

In need for a more holistic perspective: Clarifying instrumental and non-instrumental approaches to workplace spirituality.

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ABSTRACT

Different approaches within the emerging literature on spirituality at work are analysed using the construct of instrumental and non-instrumental approaches. These approaches deal with either expected or unfolding effects of spirituality and have profound implications for organisations because they shed light on the issue of the manipulative or authentic application of workplace spirituality. Linking the instrumental approach to objective, and non-instrumental – to subjective research methodologies makes the ontological and epistemological assumptions of instrumentalism and non-instrumentalism explicit and enables the identification of the fundamentally different nature of the research questions originating from these two perspectives.

Keywords: spirituality at work; workplace spirituality; instrumental; non-instrumental; pragmatic;

INTRODUCTION.

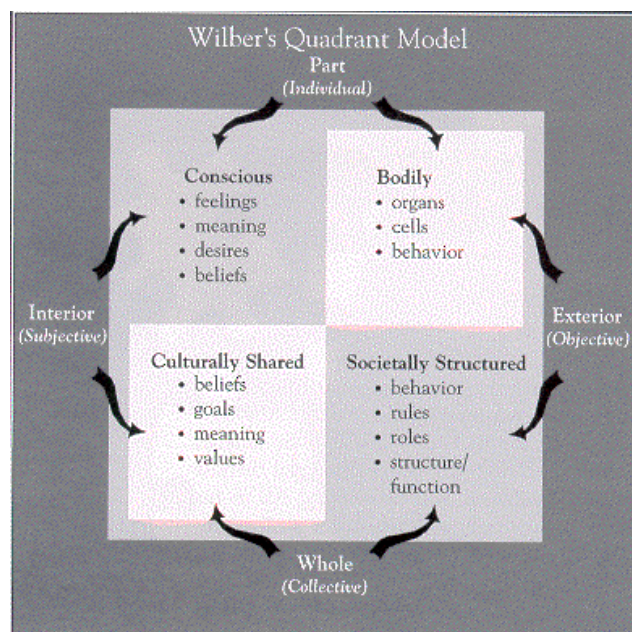
The new stream of research exploring spirituality in organisations has dramatically expanded over the last decade. The topic, once taboo, is being gradually recognised in both academic and management circles. Since 1999 there functions an Interest Group on Management, Spirituality, and Religion (MSR), approved by the American Academy of Management. A number of excellent journals such as Journal of Organizational Change Management, The Journal of Humanistic Psychology, Organization and others have devoted special issues and welcomed publications on the subject, and in 2004 a new academic journal, the Journal of Management, Spirituality and Religion was founded.

The MSR area is still young and faces major challenges such as lack of agreed definitions and a theory. Among specific research difficulties is the lack of understanding of the fundamental difference in the nature of research questions from the perspective of instrumentalism and non-instrumentalism. As a result, researchers often struggle to reconcile appropriate methodologies with posed research questions. In the organisational context, managers lack clarity in understanding how their attitudes impact the effects of spirituality on employees and organisations. Influenced by the dominating instrumental paradigm based on the assumption that spirituality is useful only as a means to improve organisational performance, they tend to *use* spirituality to achieve that goal. Such an attitude towards spirituality can result in a breach of employees' trust, and in the emergence of their feelings of frustration and disillusionment coming from realisation of being manipulated.

In the literature the terms “instrumental” or “non-instrumental” sometimes are used interchangeably with the terms “pragmatic” and “non-pragmatic”. In this paper, while acknowledging the similar nature of these terms, we find it necessary to also clarify the difference in their meanings in order to create fuller, richer concept of instrumentalism and non-instrumentalism as two legitimate approaches to organisational spirituality. Pragmatism here is more about the natural practicality, the *unfolding* effect of spiritual development with the ultimate goal of ending human suffering or reaching liberation (in this sense it is actively used in Buddhism, for example), while instrumentalism is more about ego-centric practicality, the *expected* effect of spiritual growth with the focus on the tangible outcomes. The common denominator of these two terms, therefore, is in the effects of spirituality while the difference is in the attitude towards the future results. Within such a perspective, non-instrumentalism is then closer to spiritually oriented pragmatism, and is concerned with the spiritual development as an end in itself, as an unfolding process which yields certain results, both tangible and intangible; its focus, however, is not on those results but on the very process of spiritual growth.

The concepts of instrumentalism and non-instrumentalism are used in this paper to create a typology on the basis of MSR literature, and the vast amount of interdisciplinary literature on spirituality. These concepts will be linked to Wilber’s (1997) simplified four quadrants model, which is increasingly being used by researchers due to its integrative focus as well as pure logic and common sense.

FIGURE 1: Wilber’s Four Quadrants Model. Adopted from Paulson (1999).



Specifically, Wilber’s meta-framework offers an integral perspective on reality where each aspect of the exterior life (right quadrants) has its associated interior life (left quadrants) representation. Also, human

experience simultaneously consists of individual (upper quadrants) and collective (lower quadrants) manifestations, or parts and wholes. Using such a typology we can later categorise literature in terms of its instrumental vs. non-instrumental perspective revealing different sets of assumptions and research methods which eventually lead to the articulation of research questions assigned to each approach.

More attention within the four quadrants meta-framework will be paid to the left-hand domains which as the literature reveals are much less developed by the extant research.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF INSTRUMENTAL AND NON-INSTRUMENTAL APPROACHES TO WORKPLACE SPIRITUALITY.

The non-instrumental approach to workplace spirituality is associated with left-side quadrants which look into the interior of our minds and discuss such categories as consciousness and awareness, as well as inner values and beliefs. MSR researchers draw on a body of literature in consciousness studies (Varela, Thompson and Rosch, 1993; Bouratinos 2003), transpersonal psychology (Wilber 1995; Assagioli, 1990; Tart, 1969), anthropology (Geertz, 2000) and modern physics (Capra, 1975).

Addressing the question of why we need spirituality, these disciplines draw on a number of ontological assumptions sitting in the base of stage-like developmental theories (Wilber, 2000; Beck and Cowan, 1996; Kegan, 1982; Assagioli, 1990). In Fisher's (1997) review, these authors claim that spirituality is needed to transcend our ego-self structure and to integrate it into the higher states of consciousness otherwise our ego cannot access the Self because it lives through the filter of its own private thoughts, sensations, and emotions, but with the illusion of being in contact with reality. Spiritual practice, therefore, is a tool to uncover our Self (who we really are) and it adds nothing to our lives which we do not have in our potential. We do not change from self-centered and egoistic to loving and compassionate but unfold the god-like potential within us.

MSR literature draws on the above assumptions and theories in its attempts to conceptualise workplace spirituality in non-instrumental terms. For example, Vaughan (2002), Turner (1999), Lampman (2003), McCormick (1994) define spirituality at work as our inner consciousness, inner experience and that which comes from within or beyond our programmed beliefs and values. Others define it as our intra-personal experiences (Tischler, Biberman and McKeage (2002), as a state of wakefulness unmixed with images, thoughts or feelings (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi 1995:271 quoted by Heaton et al., 2004). The collective

dimension is expressed through conceptualising workplace spirituality in terms of “corporate consciousness” (Barrett, 1997; Cacioppe, 2000) and organisational consciousness (Gustavsson, 2001; King and Nicol, 1999; Anderson and Klein, 2000).

However, while emerging conceptualisations and findings in the area of spirituality at work are strengthening the subjectivist perspective of spirituality, its non-instrumental nature rarely becomes a center of MSR discussion. One of the reasons is that the non-instrumental approach to spirituality is a comparatively recent MCR area, while instrumentally-based approach has a much more established base of inquiry into the conceptualisation and/or measurement of spirituality as well as variety of theoretically, conceptually, and empirically sound inquiry traditions (e.g., Hood, 1974; 1975; Grimm, 1994; Ingersoll, 1994; Jones, 1994; MacDonald, 2000).

The approach of the instrumental stream is based on a clear understanding that religion and spirituality are both worthy of studying as phenomena because their effects on mental health and ethical behaviour are confirmed. It is essential to analyse some of the perspectives in the areas of the psychology of religion, personality psychology, clinical psychology in order to understand what MSR positivist researchers draw upon.

Personality psychologists conceptualise spirituality in adaptive, cognitive-motivational terms. Emmons (2003) and his colleagues (Emmons, Cheung, Tehrani, 1998) for example, focus on the doing-striving of an individual, and point out that while the spiritual state of mind is phenomenologically valid, it has little relevance for problem solving and goal attainment in concrete life situations.

For clinical psychologists spirituality is a tool to better client’s resilience. This perspective consciously discharges non-instrumental spirituality exactly because it fails to bring relief to persons (Jankowski, 2002). Spirituality, therefore, is worth pursuing only if it positively affects mental, emotional and behavioural aspects of individuals. This is opposed to the set of assumptions held by different spiritual traditions which have always used negative and stressful experiences as vibrations of growth to be embraced and not to be run from.

MSR researchers also use the solid theoretical and empirical evidence from the psychology of religion which defines spirituality through the emphasis on the content. Emotions (the way one feels) and a way of thinking

about one's purpose or religious issues constitute the content of spirituality (Hill, Pargament, Hood, Jr., McCullough, Swyers, Larson, Zinnbauer, 2000). The content of what one believes may provide a worldview or a perspective through which the world is translated, understood, and experienced. MSR scholars develop their research based on this premise (Pratt, 2000). Gibbons (1999), for example, builds an organisational model of spirituality at work on the findings from the psychology of religion when he dichotomises extrinsic and intrinsic spirituality (which is similar to our instrumental vs. non-instrumental dichotomy) by asking why someone is spiritual. He argues that while intrinsically religious people "view faith as a supreme value in its own right" and they live by their internalised beliefs, extrinsic religiosity (spirituality) is a utilitarian approach that uses religion as a means of obtaining something else. Translated into organisational science these instrumental approaches would focus on expressions of workplace spirituality that are cognitive-perceptual (MacDonald, 2000) and include cognitive-perceptual aspects like individual beliefs, attitudes and perceptions which can be empirically tested.

Apart from resilient and adaptive spirituality based on purely instrumental assumptions, some pragmatic views construct their frameworks on the assumptions of spiritual traditions. For example, the practical pragmatic side of Buddhism is expressed through its clear goal of ending human suffering. As Khong (1999) quoting de Silva (1979) states, Buddha's approach is pragmatic and oriented towards therapeutic concerns. Following the postulate of Pragmatism that the phenomenon is worth studying and considered being real only if it makes a difference in a subject's life, these views accept validity of subjective spiritual experiences. Applied to spirituality, such a postulate would mean that spirituality should become *real* for people in order to make a difference and transform their lives. By *real* some spiritual traditions (such as Buddhism used here as an example) mean that people need to create their own subjective spiritual reality instead of accepting someone else's beliefs. Such practical, spiritually-based views are non-instrumental in nature and hold a good potential for MSR field.

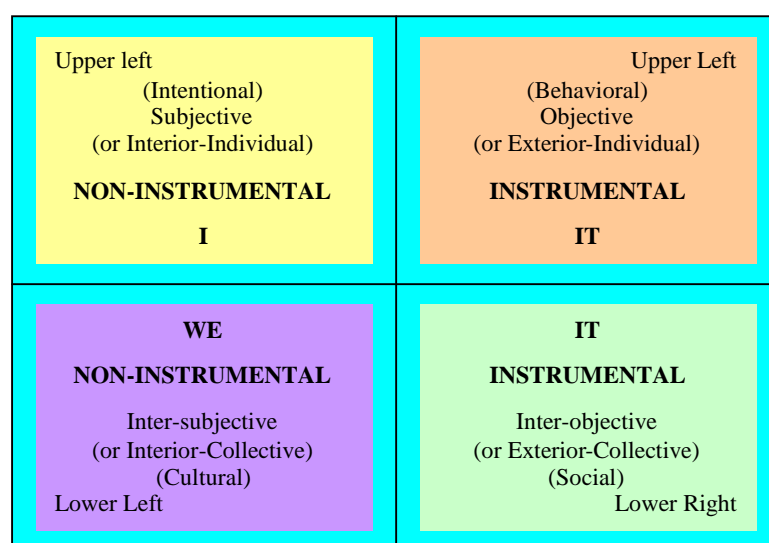
The difference between non-instrumental and instrumental approaches lies in the content of the ultimate goal. From the instrumental perspective, the goal is to work on closing the gap between what one desires and what one has. In the spiritual perspective the practicality lies in achieving happiness with the ultimate aim of letting go of all of our desires. The integrative nature of spiritual pragmatism would then mean that the goal of

spiritual practices embraces the instrumental goals while psychological strivings have narrower focus and do not accommodate transcendent perspective.

Organisational studies based on a more integrated approach are conducted quite intensely by Maharishi University. Its scholars (Heaton et al., 2004) proposed a dichotomised concept of spirituality where subjective states and experiences are called “pure spirituality” and its side which is expressible and seen as “applied spirituality”. The latter is a practical, unfolding application or manifestation of pure spirituality which is then expressed in terms of behaviour, mental processes, decision-making and intuition. For companies Heaton and his colleagues (2004) offer an "inside-out" approach by investigating the practical value of growth of spirituality in the individual as the basis for exploring its impact on organisations.

Following Wilber’s classification, after having identified instrumental and non-instrumental concepts, we find that left quadrants which represent subjective, interior nature of phenomenon (spirituality) (including the inside of collective experiences termed here as inter-subjective), - are congruent with a non-instrumental approach to spirituality. In this perspective, phenomenon is experienced as the end in itself, and spirituality would be worth pursuing for its own sake. The right-hand side of the matrix is associated with objective (individual) and inter-objective (collective), or exterior perspectives, which are very similar to the instrumental approach, when spirituality is considered as a means to an end, a tool to achieve certain results.

FIGURE 2: Wilber’s Four Quadrants applied to instrumental – non-instrumental workplace spirituality.



The literature findings and driving assumptions of the less developed non-instrumental approach are analysed in terms of their organisational implications. The latter are summarised into a basic guiding criteria which

organisations can use to clarify their intentions towards integration of spirituality, while leaders, managers and employees can use it to assess their own spiritual development.

Summing up where we have got to so far, the literature shows that different ontological assumptions drive different approaches to spirituality in organisations. While instrumental objectivist perspective to organisational spirituality is a strong part of the integral four quadrants perspective, it is a left-quadrant domain of subjective and hidden experience that deserves more attention. We now address a fundamental problem in researching an integrated model. How can we develop an integrated perspective, when the left hand side and the right hand side are built on separate ontologies about spirituality? This question is especially poignant when it is appreciated that contrasting ontological positions do not easily tolerate the methods of inquiry appropriate to each other.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON METHODOLOGIES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

The following critical analysis of epistemological assumptions present in both approaches answers the objective of the paper in clarifying the nature of instrumental and non-instrumental perspectives and in bringing more balance to the field by paying more attention to subjective approaches.

Specifically, the main assumption that drives researchers' choices in methodologies is whether the intra-personal experience can be empirically tested. The objectivistic answer to this question is an absolute "no". Only behavioural and social aspects of spirituality can be objectively researched as Giacalone and Jurkiewicz assert (Krahnke, Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2003). The subjectivist view argues that the terms "empirical" and "empiricism" have been used in two different ways which created confusion in academic world (Walsh, 2005; Wilber, 1997). In its broad use empirical simply means experiential. An empirical verification means evidence by experience. This allows for sensory, mental, and spiritual empiricism, seen respectively by the eyes of flesh, mind, and contemplation. However, empirical has also been given a very narrow meaning which confines it to sensory experience alone. Classical empiricists claim that all knowledge must be based on, and should be reduced to, purely sensory data. However, the non-instrumental perspective embraces broader understanding of experience which allows for questions of meaning and purpose, which could not be asked with the narrower empirical perspective.

The second main assumption is closely connected with the previous one and is about the attitude towards the researcher as an observer. The advocates of the instrumental approach claim that dispassionate objectivism afforded by the scientific method ensures that our suppositions are more than personal assumptions (Krahnke, Giacalone et al., 2003). They argue that interpretative, empathetic, introspective techniques compel researchers to make untested assumptions about why the world works as it does. The subjectivist view, on the contrary, claims that the conceptual tools of science are themselves non-sensory interior structures and operators (Wilber, 1998). That is why MSR non-instrumentalists call for more intense development and usage of methodologies which take into account the self-awareness of a researcher (Lips-Wiersma, 2003), for example, heuristic and action research which refer to a "process of internal search" (Sela-Smith:72, 2002; Anderson, 2000) and require a researcher to be present in the moment (Reason, 2003).

The third assumption deals with the relationship of a researcher with the subject. While the positivist perspective strongly insists on achieving measurable, objectively tested results (Krahnke, Giacalone et al., 2003) through predominantly quantitative techniques, subjectivist perspective insists on the 'alternative epistemologies' with "a bond between us and what we know" (Krahnke, Giacalone et al., 2003:399). Such a bond implies an opening of a dialogue between researcher and subject. The focus is then shifted on the process of spiritual transformation, asking why and how it happens in organisations and people, and showing that it is important in and of itself, rather than looking at what happens in the end as a result of it (for example, higher profits) (Neal, Bergmann Lichtenstein and Banner, 1999).

In fact, all three assumptions based on the non-instrumental approach turn upside down the research questions we ask. Benefiel (2003: 371) elaborates: "If spirituality is ultimately about non-materialistic concerns, is it appropriate to focus on the material gains to be reaped by integrating spirituality into organisational life? How can organisational researchers do responsible empirical research and at the same time not trivialize deep spiritual traditions?"

She further quotes Harman (1998) who claims that the new "business of business" is to serve the world's evolution to a higher state of consciousness. Thus, rather than asking "Does spirituality improve organisational performance?", a researcher might ask "How is this company helping to move its internal culture and the society around it to a higher state of consciousness?".

Thus, switching the focus to the left quadrants of Figure 2 fundamentally shifts the nature of the research questions from being instrumentally-oriented to non-instrumentally-based when the phenomenon is worth studying and existing as an end in itself, be it individual transformation, the organisational change process or any other phenomenon.

With the approach that validates inner experiences and offers the perspective from the inside, the research questions of the upper left quadrant would, therefore, include understanding of individual experiences to which people attribute spiritual content, as well as tapping into their conscious beliefs and attitudes in order to see from their perspective such phenomena as individual spiritual goals at work, the barriers to spiritual growth etc. The lower left quadrant with its perspective on collective, inter-subjective nature of the relationships between people invites us to investigate the cultural aspects of spiritually based organisations including management's conscious focus on building the official spiritual culture as well as spiritual experiences that people understand collectively.

The fundamental questions posed by Benefiel are answered by positivist researchers with a straightforward simplicity: there is no point in researching spirituality at work if it doesn't yield material results. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (Krahnke, Giacalone et al., 2003:398), the advocates of positivistic handling of organisational spirituality, argue that organisations need conclusive evidence showing that spirituality positively effects bottom line performance otherwise it *will not be given priority* (italics added). The MSR researchers answer the demand by providing organisations with quantitative empirical findings, when they clearly articulate that "their long term goal is to understand how spirituality can contribute to more productive organizations" (Ashmos and Duchon, 2000:143). Such instrumental focus of the right-hand quadrants is extensively used in pursuing such questions as the relationship between engaging in spiritual practices and variables like career choices, health indicators, behavioural choices etc. (upper right quadrant). The lower right approach would bring up objective, instrumental investigation of such issues as measurable rules and systems build on spiritual principles, identification of types of spiritual organisations etc.

Agreeing with the premise that the dominating organisational paradigm *is* currently fixed on measurable (productivity, market share etc.), we argue that the dramatic increase in interest in popular spirituality as well as the search for meaning in organisations (Robbins, Biberman and King, 1999; Konz and Ryan, 1999) have

led to an appearance of a new cohort of managers with heightened awareness towards the spiritual well-being of themselves and people around them.

The shift in organisational paradigms from orientation on profits as an ultimate goal to an attitude to profitability as one of the equally important purposes is shown in the growing evidence. For example, Robbins et al., (1999) quote Briskin's (1997) conclusions that the legacy of focusing on efficiency, driven by maximising organisational profit, resulted in the lack of strongly felt collective purpose which in turn caused suppressed creativity, dependence on managerial decisions and employees' indifference. Barrett's (1997) consciousness-based model supports the view that corporations that cannot move beyond self-interest will find themselves struggling to survive. He argues that the fundamental change that occurs during corporate transformation is a shift in attitude from "What's in it for us (me)?" to "What's best for the common good?"

Summing up, the epistemological and organisational assumptions drive our choices as researchers in what questions we ask and what methodologies we seek. Moreover, the complexity of modern environment accommodates both approaches, often within one company. Our task, then, as researchers, is to capture the dynamics of the reality by making our assumptions explicit and engaging in exploration of the difficult, hidden and unseen phenomena. There are still a lot of discoveries to be made in the left domain (in Figure 2) of the spiritual development before we can proceed to the stage of validation and confirmation.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND MISTREATMENTS OF INSTRUMENTAL AND NON-INSTRUMENTAL WORKPLACE SPIRITUALITY.

One of the main reasons why workplace spirituality is skeptically viewed by many organisations is because of the extremes into which it can fall. Clarifying misconceptions and the possible dangers of mistreatments of spirituality at work would strengthen each approach, contribute to the creation of a more integrated vision and ultimately, help organisations to increase their awareness when dealing with workplace spirituality.

Some people have a misguided expectation that knowledge in the form of information can deepen their spirituality, and that experience can be replaced by explanation (Bell and Taylor, 2001). Building on spiritual principles of commitment and cultivation, Senge (Senge and Wheatley, 2001) argues that one can't expect an instant transformation to happen by reading a couple of books on spirituality and attending a two-day seminar. In its essence such an attitude is utilitarian and outwardly focused – instrumental in the context of

this paper. On the other hand, too much focus on one's inner life with no concern for others can lead to the extreme form of the non-instrumental approach. Extreme subjectivity rooted in Western individualism is expressed as narcissism, egocentrism, ethnocentrism, and arbitrariness (Krahnke, Giacalone et al., 2003).

Paradoxically, the excessive preoccupation with oneself leads to the cases of extreme instrumentality in workplaces, when managers, for example, start openly imposing their spiritual views by proselytizing everyone into thinking alike (Cunha, Rego and D'Oliveira, 2003), or people can be forced, for instance, to join "happy family" organisations (Boje, 1995; Willmott, 1993). The consequences of such organisational policies for many employees can be disillusionment and self-alienation from the organisation.

THE GUIDING CRITERIA OF NON-INSTRUMENTALLY ORIENTED APPROACH TO WORKPLACE SPIRITUALITY.

The alternatives to these extremes can be formulated in the form of the non-instrumentally oriented criteria which can help organisations avoid falling into a manipulative mode when handling such sensitive and subjective matter as spirituality. Although in many cases the non-instrumental nature is not explicitly articulated, the literature, nevertheless, provides us with a good account of manifestations of spirituality which are non-instrumental in nature. Although the proposed criteria are by no means exhaustive, we contend that they are the most fundamental characteristics which shape our attitudes and behaviours in either an instrumental or a non-instrumental way. Such criteria can also be used in a future research to identify people within organisations who might be motivated spiritually. By examining their stories, we, therefore, can tap into the "black box" of the interior-based spiritual intent that drives non-instrumental, process-oriented behaviours.

The first characteristic flows from understanding spirituality as a focus on an experience, as a process when there is a realisation that the journey is valid for its own sake. In an organisational context this criterion can be translated into viewing work as a spiritual practice when people treat each experience as an opportunity for personal growth (on the individual level) (Biberman and Whitty, 1997), and creating a fun/love/joy based culture such as that which has been attributed to South-West Airlines (on a collective level) (Milliman, Ferguson, Trickett and Condemi, 1999).

The second characteristic is in having non-materialistic, altruistic, and inward oriented goals. Intrinsic spirituality is about the content of the goals which translate into re-examining the nature of actions and/or business. It means widening the focus of business objectives with inclusion of potentially conflicting multiple stakeholders' perspective (Biberman, Whitty and Robbins, 1999; Overell, 2001) as well as such regulators of the life of business (apart from profit) as the human and moral factors which in the long term are at least equally important for the life of a business, as Pope John Paul II reportedly said (Porth, McCall and Bausch, 1999).

The third characteristic is about acting according to the authenticity principle. It includes the fundamentals of "the how" of human activities such as accepting responsibility for one's thoughts, feeling and actions (Helminiak, 2001) and means that people engage in certain activity because it is *the right thing to do*. In organisational context, this criterion can show itself through social responsibility programs, and communities' supporting activities (Neal, 1999). This is consistent with Rothberg's (1993) idea mentioned by Bierly III, Kessler and Christensen (2000) of "socially engaged spirituality", which refers to the integration of our practical lives with our spiritual development so that we might respond to the needs of our time.

The fourth criterion is in acting beyond one's self-interest. In MSR literature serving others and having a purpose that is larger than one's self is one of the central aspects of spirituality (Neck and Millman, 1994). In organisations non-instrumental spirituality would translate into creation of a purpose and vision which will be aligned with the values and aspirations of employees. A lot of authors note that paradoxically, when people act beyond their self-interests they become more creative and intuitive (Millman, Czaplewski, et al., 2003) and find that they have energy not available when pursuing narrower goals as Senge (1990) quoted by Twigg, Wyld, and Brown (2001) asserts.

The fifth characteristic of the non-instrumentally oriented approach to workplace spirituality is sincerity, respect to and genuine interest in people. MSR literature identifies sincerity of management in its actions and honesty towards employees and other stakeholders as one of the prerequisites of workplace spirituality. (Millman et al., 2003; Gibbons, 1999; Kinjerski and Skrypnik, 2004; Burack, 1999). This principle embodies strong employee participation, creation of forums for open discussion and feedback mechanisms when development programs associated with spirituality at work are introduced (Millman, Czaplewski et al., 2003). Importantly, sincerity is better expressed not only through spiritually-oriented programs but rather

through authentic commitment of management to the spiritual well-being of the company's stakeholders which can be manifested, for instance, through flexible hours and job-sharing opportunities and community support programs as well as through genuine acts of leadership and creation of integrative solutions.

CONCLUSIONS:

There can be three sets of conclusions derived from this paper.

The first one concerns the fact that MSR researchers should pay more attention to the instrumental-non-instrumental dichotomy because it sheds more light on the ontological, epistemological assumptions from which researchers operate. As can be seen from the above discussion, the non-instrumental approach to organisational spirituality is rooted in the assumptions of the left-hand quadrants which include the legitimacy of subjective experiences, the bond between the researcher and the subject and the participation of the observer in constructing the reality of the observed, as well as the influence the researched phenomena inevitably exercise on the researcher. These assumptions become the base for interpretative, participative methodologies.

This calls for the second set of conclusions which include the focus on the inquiry into subjective methodologies such as phenomenology, ethnography, hermeneutics, mindful first-person inquiry etc. – all different methods united by the common premise of validity of intra- and inter-personal experiences in the broad empirical sense, heightened awareness of a researcher and, therefore, a closer, interrelated nature of relationship between the observer and the observed.

Finally, the four-quadrant instrumental-non-instrumental typology clarifies research questions that can be asked from either “left-“ or “right-hand” perspective and how they can be most validly investigated. An integrated theory of spirituality at work is possible but it needs to be developed on the basis of a variety of contrasting ontologies and modes of enquiry. This in turn requires an acceptance of the validity of both positivist and interpretive approaches. Spiritual intent and personal and collective spiritual experiences at work constitute the non-instrumental research questions, while objective research questions account for measurable spiritual outcomes in the form of attitudes, careers choices and certain behavioural patterns as well as the questions concerning the connection between spiritual development and organisational designs and structure.

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