A field perspective on sustainability transitions: The case of religious organizations

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A B S T R A C T

This article proposes the field perspective as an approach to explain organizational activities in sustainability transitions. It applies this framework to analyze environmental activities of religious organizations in Germany and Switzerland. Religious organizations can become important actors in transitions by drawing on their extensive membership, material resources, and public visibility. However, to date, research is dearth about the conditions that facilitate transition activities of religious organizations. The empirical insights of this study show differences in the activities (a) between religious incumbents and challengers and (b) between the supra-local and local scale. The field perspective allows for explaining these differences as outcomes of the organizations' power positions and diverging institutional logics on the supra-local and local scale. Rather than religious beliefs, the interplay of power and scale-specific logics shapes activities of religious organizations.

1. Introduction

Religions can make a difference in the transitions towards environmentally more sustainable societies (e.g., Mohamad et al., 2012; Jenkins et al., 2018; Koehrsen, 2018b; Ives and Kidwell, 2019). More than 80% of the world's population affiliate with a religious tradition (Pew Research Center, 2017). Organizations representing religious traditions enjoy a high credibility and public influence in many countries (Casanova, 1994), and often have extensive financial and material resources as well as social networks at their disposal (G.T. Gardner, 2006). They have a transformative potential and have played a crucial role in social transformations (e.g., Civil-Rights-Movement) (Herbert, 2002; Gardner, 2003; Lienemann-Perrin and Lienemann, 2006). Against the backdrop of rising environmental concern, religious organizations increasingly assume an active stance in societal transitions towards sustainability. Given the global impact, transformative potential, and rising sustainability activities of religious organizations, there is a need to study their role in these transformation processes Tables 1–4.

To date, research has barely addressed the question under what conditions religious organizations contribute to sustainability transitions. This article explores this question by studying the environmental transition activities of religious organizations at the local and supra-local scale in Germany and Switzerland. While existing approaches suggest that religious beliefs and ethics inform religious environmentalism, the results of this study show that social context variables – power and scale – shape the transition activities of religious actors. Employing the theoretical perspective of strategic action fields (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012), we conceive the

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activities of religious organizations as part of their strategic action in religious fields.

This article contributes to sustainability transitions research by (a) scrutinizing the role of religious organizations in these transitions, and (b) proposing a field theory that explains organizations' transition activities through their field positions and their embeddedness in institutional logics. We begin with a brief overview of existing approaches to religious environmentalism, a description of the theoretical field approach and its application to religious transition activities. The third section describes the research methods and the fourth section summarizes the results at different scales. The study shows differences in the transition activities (a) between incumbents and challengers and (b) between the supra-local and local scale. The insights illustrate how the organizations' field positions and the diverging institutional logics on supra-local and local fields produce these different action patterns. The fifth section discusses the results while the sixth section concludes the article and presents a brief outlook.

2. Sustainability as a strategic asset in western Europe's religious fields

Sustainability transitions research has addressed a broad variety of organized actors from different social fields (e.g., businesses, research institutions, civil society, and public administrations) while religious organizations have received less attention. Nevertheless, in recent years, there has been a rising consideration of the potentials of religion to promote sustainability transitions (e.g., Mohamad et al., 2012; Haluza-DeLay, 2014; Clingerman and O'Brien, 2017; Jenkins et al., 2018; Koehrsen, 2018b; Ives and Kidwell, 2019). Scholars point to its relevance for addressing the cultural dynamics behind societal transformations towards environmental sustainability. Moreover, they have highlighted the public moral legitimacy as well as the financial assets and infrastructures of religious organizations.

Traditionally, the "religion and ecology"-debate, closely related to the academic study of religion, has stressed the environmental dimensions of religions. This debate has strongly engaged in theoretical research on the potentials of religions to encourage pro-environmental behavior and societal transitions towards sustainability. Here, scholars have suggested that religious traditions and communities over time may become more environmentally aware, terming the trend "greening of religions" (White, 1967; Chaplin, 2016). As a part of this "greening," many religious traditions – such as Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism – have developed eco-theologies that involve environmentally-friendly ethics, requesting human stewardship for nature (mostly in Abrahamic religions) or consolidated existing perspectives on nature (e.g., Harris, 1995; Foltz, 2006; Tucker, 2008; Boff, 2011; Saniotis, 2012; Dessi, 2013; Blanc, 2017). Scholars have outlined the importance of eco-theologies, regarding them as crucial for encouraging a "greening" of religious organizations and their adherents. Yet, it is unclear to what extent local faith communities implement eco-theologies and contribute to sustainability transitions.

Existing empirical scholarship on religious environmentalism has usually focused on individual adherents, studying potential correlations between religious beliefs and environmental attitudes. This research has identified how specific religious tendencies – such as apocalyptic worldviews, biblical fundamentalism, and belief in divine intervention – shape individuals' interpretations of climate change and influence lifestyles as well as support for environmental policies (Barker and Bearce, 2013; Peifer et al., 2016; Arbuckle, 2017; Cuni-Sanchez et al., 2019). These religion-based approaches stress the importance of religious beliefs for individuals' environmental attitudes. Although this research underpins the relevance of specific beliefs (e.g., apocalyptic worldviews), it has not confirmed the "greening" hypothesis, establishing no clear impact of eco-theologies (Taylor et al., 2016; Konisky, 2018).

While research has mostly considered the level of individual adherents, it has addressed the meso-level of religious organizations to much lesser extent. However, given that religious organizations usually constitute a hub for individual followers, understanding their actions is crucial. A better understanding of their actions allow for shedding light on (a) the supposed "greening" processes in religious traditions, as the dissemination of eco-theologies among adherents depends on religious organizations, and (b) on their contributions to sustainability transitions (Table 1).

In general terms, religious organizations can engage for environmental sustainability in three ways: (a) public campaigning; (b) materialization of transitions; and (c) dissemination of pro-environmental values and worldviews (Koehrsen, 2018b) (Table 1). These three types reflect the aforementioned assets of religions in sustainability transitions. The first type, public campaigning, refers to religious organizations' influence on public debates and political decision-making. They can use their public visibility and political influence to promote (or hinder) environmental protection via public statements, media presence, and lobbying towards decision-makers (G.T. Gardner, 2006; Wardekker et al., 2009; Johnston, 2010). The second type, materialization, implies the implementation of transition projects (Gottlieb, 2006; Mohamad et al., 2012) and involves the infrastructures and financial assets of religious organizations. Examples include the installation of solar panels, the improvement of energy efficiency in religious buildings, regional consumption, or the implementation of recycling programs. Finally, the third type of engagement refers to the dissemination

Table 1
Types of religious environmental engagement.

Type of engagement	Focus	Examples
Public campaigning	Engagement in public and political debates on environmental issues	Publishing press statements on climate change, participation in climate protests
Materialization	Implementation of environmental measures	Refurbishing religious buildings to improve energy efficiency
Value dissemination	Diffusion of worldviews and values related to the environment	Teaching of earth-care in religious education

of environmental values and worldviews. Religious organizations can propagate pro-environmental values and worldviews through sermons and religious education to their sometimes extensive membership (Shibley and Wiggins, 1997; Djupe and Hunt, 2009). In this way, religious organizations can shape the personal convictions of actors affiliated with them, persuading these actors to practice a pro-environmental lifestyle and to promote sustainability transitions.

Existing scholarship indicates rising transition activities of religious communities, such as public statements, consultations with national and regional governments, recycling or tree planting projects, and environmental education (Shibley and Wiggins, 1997; DeHanas, 2009; Mohamad et al., 2012; Amri, 2014). Religious environmental activities become particularly visible at the global scale. Global networks and initiatives as well as faith leaders from different faith backgrounds have made pro-environmental statements and launched ecological campaigns (e.g., "Justice, Peace, Integrity of Creation" by the World Council of Churches, Pope Francis' "Laudato Si'," "Islamic Declaration on Global Climate Change"). However, local religious organizations that affiliate with these global initiatives implement these environmental teachings to different degrees. While some support environmental action, others do not implement the transition projects of their head organizations on the local level (Shibley and Wiggins, 1997; Veldman et al., 2014; Vaidyanathan et al., 2018; Torabi and Noori, 2019), and still others promote environmentally unsustainable worldviews and lifestyles (Artur and Hilhorst, 2012; Barker and Bearce, 2013; Haluza-DeLay, 2014; Roscoe, 2016). At the same time, these global environmental declarations have often remained vague in terms of their implications for local action. Therefore, religious organizations at the national, regional, and local level need to interpret them in order to develop plans for more concrete actions.

It is unclear what conditions facilitate transition activities among religious organizations. The aforementioned religion-based approaches would suggest that eco-theologies and environmental-friendly beliefs facilitate environmental action among religious organizations. However, the varying activities of religious organizations from the same faith tradition illustrate that the "green" teachings of the given traditions do not automatically translate into strong environmental attitudes among religious organizations. The reception of eco-theologies appears to depend on the institutional context in which religious organizations move. The field perspective considers the institutional embeddedness of organizations' transition activities.

2.1. Studying environmental engagement through the lenses of the field perspective

Prominent approaches in transition research have significantly extended the knowledge on socio-technological transitions. In particular, the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) has contributed to the study of these processes (Geels, 2002). Based on a heuristic distinction between "landscape," "regime," and "niche," it conceptualizes regimes as mostly self-stabilizing orders that only incrementally change, whereas niches allow for more radical innovations, thus potentially challenging the predominant socio-technological order. In this perspective, regime actors appear as powerful incumbents that will tend to defend the existing order, while niche actors will experiment with alternatives to the socio-technological regime and promote sustainability transitions. For studying transition activities outside the technological domain, MLP and other, closely related transition approaches face three challenges: (a) accounting for the variety of actors and their power struggles, (b) conceptualizing local spaces, and (c) engaging with non-technological change.

Research has highlighted the agency of individual and organized actors (e.g., grassroots movements, forerunners from different areas) in shifting existing "regimes," showing how actors engage their resources and form powerful strategic alliances to pursue their transition projects (Farla et al., 2012; Seyfang and Haxeltine, 2012; Brown et al., 2013; van der Schoor et al., 2016). While there are different views on the extent to which MLP considers actors and agency (Smith et al., 2005; Geels, 2011; Fischer and Newig, 2016), the regime/niche dichotomy faces difficulties in reflecting the variety of actors and their relationships to sustainability transitions. As such, recent contributions stress the plurality of roles that incumbents may assume in transitions, thereby defying the view that incumbents necessarily prevent or slow transitions (Turnheim and Sovacool, 2020; Ampe et al., 2021).

MLP allows for conceiving local spaces (e.g., cities) as niches (Coenen et al., 2010; Späth and Rohracher, 2012; Moloney and Horne, 2015) or as the "initial seedbeds for the creation of niches" (Geels, 2013, p. 22). However, when portraying the local space as "one thing"—a protective niche or a bridge between regime and niche— it obscures the disagreements and heterogeneous actor-constellations in local spaces (Hodson and Marvin, 2010; Bulkeley et al., 2014). Notwithstanding strong collaborative efforts, transitions are characterized by power imbalances and struggles over their shape, as ("niche") actors subscribe to competing transition narratives and projects (Rutherford, 2014; Gabillet, 2015; Avelino et al., 2016; Avelino and Wittmayer, 2016; Frantzeskaki and Rok, 2018; Chlebna and Mattes, 2020).

Finally, dominant transition frameworks have mostly focused on technological innovations and placed emphasis on market and policy actors, thereby exploring to much lesser extent other (non-technological) dimensions of change and the role of civil society actors (Shove and Walker, 2007; Hargreaves et al., 2011). The aforementioned challenges are important for the studied case, as it (a) focuses on non-technological change, (b) considers actors on different scales (including the local space), and (c) does not match with the suggested regime-niche dichotomy. Allowing us to address the aforementioned points, this study employs the field perspective.

Field approaches study the interplay of actors by placing emphasis on their struggles for power in different arenas of social activity (e.g., sports, politics, literature, business sector) (Bourdieu, 1982, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Fligstein, 2001; Bourdieu, 2002; P. 2006; Fligstein and McAdam, 2011, 2012). The field perspective in this article mostly draws upon Fligstein and McAdam's (2011, 2012) elaborations on social fields: the strategic action field approach. They define fields as "meso-level social order where actors (who can be individual or collective) interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purposes of the field, the relationships in the field (including who has power and why), and the field's rules" (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011, p. 3). As such, fields consist of various actors dedicated to a similar purpose or topic. They struggle over the dominant positions and benefits in play. In order to achieve or maintain dominant positions, actors can also build alliances.

Hierarchies emerge out of the competitive dynamics: actors dominating the field are "incumbents," while the actors that contest

this dominance and seek to take over dominant positions within the field are "challengers." An actor's position in a field pre-structures its influence in the given field and its access to resources. Based on their position, incumbents can employ resources (e.g., financial income) that will facilitate their endeavors to maintain their privileged position. Moreover, they will have more power (e.g., networks to decision-makers) than challengers do to influence the institutional structure of the given field (e.g., field rules) in a way that it benefits their positioning in the field.

Institutions frame the action in a field: collective views, rules, and norms. The "rules of the game" (Bourdieu, 1971) define which actions are regarded as appropriate and thereby limit the array of viable actions. In this way, shared views, rules, norms, and role models create specific *institutional logics* and structure the activity in the field, often leading to resembling behavioral patterns among actors (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). As the institutional framing depends on the given field, these logics will be different between fields. Moreover, fields can include different scales that develop their own institutional logics (Purdy and Gray, 2009; Fligstein and McAdam, 2011, 2012). In total, the field perspective provides a model that allows us to analyze the interplay between different types of actors at different scales in terms of their hierarchical positions (incumbent or challenger) and transition activities.

The field theory uses some terms also employed in prevalent transition frameworks. As such, it prominently features the concept of "incumbents," conceptualizing them as powerful actors. In the field perspective, power refers to the position of an actor in the field, shaping an actor's access to resources. Contrasting MLP, field theory does not make a-priori assumptions about how actors in specific power positions (e.g., incumbents) will relate to sustainability transitions.

Similar to MLP, the field model suggests different levels of action. However, these are not necessarily opposed to each other (i.e., regime vs. niche). Rather, the field model assumes that institutional logics at scales may differ and that these logics incite different types of action at different scales. It conceives of each of the scales as social arenas that involve power inequalities.

Despite its focus on power struggles and institutionalized structures, the field perspective has received little attention in sustainability transitions research in comparison to prevalent transition frameworks such as MLP. Nevertheless, field approaches have started to experience rising interest among transition scholars (Kungl and Hess, 2021).Several contributions have applied the field approach to energy transitions on the national scale (Fuchs et al., 2012; Hess, 2013; Fuchs and Hinderer, 2014) or the local scale (Blanchet, 2015; Koehrsen, 2018a). In the sociological study of religion, field approaches have been mostly applied to national religious fields (Bourdieu, 1971, 1976; Seibert, 2010; Monnot, 2018; Stolz and Monnot, 2018; Huber, 2021). However, there is still little knowledge about how logics on different scales of a field may influence the strategic actions of the given actors.

2.2. Religious fields in Germany and Switzerland

Germany and Switzerland constitute different religious fields. Nevertheless, given the strong resemblances in their structures (e.g., type of incumbents, advantages for incumbents, field logics), for the most part of this article, they will be described together.

In the case of these two religious fields, the *field position* of religious organizations depends on their degree of establishment (Table 3). This includes (a) legal establishment in the form of preferential treatment afforded by the state which may attribute various exclusive rights to an established religious organization (e.g., collecting of taxes, religious teaching in schools) and (b) public recognition in the form of public (dis)approval of a religious organization, becoming also manifest in its membership relative to other organizations (see also Stolz and Monnot, 2018). Therefore, religious incumbents are organizations that are legally established, have a high membership in comparison to other religious organizations, and possess various rights that other religious organizations do not enjoy. This position is a consequence of historical processes in the given religious field (Table 2).

In Germany, approx. 28% of the population are affiliated with the Catholic Church and approx. 26% with the German Evangelical Church while, in Switzerland, approx. 36% are affiliated with the Catholic Church and approx. 24% with the Swiss Reformed Evangelical Church (Eurobarometer, 2018; fowid, 2018; Bundesamt für Statistik, 2020; REMID, 2020). These *incumbents* seek to maintain their leading position in these fields. However, as in many Western European countries, Christian mainline churches have experienced membership losses in the last decades (Bruce, 2011). These secularization dynamics exercise pressures on the incumbent organizations, which seek to maintain their public recognition by diversifying their portfolio, engaging in social welfare services and addressing important public issues (e.g., migration, sustainability). To this end, they draw upon advantages that they have achieved in their long history as leading religious suppliers: legal recognition by the state, relatively stable financial incomes through tax revenues, state payments, investments in financial markets, and real estates, religious school teaching to shape the religious socialization of future "consumers", political influence, and public visibility in the mass media. In this vein, they may also capitalize on their networks and infrastructures to collaborate with prominent civil society actors, such as the youth grassroots movement 'Fridays for Future.'

Other religious "suppliers" – such as Muslim communities (representing approx. 5% of the population in each of the two countries), the free evangelical churches (approx. 1% in Germany and 3% in Switzerland) and other communities (e.g., Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish) – are *challengers* (fowid, 2018; Bundesamt für Statistik, 2020). They lack the resources that come with the incumbent position – e.g., state

Table 2
Religious incumbents and challengers.

	Legal status	Membership	Funding	Examples
Incumbents	Recognized	"Majorities" (more than 20% of national population)	Church taxes, public funds, member donations	Catholic Church, mainline Protestant churches
Challengers	Mostly Non-recognized	Minorities	Member donations	Muslim communities, Evangelical free churches

recognition, political influence, public visibility, tax influxes. Nevertheless, in recent years, many Muslim and Evangelical communities have managed to maintain or, in some cases, even to improve their level of membership (Stolz et al., 2014) (Table 3).

Apart from the field position, the *scale* is important for explaining the activities of religious organizations. This contribution distinguishes between the local and supra-local scale (Table 2).

The *local scale* of religious fields consists of congregations. Congregations are social institutions in which individuals gather on a regular basis for events and activities with explicitly religious content and purpose (Chaves, 2004, pp. 1–2). As such, congregations are the center of religious community activities. They usually involve local religious leaders (e.g., pastor, imam), congregational staff (paid employees or non-paid volunteers) and members, participating to different extent in the congregational activities. The creation of social bonds with existing and future members shapes the operational logic at this scale. In general terms, congregations primarily pursue to maintain (and potentially expand) their membership and, therefore, relate to their members to serve their members' spiritual needs. Depending on their faith tradition, the agenda of their umbrella organization, and their local membership, congregations may engage in additional areas of activity.

By contrast, the *supra-local* scale consists of umbrella organizations. These organizations represent the aforementioned congregations in a given area. The area may be regional, national or even international. Umbrella organizations facilitate the coordination of the congregations and represent the given faith community towards the public and political authorities in the given area. In Germany and Switzerland, the incumbents have national as well as regional umbrella organizations (e.g., "Landeskirchen") with the latter constituting important managing bodies for the local congregations. Their legal establishment and the related benefits depend on the contracts with national and regional governing bodies ("Staatskirchenverträge"). Depending on the political situation and the public reputation of incumbent organizations, these contracts can become subject to criticism and changes, potentially ending their privileges. The relationship with state authorities and public opinion (e.g., media coverage) are crucial for maintaining the privileged position. To this end, incumbent umbrella organizations will use their public influence and political networks. For instance, the head organizations of the two main churches in Germany maintain specific political offices in Berlin directed to the German Bundestag. These offices regularly publish political position papers regarding forthcoming decision and consultation processes of the parliament and invite parliamentarians to joint breakfasts, consultations, religious counseling services, and the celebration of church services. At the same time, challengers will seek for legal establishment, pursuing to also benefit from the exclusive privileges that the incumbents enjoy. To this end, umbrella organizations may employ similar strategies, creating bonds with politicians, and generating a favorable public image. In total, relationships with the political field and public recognition shape the operational logic at this scale.

To what extent congregations are obliged to follow the public communications of supra-local umbrella organizations depends on the given faith community as well as the subject (e.g., religious sacraments, environmental activities). In some cases, religious umbrella organizations exercise strong power on their congregations, controlling most areas of local activity (e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses). However, in the vast majority of the studied cases, congregations enjoy some leeway when it comes to implementing the environmental guidelines of their umbrella organizations, as the results of this study will show.

In societal contexts where sustainability increasingly becomes a public key issue, religious organizations can use the engagement in sustainability transitions as a strategic asset to improve or maintain their position. Against the backdrop of high public concern and rising civil society engagement (e.g., 'Fridays for Future,' Climate strikes) as well as increasing political ambitions to reduce carbon emissions in Germany and Switzerland (e.g., Germany's coal phase out, Swiss climate goal to eradicate carbon emissions by 2050), there is public pressure for taking pro-active positions on environmental sustainability. Incumbent as well as challenger organizations can engage on the local and supra-local scale in the three abovementioned types of transition activities: (a) public campaigning; (b) materialization of transitions; and (c) dissemination of pro-environmental values and worldviews. However, to what extent religious organizations will engage in societal transitions towards environmental sustainability and with what type of activities will depend on their resources (i.e., power/field positions) and the institutional logics of the given religious field (i.e., scale), as the following analysis shows.

3. Methods

The analysis of the environmental transition activities of religious organizations in Germany and Switzerland centers on the (a) supra-local and (b) local scale. The focus of the research was to investigate the transition activities of the most prevalent faith communities in each country. In both countries, these include the Roman Catholic Church, mainline Protestant churches, Muslim communities, and Evangelical free churches. Mainline Protestants are represented by the Evangelical Church of Germany (mostly Lutheran and some Reformed Protestants) and the Swiss Evangelical Reformed Church. In some occasions, we also conducted interviews with smaller communities (e.g., Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish).

In the following, we use the terms "mainline Christians," "mainline churches," or "incumbents" for the Roman Catholic Church and

Table 3
Umbrella organizations and congregations.

	Level of activity	Main activities	Institutional logic
Umbrella organization	Supra-local: regional, national, or international	Public/political representation and coordination of congregations	Public recognition and political relationships
Congregation	Local	Assembling of local members and celebration of religious services	Social bonding with local community members

the mainline Protestant churches in both countries. By contrast, other faith communities are "challengers," including Evangelical free churches and Muslim communities.

The selection of interview partners from the religious organizations focused on key-informants (Chaves et al., 1999). These are representatives that know their organization and its environmental activities well due to their relationship to these activities (e.g., environmental officers in the case of mainline churches). Therefore, the interviewees were usually religious leaders or professionals employed by the given religious organization.

The supra-local scale involves religious umbrella organizations that are located either at the national or the regional scale (e.g., Landeskirchen). We conducted semi-structured interviews with 14 representatives of religious umbrella organizations and analyzed reports and other documents (e.g., flyer material of religious sustainability initiatives). Six of these interviews were conducted with representatives of incumbent organizations and eight with representatives of challenger organizations. These representatives were usually professional staff employed by the given umbrella organization. Regional umbrella organizations were selected in a way that they constituted the head organizations for the local organizations in the selected cities (see following paragraph).

In order to study how local religious organizations engage in environmental sustainability in their localities and potentially translate the environmental guidelines of their umbrella organizations to the local scale, we used a case-study approach focusing on three cities in Germany and one in German-speaking Switzerland (Yin, 2009). The sampling of the cities was based on two criteria: (a) a comparatively strong engagement in sustainability transitions as measured through the proxy of the European Energy Award (Forum European Energy Award, 2015), and (b) a medium size between 50,000–120,000 inhabitants, given that this size still allows us to generate an overview of religious actors' roles in the transition activities of the city. In each of the selected cities, we conducted between five and eleven interviews with representatives of local religious organizations of different faith-backgrounds, leading to a total of 30 semi-structured interviews. The focus was on the prevalent faith-communities mentioned above, including mainline churches, Evangelical free churches, and Muslim communities. The interviewees were selected based on their ability to provide an overview of the local environmental activities of the local religious organization. In most cases, these were local religious leaders. Moreover, in order to get a broad overview of the environmental activities in the cities and a potential religious influence on these activities, we conducted 24 interviews with representatives of non-religious organizations (e.g., city administrations, businesses, political parties, citizen initiatives) that are strongly engaged in the urban transition efforts.

The method of semi-structured interviews allowed us to stick to an interview structure, thus ensuring comparability (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). At the same time, it offered a certain openness, which made it possible to react spontaneously to the interviewees' responses. The interviews at the local and supra-local scale included questions about the environmental activities of the given organization, the historical development of these activities and motivations for undertaking them, future activities, collaborations with other organizations (e.g., municipal administrations, civil society organizations), as well as the position and background of the interviewed representative.

The individual interviews lasted between 40 and 90 min. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed with the support of the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. The analysis was partly based on previously fixed theoretical codes (e.g., the three types of environmental engagement of religious communities), while other codes were developed during the coding process (Corbin and Strauss, 1998). This resulted in a range of codes and sub-codes, including codes for the organizational responsibilities of the interviewed representative, structure of the organization, information on members, environmental engagement, rationales for the (non) engagement, alternative engagements, and potential tensions. The coding enabled us to compare and contextualize marked interview sequences for specific aspects, such as the transition activities of religious organizations operating at different scales (local and supra-local) and the rationales behind these activities.

4. Results

Representatives from the different faith traditions at the supra-local and local scale mentioned at some point of the interview that their given tradition provides a scriptural basis for addressing environmental protection. As described above, the major religious traditions have developed "green" theologies. Surprisingly, these did not provide a rationale for undertaking environmental transition activities within the religious organizations, as other factors shaped the activities (Table 4).

The results indicate differences in the transition activities between (a) incumbents and challengers as well as between (b) supra-local and local scales of the religious field (Table 4). Incumbents show a stronger environmental engagement than challengers, both on the supra-local and local scales. To undertake these activities, incumbents can draw on the resources that their powerful field positions grant them. At the same time, we can observe a macro-meso gap: the environmental engagement of umbrella organizations at

Table 4
Environmental activities of religious organizations at different scales and in different field positions.

Scale	Incumbents	Challengers
Supra-local (umbrella organizations)	• Public campaigning through statements • Lobbying activities towards decision-makers • Funds and guidelines for congregations	• Public campaigning through brochures and participation in sustainability initiatives
Local (congregations)	• Prioritization of other, bonding-related activities (e.g., church services, social welfare) • Materialization through church refurbishments	• Prioritization of other, bonding-related activities • Lack of resources

the supra-local scale does not become manifest in their congregations at the local scale. Umbrella organizations engage more clearly in environmental sustainability, directing many of their activities towards the public. By contrast, most congregations do not undertake environmental transition activities. Instead, congregations usually prioritize bonding-related activities such as social welfare projects. In the following, we illustrate interaction of power and scales along the empirical material.

4.1. Sustainability as a rising asset at the supra-local scale

Christian **incumbent** organizations in Germany and Switzerland have started to engage in environmental protection at the national scale comparatively early. Since the 1980s, head organizations of the Christian churches have published pro-environmental public statements, including statements on sustainable agriculture, climate change, and the energy transition. The publications promote "care for the creation" and are directed to the wider public as well as societal (e.g., business leaders) and political decision-makers, inviting politicians and societal stakeholders (e.g., representatives of agricultural associations) to discuss their environmental positions. Moreover, incumbents use their access to popular media to stress their environmental commitment.

Although public communication related to the "care of creation" started early, the implementation of measures within the churches has taken longer and is an ongoing process, as environmental statements such as "Laudato Si'" "have not yet really taken hold" within the churches (Interview 1). Whereas undertaking measures has been more controversial in the past, today, environmental officers perceive the churches' leadership as standing more clearly behind the engagement.

> "so when we developed this concept for climate protection in the last two years, there were no more basic conflicts. That is, on the one hand, because the bishop and the leadership of the diocese supported it. If they didn't support it, then it would be more difficult." (Interview 4).

An officer from another incumbent umbrella organization reports a similarly positive environment for supporting sustainability-related activities (Interview 68): Recently, leading representatives of this organization unanimously voted for an extensive environmental sustainability program. The interviewee explains this strong support by the fact that representatives regard environmental action as an opportunity to generate positive media coverage in a context where church scandals have lately dominated the press.

> "Especially in the last elections to the National Council, when there was a green wave, plus the whole issue of the "climate strike," the topic has been placed more prominently on the agenda. It had been a side issue for a long time (…) And now, because of the socio-political relevance, it has taken on a different significance." (Interview 68)

Environmental sustainability has become an asset for negotiating societal recognition of religious actors, allowing them to improve their legitimacy or, potentially, protect it from further peril in the context of negative press coverage. This is related to the changed societal context in which climate change and sustainability constantly increasing public attention in Germany and Switzerland. Acting in supra-local religious fields, where the institutional logic demands a focus on public recognition and political relationships, it is essential for religious umbrella organizations to reflect this attention. As such, one officer representing an incumbent umbrella organization states:

> "There is a need to have a position that (…) represents the church in environmental questions and questions around creation. There is need for the church leadership, there is need for a bishop, and perhaps also for a head of the ecclesiastical council who deal with this topic at their level (…). However, if the position of the environmental officer did not exist, many of the contacts would not work and there would be the question "Is the church doing anything in this?" or "Why does the church not do anything?" (…) This is always about societal attention cycles. (…) And now we have with this big topic climate again something socially assuming such a broad space that it becomes reflected in all our church target audiences." (Interview 24)

The quote shows that umbrella organizations experience a strong need to respond to societal attention cycles with climate and sustainability now being an important issue. They have to provide evidence that they engage with this pressing societal issue in order to not place their legitimacy at risk.

To become credible in their environmental positions, umbrella organizations recognize that they need to undertake sustainability measures beyond mere press statements. Therefore, in many cases, they have, for instance, improved the energy efficiency in their head offices. Moreover, incumbent umbrella organizations aim to direct materialization and dissemination activities towards local congregations. To this end, umbrella organizations have hired environmental officers and created environmental departments or organizations that develop and disseminate climate concepts, funding schemes, environmental management programs and certification systems (e.g., "Green Rooster"), as well as guidelines for eco-sermons. These environmental officers assume a coordination role for the sustainability activities. At the same time, they have to reflect the transition activities of these organizations towards the society and closely relate to the public environmental concern, as the above-mentioned quote illustrates.

Contrasting the Christian incumbent organizations, **challengers** have engaged later and, so far, to a lesser extent. Representatives from head organizations of the Evangelical free churches and Muslim communities state that the topic has played only a minor role in their activities. However, at the same time, they underline that they seek to place more emphasis on sustainability. As such, the Swiss Evangelical Alliance has founded a working group on "Climate, Energy, and Ecology" in 2007. In Germany, the head organization of the free Evangelical churches has co-founded the German branch of the Micah Challenge initiative. In its most recent information brochure "Do it for the Love. For a Creation in Balance," it addresses climate change and other forms of environmental degradation (e.g., waste pollution), promotes creation care and environmental justice, and suggests individual as well as political transition activities. Similarly, Muslim umbrella organizations highlight their rising interest in the topic. Paralleling Christian umbrella organizations, they consider the public benefit of an increasing environmental engagement. Reflecting on the controversial media coverage about Islam

and Muslims, a representative of a Muslim umbrella organization points towards the advantages of a public commitment to environmental sustainability, thereby reflecting the institutional logic of the supra-local scale:

> "One would simply get away from the everyday stuff that Muslims are accused of. That they are terrorists, that one has a bad picture of Islam, of the Muslims. Where one could simply show: Wow, Muslims also think for our environment." (Interview 5)

Accordingly, in 2016 a Swiss umbrella organization has published an information brochure with the title "Environmental Protection and Sustainability in Islam." Moreover, in Germany, some challengers participate in the interreligious environmental initiative "Religions for Biological Diversity" supported by the German Agency for Nature Conservation.

In total, challengers' umbrella organizations show smaller, but increasing activities in the area of sustainability transitions, acknowledging the importance of the subject. The few activities are mostly related to public campaigning. Challengers tend to justify their lower activity through the lack of resources. Doing so, they implicitly explain the extent of their activity by their subaltern field position. Contrasting incumbents, challengers do not receive church taxes and have less access to political decision-makers to lobby for financial support. At the same time, they suffer from lower public legitimacy and sometimes even negative media coverage, both inhibiting them to place their needs at the political agenda to improve their field positions (Nurullah, 2010; Pollack et al., 2014). In this situation, engaging in sustainability to create positive media attention becomes a viable strategy (for examples from Muslim communities in UK, see DeHanas, 2009; Gilliat-Ray and Bryant, 2011; Hancock, 2019), but one that can be followed through only with limited resources.

4.2. Social bonding at the local scale

While umbrella organizations feel a need to address the pressing societal issue of climate change and environmental sustainability, their local congregations respond to this topic in a different way. This difference indicates a fissure between the supra-local umbrella organizations and their local congregations, related to conflicting institutional logics at the two scales.

Though congregations represent the aforementioned faith communities on the local scale, they do not necessarily have to reflect the environmental activities of their umbrella organizations. The extent to which congregations can act in an autonomous fashion, depends on the organizational structure of the given faith community. However, in terms of environmental activities, the studied congregations tend to enjoy high levels of freedom. As such, environmental officers from incumbent umbrella organizations assume mostly a consulting role for congregations, as one quote from an officer illustrates.

> "(…) one of the goals is that they (referring to environmental officers) provide a lot of consulting and support in congregations. This will be based on voluntary participation. That means we can never force a congregation to do something in this area. We always have to hope that there is also interest from below. And we have to support initiatives on the local level as good as we can wherever they exist." (Interview 4)

Although representatives from **incumbent congregations** agree that churches must seek to protect the environment, congregations hardly undertake activities in this domain. While some Catholic and Protestant congregations actively contribute to environmental sustainability, the majority shows a low degree of engagement. Even when obliged by their umbrella organizations to adapt to more environmentally friendly standards, congregations may still find ways of avoiding to implement these. For instance, one representative from an umbrella organization reported that they supplied congregations with new, more environmentally friendly cleaning products (Interview 17). However, many congregations just moved these new cleaning products away and continued to work with the old, environmentally more harmful ones. Learning about this, officers of the umbrella organization withdrew the old cleaning products from the congregations and requested them to work only with the new products. Nevertheless, in response to this, some congregations still circumvented this request and continued to use the old products that they had secured in hidden storages from the umbrella organization. Similarly, interviewees mentioned the manipulation of heating systems in congregations to counteract low carbon measures of their head organizations (Interview 10 & 17). Consequently, officers from umbrella organizations sometimes face harsh resistance in implementing more environmentally friendly measures in their congregations.

The surprisingly low level of commitment to environmental issues among congregations is related to their focus on the community. Representatives see the main task of congregations in being "there for the people, (…) just to welcome people, to accompany people who need help" (Interview 53). Congregations concentrate on building and maintaining direct relationships with their local constituency. If relating to members and attending their needs is the focus of congregational activity, it depends on the members whether there will be engagement for the environment. As such, the interviewed representatives of congregations tend to justify the lack of environmental engagement by referring to the disinterest or even refusal of their members. They perceive that members attribute little importance to the topic, given that "all these environmental issues are (…) very alien to many people" (Interview 54) and that "there are no people that are particularly passionate about the issue of creation" (Interview 19).

An environmentally committed pastor even mentioned that she gave up on the rejection of her local members, as members dislike when she addresses the natural environment:

> "I gave up, right on the spot. I just don't want to anymore. You really notice how the people get angry, saying 'It's her again with her stupid, here she goes again with her environment stuff.' (laughter)" (Interview 50)

Here, the personal conviction of the pastor encounters substantial barriers in her own congregation, as she cannot pursue this topic against local members.

Accordingly, environmental engagement appears to offer little possibilities to strengthen the social bonds with local members or expand the membership basis and thereby barely matches the institutional logic at the local scale. Interestingly, this changed to some

extent in 2019 with the climate strikes emerging in German and Swiss municipalities. In this context, several congregations started to collaborate with 'Fridays For Future,' offering their buildings to host meetings of the movement. Moreover, many churches rang bells for the climate strike and stopped their church tower clocks at 11:55 to remind the local population of the coming climate catastrophe.

Apart from the aforementioned collaborations with 'Fridays For Future,' even the more engaged congregations barely draw on public campaigning for promoting environmental sustainability. Environmentally engaged congregations have focused more strongly on materialization and dissemination activities. As such, they undertake energy efficient refurbishment projects and other measures to reduce the energy consumption of their buildings, implement environmental management programs (e.g., "Green Rooster"), install photovoltaics on their buildings, impose recycling schemes, or change their provision systems towards a green, regional, and fair consumption. Local incumbents manage their own congregational facilities (contrasting challenger congregations that usually need to rent spaces to celebrate their religious services). Therefore, incumbents are subject to official building regulations (e.g., new energy efficiency standards) and need to undertake refurbishment measures to fulfill these regulations while at the same time maintaining their historical buildings. Here, they may face limitations when it comes, for instance, to placing solar panels on the roof of an historical church building (Interview 20).

To facilitate the refurbishment, incumbents can draw on their financial influxes. For instance, one Catholic cantonal church generated a substantial financial surplus that it used to build a fund to support the energy efficient refurbishment of local church buildings. Despite the availability of financial resources, incumbents still need to economically assess the benefits of these investments, as there are limitations to the funds and they may face internal criticism concerning the costs of the refurbishments (Interview 10). Nevertheless, representatives of incumbent organizations mentioned that long-term financial savings in energy costs (e.g., through energy-efficient refurbishments or the implementation of photovoltaics) constitute a strong argument for pro-environmental decision-making, given that such savings enable to sustain the community-related activities. "We can save 50 percent of our energy costs, this is crazy!" (Interview 17) By contrast, eco-theologies did not serve to support internal decision-making processes for environmental measures.

Apart from the aforementioned materialization activities, incumbent congregations engage in dissemination. Pastors mentioned that they seek to address environmental protection (e.g., in the form of "creation care") in sermons, religious school teaching, staff training, and in their scouts groups. Despite their activities, even the more engaged Christian incumbent organizations perceive themselves as followers rather than frontrunners in the municipal transition processes. Comparing their activities with those of pioneering transition actors from other social fields (e.g., economy, politics), representatives portrayed the role of local churches as jumping on a running bandwagon. This is also illustrated by the abovementioned increase in congregations' environmental engagement in the context of the local climate strikes that were initiated by the civil-society youth movement 'Fridays for Future.' Surprisingly, representatives of the Catholic Church and mainline Protestant churches barely referred to eco-theological concepts as rationales for their transition activities, despite a long history of eco-theological thought in these traditions and frequent references to it in public statements of their umbrella organizations. Reflecting on the role of Pope Francis' "green" encyclical "Laudato Si'," one representative of an incumbent organization states that nothing happened afterwards in the church because "Laudato Si' has been treated a little shabbily internally and has disappeared a bit, and that it has not received such attention." (Interview 68) Instead of eco-theologies, other rationales, such as the abovementioned cost savings, the support of the local constituency, and the care for future generations, constituted more prominent rationales for such activities.

While the incumbents already show a lower level of activity in local religious fields, activities among **challengers** are virtually absent. Challengers tend to agree on the relevance of the topic, but they do not perceive it as their priority, as they "have other priorities that are simply more highly ranked" (Interview 9), justifying their non-engagement in the following way:

> "Environmental protection is such an issue for the wealthy. If you don't have any financial difficulties, if you know, yes tomorrow I have enough to eat, tomorrow I can pay the electricity in the mosque, tomorrow I can also pay the Imam, that won't be a problem, then you can say: Okay, now we can also dedicate ourselves to this topic. But if you're always in this financial emergency, as is the case with 99 percent of the mosques (…) you just don't have time to deal with this topic properly now." (Interview 5)

By outlining their lack of resources, challengers appear to advance an "environmentalism of the rich"-narrative. The amount of resources is related to the field position of the actors. While incumbents receive tax money and state support, challengers have to generate their financial means through funding (e.g., tithing) from their active members. Therefore, challengers focus on what they perceive as their core tasks. The maintenance of the local religious community (e.g., including payments for the infrastructure), the carrying on with the daily religious business (e.g., organizing church services), and the immediate concerns of their constituencies (e. g., social exclusion, anxieties) stand at the center. Especially for Muslim (but also Buddhist or Hindu) communities, migration plays an essential role here, as many members are migrants. As such, one interviewee states that people who experience problems should find support in the congregation and that he prefers "to care about humans than about the nature" (Interview 57). Another interviewee from an evangelical congregation explains that they are "less nature-related, but more focused on humans" (Interview 6). The interviewee continues describing the main activities and foci of the church, thereby illustrating the local institutional logic:

> "our most central thing is the church service on Sundays. Further, we have small groups, (…) house groups, or interest groups, or just working groups. We also have (…) on Sundays, we offer food once a month, (…) Because – as I said – besides the church service the community is important to us (…) and that is basically how it has developed (…) these are actually components of church congregation(s) as we understand them, yes, just church service, then small groups, also to be together in small groups and just also, what is very important, to be there for each other." (Interview 6)

Local challengers employ their limited resources for these topics. Given the strong restrictions that challengers face in terms of staff

and finances, they perceive environmental sustainability only as a subordinate subject that they cannot focus on. Though vested with more resources, even among the local incumbents, only some congregations actively engage in sustainability transitions, as they have not perceived it as sufficiently relevant among their constituencies.

5. Discussion

The proposed field perspective provides an alternative to predominant transition approaches such as MLP. While showing many similarities to prevalent transition approaches (e.g., concept of incumbents, importance of rivalry and exogenous factors for transitions), the field perspective contrasts these approaches regarding the concept of niches. Instead of assuming that innovation evolves in protected spaces, it locates incumbents and challengers in the same social space, abstaining from suggesting a niche-regime dichotomy (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Thereby, it allows for grasping the varying roles that incumbents can assume with regard to sustainability transitions, thus resonating with recent views in transitions research (Turnheim and Sovacool, 2020; Ampe et al., 2021). Moreover, given its broad focus on meso-level social action, the field perspective enables to go beyond a technological focus and study agency in various areas of social activity (e.g., the arts, mass media, religion). Therefore, it can help to explain the transition activities of different types of organizations, as this study of religious organizations illustrates.

Prevalent research in the study on religion and ecology has, so far, tended to focus on the given theologies and beliefs to explain environmental attitudes among religious actors. However, the results of this study show that factors beyond religious beliefs drive the religious action in sustainability transitions (see also Vaidyanathan et al., 2018, p. 489).

Theologies and beliefs constitute important building blocks for potential transition narratives in religious organizations. As such, religious organizations can, for instance, draw on eco-theological concepts to address environmental problems in their public statements. While eco-theologies have created an important conceptual basis, organizations' decision-making processes are shaped by other factors. How religious organizations bring forward eco-theological scriptural predispositions depends on their field positions, the logics of the given field, and the societal embeddedness of the given religious field (e.g., public environmental concern).

The field position plays an important role by defining the access to resources. The Christian incumbents have access to tax revenues and governmental support. In particular, the head organizations use their resources to engage in sustainability transitions and seek to encourage transition activities among their local congregations by creating environmental funding schemes. However, the transition engagement is not a mere question of resources. It also depends on the institutional logics of the given field, as the differences in the activities on the supra-local and local scale demonstrate.

On the supra-local scale, religious organizations are highly receptive to public and political agendas. If sustainability becomes a public and political key issue, religious umbrella organizations are likely to take this topic up. Contrasting existing research in the field of religion and ecology stipulating that religions will help to legitimize sustainability in the given societies (Gardner, 2003; G.T. 2006; Holmes, 2006; Rolston III, H. 2006; Tucker, 2006; Posas, 2007; Gottlieb, 2008; Bergmann, 2009; Hitzhusen and Tucker, 2013), this article suggests that sustainability may rather help to legitimize religious organizations. As such, supra-local incumbent actors draw on environmental sustainability and other pressing societal issues (e.g., social inequality, migration) to consolidate their position in the religious field. At the same time, their challengers perceive the increasing relevance of sustainability and jump on the bandwagon. These tendencies point towards a broadening of environmental engagement.

Similar findings from other countries, such as the Muslim-majority country Indonesia, support the importance of societal legitimacy on the supra-local scale (Gade, 2015, 2019; Mangunjaya and Praharawati, 2019; Jamil, 2021; Koehrsen, 2021). With the Indonesian government placing environmental sustainability more on its agenda, the three main Muslim umbrella organizations (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah) have increasingly undertaken environmental activities (e.g., Islamic jurisprudence, public statements, environmental education programs). Thereby, these incumbent actors have become pioneering sustainability actors within the national religious field, illustrating that actors from non-Christian traditions can overtake this role. Also in the US, there are close contacts between religious umbrella organizations and the political field, despite low governmental regulation of religion and minimal support for religious organizations (Fox, 2018). However, the comparatively strong religious voter bases potentially reverse the power game between the religious and political field, with politicians lobbying for religious support. Religious umbrella organizations may become important stakeholders for political decisions related to sustainability transitions, as illustrated by the Evangelical Environmental Network that helped to block attempts to weaken the Endangered Species Act in the US Congress in 1996 (Gardner, 2003, p. 163). This situation may have contributed to the strong variety of environmental views among religious umbrella organizations in the US (Wardekker et al., 2009).

Contrasting the supra-local scale, institutional logics on the local scale emphasize social bonding activities. Religious organizations strive for establishing and maintaining connections to the local clientele, serving their spiritual needs and attending their daily concerns. If local religious organizations do not perceive environmental transition activities as serving this end, these will not play a major role in their agendas. Again, findings from Indonesia indicate similar tendencies: while umbrella organizations have undertaken major activities and have sought to extend these to their local organizations, broadening environmental concern on the local level has faced strong limitations (Amri, 2014). Also in the US, research has indicated similar fissures, with local groups and congregations diverging from the agendas of their umbrella organizations and showing little environmental commitment (Shibley and Wiggins, 1997; Zaleha and Szasz, 2015; Vincentnathan et al., 2016; Vaidyanathan et al., 2018).

Religious engagement in sustainability transitions depends on the specific field dynamics. Sustainability becomes a major concern of religious organizations only when it matches with the working principles of the given field scale. Following this line of argument, local religious organizations will more intensively engage in societal transitions towards environmental sustainability when such activities become useful for building social relationships with the local clientele. The popularity of the civil society movement 'Fridays

For Future' indicates developments in this direction. Identification with sustainability becomes a bonding feature for creating social ties among young people. Against the mass appeal of 'Fridays For Future,' local religious organizations have started to intensify their transition engagement and created multiple links to the movement. Thereby, this study helps to generate a more nuanced picture of the supposed "greening" of religions (Chaplin, 2016). To what extent religious organizations become "green" depends on their institutional embeddedness: their power position in the religious fields, the scale-specific logics, and the general societal concern about environmental sustainability.

Apart from these, additional factors may become relevant and closely interact with the aforementioned dynamics. For instance, the internal competition of leaders with different environmental agendas may block the transition activities of an umbrella organization. However, when strong public environmental concern (e.g., climate strikes) creates sufficient external pressure, internal blockades in umbrella organizations are likely to diminish, as this study has illustrated. Similarly, external support schemes may facilitate transition activities, while external regulations (e.g., construction regulations for historical buildings) may block these. In a few cases, municipal officers considered the option of closely collaborating with local religious organizations and integrating them into urban transition projects. Future research may identify additional factors that shape organizations' transition activities and explore how these interact with the dynamics identified in this study.

6. Conclusions

Against a rising acknowledgement of the importance of culture to facilitate sustainability transitions (e.g., through deep leverage points, O'Brien, 2018; Ives et al., 2020; Otto et al., 2020), it becomes increasingly important to consider religious organizations, as these may have a prioritized access to cultural value systems. However, to what extent and under what conditions religious organizations engage in sustainability transitions has remained unclear.

This study has shown that the engagement of religious organizations in sustainability transitions is related to (a) the resources that they have at their disposal and (b) the working principles of the field scale at which they act. Supra-local incumbent organizations show a comparatively strong engagement, as sustainability has become an asset for the strategic campaigning on the supra-local scale. At the same time, their powerful position grants them access to the needed resources for such activities. By contrast, other religious organizations exhibit different action patterns in sustainability transitions. Supra-local challenger organizations have fewer resources at their disposal to undertake environmental activities while local incumbent and challenger organizations follow a local field logic that favors social bonding activities. In the end, the field position and the logic of the given field scale shape to what extent religious organizations bring forward eco-theological beliefs and contribute to sustainability transitions.

This study has drawn on the theoretical perspective of strategic action fields (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). The field perspective can help to explain the engagement of organizations in sustainability transitions and extend prevalent transition approaches by highlighting the institutional embeddedness of such activities. The institutional contexts that shape the sustainability engagement of organizations differ according to the given socio-geographic settings and scales (Coenen and Truffer, 2012; Hess et al., 2018). Field approaches suggest that organizations are acting in social arenas that operate according to specific logics. The working principles of the given field interacting with the strategic leeway (i.e., social position/resources) of the given organizations will shape its sustainability activities and lead to different patterns of action at different scales. In order to extend the proposed framework and generate a better understanding of how the field perspective can help to explain organizational agency in sustainability transitions in different social fields (e.g., arts and cultural production), there is a need for applying the field perspective to further domains beyond religion.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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