remains limited. Drawing on qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews with a religious entrepreneurial organization, wholly owned by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), and supplemented with focus groups consisting of co-religionists, we examine organizational identity dynamics. We demonstrate how tradition functions as an 'enabling constraint' that simultaneously limits and facilitates organizational identity negotiation. Our study offers two main contributions. First, it suggests that the concept of traditions, as we use it, presents a more plausible and dynamic view of how macro-level traditions influence and are influenced by organizations. Tradition-oriented organizations are not passive recipients of inherited beliefs and values; they can actively participate in the evolution and development of traditions. Second, our study demonstrates that traditions shape organizational identity elasticity through the three pillars of endurance, centrality and distinctiveness.

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Introduction

In the religious entrepreneurship subfield of research – which is dedicated to the examination of the processes of 'discovery, enactment, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities to create future goods and services motivated by the cultural and ideological beliefs, practices, and/or outcomes rooted in religious faith' (B. Smith, Aslan Gümüsay, and Townsend 2023, 3) – the study of 'tradition' in religious entrepreneurship – 'patterns of belief, customs, and symbolic practices that are transmitted from generation to generation' (Suddaby and Jaskiewicz 2020, 235) – should be centre place, but is surprisingly under-theorized. Religious entrepreneurial organizations operate at an intersection where religious traditions come into close contact with entrepreneurial and market imperatives, and tensions can become widespread, none more so than in organizational identity negotiation (Delichte et al. 2024; B. R. Smith, McMullen, and Cardon 2021).

Unlike secular businesses, extant literature has revealed that religious entrepreneurial organizations confront a distinctive dialectical tension between religious and market logics (Delichte et al. 2024; Gümüsay, Smets, and Morris 2020; B. R. Smith, McMullen, and Cardon 2021), and such

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paradoxical tensions become particularly salient when religious organizations adopt entrepreneurial orientations that challenge or contradict established interpretations of their religious tradition (van Werven 2024). Under these circumstances, religious organizations may seek hybridity and elasticity to resolve paradoxical tensions in their identities (Gümüsay, Smets, and Morris 2020).

Traditions, and in particular religious traditions, are highly idiosyncratic. Different traditions embody different forms and standards of moral reasoning, drawing upon diverse moral and intellectual resources. Thus, a 'tradition' lens promises to offer deeper insights into the religious entrepreneurship subfield. This is important as extant research has typically foregrounded the influence of Christianity (Kreiner et al. 2015) or treated religion as a monovalent phenomenon (M. T. Dacin, Dacin, and Kent 2019). Through a tradition lens, there are opportunities to explore more nuanced scholarship in religious entrepreneurship by examining different religious traditions or sub-traditions. Paradigmatic examples of traditions include significant religious movements, such as Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, though political movements like Liberalism and Marxism can also be regarded as traditions (MacIntyre 1988)

A Burkean view (Burke 2003) understands traditions as an inheritance passed on through generations, a conception implicit in the work of M. T. Dacin, Dacin, and Kent (2019, 32), who define traditions as '*consciously transmitted* beliefs and practices expressing identification with a shared past' [emphasis added]. In the entrepreneurship and family business literatures, tradition is equally seen as a possible constraint on economic outcomes (De Massis et al. 2016; Eze et al. 2021), indicating that some traditional firms are sometimes burdened by their own history and slow to change and adapt. However, we present an alternative view of tradition and re-centre managerial and organizational agency to argue that traditions are more amenable to change and adaptation than they initially appear. We draw on the work of moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre to develop this perspective. For MacIntyre, the conception of tradition is 'an historically extended, socially embodied argument, and an argument precisely in part about the goods which constitute that tradition' (MacIntyre 2007, 222). While MacIntyre acknowledges that traditions are intangible structures that necessarily shape or govern any particular context (221), and thus are, in an important sense, a constraint. MacIntyre also suggests that they cannot persist without the agency of individuals, since traditions depend on confronting and solving problems encountered in the present (Burton et al. 2025; MacIntyre 1988). Traditions invite us to figure out a way forward 'in a way which exhibits some fundamental continuity' with the past (MacIntyre 1988, 362). In this sense, the fundamental continuity that MacIntyre describes seeks to unite the narratives of the past, present, and future.

We are not alone in our view that tradition should be recentered in religious entrepreneurship. Religions are clearly examples of arguments extended through time. For example, Suddaby and Jaskiewicz (2020, 235) illuminated an agentic view of traditions that are 'interpreted and reinterpreted by successive generations in an evermoving present' and both Suddaby et al. (2023) and Burton et al. (2025) explored the Quaker tradition and inter-generational dynamics in long-established Quaker-origin firms, Cadbury's and Rathbones. By drawing upon the work of MacIntyre, our paper further builds upon this foundation. To build upon extant research in the Quaker tradition, we were intrigued to study a case of contemporary Quaker entrepreneurship through an in-depth study of an entrepreneurial organization wholly owned by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in the UK, which is undergoing reflection on its strategy and organizational identity. This provided a unique opportunity to explore the role of the Quaker tradition in the process of such reflection. The fundamental debate occurring within the organization and among stakeholders concerns the degree of affinity or disaffinity between the moral and intellectual standards of the Quaker tradition and the organization's strategy and identity. We were thus interested in an exploratory research question: *How are identity tensions negotiated in a religious entrepreneurial business?*

Our theoretical contribution is twofold. First, by studying the influence of a religious macro-level tradition (e.g. Quakerism) on a relatively new entrepreneurial venture, we reveal how macro-level

religious traditions and organizational traditions interact, resulting in emerging disaffinities between macro-level and organizational traditions over time. We suggest that traditions are intangible structures that anchor and enable debates and argumentation about new directions in organizations, none more so than in organizational identity dynamics. Clearly, a commitment to the precepts of a particular tradition clearly rules out commitments and potential identities that contradict those precepts and prevents an organization from 'doing anything'. At the same time, we find that traditions serve as empowering resources that provide agency for the exploration of new directions and identities, processes through which traditions themselves can evolve and be transformed. Our second contribution further extends the literature on organizational identity, and through our case, we illustrate how the anchoring and enabling properties of traditions influence the process of identity negotiation, where traditions, and the dialectic and argumentative processes they house, shape the organizational identity elasticity through the three identity pillars of endurance, centrality, and distinctiveness.

Our study is structured as follows: we examine the existing literature on organizational identity and elasticity, and then provide a summary of the explanatory potential of tradition in these dynamics. We then highlight the minimal overlap between these two debates. We go on to introduce the Quaker tradition, its theology, and normative commitments, before elucidating our case, methods, and findings. Finally, we discuss our two theoretical contributions and offer concluding remarks.

Literature

Traditions

When we think of traditions, the examples that spring immediately to mind are macro-level traditions. Many paradigmatic examples are of significant religious movements, such as Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. However, political movements like Liberalism and Marxism can also be regarded as traditions, reflecting their embeddedness across various institutional contexts. There are also meso-level traditions at the organizational level (Burton et al. 2025; Suddaby et al. 2023). For example, organizational and family traditions (Taraday 2013) have been noted to constrain entrepreneurship and innovation (De Massis et al. 2016; Eze et al. 2021), explaining why traditional firms are sometimes burdened by their own story and slow to change. However, we present an alternative view and argue that traditions are more amenable to change than they first appear. Moreover, we assert that macro-level (religion) and meso-level (organizational) traditions intersect and interact, and managerial agency can be exercised to vary the degrees of affinity and disaffinity between macro- and meso-level traditions across time and space. This, in turn, has important implications for organizational phenomena, none more so than in organizational identity negotiation.

To counter the notion that traditions are structurally resistant to change, we draw on the work of moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre. Unlike many extant accounts of tradition, the MacIntyrean conception of tradition, defined as 'an historically extended, socially embodied argument, and an argument precisely in part about the goods which constitute that tradition' (MacIntyre 2007, 222), is the basic definition that informs our later discussion. It enables us to cut across macro- and meso-levels to lay out a foundation for how religious traditions interact and intersect with organizational phenomena, such as organizational identity negotiation. It also illuminates the importance of tradition-contextual argumentation in organizational identity negotiation, a perspective currently absent from the extant literature.

For MacIntyre (2007, 222), 'when a tradition is in good order it is always partially constituted by an argument about the goods the pursuit of which gives to that tradition its particular point and purpose'. What this suggests is that, while traditions necessarily provide structure, they do so in virtue of the agency of individuals. As a result, traditions remain 'in good order' as a result of their own intellectual resources as well as through the activity of their adherents, who embody and thus

give life to traditions. Traditions in this sense are 'living'. Traditions invite us to figure out a way forward 'in a way which exhibits some fundamental continuity' with the past (MacIntyre 1988, 362).

The history of a tradition, i.e. the story that we might tell about how a particular tradition has developed, will inevitably focus on explicit disagreements and developments. However, for the most part, traditions often exist as unarticulated presuppositions which are never themselves the object of attention and enquiry. Indeed, , generally, only when traditions either fail, disintegrate or are challenged do their adherents become aware of them and begin to theorize about them" (MacIntyre 1988, 7–8). These challenging periods, which MacIntyre terms 'epistemological crises' (1988, 361), can emerge from within or without a tradition, and occur when fundamental commitments are put into question and become a source of disagreement within the relevant community.

While there have been some applications of MacIntyre's theory of traditions within the business and management literature – Wightman, Potts, and Beadle (2023) appeal to the concept of tradition as a way of framing their central concern with the notion of 'calling', Jeong et al. (2024) draw on the concept tradition in their account of Amish business ethics – it remains relatively underexplored given MacIntyre's broader influence within the field of business ethics (Ferrero and Sison 2014).

Organizational identity

Organizational identity, as originally conceptualized by Albert and Whetten (1985), comprises those features of an organization that members perceive as central to its character, distinctive from other organizations, and temporally enduring. These three foundational dimensions (centrality, distinctiveness, and endurance) have provided the analytical framework for understanding organizational identity dynamics (Gioia et al. 2013; Kreiner et al. 2015; Ravasi and Schultz 2006). From Albert and Whetten's perspective, identity was perceived as fixed and unchanging, with members' efforts focused upon preserving identity through cultural markers, such as artefacts and policies or procedures (Ernst and Schleiter 2021). Pratt and Foreman (2000) extended this 'endurance' perspective by offering a range of management strategies to maintain the endurance of organizational identities when dealing with multiple identity claims: these identities might be compartmentalized, aggregated, integrated, or selectively deleted to preserve the enduring core.

More recently, however, research has favoured an organizational identity change perspective (e.g. Ashforth and Mael 2024; Gioia and Hamilton 2016; Gioia et al. 2013), revealing the significance of discursive practices to control meaning construction (Reynaud and Rouleau 2020). This scholarship demonstrates how organizations actively manage identity endurance, not through preservation alone, but through rhetorical history; strategically employing 'structural omission' (Anteby and Molnár 2012) to repeatedly forget potentially contradictory aspects of the organization's past, thereby maintaining the present identity and managing stakeholders (Suddaby, Foster, and Trank 2016).

Whether preserved through structural omission or actively managed through aggregation and integration strategies, organizational identity guides strategic direction (e.g. J. Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Lang 2025; Ravasi and Phillips 2011; Ravasi, Tripsas, and Langley 2020), creating a shared understanding of 'Who are we as an organization?', acting as a form of social identity (J. E. Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail 1994; Pratt 2000; Tajfel and Turner 1979). It offers members a system of beliefs and norms based on the accepted rules and resources of the social group (M. T. Dacin, Dacin, and Kent 2019; Ernst and Jensen Schleiter 2021; Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Nylenna 2024) that guide their values, behaviour, and actions, and give meaning to their experiences, fulfilling their aspired identity (e.g. Gioia et al. 2013). This offers a sense of collective belonging, ensuring that members continue to enact the organizational identity and maintain its continuity (e.g. Albert and Whetten 1985; Cloutier and Ravasi 2019).

Within the religious entrepreneurship literature, 'Who are we as an organization?' is typically reflective of the religiosity of the entrepreneur (e.g. Fisher, Kotha, and Lahiri 2016; Giacomin et al. 2023; B. Smith, Aslan Gümüsay, and Townsend 2023; B. R. Smith, McMullen, and Cardon 2021). The integration of religion into organizational identities can offer benefits and form unique and enduring

values, thus influencing organizational behaviour, decision-making (Barbosa and Smith 2023; B. Smith, Aslan Gümüsay, and Townsend 2023), and strategic decisions (Abdelgawad and Zahra 2019). In contrast, the endurance of a religious organizational identity can be called into question as/when the religious entrepreneur retires, dies, exits the organization, or through succession when the venture expands by bringing in new management from outside the founders' religious tradition (Burton, Vu, and Cruz 2022).

Indeed, the perspective of identity as an enduring characteristic of what an organization *'is'* has seen significant refinement over recent years. Many scholars have recognized that the endurability of organizational identity is not absolute. While some core aspects may endure, identities are dynamic and fluid and under continuous active revision. In contrast to the enduring narrative, it is thus understood as an ongoing and emergent process (Oliver and Vough 2019; Schultz et al. 2012; Tracey and Phillips 2016), being constantly constructed and reconstructed through an ongoing process of meaning-making and adaptation among stakeholders in response to changing internal and external factors (Brown and Humphreys 2006; Cloutier and Ravasi 2019; Kreiner et al. 2015; Schultz and Hernes 2013; Snihur 2016). Such re/construction processes occur through the everyday cognitive, discursive, and social practices; through the organizational identity-work (Kreiner et al. 2015) of its leaders and members (Fachin and Langley 2024; Pratt 2012); and this organizational identity-work is, in turn, intensified during periods of (perceived) change (e.g. Sheep et al. 2023) as efforts are made to resolve the inherent dialectical tensions that emerge. Assuming this dynamism, or 'adaptive instability' (Gioia, Schultz, and Corley 2000), enables organizations to maintain stable-appearing labels, encouraging members to feel aligned with the organization's evolving values and activities (e.g. Ernst and Schleiter 2021), while reinterpreting their meanings to remain relevant and responsive to changes (Cloutier and Ravasi 2019; Ravasi, Tripsas, and Langley 2020). On this understanding, organizational identity is socially (re)constructed temporally, and often in contrasting ways by different internal stakeholders.[1] Organizational identities are therefore rarely singular; rather, organizations have 'many selves' (Pratt and Foreman 2000, 18). These 'selves' may be held in accord or in tension with each other through ongoing identity debate/s (Howard-Grenville, Metzger, and Meyer 2013; see also M. T. Dacin, Dacin, and Kent 2019; Schinoff, Rogers, and Corley 2016).

Identity tensions can act as a barrier to reinterpretation efforts (e.g. Cloutier and Ravasi 2019), potentially endangering an organization's pursuit of opportunities that threaten the established organizational identity (Tripsas 2009). However, related literature has examined how these identity tensions are productively negotiated and the contradictions that arise in this dialectic. For some authors, organizational identity-work in the face of potential narrative disunity is towards a form of hybridization through which members will prioritize and reinforce the most salient identity, in efforts to secure an integrative and coherent organizational identity (e.g. Gioia, Schultz, and Corley 2000; Jain, George, and Maltarich 2009; B. R. Smith et al. 2022). By contrast, others consider identity-work to allow for, and perhaps accept, identity incoherence (Sheep et al. 2023) or inconsistency. Rather than needing consistency, identity elasticity acknowledges that an organization's multiple selves may conflict, yet still maintain a sense of organizational unity and connection. Elasticity supports fluidity, adaptability, and stretch in the more peripheral aspects of the organizational identity, while 'holding together' the core social constructions of the identity (Kreiner et al. 2015, 981). An inelastic organizational identity characterizes organizations where distinctive, enduring core elements tightly bind their activities. By contrast, elasticity suggests that 'who we are' might be only loosely coupled with 'our' activities. A need for elasticity might be pertinent, for example, where dominant actors control the overall organizational identity, while others strive to continue to shape it, perhaps in efforts to sustain the organization's long-term future (e.g. Brinkerink et al. 2020).

Through these organizational identity-work processes, 'mediatory myths' (Pratt and Foreman 2000, 33; also; Scheid-Cook 1988), or 'congruent justifications' (Jain, George, and Maltarich 2009), embedded in the cultural norms and historical context of the organization, are used to mediate these tensions in efforts to engender the support of all members. In this way, a sense of organizational identity endurance can be balanced with identity change. These narrative devices serve as

interpretive frameworks that enable organizational members to navigate contradictions between multiple identity claims while maintaining a semblance of coherence in their collective self-understanding (Kreiner et al. 2015; Sheep et al. 2023). These examinations of organizational tensions and identity-work might, though, *prima facie*, suggest that organizational members have full agency in the process of organizational identity re/formation. Yet organizational identity, and the 'work' that can be done on it, is in fact a dynamic, ever-moving, compromise between the discursive and social practices of members and the contextual structures, norms, and power dynamics that arise.

Given the potential affinities between how macro-level traditions, and in particular religious traditions, shape organizations and, correspondingly, how organizations negotiate identity, we now introduce the Quaker tradition, before turning to our case organization.

Quaker tradition in the United Kingdom

In theological terms, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) tends not to worship a defined deity, widely reject the sacred/secular binary, and have no priesthood or other formalized hierarchy (Muers and Burton 2019). Quakers are known to sit in silence, awaiting the call of God (Muers 2015). Quaker theology is diverse and fluid, with a central idea of the 'Light Within' implanted by God in every person and a readiness to answer that of God in another (Collins and Dandelion 2014). While Quakerism has Christian roots, Quakers give primacy to lived experience rather than creed or scripture. For Quakers, knowing truth and living truth are inseparable, and claims to knowledge derive from personal and collective lived experience rather than doctrinal authority. These narratives are codified in 'Quaker Faith and Practice (QF&P)' and its companion text, 'Advices and Queries' (A&Q), and together represent the 'tradition' of Quakerism (Quakers in Britain 2009). Crucially, these texts do not prescribe fixed doctrinal positions but pose questions inviting ongoing reflection and discernment, and are themselves regularly revised through collective deliberation. George Fox's foundational 1656 injunction captures this integration of faith and conduct: 'be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come, that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one' (QF&P 19.32). This call positions all spheres of life, including organizational conduct, as forms of witness. In the Quaker tradition, collective lived experience is periodically storied as a series of 'testimonies' – a set of inscribed personal narratives that have come to exemplify the tradition's epistemic standards of peace, truth, integrity, simplicity, and equality (Muers and Burton 2019). For example, Advices and Queries asks: 'Be aware of the spirit of God at work in the ordinary activities and experience of your daily life. Spiritual learning continues throughout life, and often in unexpected ways. There is inspiration to be found all around us, in the natural world, in the sciences and arts, in our work and friendships, in our sorrows as well as in our joys. Are you open to new light, from whatever source it may come? Do you approach new ideas with discernment?' (A&Q 7). This openness to emerging concerns, balanced by communal discernment, enables the tradition to evolve while maintaining coherence.

The Quaker tradition emphasizes unity (Burton and Sinnicks 2022) and the equality of all contributions. While there is a great degree of plurality in Quaker thought (Dandelion 2008), there is also a behavioural creed (Dandelion 2004) that emphasizes discernment, of reaching a shared and collective unity of the way forward (Burton 2017; Miller 2020; Muers and Burton 2019). Discernment fundamentally shapes their approach to negotiating disagreements and tensions, as well as finding new pathways forward. For example, Advices and Queries states: 'Are your meetings for church affairs held in a spirit of worship and in dependence on the guidance of God? Remember that we do not seek a majority decision nor even consensus. As we wait patiently for divine guidance our experience is that the right way will open and we shall be led into unity'. (A&Q 14). The emphasis on unity does not demand uniformity of thought but rather cultivates a pluralistic space where diverse perspectives contribute to a shared understanding that transcends individual preferences yet authentically represents the collective and practical wisdom of the community.

Contemporary Quaker engagement with sustainability illustrates how this tradition shapes organizational conduct. Care for creation emerges not as adoption of external frameworks but from longstanding Quaker commitments to stewardship. Advices and Queries articulates: 'We do not own the world, and its riches are not ours to dispose of at will. Show a loving consideration for all creatures, and seek to maintain the beauty and variety of the world. Work to ensure that our increasing power over nature is used responsibly, with reverence for life. Rejoice in the splendour of God's continuing creation'. (A&Q 42). Similarly, Quakers are called to 'live adventurously': 'When choices arise, do you take the way that offers the fullest opportunity for the use of your gifts in the service of God and the community? Let your life speak. When decisions have to be made, are you ready to join with others in seeking clearness, asking for God's guidance and offering counsel to one another?' (A&Q 27). The exhortation to 'let your life speak' emphasizes that commitments must be lived rather than merely proclaimed.

Throughout the last 400 years in the United Kingdom, 'meetings' have been the way in which Quakers discern 'right action' (Muers 2015). Meetings are, in some ways, like the church service, but in meetings Quakers gather in silence and some are led to minister if they feel led to do so. However, identifying as a 'Quaker' is a complex idea. Many Quakers attend meeting and regular attendees at a local meeting are known as 'attenders'. About two-thirds of attenders of meetings are also registered members of British Yearly Meeting (BYM) and are known to be 'in membership' and able to serve on its various committees and decision-making bodies.

Each Quaker community (town/city) holds a weekly local meeting (c 500 in the UK) which tends to be followed by a weekly business meeting where local church affairs are tended to and decisions discerned. In turn, a cluster of local meetings in a region is known as an 'Area Meeting', and there are 50 such area meetings that typically meet monthly, similarly followed by an Area business meeting. Each area meeting sends representatives to Britain Yearly Meeting (BYM), the national decision-making body of the Church, which meets yearly in May. BYM, in turn, has a number of committees that meet regularly throughout the year to conduct the regular business of the society. It is through these meetings at the local, area, and national level that Quaker priorities are set and through which the future direction of the Quaker tradition is debated and discerned.

While local and area meetings typically determine actions at an operational and more local level, the national meeting is more concerned with strategic priorities and safeguarding the past, present and future of the tradition. The strategic priorities set often relate to political and advocacy causes such as peacebuilding, humanitarian work, and international aid. BYM also regularly discerns the church's position on new areas of concern, such as the church's approach to sustainability and climate change. These debates over strategic priorities can sometimes yield radical and surprising outcomes. For example, Robson's account of the decision in 2009 to approve the solemnization of marriages for same-sex couples (before this was legal in the UK) highlights the rapid movement from controversy and uncertainty to clear approval, and a step more decisive and radical than the church had expected at the time (Robson 2013, 169–188).

Finally, every decade or so BYM reflects upon the constitutive elements of 'Quaker Faith and Practice' (QF&P) to ensure that the narratives represent contemporary understandings of the tradition and that the tradition is in good order. As such, the Quaker tradition is an example of a tradition as 'an historically extended, socially embodied argument, and an argument precisely in part about the goods which constitute that tradition' (MacIntyre 2007, 222).

Methods

The case

While Quaker enterprises continue to feature regularly in entrepreneurship, family business, and business history journals (Bruton and Sheng 2023; Burton et al. 2025; Suddaby et al. 2023; Wong et al. 2024), few Quaker businesses are currently trading in Britain, despite a long history in commerce

spanning nearly 300 years (Burton, Kavanagh, and Brigham 2019). Our study thus represents an unusual case: an exploration of one of the few trading and flourishing Quaker enterprises in the United Kingdom. The case organization is a company constituted as a limited company by guarantee and the wholly owned trading arm of BYM, the governing body of the Quakers. The Board of Directors (hereinafter 'BOD') are all in membership of BYM. This structural configuration establishes a distinctive dynamic wherein board members occupy multiple roles simultaneously, functioning as both organizational decision-makers and Quakers (co-religionists). While the broader population of co-religionists who are 'in membership' have no formal role in the organization (about 10,000 in the UK), they do so indirectly as members of BYM which, in turn, is the sole shareholder of the organization.

The company, founded in 2007, has diverse business interests in hospitality and retail (i.e. café, restaurant, bookshop), business conferencing facilities, and a small hotel. It generates approximately £2.7 m in turnover (as of 2023) and produces a yearly surplus of about £220,000, which it donates to BYM to fulfil its charitable purposes. Rooted in a long Quaker tradition of entrepreneurial ventures, the organization demonstrates an entrepreneurial spirit in various ways, including establishing ambitious sustainability goals (carbon negative goals, zero waste, compostable packaging, etc.), implementing strict ethical procurement policies to align with Quaker values, and achieving multiple awards, including the 'Green Tourism' gold award. It is also pursuing certification as a B-corporation and has received many accolades for being one of London's most ethical venues. The organization is faced with a challenge, however. In the United Kingdom, Quaker members are both ageing and falling in numbers. This reduces the donations BYM receives from members through gifts, wills, and the like. The case organization is tasked with increasing its revenues and profits which it donates to BYM, allowing BYM to continue the breadth of its charitable work.

The company was recruited after the CEO of the company approached the second author (a Quaker) to engage in a 12-month consultancy project aimed at accelerating its sustainability ambitions, with the goal of becoming 'carbon negative' by 2029. The organization explained to us that it wished to consider 1) how to put the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the heart of its strategy process, (2) how to develop ambitious performance measures and outcomes related to its priority SDG areas; and, intriguingly to us, (3) how to narrate its work in ways that co-religionists (hereinafter COR) would recognize as distinctively 'Quaker'. The company's effort to embed sustainability into its core strategy while maintaining its religious identity demonstrates 'organizational rejuvenation' where a firm 'seeks to sustain or improve its competitive standing by altering its internal processes, structures, and/or capabilities' (Kuratko and Audretsch 2009, 9).

The consultancy project ran for four co-produced cycles, each cycle culminating in a review at a quarterly board meeting. In general, cycle 1 involved co-producing a process to integrate the SDGs and related goals into its strategy processes. Cycle 2 involved setting stretching objectives for each prioritized SDG. Cycle 3 involved an in-depth review of Quaker Faith and Practice to identify inspirational theological passages that reflect the company's ambition for each prioritized SDG. The results of cycle 3 are shown in Appendix. Cycle 3 also included interviews with all BODs. Finally, in cycle 4, a focus group was held with CORs to reflect on the actions taken by the organization. Therefore, we collected data for this study in cycles 3 (BOD) and 4 (COR).

Data collection and analysis

We conducted a tradition-constituted enquiry (MacIntyre 1990; Moore 2012), interviewing all 14 members of the board of directors, comprising a mix of genders, ethnicities, and intersectional characteristics. Each interview was conducted via Microsoft Teams and lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. We varied the interviewer across the interviews to try to overcome the effects of insider/outsider bias, given that the second author, who had been engaged in the consultancy project, had developed close ties with the BOD. The interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed by the second author. The interviewers described

our broad interest in how the Quaker tradition interacted with its business strategy, specifically focusing on the dialectics related to its sustainability ambitions. Initially, we did not specifically mention that we were interested in the perspectives of COR, and references to COR featured in the interviews with BOD without prompt, and this led us to gather additional data from COR through focus groups given the importance of their perspectives to the research question.

We approached the interviews with a near-unstructured approach. We chose such an approach to allow participants, as adherents of the tradition, to shape the conversation. We located the interviews within the broad fields of the Quaker tradition and entrepreneurship but thereafter allowed connections to other concepts/ideas to emerge spontaneously. We posed an initial opening question: *'Tell me if the Quaker identity of the firm is a source of strength or a constraint?'* We recognize that by disclosing our *a priori* interests in its Quaker identity, subsequent remarks by participants may be coloured accordingly. Therefore, in our follow-up questioning, we were mindful to search for alternative explanations. Following the interviews, we provided a copy of the interview transcript to each participant, offering opportunities for queries and/or revisions to the narrative. This resulted in a few minor clarifications but no substantive or material alterations.

Template analysis was used to analyse the interview data. Our coding followed the approach outlined by King (1998, 2004) and developed by Burton and Galvin (2019). Our analysis consisted of the following steps. First, all authors familiarized themselves with the entire dataset (Braun and Clarke 2021) to gain a deeper insight into the narratives. All authors initially reviewed four randomly selected transcripts to gain insight into the data and then reviewed the whole dataset multiple times to produce a summary outlining the key points of the narratives. We then moved into the coding phase from a contextual constructivist perspective (Madill, Jordan, and Shirley 2000). We started by open coding the statements made by the interviewees as a team (King 2004), utilizing a manual coding process with margin notes in the transcripts, post-it notes, and other methods to stay close to the data. Preferring to allow themes to emerge from the data, we avoided pre-defining a priori codes. We recorded our coding process in a codebook that the team could access in a secure online area.

The codes were organized into meaningful clusters, and we began to define their interrelationships, including hierarchical structures with narrower themes nested within broader ones. We analysed each transcript separately, one at a time, and differences in coding were resolved through dialogue and discussion between the authors. This proved invaluable as it forced each of the authors to justify the inclusion of each theme and to clearly define how it should be used. Where new themes emerged or existing themes were merged, previously analysed interview transcripts were re-examined. This iterative process continued until all interviews were analysed. During these processes, we consistently related the data to the relevant theory to explain relationships between categories and make sense of our data and presentation. Finally, we were interested in identifying integrative themes (King 2004) that permeated the entire data set. In doing so, we connected our first-order themes to these integrative dimensions to form a coherent theoretical synthesis.

In the process of collecting and analysing the data from cycle 3 (BOD), it became evident that the process of identity negotiation in the organization was strongly influenced by COR. Therefore, we decided to collect additional data from COR to supplement our data set. The second author contacted the largest Quaker Meeting in the UK (York) and sent an invitation to 123 Quaker members/attenders to attend a focus group. Twenty-eight accepted the invitation. Two focus groups of fourteen were held. Each focus group lasted about 80 minutes. It was audio-recorded and later transcribed by the second author. We followed the same coding process as the BOD interviews. As a final stage, however, we developed two templates, one for each data set. The research team then examined both templates to identify cross-cutting integrative themes across the two data sets, creating the final synthesis. The final thematic data set is shown in Table 1 (Comments made by the board of directors are indicated as BOD, and co-religionists as COR).

Table 1. Codified quotes from BODs and CORs.

Integrative Theme	Primary Theme	Board of directors – example verbatim quotations	Co-religionists – example verbatim quotations
Quaker Identity	*Salience of the Quaker Tradition*	The company is today the only 100% Quaker business I know of. And yet through the last 200 years Quakers have led the way in driving ethical ways of doing business. We all know the stories of the Quaker chocolatiers, and Cadbury, for instance, is still widely regarded as an ethical exemplar. We are now carrying that same torch. If we mess it up, we bring Quakers into disrepute" (BOD11)	'The Company is an integral part of our testimony to the world. That is, that Quakers do things differently, we push boundaries, we live out truth through our beliefs and our actions. It is so important that the values of the company reflect our Quaker values in everything they do' (COR2)
		'From conscientious objection in the second world war, to being at the forefront of peace and disarmament advocacy, Quakers are there. We come from that tradition. If [the Company] does not continue advocating for that work in the future, being sustainable in a much broader way, Quakers will be furious about it' (BOD5)	"Quaker business was known for truth and integrity, as far back as the Quaker chocolate firms. We won't compromise on this. I have faith that the Quaker company won't either (COR7)
Focal Areas of Debate, Dialogue and Argumentation	*Sustainability*	'Many organizations choose to book with us because of the sustainable angle that we have. Often, it's the sustainability of the brand image that does us huge favours, not necessarily the Quaker badge' (BOD2) 'I think one of the reasons that I'm so passionate about being a Quaker and a director of [the company] is we have the SDG's, we run a good business ethically. I think Quakers have got a massive amount to say and we need to get out and shout it. Quaker ethics and sustainability are so inter-linked. I think the SDGs give us standing and credibility. The big thing for me is we can actually validate that sustainability is at the heart of Quakerism. We end up with a kind of formal accreditation to show off the amazing sustainability work we are doing and to keep the money flowing into BYM to keep our work alive' (BOD2)	'The company used to be called the Friends Hospitality Company – a functional, simple name that reflects our commitments to simplicity and straight-talking. Now it's the Company, with a blaze of branding that seems to come straight from a marketing agency. While "quiet" is obviously a nod to the Quaker practice of stillness, I do worry this is a first step towards a loss of identity and values' (COR13)
		'I'm interested in us effectively differentiating ourselves. I think that's important as a Quaker business because we want to promote the fact to others that we're a Quaker business. The SDGs are good, but we can't lose the fact that we're Quaker first. Foregrounding the SDGs feels like we have a sameness to everyone else. I think it is important as a Quaker business because we want to promote the fact that we're a Quaker business, not just a sustainable business' (BOD11)	'Sustainability and being the most ethical company is literally non-negotiable for a Quaker company. There are no compromises' (COR5)
		'The issue I think we have is that the more we talk about sustainability and the SDGs, the less evident our Quaker identity is. We blend into a secular "sameness". The frustration I have is that Quakerism is sustainability. Why do we need to separate out sustainability messages. They are the same thing, really' (BOD4)	'Sustainability is at the heart of Quaker values and testimony. It is a key part of the Quaker message. So, what I struggle to understand is why the company needs to focus on SDGs, when it should be focusing on living out Quaker values and our charitable aims as a church. That should be enough. In fact, it is more than just a single focus on sustainability' (COR17)

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued).

Integrative Theme	Primary Theme	Board of directors – example verbatim quotations	Co-religionists – example verbatim quotations
		'My worry is that [the SDGs] add further costs … its whether they can be recovered from the customer. I think we market ourselves specifically in the context of being an ethical venue and I don't think we're expensive by any means. In order to provide organic food, fair trade food, run these projects and so on, it all costs money, time, energy and resourcing. We're a small business with limited resource, we can't afford people to run vanity projects' (BOD14)	'Let's be honest, the SDGs are a tool for big corporations to "greenwash". We can all buy in to the core principles, but they have become a signifier of inaction, not action. I hope we don't lose our sense of urgency and action that Quakers are known for' (COR1)
		'I suppose it just means that it gets us where we need to be in a very direct way. If we align ourselves to it [the SDGs], as well as the company strategy and operations, we can then build on it. I think it's a process of learning as well. Again, it gives us a template in which to learn and evolve. It resonated. I do feel it gets us some recognition but also for the Quakers more generally. The SDGs help us do that' (BOD5)	
	Competitive and Market Pressures	'By using Quaker passages to explain the SDGs and the KPIs we set really helps us explain to Quakers what we are doing and why and how it promotes Quakerism. It kind of helps us sell it to Quakers, who will otherwise be skeptical, but also talk to non-Quakers and our customers through the SDGs in ways they understand too' (BOD12)	'Quakers would expect any Quaker or Quaker-affiliated company to not engage with other business or customers who lack an appreciation of Quaker values. For example, it wouldn't be appropriate to engage with defence companies, tobacco companies, oil companies, companies that exploit children, companies that pollute the environment. In fact, I guess pretty much the entire capitalist system [laughs]' (COR13)
		'Re-articulating the UN goals and objectives of each SDG we [the Board] prioritized into Quaker theological text was brilliant. Finding passages from Quaker Faith and Practice [1] to substitute instead of the language used by the SDGs makes it very "Quakerly" so everyone can see the link and buy into it, and know what it really means to us' (BOD14)	'As the company is owned by BYM, and Quakers are member of BYM, we have this rather peculiar relationship whereby we are emotionally invested in it but have no other direct relationship. Everything the company does plays out in Quaker forums – often people who love going to its café and bookshop but at the same time criticizing it for being too expensive, too profit-orientated stuff like that. It is a forever contradiction I think' (COR18)
		'I think the key for us is that we've got a business plan that's got to bring us a doubling of sales, so there is a big challenge, and formalizing our sustainability strategy via the SDGs could be a big help in reaching out and achieving that. Although some think profit is a dirty word, what most Quakers want us to do really is make money in a very ethical way to sustain Quaker objectives as agreed by Britain yearly meeting' (BOD1)	'Charitable work is best funded through charity, not excess profits. It's as simple as that really' (COR 14)
		'I suppose that I see the [Company], our company, a Quaker company, as synonymous with an ethical and sustainable company, but it would also be one that acts and behaves ethically to make money to enable us to fund charitable work' (BOD4)	'Quaker values represent a unified whole; you cannot select one bit and ignore another. Everything in life is interdependent and connected. Selecting an SDG to focus upon, whether by a Quaker company or not, is a rejection of that interdependence' (COR3)
		"Quakers are always telling us we aren't doing enough, not being ambitious enough. If we cut plastic use by 20%, they will say 'why not 100%". If we set a net zero strategy by 2028, they will say 'why not now?'. It is challenging, and they're right in many ways, but it is never as easy as it appears" (BOD12)	

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued).

Integrative Theme	Primary Theme	Board of directors – example verbatim quotations	Co-religionists – example verbatim quotations
Negotiating the way Forward	*Negotiating Consensus on Religion and Sustainability*	'By using Quaker passages to explain the SDGs and the KPIs we set really helps us explain to Quakers what we are doing and why and how it promotes Quakerism. It kind of helps us sell it to Quakers, who will otherwise be skeptical, but also talk to non-Quakers and our customers through the SDGs in ways they understand too' (BOD12)	'While I'm very sceptical about the greenwashing tint of the SDG's, it is in a way obvious that Quakerism and sustainability go hand in hand, Quakerism is sustainability and sustainability is Quaker. That's the message we have to the world' (COR 15)
		'The problem is that any movement away from being seen as 100% Quaker is likely to be resisted by Quakers. Quakers will need to be reassured that our commitments to the SDGs is not seen as embracing some greenwashing or profit-making stance. We will need to position it quite carefully and the Quaker interpretation of the SDGs helped us do that' (BOD9)	'The company has lost ground on its sustainability credential recently. It still has old IT systems using lots of power, still use loads of paper, doesn't incentivize staff or customers to cycle to the venue, and so it needs to ramp up its efforts, even if it that means breaking even. I can see that I think through the various programs the company runs and progress in its carbon reporting' (COR19)
	Inspiring Social Change	'I think our supply chain we can definitely influence, but we need to do more work on influencing, I think if we start having a series of policies or statements around these things, it will influence them. So, if we start saying to them, what are you doing to reduce your plastics in your production, the likelihood is they'll change. In our plans we want to be the advocates for the change across the entire London hospitality sector, with Quakerism running through it. I think you need to be in or leading some sort of movement, not outside of it' (BOD11)	'Going out into the world and affecting social change is what Quakers have always done. We haven't separated ourselves from the "world" but are rather in it, changing it. We need to ensure we are on solid Quaker ground before doing so, and make sure we have done all we can to reflect our ethical stance' (COR 2)
		"We launched the 'Bake the Difference" program, employing ex-offenders from the local community. Normally, these kinds of initiatives are 'employ someone for 12 months, and then let them go'. We didn't want to do that. Quakers want to advocate for real change and real opportunity for the disadvantaged" (BOD13)	
	Negotiating Towards Unity	The business model is quite simple. The church has a need for money to carry out its charitable aims. We generate that money as the trading company. The more profit we can generate, the more money BYM has. The more it has, the more good work it can do . . . We all strive in that direction" (BOD 10)	'The Quaker voice is most acutely heard through BYM. Being the shareholder, Quakers can push for most radical change from Quaker structures or simply be a part of the proceedings and debate. Either way, it is a way to be a voice in the way things develop, even if that's a very slow process' (COR 19)
		'BYM is critical in the process of finding unity in the Quaker community. BYM is our single shareholder and also the Quaker corporate body. BYM and its committee structures invite debates, and these are very useful in bringing together Quakers to find a lasting way forward' (BOD3)	'BYM sets the tone for what Quakers do and I think as the shareholder in the Company, having such oversight and promoting open discussion about what a Quaker business should do, how it should behave, what it should avoid, is a useful way to think about things. I think it helps balance the need for it to finance Quaker causes without being too focused on it' (COR 13)

Findings

The findings are organized according to integrative themes that permeated the two respective data sets.

Quaker identity

Our analysis reveals that, for both BOD and COR, the salience of the organization's Quaker identity was of paramount importance.

Salience of the Quaker tradition

Through our data, there is evidence of the close affinity between the organization and the Quaker tradition. Both BOD and COR frequently emphasized the saliency of the organization's Quaker identity and its ownership and management structure. For instance, to exemplify the importance of this affinity the CEO stated: *'The [company] is 100% Quaker, with a board of directors who are all Quakers, and 100% wholly owned by BYM. Quakerism is at the heart of what we stand for'* (BOD1). The BODs often referred to this affinity through the organization's determined approach to social and environmental action and commented that the organization was part of a radical Quaker advocacy to tackle systemic injustice in all its forms. For example, *'This company is based on Quaker ethics and values – church, faith, but actually* it is not going to sit *quietly. It has something to say and make a change in the world'* (BOD9). This comment is insightful as it tightly connects the Quaker church and Quaker faith to social action in the world – a key tenet of the Quaker tradition that sees social action as 'faith in action'. Rejecting market imperatives in favour of adhering to the Quaker tradition and its ethical precepts was also frequently referenced by BODs and illustrates both the saliency of the tradition – even under financial and economic imperatives – and the centrality of faith in action to our participants. In the following remark, the refusal to trade with other firms who do not meet Quaker ethical values is narrated: *'We have a long tradition as a peace church. And, this runs through the way the company does business. We do not and will not trade with companies who do harm in the world. We once had companies in fossil fuels extraction, and even a company who organizes arms fairs in London want to hire our meetings rooms and conferencing. The answer. No' (BOD1).*

In many ways, CORs shared this social action perspective of the Quaker tradition, and many expressed pride in the organization and its track record in social and environmental concerns. For CORs, knowing the organization was 'ethical' – and therefore enacting Quaker values was most visible to CORs through the various awards and recognitions that the organization had received. For instance, one COR remarked: *'I am kind of proud the business is a Quaker business that is winning ethical awards and pushing out the Quaker message'* (COR11). However, the importance of 'church' and 'faith' was especially salient to many CORs, suggesting that, unlike BODs, CORs were perhaps unencumbered by the competing demands of religion and market imperatives. During our focus groups, CORs narrated repeated remarks about the goal of the organization being to fulfil *'God's will'* or seek to create *'God's Kingdom on Earth'* (COR13) and recognized that the organization should '*continue that legacy*' (COR4) that Quaker firms had followed in previous generations. Recalling the ethical values of historic Quaker firms such as Cadbury's and Rowntree's, and foregrounding the Quaker testimonies to 'truth' and 'integrity', the case organization was perceived to be continuing a vital Quaker legacy to the way in which business should be conducted. One COR suggested that *'Quaker business was known for truth and integrity, as far back as the Quaker chocolate firms. We will not compromise on this. I have faith that the Quaker company will not either'* (COR7). Such comments highlight the communicative, intellectual, and moral aspects that are core to both the Quaker tradition and the meso-level tradition of the organization. These communicative and moral dimensions constitute what stakeholders understand as central to the organization's identity, establishing the evaluative standards against which proposed changes are assessed.

Focal areas of debate, dialogue, and argumentation

Through our data, two primary areas of identity negotiation emerged.

Sustainability

In remarks made by BODs, there existed evidence of a tension around the future shape of the saliency of the organization's Quaker identity. This tension had become more salient as a result of the consultancy project and locating the SDGs at the heart of its strategy process. In the interviews with BODs, it became evident that, while the director's supported such sustainability work, there were growing concerns that re-positioning the organization's identity as a leader in sustainability would dilute its Quaker identity and weaken its perceived affinity with the Quaker tradition; in other words, the centrality of Quakerism to its identity could be displaced or enveloped by a more secular sustainability identity thereby creating a disanalogy. This concern was repeatedly voiced throughout our interviews. For instance, *'The issue I think we have is that the more we talk about sustainability and the SDGs, the less evident our Quaker identity is. We blend into a secular "sameness"'* (BODR4). Another BOD emphasized a similar concern: *'The SDGs are good, but we cannot lose the fact that we are Quaker first. Foregrounding the SDGs feels like we have a sameness to everyone else. I think it is important as a Quaker business because we want to promote the fact that we are a Quaker business, not just a sustainable business'* (BOD11).

On the other side of the debate and argumentation, some of the BODs recognized the economic imperatives in seeking to align the organization's identity with a broader sustainability identity because such an alignment can yield financial benefits, something particularly important to the organization, and to the church, at this time. For example, one BOD commented upon the benefits to the organization's reputation: *'It gets us some recognition but also for the Quakers more generally' (BOD5)*. A few BODs believed that a more elastic identity that embraced sustainability would support the organization's economic aims: *'We end up with a kind of formal accreditation [the SDGs] to show off the amazing sustainability work we are doing and to keep the money flowing into BYM to keep our work alive'* (BOD2). The essence of contours of the argumentation were captured by one BOD who lamented that *'often it is the sustainability of the brand image that does us huge favors, not necessarily the Quaker badge'* (BOD2).

One of the key tensions that this final remark highlights is what constitutes the core of the Quaker tradition. We have seen that the Quaker identity of the organization is salient, and we have shown how the BODs foreground an interpretation of the tradition through social and environmental action – faith in action. In contrast, CORs typically narrated an interpretation of the close affinity between the organization and the Quaker tradition in theological terms, and the BODs expressed concerns that CORs would be reluctant to see a potential dilution of the Quaker identity of the organization. For example, there was recognition across the BODs that *'People [CORs] do not think the SDGs are relevant or an integral part of what we do. They have got to be able to be seen as something that will really enhance the company and the world. Otherwise, I know Quakers will see us as trying to greenwash'* (BOD13).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the CORs perceived the dilution of the close affinity as an identity threat, expressing severe concerns that the SDGs had been co-opted by multi-national businesses and were a form of 'greenwashing'. As such, the case organization was falling into the same trap of inauthenticity and gimmicks. The dilution of the core Quaker identity of the organization would lead to *'a loss of identity and values'* (COR13), and such a stretch in its identity is *'literally non-negotiable'* (COR5). The constitutive elements of the core of the tradition are succinctly captured by one COR who remarked *'what I struggle to understand is why the company needs to focus on SDGs, when it should be focusing on living out Quaker values and our charitable aims as a church. That should be enough'* (COR17).

Such argumentation about the core and periphery of the affinity between the Quaker tradition and the meso-level tradition of the organization clearly illustrates differing intellectual and moral

viewpoints about the degree of elasticity in religious entrepreneurial organizations. This argumentation reveals a dialectical tension between enhancement and loss of distinctiveness (Kreiner et al. 2015), as stakeholders contest whether embracing sustainability discourse strengthens or dilutes the organization's unique character.

Competitive and market pressures

One of the organization's goals was to generate an increased economic surplus for BYM to undertake its charitable aims. Generating a growing surplus to donate to BYM was of increasing importance; however, this often-generated tensions with the case organization's Quaker identity. For example, many of the BODs recognized the economic imperatives at play and that the problem they faced was relatively straight-forward: *'The business model is quite simple. The church has a need for money to carry out its charitable aims. The more profit we can generate, the more money BYM has. The more it has, the more good work it can do. Therefore, we must keep a close eye on the bottom line. In fact, it is even more important than that. BYM gets other revenues from Quaker members, such as wills and gifts, but with church members[hip] falling and falling, the company has to fill the gap'* (BOD5).

In seeking to deliver a growing surplus to BYM, the BODs often faced difficult tensions as it sought to balance competing traditioned and market demands. For example, in seeking to meet its 2029 'carbon negative' goals, the organization had switched the menus in the conferencing business, café, and restaurant to vegan only, but this resulted in *'us losing loads of business, especially in the conferencing business. We have had complaints already. But the board believes that a meat-free menu is essential to our ideas on sustainability and social justice'* (BOD2). On the other hand, despite the economic issues, CORs praised the organization and reflected that *'the move to a vegetarian offering, in fact, is very close to vegan, I think, is a brave and correct move. The link between meat-based agriculture and climate change is nearly unanimous, right?'* (COR12).

Similarly, in the conferencing business, *'we have to turn business away continually to preserve our Quaker and sustainability values. Sometimes it hurts a lot, but it is always the right thing to do. For example, we have had oil companies looking to hire our conferencing facilities. No. We have had people refuse to stay in our hotel because it is alcohol-free. Will we change? No'* (BOD6). To compound the economic challenges the director's faced, the organization also needed to reduce operational costs to support a growing contribution to BYM. The actions the organization has recently taken have been unpopular among CORs. For example, the organization has switched a number of front-line employee contracts to zero-hours, as *'it was necessary for us to be more flexible and agile. It garnered controversy and many Quakers were absolutely furious. Many said this is immoral and no longer a company being led by Quaker values'* (BOD8). Perhaps unsurprisingly, CORs expressed severe concern with such changes and one stated in firm language that *'I find it abhorrent, actually, that a Quaker company would switch some staff to zero-hours contracts just to make more money'* (COR9).

In the restaurant and café business, the organization had moved to increases prices – even to members of the Quaker church. One BOD recalled that as the organization pursued additional revenue and *'put prices up … there was a bit of backlash, some customers felt that as a Quaker company we should not pursue extra profitability'* (BOD12). The CORs also criticized the organization for higher retail prices, *'criticizing it for being too expensive, too profit-oriented'* (COR18), which was seen as incompatible with the core principles of the Quaker tradition. Such critiques invoke the endurance dimension of organizational identity, positioning continuity with historical Quaker ethical commitments as the standard against which present conduct must be judged.

With such tensions between religious and market imperatives, many of the BODs lamented that *'some [CORs] seem to think profit is a dirty word'* (BOD1). One co-religionist summed up in slightly different terms, suggesting that the Quaker tradition has always stretched the boundaries and that the organization should be thinking differently in times of existential crises: *'We Quakers are a critical bunch. We expect the boundaries to be stretched, always. The time has passed for small contributions, we are running out of time to make an impact say to climate change, and it is only big sacrifices that will avert the worst crises'* (COR1). These tensions facing the directors of religious entrepreneurial

organizations in balancing religious and market imperatives show how tensions generate internal intellectual and moral divisions that separate the viewpoints of the BODs and CORs.

Negotiating the way forward

Negotiating consensus on religion and sustainability

The consultancy project to put the SDGs at the heart of its strategy process was perceived by BOD to have had utility in negotiating a consensus on the way forward. As referred earlier, one aspect of the project that was especially intriguing to us was that the directors of the organization were seeking to narrate its sustainability work in ways that co-religionists would recognize as distinctively 'Quaker'. As shown in Appendix, cycle 3 of the project involved an in-depth review of Quaker Faith and Practice to identify inspirational theological passages that reflect the company's ambition for each prioritized SDG, thereby integrating Quaker theology and the wider Quaker tradition, and the precepts of the SDGs in a most direct way.

Integrating the Quaker and sustainability agendas in this way enabled the directors of the organization to present a renewed identity that encompassed both a contemporary and modern sustainability elements, while safeguarding and preserving its Quaker identity and origins. To illustrate, one BOD remarked that *'Re-articulating the SDGs into Quaker theological text was brilliant. Finding passages from Quaker Faith and Practice to substitute instead of the language used by the SDGs makes it very "Quakerly" so everyone can see the link and buy into it and know what it really means to us'* (BOD14). A further BOD remarked that *'By using Quaker passages to explain the SDGs and the KPIs we set really helps us explain to Quakers what we are doing and why and how it promotes Quakerism. It kind of helps us sell it to Quakers, who will otherwise be skeptical'* (BOD12).

The integration of sustainability into the core elements of the Quaker tradition was also seen as a critical outcome to overcome identity tensions, and the directors acknowledged that the challenge was now to *'really make sure everything we do towards them connects back to Quakerism and our tradition and history'* (BOD3). Preserving and safeguarding the close affinity with the Quaker tradition was widely welcomed by CORs who confirmed that '*I am glad to see the Company being the most ethical and sustainable company in Britain, and unmistakably Quaker'* (COR16) and *'Quakerism and sustainability go hand in hand'* (COR15).

Even though some CORs bemoaned a lack of sense of urgency and ambition in its sustainability work, with one remarking that the organization had *'lost ground on its sustainability credentials recently'* (COR19), there was an emerging recognition that *'so long as Quakers are continuing our lineage and tradition of adventuring, socially active, dealing with systemic injustice, and protecting the environment, I will be content to the call the Company a real Quaker company*' (COR3), a requirement that highlights the distinctly ethical tenor of the Quaker conversation over time.

Negotiating towards unity

As we have seen, the role of CORs significantly shaped the way the organization's identity was negotiated. One BOD affirmed that *'The Quakers are often the most invested and most critical, and while that can be really painful and frustrating at times, it also invites a reflection in the company and helps us continually wonder whether we are being ambitious enough'* (BOD14). This critical role of CORs was frequently voiced throughout our discussions with CORs remarking that they held a responsibility to *'push for the most radical change'* (COR 19). The BODs, on the other hand, negotiated a consensus between the most radical Quaker views and the need for the organization to economically and financially thrive.

This dynamic reflects the argumentative character central to MacIntyre's perspective on traditions and emphasizes the importance of debate and dialogue in overcoming challenges central to the notion of tradition. The mechanism through which this negotiation succeeded was the translation of the SDGs into Quaker theological vocabulary (Appendix). By grounding sustainability commitments in passages from Quaker Faith and Practice, the board rendered them intelligible as expressions of

existing Quaker values rather than as external impositions. This translation enabled identity expansion, incorporating sustainability as central, while satisfying co-religionists' demands for authentic continuity with the tradition.

Our findings thus reveal a distinctive pattern of organizational identity negotiation in tradition-oriented organizations. The macro-level tradition establishes the evaluative criteria (theological commitments, testimonies, historical precedents) against which stakeholders assess identity claims, anchoring what can legitimately count as central, enduring, or distinctive. These tradition-constituted standards are not merely inherited constraints; they also furnish the interpretive resources through which competing claims are debated, as both BODs and CORs drew upon Quaker intellectual and moral vocabularies to warrant their positions. Most consequentially, the negotiation proceeded through translation: by re-articulating external discourse in Quaker theological language, stakeholders rendered sustainability intelligible as part of the established identity. This mechanism enabled the organization to expand its identity claims while remaining anchored within the macro-level tradition boundaries.

Discussion

The aim of our research was to understand how organizational identity is negotiated in a religious entrepreneurial organization – one intertwined with the Quaker tradition through its ownership and management by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). We aim to show how macro-level (religious) traditions and meso-level (organizational) traditions interact, and, in particular, how such interactions shape the bases of organizational identity elasticity in a religious entrepreneurship context.

Our case enables us to make two interrelated theoretical advances. Our first contribution is to the growing literature on tradition in organizations (Burton et al. 2025; M. T. Dacin, Dacin, and Kent 2019; Suddaby et al. 2023). Whereas much of this recent scholarship has either studied the influence of macro-level traditions in long-lived, inter-generational firms (e.g. Burton et al. 2025) or at the micro-level of family traditions in family firms (De Massis et al. 2016; Eze et al. 2021), but not the interaction between macro- and meso-levels. Our study breaks new ground in the following ways: a) by studying the influence of a religious macro-level tradition (e.g. Quakerism) in a relatively new entrepreneurial venture; and b) in so doing, our approach shows how macro-level traditions and meso-level traditions interact. Our second contribution further extends the literature on organizational identity (Pratt and Foreman 2000; Ravasi and Schultz 2006), and through our case we show how the interaction of religious and organizational traditions both anchor and enable the process of organizational identity negotiation, where both traditions, and the dialectic and argumentative processes they house, shape the endurance, centrality and distinctiveness of the organization's identity characteristics.

Our first contribution, then, is to bring MacIntyre's conception of tradition (2007, 222) – 'an historically extended, socially embodied argument, and an argument precisely in part about the goods which constitute that tradition' – into contact with organizational identity phenomena. We show how the concept of tradition, as elaborated by MacIntyre (1988, 2007), provides a fruitful way of understanding the interplay between structure and agency in the processes of organizational identity negotiation, and in particular the degree and type of identity elasticity that organizational representatives (BOD) can wield. Surprisingly, although the literatures on tradition and organizational identity have developed separately and remain largely unconnected, there are many affinities. For instance, previous scholarship in both disciplines has argued that traditions and organizational identities are either fixed or static (e.g. Albert and Whetten 1985; Suddaby and Jaskiewicz 2020), or subject to negotiation (Ravasi and Schultz 2006) and social construction (Gioia et al. 2013). In the case of traditions, for example, Suddaby and Jaskiewicz (2020, 235) remarked that traditions are stable and persistent 'patterns of belief, customs, and symbolic practices', often burdened by their own history and slow to change and adapt, signalling that traditions are near-immutable and

inherited, and yet, are 'interpreted and reinterpreted by successive generations in an evermoving present' suggesting that traditions are more amenable to change than they first appear. Tradition-oriented organizations, we argue, are not passive recipients of inherited beliefs and values; they actively participate in the evolution and development of traditions. In particular, the concept of tradition helps illuminate how religious entrepreneurial organizations can simultaneously reproduce and transform the structures that shape them. Similarly, identity (Albert and Whetten 1985) has been perceived to be fixed, unchanging, and resistant to change, and yet more recent research has likewise suggested that identities are dynamic and fluid and under continuous active revision (Brown and Humphreys 2006; Kreiner et al. 2015; Schultz and Hernes 2013; Schultz et al. 2012), being constructed and reconstructed through an ongoing process of meaning-making and adaptation.

Our study of a Quaker entrepreneurial organization thus demonstrates how these two bodies of scholarship (tradition and organizational identity) can walk side by side, each illuminating aspects of organizational life that the other cannot capture in isolation. Furthermore, as traditions are subject to adaptation and evolve in new directions, core elements of the tradition tend to persist, and these components are less susceptible to be challenged than peripheral aspects. The discursive and argumentation processes through which traditioned organizations overcome challenges help us to better appreciate what the core is, and what is at the periphery (Dacin et al. 2008). In much the same way, in the organizational identity literature, identity elasticity supports fluidity, adaptability, and stretch in the more peripheral identity aspects, 'while holding together' the core social constructions of organizational identity (Kreiner et al. 2015, 981).

Our case enables us to expand existing theorizations of the role of tradition in entrepreneurial organizations and, in so doing, we illuminate the interaction between macro-level and meso-level traditions. In our analysis, the organization is clearly shaped and influenced by the Quaker religious tradition, perhaps unsurprising given the structure of its ownership and management by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). Our data illustrate the salience of the macro-level Quaker tradition to the organization and its stakeholders (co-religionists). However, as the organization and its directors face challenging market and economic imperatives, akin to what MacIntyre describes as periods of 'epistemological crises' (MacIntyre 1988, 361), our case draws attention to the emerging divisions and disaffinities between different stakeholder interpretations of the macro-level Quaker tradition, on the one hand, and organization's tradition on the other, none more so than in the negotiation of a more prominent sustainability identity. Therefore, our findings extend Ravasi and Schultz's (2006) analysis of organizational identity dynamics. Whereas Ravasi and Schultz examined how organizational representatives engage in sensegiving while internal organizational stakeholders engage in sensemaking related to organizational identity threats from environmental changes, our case brings a macro-level tradition impacting organizational identity negotiations, it also reveals a distinctive configuration in which organizational representatives (BOD) engage in sensegiving about organizational identity, while co-religionists who are external to the formal organization yet internal to the religious (macro-level) tradition engage in sensemaking. This configuration illuminates how the tradition based debate extends organizational identity negotiation beyond formal organizational boundaries, as external tradition-adherents exercise custodial agency through their participation in negotiations about what the organization should be and become.

Our case shows a deep and shared understanding of the ccommunicative, intellectual, moral and theological aspects that are core to the macro-level Quaker tradition, and yet we also see disagreements between the board of directors and co-religionists in the future direction of the organization's tradition relating to, in our case, the centrality of the SDGs and sustainability in the evolving tradition, and the degree to which the organization should embrace market logics in order to return surplus to the shareholder. Across time and space, even in such closely coupled macro-level and organizational traditions, such disaffinities are perhaps inevitable, as argumentation and debate within an entrepreneurial organization are more typically goal-oriented and concerned with business outcomes and market imperatives. While co-

religionists make sense of the macro-level Quaker tradition largely unencumbered by concerns of market imperatives and financial outcomes, the directors of the case organization, while anchored by the intellectual and moral reasoning of the macro-level tradition, are also confronted by market imperatives and the need to run a viable business. Adherents of religious and organizational traditions, thus, engage in different conversations and debates to make sense of the world.

We reveal that the identity tensions between the macro-level Quaker tradition and the organization's traditions were eventually negotiated through a distinctive sensegiving-sensemaking dynamic. The board of directors recalibrated its communication by translating the SDGs in Quaker theological language to achieve unity about what constitutes the core of the organization's tradition, despite ostensible tensions. Our analysis shows how the SDGs are repositioned as consistent with, and embedded within, the core Quaker identity of the organization, rather than presented as a radical change or located on the periphery of the organization's tradition. This negotiated outcome shows how the organization expanded its interpretation of what constitutes the core elements of its tradition; the macro-level Quaker tradition remains salient, but its boundaries expand to encompass sustainability in a way that is presented as a renewal of existing values rather than the addition of new ones. This expansion of the core of the organization's tradition marks, in our view, the start of a subtle but distinctive disaffinity with the macro-level Quaker tradition. However, the macro-level Quaker tradition continues to anchor the argumentative development within the organization, ensuring it does not go in just any direction. Furthermore, the argument we elaborate also illustrates how Quakers, as a religious community, understand traditions as 'living', experienced and negotiated, when we recall how Quaker theology and tradition are revisited and renegotiated every decade or so.

By connecting tradition to religious entrepreneurship, our case sheds new light on the anchoring and enabling properties of traditions. While traditions have typically been studied in long-lived firms (Burton et al. 2025), the study of tradition in entrepreneurial organizations, often without such long histories, would seem to offer little promise. However, like macro-level traditions, our contribution shows that religious entrepreneurial organizations can also be conceived of as 'socially embodied arguments', tethered to and anchored in a macro-level religious tradition. Such anchoring in the macro-level tradition provides not only a close affinity but also the organization with 'historically extended' intellectual and moral resources that have survived across time and space. Such historical narratives at the macro-level provide relatively new religious entrepreneurial ventures with a sense of fundamental continuity with the past.

Our second contribution extends organizational identity theory by allowing us to connect the tradition-mediated conception of entrepreneurship that we have established to organizational identity – and, moreover, to the foundational dimensions of organizational identity theory: endurance, centrality, and distinctiveness (Albert and Whetten 1985). Kreiner et al. (2015) reconceptualize these organizational identity dimensions as dialectical tensions, demonstrating that organizations navigate endurance through the dialectics of continuity versus change, centrality through the dialectics of core versus peripheral, and distinctiveness through the dialectics of enhancement versus loss. These three dimensions are often treated as analytically distinct features that together define the essence of an organization. However, the dimensions become difficult to apply under conditions of 'epistemological crises' (MacIntyre 1988, 361), i.e. precisely the circumstances that characterize our case. The account of tradition, for which we have argued, can help us to understand how these identity dimensions are negotiated, and in particular how they are preserved and transformed through dialogical engagement characteristic of traditions. Put another way, identity negotiation emerges through a continuous negotiation between managerial agency and the boundaries set by tradition (Burton et al. 2025). These traditional boundaries do not imply identity inelasticity; rather, they establish the framework within which organizational identity claims can be meaningfully expressed and acknowledged as legitimate by relevant stakeholders (Ravasi and Phillips 2011).

While religion in organizational identity is typically associated with long-lasting and enduring values (Barbosa and Smith 2023; B. Smith, Aslan Gümüsay, and Townsend 2023), the foundation of our argument is that the anchoring role of macro-level religious traditions provides a foundation for conversations and arguments about its (re)negotiating the organization's identity, as our case exemplifies. This suggests that, according to a tradition-mediated understanding of identity, both traditions and organizational identity are malleable and elastic (Kreiner et al. 2015), to a greater or lesser extent.

However, while this is so, the way in which religious-oriented ventures, unlike typical firms, negotiate identity elasticity involves both directors of the organization and a wider stakeholder group of tradition adherents (co-religionists), especially those who are members of the Quaker tradition, and thereby involved in its formal governance. While our case evidences a deep and shared understanding of intellectual and moral understanding across these communities, there is evidence of fundamental disagreements regarding the degree of organizational identity elasticity. For the directors, faced with economic and financial challenges, there is evidence of a willingness to accommodate and stretch/expand the core organizational identity to accommodate a sustainability identity. In contrast, there is a marked disagreement voiced by co-religionists that the organization's identity should be less elastic and maintain a corresponding authentic affinity with the macro-level Quaker tradition. Furthermore, as the directors are also members of the Quaker tradition (and therefore themselves co-religionists), our case evidences significant tensions around exercising managerial authority to stretch the organizational identity in the absence of discerning a consensus.

On such a view, like traditions, organizational identity can be inelastic, where re-evaluations of organizational identity reaffirm existing interpretations. In such cases, stakeholders give disproportionate weight to either the macro-level tradition and/or to existing conceptions of the organization's identity. In contrast, re-evaluations of organizational identity stretch to accommodate new elements, but only so far as they can be rendered intelligible within the tradition's ongoing argumentative development; there are thus limits to organizational identity's elasticity imposed by the tradition's core elements of the tradition. In the case of traditioned organizations, then, we suggest that organizational identity is negotiated under "'*anchored elasticity*', whereby identity elasticity is anchored (and therefore constrained) by a core set of traditioned beliefs, commitments, and purposes.

We now turn to show how our notion of 'anchored elasticity' applies to each of the three foundational dimensions of organizational identity (Albert and Whetten 1985), which Kreiner et al. (2015) reconceptualize as dialectical tensions rather than static features. Our analysis reveals how tradition operates as a dialogical resource through which stakeholders negotiate these dialectics. Our analysis suggests that a MacIntyrean-informed understanding of tradition can contribute to a coherent account of identity endurance as a form of continuity grounded in a continuing narrative rather than in fixed attributes. This is 'endurance', but not in its conventional sense, since it is more widely bound by interactions with the life of the macro-level tradition and the continuing narrative. Traditions persist not because they are immutable but because they are continuously and consciously renewed by new adherents and members, and because they are, through argumentation, debate & dialogue, reinterpreted in ways that maintain what MacIntyre understands as a fundamental continuity with the past. For traditioned organizations, our findings show that organizational identity is thus simultaneously enduring and adaptive, always carrying forward fragments of previous cycles of argumentation and debate. This reframing advances Kreiner et al.'s (2015) endurance dialectic (the tension between continuity and change) by revealing that tradition furnishes the dialogical resource through which organizations simultaneously preserve identity coherence while accommodating adaptive transformation. Tradition-adherents invoke historical precedents and theological commitments to render change intelligible as continuous with, rather than divergent from, established identity.

In our case, the Quaker tradition supplies the broader context within which stakeholders (board of directors and co-religionists) narrate their arguments about what the organization has been, is, and

ought to become. Identity endurance is thus achieved not through resistance to change, but through the intelligibility of change within the ongoing argumentative development of the tradition. At the heart of the identity negotiation, the board of directors of the organization sees merit in stretching the organization's identity to embrace a sustainability identity, in contrast to co-religionists who offer critical arguments that such identity elasticity would risk a fundamental dilution of the enduring and core Quaker identity. This illuminates how and why the SDGs are repositioned as consistent with, and embedded within, a renewal of existing and enduring Quaker theological and moral commitments, rather than as a departure from them.

The centrality dimension of identity concerns what members regard as essential. However, a MacIntyrean lens shifts the emphasis from essential traits that serve as identity conditions to the broader evaluative justificatory standards adherents employ within the tradition. As a result, what counts as 'core' to a particular tradition is not simply inherited but must be continually defended, interpreted, and justified with reference to the moral and intellectual resources of the tradition. Our case shows the directors of the organization appealing to Quaker theological principles and historical moral narratives to justify the incorporation of sustainability and the SDGs into the heart of the organization's identity. This reveals that centrality, in organizations rooted in a tradition, is constituted less by a static set of attributes than by a shared commitment to a tradition-specific mode of reasoning. The core of the organization's identity endures to the extent that new identity claims can be rendered legitimate within that tradition. Our findings thus extend Kreiner et al.'s (2015) centrality dialectic (the tension between core and peripheral) by demonstrating that tradition serves as the dialogical resource through which stakeholders contest, defend, and ultimately legitimate what belongs at the centre of organizational identity. Stakeholders appeal to the tradition's moral and intellectual standards to warrant claims about what is essential versus negotiable. Thus, the process of negotiating the organization's identity involves not only identifying what is central but also determining how the core can legitimately evolve, unfold, and incorporate new revelations. Our case evidences the contested centrality of a sustainability identity, and the re-interpretation of the SDGs in Quaker terms shows how co-religionists 'make room' (Kreiner et al. 2015, 999) for the new claims in the organization's core identity.

Distinctiveness refers to what makes an organization unique (Albert and Whetten 1985; Mael and Ashforth 1992): its values and practices that differentiate it from others, providing 'a sharper and more salient definition for organizational members' (Mael and Ashforth 1992, 107) and enabling members to differentiate themselves from others. For organizations that are fundamentally rooted in a particular religious tradition, distinctiveness might appear to be externally derived and therefore somewhat lacking in uniqueness. However, distinctiveness emerges from the idiosyncratic interactions between the religious (macro-level tradition) and the organization's (meso-level) tradition, and through the local argumentative development that evolves across time and space. Our conception of traditioned organizations as themselves 'socially embodied arguments' signposts that the internal conversations that occur within organizations have their own ontological, epistemological, and ethical presuppositions. These conversations provide the organization with both a direction and a foundation for the way forward. In our case, the stakeholders clearly highlight the risk that the organization might drift towards a '*secular sameness*' and thereby lose the distinctiveness of its Quaker identity if it aligns its identity too closely with generic sustainability discourses such as the SDGs. Thus, the integration of SDG commitments with the theological precepts and testimonies of Quakerism marks an attempt to preserve and refresh a distinctive organizational identity, not by resisting new influences but by embedding those influences within the tradition's distinctive ethical vocabulary. Distinctiveness, then, is rooted in how the organization relates to the living development of the broader tradition, distinguishing its identity not through separation from contemporary concerns but through the tradition-informed interpretation of those concerns. This finding advances Kreiner et al.'s (2015) distinctiveness dialectic (the tension between enhancement and loss) by revealing that tradition constrains the degree to which organizations can embrace external trends without risking identity dilution. Tradition provides the dialogical resource, a distinctive vocabulary

and set of evaluative criteria, through which external elements must be filtered to preserve organizational uniqueness. Organizations thus enhance distinctiveness not by resisting change but by embedding change within tradition-specific interpretive frameworks.

Our contribution to organizational identity theory advances Kreiner et al.'s (2015) reconceptualization of endurance, centrality, and distinctiveness as dialectical tensions by identifying tradition as the dialogical resource through which these dialectics are negotiated. Tradition furnishes stakeholders with historical precedents, evaluative standards, and interpretive vocabularies that shape how continuity and change are reconciled, how core and peripheral claims are adjudicated, and how enhancement and loss are balanced. For traditioned organizations, endurance, centrality, and distinctiveness are best understood as both dialogical achievements and as ongoing dialogical processes. They are also understood as outcomes of the ongoing moral reasoning and negotiation through which tradition adherents seek to make their identity claims both intelligible and legitimate within a particular context. Viewing organizational identity negotiation as 'anchored elasticity' offers a more nuanced and satisfying way of understanding traditioned religious entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

Our case has enabled us to illuminate the dialogical process through which tradition-adherents negotiate organizational identity, providing an exemplar of the interaction between tradition and organizational identity negotiation in an entrepreneurial, religious organization in the early stages of its lifecycle. Theoretically, we have advanced an understanding of the interaction between macro-level and organizational traditions, showing how both evolve in response to debates and argumentation triggered by a challenging period. We show how divisions and disaffinities open up between macro-level and organization traditions, as different dialectics occur in businesses in comparison to a church organization. We then illustrated how the anchoring and enabling properties of traditions influence the process of organizational identity negotiation, where traditions, and the dialectic and argumentative processes they house, shape organizational identity elasticity through the three identity pillars of endurance, centrality, and distinctiveness.

Our study suffers from contextual limitations. However, we believe our study speaks to religious traditions and religious entrepreneurs beyond the Quaker tradition, and to all traditioned entrepreneurial organizations. It also suggests promising pathways for future research. First, connecting a MacIntyrean account of tradition to organizational identity in religious entrepreneurial contexts provides a theoretical and explanatory foundation for future research in different traditioned organizations. Future studies could explore how traditions might have explanatory power across the sub-disciplines of entrepreneurship, family business scholarship, and beyond, and how macro-level traditions interact with family traditions, for example. Moreover, future research could help us understand how organizational identities with close affinities to macro-level traditions might become weakened or abandoned as they encounter various contextual cues, both external and internal, such as internal crises or reputational crises within the macro-level tradition. Studies that examine the how the core elements of organizational identity expand or contract in response to changes in organizational tradition would equally be fascinating.

Note

1. See Radu-Lefebvre et al. (2021) for the social constructivist perspective of entrepreneurial identity.

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Appendix. SDGs recontextualized as 'Quaker'

SDG		Recontextualization as Quaker
3	Good Health and Well-being	*'People matter. In the end human rights are about people being treated and feeling like people who matter'*. (Quaker faith and practice, 24.49)
8	Decent Work and Economic Growth	*'That the sweat and tedious labor of the farmer, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure of a small number of men [. . .], is so far from the will of the great Governor of the world, it is wretched and blasphemous'*. (Quaker faith and practice, 25.13)
12	Responsible consumption and production	*'We have only one world, and our present wasteful consumption of non-renewable resources and damage to the biosphere must stop. This requires alternative economic strategies, which are driven by need, not greed'*. (Quaker faith and practice, 24.47)
13	Climate Action	*'Our planet is seriously ill and we can feel the pain. We have been reminded of the many ways in which the future health of the earth is under threat as a result of our selfishness, ignorance and greed. Our earth needs attention, respect, love, care and prayer'*. (Quaker faith and practice, 25.02)
15	Life on Land	*'We do not own the world, and its riches are not ours to dispose of at will. Show loving consideration for all creatures, and seek to maintain the beauty and variety of the world. Work to ensure that our increasing power over nature is used responsibly, with reverence for life'*. *(Quaker faith and practice, 1.02.42)*