

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Characteristics of higher common principles from Boltanski and Thévenot (1991)

Higher common principle	Characteristics	Examples from Boltanski and Thévenot (1991)
Inspired principle	Primacy of singularity	<p>“The inspired world, in which beings must be prepared to welcome changes of state, is weakly equipped and not very well stabilized. All the things that support and outfit equivalence in the other worlds, such as measures, rules, money, hierarchy, and laws, are missing here. (...) The inspired world has to confront the paradox of a worth that eludes measure and a form of equivalence that privileges particularity” (p.167)</p> <p>“They thus have the duty of shaking off the yoke, of separating themselves from the herd, of seeking individual liberation, not in order to pursue a selfish goal but in order to achieve human dignity while reestablishing authentic relations among human beings” (p. 169)</p>
	Inspiration as a sought-after state	<p>“The state of worthiness has the attributes of inspiration itself, in the form of illumination, a gratuitous benefit that is at once external and internal, felt in the experience of an inner movement that takes over and transforms (...). It is manifested by feelings and passions (...) what cannot be measured, especially in its industrial forms.” (p.167)</p> <p>“The passion that moves them instills in them at the same time a desire to create—a desire awakened by inspiration—along with anxiety or doubt, love for the object pursued, and suffering.” (p.168)</p> <p>“It is in the nature of inspiration to pour out, to spring up, to manifest itself through a ‘flash of genius,’ a ‘spark’ that will provoke the appearance of an idea” (p. 171)</p>
	Search for the surpassing of oneself	<p>“Access to inspired worth thus calls for sacrificing forms of stabilization and the contrivances that ensure the identity of persons in other worlds” (p.169)</p> <p>“A true adventure is an inner adventure, and a true voyage is a voyage of the mind, a pathfinding, a quest” (p. 170)</p> <p>“Inspiration manifests itself spontaneously, suddenly, in a disorderly fashion, gripping the creator and obliging him to ‘surpass himself” (p. 171)</p>

	Acceptance of the random and the mysterious	<p>“What provides access to worthiness — a state whose advent is never predictable—is not renunciation per se, but a ‘sequence of singular chance occurrences’ (...) ‘with all its—happily—uncontrolled and mysterious aspects’” (p. 169)</p> <p>“The path toward inspiration is ‘an ill-defined path, full of detours, made up of encounters and changes of direction’” (p. 170)</p>
Domestic principle	Importance of status-based hierarchy	<p>“The worth that, in the domestic world, is a function of the position one occupies in chains of personal dependence can only be grasped in a relational sense: worthier than..., less worthy than...” (p. 172)</p> <p>“As part of a hierarchy, they are worthy owing to the relation that connects them to worthier beings by whom they are appreciated and valued, beings who have attached them to their persons” (p. 174)</p> <p>“The ordering of ranks and stations makes it possible to find one’s place in hierarchies and to allocate deference and respect in such a way as to ‘be correct in all circumstances’” (p. 178)</p>
	Attachment to the distinctive signs of a social rank	<p>“The inscription of signs of worth in the form of titles, heraldry, clothing, marks on the body, and so on, is sought in order to limit the uncertainty of situations involving personal encounters and to reduce the costs of identification” (p. 173)</p> <p>“Objects are primarily determined by the way they support and maintain hierarchical relationships among persons” (p. 177)</p>
	Primacy of tradition and habits	<p>“Beings are also worthy because they are rooted in tradition, that is, they are proper (as opposed, for example, to legal in the civic world, or to exact in industrial arrangements). They exist in continuity (a property of the unworthy in the inspired world), and they possess all the qualities that manifest permanence, such as firmness, loyalty, punctuality” (p. 174)</p> <p>“The worthy act naturally because they are moved by habits. This arrangement, locked into the body, ensures the stability of behavior without requiring obedience to instruction, as industrial routines do. (...) ‘Only habit gives poise’, because it makes good manners natural » (p. 175)</p>
	Mutual respect and formality in interpersonal relations	<p>“The superior is benevolent and helpful with everyone (...) True worth in fact presupposes simplicity, delicacy, and thoughtfulness” (p. 174)</p> <p>“When they face superiors, beings worthy of esteem are deferential, which ‘does not however imply obsequiousness, opportunism, or flattery’. They are honest (...) and they maintain relations of trust. This attitude “will tend to create a climate of understanding” based on discretion and reserve: (...). Nevertheless, less worthy persons ‘avoid familiarity with their hierarchical superior, even if they know him personally’ (p.174)</p>

		<p>“Thus, persons who possess dignity in subordination, however unworthy they may be, are only truly deficient when they find themselves detached from the units that included them, either by distancing (foreigner, outsider) or owing to their own selfishness” (p. 176)</p>
	Duty and responsibility to the less fortunate	<p>“The more worthy beings have duties (‘even more than rights’) with respect to those in their entourage, and especially with respect to those whom they include and for whom they are consequently responsible. These duties call for ‘the rejection of all selfishness’” (p.179)</p> <p>“The less worthy, who share by way of personal dependence in the worth of those to whom they are subordinated, are part of the more worthy who include them and who bear responsibility for them” (p. 179)</p>
Fame principle	Primacy of momentary fame and renown	<p>“Fame establishes worth. In the world of public opinion, worthy beings are the ones that distinguish themselves, are visible, famous, recognized: their visibility depends on their more or less attention-getting, persuasive, informative character” (p. 187)</p> <p>“The world of public opinion places little value on memory” (p. 186)</p>
	Individual need for consideration satisfied by identification	<p>“People are all capable of reaching that state because they share the property of being moved by self-love. (...) They have a common desire to be recognized, a common craving for respect” (p.187)</p> <p>“In the world of public opinion, the relation of worth is a relation of identification. The most worthy include the others because the latter identify with the former, as the fan identifies with the star.” (p. 189)</p>
	Prevalence of the public fact and of visibility	<p>“Having no secrets is the price paid, more generally, for reaching the state of worthiness in this world. To be known, one must agree to reveal everything, keep nothing back, hide nothing from one’s public.” (p. 189)</p> <p>“In this world in which everything that has value is immediately known and visible, persons are constantly making comparisons” (p. 190)</p> <p>“Beings achieve worth only if the presentation is made visible, in a transparent space in which it can be looked at and compared” (p. 191)</p> <p>“What is known is what is already obvious, and, conversely, what is either unknown to the majority (esoteric) or indistinguishable and lacking in relief is debatable” (p. 192)</p>
Civic principle	Primacy of membership in a group	<p>“The distinctive feature of the civic world is that it attaches primordial importance to beings that are not persons. In this world, the ones who accede to higher states of worth are not human persons but rather the collective persons that they constitute by meeting together” (p. 193)</p> <p>“This activity is liberating because it frees people from the oppression of selfish interests” (p. 194)</p> <p>“The person who becomes a member gains in stature because he breaks out of his isolation” (p. 199)</p>

	Representation of the group as a duty	“A being can also be qualified as worthy if it is recognized as representative, a term that, in the civic world, designates the way in which other beings are included and the relation of worth among beings. To be a representative gives authority within an organization and confers the capacity to exercise a power.” (p.194)
	Subordination of the individual interest to the general will	<p>“Persons are all subject to the same justice because everyone possesses a conscience that is fashioned in the image of the collective conscience and because everyone is capable, by listening to the voice of this conscience, of subordinating his or her own will to the general will. This act of becoming aware gives persons “the will to organize themselves,” that is, to surmount the singularities that divide them in order to bring about the union of all” (p. 193)</p> <p>“The worth of persons depends on the state they are in: as particular persons, they are unworthy because they are reduced to being merely themselves, “isolated individuals,” slaves of their own particular interests and condemned to powerlessness; they become worthy when they accede to the general state and make themselves the expression of a general will and the embodiment of a general interest.” (p. 195)</p> <p>“In the civic world, one attains worth by sacrificing particular and immediate interests, by transcending oneself, by refusing to place ‘individual interests ahead of collective interests’ (...). The rejection of the particular makes it possible to transcend the divisions that separate, in order to act collectively. This is the condition of solidarity” (p. 198)</p>
	Prevalence of the law	<p>“Legality defines a form of worth that is particularly appreciated in this world” (p. 194)</p> <p>“One may seek to prevent the dissolution of collective persons by codifying them, by subjecting them to a legal obligation” (p. 198)</p>
Market principle	Prevalence of the desire for individual possession	<p>“In the market world, actions are motivated by the desires of individuals, which drive them to possess the same objects, rare goods whose ownership is inalienable” (p.204)</p> <p>“Worthy persons are rich, millionaires, and they live the high life. Their wealth allows them to own what others want” (p. 205)</p> <p>“Real life is what people want to acquire” (p. 206)</p>
	Immediate competition in a market	<p>“The competition between beings placed in a state of rivalry governs their conflicts through an evaluation of market worth, the price, which expresses the importance of converging desires. Worthy objects are salable goods that have a strong position in a market.” (p. 204)</p> <p>“Market worth does not participate in a construction of time. The state of worthiness includes no memory of the past, no plan for the future (...) Instability does not imply a defect, as it does in the industrial world.” (p. 205)</p>

	Opportunism as a desired state	“Fate can usually be made to turn out in one’s favor, transformed into good luck, if people exploit the situation opportunistically and take advantage of opportunities that arise” (p. 205)
	Mediation of interpersonal relationships through transactions	“In the market world, people are thus detached from one another (and in particular from any domestic bond), liberated in such a way that they lend themselves willingly to every opportunity to engage in a transaction” (p. 208) “Since market objects encompass the desires of others, their possession implies a hierarchical relation in the ordinary sense of the term” (p. 209) “The object, a good or a service, helps to fashion a link between people by attracting, by interesting” (p. 209)
Industrial principle	Primacy of the objectivity of scientific methods and tools	“The industrial world is the one in which technological objects and scientific methods have their place” (p. 211) “The objects in the industrial world are instruments, means, mobilized for an action that is presented as a task of production” (p. 214) “The operations of standardization and formalization make it possible to see the world through data expressed in numbers, quantified, ready to be processed, combined, added up” (p. 217)
	Search for performance and efficiency	“The ordering of the industrial world is based on the efficiency of beings, their performance, their productivity, and their capacity to ensure normal operations and to respond usefully to needs” (p. 212)
	Search for routinization, prediction, reliability	“The proper functioning of beings extends the present into a future, opening up the possibility of prediction” p. 212) “The quality of worthy beings, beings that are functional, operational, or (when humans are involved) professional, thus expresses their capacity to integrate themselves into the machinery, the cogwheels of an organization, along with their predictability, their reliability, and it guarantees realistic projects in the future” (p. 213) “The temporal equivalence instituted by industrial worth is particularly visible in objects apprehended according to their aptitude for managing the future, such as flow charts, plans, and budgets” (p. 215)
	Prioritization by skills and expertise	“In the industrial world, people have a professional qualification related to their capability and activities. (...) This scale of qualification underlies a hierarchy of states of worth, a hierarchy marked by competencies and responsibilities” (p. 214)

		“Persons themselves are integrated as a function of the more or less complex <i>competencies</i> they exercise” (p. 217)
	Adaptation to local production conditions	“The implantation of an industrial arrangement presupposes adjustments in the environment, adaptations, redefinitions: “The overall program is adapted to each particular terrain and all its phases are redefined as a function of the characteristics proper to this terrain, while the overall framework is maintained” (p. 217)

Appendix 2 – Higher common principles associated with social aid and commercial logics in Pache et Santos (2013)

Characteristics	Social welfare logic	Commercial logic
Objective	<p>Industrial principle: adaptation to local conditions to gain efficiency</p> <p>“Make products and/or services available to address local social needs” (p. 980)</p> <p>“Under the social welfare logic, responses to social needs are thus perceived to be best conceived at a local level, where they can take into account the demands of local constituencies and strengths and weaknesses of the local context” (p. 980)</p>	<p>Market principle: competition for a good on a market</p> <p>“Sell goods and/or services on the market to generate economic surplus that can be legitimately appropriated by owners.” (p. 980)</p>
Organizational form	<p>Civic principle: democratic governance and enrolment to the group</p> <p>“The nonprofit form (<i>association</i>) is legitimate because of its ownership structure giving power to people who adhere to a social mission. The non-redistribution constraint ensures a real focus on the social goal.” (p. 980)</p> <p>“The social welfare logic further prescribes democratic control as the appropriate way to monitor strategy and operations. Importantly, <i>associations</i> are built, under French law, around democratic principles: members</p>	<p>Industrial principle: search for performance and control</p> <p>“The for-profit form is legitimate because its ownership structure allows it to channel human resources and capital to areas of higher economic return.” (p. 980)</p> <p>“The commercial logic rewards efficiency and control (D’Aunno et al., 2000), which is best achieved through for-profit entities that grant shareholders control over the organizational goals and operations, and channel human resources and capital to areas of high economic return” (p. 980)</p>

	<p>who demonstrate their commitment to the mission democratically elect, among themselves, a volunteer board of directors that is in charge of the <i>association's</i> leadership.” (p. 980)</p>	
Legitimate owners	<p>Civic principle: democratic governance “The legitimate owners of sites are those who adhere to and are willing to protect the organization’s social mission” (p. 984)</p>	<p>Market principle: desire for individual possession “The legitimate owners of sites are those who have invested capital in the sites” (p. 984)</p>
Shape of the sites	<p>Civic principle: possession by the group “Sites should be structured as autonomous entities that allow for local members to take ownership of the site.” (p. 984)</p>	<p>Industrial principle: search for performance and reliability “Sites should be structured as entities that allow for control and oversight from the owners.” (p. 984)</p>
Governance mechanism	<p>Civic principle: democratic governance “Democratic control, which is, by law, constitutive of the <i>association</i> status, is the appropriate way to monitor strategy and operations, allowing organizations to take into account local social needs.” (p. 980)</p>	<p>Industrial principle: organizational optimization through hierarchy and quality control “Hierarchical control is the appropriate way to monitor strategy and operations in a way that ensures consistency of products and services and efficient allocation of resources.” (p. 980) “Predictability in the quality of a service or product is a key determinant of purchase: consistency and uniformity in production are a source of sustainable revenues.” (p. 980-981)</p>
Use of profit	<p>Civic principle: subordination of individual interest to the general will “The legitimate use of profits is its reinvestment in the mission of the organization.” (p. 984)</p>	<p>Market principle: retribution of transaction “The legitimate use of profits is the distribution of dividends to shareholders in proportion to the capital invested.” (p. 984)</p>

Location of procedures	Industrial principle: adaptation to local conditions, weight of local expertise “Procedures should be adapted at the local level to adapt to the specific needs and resources of the local environment.” (p. 985) “Local actors, as legitimate experts of local needs, should be involved in the leadership of local sites.” (p. 984)	Industrial principle: search for predictability, reliability, weight of national expertise “Procedures should be standardized because this is a source of consistency and efficiency gains.” (p. 985) “Experts, mobilized at the national level, are legitimate to address organizational and strategic challenges.” (p. 984)
Control mechanisms	Industrial principle: adaptation to local conditions “No central resources are needed to monitor sites because practices designed at the local level should also be controlled at the local level.” (p. 985)	Industrial principle: search for predictability, reliability “Centrally designed standard procedures should be monitored centrally, thus requiring the mobilization of resources at the central level.” (p. 985)
Identity	Industrial principles: adaptation to local conditions “The brand should be defined at the local level, as a way for local actors to express their knowledge and identity.” (p. 985)	Industrial principle: standardization “The brand should be unified across all sites to project consistency in identity and quality.” (p. 985)
Professional legitimacy	Civic principle: subordination of individual interest to the general will “Professional legitimacy is driven by contribution to the social mission.” (p. 980)	Industrial principle: primacy of competency and expertise “Professional legitimacy is driven by technical and managerial expertise.” (p. 980)

Appendix 3 – Higher common principles associated with academic science and commercial logics in Murray (2010)

Characteristics	Logic of academic science	Commercial logic
<p>Goal</p>	<p>Civic principle: contribution to the group “The logic of academic science attends to the pursuit of knowledge for knowledge’s sake.” (p. 348) Fame principle: search for visibility, for being considered “The fight for priority is the engine that energizes the disclosure of scientific results (Merton, 1957)” (p. 348)</p>	<p>Market principle: desire for individual possession “The institutional logic of commercial science is directed at turning ideas into private property and economic rewards, elaborating a logic built around the degree to which a scientist can exclude others from replicating his work and thus appropriate the value created by that knowledge” (p. 348)</p>
<p>Production process</p>	<p>Fame principle: search for visibility and reputation through publishing “Like other university-based scholarly pursuits in the humanities and social sciences, it is subject to the exchange cycle of knowledge production, disclosure, and reward.” (p. 348) Fame principle: primacy of reputation and trust “However, publication is the predominant means of disclosure and initiates an exchange that lies at the heart of the institutional logic of academic science: knowledge described in a publication is a gift made in exchange for the hope of recognition and adjudicated by peers through the review process” (p. 348)</p>	<p>Market principle: desire for exclusive possession “This protection was traditionally achieved through secrecy.” (p. 348) Industrial principle: objectivity of the selection process based on rules and standardization “Legal guidelines define the “rules” of patenting. These laws cover not only what constitutes patentable matter but also the requirements that the ideas be nonobvious, novel, and useful. These standards are more broadly applicable (but bounded) compared to standards in publishing, which vary by journal.” (p. 348) Market principle: mediation through transactions “The adjudication of patentability does not operate through a peer-review system. Instead, a patent office and its professional examiners make this determination through a series of negotiations that include the scientist and lawyers (Cockburn, Kortum, and Stern 2003). As a result, while disclosure through publication takes only a few months (in the physical</p>

		and life sciences), the granting of a patent takes an average of three years. The negotiation of rights continues after a patent is granted, with “interested” parties having the right to challenge the patent in formal legal proceedings (not through peer scientists, who adjudicate claims of fraud in academic science).” (p. 348-350)
Rewards expected	<p>Fame principle: primacy of reputation and trust “Recognition is directly valued by those who engage in academic science and is reinforced and translated into future resources through a cycle of credit (Latour and Woolgar 1979).” (p. 348) “Priority leading to credit, recognition and status” (p. 349)</p>	<p>Market principle: desire of possession “Rights leading to the exclusion and the right to appropriate licenses” (p. 349) Market principle: opportunism “Like publications, patents also establish priority for their inventors; however, this is incidental to the property rights that are conferred to their owner and serve to complete the commercial logic of exchange, since they can be used to extract economic rewards from others.” (p. 350) “In addition, an important feature of a patent is that it distinguishes between the inventors—those individuals who developed the ideas—and the owner (as-signee) of the property rights, with the result being that the rewards of patenting can be contractually transferred to others and can be captured by the owner, with or without the agreement of the inventor.” (p. 350)</p>
Injunctions to exchange	<p>Fame principle: required to be visible “Strong normative requirements (with different terms)” (p. 349)</p>	<p>Market principle: respect of individual freedom to operate transactions “No obligation to trade” (p. 349)</p>
Concerned actors	<p>Domestic principle: construction of an ‘entre-soi’ “While publishing is a matter for individual discretion (in academia)” (p. 348)</p>	<p>Industrial principle: primacy of competency and expertise</p>

	<p>“Exchange partners: homogeneous – other scientists” (p. 349)</p>	<p>“Patenting (in industry and academia) is undertaken at the discretion of different constituencies: university administrators or industrial managers, technology transfer officers (TTOs), lawyers, and investors.” (p. 348)</p>
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Appendix 4 – Higher common principles associated with ecologizing and economizing logics in York et al. (2016)

Characteristics	Ecologizing logic	Economizing logic
Goals and symbols	<p>Civic principle: subordination of individual interest to the general will “WRA and other environmental SMOs in Colorado espoused a logic of ecologizing, emphasizing interdependence and maintenance of relationships that perpetuate human and natural communities (Frederick, 1995). An ecologizing logic prioritizes goals of environmental preservation and recognizes nature’s inherent moral value.” (p. 589) “Values focused on life preservation through community and linkage to nature” (p. 591) “Measure progress through conservation of nature and life” (p. 591) “Natural environment is under attack by negative externalities of business” (p. 591)</p>	<p>Industrial principle: search for efficiency and performance, optimization of resources “The goals of the economizing logic are linked to the ideals of efficiency, wealth creation, and speed.” (p. 588) “Seek the efficient use of resources for material improvement” (p. 591) “Measure progress through economic profits” (p. 591) “Natural environment is a resource to be utilized by business and society” (p. 591)</p>
Governance	<p>Civic principle: primacy of the law “Regulatory intervention is required to increase adoption of wind energy” (p. 591) Industrial <u>and</u> civic principles: optimization of collective costs</p>	<p>Industrial principle: optimization of resources and costs “The goals of economizing were also embedded in the governance of Colorado’s electricity industry through the CPUC. This regulatory agency consists of three commissioners appointed by the Governor</p>

	<p>“We need a federal policy that recognizes the true costs of our energy appetite... The impact on the global environment and the lives of our sons and daughters.” (p. 591)</p>	<p>and confirmed by the state senate. The CPUC oversees the rates and resource plans of all utilities and was charged by state law to require utilities to seek the “least-cost” option for energy production” (p. 588)</p> <p>Industrial principle: search for efficiency “Regulatory interference with free markets regarding wind energy will lead to inefficiency and human needs not being met” (p. 591)</p> <p>Industrial principle: search for reliability “Mandating the use of this expensive, fluctuating energy source will not only increase electricity rates, it will wreak havoc on the reliability of the electric grid.” (p. 591)</p>
<p>Practices</p>	<p>Industrial <u>and</u> civic principle: optimization of resources and collective costs “Wind energy should be adopted to reduce environmental degradation” (p. 591) “Do something about climate change as well as all the other external costs related to our heavy reliance on fossil fuels... wind energy has been a big part of that.” (p. 591)</p>	<p>Industrial principle: optimization of resources and costs “Wind energy should only be adopted when customers demand it and are willing to pay and cost is acceptable” (p. 591) “ If we’re going to have to compete for customers, we better understand who they are, what they want, what we could offer them, how we could make money off of them ... Some alternative ways of utilities making money.” (p. 591)</p>

Appendix 5 – Higher common principles associated with religious and market logics in Gümüşay et al. (2020)

Characteristics	Religious logic	Market logic
Mission of the organization	<p>Civic principle: refusal of individual interest “Islamic banking explicitly bans the payment of interest” (p. 127) “Likewise, it prohibits speculation and risk trading, as in conventional derivatives” (p. 127)</p> <p>Domestic principle: respect of traditional religious rules and sanction if not compliant “To accommodate these diverse views, they later discussed a different credit card model that would devolve this debate to the customer by obliging them to sign a document in which they committed to adhere to Sharia standards. Through regular monitoring, the bank could reprimand customers and even terminate the business relationship in case of misuse.” (p. 138)</p>	<p>Market logic: financial opportunism through a diversified offer “The first provider of Islamic compliant financial products and services in Germany” (p. 139)</p> <p>Industrial principle: search for objectivity, transparency and efficiency “They frequently referred to deliberately vague higher-order values of sustainability, transparency and trustworthiness, which are not explicitly religious, but straddle market and religious concerns.” (p. 140)</p>
Governance	<p>Domestic principle: consultation of seniors to ensure tradition is respected “Bank representatives frequently discussed their evolving strategy with officials of the four largest Muslim organizations in Germany, representing over 2000 mosques, to gain their approval as legitimating stakeholders and their business as potential customers” (p. 135)</p> <p>Civic principles: representativity of the different departments “More formally, the bank’s internal Ethics Council consulted an external panel of three prominent Islamic scholars that formed the</p>	

	<p>external Ethics Council to ensure religious compliance. Together they formed a construction that weaved throughout the entire organization, as members of the internal council were at the same time positioned across departments, and the advice given impacted the whole organization from practices, processes to products and structures” (p. 135)</p>	
<p>Managerial principles and organizational practices</p>	<p>Domestic principle: respect of traditional values “Proponents of this strong view demanded a full commitment to the spirit of Islamic law and a comprehensive reinvention of banking based on the primacy of Islamic values: Islamic banking is not just about the product. It is about values. (...) What is the underlying idea behind Islamic conformity? (...) By this holistic approach, I understand that we do not just abide by strict rules, but go beyond and include sustainability, animal protection, and so on.”” (p. 138)</p> <p>Inspired principles: recognition of singularity “For instance, the bank planned to impose a ‘no beard’ policy for male staff as a signal of compliance with market conventions of professionalism. Some staff, however, considered it an unacceptable intrusion in their religious expression. Heated debates culminated in one manager storming down the corridor red-faced – and the bank abandoning the policy.” (p. 137)</p> <p>Domestic principle: respect of rituals and traditions</p>	<p>Industrial principle: primacy of compliance and reliability “Other managers endorsed religious compliance and rejected any plans to raise ethical standards beyond strict prescriptions. They aimed to fit religion into the market. Using the vocabulary of the market, they considered Islamic compliance a “risk”, “cost” or means to unlock the German market.” (p. 138)</p> <p>Industrial principle: objective standardization and measurement instruments “When the Head of Compliance developed the bank’s compliance management standards, he took the market-typical seven pillars of compliance and added “Islamic Finance discussion and concerns” as an eighth column to his excel spreadsheet” (p. 138) “Embodying personal values was far from straightforward, however. Performance metrics and compliance standards cut across individuals’ religious beliefs. Products that over- or underemphasized religious prescriptions or communications were felt to instrumentalize religion in pursuit of profit.” (p. 140)</p>

	<p>“Religious practices typically took staff away from their desks, a situation that employers usually sought to minimize. Yet, management typically scheduled meetings around prayers or paused for them. On Fridays, many employees extended their lunchbreak, self-selecting into groups of like-minded colleagues when visiting the mosque together for the congregational midday sermon and prayer, as the Quran restricts work at this time” (p. 141)</p> <p>Domestic principle: material objects referring to religious traditions</p> <p>“The prayer room was the most intuitive place to note how staff used different physical places to sustain separate conversations and give salience to religion or market. It engaged all senses in carving out space from the office environment. Its spatial separation, incense sticks, devotional atmosphere, and colorful prayer rugs facing Mecca formed a stark contrast to the monotone grey, black and white of the conference facilities, reception areas, and work stations. Notably, KT Bank had consciously rented this space in the financial center of Frankfurt, “the finance capital of Germany”” (p. 141)</p>	
<p>Organizational identity</p>		<p>Industrial principle: objectivity of the brand image and standardization</p> <p>“We need to be careful what associations are connected with Kuwait and Turkey. This is why the reorientation to call us KT Bank, not Kuveyt Türk, is a step in the right direction.” (p. 139)</p>

		<p>Industrial principle: optimization of visual resources by selecting ambivalent elements, adaptation to local conditions</p> <p>“For instance, visual presentations such as images on calendars or products used very subtle religious symbols. Those versed in Islam would recognize their religious connotation, but others could enjoy them as artistic or cultural artifacts. The most visible instance of this interpretive flexibility was KT Bank’s logo. It shows a yellow date tree on a green background. For those unfamiliar with the Islamic faith, this may seem an unremarkable choice, possibly evoking a sense of environmental or economic sustainability as supported by mentions of the “long-living and sustainable palm tree”. Muslims, by contrast, would recognize green as the ‘color of Islam’ and associate the date with divine nourishment” (p. 139)</p> <p>“From among three alternatives, the bank’s leadership selected the marketing campaign whose subtle imagery signaled religious values to the religiously informed, while offering secular business readings for everybody else. In fact, a senior manager emphasized their wish to simultaneously speak to different target groups in a meeting with the agency. Central to this subtlety were slogans that play with double meanings in German. For instance, one campaign slogan translates as: “Now there is a bank that does not trade with everything, but always with accountability.” Another reads: “Now there is a bank that does not speculate but invests sensibly.” These signaled KT Bank’s religious commitments not to speculate or trade in improper</p>
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		goods, but could also be interpreted as a distinctive market position by secular observers.” (p. 139)
Discourses and languages	<p>Domestic principle: values expressed in the traditional language</p> <p>“The “outsider” coauthors noted the same mechanism for carving out a niche for religious sentiments. People expressed these in Turkish or Arabic, rather than in the official office languages, English or German. They fluidly switched languages in both informal conversations and formal meetings.” (p. 142)</p>	<p>Industrial principle: vocabulary focused on figures, indicators and financial models</p> <p>“Finally, staff accommodated competing commitments to religion or market through languages. Intuitively, people spoke “banking” predominantly through the language of numbers, but also couched their concerns in professional jargon and abbreviations. They used complicated financial models and spreadsheets that only experts could decipher, or referred to their minimum requirement for risk management as “MaRisk”” (p. 142)</p>