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The Strained Partnership Between Secularization and Sectarianism in Higher Education

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THE STRAINED PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN SECULARIZATION AND SECTARIANISM
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

BY

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Higher Education Leadership, Management, and Policy
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ABSTRACT

The marginalization of religion from the mainstream of public discourse in both the university and among the cultural elite has been inextricably linked to the processes of modernity in the process of secularization. With this projected transformation of public discourse, behavior, and social organization, it would seem rational to predict the demise of the religiously-affiliated institution as an organization in society that has lost its social and cultural capital. Indeed this demise has been documented, researched, and several congruous narratives have all told the story of the marginalization and evisceration of the religious institution of higher learning from the centers of knowledge production in not only the United States, but in the world (Burtchaell, 1998; G. Marsden, 1994; Reuben, 1996).

However, there is a parallel phenomenon in many religiously-affiliated institutions in which they have maintained and even sought to strengthen their religious missions during the course of these secularizing patterns. The religiously-affiliated institution in many cases has redefined its religious distinctiveness with an intentional sectarian response creating a different institutional type. However, this response and these institutional types are missing from many historical narratives of higher education.

This dissertation critiques higher education historical narratives that have taken secularization for granted. The critique demonstrates that the complexities of secularization and sectarianism have been glossed over in history and foundation courses in higher education. In so doing a needed foundation will be established to include religiously-affiliated higher education as a significant institutional type adding to the broader understanding of institutional diversity.

Critical Discourse Analysis is used to analyze both historical texts commonly used in the graduate study of higher education, and institutional documents from the thirteen founding

members of the Christian College Coalition from which the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities would form. These two sets of texts show the influence of secularization in both academic arenas with different outcomes. One outcome is the growth of the idea of secularization as a progressive path for higher education. The other outcome is an intentional religious posture that resists secularization with a sectarian response.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Defining the Situation

In recent years the theory that the United States is becoming less religious and more secular has been under fire. Many have suggested secularization is a theory that should either be abandoned or significantly revised in order to make sense of the religious phenomena that continue to have influence on private and public social spaces. This is true not just in societies that are either in the wake of modernity or near the glass ceiling of modernity, but for those that are thoroughly modernized. If the lens of secularization does not work there, the question is why it seems to work for higher education given that higher education is a stalwart social entity in any modern society that wishes to progress upward along the vast stairwell of modern progress.

Since 9/11/2001, which marks a tragic collision between Islamism or so-called “radical” Islam and various structures of Western capitalism and religion, a renewed and re-invigorated assault on religion has been wrought with biologist Richard Dawkins (2006), late journalist Christopher Hitchens (2007), critic and neuroscientist Sam Harris (2004), and philosopher Daniel Dennett (2006) galvanizing atheist and agnostic interest in the field of public discourse. The apparent clash of religion with the world has re-introduced an old argument that was quite commonplace in the emerging secular university system in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. The argument is that religion is diametrically opposed to reason and is the source of most, if not all, of the world’s social inequities and violence. The reinvigorated interest of religion’s effects on the public sphere as something that reinforces backward thinking and violence in direct opposition to human progress certainly has roots in the catapulted legitimacy of agnosticism in public discourse during the Enlightenment. It is also rooted in the rise of both biblical criticism and the introduction of hypothetical and theoretical scientific processes as

sources that pushed religion, specifically dogmatic religion, out of the university mainstream and into the margins of the university mission.

The marginalization of religion from the mainstream of public discourse in both the university and among the cultural elite has been inextricably linked to the processes of modernity in the process of secularization. With this projected transformation of public discourse, behavior, and social organization, it would seem rational to predict the demise of the religiously-affiliated institution as an organization in society that has lost its social and cultural capital. Indeed this demise has been documented, researched, and several congruous narratives have all told the story of the marginalization and evisceration of the religious institution of higher learning from the centers of knowledge production in not only the United States, but in the world (Burtchaell, 1998; G. Marsden, 1994; Reuben, 1996).

However, there is a parallel phenomenon in many religiously-affiliated institutions in which they have maintained and even sought to strengthen their religious missions during the course of these secularizing patterns. Rather than follow the mainstream of a culture that appears to eschew religion as a foundation for public discourse and behavior, the religiously-affiliated institution in many cases has shored up its religious mission and redefined its boundary markers from the rest of the society at large in order to clarify its unique mission to the world and its unique service to society. It seems that through the lens of secularization, these institutions are but dinosaurs; they serve as relics to a past that sadly clings to religious values that halt the wheels of modernization and the rationalization of culture. At least, this is how commentators like Hitchens, Dennett, Harris, and Dawkins would have it.

Purpose of the Study

Why is it that when it would seem likely that religiously-affiliated higher education would crumble under the weight of a prevailing secularizing influence of the greater society and culture, that many of these institutions continue to sustain themselves? Why do they attract students, and develop a segment of the higher education market that is unique enough to gather its own identity directed by claims of faith in religious traditions that appear to be burdened by increased scrutiny and pressures to become more secular? Is it in spite of or because of the forces of secularization? Or could it be that the very nature of secularization has lent itself not to a less religious society, but counter-intuitively, to a more religiously diverse society that matches well with the religious affiliations and missions of many institutions that have maintained their claims to faith and the cultivation of belief in God? Any examination of the rich history of higher education, secularization in higher education, and the narrative of higher education demands this analysis in order to give a fuller picture of the social processes involved in the relationship between higher education and religion.

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to engage a critique of higher education historical narratives that have taken secularization for granted. Moreover, engaging any discussion of secularization in higher education warrants an exploration of the social force of sectarianism to which secularization is tied. What this exploration demonstrates is that the complexities of secularization and sectarianism have been glossed over in history and foundations courses in higher education. In so doing a needed foundation will be established to include religiously-affiliated higher education as a significant institutional type adding to the broader understanding of institutional diversity.

Significance of the Study

This study is both disruptive and constructive. First, I disrupt the narrative of secularization as presented in the history of higher education. This is primarily through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as discussed in Chapter III. This critical analysis of texts reveals tacit assumptions that map to earlier projections of secularization theory that are covered in depth in Chapter II.

Second, I reconstruct those narratives by offering an analysis supporting the notion that religion is not an inevitable casualty of secularization in higher education. Sectarianism introduces in large part a reaction to secularizing forces as demonstrated by a set of religiously-affiliated institutions of higher education. It may be that religion is as important if not more important to which scholars of higher education ought to pay attention in order to prepare higher education leadership and to enact effective policy and curriculum decisions at the beginning of the 21st century.

This study offers at least three areas of significance for the study of higher education. Each of these areas represents a synthesis of material from sociology, the study of religion, and the study of higher education showing both areas of correspondence and significant gaps. It is these gaps that are significant, as they have created a glossed over narrative of the history of higher education with respect to the processes of secularization and its ties to sectarianism in colleges and universities.

First, the argument will offer a foundation for a broader understanding of the secularization narrative and current state of secularization as presented in the history of higher education. More narrowly, it offers a starting point to address the sociology of religion in the

study of higher education, an area that has yet to achieve significant impact in organizations such as the Association for the Study of Higher Education. For example, only six articles in *The Review of Higher Education* since 1982 have explicitly dealt with religion as an area of study (Finnegan, 2007; Julie, 2012; Kuh & Robinson, 1995; Lee, 2002; Lindholm & Astin, 2007; Riyad Ahmed, 2010). *The Journal of Higher Education* and *Higher Education* have published only five articles combined having to do with religion as an area of study (Beaty, Lyon, & Mixon, 2004; Bryant & Astin, 2008; Darnell & Shafiq, 2010; Glanzer, Carpenter, & Lantinga, 2011; Leyser & Romi, 2008).¹ This is despite the emphasis placed on religion in the seven year longitudinal study “Spirituality in Higher Education” conducted at the University of California Los Angeles from 2003-2010 (Astin, 2003-2010) which alone reveals the saliency of religion and spirituality on college campuses particularly among students.

Second, the study presents a synthesis of two bodies of literature in the history of higher education. One places religion on the periphery concordant with the narrative of secularization theory and the other focuses on the opposite trend of religion maintaining a significant presence in higher education. That religion has maintained a significant presence in a large sample of higher education institutions is present in one body of literature, but is not present in the standard sources that construct the narrative of higher education in the United States (Cohen, 1998; Goodchild, Wechsler, & Association for the Study of Higher Education., 1997; Lucas, 1994; Rudolph, 1990; Thelin, 2004; Veysey, 1965). This analysis addresses the tension between secularization and sectarianism.

¹ Results gathered from the Penn State University Libraries “Lion Search” October 12, 2012.

Third, the study contributes to the study of higher education by arguing that not only religion but also religiously-affiliated institutions of higher education have a significant stake in the study of higher education as a source of institutional diversity. Placing religion more at the center of the study of higher education and its historical narrative will prepare leaders and scholars to be aware of the importance of religion in secular institutions. The tension between secularization and sectarianism that exists in the response of sectarian institutions to secularization may exist on secular campuses. Moreover it will give those studying religion and higher education a solid synthesis and foundation from which to move their research forward with these considerations in mind.

Finally, the method of this study contributes to the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a way to read texts. This is still a rather new way of analyzing text data and this will continue to add to the growth of CDA as a viable tool to understand the variables present in texts that maintain assumptions and power imbalances in society. This is the topic of Chapter III.

Research Questions

The following questions guide the argument presented in this dissertation. These questions also form the basis of the structure of the chapter outline above and the structure of the argument as presented below.

1. What are the sources and narratives of secularization theory in sociology and higher education and how are these narratives congruent?
2. How is the history of higher education presented in the study of higher education and does that history offer a balanced narrative of secularization in society and higher education which addresses the tension between secularization and sectarianism?

3. How do sectarian institutions respond to secularization and is there currently a market for religiously-affiliated higher education in the United States?

The Structure of the Argument

The argument that I will present disrupts the assumption that the secularization of higher education is conclusive. This should at least give pause among those who construct arguments around secularization theses to re-think their assumptions and to re-examine the continued influence of religion in higher education and especially, to rethink the viability of the religiously-affiliated institution as a significant institutional type. What this argument will establish is a foundation for college administrators to re-imagine the role of religion in the curriculum and how to gauge the relationship of the college or university to religious currents in society.

First, I will bring into the literature of the study of higher education the body of literature in the sociology of religion on secularization in significant depth. What one finds in this literature is an increasingly stable position that secularization was from its outset a flawed social theory and recent evidence is at least suggestive that it was based on flawed assumptions. Mapping secularization theories to histories of higher education reveals a congruency between the two. However, the presence of the sectarian response is notably absent in the higher education literature that either explicitly or implicitly discusses secularization.

Second, I show that the history of higher education as constructed in higher education as an area of study has made assumptions that map to the argument that secularization is inevitable and irreversible in higher education. Not only are there significant arguments in sociology that offer counterfactual evidence to this claim, but there is a growing body of literature in higher education that also maps to these counter claims in the sociology of religion. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) I will deconstruct the language of history texts that are used in

introductory and history courses in graduate programs of higher education throughout the United States of America States (Goodchild, et al., 1997; Rudolph, 1990; Thelin, 2004; Veysey, 1965).

Third, I present a discourse analysis of institutional mission and curriculum language published by various member institutions from the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU) including a background of the organization and its intent to support the religious and theological agendas of these various institutions. The purpose of this analysis is to show that on the other side of secularization is a more sectarian response among religiously-affiliated institutions. This is consistent with literature in the sociology of secularization but these narratives have not yet been mapped to the secularization thesis. What this will reveal is how the polity of these institutions reinforces a sectarian response to the secularizing influence of the wider culture. These institutions offer a market niche that reinforces their presence as an institutional type that warrants broader consideration in the study of higher education history and foundations curricula. In order to specify institutional types for investigation I will use Robert Benne's Typology of Church-Related Colleges (Benne, 2001, p. 49).

Future considerations will be discussed in the concluding remarks.

Limitations

Higher education is a vast international market that crosses political and geographical boundaries at an increasing rate. It would be impossible to locate trends in secularization on such a wide scale. The limits of this part of the study fall within the United States' geo-political boundaries. The United States is a unique nation in the ways that religion behaves in society. It is also the most religious among modern economies suggestive of religious patterns that go against assumptions in secularization that may be descriptive of other higher education markets.

There are around 900 institutions of higher education that claim some form of

institutional relationship to religion. For the purposes of this study that is a large group to untangle since, as will be seen later, there are such varied definitions of what it means to have a religious affiliation or be a religious institution of higher learning. While some data referenced will focus on wider trends of religiosity among students and faculty in larger secular institutions, finding a sample of religiously-affiliated institutions that share common characteristics is a more difficult challenge. Therefore, the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU) provides an interesting and significant sub-group within religiously affiliated higher education. It is interesting and significant for two reasons.

First, it is a Council that has grouped itself based on common characteristics in the centrality of religion in institutional mission, centrality of religion and specifically the bible in the curriculum, and expectations of student conduct both on and off campus. To quote the mission of the organization, “To advance the cause of Christ-centered higher education and to help our institutions transform lives by faithfully relating scholarship and service to biblical truth” (CCCU, 2012).

Second, the CCCU has been getting quite a bit of attention since it released data showing a greater enrollment rate than other samples of higher education institutions across the country in the 1990’s (see Chesnes, 2012). The question is if these institutions represent a wider trend in the place of religion in higher education or if they are an exceptional case. Even if the latter is true it is interesting to see why such an exception exists and if it has market sustainability based on or in spite of other possible sources of secularization.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The review of the literature that is the basis of this study breaks down into two major categories: secularization in sociology and the secularization as presented in the study of higher education. The two major areas reveal congruency in the secularization thesis. However, two stories emerge: one, that secularization is an inevitable outcome of higher education and two, that there is an alternative narrative resulting in increased sectarianism. Both of these areas are the bases for critical discourse of texts in higher education histories and in higher education mission and curricula supporting increases in sectarianism.

Understanding Secularization

Secularization is a social phenomenon in which a culture or subculture where sacred or religious structures at the center of the society move to the periphery of that society. A once central worldview, religion takes the shape of one among numerous other cultural phenomena. However, this very general understanding of secularization does not account for its various nuances and dimensions that take place.

Karel Dobbelaere (2004) breaks apart secularization in terms of the social levels and structures at which it occurs and offers a useful way of understanding the different types and processes in secularization. "It may refer to decline in church involvement, to the secularization of social sub-systems, or to religious changes" (2004, p. 22). To account for these various and often conflicting definitions of secularization, Dobbelaere describes three levels of secularization after a rather painstaking review of the literature up to the mid 1980's. The first level is *societal secularization* which also forms a baseline for the other forms of secularization. Societal secularization "is basically a consequence of a functional differentiation process that results in a

process of specialization of sub-systems” (Dobbelaere, 2004, p. 45). The notion of differentiation can be seen in Durkheim (Durkheim & Halls, 1997) and then, as we will see, primarily in Bryan Wilson’s (1966) arguments for secularization. The basic premise is that social functions such as social welfare, health, and education among others become less and less religious as other organizations and sub-systems like the secular state assume responsibility for them. As Durkheim wrote, “little by little, political economic, scientific functions free themselves from the religious function, constitute themselves apart and take on a more and more acknowledged temporal character” (Durkheim & Halls, 1997, p. 169). It is in the division of labor in terms of different functions that support the society that when pulled away from specific religious functions take on a non-religious character and so, religion moves from the center of a society to its periphery.

The next level of secularization is *organizational secularization*. On this level, organizational sub-systems, such as religions once they are no longer functioning at the center of a society, change from the inside out in order to adapt to changing social conditions that become more secular over time. “The basic idea is that religious evolution is related to socio-cultural evolution, and that in so far as internal religious factors are specifically responsible for religious change they become possible as a result of technological and economic innovations, the differentiation of political from religious institutions and demographic and ecological factors” (Dobbelaere, 2004, p. 116). Religious organizations that adapt to new social structures that are secular in nature take on specific functions that relate the secular to a sacred cosmos. Even sectarian movements that create deviant and sub-cultural high tension relationships with the norms of society, “accept a secularized world, and they emphasize a special knowledge, a *gnosis* that allows the individual to manipulate the world” (Dobbelaere, 2004, p. 122).

These two levels shape *individual secularization* as new forms of religion change the marketplace of religion. This marketplace forms as a result of religion's loss of dominance in the society and the various religious organizations that spin out of the new decentralized religious marketplace and situate themselves in competitive relationships with other religions and denominations. Religion becomes largely self-selected among different options available. This results in a non dogmatic or non-sectarian behavior apparent in "transformations of religion on the individual level beyond the range of influence of the religious authorities: a so-called "invisible" or "non-doctrinal" religion" (Dobbelaere, 2004, p. 153). In this sort of framework, religion in general is less of a shared resource of certainty among people. It is rather a source of pluralism and differentiation. Religion as a market phenomenon is a central issue when analyzing various trajectories of secularization in the study of higher education, as we shall see. The question to consider is how secularization reached this point and how it is being challenged as a thesis to understand the place of religion not just in society as a whole but in the place of higher education.

Secularization Theory: An Overview

Much of the secularization debate turns on the focal lens through which one decides to view and thus understand the processes that are involved. For example, Davie argues that it is Europe that is the exceptional case with regard to secularizing trends. However, Bruce (2002) considers the United States the exceptional case with regard to the place of religion in modern Western societies. Secularization, for all intents and purposes, is a rather uneven notion of the marginalization of religion's role in society and the subjective experiences of persons within a given society. With this in mind, I will begin with an analysis of secularization in the 20th century in order to pull out some key elements that are then recapitulated in the secularization

debate in its later resurgence and manifestations. This is the precise background where we can map the history of higher education.

The Rationalization of Society

“The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world.' Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations” (Weber, Mills, & Gerth, 1958, p. 155).

If there is any consistent framework for early thought in the idea of secularization, it is the notion that as human progress continues to answer questions that were once the primary task of religions to address, religion becomes less and less of a necessity in the development of society. This is precisely the nature of the claim made by Max Weber in his lecture “Science as a Vocation” quoted above. For Weber, religion was losing its honored position among the academic disciplines as scientific rationality made its claim to reality and society became

increasingly “disenchanted.”²

Weber continues the notion of differentiation in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* in 1930 (Weber, Parsons, & Giddens, 2006). As Weber wrote:

“That great historic process in the development of religions, the elimination of magic from the world which had begun with the old Hebrew prophets and, in conjunction with Hellenistic scientific thought, had repudiated all magical means to salvation and superstition and sin, came here to its logical conclusion. The genuine Puritan even rejected all signs of religious ceremony at the grave and buried his nearest and dearest without song or ritual in order that no superstition, no trust in the effects of magical sacramental forces in salvation, should creep in” (p. 61).

For Weber, the progressive improvement of the social condition through rational means strictly segregates the religious worldview from the secular worldview. As religion retreats from the centers of social progress, it leaves certain social and psychological structures that continue

² As Carlos Eire (2007) argues in his series of lectures “A Brusque History of Eternity”, the emergence of Protestantism brought with it a version of reality in which the things of God and the things of the world assume distinct ontological spaces in which to act. Hence this is the source of modern differentiation. In the modern sense, as rewards are given to religious persons by the physical world and those rewards increase, the likelihood of ascetic detachment from the world as an extreme measure of maintaining a tense differentiation from the world declines. The measure of cost for giving up worldly rewards simply outstrips the kind of other-worldly rewards that the deferred gratification of religious pursuits can yield (Niebuhr, 1954; Stark & Bainbridge, 1985).

to drive the trajectory of the industrial-capitalist processes of modernization. The idea of religious social structures persisting even after a particular dominant religion wanes from political and public centrality is argued in earnest by David Martin (1978) who writes, “(A)t certain crucial periods in their history societies acquire a particular frame and that subsequent events persistently move within the limits of that frame. There is a contour of dykes and canals set up at a crucial turning point in history and the flow of events then move according to that contour” (p. 15). Much later, Norris & Inglehart (2004) state a similar notion of virtually irreversible structure, “Predominant religious cultures are understood here as path-dependent, adapting and evolving in response to developments in the contemporary world, and yet are also strongly reflecting the legacy of past centuries” (p. 20). I shall pursue these other theories that also use this notion of structure in earnest later. Suffice it to say at the moment, that even when there is a waning of religious practice and belief *per se*, the various differentiations in a given society continue to work within pathways and currents religion eroded and etched into the structure of psycho-social behaviors.

Those conditions that persist in terms of a Weberian analysis are integrally related to if not in the service of the industrial capitalist complex. This can be found in an entire corpus of discourse that goes far beyond the scope of the argument here. However a couple of illustrations are helpful to see how this part of Weber’s hypothesis has had substantial enough support. For example, Lewis Mumford (1963), in his indictment of the forces of labor on civilization, examines the features of technical rationalization far more acutely than Weber and without a persistent reliance on the religious influences on those forces. Stripped of its religious reward from the heavens capitalism, once spurred by this-worldly asceticism as a direct result of the Calvinist and Puritan ethos, becomes a self-engrossing behemoth. Accumulation of capital

creates class inequities and crises in human capital and welfare at the expense of mechanized labor seen nowhere more acutely than in the life of the miner. Differentiation in terms of bureaucracy filters through to differentiation of rigid classes designed to move the wheels of production for the sake of producing desires only to reinforce increased production. "The aimless expansion of production is in fact the typical disease of capitalism in its application of modern technics: for since it failed to establish norms it had no definite measure for its productive achievement and no possible goals except those erected by custom and accidental desire" (Mumford, 1963, pp. 390-391).³

³ See Juliet Schor (2004) who describes the marketing and production of capital around the development of desire in children; and Rushkoff (1999) for an analysis of modern marketing strategies in order to increase production around impulsiveness. More recently, the sentiment continues but with a noted shift in emphases toward the post-industrial capital complex. Benjamin Barber (2007) argues that this unmitigated focus on normalizing consumption of goods without any perceptible direction or purpose other than feeding the machines of production has resulted in an increasingly puerile American culture reliant on impulsiveness and irrationality.

Civilization may wish to encourage spontaneity, even impulsiveness, as prods to creativity and invention. When the market and its infantilist ethos cultivate impulsiveness, however, it is *directed* impulsiveness. Retailers do not draw the young to malls or theme parks or multiplexes to encourage them to socialize or hang out or cruise as they 'naturally' do, but to put them to work shopping, to direct their play to commodities and for-pay entertainment, to turn the impulse to socialize into an impulse to consume (p. 112).

Brink Lindsey (2007) charts the recent economic and political history of the United States and also notes the shift in ideology from one of intentional self-restraint and deferred gratification in order to satiate the demands of the Calvinist and Puritan religious influence or again in Weber's terms "this worldly asceticism." However, he points out an irony in the process: the sort of fiscal restraint that accompanied that ethic resulted in an amassing of wealth that even Weber could not have predicted. "The substance of the change was this: from a scarcity-based mentality of self-restraint to an abundance-based mentality of self-expression. The aversion to material luxury was the first thing to go, as Americans reveled in wave after wave of new, factory-made comforts and conveniences" (p. 62). What once seemed to be an intractable class problem that would continue to reify in Mumford's field of vision in the 1930's became the very vehicle for a more widely distributed economic abundance. Some results of such abundance were the proliferation of leisure, civil rights, and the initiation of a post-industrial information economy in the U.S. This is true in the ethos that shaped higher education as well. As John Thelin (2004) writes,

Religion played a central (though often overlooked) role in this institutional evolution, in both substance and style. Even though some commentators at the time described religion as waning in influence and often out of touch with the new trends of commerce and science, there is intriguing evidence that it was a driving force in the industrial and corporate ethos of America (p. 113).

These various effects of Weber's initial hypothesis combined with the notion that a specific frame or set pathways along which American culture would move following the Civil War are central to how secularization theories developed after Weber. However, in the 1960's and later, assumptions of differentiation began to diverge as the economy became more

globalized through various modernizing processes. The United States, as a key modernizing society, should have declined in religious fervor, but did not. Nonetheless, it is the precise notion of this rationalized differentiation that histories of higher education appear to assume in their various syntheses of secularization in the academy.

Before we move forward with that connection, discerning the trajectories of secularization theory is important to review especially for later parts in the argument. Differentiation is not the only theory of secularization and nor is it the arguably the most powerful instrument by which to measure and describe patterns of secularization. Two recent theories are pushing the debate beyond the assumption of differentiation. One probes the notion of secularization as a factor in society partly explained by secularist activism (Smith, 2003a), the other looks at secularization as a process that occurs due to circumstances that have reduced existential crises and well being in western societies (Norris & Inglehart, 2004). Before we take up these recent developments a further analysis of secularization along the differentiation track is necessary.

Differentiation

The rationalization of society in these terms is correlated with a differentiation of social behaviors in the human sphere of activity. Most theories of secularization following Weber continued on this notion both expanding it and modifying it into forms conducive to given fields of investigation. Theories following Weber take up the mantle of differentiation and expand its theoretical lens.

H. Richard Niebuhr develops an argument that would have lasting impact in the sociology of religion with *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1954). There he argues that the development of religions works along an axis of “sect” to “church” in which the latter is a

result of continued accommodation to the normative structures of society which includes wealth and upward social mobility. In Niebuhr's distinction between sect and church, the latter is clearly, in his view, a largely negative development in what happens to religious organizations in the same sort of differentiated society that Weber proposes in his work. As religious groups get larger, require more bureaucratic control, increased professionalization of clergy, and outstrip any forms of social control that were previously effective, the result is a negative impact on the very nature of the religion. From his theological understanding, it is a distortion of the purpose of "church" itself.

"The evil of denominationalism lies in the conditions which makes the rise of sects desirable and necessary: in the failure of churches to transcend the social conditions which fashion them into caste-organizations, to sublimate their loyalties to standards and institutions only remotely relevant if not contrary to the Christian ideal, to resist the temptation of making their own self-preservation and extension the primary object of their endeavor" (Niebuhr, 1954, p. 21).

Unlike Weber who viewed religion and magic to be quite primitive and in retreat due to the progressive advance of scientific and technical rationalization of society, and so not really a bad thing to be displaced from the center of society, Niebuhr essentially assumes that Weber's analysis of secularization is correct, but places a different angle on the subject. He views the forces that shape religion from the inside of American Christianity and sees this as a harmful set of conditions for the mission of the church. Submitting to these forces by becoming more like the normative culture outside of the bounds of the church results in something that Niebuhr is not afraid to call "evil."

Niebuhr's formulation combined with Weber's notions of rationalization and

differentiation remained influential in subsequent formulations of secularization theory for several decades. In addition to the sect to church hypothesis, Niebuhr describes the nature of sectarian behavior as something sustainable for the first generation that forms it. However, a sect leads inevitably to the subsequent relaxation of sectarian boundaries with each subsequent generation. This very process is what we will later find described in terms of a measurable axis of tension between a religious organization and the normative culture outside of a particular religious organization (Johnson, 1957, 1963; Stark & Bainbridge, 1985).

Bryan Wilson (1966) continues along the path of differentiation, but at the same time makes the claim that at its core, religion serves an epiphenomenal purpose such that when the vehicles of modernization can serve those ends more efficiently, religion loses its value in society as a whole. For Wilson, secularization “is meant the process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance” (Wilson, p. 14). Rationalization produces a society that relies more and more on “empirical ends and pragmatic tests” and behavior that is increasingly controlled more by cause and effect relationships and relies on that which is only accessible through empirical means. “(The Church) has furnished explanations, and emotional reassurances. But, as modern society has grown more complex, and as scientific explanations have superseded essentially religious interpretations of life – replacing the suggestion of ‘meaning’ with the closer analysis of empirically verified fact – so the pastoral function of the Church has been affected” (Wilson, 1966, p. 92).

Two other parts to Wilson’s argument are of significant note here. First, it relies on the substance of Weber’s understanding of social differentiation. Wilson focuses on the various functions of society and sees the role of religion as that which was once there to meet the emotional and psychological demands of life with only social ritual and functions like weddings

and baptisms as secondary to its core values. Second, Wilson is suggestive of Niebuhr or perhaps Johnson (1957, 1963) in his analysis of what makes a religious group an effective carrier of these functions. "The divergence of belief systems and of ethical codes in society, short of creating a persistent state of tension, is likely to reduce the effectiveness of the religious agencies of social control" (Wilson, 1966, p. 51). Even though Wilson argues that as the social function of religion wanes and contributes to the increase of secularization in society, he also notes the other side of the problem that echoes the direction of sectarianism. What is important to note is that the nature of secularization thus far in its development continues to bring notions of sectarian responses into the mix. Indeed, it appears at this juncture that one cannot exist without the other.

Harvey Cox's *The Secular City* (1966) looks at secularization as an opportunity to reconstruct the place and purpose of the church in a secular and urban society. Cox rests quite comfortably in the notion that,

"Secularization simply bypasses and undercuts religion and goes on to other things. It has relativized religious world views and thus rendered them innocuous. Religion has been privatized. It has been accepted as the peculiar prerogative and point of view of a particular person or group...Secularization rolls on, and if we are to understand and communicate with our present age we must learn to love it in its unremitting secularity" (Cox, 1966, p. 2-3).

Cox seems far from the view of Niebuhr discussed above. Rather than decry the force of secularization, he consents to it as something inevitable or at least irreversible and seeks to glean from it those qualities which are helpful to religion rather than those which are harmful to it. It is "the liberation of man from his religious and metaphysical tutelage" (p. 15). Finally, Cox makes his resignation quite clear throughout the book, especially with regard to the emergence of the

secular university. “(T)he current cleavage between (university and church) is wider and more impassable than ever, precisely because we now stand at the *end of the epoch* of the church’s dominance in Western culture” (Cox, 1966, p. 192, emphasis added).

From this first stage of secularization theory, we can discern several common threads. 1) In the continued and progressive legitimation of scientific rationality, religion will move to the periphery of society and see its relevant functions continue to decline. 2) Secularization is a stable, progressive, and evenly distributed process that is both predictable and irreversible since modernization is itself irreversible. 3) Religious practice no longer has a public or objective quality to it and has been removed to a private and subjective phenomenon that serves different purposes for different persons and social groups. Moving religion to a subjective field as an epiphenomenon is a mechanism that places it at odds with scientific objectivity and progress. Thus, religion isn’t just a philosophy that is differentiated from science, but a hindrance to modern progress in general. What emerges in these theories of secularization is a pairing of secularization with sectarianism. Indeed the two seem nearly inseparable phenomena within the modern society.

Even though the confident language of Cox, Wilson, and Weber about the place of religion in the West was strongly suggested the inevitable and the irreversible decline of religion, credible critiques began to emerge. These critiques variously reject secularization, or conditionally accept some of its hypotheses only after making strong revisions that therefore reject other premises. To these we now turn beginning with what are arguably the most influential criticisms of secularization in the sociology of religion.

Critiques of Secularization Theory

One time president of the Southern Sociological Society Jeffrey Hadden drew lines

around the theory of secularization that described it more as an ideological framework than an empirically valid theory for understanding the relationship of religion and modernization. From Weber and the examples discussed above, Hadden argues that secularization became “sacralized” and was based on assumptions that “represent a taken for granted ideology” that social scientists uncritically adopted (Hadden, 1987, p. 588). Hadden is not alone with this thesis. More recent criticism follows the same line. “Even more than a statement about the present, the ideology of secularization relies on beliefs about the past” (Swatos & Christiano, 2000, p. 210). Swatos & Christiano continue, “Virtually no empirical research supports the prediction of a societal slide from a peak of sacrality into a valley of secularity; indeed, the issues of the conceptual confusion raised thirty years ago by Shiner now seem all the more urgent for social scientific theory development” (2000, p. 216).

Early on both Larry Shiner (1967) and David Martin (1965) called for either a clarification of the terms of the theory, or an altogether jettisoning of the idea. Both preferred the latter option to the former. David Martin (1978) argued that secularization is not a uniform process that can be equally observed in all societies. Secularization often takes on different forms that are largely dependent not only on the religion(s) involved in a society, but on the political makeup of a society and the relationship that religions have with that society. The overlap of the various powerful sets of conditions is where different forms of secularization and sectarianism emerge. Moreover, the relationship between internal political and religious sub-cultures in a given society and those that exist on the boundary of other societies is where additional transformations can occur. Indeed it is the spatial boundary between different political and religious bodies that forms a certain zone of tension that tends to exacerbate either continued secularization on the one hand, or acts to catalyze sectarianism on the other.

However, it is also Martin's theory where an alternative understanding of secularization emerges. The technical and rational complex of modernization expanded greatly between not only Weber's initial theses on secularization, but also after Niebuhr, Wilson, and others. In many ways Martin examines that thesis and takes it to task. If Weber was right, then there should be increasingly less religion in the world in a very uniform and predictable pattern of secularization. What Martin shows to the contrary is that the pattern of secularization is hardly something very uniform. Rather, it assumes often very different patterns and is not a simple effect of the increasing currency of an agnostic or atheistic expansion of empirical and scientific knowledge to replace those social functions once held by religion.

In the case of America, differentiation is not a source of continued secularization, but the cause of its converse. The body politic of the USA along with the concomitant relationship that politics has with religion starts from the presupposition of a differentiation between the state and religion. This is a differentiation for the purpose of creating an environment for religions to exist in their own right rather than a differentiation that results in the waning of religion as a whole. "(I)t is just this explicit separation of church from state that enables a pluralistic religion-in-general to buttress the higher level legitimations of American society" (Martin, 1978, p. 70). Moreover, where in some circumstances when religion is deeply connected to the state and rises or falls with state appeal, since religion functions as a distinct entity within the state, religion is able to find roots in virtually all social classes and can act as a carrier of social mobility including that of immigrants.

Martin's work is influential after the publication of *A General Theory of Secularization* (1978) and begins to point different directions for secularization theory. Martin reveals why the legitimacy of religion had not been washed from the West in spite of continued scientific and

rationalistic progress. From Martin, there are three major points of departure that are underway and continue to have impact on the discussion of secularization particularly after the turn of the millennium.

Supply-Side Religion

Stark & Bainbridge in their work *A Theory of Religion* (1987) begin with a long set of propositions about religion which are each phrased in ways that can be tested. Only at the end of these various propositions about religion in general do they discuss the process of secularization. They begin with a more incisive and clear explanation of the very processes that their various predecessors argued and do so in terms of the basic tenets of the economic theory. Stark and Bainbridge define secular as “any parts of society and culture that are substantially free of supernatural assumptions” (1987, p. 289).

As with secular systems like politics and science which “undercut the ability of religious specialists to demand rewards in exchange for their compensators,” the proliferation of an increasing set of similar low-tension religious groups will in effect cancel each other out since they all provide rewards and compensators that either other sources are capable of providing, or do not demand any special commitment for the believer for this or that religion (Stark & Bainbridge, 1987, p. 290). With such a flattening out of religious exchange in terms of benefits low-tension religions offer, mobility between religious traditions is more likely especially within the bounds of a larger denomination. Disaffiliation from a tradition goes hand in hand with increasing pluralism of religions and congruency between various religious traditions. One will tend to affiliate with those whose tradition or religious organization provides the strongest bonds of influence and fellowship. The combination of these various processes results in the loss of power and social control for a given religion making it even more difficult to reassert its

centrality in the public sphere since it has been relativized as one among numerous possible choices for people to seek rewards and to seek more general compensators in order to make sense of the world and experience. From this view the case made for secularization seems as strong as ever and by rooting it in economics and rational choice Stark & Bainbridge are well in keeping and perhaps re-confirming Weber's theory.

However, Stark later flips the assumed model of secularization completely upside-down. Weber and those who followed in his footsteps relied on an economic model that focused on the development of religious demands among those in the society. As is especially clear from Weber, Wilson, and Cox, religion met certain psycho-social needs and as science and rationalization began to meet those needs more effectively, the demand for religion waned and would continue to wane. Stark asks a rather different set of questions, the first and most important being, what if there is a supply of religions available in a secular or a secularizing society so lacking as to mitigate the desire for people to participate in religion? That is to say, if there are few religious options for people to consume that do not meet increasingly diverse religious demands, those who do not want to consume something will avoid it and pass on that lack of interest to others and other generations. This economic understanding of religion explains several phenomena. First, the lack of interest in religion in places like Scandinavia and Great Britain is rewarded where state religion maintains a high level of influence in the religious marketplace and undermines the marketability of other religions to compete with the normative religious culture and market of the state. Second, the United States has a much higher level of religious commitment given its unique differentiation of church and state and a constitutionally enforced equal regard for religion and pluralism (Eisgruber & Sager, 2007). Finally, this also explains variances in different political groupings, ethnicities, and religions that Martin presented

in his theory of secularization.⁴

Stark later considers a “paradigm shift” within the sociology of religion (Stark & Finke, 2000). The preceding process seems to mitigate the effect of human agency in the process by focusing too much on how religious groups accommodate over time to secular circumstances

⁴ Primitive religions are rooted in the exchange between people and gods through mechanisms of magic that are mediated by priests, shamans, etc. Magic offers often immediate rewards in the face of things that are often lacking for a given person or people. Magic thus consists of many of the stories one finds in religious myths such as healings, or Moses tapping a rock which releases water. The effects of suffering are mitigated or at least explained through the miraculous and often spontaneous intervention of supernatural deities that require some sort of exchange, namely worship and behavioral standards from followers. As elements of culture outside of a tradition that has used magic in order to foster these rewards challenge and often disconfirm the legitimacy of supernatural rewards through magic, the religion itself progresses towards more general compensators for human action and worship such as the promise of life after death, or the general notion of the forgiveness of sin. As magic recedes, other cultural systems will replace it as the means for rewards and those rewards of magic are replaced by very general compensators. Thus, secular systems outside of the religious sphere supplant those elements of magic that once consolidated religious behavior, belief, and action. In short, the religion accommodates itself to these secular explanations and refigures its patterns of belief and dogma in order to make “repairs” to damage such secular or other *ad extra* sources’ impact on religious systems. The net effect of such a process is a progressive accommodation to secular cultural systems.

that reduce the social control of their given religious tradition. This would be true if social actors blindly accommodated their beliefs to different reward structures regardless of the source.

However, this is simply not the case. In terms of rewards and compensators, there are those in any given social group “without strong stakes in conformity to political or scientific ideologies” (Stark & Bainbridge, 1987, p. 303) and these actors within a religious group moving towards these kinds of rewards are less likely to follow suit. Therefore, these kinds of actors within a religious organization or tradition will reinforce what they believe constructs a unique identity and social frame within a given culture. The very processes that create secularization may stimulate stronger levels of commitment from social actors who continue to value their religious rewards and compensators above those that a secular culture can provide. For Stark & Bainbridge, therefore, secularization creates the conditions of a sectarian response where religious groupings from within larger traditions resist the progressive accommodation to the wider culture and choose to maintain a more or less consistent understanding of sacred reality.

The social, political, and cultural conditions of the United States are uniquely suited to promote religious diversity in this manner. As David Martin (1978) writes, “The U.S.A. is a culture where the principle of dissent has been universalized; competing denominations exist within an overall umbrella of general religiosity” (p. 111). Even if one moves away from religious rewards, one may seek them elsewhere. Innovative religious organizations respond by reinventing rewards that escape secular sources. Sectarian and cultic organizations are social phenomena that rise up to meet this challenge.

Stark with Roger Finke (2000, p. 57 ff.) later argues in more decisive language that the notion of secularization is, in fact, not only flawed in its assumption of a gradual decline of religion when modernization takes the reins of culture, but that the entire theory should be put to

rest. They argue that 1) it is a myth that in pre-modern times Western culture was somehow more religious than in modernity; 2) there is no necessary connection between a macro-social secularization (as in the separation of religion from the state in the USA) and personal piety; and 3) scientific progress is not a suitable predictor for decline in any given set of religious beliefs. In many cases this argument is part of one that revises what Stark's work with Bainbridge cited above. Economics persists in the model but with a finer point that pluralism coupled with free choice results in a more diverse choice of religion and thus a more robust religious culture buttressed with a more stable religious market.⁵ The United States is a uniquely situated state that makes these various conditions for a robust religious marketplace possible due to its policy of equal regard for all possible religions (Eisgruber & Sager, 2007).

Two key points stand out in the theories developed by Stark and his associates that will be in play when we apply these notions to the study of higher education. 1) At the core of the theory is that a secularized state produces conditions for a thriving market of both sectarian movements and cultic movements fragmented from what is more or less culturally normative. 2) The notion of a free marketplace is as important for religious diversity as it is for other forms of economic diversity, including higher education. The two forms of diversity dovetail as religiously affiliated institutions of higher education can be freely established in a free market economy to reinforce and catalyze the development of leaders not simply within denominational

⁵ Phillips (2004) argues that competition is not the only variable that can predict religiosity. Rather, societal secularization also plays a role due to the structural differentiation between the state authorities and the religious authorities; the greater the religious autonomy, the greater the salience of religious participation. See Chaves (1994) for further discussion.

structures, but within more flexibly organized systems of belief (which is also symptomatic of religious mobility). This sectarian response will be discussed at length in chapter four. For now, there are other alternative challenges and corrections made to secularization that also merit a closer examination as they directly impact the study of higher education.

Secularization as a Revolutionary Protest

Christian Smith et. al. (2003a) describe secularization as “the successful outcome of an intentional political struggle by secularizing activists to overthrow a religious establishment’s control over socially legitimate knowledge” (2003a, p. 1). Smith highlights several weaknesses in the classic ways of understanding secularization as a result of differentiation. Among those weaknesses are: the lack of human agency that drives the process, a sense of the process’ inevitability, and an over-emphasis on the influence of intellectuals to drive the process and influence social and beliefs. To confront these issues, Smith and other authors tackle the notion of secularization by looking at those who promoted secularist ideologies in their spheres of influence and practice. There the revised secularization theory takes on the flavor as something more revolutionary and intentional.

As Smith writes, the issue is not so much that secularist ideologues were in the business of corroding the very fabric that holds together religion due to religion’s inferior status or even primitive status in relation to the progress of human rationality. “Religion had to go, in part, because it was entrenched in a knowledge system and moral order that these upwardly mobile knowledge elites stood to gain by deposing” (Smith, 2003a, p. 47). The problem of religion was not so much that it held an inferior worldview to agnostic and atheist secularists as that it held a hegemony of social control and power over class mobility and legitimacy to the social ambitions of specific intellectual actors. Antagonism to religious social control and power becomes clearer

if we read through some of the narratives behind Robert Ingersoll's popular lecture circuit or the role of intellectuals in higher education (Jacoby, 2004). Smith, et. al. argue that the seeds of secularization are made fertile by actors seeking social status and legitimacy.

Existential Security as a Predictor of Secularization

A third recent position is less of a challenge to secularization theory as it was presented in the past as much of a correction on the argument of what it is that makes secularization happen. Norris & Inglehart (2004) argue that the primary cause of secularization is the existential condition of persons in social structures. Those places where there is the most existential comfort in terms of human needs and those structures that support life such as security, healthcare, clean water, and food supply have the least saliency of religious belief. As existential security and comfort increases, the demand for religion decreases. "(W)ith rising levels of existential security, the publics of virtually all advanced industrial societies have been moving toward more secular orientations during at least the past fifty years" (Norris & Inglehart, 2004, p. 240). Norris & Inglehart do not look at modernization as a monolithic phenomenon that directly impacts secularization as others have done in the past. Rather they observe specific effects of modernization that impact existential security from which predictions can be made about the religious behavior on each level of secularization (see Dobbelaere, 2004): societal, organizational, and individual. This position also corresponds to Stark and Brainbridge's earlier thesis regarding social compensators. When secular structures compensate for human needs and desires that were once the domain of religion, sectarian movements begin to splinter off and develop new ways to compensate for other needs.

With this notion, Norris & Inglehart also challenge the theory of rationalization with evidence that those places in which scientific knowledge has gained substantial influence are not

necessarily those that result in a decreased religious belief. Certainly the United States is a prime example of this, but they argue it is also true in places like India in which scientific worldviews are deeply embedded in also deeply religious cultures. They ask the question why the United States, as the wealthiest nation in terms of GDP and which spends the most on healthcare of other post-industrial nations in their comparative analysis of about 70 nations, maintains its religiosity.

If the US is such a wealthy nation, it seems to offer enough counter-factual evidence that secularization theory should have a large hole in it. This is where the sobering argument about the social equality and distribution of health and wealth of the US comes into play. The US has a lower life expectancy and a higher infant mortality rate than many other wealthy post-industrial nations like the UK, Japan, or Sweden among others. As Norris and Inglehart argue, since the US is not a welfare state in which such needs as health are not automatically provided from womb to the grave, and with a privatized economy that reinforces the social divide between the wealthy and the poor, the United States economy creates pockets in the society that do indeed mirror issues that even third world countries face. The sub-cultures in the population reside primarily in urban, rural, and other areas where the overall rate of religiosity balances secularization in more existentially secure areas like the metropolitan suburbs.

(T)he United States is exceptionally high in religiosity in large part, we believe, because it is also one of the most unequal postindustrial societies under comparison. Relatively high levels of economic insecurity are experienced by many sectors of U.S. society, despite American affluence, due to the cultural emphasis on the values of personal responsibility, individual achievement, and mistrust of big government, limiting the role of public services and the welfare state for basic matters such as healthcare covering all

the working population (Norris & Inglehart, 2004, pp. 107-108).

What this revised theory of secularization does is allow for enough room that one is not bound to a given understanding of modernization to understand secularization processes. It also offers enough specificity of the social relationships that can predict secularization that each of the levels of secularization that Dobbelaere outlines can be accounted for which is why religiosity in countries like the US, Poland, Italy, and India can be described in better detail and with more nuance. While Gregory Paul (2005) argues that social dysfunction and religious patterns of behavior are correlated, the argument may only be hiding underlying causes that Norris & Inglehart theorize with regard to existential security. Paul does not reference and therefore does not attempt this correlation.⁶ Nonetheless, this may be a powerful tool to understand higher education and its relationship to upward mobility. It could very well be that higher education itself as a vehicle to greater wealth, existential security, and upward mobility creates a secularizing effect in its students. It could also be that those in charge of institutions of higher education, the faculty and administration, start from a more secularized worldview and transmit that to student population. This dynamic is covered later here.

Reinforcement of the Secularization and Modernization Synthesis

With these alternative theories emerging in the secularization debate, it does not mean that we can do away with the notion that modernization leads to secularization. A continued proponent of this view is Steve Bruce (2002). He maintains the deep connection between these

⁶ Moreno-Riaño, et. al. (2006) argue that “Paul’s findings are rendered ineffectual” primarily due to lack of methodological and conceptual clarity regarding religiosity and secularism.

poles and relies heavily on European data in order to substantiate the claim.

One of Bruce's key arguments is that even if one detects periods of strong religious gains such as the 1950's or 1980's in the United States, the average slope of religious belief continues on a downward course. That is to say, if religious belief rises upwards on the graph, it will spiral downward and end at a lower point from where it began. He couples this with the continued position that religion loses its legitimacy and centrality as a public discourse and practice that maintains influence in socio-cultural structures. For Bruce, to use Dobbelaere's analysis again, societal secularization that leads to organizational secularization creates a situation in which there is less of a shared resource of religion and so religion loses its social influence. For Bruce, therefore, pluralism creates a society in which the people become less and less interested in religion over time. "Changes at the structural and cultural level bring about changes in religious vitality that we see in the declining proportion of people who hold conventional religious beliefs and the commitment they bring to those beliefs. The bottom line is this: individualism, diversity and egalitarianism in the context of liberal democracy undermine the authority of religious beliefs" (Bruce, 2002, p. 30). For Bruce, "the decline in the social significance of religion, in turn, reduces the number of people interested in religion" (Bruce, 2002, p. 41). Thus for Bruce, the issue is that once religion loses its central stake in the authority and power of a society and adapts to social norms that promote freedom of conscience and the role of the individual above

that of the collective, that society will become more secular.⁷

As soon as modernization tears asunder the religious worldview as something with a central position in the field of knowledge discourses and social legitimacy, it simply does not return to that status and remains privatized on the periphery of human experience. Second, as differentiation continues public and private interest in religion declines. Bruce's book is in part rejoinder to the supply-side economic model from Stark and his associates by arguing that religious pluralism is not a source of religious proliferation and strength, but a situation that problematizes religion in general. Further, if a religion is more monopolistic in a given place, it creates a situation in which there is a greater chance of people inhabiting a place with a shared religious language and culture that acts as an environment more supportive and not less supportive of religion. Even so, the United States remains for Bruce something of a puzzle.

Even though mainline denominational participation has dropped, through immigrant populations, and more conservative religious groups saliency of traditional religious practices and other expressions of religion emerge. In spite of the evidence that the US has maintained its religious ambiance, Bruce claims, "there are very clear signs that the mainstream Christian churches are declining in popularity and that the conservative Protestant churches are losing their doctrinal and behavioural distinctiveness" (Bruce, 2002, p. 227). Bruce makes this prediction based on his argument that this is what also occurred with the churches in the UK following

⁷ Chaves (1989) makes this case as well, which is later rejected by Hout & Greeley (1990) due to Chaves' time series that when lengthened using the same statistical analyses and recapitulates findings in a previous study (Hout & Greeley, 1987) that, "There is no evidence of secularization in the data on attendance at religious services" (Hout & Greeley, 1990, p. 523).

WWII. What is interesting about this comparison is that it was immediately following WWII that the UK also passed its National Health Service Act. This seems to offer a possible corroboration with Norris & Inglehart and Wilson rather than Bruce's theory.⁸

What Bruce does not argue and does not include are wider patterns of religion in different political structures, nations, and cultures that create very different trajectories in religious behaviors and structures as is clear in the work of David Martin and others. Therefore the notion of an uneven development of secularization that may persist among different nations with different religious make-ups is not present because Bruce does not argue it. While Bruce offers a challenge to some of Stark's observations with respect to religious structures in Europe and especially the UK, Bruce ends up confirming largely what we seem to know already: 1) religion in Europe in most places appears to continue to decline in favor of various forms of secularization in which at best there is a private practice of belief without a normative sense of religious "belonging" namely, in terms of attendance to religious organizations; 2) religion in the United States appears to continue to be a consistent combination of strong belief in God and the supernatural in general along with a fairly consistent level of religions participation.

Sources of Secularization in Higher Education

The narrative of the religiously-affiliated college seems to be a rather tragic tale of colleges that once formed the crux of United States higher education that dramatically divorced themselves from their religious moorings in response to various secularizing pressures. These

⁸ Additionally, Bruce may also be contradicting Maslow's hierarchy of needs where self-actualization and the religious dimension of life arise after basic survival needs and social needs are met. See (Fowler, 1981; Kegan, 1982, 1994; Koltko-Rivera, 2006; Maslow, 1964).

pressures vary among the emergence of utilitarianism and research as the organizing principle for the mission of the university, increased religious and ideological pluralism along with student activism specifically in the 1960's, a changing higher education market that seemed to make an education with a religious perspective irrelevant and even wasteful, and mission drift as these colleges aspired more to be like secular research universities. The overwhelming opinion of several authors is that an already attenuated relationship between the religious organization and the college could not possibly endure the pressures from external market forces that bear upon institutional funding and continued utilitarian and professional emphases on higher education through its large research institutions (Burtchaell, 1998; Gleason, 1995; G. Marsden, 1994; G. M. Marsden & Longfield, 1992; Reuben, 1996; Sloan, 1994; Veysey, 1965). Moreover, the challenge of a religiously-affiliated institution has also rested on how well it could respond to an increasingly pluralistic environment where any exclusive claims to truth are suspect and liberal theology as an alternative framework could create an environment leading to the secularization of that school and so, would ultimately lead to its dismounting from its religious foundation. Responding to these pressures by capitulating to them has in turn lead to a loss of distinctive identity and mission for the religiously-affiliated college and so, has lead to severing its ties to its parent religious organization.

Weak Religious Bonds and Utilitarianism

As one examines the various features that each contributed to the demise of the central role of religion in American higher education, the analysis itself appears to suffer from the same sort of late Nineteenth and early Twentieth century assumption that the processes of secularization have been inevitable and necessary. Hence there is a demeanor of resignation to secularization that comes through the various narratives of the process. The opinion is quite

consistent: the connection between religion and higher education was never that theologically or ecclesiologically robust and so, when confronted by the enormous pressures put on the system by a rapid changing society, the religious element had little choice but to conform to the changing social norms, or suffer abject failure at the hands of increasing irrelevance. As such, the nature of the religious college is often dovetailed with its functional role. As soon as the function loses its value, the nature of the institution must then change. This process then in turn restructures the very nature of the institution into something centrally secular and only peripherally religious.

Perhaps the most extensive of studies that make purchases on the inevitable nature of secularization is James Burtchaell's *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Churches* (1998). This comprehensive study traces the narratives of 16 religiously-affiliated colleges and universities that have severed their ties from the religious bodies that formed them. Burtchaell constructs these narratives across . denominational boundaries. While he admits the shortcoming in his sample are those traditions he excluded (i.e. Mennonites, Quakers, Mormons, etc.) his study offers an adequate selection of major universities founded by religious organizations. He closes the volume by noting causes for the simultaneous decline of religious affiliation and heightened secularization in these schools. He argues that the connection these schools had with the founding religious organizations was less an intentional bond but was rather "circumstantial and indirect" (Burtchaell, 1998, p. 822). Thus the external and internal factors that prompted the "dying of the light", as he describes it, were able to wield considerable mitigating influence on an already weakened bond. In short the increasing pressure to conform to the norms of society was simply too much for these once proudly theologically rooted institutions. Burtchaell's outlook is no less optimistic for the religious college as the title indicates. Rather than rebound from previous failures to maintain

religious ties, he predicts the demise of the religious institution based on not only his analysis of these sixteen colleges and universities, but on his own theological perspective which places higher demands on what actually constitutes a religious college in the first place.

This tome follows in the path of and arguably authenticates several other studies that also emphasize the same weakened bond. Laurence Veysey in his seminal work *The Emergence of the American University* (1965) recounts the secular impulse in the twilight of the classical curriculum at the close of the 19th century with the elective curriculum as advanced by Charles Eliot at Harvard, the surge of the German research model in the founding of universities such as Johns Hopkins, and the growing need of utilitarian purpose following in the path of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862. Part of this development is in the influence of German research models for higher education which were clearly more secular in nature and more geared towards the production of new knowledge as opposed to the distribution of previous knowledge and cultivation of human moral obligation rooted in Victorian puritanical assumptions of what civilized humanity ought to look like. As more American students sought advanced education in Germany and returned to the American system in order to teach, the slow transformation of the American curriculum was palpable and became more geared towards the production of knowledge more conducive to reinforcing the growing enterprise of the capital and industrial complex. In short, within the framework of these new systems, it was not necessary to place God at the forefront of one's education. One could elect God as one of numerous other possibilities within the curriculum as one's good pleasure dictated.

The broadening influence of research and the secular curriculum had a profound effect on the purpose and mission of higher education in the United States. As state universities became larger and more influential in this regard, the fate of not only the religiously-affiliated

curriculum, but also the liberal-arts came under fire as portents of doom rose to the surface.

Perhaps a logical conclusion to Vesey's account of the shift in higher education to the utilitarian research-based curriculum is Clark Kerr's *The Uses of the University* (2001). Here Kerr notes the ultimate fallout of the relationship between teaching and research is that the undergraduate experience of students may suffer. From Kerr's perspective at the University of California, the university became increasingly differentiated and fragmented into departments with often very different curricular and organizational goals. However, reforming the teaching duties of faculty in the face of external pressures such as an influx of new students and rapid growth following the GI Bill and the increased flow of research dollars and the university as "instrument of national purpose" created an imbalance between teaching and research. This imbalance found several methods of resolution that Kerr notes throughout his book. One resolution was for faculty to pay more attention to undergraduate education and revert back to a pseudo *in loco parentis* that was, for all intents and purposes removed from the faculty profession toward the close of the 19th century. Kerr's language is rather strong on this issue. "The changes of the 1870's liberated faculty members from *in loco parentis* and those of the 1960's enslaved them again. It was the students of the 1960's who wanted *in loco parentis* in terms of personal attention but hated it in terms of impersonal rules enforced by the dean of students- the form it had to become in the 1870's" (Kerr, 2001, p. 127).

Another means of student transformation is the role of protest and reform from within student organizations. Students are confronted by a range of choices in the "multiversity" and have as their responsibility to elect a program of study wisely. Moored in a pluralistic environment, the students initiated a counter-revolt against the faculty. They "were beginning to visualize themselves as a 'lumpen proletariat' – or, in a more modern terminology, as prisoners

in the campus ghetto; and a few students wanted even then to make the campus a 'fortress' from which society might be attacked" (Kerr, 2001, p. 101). Kerr later notes that his original supposition that these revolts would be due to student reaction against the increased faculty focus on research rather than on the education of students turned out to be a result of students "turning their interests to external interests specifically to civil rights and the war in Vietnam" (Kerr, 2001, p. 205). As we will see, the data shows that the student protests were most likely not a result of an externalization of frustration at the university curriculum, but were the result of several related factors that all are related to the religious and political environment at the time – even at Kerr's own University of California.

Mission Drift

A variable leading to disengagement that appears in different arguments is the declining level of distinctiveness a religiously-affiliated college has in the higher education marketplace. How this important feature of the secularization narrative generally moves is to focus on the kinds of responses that religious institutions have made to the various secularizing forces. The general pattern is for these institutions to make increasing compromises with the prevalent norms of society in order to increase their cultural capital as legitimate and viable institutions within the marketplace of knowledge. For example, George Marsden, in "The Secularization of the Academy" (1992), argues that the growing influence of liberal theology in the church related academy watered down the distinctive nature of Christian and tradition-based education. In his more comprehensive work *The Soul of the American University* (1994), Marsden argues that the growing influence of liberal theology in the church-related academy watered down the distinctive nature of Christian and tradition-based education.

Similarly, Eric O. Springstead (1991) argues that the religious commitments of

denominationally-affiliated colleges are often window dressing for aims closer to secular liberalism. That the distinction between the two governing philosophies is not emphasized in the curriculum attenuates religious ties even though the image of the college may be emphatic in its ties to a religious ideal. The resulting curriculum is rooted in individual liberalism and thus functions as a means for the student to achieve individual vocational ends. Referring to de Toqueville, Springstead argues further that the danger in eliminating the tension between religious and secular ideals is a homogenous culture where real individuality is effectively lost. The goal of the religiously-affiliated college is thus to maintain its distinctive character and cultivate values rooted in the religious tradition. Tillman (1999) also argues that there is a paradox between maintaining academic freedom and a level of religious distinctiveness between “academic epistemology” and “traditional religious epistemology”. Once again there is a connection between values and the religious tradition that is argued as a means to offer a unique educational experience.

In principle, Springstead and Tillman both raise a philosophical concern that may indeed be true, but offer no empirical evidence to verify the arguments. In the case of Tillman’s argument such epistemological theories such as “critical realism” (Van Huyssteen, 1999) and a conversation with critical theory are simply ignored which offers a highly probably solution to the epistemological problem that he raises (Tatusko, 2005). Mannoia (2000) speaks to this issue directly though his understanding of “critical commitment”. Aside from these theoretical problems the objective data resources are missing to verify if this may be a problem for religiously-affiliated higher education. In other words, if there is an epistemological problem, what is its effect on students and does it affect overall enrollment and religiosity trends? It is hard to determine if such assumed patterns of development are actually true other than to raise an

intuitive concern that these variables of compromise with normative structures in society external to specific religious claims to reality are contributing to, again, an assumed and largely inevitable trajectory of secularization in higher education.

Others have also advanced the argument for distinctiveness even further in an effort to re-imagine the purpose, integrity and market-share for religiously-affiliated private higher education. Hypothesizing that the theological ties an institution has may not be as vital for a liberal arts curriculum, Allen Fisher (1995) argues that "Presbyterian colleges would not be significantly different from the unaffiliated colleges in their own moral or 'values' concerns in the curriculum." The sample for the study focused on the curriculum of four year colleges as indicated by reference materials published between 1987 and 1991 from the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., the Christian College Council, and college guides from the American Council on Education and Macmillan. The academic curriculum was targeted as a college's "most significant statement about what it seeks to teach its students" (Fisher, 1995, pp. 33-34). The conclusion of this study shows that while evangelical colleges retain a strong link between religion and moral values in the curriculum, Presbyterian colleges that do not offer required courses in religion are in fact less likely to have a required nonreligious moral values course than religiously unaffiliated liberal arts colleges. Albrecht and Heaton (1984) further argue a negative relationship between the level of education and religious commitment. This seems to validate the claims that liberalizing theological and traditional commitments leads ultimately to the weakening of ties between a college and its religious affiliation. Finally, James Mannoia Jr. (2000) argues that higher education informed by the Christian critical thought lends itself to a curriculum devoted to "critical commitment" which splits the difference between rigid and often exclusionary dogmatism and relativism that has no discernible foundations. While the liberal arts

are designed to foster critical thinking, a Christian liberal arts education meets the goal of critical commitment with a readily available philosophical structure to serve as a foundation.

A Theological Remedy?

In the wake of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth century transformations of society and intellectual labor, Douglas Sloan in *Faith and Knowledge* (1994) traces the development of academic theologians through the middle of the Twentieth century who actively sought to re-inject an intellectually coherent and rational structure for theology and religion in the university. This was not an attempt to simply legitimate religion as one topic among others, but to find a way to re-establish its central position as a means to structure an entire educational program. Sloan argues that the neo-Orthodox project of reinvigorating Christian education in a way to split the difference between rigid orthodoxy and secularism had only a momentary level of success, but its purchases on modern culture and social action in the late 1960's again participated in the waning of the religious-affiliated education's distinctive contribution to the higher education market. The initial goal of this project was to enable a commitment to the founding religious organization while taking seriously the social and cultural contexts and the ideals of openness and democracy. But rather than offer a method to combine the validity of qualitative theological thought with the trend toward empirically-based quantitative research, these important Protestant theologians developed a "two-sphere" approach that placed empirically-based knowledge as predominate to subjectively formed faith-based knowledge. The result was an undermining of the task they originally set out to accomplish resulting in the increased secularization of the academy.

While these studies emphasize the decline of the religiously-affiliated college from the Protestant side, Catholic higher education also has its share of dystopian oracles. Philip Gleason

in *Contending with Modernity* (1995) traces and portends the decline of neo-Thomism as a guiding principle in Catholic higher education and David O'Brien (1994), albeit less pessimistically though in a similar vein with Marsden, accounts the church's "Americanization" calling into question the distinct identity of the church-affiliated college.

On the surface, the narrative of the religiously-affiliated college seems to be complete. The overwhelming opinion of these authors is that an already attenuated relationship cannot possibly endure the pressures from external market forces that bear upon institutional funding and continued utilitarian and professional emphases on higher education through its large research institutions. Moreover, the challenge of a religiously-affiliated institution also rests on how well it can respond to an increasingly pluralistic environment where any exclusive claims to truth are suspect and liberal theology as an alternative framework will ultimately lead to the secularization of that school and so, will ultimately lead to its dismounting from its religious foundation. The other option, it seems, is to harden claims to truth and become sectarian in essence not unlike Bob Jones University, Oral Roberts University, Liberty University, or Regent University. If the story is told this way, in order for a religiously-affiliated college to provide a distinct voice in the higher education market, the level of sectarianism it can achieve may determine how distinct an experience it can provide. However, these sources provide no empirical data to confirm that these trends are true or that they exist beyond the case studies that are emphasized.

Conclusion

It is clear from various countervailing sources in the theory of secularization that the United States is one of the two mainstays in the growth of modernization worldwide, the other

being Europe. It is also clear that at their best, predictions regarding the secularization and imminent decline for religion in the United States are inflated at best or altogether incorrect; otherwise the outlook for religion is quite grim. But this raises a set of important questions as we turn now to review the presentation of the history of higher education as presented in the study of higher education. Is it the case that the various narratives in the history of higher education simply missed something by focusing so much energy on dis-establishment of colleges from religion? Is the narrative skewed to specific samples of colleges that are no longer explicitly religious if even religious at all? If the narratives are not skewed towards an assumption of secularization's eminent domain on society in the United States, is there nonetheless a disconnect between how colleges approach religion and the wider structures of society and culture that continue to legitimate religious belief? Is there an alternative to the secularization thesis that is in play and working in other areas of higher education? If there is an alternative, does it have the characteristics that resemble the same sort of sectarian response to secularization that Stark and his associates have argued for the continued saliency of religion in even the most secularized places that nonetheless have a free market for religions to establish themselves in the religious economy? If there is a continued religious demand in the wider American culture, who in higher education is meeting this demand and what does that tell us about religion in the United States?

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

Methodology

To identify an assumed stance regarding secularization theory in the histories of higher education and to identify sources of sectarianism in higher education I am employing critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA is a somewhat uneven theoretical framework since it is rooted in the complex of philosophies that arise out of French post-structuralism. It is a way of analyzing texts that is much stronger in Europe than in the United States and has therefore made fewer inroads to social science and the study of education. Much less has it been used as either a theoretical lens of method in the study of higher education or the history of higher education. Therefore the methodology here is creating some novel territory in the study of higher education.

Background of Critical Discourse Analysis

In short CDA views texts as social agents. Discourse “signals the particular view of language...as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). Since language and social life are thus interconnected, CDA looks at language as a means to analyze social behaviors and structures and vice-versa, to understand language and its use by way of analyzing social life first. By approaching the history of higher education, secularization, and sectarian institutions this way, I am assuming the posture that the texts we read are in themselves not just informative of, but constitutive of social practices and social structures.

Critical *discourse* analysis focuses on both discursive and non-discursive speech acts given within a social frame by a particular group of people. It comprises the various sorts of communicative media by which human beings exchange information to one another. These can be in terms of aural utterances, policy documents, newspaper clippings, course syllabi, journal

articles, books, focus groups, political speeches, etc. However, any discourse is not without purpose and so, any discourse contains in it implicit or explicit dependence on values and perspectives on political relationships that exist within a certain socio-cultural environment. We may also refer back to David Martin's notion of frames here. Within a given social frame specific discourses exist that are both a product of that frame and also serve to maintain the structures of a given frame.

It was Foucault who developed philosophy of discourse that links communication to social systems. Discourse is that collection of texts – in books, papers, speech, and later even television and advertising – that is constitutive the social system. “Discursive rules are hence strongly linked to the exercise of power: discourse itself is both constituted by, and ensures the reproduction of, the social system, through forms of selection, exclusion and domination” (Hook, 2001, p. 522). As discourse is constitutive of a social system it also excludes those discursive acts that may threaten a given social system. The production of knowledge also acts to exclude knowledge from the social system. This tension is pronounced in education itself, which to Foucault is a political engine within a social system. “Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledge and powers which they carry” (Foucault, 1981, p. 64). Foundational to a critical discourse analysis is that discourse is active in the development of knowledge and power within a society. More pointedly, discourse is the material out of which knowledge and power are made in a society.

James Paul Gee (1996) describes several propositions regarding the nature of discourses. First, discourses are ideological. Second, and following this first proposition, any discourse reflects what is normative within a given social frame and in so doing excludes other kinds of discourses from making legitimate claims about human experience and reality in general. Third,

in this sense discourses are also political since they will implicitly define the boundaries of accepted patterns of behavior that may persist in one frame, but not in another. Fourth, this will include assumptions on the distribution of goods and social power in a society, dominant and excluded value systems, economic class values among rich and poor, and speech pattern differences between academic/intellectual elite language and common vernacular speech patterns. Discourses of written language are not isolated incidents from the greater political, ideological, and socio-cultural frame of a given society. Rather they are an integral component to what Peter Berger (1990) calls *externalization* of internal structures of reality. Language itself serves as media for the construction and legitimation of society and sub-cultures within a society. Discourses are constitutive of social practices. "(T)exts have causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). Looking as the social constructionist view there is an overlap that Fairclough unpacks. Discourse works within pre-existing systems of discourse (internalization). As they emerge new discourses develop that create new narrative structures and power relations (externalization). Finally, these discourses become durable social frameworks in which new forms of discourse will emerge this perpetuating the cycle (objectification).

Critical discourse analysis looks at any such discourses in the larger social and political frame in which they originated. The implication is that all discourses are at their root political. Patterns and rules of different discourses conform to specific social situations in which some speech acts are appropriate for some social structure and some speech acts are not appropriate in other social structures. Such structures are tied to socio-political conditions like class, gender, race, occupation, sexuality, etc. Discourse thus both conforms to given social conditions and it also creates and/or reinforces those conditions at the same time (Gee, 2004). Such language can

also change the situations in what is called *reframing*. The language itself given by some actors within a situation can serve to re-orient the assumed social frame that legitimates certain kinds of language. As the nature of discourses is ideological and contains implicit structures that regulate both political and ideological social realities, the critical discourse “analyst’s intention is to uncover power relationships and demonstrate inequities embedded in society” (Rogers, 2004, p.3).

“Discourse analysts can change the contextual frame of utterances to bring out new meanings – one that may change how we think about certain issues. At the same time, critics can always ask of any discourse analysis whether the situated meanings attributed to pieces of language in the analysis would not change, perhaps even significantly, if the analyst has considered other aspects of the context (wider aspects or just the features at the same level of detail)” (Gee, 2004, p.31).

In any critical discourse analysis it is important to note that the analysis itself may contribute to a given frame of political and ideological assumptions and this cannot be overlooked. How one frames the analysis can affect how the various discourses and frames of discourse are represented in the analysis.

In a critical discourse *analysis* it is not just the grammatical form that one must take into account, but it is how that language form functions within its broader social structure. The task of the analysis is to draw lines of connection between specific discourses and larger socio-cultural and political frames. The goal is to reveal how language reinforces and perpetuates these frames. For many critical discourse analysts the outcome of the analysis itself takes on clear political and ideological overtones. For example, James Collins writes that groups of researchers, namely critical discourse analysts, “seek to combine systematic language analysis, ethnographic

grounding, and social theory engagements to develop studies of education that are also inquiries into contemporary life: how we engage each other, learn in groups, develop identities, *oppress, and resist oppression*" (Collins, 2004, p.xxii, my emphasis). Keeping one's social scientific bearings clear on the task at hand is important lest one ideological frame simply be replaced with another one that asserts various critiques without an evidentiary basis. Thus, "researchers who use CDA are concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of language and discourse in the construction and representation of this social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret, and explain such relationships" (Rogers, 2004, p. 3).

"Using the CDA frame in the critical analysis of policy draws attention to particular texts, discourse practices, and social practice issues that are particularly relevant to thinking about the engineering of social change through language and practice" (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, p. 176-177). Since policy language is inherently designed to govern behaviors and in some cases ideology, there is a clearer and more obvious correspondence between the form and function of the text and the social implications of them. In this way policy documents actively engage social behaviors intentionally.

On face value historical texts may not appear engaged in developing new social behaviors and ideologies. Nonetheless, when read through a critical discourse analysis *all* texts to some degree are part of a larger complex of social practices that control knowledge in some way. In historical texts the causal relationship between the form and function of the text and a social behavior or ideology is more indirect than may be the case with a policy document.

What persists even when an obvious causal relationship is difficult to substantiate is the representation and construal of social structures through language. In a real sense language reinforces and continues to construct social realities. Those social realities that consist of

political, religious, educational, ideological, corporate, etc. situations create conditions that constrain human behavior and action. For our purposes, the assumed truth of secularization is implicitly asserted and legitimated through the narrative constructions of the history of higher education. In so doing it reinforces beliefs about higher education that are incomplete at best and more likely inaccurate.

Critiques of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is not without its criticism. However those criticisms have less to do with the ways that the method understands the social constructions that language produces and more to do with the fitness of CDA as a method to engage in critical analysis of language itself.

Peter E. Jones (Jones, 2007) offers an incisive critique of CDA where he argues that what critical discourse analysis does is create an artificial segregation of every day communication into forms abstracted from how people actually use language to communicate. “(O)rdinary, everyday communication already involves the critique of communication” (Jones, 2007, p. 338). Central to Jones’ argument is that the ways that people communicate are already critical since communication itself is the result of numerous judgments that occur both tacitly and explicitly in the very act of communication itself. In other words there is no such thing as an uncritical communicative act. What Jones argues is that CDA is not only unnecessary but even disruptive to the study of language and communication. By the nature of CDA’s predilection to deconstruct language, it creates a false picture of how language actually functions in a social setting. Communication acts exist within larger contexts where discourses are “real work of people engaged in a task” (Jones, 2007, p. 359). “All in all the fact that communicative acts are consciously integrated by particular individuals in circumstantially unique ways within particular

social practices means that it is impossible to ascribe any general, invariable function, value or effects to these acts, contrary to CDA assumptions (Jones, 2007, p. 359). Jones' argument may make a solid point that CDA has maybe been over-burdened by looking at the forms of discourse and how they relate to social practice rather than taking language and social practices together as a whole. However, Jones is arguing in particular against Fairclough's methodology that places such an emphasis on the form of language. The question is then if there is a better model of CDA which takes seriously the claim that language and social practices are inseparable in how beliefs and ideologies are shaped within society.

Other criticisms are somewhat scant but do exist. Hammersley (1997) argues that the philosophical foundations of CDA are flawed. However, Hammersley is not focused very much on the method itself. His "focus is very much at the level of the founding assumptions of CDA, rather than being concerned with analyzing its empirical practice" (Hammersley, 1997, p. 238). The question is how to investigate what this empirical practice looks like and where that might be problematic within CDA.

Tyrwhitt-Drake (1999) critiques how an empirical practice of CDA has actually been performed. CDA has perhaps been overburdened with the notion that deconstructing power and social relations inherent in discourse with social change. If this is the case, what is the aim of social change? If this is a decidedly political aim in itself, how is it possible that any empirical practice can happen with such a subjective foundation? Political commitment present in CDA is a barrier to its standing as a credible empirical method. The ideological beliefs of the CDA investigator may in fact be part of the problem itself because they inject their own values and opinions in the meaning and force behind the texts they are analyzing (Widdowson, 1995). This lack of self-critical analysis of one's own assumptions and language is picked up in Billig (2008)

who argues that critical discourse analysts need to take far more care in their own use of language and jargon – to areas they are vehement about in their role as agents that create power inequalities.

There are a few important criticisms that we need to take into account here: 1) we need to be careful in our employment of CDA to recognize that context matters. Language is constitutive of beliefs and patterns of behavior, and it is also regulative of beliefs and patterns of behavior that already exist; 2) If subjective political goals in CDA are a barrier to doing solid empirical research we need some form of “bracketing” to examine what is presented in the text exegetically rather than impose our own meaning on the text to meet a specific social and political aim; 3) That we take care in our own use of language that we don’t impose a set of expectations on the texts analyzed by burdening the facts with language that obscures what is really going on.

The primary problem with CDA is not just an over-emphasis on exposing power inequalities revealed in language, but to change those inequalities as a form of political action. In this way it is difficult to imagine CDA as performing any use in empirical research that a dissertation such as this is designed to do. However, throwing the baby out with the bathwater is also an uncritical position that holds the method in contempt before further investigation.

Answering the Critiques of CDA

Teun van Dijk offers another possibility within CDA that more directly informs how we may use the method here. His approach seems to answer the critiques in a few critical areas. 1) “He argues that CDA should be based on a sound theory of context” which directly answers Jones’ critique (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 25). van Dijk’s “socio-cognitive” approach focuses on the difficult balance between subjective experience and external conditions, between individual

cognitions and the social system. Language is not an abstract entity but an integral element in the construction of knowledge; 2) By framing the analysis in terms of contextual analysis as well as subjective experience it is possible to move from a specific political end to a factually based examination in terms of ideologies. For van Dijk ideologies are beliefs systems that are “*socially shared* by the members of a *collectivity* of social actors” (Teun A. Van Dijk, 2006, p. 116).⁹

Crucial for our purposes here, “as the sociocognitive foundation of social groups, ideologies are *gradually* acquired and (sometimes) changed through life or a life period, and hence tend to be relatively *stable*” (Teun A. Van Dijk, 2006); 3) From van Dijk’s perspective, “*it should be borne in mind that as such words, phrases, topics or intonations, are not ideologically biased*. It is their use in specific communicative situations that make them so...” (Teun A. Van Dijk, 2006, p. 128). Further, van Dijk offers a different understanding of knowledge within an ideological structure. “I define knowledge as the beliefs certified and shared by a (knowledge) community, where the certification takes place within the historically variable (epistemic) criteria or ‘methods’ of that community (e.g. observation, direct experience, reliable sources, inference, experiments and other ‘methods’) (Teun A. Van Dijk, 2006, p. 130).

Understanding ideological knowledge as “consensual belief” offers a foundation from which to address historical texts in higher education that share a consistent pattern of consensual belief related to secularization. It also reveals the dismissal of how sectarian institutions are related to social patterns of secularization. Where this is important is that ideologies and socially

⁹ van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach greatly echoes Berger and Luckmann’s social constructionist understanding of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1990).

shared beliefs are formed not in some deterministic fashion that imposes itself on actors within a society. These ideologies bubble up out of the discourse of the actors within those very contexts. These “*contexts are not ‘objective’ or ‘deterministic’ constraints of society or culture at all, but subjective participant interpretations, constructions or definitions of such aspects of the social environment*” (T. A. Van Dijk, 2006, p. 163). In this case we are working with interpretations of how secularization works in higher education as well as its relationship to sectarianism. If there is any political aspect of this study it is to disrupt the presuppositions that exist in the presentation of that dialogue.

A final consideration with respect to van Dijk’s sociocognitive approach has to do with how the rhetoric of a text functions to undermine other groups or knowledge. “One of the ways to discredit powerless groups, for instance, is to pay extensive attention to their alleged threat to the interests and privileges of the dominant group: ‘we’ will get less (or worse) work, housing, education, or welfare because of ‘them’, and ‘they’ are even ‘favoured’ e.g. by special attention or affirmative action” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 264). Has the lack of attention given to the conflicting dimensions of secularization and sectarianism in higher education in the presentation of its history, not just in content but also in the way the language references religion, given way to an understanding of religion as a threat to the progress and development of higher education? It is quite true that many within higher education itself viewed it as a threat to progress in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It also clear from Christian Smith’s research that the political activism of primarily social science faculty viewed it as a threat to their standing within the academy as they sought to gain increased legitimacy This puts van Dijk’s understanding of CDA in a unique position to answer some of the criticism leveled against CDA and to put a magnifying lens of the secular historical texts and sectarian dimensions of higher education in a strained partnership.

Research Methodology

The following study follows the concepts and strategies of CDA presented above in order to:

- Determine the way language contextualizes religion and structures the narrative of religion in the history of higher education.
- Map that narrative to theories of secularization as presented in Chapter II.
- Analyze primarily mission statements and student conduct policies of Christian colleges and universities for examples of sectarian behaviors.
- Map these data to data that offers counter-factual evidence that secularization holds throughout higher education and reveals a sectarian movement that continues to grow in opposition to secularizing behaviors in society.

Extracting and analyzing language in the earlier history texts used in the study of the history of higher education, demonstrates a negative tone in language contextualizing religion. For newer texts the language is not as negative, but the frequency of references to religion declines. Both of these linguistic patterns are quantified. How these texts relate these references to secularization is shown by mapping the language to categories consistent with the literature on secularization theory. Together these variables reveal a consistent pattern where secularization is assumed as an irreversible and progressive phenomenon tied to modernization.

Counter-factual evidence in higher education is then presented by analyzing published materials at founding members of the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities. Categories to measure both institutional distinctiveness and degree of sectarian characteristics Robert Benne's Typology of Church-Related Colleges is used (see Figure 3).

Samples

Four history texts that have been used in the study of the history of higher education are used. Two are texts that were used as standard volumes in history of higher education course curricula as the discipline gained legitimacy in the 1970's and 1980's. These two texts are Frederick Rudolph's *The American College and University: A History* (1990) and Laurence Veysey's *The Emergence of the American University* (1965). Partially a response to the relative dearth of histories, especially those that included narratives of more contemporary events, new histories emerged at the close of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. As a sample of 30 syllabi randomly selected through an Internet search reveal, these texts have formed the new foundation on which the study of the history of higher education is built. These texts are *The History of Higher Education* from the ASHE Reader Series (Goodchild, et al., 1997) and John Thelin's *A History of American Higher Education* (2004). Together these texts form the past and current foundations for the study of the history of higher education and offer a sound basis to conduct an accurate critical discourse analysis.

While there has been some movement among church-related and church-affiliated colleges to return to their religious roots and denominational bodies, the response among these colleges and universities has been uneven and has even met with resistance on occasion. The best example of this pattern is the Catholic college and university response to *Ex Corde Ecclesia* from Pope John Paul II. This document called all Catholic school to reaffirm and recommit to the Catholic communion. However, acting on the prescriptions of this critical document has been uneven and not without challenge. Sanders (2000) reveals that while the desires of bishops to have greater control over the curriculum are high, faculty and administrators do not share this view. Hendershott discusses resistance to *Ex Corde Ecclesia* again "because many faculty and

administration claim to view it as a threat to their academic freedom and independent governance” (Hendershott, 2011, p. 381). Others have also commented, often strongly, on the apparent disjuncture between *Ex Corde* Catholic colleges and universities specifically to so with academic freedom (Fields, 2001) or as outright resistance from Catholic colleges and universities to the document (David & Charles, 2000). Data from the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities shows that while Catholic students are in the majority (about 58% between 2005 and 2007) a significant minority are not Catholic (ACCU, 2012). While there has been movement towards re-investing the Catholic mission (Fields, 2001) and vision to Catholic identity among many colleges and universities to be compliant with *Ex Corde*, this has been an uneven and often contentious phenomenon.

There is also a movement towards reintegrating spirituality into higher education. Chickering, et. al. (2006) have written on the increased need for students to explore learning in more holistic ways and for pedagogies that invite the spiritual dimension of life. In like fashion Tisdell (2003) explores the wider dimensions of spirituality and culture in adult education. What comes clear out of much of this and other material is that there is an increase interest in spirituality, culture, and religion among students and educators.

There is a distinct group of colleges and universities that under one umbrella maintains a distinct religious identity from the time a student signs the application – and perhaps before – to the point they graduate. The Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCCU) may seem to be a peculiar group of colleges and universities since they all take an approach to religion that puts them at odds with secularization theory and arguably academic culture as a whole. Rather than make accommodations to secularizing influences or capitulate to “mission drift” issues, which may be in play with the issues around the adoption of *Ex Corde Ecclesia* among Catholic

colleges and universities, these member institutions have far stricter guidelines for conduct and belief not only among students, but among faculty and administration as well.¹⁰ If secularization theory in higher education is true, then of all sample groups of religiously-affiliated colleges and universities, it should be this one that is at the greatest risk. If a move towards secularization is an inevitable outcome, then these institutions should be more swayed to a secularizing drift as well as other religious institutions have demonstrated happens again and again.

Digging deeper into the makeup of the CCCU, 13 institutions form the backbone of the organization. These are the founding institutions which have remained active in the organization and are significant representatives of the kinds of institutions that makeup the CCCU. These 13 colleges and universities are the focus of the discourse analysis that will use Benne's typology to measure both institutional distinctiveness and degree of sectarian characteristics. It is expected that they will exhibit sectarian characteristics that reinforce their distinctiveness with secularizing trends in society and higher education.

¹⁰ One study of Catholic colleges and universities argues that institutional identity is best maintained with a critical mass of faculty (over 50%) that are invested in the Catholic vision. The CCCU requires a 100% commitment to the institutional mission, vision, and values.

CHAPTER FOUR: SECULARIZATION IN THE HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In order to analyze the history of higher education as a carrier of the secularization theses that predict the demise of religion, this chapter will focus on history texts used in various curricula in the study of higher education. The courses in the curricula that use these texts to shape an understanding of higher education include some of the most recognized programs in the graduate study of higher education in both courses that introduce the field of higher education as an area of study and those courses that focus specifically on the history of higher education.

History Text Frequencies

There are four important texts that merit our attention for this task: Frederick Rudolph's *The American College and University: A History* (1990); Laurence Veysey's *The Emergence of the American University* (1965); *The History of Higher Education* from the ASHE Reader Series (Goodchild, et al., 1997); and John Thelin's *A History of American Higher Education* (2004). These texts have been standard fare in history of higher education curricula and one is likely not to find many syllabi with both of these books absent from either required reading or suggested reading. In these texts it is not the presence of explicit references to secularization theory but rather the *lack* of reference to specific theories that demonstrates the *assumed* nature such theories play within the bounds of these historical narratives. To point out the lack of frequency, the 2008 version of the ASHE History of Higher Education removed a third of the chapters from the 1997 version. Among those were chapters on the Social Gospel in Wisconsin and Jesuit higher education. The volume did not include any new material that is directed towards religiously-affiliated higher education.

In 1986 John Thelin conducted an analysis of twenty syllabi in the history of higher education noting both strengths and weaknesses. While the history of higher education enjoyed

These two sets of data analyzing the content of required and recommended readings in history of higher education and introduction the study of higher education reveal two facts: 1) While there has been as expansion of history texts to address Thelin's concern in 1986 that the curricula in the history of higher education had become overly reliant on old and even out of print texts at the time, the new diversity is concentrating on about four or five texts. Rudolph's text continues to maintain a significant influence in history curricula; 2) the number of issues and institutional types in the study of higher education and the historical trajectories of each has increased. However, this distribution is very heavy in the areas of race, gender, community colleges, Native/tribal colleges, and Latino/Hispanic colleges after which there is a clear drop-off of other mentions of institutional types and issues in higher education.

While the religiously-affiliated institution is not completely ignored in these curricula, it is also important to look at how this institutional type is regarded. The Foundations of Higher Education course at USC has the strongest regard for the religiously-affiliated institution. There the work of Goodchild on Jesuit institutions along with the inclusion of Parker Palmer's work and John Henry Newman's *The Idea of the University* are clear. Other instances lay strong emphasis on David Hoeveler's chapter in the ASHE History of Higher Education volume and 19th century denominational colleges. Nonetheless, there is a waned interest in religiously-affiliated higher education as a field of interest and as an institutional type to be studied in the mainstream of these curricula.¹¹

None of these facts should discount the importance of the other institutional types and issues in higher education that these courses emphasize. The argument here is not to oppose the

¹¹ See Appendix A for a full list of course syllabi analyzed.

inclusion of these issues. These data reveal where religiously-affiliated higher education fits into the picture of the study of the history of higher education as a whole and the primary sources used to build the narrative of the history of higher education. Returning to the argument of this dissertation, the focus is the absence of religiously-affiliated higher education in these curricula and the presence of secularization as a foregone conclusion.

Religious and Secular Terminology

Before going into any depth of analysis into how the narrative of religion in higher education is presented in its history as told by the sources above, more detail into the kinds of terms used in conjunction with religion and secularization help to disentangle and clarify how religion is treated in the texts. In the texts there is a definite progression from a majority of negative terms associate with religion and a more positive connection with religion in the texts. Negative terms fall in to more than one use; 1) as a descriptor of religion's role in higher education in general; 2) a descriptor of those who are in a religious role such a clergy who are reacting to forces that are in opposition to religion; and 3) the use of certain words such as "piety" that are negative in one instance, but positive in another.

Table 1.

Negative Terms Related to Religion in History Texts

Book	Term	Book	Term	Book	Term
ASHE	nadir	ASHE	sectarian	Rudolph	jeopardized
ASHE	anti-intellectual	ASHE	control	Rudolph	old
ASHE	confined	ASHE	control	Thelin	dubious
ASHE	poor	ASHE	ruinous	Thelin	conservative
ASHE	pious	ASHE	regulating	Thelin	inefficient
ASHE	hierarchy	ASHE	convert	Thelin	ineffective
ASHE	evangelism	ASHE	unappealing	Thelin	stubborn
ASHE	lowered	ASHE	nominal	Thelin	secularization
ASHE	confine	ASHE	fearing	Veysey	intolerance

Table 1 Cont.

ASHE	forced	Rudolph	backward-glancing	Veysey	unpromising
ASHE	distance	Rudolph	sect	Veysey	intransigence
ASHE	malnutrition	Rudolph	indifference	Veysey	panic
ASHE	secular	Rudolph	ignorance	Veysey	self-deceptive
ASHE	polarization	Rudolph	emancipated	Veysey	emotional
ASHE	reduced	Rudolph	old	Veysey	zealotry
ASHE	robbed	Rudolph	excessive	Veysey	obsolete
ASHE	erosion	Rudolph	dogma	Veysey	façade
ASHE	inhospitable	Rudolph	unshackle	Veysey	limit
ASHE	declining	Rudolph	narrow	Veysey	lowering
ASHE	struggle	Rudolph	freed	Veysey	pious
ASHE	constraint	Rudolph	ignorance	Veysey	resented
ASHE	rejected	Rudolph	ignorance	Veysey	resist
ASHE	divorce	Rudolph	discard	Veysey	control
ASHE	domination	Rudolph	annoying	Veysey	ruthless
ASHE	limiting	Rudolph	rejection	Veysey	isolation
ASHE	absolutism	Rudolph	refuse	Veysey	subordinate
ASHE	paternal	Rudolph	questioned	Veysey	stigma
ASHE	nadir	Rudolph	threatened	Veysey	sentimental
				Veysey	Conservative

An aspect that is very common within these terms is the idea that religion functioned as a prison to freedom and progress. The heroic myth of secularization begins to take shape as a force that broke higher education out of its religious prison to pursue the intellect. Another characteristic of these terms is that religion seems to have a constant suspicion or paranoia to that which is not religious. Higher education is viewed as a turf war and as more of that turf goes to secularized organization, the more religious organizations react to keep what they can. This is where the sectarian response takes a foothold. More of these various characteristics will be expanded in the next section of this chapter.

Table 2.

Positive Terms Related to Religion in History Texts

Book	Term	Book	Term	Book	Term
ASHE	standards	ASHE	duty	Rudolph	reconcile
ASHE	foundation	ASHE	strengthen	Rudolph	humanitarian
ASHE	potent	ASHE	concerned	Thelin	utility
ASHE	viable	ASHE	resurgence	Thelin	mobility
ASHE	moral	ASHE	associations	Thelin	under-appreciated
ASHE	character	ASHE	integrating	Thelin	character
ASHE	catalyst	ASHE	respectability	Thelin	driving force
ASHE	merits	ASHE	dynamic	Thelin	could be
ASHE	teamwork	ASHE	new	Thelin	piety
ASHE	improve	ASHE	coherence	Thelin	character-building
ASHE	devotion	ASHE	values	Thelin	intellect
ASHE	graduate	Rudolph	unleashed	Thelin	ethnicity
ASHE	accommodation	Rudolph	wondrous	Veysey	forward-looking

The terms in Table 1 and Table 2 reveal a rather consistent narrative. Religion in higher education, especially during its transformation from colleges to universities at the end of the 19th century, offered a moral foundation and maintained an integrative aspect in lieu of any other source to hold an increasingly differentiated curriculum together. Even if it held higher education back from progress and with its tendency to react to progress with a sectarian posture, religion nonetheless maintained a useful position in higher education based on its function of moral and character building.

However, the perception is that religion had far more negative associations with higher education and its progress than positive functions. This is both a heroic myth as well as a tragedy. Higher education broke free of the religious prison to find itself reinvigorated in a secular world with a secular frame of mind. At the same time religion became the loser. Once the

proud keeper of knowledge in the nation, religion was now relegated to an increasingly irrelevant position within higher education as whole.

The distribution of these negative and positive terms surrounding religion and higher education shows an interesting progression from Veysey and Rudolph to the ASHE Reader and Thelin. The positive tone of religion increases between the eras in the study of higher education that these texts represent.

Table 3.

Progression of Terms Related to Religion in History Texts

Terms	Veysey	Rudolph	ASHE	Thelin
Negative	95%	84%	60%	38%
Positive	5%	16%	40%	63%

The distribution of these terms shows that over time religion has been described with more positive language. The question is how this data plays out in context. Even if religion gets a fairer treatment in the way it is presented, the idea that secularization has run its course and continues to do so is not therefore eliminated. This gives a framework for organizing further discussion in terms of how the older generation of texts told the story of secularization followed by how the newer generation of texts tells the same story.

The next question is how these references to religion are distributed. Each of the texts presents an evident thinning out of references to religion once they get past the late 19th Century.

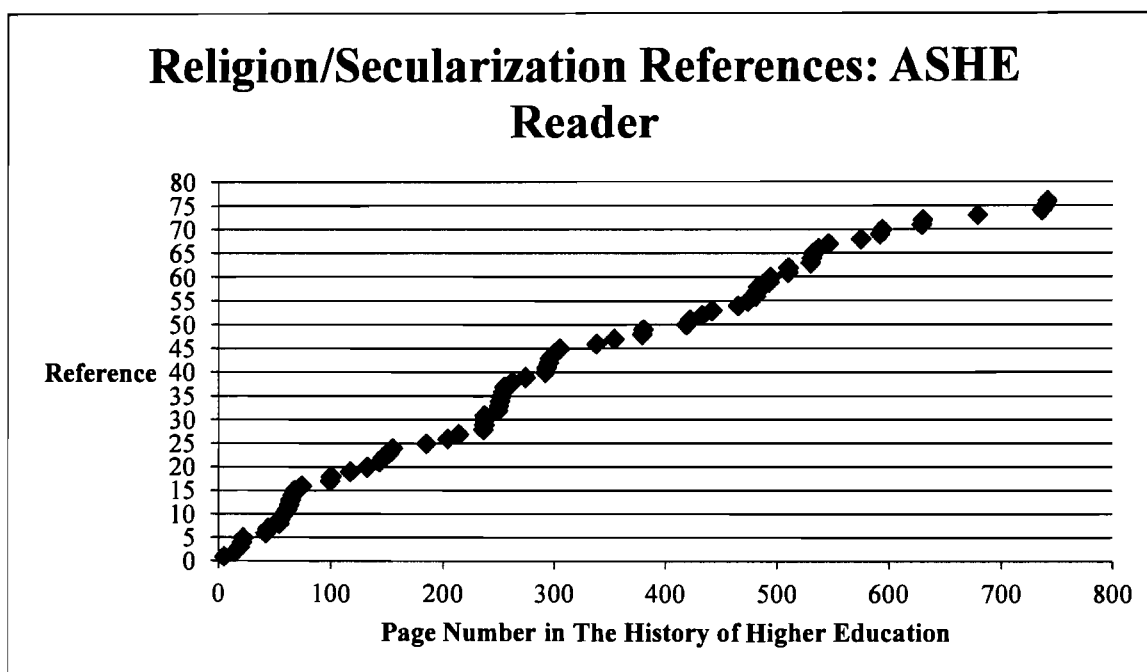


Figure 3. Distribution of Religion/Secularization References in the ASHE Reader

Note that there is a cluster of references to religion starting roughly at page 465 in the ASHE history. The two chapters from where this data primarily comes are Lynn D. Gordon's "From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920" and then Lester Goodchild's chapter "The Turning Point in American Jesuit Higher Education: The Standardization Controversy between the Jesuits and the North Central Association, 1915-1940." One other cluster at around page 236 on Figure 3 is where we will find J. David Hoeveler's chapter "The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the 'Wisconsin Idea'" and Joseph Stetar's chapter "In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education After the Civil War." These chapters all represent the greatest concentration of reference to religion from the antebellum period onward. The Social Gospel and the Jesuits are quite clearly representative of religious movements in higher education. Lester's work on seminaries has a clear religious

component and because of the development of a Christian educational philosophy in the South Stetar's chapter adds to these clusters. This is significant for two reasons. Goodchild's chapter along with Hoeveler's chapter were both removed from the ASHE reader in the Third Edition. There are no chapters in the Third Edition that have a specific focus on religious higher education. This only strengthens the argument that there is a continued lack of focus or interest in the study of higher education regarding the religiously-affiliated college or university and its trajectory into the 21st century from its historical roots.

Thelin's text shows an even clearer pattern of decline in the discussion of religious higher education as it progresses through the 20th Century (Figure 4). While current histories do give religion a more positive tone regarding its contribution to the development of higher education, it is also evident that there is a decreasing focus on religion in higher education. Why this is a problem will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. For the remainder of this chapter we will dig a little deeper into the narrative structure of secularization in the history of higher education.

Characteristics of Secularization in Histories of Higher Education

There are several related themes in histories of higher education that are quite common which are also features present in the framework of secularization theory. These themes contextualize the language around religion and higher education clarifying the narrative; 1) Higher education increasingly had to accommodate itself to a changing world in which its religiously regulated structures of discipline and piety were no longer conducive to the popular understanding of higher education; 2) The classical curriculum ideal of mental discipline choked progressive development of education and was thus not only irrelevant but harmful. 3) Once released from religious discipline as a foundation of education, scientific knowledge proliferated meeting the education social needs of both public utility and knowledge production through research; 4) Increased disciplinary pluralism pushed religion further into an elective part of the curriculum; 5) Far from being a necessary outcome of higher education reform, the secularization of higher education was spurred by activists who were intentional about pulling higher education away from its religious foundations. These histories reveal that once the secularization of institutions such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, etc. was complete, the trend of secularization should have continued for all of higher education.

As Christian Smith (2003b) argues in relation to the secularist influence in the development of American sociology, the accounts of higher education have largely taken for granted “the secularizing activists who struggled to marginalize religion and higher education” (p. 98). “The emerging social sciences employed two core positivist ideas in particular – that society developed through regular stages, and that it adapted to its changing environment – to advance a modern science of society that would provide the positive knowledge for a secular basis of a new and progressive social order” (Smith, 2003b, p. 101). It thus appears that the

preceding discussion of the core assumptions that were developed in the theory of secularization dovetail with developments in the study of higher education and the common thread of secularization in higher education that runs through it.

In the process of reform, sociologists battled 1) “to replace the religious classical education of the existing college system with a new education emphasizing original scientific research” (Smith, 2003b, p. 108); and 2) “upwardly aspiring academic sociologists in search of cultural authority had to fight...against what they saw as a rival brand of amateur sociologists, the religious reformers” (Smith, 2003b, p. 109). Smith’s analysis shows that with the fusion of religion and the classical curriculum, in order for sociologists to become more upwardly mobile, the religious legitimization of that curriculum which was the seat of authority and power for centuries, had to be removed. These secular activists needed to de-legitimate religion through secular means in order to legitimate their own secular agenda and worldview. Smith analyzes this through the lens of various textbooks in early American sociology. “(T)he discursive work of these sociological textbooks represents an important form of *social action*, of political action, intent on deconstructing one moral and epistemological order and institutionalizing another” (Smith, 2003b, p. 115). In the following analysis, I will be taking a similar approach with the history of higher education. The text as a form of social action as Smith calls it is, as discussed in Chapter 3, an object that CDA as a form of criticism deconstructs. There are various common threads in the history of higher education that assume early theories of secularization as discussed at length in Chapter 2, and also implicitly consent to the activist agenda of early secularists who had a political goal as well as an epistemological or even utilitarian goal of dislodging higher education from its religiously rooted power structure. The four common threads that run through the texts in question are the following: rationalization as accommodation

to changing social structures, the scientific challenge, the life of mind, and secularist activism.

Rationalization as Accommodation to Changing Social Structures

As John Thelin (2004) writes, "Between 1860 and 1890, American institutions of higher education responded dramatically, albeit imperfectly, to the challenge of competing with the attractions of a commercial and industrial economy" (p. 108). It is precisely this challenge that fueled early scholarship in the theory of secularization. The challenge was not only in terms of a movement of culture away from a society organized primarily by its various religious organizations, but towards an economic foundation of society rooted in the advancement of democracy, increased relevance of the higher education market for meeting utilitarian social demands, and maintaining competitive advantage between institutions which was especially pronounced with the Carnegie Foundation's exclusion of denominational colleges from their pension program. "(M)ore than one denominational college threw off its denominational connections in the hope that this new-won freedom could be exchanged with Mr. Carnegie's standardizers for a pension program" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 433). There were thus many pressures that would push denominational colleges in the direction of either minimizing or severing religious ties in order to develop a more competitive share of the higher education market with the level of service an institution was able to supply to the emerging socio-economic environment. How did the trend of rationalization to make economic and bureaucratic structures in higher education more accommodating to the perceived requirements of wider socio-economic frames?

There are two features that run through these various considerations regarding the implicit character of secularization theory with regard to higher education. First, the classical curriculum that focused on mental discipline and personal piety was organically fused with

specific religious dogmatic proscriptions that were reinforced by denominational structures that held early institutions of higher education. Second, when the classical curriculum was increasingly viewed as something anachronistic and distant from the vocational and intellectual needs of a changed American population after the Civil War, it would take religion down with it when it no longer was a useful component of higher learning.

There are five social trends to which religious higher education accommodated itself which we take in turn here: 1) Increased potential for social mobility among less affluent classes in society; 2) Increased competition among colleges which required accommodations in order to boost enrollments among other changes; 3) A progressive sense of democratic choice and egalitarianism between rational actors in society as well as between changing and emerging disciplines in the higher education curriculum; 4) A greater need for colleges to become more relevant to social structures through useful programs designed to enhance both public service and the fast moving wheels of industry; and, 5) A sense of a growing indifference to religion in the wider culture in which higher education was both a participant and key contributor.

Social Mobility

The narrative of social stratification and social mobility generally focuses on institutions that reinforce rather than change existing class structures. Higher education was a vehicle for moving up the scale of social class. "American society itself was committed to **education as an instrument of mobility**, and since mobility was proof that the society worked, the demands placed upon formal agencies of higher education grew apace" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 463 emphasis added). The narrative is that the old denominational structures of institutional identity that centered on religious convictions were not in a position to be both religious and develop a social purpose that would promote social mobility among different classes of students. For instance,

Rudolph often fuses religion with other social factors that are prohibitive of social mobility and only when the religious aspect is removed, do we then see social mobility as something that can flourish.

“As long as the American college remained under the influence of evangelical orthodoxy, as long as a religious orientation was both persistent and sincere, the colleges continued their preference for a brotherhood of professing Christians rather than a multiplicity of Greek brotherhoods...It had become perfectly clear to the young men of the United States that there were great things stirring, and as they watched the world about them, it had not seemed to them that pious Christians were chalking up any significant victories over polished gentlemen.

Probably the students would have preferred not to have had to make a choice between Christianity and success” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 149).

This kind of rhetoric reveals a rather consistent pattern as we shall continue to see.

Evangelicalism is framed in terms of fideism that takes shape within the colonial period and unless that social frame is removed from the picture, progress cannot occur. In other words, orthodox Christian beliefs specifically within the evangelical tradition cannot co-exist with social mobility. This characterization is quite telling since the notion of evangelical orthodoxy as a distinct pattern of religious belief did not fully take shape until about the 1920's concomitant with the famous Scopes trial that demarcated a significant battle between public education, religion, and science. Before this period, “those Protestants with convictions and practices that today would be called evangelical were indistinguishable from ‘mainline’ or ‘liberal’ Protestants. In other words, evangelical and mainline Protestantism had yet to emerge as distinct categories with separate denominations, organizations, and personalities” (Hart, 2002, p. 19). Here we see

either a certain degree of carelessness with the use of the term “evangelical” or perhaps an interpolation of the sense of the term at the time Rudolph was writing the text rather than a more apt description of the degree to which religion actually inhibited social mobility in this sense.

Rudolph uses similar language to refer to the downward social mobility of clergy. “As long as the clergy were the most esteemed figures in the community, the clergyman-teacher and the teacher were not isolated from the main currents of American life. But **even** in the era of the colleges the clergyman was **being surpassed** in public estimation by the squire, the successful lawyer-politician, the man of affairs” (1990, p. 160 emphasis added). And again, “Although clergymen at first prevailed in the collegiate corporations, their **usefulness in an increasingly secular United States** was seriously questioned” (1990, p. 173 emphasis added). One of the important form-critical tools of CDA is to identify the relationship between clauses where the first clause in a sentence offers already established fact that needs no further justification. The second clause assumed veracity of the first clause and then introduces new information on that basis. For the first quote, the first sentence offers already established fact about the social standing of clergy in the colonial period – they were on a social downward slide. However, the second sentence transposes a perceived understanding of the social standing of the clergy from the view of the author onto the perceived downward mobility of the clergy in the past. The second quote reveals the same kind of relationship between a once highly mobile profession, to one that was becoming downwardly mobile not just by virtue of the *utility* of the clergy in society, but by virtue of the *nature of secularization* which we have seen argued in chapter two was assumed to be progressive and inevitable in its formative manifestations of theory. The presentation of the relationship between religion and social mobility places religion in a position that compromises modernization as progress. It is this sort of friction between religion and

modernization that in terms of secularization theory mitigates and undermines the social location of religion in society. The tension Rudolph sets up between religion and society is a strikingly consistent feature in other narratives.

Veysey (1965) makes a critical connection between Puritan piety and the maintenance of the “intellectual caste” on the one hand and the increased irrelevance of piety for “the real world” with educational reform along democratic and egalitarian lines on the other hand. For example, it was part of a sectarian pattern of behavior that colleges maintained their focus on piety and discipline that was fused with the maintenance of distinct class divisions between the privileged and the commoner. “Any pronounced change, whether political or philosophical, might lead to a diminution of piety – so unsure of itself had piety become. Believing the Christian religion as they knew it, was true, these academic leaders could do nothing but **resist encroachments** upon it and upon the educational structure which they had linked to its defense” (Veysey, 1965, p. 32 emphasis added). Veysey then makes the demise of such a system quite clear. “Mental discipline lingered on in a period perhaps unparalleled for the richness of available alternative styles of thinking. It rapidly came to suggest provincial isolation at a time when fresh ideas from European sources were never more in vogue among younger, well-educated Americans” (Veysey, 1965, p. 55). This is an important class distinction that Veysey makes because it sets up what he describes as a movement towards more democratic and egalitarian functions of education that displaces such “provincial isolation” or reinforcement of an “intellectual caste” system among students and faculty. Combined with the growth of individualism, “(d)emocracy and practicality were viewed as irresistible forces in the surrounding society” (Veysey, 1965, p. 69).

Another effect of the vestiges of a religious culture is in the established social structure

that it created and maintained. The intellectual and social elite trained in the college system became a greater commodity as colleges were able to recruit from farther distances in large part due to increased infrastructure in the United States. When colleges were able to be more selective, it was the student with social status that was sought out. "The object of these colleges' affection was the **son of the WASP businessman** or professional, the alleged twentieth-century spiritual heir to New England ministers' and farmer's sons" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 510). But with a more irenic tone, the ASHE reader offers a positive dimension of religion as a carrier of social upward mobility that neither Veysey nor Rudolph make clear. Charles Eliot made note of the place of religion in upward mobility among black students. "Second to the uplift provided by honest labor, Eliot told the Tuskegee students, was devotion to Christian family life" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 465). Other positive contributions from religion for upward mobility were the presence of the YMCA to teach teamwork skills along side of the Bible and the establishment of seminaries for the education of women. However, even with these positive contributions, there always seems to be a negative side to the presence of religion. "The diversity of denominational allegiances, the male-dominated hierarchy within evangelical Protestant churches, and the isolation of white women on farms and plantations kept antebellum southern white women from developing the bonds of womanhood, and thus the intimacy necessary for the creation of a separate women's culture" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 474). Further, "Black religious organizations owned so few of the total number of black colleges, however, that less than 15 percent of the total number of black college students were enrolled in institutions sponsored by those organizations" (Goodchild, et al., 1997). While religion did establish a few mechanisms for social mobility, it also maintained constraints on mobility with those same mechanisms. Moreover, where religion could have been on the leading edge of American progressivism

regarding minorities and women, it fell short in the end.

As Thelin (2004) writes, this sort of class problem existed from those institutions that were attempting to create different cultural niches and norms that ran against what were decidedly religious and not as socially mobile cultural surroundings. An example of this is in the conflicts that Transylvania University in Kentucky. “The price Transylvania paid was that its reputation as a flourishing center of the arts and sciences, its adoption of a Unitarian character, and its location in the most affluent town in the region ultimately alienated it from the rest of the state” (Thelin, 2004, p. 47). Thus religious structures alienate both ways. This sort of reciprocity indicates that a decidedly religious college may flourish in a cultural milieu that was more desirous of a specific kind of higher education that was more akin to the religious and dogmatic character of the old-time college.

Catholic higher education was uniquely tied to the influx of immigrant groups and functioned as a cultural carrier as well as a religious carrier, as it continues to do in many places around the world. This also meant that it found its place in the urban environments that attracted immigrant labor. With Latin instruction along with other aspects resembling the classical curriculum found in Protestant schools, “the most useful education was, ironically, the most useless one. Studying Latin and earning a bachelor’s degree might not confer distinct job skills, but a bachelor’s degree was **the prized passport to social mobility** for ambitious young Americans” (Thelin, 2004, p. 142 emphasis added). It was not the religious character of the colleges that became important, but their function as a carrier of social mobility. In fact, other narratives go further than Thelin to describe the religious dimension as something rather stultifying of the social mobility function of various institutions. As institutions began to require a more diverse enrollment and became “a **means of socioeconomic mobility** and hence an

experience coveted by an increasing number of adolescents, it was evident that in order for that function to succeed, something had to happen with the religious commitments of many of these institutions” (2004, p. 155 emphasis added).

As social mobility increases in importance religious commitments decrease. Those who hold religious ground in the face of such challenges become more resistant to social change and thus more sectarian in their religious posture. Note that this very process is well documented in the literature regarding the secularization process and its tension with sectarian responses. The following illustration represents the relationship in terms of social mobility.

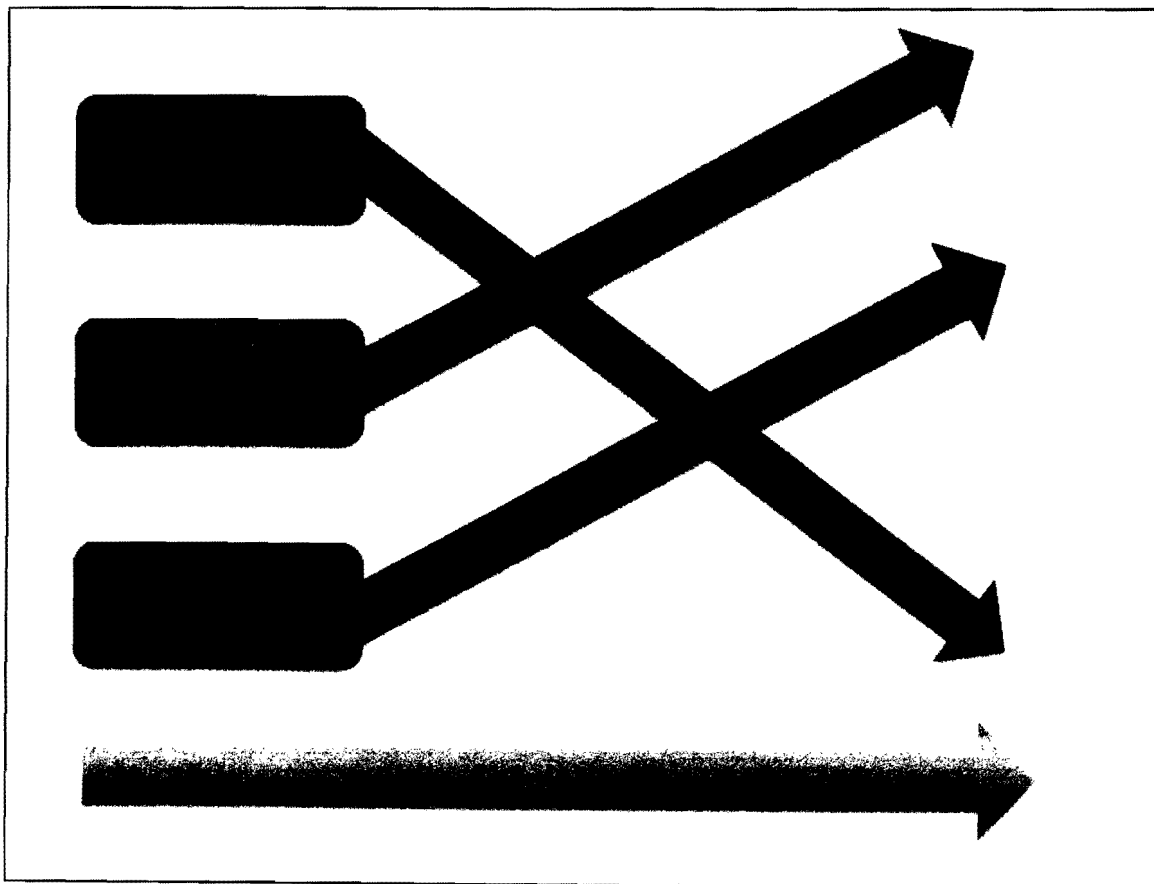


Chart 1. Secularization and Sectarian Trends.

Chart 1 illustrates the pattern. As secularization progresses, overall religious commitment declines. At the same time, both social mobility and sectarianism increase. The peculiar aspect of this relationship is how sectarian responses among those who “resist encroachments” of society would diminish the usefulness of piety. Even if religious commitment would exhibit an overall decline, there is not only a small cohort that still takes religion seriously in higher education, but increases religious commitment of the institution to resist cultural change. The same pattern is true in the history of HBCU’s. Take for instance the conflicts at Campbell College during the Civil Rights era. It was there that the African Methodists-Episcopal (AME) church asserted itself against the state of Mississippi by supporting the college during a period of protest and unrest (Wechsler, et al., 2008). This is the pattern observed in detail in chapter five.

Competition

Organizational secularization in higher education shows a consistent pattern in descriptions of internal disciplinary differentiation as well as external pressures to maintain a competitive edge for attracting students, funding, and faculty. These sources of competition push religion to the margins of higher education in a way that is reminiscent of the marginalization of religion in society that secularization theory predicts.

Writing about James Garfield who defended the “old-time” college ideas of the liberal arts, cultivation of character and personal piety, Rudolph characterizes this defense as an “epitaph” following his definition of the old-time college as “Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other.” As Rudolph goes on to say, “Garfield had not intended to create an epitaph, but in a sense he did, for henceforth the ideal that he evoked would **compete at an ever-increasing disadvantage** with a host of new ideals, ideals more compatible with the America that the Civil War both created and uncovered” (1990, p. 243 emphasis added). In another

context, Rudolph uses language that places the old-time denominational college on one end as a relic of a bygone era and on the other end the development of the new comprehensive university as a forward looking stronghold. "Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, among others, found that the small denominational colleges with their feeble endowments and **backward-glancing curricula** could meet neither the needs of a growing population nor its preferences" (pp. 277-278 emphasis added). Not only in terms of the competitive position of the old-time denominational college, but in other areas as we shall see, has Rudolph characterized it as "backward glancing" among other often pejorative terms. "By 1900 a **backward-glancing university** president might not think that every change was for the best, but who was going to prefer the days of the common curriculum and all the monotony, sterility, and superficiality which it meant over the great variety, the libraries, the laboratories, the museums which organization now accommodated?" (pp. 440-441 emphasis added). Rudolph presents language that implicitly asserts the choice to persist with any trends that the old-time college had created and inhabited by virtue of its social and theological functions to cultivate discipline and piety were in essence irrational given the changes made to the curriculum in terms of resources, wealth, and academic freedom. This is not just for the advancement of faculty professions, but in terms of the life and education of the student. "Was it really a loss that in place of the old *in loco parentis* discipline there now was an aura of laissez faire, which was unquestionably quite as friendly and considerably more respectful of academic freedom?" (p. 440). What is interesting is that this view largely answers a question Rudolph quotes from Charles Eliot who stated, "a university cannot be built upon a sect." Rudolph replies by asking "but was it not worth trying in the United States where all things were possible?" (p. 330). From Rudolph's perspective, apparently not. Rudolph goes on to say in reference to Yale's commitment to the "old-time"

liberal arts curriculum, "In New Haven, however, where there was a certain vested interest in the collegiate way, the university idea, while clearly in the ascendancy, was as yet still **caged...**" (p. 331 emphasis added).

The preceding statement sets a familiar tension between the promise and progressive nature of the secular university versus the backwardness and religious leanings of the old-time college. "If there were no longer any Hopkinses or Waylands or Notts, no great moral guiding teachers, in their stead was a body of trained professionals, with all the **self-consciousness and self-respect which that suggested**, and with an abiding devotion to the life of the mind" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 441 emphasis added). When the old-time denominational college is supplanted by the structures that would rather quickly define the makeup of the new university in American life, that new alternative is not only better, but has the power to undercut and push the function of the denominational college to the margins of American culture. The only way to remove the structures of discipline and piety that were the backbone of the old-time college was to remove the religious shackles that bound that college and that imprisoned the life of the mind in days gone by. Once that powerful structure is removed, the new secular structure can replace it wherein the mind and reason are free to flourish unfettered by religious baggage. The result is that one would be foolish to choose the former if one has a free choice for the university. It is as if the person in the old-time college was not interested at all in the life of mind and that this was one area for their undoing.

Veysey is no different in this characterization between the old and the new in a very similar tension he sets up between religious piety on the one hand and the education-mindedness of the reformers at the end of the 19th century. Regarding the influence of discipline and piety, Veysey makes the religious dimension very clear. "Since those older ways were firmly identified

in everyone's mind with religious piety, and innovation with unsettling intellectual influences, the reform-minded trustees whose votes were essential in selecting new presidents had obviously shifted to a primary concern over educational rather than religious problems" (1965, p. 11).

Diversity of higher education catered to a growing diversity of social classes and functions of higher education that began no longer to exist in order to reinforce an assumed social order.

Higher education began to cultivate a different kind of social order influenced by progressive and evolutionary ideas influenced by empirical induction in scientific methods. Hence, higher education served a growing desire among administrators seeking to increase enrollments and grow the university through "the desire to attract as many students as possible by promising something to each" (Veysey, 1965, p. 344).

Thelin, who in his introduction acknowledges his debt to Rudolph (p. xix), makes note of this tension. "The church-related colleges tended to maintain denominational affiliations while reducing their strict sectarian emphases. A philosophy of higher education whose traditional emphasis was on **piety** henceforth had to acknowledge the growing importance of the **intellect**" (2004, p. 108 emphasis added). However, it is not clear if the compromise "to fuse piety and intellect" was successful. The relationship between piety and intellect would result in colleges with looser religious requirements in order to maintain a competitive edge "with the attractions of a commercial and industrial economy" (Thelin, 2004, p. 108). However, when Thelin does discuss the plight of the private college in the 1940's one kind of college that is notably absent in the discussion is the religious or church-related college. The conspicuous absence of this sort of college from Thelin's narrative which recounts the history of higher education which is not limited to just the secular research institution is telling. As we have seen in course syllabi, the presence of the religiously-affiliated college or university as an institutional type drops off

dramatically when courses reach the 20th century. This may be a function of the course design or the use of this text among others that follow a similar pattern. It may still be a combination of both.

Competitiveness would also lead some religious institutions to engage in rather shady enterprises and accommodations to society ran counter to the projects of piety and character building that had been the hallmark of the church-related institution. This was especially apparent with respect to minorities, "the New England colonists - neglectful of their chartered mission - spent more effort seeking funds for Indian conversion than in actually spreading the Gospel" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 74); "having too many Jewish students lowered the social prestige of their institutions" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 493). Maintaining a competitive edge also meant the possibility that a school would be forced into accommodations leading to secularization. In the case of Jesuit higher education seeking legitimacy this was especially true. "(T)hese developments led Jesuit university educators to distance themselves from the older Jesuit college model for the Society's apostolates, to eschew their European university mission with its professional studies orientation, and to adopt the modern American university mission with its research orientation" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 546). In these examples the influence of religion is used as a tool to develop protective strategies in order to maintain the school's "purity." These examples reveal a fine line between maintaining a competitive presence in higher education and maintaining a specific religious and even sectarian identity. But can these institutions maintain distinctiveness without accommodating to a secularized system too much as to lose identity? The answer may be no, "Malnutrition at the margin is still characteristic of a system of institutions influenced so heavily by market forces" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 575).

As with the preceding examples of social mobility, religion and the old ways were fused

in such a way that to reform higher education and change meant to eliminate the piece of the puzzle that seemed to hold the progress at bay. Religion and the influence of the denomination over the general trajectory for higher education in the United States were drags on progress rather than springboards. On this point there can be little doubt that the tension between religion and change was, and as we shall see still is, a palpable one. It is a tension that expresses itself in numerous areas of social organization and social structures that inform and found beliefs and values. The narrative put forth here is that in order for a university to grow, compete, and be successful the religious influence had to decline.

Tolerance/Egalitarianism/Democracy

Overlapping with the pattern of social mobility is the pattern of flattening social class roles in the higher education setting. Egalitarian principles of democracy moved in to support and were then affected by the implementation of rational and individual choice in such programs as the elective curriculum. Naturally, the college campus would become more diverse in more ways than one. As Rudolph states, “(Cotton) Mather’s flirtation with Yale was a reflection of declining Puritan orthodoxy at Harvard, where honest disagreement among good Puritans led to a spirit of toleration; where, as the decades passed, economic prosperity introduced into the student body young men would live, if not as saints then as gentlemen. Where the college was moving out from under the firm grasp of a **monolithic theology** into a world more receptive to theologic and philosophic **diversity**” (1990, p. 10 emphasis added). Thus, after the Civil War, “the American people turned to the state universities – and their subsidiaries, the public high schools – as institutions that were attempting to generalize what had once become the proper education for the English gentleman, attempting to democratize it, to transfer it from the exclusive domain of a particular religious social purpose and group to the people at large”

(Rudolph, 1990, p. 286). As these institutions decreased their sectarian tensions with society, they presented more and more attractive alternatives for consumers of higher education. Reduced religious affiliation and sectarianism increases democratic and egalitarian opportunities for more people to receive a higher education. As presented it is again difficult to envision the religiously-affiliated institution as a representative of educational diversity or institutional saliency in a society that seeks to flatten access and add to educational alternatives. Rudolph's use of the term "monolithic" points to the "backward glancing" education the religiously-affiliated institution can only offer in the progressive age of higher education.

Rudolph sets up another tension between religion and changing social conditions, but this time as the development of the elective curriculum that ran counter to the religious function of the college as inherited from its function in the colonies. This time the conflict is between religion and the elective curriculum as a new philosophy of education. Regarding the shifting role of the college dean in the early 20th Century, "The old religious purpose, for instance, was no longer secure in an atmosphere of increasing **secularism**; the new presidents and the new professors could not be counted on to seize every opportunity to do battle for God and sect against the onslaughts of science, relativism, materialism" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 459 emphasis added). In rather dramatic language calling on war metaphors, Rudolph establishes the tension between religion and the new institution: as new influences in the changing society are allowed to germinate within the college environment on its way to university development, the centrality of religion is slowly pushed outside to a marginal position among other competing disciplines in the academic enterprise. More striking is the claim that these forces are somehow irresistible and even an activist force inside the walls of the ivory towers of academia. Of note is the term "secularism." As Rudolph describes it God and sect are positioned at odds against each other.

The implication is that both are ideologies in a battle to shape the organizational sagas of higher education. Put this way we must go back to Smith's argument that the tide of secularism wasn't simply a natural progression of society and the academy but an activist movement among scholars seeking to increase influence and viability in the institution (Smith, 2003a, 2003b).

Veysey articulates a similar pattern of democratization pushing religion to the margins even as it changed the foundational structures of the old college ideals. For instance in Michigan, "The university should not diffuse culture in a condescending spirit; no aristocracy, even of learning, should be permitted in the United States" (Veysey, 1965, p. 65). He characterizes this progressive democratic impulse as "irresistible" (p. 69) and this impulse found its way into the curriculum at Cornell among others where non-sectarianism would slowly become directly opposed to the religious impulse from old college structures. As with Rudolph, Veysey characterizes this democratic movement from homogeneity to heterogeneity and from incoherence to coherence (p. 312). With the openness by virtue of the democratic and egalitarian spirit of progressivism at the University of Chicago, for instance, administrators "courted the respectability that now came with tolerance" (p. 373).

Thus the premise of a wealthy undergraduate, whose father had already achieved success, would receive his share of criticism during the Progressive Era, but he, along with the more sympathetic boy of modest circumstances who was anxious to advance, principally contributed to rising enrollments. Thus the premise of a widely expanding university system (a democratic premise) insured that there could be no official aloofness from worldly motives. Indeed, most believers in practical utility as the goal for higher education deliberately sought to cater to precisely these student ambitions" (Veysey, 1965, p. 348).

As the curriculum expanded and the elective curriculum emerged first at Harvard then at other places, what was clear is that democracy with rational individual choice, and religion with its selective social constraints could not co-exist. If the college was to change, religion would have to change or be pushed aside. As Thelin states, "what was operating across the country was an increase in access to higher education achieved through some broadening of the curriculum combined with specialization as to clientele" (2004, p. 107). With an even sharper point, "neither government by a religious group nor religious instruction was a possible alternative in a college intended to serve the interests of a religiously and ethnically heterogeneous society. Only a secular college with no religious ties would do" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 61).

Again and again religion is characterized as a backward and constricting source that was prohibitive of any change or growth in the development and emergence of the modern university. Religion would keep the college isolated from the surrounding culture and make it an irrelevant institutional body to meet social demands in the emerging economy and changing society. This is another indicator that rationalization supports democratic and egalitarian social structures which then push religion out to the boundaries of what is normative, or in this case simply what is respectable. Yet again, if this is so the pattern of increased secularization should persist over time if the elective curriculum and the progressivism of higher education as sources of democratization should persist as well.

Public Service

Colleges maintained a social function that largely straddled the agenda of their respective sponsoring denominations with those more universal purposes of the nation that they were also to serve. This tension between the internal centripetal force of the denomination more or less anchoring the mission of the college would find a centrifugal force from society pulling it out of

its religious function altogether in order to carve out a better position for the modern university to grow. As with the above, tension emerges where in order for higher education to meet the needs of a secularizing society; religion appears to prevent progress and growth.

Rudolph takes the position that the college and university cannot serve the state and the church at the same time in a way that it would serve either function effectively. "Social purpose might also be defined as national purpose. A commitment to the republic became a guiding obligation of the American college. The American people were conducting an experiment in free government of a nature and scope that the world had not yet known. The American college intended to serve that mission" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 61). Even from the genesis of the American college social pressures of utility start to work against the religious dimensions that fueled their philosophy of mental discipline and piety as ends in themselves. The national purpose of higher education began to tug at the religious purpose as it forced colleges to rethink their function within the larger social economy of America. The tension between education as an end in itself and that of a society that demanded education to serve other more useful ends is what "proposed on the one hand that the colleges be more **popular**, and on the other that they be more **intellectual**. Critics of the colleges found them unprepared to serve the people and lacking in the will to achieve higher standards of excellence and of learning" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 112 emphasis added). Removing the religious agenda which was fused with the old-time curriculum would move "the American college and university into the mainstream of American life, where it had long been sorely needed and where it for long had sorely needed to be" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 306). Despite the University of Chicago's Baptist influenced curriculum and mission, it would be its mission of public service that would eclipse its religious purpose especially in the years after William Rainey Harper.

As Veysey notes, colleges became less isolated from and relied more heavily upon popular sentiment in the progressive age of the late 19th century. Popular appeal of the college would move even its function of moral cultivation from the boundaries of specific denominational or religious practice and inward as individuals could express and live out their own moral vision without the fetters of a constricting social organization telling them what to do and how to live. The idea here is that “the common people should set the tone of action” in the college rather than have those functions be governed internally by academics and religious leaders who had for centuries laid claim to the grip of social control (Veysey, 1965, p. 65). The tension between *internal control* and *external pressure* is a typical characterization of the purpose of higher education in its development. However, Veysey makes a finer point regarding what is not only more useful to a college’s mission, but what is more relevant to public life. “The educator who promoted practical public service assumed, first of all, that the patterns of behavior which flourished outside the campus were more ‘real’ than those which most often prevailed within it” (Veysey, 1965, p. 61). Fused with the democratic impulse religion’s fusion with the classical curriculum and vice-versa would bring both down since both were linked to each other with seemingly no chance of making distinctions between the two structures. For Veysey it is in fact the responsiveness to such secular social aims combined with a progressive optimism in the function of higher education as “a remedy for the important problems that society faced” are what kept the university from falling apart (1965, p. 336). In order to be relevant and useful to the wider aims of the national social aims that were governing social and cultural capital at the time, religion would have to relinquish control of the steering wheel without expectation for it to regain any meaningful control. Finally, it is doubtful as to whether or not such a “backward-glancing” shift would have any benefit at all with what has become the most religiously pluralist

nation in the world.

There is hope for the future of religion as one of a constellation of factors that prod students to seek out more spiritual concerns and more concern for the wider public. As Philip Altbach notes, "Ninety percent of American students claim religious affiliation, and 80.6 percent in 1995 reported that they attended a religious service at least once in the previous year...In the past two decades, there has been a resurgence of interest in religion, reflecting, it seems, a concern for personal values and orientations as opposed to societal issues" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 741). This closing chapter of the 1997 edition is important with regard to the place of religion in higher education. Making reference to the extent of religion among students and recognizing its positive contribution to student development would lead one to believe that this would be picked up in the 2008 edition. With the enrollment surge among CCCU institutions that we will discuss in depth in chapter five, and with healthy enrollment increases in religiously-affiliated institutions and the increase of research following Altbach's claim, it would seem appropriate to include a chapter on the religious lives of students much less recognizing the religiously-affiliated college or university as an institutional type. However, there is no such chapter in the 2008 edition. Thelin does not make any significant statements regarding the public service of religion in higher education to accompany his other positive statements regarding religion. However, to be clear, there are no significant negative references to religion as either a hindrance or counter-productive influence on the public service of higher-education in these newer texts.

Indifference to Religion, Discipline, and Piety

As seen in Chapter II, secularization predicts that a society increasingly will lose interest in religion as it accommodates more and more to secular structures, beliefs, and norms. People

become more indifferent to religion as it appears to serve a less useful function in society. Since religion, as it appeared, did not offer any tangible measures in terms of any scientific-empirical framework, and since it seemed to promote a toxic stagnation in the growth of knowledge at the expense of sectarian dogmatism, it was viewed by early secularists and to a lesser degree later proponents of secularization and secularism as an earlier and thus more primitive stage in human development. Thelin makes a key assumption here regarding the influence of the Carnegie pension plan as discussed in more detail below.

Clergy and college board members who felt that Christian orthodoxy was endangered by the university ideal probably overestimated the academic threat while underestimating the growing appeal of **secularism** in American life...The **secularization** of American life in general, rather than academic atheism, altered the place of religion on the American campus (Thelin, 2004, p. 148 emphasis added).

However, it is hard to ascertain what kind of secularization to which Thelin makes reference here. Secularization as a social process and secularism as an ideological framework are again offered in the same place. Is it that secularism and agnostic/atheistic tendencies were growing in the US overall and therefore, were creating an impact in the level of commitment that even religious institutions could maintain with regard to their religious ties? Or, is Thelin making an assumption that secularization was indeed an important factor taking place in the US at the time where religion was losing its social status and legitimacy among American people? Or, is it more of the individualized type of secularization where Americans were simply less religious than before? It is hard to say that any of these assumptions are all that valid given the study of secularization as outlined in Chapter 2.

One assertion in secularization theory that Bruce (2002) articulates is that as pluralism

and religious diversity increase, the level of interest in religion will correspondingly decrease. As religion and as religiously based institutions of higher education accommodate to the democratic and progressive nature of increasing pluralism of denominations and patterns of belief, those in such institutions and who are active participants in such a socio-cultural context will thus lose interest in religion. For example, in the late 18th Century, "Growing religious toleration and indifference were in part consequences of religious diversity and of religious competition; Americans could find no other way to accommodate such diversity except by acquiescing quietly in its existence" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 37). Such a relationship to religion would also graft itself onto the influence of French enlightenment thinking which was rooted in not the freedom to believe in a religion, but the freedom not to believe in any religion at all. This distinction is a critical one. It is no longer an accurate assumption to understand the Enlightenment in monolithic terms as if it was one consistent movement of thought and belief. Rather, as Peter Berger (1999) argues, there was more than one enlightenment. The American version took a unique shape of its own rooted in personal liberty and the revolutionary spirit of the age. Or, as David Martin (2005) argues, French hostility to religion was not something that is suggestive of a necessary trend for other social and cultural contexts. There, the Enlightenment took on a unique characteristic of a rejection of belief due primarily to the fusion of the Catholic hierarchy to the French crown. Overthrowing the crown pulled the Church down with it as a result of the French Revolution. The American Revolution took on a very different form. There the problem was that individual liberties were at the mercy of the crown. Among these individual liberties, and arguably the most structurally potent, was religion itself. Yet the assumption that Rudolph perpetrates is that Enlightenment rationalism is enhanced by religious pluralism leading not only to indifference towards religion, but also to hostility towards religion in academic circles.

Part of the indifference to religion is related to the notion that religion, discipline, and piety were somehow becoming increasingly irrelevant in American society. "American society, **which had always tended toward increasing blandness of conviction**, took a further notable step in this direction during the last fifteen years or so of the nineteenth century. One more link with the religious tradition had snapped. Another field of endeavor had been urbanized and secularized; **only the churches themselves remained to be affected** more or less, by the same process" (Veysey, 1965, p. 56 emphasis added). The text itself starts with an assumed tendency of religious behavior in the United States – which it has always moved to become blander. It then introduces a further assumption that describes this as a progressive pattern that consumes all social structures which eventually includes the churches the churches. In fact, the assumption is implied in the use of the past tense in reference to the churches. It is assumed that this process will also affect the churches. Yet the process is not something that Veysey mentions which is an interesting omission. It is clear that at the time of his writing secularization was understood to be an inevitable outcome of modernization in the United States and other Western nations. As colleges and the overall society conform more and more to non-religious structures, religions would simply dissolve. The idea of increasing indifference to religion and even militant objection to religion clearly reflect this theory.

The language indicates that the secularization thesis is something that we can assume to be true with the development of higher education perhaps even leading the charge in the secularization of American culture. It is hard to decipher what Veysey means by "blandness" other than the term suggests a movement away from doctrinal orthodoxy among Americans or that religious dogma had lost its utility and interest in the experience of the student. The term itself is reliant on the author's own sense of what a more potent form of conviction looks like.

Indeed, Veysey describes this attitude perhaps as part of “passive acceptance of moral, political, and religious values” (1965, p. 272) or “escapism or practical realism” (1965, p. 278). The emerging university in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries was characterized by the need to “Favor a policy of harmony...to make the campus acceptable to the diverse external groups which might give it support” (Veysey, 1965, p. 342). “These were the years when the old sharp-edged questions about atheism and religion were losing much of their general appeal” (Veysey, 1965, p. 343). However we cut the distinctions, the evidence in the literature is a consistent pattern that secularization is a progressive and inevitable process to which higher education must adapt or die out. However this assumption is not accurate either of the tone or potency of religious belief from the 1930’s through the beginning of the 21st Century or the religious characteristics of the college student on even secular state-sponsored campuses much less those colleges that persist in their religious missions – missions that are not simply added on to a secular curriculum, but act as conditional media for the core structure of the curriculum itself.¹²

In each of the five preceding characteristics, what historians present is a situation in which religion that was governed doctrinally and socially by sponsoring denominations was inherently fused to a classical curriculum. This curriculum was largely inspired by the Calvinistic notion of *common grace* in which all truth, including those truths of the classical Greek and Roman philosophers of days gone by which predated Christianity, was God’s truth. The religious disciplines were both the means and ends of the colleges at this time without which the American college would not have been founded and perhaps taken the shape as it did with the emergence of the secular university. But what is compelling is the way that this relationship is

¹² The function of such a structure to tie together the curriculum addresses John Henry Newman’s concern that theology is a critical element in the development of the whole student (Newman & Turner, 1996).

communicated with regards to the secularization theory. The way that historians have presented it, especially those writing in the 1960's, is that the religious function was a backward, constricting, and counter-evolutionary structure that was prohibitive to forming a rational republic and a more universal moral compass that was not bound by denominational concerns and philosophies. Accommodation to the larger needs of society was an inherent good in the college's transformation to the university. This accommodation was tempered with necessary and periodic reforms in order to hold its educational functions intact. But regardless of the kind of transformation that a college would take to becoming a university, religion had to be pushed out to the margins for that to happen rather than appeal to the religious structures of the institution to change in order to accommodate broader social needs and functions that were demanded of the college at the time.

It is not that some of these features of the development of higher education are themselves in doubt. What must be held in doubt is that this pattern of secularization was indeed a good in itself, and that it was a feature of the college that would continue over time as what took place in collegiate contexts particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. If this pattern is inevitable and forms the mould for higher education from the early 20th century onward, why is it that there are still over 900 religiously-affiliated institutions of higher learning? Is there not a social function that these institutions meet not just in spite of, but perhaps even because of their inherent religious mission? These narratives develop a story that accommodation to a rational society causes religion to relegate to the background of society. The other story that is missed is the notion that secularization is an uneven and unpredictable pattern for some segments of society, but should not be assumed for other segments of society at the same time. These are only the features of rationalization as accommodation to a secularizing society. There

are other features of secularization that the history of higher education again has assumed to be true. These features hang on the preceding notions of accommodation but are distinct in their own right.

The Scientific Challenge

Certainly, we must not create a firm distinction between the influences of science with the former discussion on social structures of rationalization. As was clear from Weber in Chapter 2, scientific rational processes were part of the rationalization of society. In the world of the academic, the development of logico-deductive scientific methods in terms of empirical data generated force away from religion. The idea that discipline and piety were stultifying relics of an age gone by fused with the notion of progressive improvement of humankind through rational means found fertile soil in scientific methods. As it became clearer that science had the positional to produce useful and tangible products for society in all of its various structures from technology to farming, it was less clear that religion was necessary to occupy such a central anchor around which all of society was to revolve. Secularization theory maintains that scientific rationality pushes out religious ideas that overlay reality with the supernatural, miraculous, or otherwise non-evidential structures of belief.

As science developed in the 19th century it often became synonymous with agnosticism due to its inherent claims to gain an understanding of the workings of what can be known empirically, and do so with predictive power, but without any appeal to religion. Those who supported the classical curriculum and the religious foundations of it, “resisted (science) as a philosophy which claimed to account for the entire universe” (Veysey, 1965, p. 40). As Rudolph notes, “The evangelical saw science as a useful tool in demonstrating the wondrous ways of God. Science, therefore, gained entry into the American college not as a course of vocational study but

as the handmaiden of religion” (1990, p. 226). However, once it gained this entry, the usefulness and the power of its inductive methods rooted in empirical objects of nature presented a powerful challenge to the systems of thought which gave rise to it. “To a degree scientific inquiry actually represented an **iconoclastic force** within American higher education” (Veysey, 1965, p. 137 emphasis added). Veysey goes on to characterize research as the new religion of the emerging university in the sense of a monastic community in which some would work in very isolated conditions outside of the normative structures of society. Yet despite the isolation of the researcher, there was nonetheless an important impact on the religious enterprise of the American college. In terms of the foundation of Johns Hopkins as a *bona fide* research institution, “the old-time college has all the truth it needed in revealed religion and in the humanist tradition, and for that reason alone the philosophy of research and inquiry that (Daniel Coit) Gilman advanced **was calculated to force a major adjustment** in the purposes of American higher education” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 274 emphasis added). As an agenda that was “forced” is a notion to which we will return in another discussion of secularist activism. What is important to note here is another tensional tension between two areas in the transformations of higher education: one the one hand is revealed religion, and on the other hand is the objective scientific point of view.

Rudolph again turns to language characterizing the old-time college as constricting and backward where science is freeing and forward-looking.

For the acceptance of revealed religious truth the new university in Baltimore substituted a search for scientific truth. For preparation for life in the **next world** it substituted a search for an understanding of **this world**. Johns Hopkins elevated man’s **reason** to a position it had not before attained in the United States. It **released** the energies of

scholarship, combined them with the national impulse to human betterment and material progress. The task it set for itself was immense and unending, and in time the spirit of Johns Hopkins would **penetrate everywhere** (Rudolph, 1990, pp. 274-275 emphases added).

Rudolph's optimistic flourish is critical to the assumptions he laces within the form and function of his writing. What he assumes with no less secularist activism of the texts Smith (2003b) calls into question is that there is an indissoluble tension between science and religion at this point in time and for Rudolph, science is clearly the better of the two for the good of society. It is science that evolves reason from its primitive and constricting religious chrysalis and once it takes flight it not only cannot go back, but it should not go back. Combined with a national impulse for human betterment and material progress, it appears that religion is the source of something that runs contrary to those goals in human living and that what will only persist with religion is the backward glancing pressure to keep reason at bay and in the service of revelation rather than scientific fact. This was not a conflict that hinged on epistemological or even religious claims, but was inherently a political tension between two opposing philosophies of education as the case of Yale illustrates. "The conflict over Darwinism in the colleges was less a matter of whether evolution was true than a matter of whether the old regime or the new regime would prevail, whether piety or intellect, whether authority resting on received truth or on scientific evidence" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 347). The tone of Rudolph's position is perhaps no more pointedly clear in the following where he rather overstates the case:

This distinction between belief and fact, between persuasion and argumentation, was essentially the distinction between the old college and the new university. It was the distinction between a certain morality, a world of settled conviction, a regard for the

whole man, between these and a moral neutrality, a world of unsettled tentative conviction, a regard for man as mind (1990, p. 452).

This is a case where the religiously based curriculum of the old-time college is pitted against the emerging secular curriculum. While there is certainly a reasoned case to be made for the development of the secular college experience in the university setting, and while there is certainly a case to be made that without the direct challenge to the older system of piety for which religion was essential to maintain it, the language here pits the certainty and settled conviction as a counter-acting agent against "the whole man", neutrality, tentative conviction, and the mind. The former rested on the constricting effects of a revealed truth that required more conformity than learning and the latter on the virtually unfettered pursuit of happiness for the individual conscience. Not only does the latter seem more appealing in these terms, it also appears more American.

The conflict did not go without some efforts at reconciliation between what appear to be two diametrically opposed worldviews. "(T)here was also a significant effort to reconcile science and religion, either by ignoring the incompatibilities that scientific study and higher criticism now suggested or by discovering ways in which the two interests might be kept distinct" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 347). The lines are drawn quite clear not only along the development of what knowledge is useful or good for the structures of society, but what is better for the good of human being and development itself. This tension seems to remain irreconcilable in the history of higher education and after the emergence of the American university.

In the earlier decades, free expression of belief had been connected with the controversy between religion and science. Pious educators, as we saw earlier, rejected freedom of professorial speech on grounds that were abstractly theological. Religious motives of this

sort had become obsolete by the nineties, save at the rural fringes of the academic community. Now the arena of controversy shifted to economic and social theories, and at the same time the style of opposition to uninhibited expression soon became much more closely connected with the public relations of the institution (Veysey, 1965, p. 385).

The language that Vesey uses here is about as close sounding to a verdict as one can conceive for the debate between science and religion in the 19th Century. It had become a fringe and therefore unimportant debate for the idea of free expression and there were no more religious constraints in theological terms – at least in ways that were important to the mainstream of the university in the late 19th century. Thus, the need to reconcile science and religion seems to have been resolved – they are irreconcilable and while academic freedom favors a secular and scientifically based curriculum, the involvement of religion with any scientific curriculum is simply a fringe idea.

If we look at the idea of competition discussed above and view the conflicts with then emergent disciplinary processes in science for Rudolph and Veysey science was the winner. In terms of a more democratic, egalitarian, and progressive system of education, it was science that could better suit the growing needs of a society for which higher education became an agent of public and civil support as well as of the growing modern industrial complex. Because religion was so fused to the classical curriculum that ran counter to these changing functions of higher education and because religion focused on educational purposes such as discipline and piety that were no longer useful to such a society, it is fitting then that the religious foci of the pre-modern college would wane.

These same conclusions are reached in Thelin and ASHE but with a significantly different tone. On the one hand, "The challenge to the classical curriculum and the intellectual

foundations on which it rested further was facilitated by an erosion of religious influence and an advancing secularism to which the impact of Darwinism contributed" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 204). The same challenge was present in Southern higher education even though it would take on a different character in its maintenance of Christian influence, "The emergence of science was inhospitable to liberal Christian education, and the rapid multiplication of disciplines began to force major adjustments in higher education throughout the region" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 255). Left alone it would corroborate both Veysey's and Rudolph's language. However, even with the challenge of science to religion a positive tone emerges that mitigates language of friction and irreconcilable differences for which science without religion would become normative. Bascom "was one of the first religious thinkers in America to accept the main outline of evolutionary science and to establish it upon an entirely new theology, what he himself labeled the 'New Theology'" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 236). Here again it is important to note that this quote comes from Hoeveler's chapter that focuses on the Social Gospel and its influence on the Wisconsin idea. This chapter was removed in the 2008 edition.

Again, it is important to note that the focus here is not that these trends were quite likely at the time. Indeed the record shows that these trends were powerful ones that contributed to the rise of the modern secular university system. However, the focus here is that even with the emergence and growth of a new approach to science that could yield practical results, the history of the role of religion in higher education appears to have been written on the back of an assumed understanding of the processes of secularization. The trends that began and took firm root in the late 19th century were groundwork for continued patterns of secularization that were not only inevitable if higher education would maintain its hard earned status in the social and cultural economy of the United States, they were also patterns that were good in terms of a

progressive and democratic society where freedom of thought, freedom of religion, and the development of wealth would evolve the American social order.

The Life of Mind

A strong current that runs through the almost religious quality in the intensity of research and the development of modern scientific methods is the idea that the former curriculum was one that constricted the mind. It was with programs such as the elective curriculum, inductive scientific reasoning, and the marginalization of religious dogmatic requirements that would liberate the mind from its former constraints. This is not an isolated set of ideals that were gaining prominence in academic circles at the time of the major reforms and changes in the structure and purpose of the American higher education system at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. It is on this notion of intellectual freedom that we now focus attention.

There is perhaps no more obvious area in which religion is viewed as a shackling of the intellect than in the notion of intellectual freedom. In various places the idea of intellectual freedom is something that is viewed as the polar opposite to the cultivation of reason and human curiosity. Rudolph's language is actually quite pejorative in this regard and we see this notion of intellectual freedom cut across several of the areas we have already discussed. Regarding John Winthrop, Harvard's first appointed "real scientist" – as opposed to perhaps a dogmatic theologian who used science in order to support dogmatic claims – "advanced academic learning and freedom from ignorance" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 28). Science is viewed as a developing force to challenge the religious assumptions that had been theretofore held in the American college. Scientific and empirical knowledge also acts as a force of deliverance or liberation from those religious chains that only held human progress at bay. Rudolph continually uses language

describing the religious college as a source of ignorance, “narrow sectarianism,” intellectual suspicion, and denominational pettiness (1990, p. 344). “Where the universities most revealed their spirit was in the manner in which they also **accommodated science and secularism**, freed themselves, for better or worse, from the religious orientation which had been so fundamental in then old colleges, embraced a **curiosity** as a value, and enshrined **intellect** as the moving force of the university” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 346 emphases added). This language frames the development of higher education as a positive movement away from religion. The structure of the first clause assumes that accommodation to science and secularism equates with freedom while religious orientation is placed opposite of curiosity. Once again secularism is an ideological value in tension with religion. It is as if in the religious college the intellect was caged and not allowed to be free due to religious foci on discipline and piety as anchors to an educational philosophy. The language that Rudolph uses suggests that it would be irrational both to continue to rely on the religious structure of a college in order for that college to persist in a changing culture, but it would perhaps be more egregious to return to any religious structure if that had been abandoned resulting in freed intellects that were only then able to follow their curiosities.

For Veysey, on the one hand Daniel Coit Gilman’s notion of academic freedom at Johns Hopkins was held in check by his own religious concerns as he was still deeply concerned that even a secular pursuit of truth should be reverent to the Creator. However, Veysey also characterized Gilman as “the master of the pleasant platitude” and that such a presentation “gave the early Hopkins just the **protective façade** it needed” (1965, p. 164 emphasis added). On the other hand was Charles Eliot from Harvard who practiced non-involvement unless compelled to be involved by parents and others. His idea was that of complete freedom for the student to pursue his own ends without any paternalistic influence whatsoever. This also meant a more

marginal position of activities such as compulsory chapel which became voluntary.

Even for Yale, clearly the most dogmatically assertive of the early colleges up to the end of the 19th century, “The Yale Report was a magnificent assertion of the humanist tradition and therefore eventually of unquestionable importance in **liberating** the American college from an excessive religious orientation” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 134 emphasis added). The “excessive” qualifier refers to the instruction of dogmatism that conditioned all other disciplines at a college. Among early literary societies, “the propagation of dogma was not the purpose... They, instead, respected reason, nurtured intellect, and subjected much that was established to scrutiny and debate” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 141). In the formative stages of philosophy and psychology as distinctive disciplines, both were “found wanting” or “masquerading” as the disciplines that they would only become once they were pulled away from religion discipline and piety. Among professors in the emerging university freedom from the shackles of religious piety and discipline, “Intellect was their touchstone, and ignorance was their particular challenge” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 410). This touchstone would translate into a pedagogy that would then free the minds of students. “What finally happened was the assumption within the academic walls of a posture of neutrality on controversial matters; in the classroom the American professor used his professional competence and his scientific knowledge of the facts to present controversial questions in such a way that his own neutrality protected the students from indoctrination” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 413).

Rudolph assumes that, a scientifically drawn position of neutrality would magically eradicate dogmatism or any form of “indoctrination” produced by religion. However, this seems to be an unlikely event given that Rudolph’s language itself favors secularist activists who were seeking to minimize the effects of religion in order for a secularist agenda to move forward along

its path of progressivism. If we pinpoint social agency as opposed to looking at wider and inevitable or irreversible trends that were bound to occur as America became more modern then what emerges is a rather different pattern of behavior in which specific actors within the system promote a different kind of secularist dogma. This sort of dogma is encapsulated in Rudolph's use of the term "neutrality" as something to protect students from one kind of indoctrination that we must assume to be any form of religious dogma that was at one time pervasive and central in the American college. What it might not protect students from is another kind of indoctrination built on the notion of purely objective facts that are universal in scope and somehow distinct entities from the scientist or other observer who has adopted a scientific point of view. In short, such language removes one set of unverifiable assumptions and then replaces them with another set of unverifiable assumptions, namely, that a given notion of neutrality serves a much better intellectual purpose than religion and religious dogma and so, has a much more valued cultural currency that the higher education curriculum ought to pursue. The final segment of this chapter articulates the pattern of secularist neutrality as itself an assumed posture not only within the development of higher education itself, but also in the histories of higher education as we have just seen through Rudolph's lens.

It is also possible that rather than function as a shackle to progress, mental discipline could also act as a catalyst for a different understanding of higher education. This is the idea of the Christian liberal higher education in the South. "Concerned with educating the whole man, advocates of mental discipline also necessarily addressed themselves to the development of character and the inculcation of Christian values, often fearing a student's mental development might outpace his moral growth" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 251). The development in the South cannot be judged better or worse than the model on which Veysey and Rudolph focus. It was a

different trajectory with its own unique contribution to the development of higher education in America. That contribution was a unique fusion of the Christian liberal arts with utilitarian concerns.

Secularist Activism

As Christian Smith argues, one of the primary weaknesses of the classic differentiation and rationalization view of secularization is that it uses language in which human agency is mysteriously absent. However, if we look to the development of the modern higher education system, it is clear that the agents involved were comprised mainly of the faculty and administrators who were most concerned about changing developments in knowledge and disciplines as well as the changing characteristics of the industrial and technical marketplace in the economy. It was thus not as much the desires of the student base that would promote any pattern towards secularization, it was the elite intelligentsia that did so largely for their own social fitness and class mobility. This again is a framework for understanding the plight of religious higher education that is absent from the various histories in question here and is also implicit in the very ways that these histories describe the development of American higher education. Again and again as evidenced above, the language uses the term *secularism* as opposed to secularization.

Laurence Veysey often uses the term “reformers” to explain those who moved the system of higher education out of the classical curriculum that was supported and legitimated by powerful religious structures, to the secular, multidimensional university that developed and supported the progressive movement of the American culture towards a modern industrial nation. Those active reformers were those with competing interests around the areas of discipline and piety, utility, research, and liberal culture. Curiously, these reforms were not a simple passive

accommodation to the structures of society that were changing. Rather, “(t)he initial academic revolution, if such it was, constituted far more of a voluntary accommodation than it did an armed invasion from below” (Veysey, 1965, p. 60-61). The changes in higher education that lead to the pushing of religion to the margins of the curriculum and life of the institution was not a capitulation to the any revolutionary student impulse of revolution against the prevailing system. While historians clearly point out moments of civil unrest from students, the directions that the institutions took in order to accommodate along the various lines discussed above was an intentional direction. Once this activist movement to push religion along with the older curriculum to the margins took hold, it was irreversible from the point of view of the proponents of the older curriculum. Despite their efforts, “it became apparent that none of them could roll back the growing movement toward educational and intellectual change” (Veysey, 1965, p. 49). The outcome towards secularization on many different levels seems to have been an inevitable outcome of modernization as it was irreversible to go alone with the above analysis of intellectual freedom. The freed bird would not and could not go back into the cage.

As Rudolph characterizes it, the move towards secularism in the university put men like Andrew Dickson White of Cornell “at war” with the old time college. Moreover, the move towards clearer standards and the criteria of funding agencies such as the Carnegie Foundation “tried to weaken further and kill off the weaker denominational colleges, understanding the vitality of these institutions which for decades had simply defied all reason and now continued to refuse to die” (Rudolph, 1990, p. 432). In order to receive funding for pensions from Carnegie and in order to remain competitive, colleges would have to relax their religious boundaries. Rudolph more or less looks at organizational secularization as a response to societal secularization rather than organizational secularization as a result of internal status and position

seeking from key players within the institutional organization of the college. Rudolph does not look at these activist positions with any suspicion or interrogation; the secularist activist was rather a hero.

"(Philip) Lindsley possessed one of the most exciting imaginations of any American college president His idea of what an American college or university was and could be, his commitment to intellectual excellence, his rejection of denominationalism as a **secure basis** for a great institution, his recognition of a need for broadly practical education, yet his devotion to the humanist tradition - all this set him apart. His unremitting, even **heroic**, struggle to develop a great university in Tennessee was probably impossible from the start" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 117 emphasis added).

Based on the above discussion regarding the development of the Christian liberal arts as the dominant form of higher education in the South, it is reasonable to say that Lindsley had a rough go at building an institution without a sponsoring denomination. However Rudolph associates the development of a college without a denomination as the basis for "greatness." Certainly great institutions were founded without denomination (Cornell) or developed into great universities by dropping denominational ties (Harvard), but Rudolph's language gives the impression that denominationalism would not be a secure basis for a great university.

Conclusion

In the end, even as these histories show a clear trajectory of inevitable adaptation to a changing society that was presumably becoming increasingly secular from previous years, there is an activist component driving the agenda on the part of various presidents, board members, alumni, and professors that to block religion from having any favorable place. From the perspective of historians of higher education it is reasonable to conclude a relative consensus that

the pattern of secularization would be seen as anything but a foregone conclusion to the state of religion not only in American higher education, but also in American culture as a whole. This is especially in the case for Veysey and Rudolph who wrote their texts at the height of secularization research that understood it as a universal and inevitable phenomenon. That religion would hold on by a very thin thread speaks more to its resilience in the face of inevitability, than its overall influence in the direction of a secularized culture.

What emerges from this discussion are a few consistent patterns. The first is that sectarian responses are regular when secularization is seen as a threat to religion. One clear example is the reaction of the South in its development of the Christian liberal arts in response to the secularizing trends of the North after the Civil War. The second pattern is that religion has stuck around even if there are those who have actively sought its eradication from higher education. Rather than shackle progress it often offers an integrative dynamic in education. Third, the newer texts have a much more positive take on the place of religion in the development of higher education. With that said, intellectuals in the late 19th century "opposed to the authority of the church extolled the superiority of science and predicted, either directly or by implication, its eventual triumph over religion" (Reuben, 1996, p. 133). But that project failed. As Reuben concludes, "In this transition from the classical college to the modern university, the older ideal of the unity of truth was largely gutted" (1996, p. 267). It is thus ironic that religion remains a part of higher education as a source of this unity as it always has. "Whatever the vocational destination of the young bachelor of arts, there was little doubt in colonial and early national times that religion was the principle integrating factor in any sound liberal education" (Goodchild, et al., 1997, p. 380). Religion may not be as bad for higher education as one may be lead to believe. So where can we find this model of the unity of truth or the integrating factor in

the liberal arts? Expanding on the sectarian response is now where we will turn our focus in order to see the strange codependency between secularization and sectarianism.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SECTARIAN RESPONSE IN EVANGELICAL HIGHER EDUCATION

In 2006 a member of the Wheaton College faculty was dismissed following his public conversion to Catholicism (Golden, 2006). Wheaton College, a college that espouses Protestant evangelical Christianity, on an annual basis requires its faculty to sign a statement of belief adhering to the tenets of evangelical Christianity.

In 2000 also at Wheaton College then assistant professor of anthropology Alex Bolyanatz was dismissed over what seemed to be his views on evolution. In his course “he gave little credence to creationism during his lectures on human origins” (McMurtrie, 2002). Provost Stanton L. Jones noted that Bolyanatz had failed to properly engage faith in his teaching and had “undermined the ‘thoughtful engagement of theology’ in his classroom” (McMurtrie, 2002). Jones argued that it was not merely an issue over Bolyanatz’s view of evolution, but due to this wider concern.

The issue with cases like these is that it appears the university enforcement of doctrinal policy can be uneven and unclear. As McMurtrie (2002) writes, “Most faith statements are broadly written and do not place specific limits on what professors can and cannot teach. Thus their interpretation can depend on the perspective of a single administrator.” Wolsterstorff (2004) also argues that ideological arguments over content may be clothed in grievances over faculty competence to teach and perform quality research. That is to say, one’s ability to integrate aspects of the particular faith of the institution may be an unwritten contingency on one’s appointment with the university. It is not just a matter *that* one agrees to the statement of faith and campus covenant, but a matter of *how well* one does that. This leaves too much room for gross manipulations of the administration to remove faculty with whom they are at odds even

outside of the specifics of the statements they are to sign. Thus, adherence to a statement of faith is a far more fluid and often circumstantial accountability that is ambiguous enough to lend itself to subjective and uneven policy enforcement.

While requiring faculty and students to agree to a specific orthodoxy is certainly not new (one only needs to look at the orthodox views of Yale in its mission through the 19th century), how this process is situated in today's pluralistic and secular culture is a new relationship. What is the relationship between the implicit message of continued secular drift in higher education and sectarian policies and practices of religiously-affiliated higher education?

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the sectarian partner to the secular drift examined in the history of higher education texts in the previous chapter. It is through distinctive traits that these institutions maintain a tense relationship to secular trends in society and higher education. These distinctive traits include policies on academic freedom, enforcement of orthodoxy requirements for students and faculty alike, and the incorporation of a theological worldview into the curriculum. Student religiosity and conformity to specific ethical and theological standards are investigated to see where there is congruence with how evangelical institutions enact policy towards faculty and students in order to constrain socially acceptable behaviors. Third, wider policy considerations will be explored regarding college mission and curriculum. What is evident is that maintaining a specific religious identity includes specific proscriptions of religious orthodoxy and ethical norms. These are combined with a college mission that is explicit in its religious and theological tone revealing sectarian patterns of discourse that shape the social and cultural capital of these institutions.

As with the analysis conducted against texts in the history of higher education, I will again employ a critical discourse analysis of texts in institutions of higher education that

characterize themselves as “evangelical.” The primary question here is how such institutions enforce and legitimate religious identity within the structures of the institution of higher learning. These areas are documents that fall under institutional mission and curriculum, faculty religious requirements, and student conduct policies. This chapter examines secularization variables identified in the discourse of history texts in the previous chapter as applied to evangelical colleges and universities. This set of institutions falls under the requirements for membership in the CCCU which itself exists to maintain a coherent and consistent scaffolding to define evangelical higher education. Before looking at faculty, mission, and student conduct, we begin with the CCCU as the structural framework that lends further definition to the distinctiveness of these institutions.

What is notably absent in the recent standard literature in the history of higher education is the conservative response in higher education in the 1970’s. This response is a direct result of the various revolutions, political instabilities, gender and race activism, and the uprising of a more libertarian society as Altbach notes in his chapter in the ASHE History text. While there is ample focus on gender and race that underwent serious transformation in that era, there is scant treatment of the conservative revolution that began to kick into gear in the 1970’s and that we finally saw truly legitimated in the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. While all of the events that are treated within the study of the history of higher education inarguably deserve a continued place at the table in order to tell the narrative of higher education in the 20th century, it is also of significance that the conservative movement that led not only to the development of the CCCU but of the founding of several conservative Christian colleges including Liberty and Regent Universities. Regent saw a 133% enrollment increase in the 2000’s and now sites at over 5,000 students. Liberty University saw its enrollment shoot up 337% in the 2000’s due in large part to

the rapid growth of its online programs.

How Stable is the Secularization Thesis in American Higher Education?

To be sure it would not be in anyone's best interest to argue that in principle the foregone conclusions of secularized institutions is somehow wrong. Based on the specific cases that scholars like Veysey, Marsden, and Burtchaell present, it is clear that institutions like Harvard, Yale, and Chicago have relegated religion to the periphery of the curriculum and have no intentions of restructuring their curriculum at any time soon to re-establish religion's fundamental centrality. However, what does deserve closer attention is what appears to be an assumed posture of resignation to the secularization process. That is to say, even if the secularizing processes in these institutions is a clear outcome and arguably a source of influence in secularization in American culture as a whole, is it then reasonable to assume that this same process will inevitably affect all other religiously affiliated institutions that are currently in the higher education market? This seems to be a rather strong position to take, even if it is one that is assumed and not directly argued in the context of these various narrative constructions of the secularization of American higher education. Indeed, there is enough counter-factual evidence that raises reasonable and sufficient doubt that we can rely on the stability or even the validity of this assumption.

This counter-narrative of those colleges that have remained linked to their religious founding has just scratched the surface in *Quality with Soul* (2001). Robert Benne expressly offers a qualification by telling the narratives of six colleges that have not strayed into the "darkness" of secularization. Benne follows a nearly identical method as Burtchaell by centering his argument on case studies of six religiously-affiliated colleges. The shortcoming of this book is that it does not place the persistence of the ties these colleges have with the founding religious

organizations in a wider conceptual, sociological, and theological framework. In *The Future of Religious Colleges* (Dovre, 2002), a few proposals are offered for the rational sustenance of a distinctive religiously-affiliated higher education experience. What is needed is a further analysis and qualification on the groundwork Benne has constructed with his book focusing on those religiously-affiliated colleges and universities that have not disengaged from their founding religious organizations.

Other volumes argue for the distinctiveness and necessity of the religiously-affiliated college or university for the higher education landscape as a theoretical matter in terms of what these institutions ought to look like (Budde & Wright, 2004; Dockery & Thornbury, 2002; Dovre, 2002; Ferguson & Weston, 2003; Haynes, 2002; Arthur Frank Holmes, 1987; Arthur F. Holmes, 2001; Hughes & Adrian, 1997; Litfin, 2004; Mannoia, 2000; Sterk, 2001).

What has been developing is a counter-narrative to secularization and the decline of religion in higher education and among religiously-affiliated colleges and universities. There is thus a burgeoning need to offer an examination of the saliency of a religiously-based higher education in the contemporary higher education market that offers counter-factual evidence to the claim that secularization in the academy is a foregone conclusion.

Positive Trends for Religiously-Affiliated Higher Education

Arguably the most important trends to determine a college's health are enrollment and retention numbers. In the case of the smaller liberal arts college enrollment is a critical measure of fiscal stability as well as competitiveness in the higher education marketplace. Looking more closely at enrollment numbers can tell us more about the health of institutions under the umbrella of the CCCU and moreover, how well they fare when compared to other colleges and universities. Are these viable institutions in the higher education market?

An examination of enrollment rates reveals that contrary to the discussion of a decline in religiously-affiliated higher education that enrollments have kept pace with overall higher education enrollment and have at times greatly outpaced that growth. The major mainline denominations increased in the period from 1980 to 2000 at a rate higher than other colleges – both public and private. In this longer period of time, all religiously-affiliated colleges increased in attendance a dramatic 54.22% which greatly outweighs all private institutions (39.98%) and all combined institutions (31.67%) (NCES, 2003). Presbyterian enrollment increased in this period a staggering 75% with most of the increase occurring between 1980 and 1990 (64.81%) after which the increase declined sharply and then seems to have leveled off slightly to about 3.6% between 1990 and 2001. Catholic, Methodist, and Baptist colleges all follow the same pattern of an enrollment spike between 1980 and 1990, a slow decline following the pattern of all enrollment in general, with signs of a modest upswing in between 1999 and 2000. What has managed to stay floating atop the trend during this period is the rapid growth of enrollment for institutions that belong to the CCCU. This group of colleges and universities recorded an overall growth in total fall enrollments of 47%. Thus, these data reveal that if we look at a much wider swath of what is happening in the religiously-affiliated college, it is not evident that there is a decline, but rather growth since at least 1980 in spite of those specific cases from Burtchaell and others that offer evidence of colleges separating from their founding religious organizations.

Expanding this data further into the 2000's the pattern essentially persists a continued enrollment increase trend for CCCU membership. This includes sixteen new colleges and universities that have joined with the CCCU since 2000 which accounts for 32,956 total full time fall enrollments. Looking at total increase rates among colleges and universities the rate of enrollment increase among CCCU institutions has again increased to 53%. The slowest growing

institutional type is the private, religiously-affiliated which have the most modest increase of enrollment at 27% in the 2000's. The only type of institution that has had a higher growth rate in enrollment over the past twenty years is the private for-profit sector which had an unprecedented boom in the 2000's growing at 348%. Figure 5 shows total institutional growth removing for-profit sector growth (for-profit growth was about 300% in the time period and raises total institutional growth in the 2000's by 3%). Removing this outlier shows a smoother series.

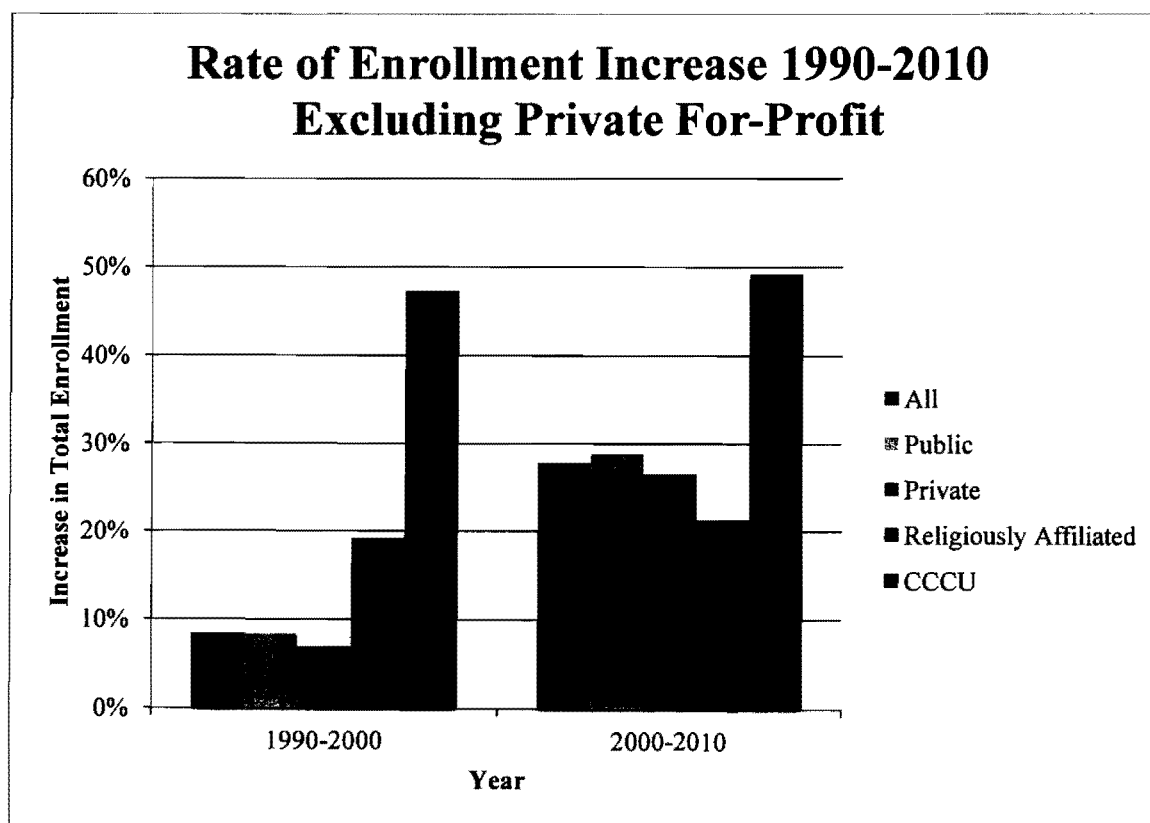


Figure 4. Rate of Enrollment Increase 1990-2010 Excluding Private For-Profit Institutions

Given the continued high percentage of enrollment increases among CCCU institutions we can infer an overall sense of health in the organization. This is especially true as noted that sixteen institutions have joined the CCCU in the 2000's where during its "booming decade" of

the 1990's eighteen institutions joined. However, looking at the data this way may hide other important factors. Among these are if all of the institutions have experienced increases or if there are some outliers that have hidden the enrollments of other colleges and universities that have experienced hard times in enrollment rates. The data here is quite revealing.

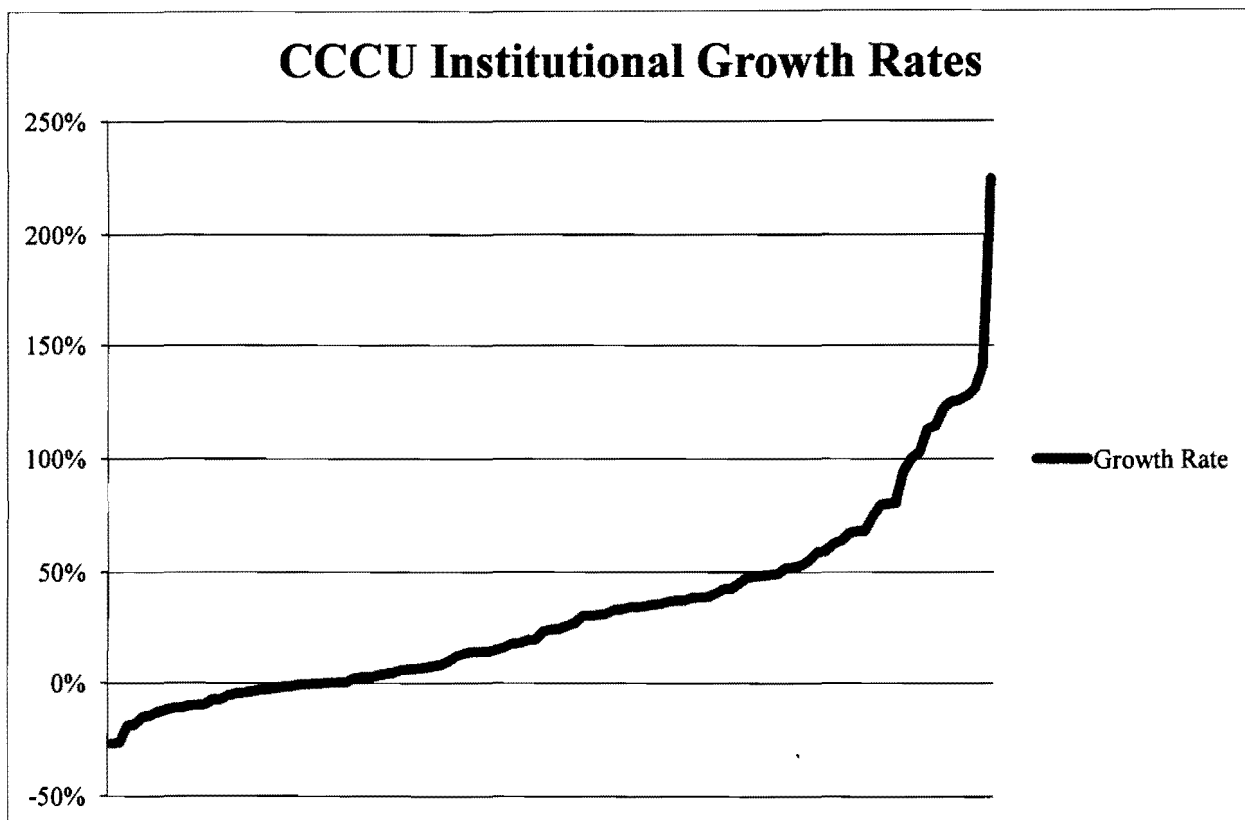


Figure 5. CCCU Institutional Growth Rates.

During the 2000's thirty-one of the one-hundred-thirteen members of the CCCU experienced enrollment declines. The greatest decline was that of San Diego Christian College with a 27% decline. Thirteen colleges and universities experienced declines of 10% or more. It is clear that while the overall data looks like the CCCU in general is doing well; there are some institutions that are not experiencing the same favor as others. Factors contributing to the declines vary.

For example, Houghton College is working through a population change in southern New York State. This had been a college that was doing well for many years recruiting from New York and its immediate surroundings. Now Houghton along with other colleges in New York has to recruit at a much farther distance in order to bolster enrollment. In a very different circumstance Shorter College experienced a very steep enrollment decline in 2006 following major fallout with a change in the administration to pair the institution with the Southern Baptist Convention. The reorganization of the institution to conform to the Southern Baptist Convention's beliefs and rules alienated students, faculty, and staff who had formed their own culture before the shift. This resulted in an exodus from the community and a drop of 1614 full time students for the following fall. That is a 61% decline in one year. Since then the college has been seeing its enrollment numbers slowly increase. When we factor in this data, a 19% enrollment drop over ten years no longer looks that bad especially considering recent upward trends for Shorter. What is more interesting is that this drop in enrollment occurred after the college took a more sectarian tone and rapid reorganization within a year and how the college seems to have rebounded from that dramatic shift.

Even with the institutional declines, there should be no immediate reaction to correct a perceived systemic problem with institutional vitality so argue Joeckel and Chesnes (2010). If there are those who take a defensive posture towards secularization and its profane effects at the CCCU institution, Joeckel and Chesnes warn against heightened over-correction of conservatism to ward off those influences. Such a defensive reaction "can pose significant problems, namely academic stultification and an undervalued commitment to diversity of thought" (2010, p. 185).

Does this give us a clue to the nature of sectarian responses to society? Does it also give us a clue as to the response of the wider culture towards the sectarian posture of some

organizations and people? While these are interesting questions, more important now is to address if these enrollment trends correspond to religiosity in general. Is the relative institutional health and arguably popularity of these institutions an anomaly compared to the wider American population or do they tap into something more mainstream?

Positive Trends for American Religiosity On and Off Campus

It is not a stretch to say that one legacy of Max Weber forms a set of theories that we might call *classic* secularization theory. It is also clear at this point that the history of higher education has made significant purchases on that theory focusing on the differentiation of the various intellectual and cultural pursuits of higher education in terms of how higher education has responded to the external pressures of modernization. Therefore the picture of higher education appears to look like the trajectory of a European secularization process given impetus by the intellectual elite more akin to Christian Smith's notion of secularization as a result of revolutionary protest.¹³ The question that is not addressed is how well this task of modernization has gone from the perspective of the college student. In terms of supply and demand, has the university met the religious demand of the college student and if not, what are the alternatives available to students who are seeking a more religiously integrated educational experience? If there are alternatives, how have they developed?

Church attendance has been a standard variable in determining overall religiosity for quite some time. This is largely based on the majority percentage of Americans that affiliate themselves with some Christian denominations. While there are other variables that can be

¹³ Weber himself likely would not have valued this move into a rational society with much zeal. Though his thought provides the framework, Weber did not consider disenchantment in such a positive light. Its result was rational bureaucracy and control which diminished human freedom.

indicators of religiosity this one has claimed the most statistical significance (Wuthnow, 1978). Research clearly shows that after a spike in church attendance during the 1950's, there was an equally sharp decline in the 1960's and 1970's followed by an equally sharp rise in the late 1970's and through the 1980's. Higher education follows a similar pattern. Douglas Sloan notes, "In the five years between 1964 and 1969 religious course enrollments in private, nondenominational colleges and universities increased by 45 percent. In public institutions, however, the increase in religious enrollments was a remarkable 150 percent" (Sloan, 1994, p. 88). Sloan focuses his work on the surge and demise of what he calls the "theological renaissance" of the 60's which occurred in a hotbed of activity from the development of religious studies in the university, the rapid growth in higher education enrollments along with massification of education access through the GI bill among other things, and the increase in dialogue between religion and other disciplines. However, as Sloan notes, "that nature and history are both given and made; that action, thought, and imagination play no less a role in shaping the one as the other; that ethics and epistemology are intricately and inseparably intertwined and can only artificially be separated – nothing of this was considered. The great split between nature and history, and finally, therefore, between knowledge and faith continued, and, as ever, to the detriment of the faith side of the relationship" (1994, p. 200). While this describes the "dip" in largely epistemological terms, it does not take into account the sociological conditions of the baby-boom generation, nor does it take into account the subsequent rise in religiously-affiliated education and the influence of religious conservatives in the 1980's through the 1990's surge in evangelical college enrollment. It is to these two areas that I now turn.

The Big Organized Religion Chill

The 1960's have been characterized in the popular mindset as a time of moral rebellion against the conformity and fear wrought by the 1950's to secular attitudes and preferences. This rebellion found its expression in the foment of student protests, mind-altering drugs, and rock and roll music for what came to be known as the Woodstock generation. In many cases this may be true depending on where one was at the time. But the question is whether or not these kinds of experiences defined a majority of those coming of age in the 1960's and 1970's. What is evident is a decline in more traditional religious underpinnings that flew in the face of the mainline denominations that had anchored the country for so many decades in its history.

Robert Wuthnow (1978) looked at this trend in the 1960's along with the apparent rise in religious experimentation. From the data that was available, there indeed was a decline in church attendance from 49% in the mid-fifties down to about 40% in 1974 (Wuthnow, 1978, p. 122). Ruling out influences such as modernization, the civil rights movement, Vietnam, and ecumenism, Wuthnow focused on the emergent counter-culture and employs Mannheim's theory of generation units to explain why this movement carried so much weight in its effects (Mannheim, 1970). The counter-culture of the 1960's in effect established its own set of symbols and norms – its own cultural consciousness – and grounded the political aspirations of the generation in terms of developing a “new consciousness” that would revolutionize society and culture in the United States. He then advances five hypotheses for why this consciousness movement took hold resulting in the shift of religious engagement of the culture. Among them are increased secularization, cross-sectional age differences in religious behavior among different age cohorts, and countercultural involvements by different cohorts (Wuthnow, 1978, p. 130).

A crucial assumption that is made here regarding the decline of more traditional forms of religious behavior such as mainline denominational worship attendance, is that the rate of attendance in the 1950's was a baseline for normal attendance rates. Further the study assumes that the decline in church attendance in the younger cohorts at the time as a result of joining subcultural movements outweighed the cohorts that apparently did not change in their religious behavior. Such cohort analysis is also wrought with problems since in this study the sample is admittedly limited in its strong favoritism to data gathered in the Bay area of northern California (Chaves, 1989; Miller & Nakamura, 1996). Moreover, Wuthnow's "consciousness reformation" hypothesis – that the movement of this cohort to new religious movements and away from traditional and mainline religion – is rooted in the assumption that personal desire is reinforced by the rewards of membership into the subculture.

Against this theory, Sherkat (1998) argues that there is a strong relationship between religious schemata in which one is raised as a youth and those in which one operates as an adult. "(T)raditional agents of socialization have a strong and lasting impact on religious beliefs over the early life course. Parents' religious beliefs and participation have a significant impact on their children's beliefs and behaviors in 1965" (Sherkat, 1998, p. 1101). Therefore, it is unlikely that mere choice of alternative cultures was the primary reason for youths in the 60's joining such a radical departure from the traditional mores in which they were raised as youths. This is but one significant blow to the idea that mere generational differences can predict religious behavior among different age cohorts.

Wuthnow (1978) used data that predated the conservatism that was soon to boom in the 1980's. This demonstrates the need for more longitudinal analyses to understand the scope of a given trend. The most likely explanation for this trend of decline had to do with the various

influences on youth at this time including not only the counter-culture, but also the liberalizing effects of higher education. Hence, the cognitive and social predilection of the youth life-cycle coupled with the conditions of the time becomes the prominent cause for both the counter-culture and for the move away from traditional religious practice (Clydesdale, 1997; Firebaugh & Harley, 1991; Hout, Greeley, & Wilde, 2001; Hout & Greeley, 1987; Ploch & Hastings, 1994; Roozen & McKinney, 1990; Willits & Crider, 1989). Jelen (1990) further argues that among evangelicals, between 1973 and 1987, the stable correlation between age and orthodoxy indicates that orthodoxy versus liberalism is not due to a cohort effect, but rather to life-cycle patterns between youth and adults. Before we look at how this plays out in the movement back to conservatism in the late 1970's and early 1980's, there is one other consideration.

It is widely recognized that education has a liberalizing effect on religiosity and values. When looking at the effect of education on orthodoxy it has been shown in several studies that "The trend is away from orthodox beliefs, and the amount of change is quite uniform..." (Albrecht & Heaton, 1984; P. K. Hastings & Hoge, 1970; Schultze, 1993). There are two other studies that actually conflict in their results with this variable. Madsen & Vernon (1983) found that in a sample of college students in Utah in 1979, that despite "a sizeable number (of students) reporting increased orthodoxy and some reporting no change" their study of religious stability "found that the average level of orthodoxy declined over the four years" that the students were in college (p. 131). On the other hand, Hoge (1971) in a comparison study between Michigan and Dartmouth students supports the notion that "the effect of college education may vary from time to time", but that the college does not socialize students "into the prevailing attitudes of the time" (p. 193). However, the results of this study do not take into account an age-period-cohort analysis to tease out the needed data to verify this point and so; Hoge admits this limitation of the

study. Thus, whether we are agreeing that it is life-cycle effects or difference in period cohorts, it seems most likely that the data and the foregoing analyses support the correlation between education and liberalization. This only further supports the thesis that a combination of socialization factors left the doors wide open for a variety of competing ideological, political and religious influences to shape the emergent patterns toward liberalization and decline in the mainline denominations as well as in the religiosity of those on campus. What this also adds is a construct from which potential returns to the traditional sources of religious growth and development are possible as the energy from the activist movements and influences waned. But for the 1960's through the mid-1970's, it appears that the net effect of the time period, its social and political pluralism, the age of the students, and the liberalizing effect of education all participated in a decline of traditional beliefs and participation in traditional organized beliefs. While Kerr (2001) may have seen activism against the research-based curriculum and organization, the data simply do not reveal this as a major factor in terms of the development of the counter-culture and protest movements, nor does it seem to have affected student values and religiosity in one way or another.

However, this may not be an accurate assumption we can make anymore. For example, Maryl and Uecker (2011) argue that there is no significant difference in religious liberalization when comparing college students and non-students. Evidence outside of higher education also offers substantial reason to disprove the claims that higher education has anything to do with a decline in religion or religious belief. If there is an effect it is not of significance. There are other sources for a decline in more liberal religion, but it is not likely that higher education is a significant contributor.

To the contrary recent investigations point not to a predictable pattern of continued

decline of religion and spirituality but an increase. This observation flies in the face of decades of assumptions and predictions about the place of religion on the college and university campus. Stamm (2006) may very well be correct in saying “that despite the ivory tower imagery, institutions of higher education at any given time period are formed by and promote the current cultural and social norms” (p. 77). This is to say that if the society is moving in a more religious direction or is changing its religious appetites, those entering college will reflect those values and desires.

From the American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS 2008) those who identify as having no religious preference increased from 8.2% in 1990, to 14.1% in 2001, to 15.0 % in 2008 (Kosmin & Keysar, 2009a). The makeup of those who do not identify with a religious tradition is primarily white males between the ages of 30-49. These data are also consistent with the Pew Religious Landscape Survey (2008) and Groeneman & Tobin (2004). Thirty-Five percent were not raised in religious households and about half were raised in a Christian household affiliated with some tradition. However, current non-identifiers are far from adamantly, persistently, or consistently secular” (Groeneman & Tobin, 2004, p. 23). The proportion of those who do not identify with a particular religion is not an indicator of no belief except for those who self-identified as atheist or agnostic which is a small number (1.4%). Christian Smith has also observed a pattern of belief among students entering college age where the idea of God has become less rooted in a particular tradition. Called Moralistic Therapeutic Deism, God is seen as a benevolent figure who wants people basically to get along with one another, can help us when we need God, and for the most part stays out of our business. The primary predictor of religious belief and behavior in Smith’s analysis is the religion that the parents model for their children (Smith & Denton, 2005; Smith & Snell, 2009). Thus, if a high

school student entering college comes with any set of these beliefs it is much easier to understand how to meet a students' spiritual needs. It just so happens that students enrolling in CCCU institutions come from Christian households with rare exception.

If spirituality and religion are important in the "real world," that same sense of importance will enter the college community. The question is how well college and university faculty and administration can help to cultivate and educate those desires in order to support students holistically. Dalton (2006) gives a rather sober testimony regarding spiritual support from student affairs staff,

But despite their holistic philosophy and historical commitment to the spiritual development of college students, student affairs professionals have not been influential advocates for the place of spiritual activity in the higher education setting. They have often failed to recognize the centrality of spirituality in the identity development of students during the college years and have underestimated the power of students' spiritual quests to help them cope with stress and fragmentation in the college setting (p. 147).

Adding clarity to this point, Jacobsen and Jacobsen (2008) use the word "postsecular" to describe the growing body of research, as covered in part in chapter two, that argues against secularization as it has been conceived. "What we mean by the term *postsecular* is the simple fact that secularization as a theory about the future of human society seems increasingly out of touch with realities on the ground" (p. 10). In the same volume Gross & Simmons show that in their research "well over half the surveyed professors can be described as believers in God" (p. 23).

In 2007 results from the "Spiritual Life of College Students" project at the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA showed that 80% of entering freshmen attended a

religious service in the last year and that more than 75% believe in God. These results are on par with the 2008 American Religious Identification Survey from 2008 that reported 81.6 percent polled identified belief in a higher power or a personal God. In the same survey 45 percent of Christians self-identified as “born-again” or “evangelical” (Kosmin & Keysar, 2009b). Finally, Greeley & Hout (2006) show that as of 2004, since 1972 mainline Protestant religion has declined but both Conservative Protestant (26%) and No Religion (14%) have made consistent gains. Concordant with ARIS data, there is evidence to show that the US has been becoming more and more polarized over the decades with respect to religious belief.

Conservative Protestants make up about 30% of the American population if we add in the African American churches which have significant overlaps with other conservative Protestant churches in terms of beliefs and values. However we slice that data, it is 18% of Protestant Christians who define their evangelical distinctiveness further along the lines of the distinctive that the colleges and university at the focus of this chapter require students, faculty, and administrators to believe, teach, and model. Greeley & Hout (2006) delineate this eighteen percent in terms of the Reformation “Solas” that became measures Protestants used to distinguish themselves from Catholics. These are *sola fide*, *sola scriptura*, *sola Christus*, *sola gratia*, *solus Deo Gloria*. While Greeley and Hout use three (*fide*, *scriptura*, *gratia*) it is still an apt measure of conservative Protestant or evangelical Christianity.

American religion has restructured and changed in its composition but its religiosity has changed very little. Denominational and organized religion is on a continual wane, but the deeper desire for an integrated life with spiritual meaning is a significant aspect for most people and especially for college students. Most are content with that search for meaning in a very tolerant manner. However, religious polarization is making a slow but sure increase. Conservative

Christianity is increasing and the evangelical “heirs” to the Reformation maintains a strong foothold at 18 percent of the population. On the other end those who have no belief in God is running just behind this Evangelical Christianity, but only by a small margin. From where did this 18% come in recent decades?

The Conservative Revolution

In *To the Right* Jerome Himmelstein (1990) examines the rise of the New Religious Right noting that the dovetailing of new social issues such as the ERA and abortion with the mobilization of evangelicalism through mass-media crystallized a segment of the population that merged into the mainstream of American politics and religion. One of the catalyzing forces for the rise of this movement was the perceived failure of the self-professing evangelical President of the time, Jimmy Carter, to increase the political influence of the evangelicals who rallied around him. This became one of the issues, along with a fumbling economy, that would eventually shift the evangelical vote in favor of the Republican Party in 1984. Part of this story is the rise in fundamentalist higher education through Jerry Falwell’s Liberty University and Pat Robertson’s Regent University which were both founded in the 1970’s largely on the hill of prosperity offered up by the faithful of their broadcasting empires’ virtual congregations across the country.

Trends in religious behavior swung back to something more akin to the 1950’s in the 1980’s. But when this occurred it actually balanced out the overall church attendance rates since the 1960’s. Chaves (1989) notes that religious involvement has hovered between 37% and 41% with a spike in church attendance in 1955 and 1958 at 49%. This spike in the 1950’s is likely related to increased fear of Communism as the decline in fear of Communism has been positively correlated with a decline in traditional religious commitment among college students

(P. K. Hastings & Hoge, 1970; Hoge, 1971). Whatever the case may be, the nadir of traditional religious involvement seems to be right around 1972 when the end of student activism was complete due to its failure to end Vietnam and revolutionize society (Altbach & Cohen, 1990) and its lack of a rational and epistemological foundation to give it adequate credibility in the academic arena (Sloan, 1994). It is also about this time that church attendance hit its lowest point relative to overall attendance trends (Wuthnow, 1978). But as the numerous studies on church attendance have indicated, this fluctuation has served to balance out the overall net effect of traditional religious involvement since the 1960's and have kept a relatively stable attendance rate for most of the 20th century (Miller & Nakamura, 1996).

The causes for a return to more traditional religious involvement point to several possible factors, but life-cycle is perhaps the best condition that establishes the late 1970's and early 1980's shift in religious behavior. Studies show that child rearing is positively correlated with traditional religious involvement and church attendance and that it is possible that traditional socialization forces during youth contribute to religious orientation and commitments later in life (Firebaugh & Harley, 1991; Sherkat, 1998; Willits & Crider, 1989). This explanation is more plausible since emerging cohorts most likely act upon the religious influences from their childhood rather than break from this socialization due to desire and preference. The prospect of child-rearing is thus correlated with religiosity and once again supports the notion of religious involvement through life-cycle change (Roozen & McKinney, 1990). Combined with the stability of attendance rates, the pattern of church attendance and traditional religiosity is thus not as much of a decline in the late sixties and early seventies as it is a spike in the 1950's. Studies on college values and religiosity example the same shift as students in the 1970's and 1980's pick up many of the value bases from the 1950's and return to a more traditional religious

pattern (P. Hastings & Hoge, 1981; Hoge, Hoge, & Wittenberg, 1987; Hoge, Luna, & Miller, 1981).

There are a few solid conclusions that we can thus make based on these various studies. First, the pattern of religiosity among the overall American population and college students from the 1950's through 1984 follows a very clear dip and rise rather than a constant decline and the overall net effect of this is that the church attendance hovers at around 40% for the general population. This shows that despite the literature on the decline of religiously-affiliated higher education, there is still a market for it to serve that has never really left, and that this market may be ripe for increases should the trends in student religiosity and values maintain the course established from the 1980's through 1990. Moreover, this shift is related primarily to lifecycle and fertility effects rather than choice or preference indicating a potentially self-perpetuating trend due to demographic imperative (Hout, et al., 2001). This may offer sufficient confirmation of the trend in enrollments in CCCU affiliated institutions through the 1990's. This simply follows in tow with the striking congruency between US religious trends and trends in college student values and enrollments in religiously-affiliated higher education. Looking at the data from 1980 to 2001, it is clear that religiously-affiliated higher education enrollment outpaced all college enrollments by 22.55% and all private higher education enrollments by 14.24%. Adding to this figure, the CCCU increase of 36.9% from 1990-1998 shows an upswing in the marketplace for religiously-based higher education with on the conservative side rather than the more liberal side. Part of this may have to do with the increase in the conservative market if the demographic imperative holds, and it also may confirm the hypothesis that orthodoxy creates a more marketable distinctiveness for religiously-affiliated higher education and so, marketing to the religious base is more effective for the more orthodox institutions. While this may confirm

some of the issues raised by Scriven (1999) who argues that Christian higher education must be “partisan” but in terms of being “countercultural” and engaging of the whole person, it may also suggest acting prudently to navigate the tension between religious commitment and academic freedom raised by Tillman (1999) to be in the best interests of these institutions (see also Dumestre, 1991).

On this evidence alone it is reasonable to hypothesize that secularization in higher education as an inevitable and foregone conclusion is flawed. There is thus a counter-narrative to the decline and hence a burgeoning need to offer an examination of the saliency of a religiously-based higher education in the contemporary higher education market that offers counter-factual evidence to the claim that secularization in the academy is a foregone conclusion.

Defining the Religiously-Affiliated College or University

Simala (2008) reveals the complexity involved when defining what a religiously-affiliated college or university is. The range of distinctiveness can go from a college that is rooted in a secular ethos now but retains its institutional memory as founded on a religious basis but where that no longer is part of its institutional saga. At the other end of the spectrum we find institutions that are thoroughly and clearly religious to the degree that formal adherence to a collective identity is required in order to matriculate or persist until degree completion. It is often a subjective matter when observers make the claim as to whether a religious institution is truly religious.

“an impressive scholarly base” at the time it was also “overly dependent on a few works.” At that point in time Thelin noted that “(t)he history of higher education as a distinct topic has gradually yet persistently eroded” (Thelin & ASHE, 1986, p. 2). Two of these histories are part of the analysis presented here and continue to be a major part of the curriculum in the history of higher education. Those texts are by Rudolph (1990) and Veysey (1965). Thelin argues, “The danger is that in the 1980’s we behave as if we are dwarfs who stand on the shoulders of the giants from the 1960’s to gain our view of history. The tragedy of this syndrome is that syllabi have by and large not heeded the recent excellent works by a generation of newer historians” (1986, p. 3).

Thelin’s analysis was in 1986. The curricula have changed as new texts have been introduced. The following table represents the frequency of the history texts falling under “required reading” used in 30 different courses that both reflect the history of higher education as an individual course and introduction courses that include history among other topics. These syllabi were in the public domain and accessible on the Internet and were found using a simple search with a popular search engine.

Robert Benne's Typology of Church-Related Colleges				
	Orthodox	Critical-Mass	Intentionally Pluralist	Accidentally Pluralist
Major Divide	The Christian vision as the organizing paradigm	<i>versus</i>	Secular sources as the organizing paradigm	
Public Relevance of Christian vision:	Pervasive from a shared point of view	Privileged voice in an ongoing conversation	Assured voice in an ongoing conversation	Random or absent in an ongoing conversation
Public Rhetoric:	Unabashed invitation for fellow believers to an intentionally Christian enterprise	Straightforward presentation as a Christian school but inclusive to others	Presentation as a liberal arts school with a Christian heritage	Presentation as a secular school with little or no allusion to Christian heritage
Membership requirements:	Near 100% with orthodoxy tests	Critical mass in all facets	Intentional representation	Haphazard sprinkling
Religion/theology department:	Large, with theology privileged	Large, with theology as flagship	Small, mixed department, some theology, but mostly religious studies	Small, exclusively religious studies
Religion/theology required courses:	All courses affected by shared religious perspective:	Two or three, with dialogical effort in many other courses	One course in general education	Choice in distribution or elective
Chapel:	Required in large church at a protected time daily	Voluntary at high quality services in large nave at protected time daily	Voluntary at unprotected times, with low attendance	For few, on special occasions
Ethos:	Overt piety of sponsoring tradition	Dominant atmosphere of sponsoring tradition - rituals and habits	Open minority from sponsoring tradition finding private niche	Reclusive and unorganized minority from sponsoring tradition
(Dominantly secular atmosphere)				
Support by church:	Indispensable financial support and majority of students from sponsoring tradition	Important direct and crucial indirect financial support; at least 50% of students	Important focused, indirect support; small minority of students	Token indirect support; student numbers no longer get recorded
Governance:	Owned and governed by church or its official representatives	Majority of board from tradition by unofficial agreement	Minority of board from tradition by unofficial agreement	Token membership from tradition
(College or university is autonomously owned and governed)				
Source: (Benne, 2001, p. 49)				

Figure 6. Robert Benne's Typology of Church-Related Colleges

Simala (2008) offers an extensive understanding of the distinctive traits of evangelical higher education in his own work. Among these traits are adherence to the Bible as the foundational and authoritative source for the institution's identity, a mission both to "disciple" and "evangelize" the students, maintaining a like-minded community that adheres to similar fundamental principles and faith confessions, and a clear goal to do the work of God by means of the educational enterprise. While this is a useful framework, it is not a clear means of assessment.

As referenced in Figure 7 above, Robert Benne offers a typology of the church-related institution. Beyond a typology this same framework can function as a rubric by which one may assess the degree of the religious foundation by which a college or university may understand its own institutional saga. This typology allows for a more fluid scale and a set of clear measurements that can function as an assessment rubric in order to get a more objective understanding of institutional religiosity.

With that said the typology does have a significant weakness. It assumes that the degree of religiosity of a college or university is dependent on a sponsoring church or denomination as a measure of its religiosity. This variable does not take into account the conservative nature of many colleges and universities that clearly and decidedly identify with evangelical orthodoxy yet have no denominational affiliation. In the CCCU alone there are twenty-two colleges and universities that fit within this category and universities such as Oral Roberts University and Liberty University not in the CCCU but not denominationally sponsored would appear to be less orthodox given this criteria. Many of the religiously conservative or theologically evangelical institutions have no churches are not beholden to any denominational bodies or constraints. Freedom from denominational constraints allows many of these colleges and universities to

approach the theological and evangelical foundation as it sees fit and to develop its institutional saga independent of outside influence. Therefore the typology needs to be revised in order to account for what are by all other measures clearly orthodox in both educational philosophy and institutional practice. For the purposes of this chapter, Benne's typology is a useful tool to assess an institutions' degree of commitment to religious principles and its response to secularization and secularism.

The Mission of the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU)

As referenced in chapter one, the mission of the CCCU is "To advance the cause of Christ-centered higher education and to help our institutions transform lives by faithfully relating scholarship and service to biblical truth" (CCCU, 2012). Here we unpack the significance of that statement among its member institutions as a variable that evidences a sectarian response to sources of secularization in higher education and the broader society. This falls under three categories of interest: institutional mission, academic freedom and faculty requirements, and student conduct policies.

Founding Members

Before 1971 Christian evangelical higher education had formed something of a wall around itself to protect its institutions from the growing influence of the secular university in the late 19th century and into the early 20th century. The bible colleges of the time were what would hold evangelical higher education sacred in a distinctly fundamentalist structure. It is the bible school movement that would set the foundation and stage for evangelical higher education and for the direction that many colleges would take in the CCCU.

The late 19th century was marked by a height of missionary spirit and a search for renewal and revival among Protestant Christians. As immigration diffused Christianity through

different traditions and cultures in the United States, early evangelicals began to seek a Christianity rooted in the same sort of revivalism characteristic of the Great Awakenings. Fused with a social concern for renewing the world seen as something broken in need of a spiritual solution to repair it, the Bible college or institute “arose in response to the demands of urban ministries and the desire to train lay leaders for evangelism” (G. M. Marsden, 2006, p. 128). This focus on evangelism and propagating the Gospel in order to convert the lost was part of a constellation of behaviors in the missions of the bible institutes that were decidedly anti-intellectual. “Three goals in particular infused the Bible schools’ sense of purpose: they wished to offer popularly oriented, practical training; they demanded a curriculum centered on the Bible; and through the first two goals they hoped to prepare their students for service in the Christian ministry” (Carpenter, Shipps, Christian College Coalition (U.S.), & Christian College Consortium (U.S.), 1987, p. 113). Challenging not just the tide of secularization in once stalwart Christian colleges such as Yale, Princeton, and Harvard among others, the Bible college movement was also a response to an emerging liberal Christianity that focused on moral rather than theological truth and was decidedly nonsectarian. Among the Bible colleges that emerged at the time were what is now Biola University, Gordon College, Malone College, Nyack College, and Simpson College all of which are current members of the CCCU. The Bible college served two ironically related functions: preserving and sustaining evangelical higher education through a tumultuous and tremendous transitional period in higher education from 1880-1920, and doing so with a decidedly anti-intellectual missionary posture. Because of this anti-intellectualism associated with fundamentalism many colleges would seek a safe distance from associations with the Bible college in order for legitimization. The pendulum indeed swung both ways.

Another legacy of fundamentalism was its development of tightly knit social networks of practitioners across the country. Particularly through literature and conferences, the fundamentalist movement grew from a bottom-up movement out of small groups and small Bible colleges. The conferences gave all of these otherwise disparate groups a social space to network and share ideas to find commonality in their overarching missions (G. M. Marsden, 2006). It is this groundwork that created a readily available connectivity between not just Bible colleges but also other conservative and evangelical institutions as they continued to develop around a common ethos through the 20th century.

Through the 20th century there was a continued movement to help evangelical colleges to break free of their fundamentalist isolation that had developed as a response to both trends of secularization in the wider higher education market and liberal movements in Christian theology and biblical studies. This was no easy task. As Patterson notes, “At many Christian colleges, faculty members worked long hours for low salaries, and some lacked full teaching credentials” (2001, p. 23). However, as discussed in the church attendance trends above, the post-World War II spike in religiosity, along with the GI Bill, increased public desire for higher education, and an increased demand for a Christian higher education all combined to give Christian higher education a boost when it needed it most. It was during this time that Christian institutions strengthened research programs, faculty credentials, salaries, and accreditation. Through a tumultuous period in history for church-related higher education, a distinct group of institutions maintained and reformed a legacy of Christian education while at the same time making critical adaptations to the changing higher education landscape to be considered legitimate players in the higher education market. It was thus that these colleges and universities successfully resisted secularization.

The CCCU started in 1971 with a group of 13 small colleges and universities called the Christian College Consortium. The Consortium began with a meeting of eleven presidents of evangelical colleges to discuss the present and future of evangelical higher education. At the fore was attracting financial support, enrollment issues, and maintaining a clear and distinct identity among the colleges. Carl Henry, then editor of the evangelical magazine *Christianity Today*, had designs for a Christian university system. It was this central idea that maintained focus for these evangelical institutions to continue meeting and gaining resources to form a clearer and more robust organization structure from which to work and build relationships. It was thus that in 1971 the Christian College Consortium was formed in Chicago. While the idea of the Christian university system was eventually dropped, a new era of synergy between evangelical institutions had begun. This organization of 13 institutions did not stop there. It would rather be a springboard for another larger body of evangelical institutions.

“Probably the most important contribution of the consortium was its founding in 1976 of the Christian College Coalition as a satellite organization with the specific task of protecting the religious and educational freedom of the Christian colleges” (Ringenberg, 1984, p. 198). The function of this group began with a focus on political lobbying and influence to ensure that evangelical colleges and university were protected in their missions to offer a distinctly Christian higher education. This organization would only expand to include other institutions and become something much larger than its original political intent.

“Some colleges sought membership because of the encouragement that affiliation gave them in their efforts to resist the secularization process; others joined because of the hope that explicit identification as an orthodox Protestant college would assist their admissions efforts in the shrinking student market of the 1980’s” (Ringenberg, 1984, p. 201).

For the remainder of this chapter, the data on which I will focus comes from the current identities and distinctive of the thirteen institutions that formed the genesis of for the CCCU.

Table 4.

Christian College Coalition Members, 1971

Institution	Denomination	Enrollment 2000	Enrollment 2010	Increase/Decrease
Asbury University	None	1,359	1,623	19%
Bethel University	Baptist General Conference	3,796	8,637	128%
George Fox University	Religious Society of Friends	2,635	3,538	34%
Gordon College	None	1,620	1,599	-1%
Greenville College	Free Methodist Church	1,169	1,605	37%
Houghton College	Wesleyan Church	1,409	1,272	-10%
Malone University	Religious Society of Friends	2,162	2,511	16%
Messiah College	None	2,797	2,932	5%
Seattle Pacific University	Free Methodist Church	3,491	4,117	18%
Taylor University	None	1,843	2,589	40%
Trinity International University-Illinois	Evangelical Free Church	2,663	2,564	-4%
Westmont College	None	1,332	1,367	3%
Wheaton College	None	2,827	3,026	7%

Institutional Mission

The institution's mission clearly defines its purpose within the context of higher education and indicates whom the institution serves and what it intends to accomplish. The institution's stated goals, consistent with the aspirations and expectations of higher education, clearly specify how the institution will fulfill its mission. The mission and goals are developed and recognized by the institution with the participation of its members and its governing body and are used to develop and shape its programs and practices and to evaluate its effectiveness (Middle States Commission on Higher Education, 2008, p. 1).

As the primary foundation for an institution to ground itself and define itself as an entity in the higher education landscape, the institutional mission is a critical piece of information to derive a brief but potent picture of what that organization's values and hopes are. For accreditation the mission is the standard by which the college or university is held accountable. For an accrediting body like Middle States every standard following Standard 1 quoted above "should be interpreted and applied in the context of the institution's mission and situation" (Middle States, viii). The same level of importance on the mission exists for other accrediting bodies. For example the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges states that the mission "accurately guides the institution's operations" (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges, 2012, p. 25). Going back to Benne's Typology it would therefore be more helpful to include the mission as the organizing principle for the particular institution. However, given the pervasiveness of the mission as a critical standard by which institutions measure their effectiveness and integrity to set and accomplish its goals, this sort of statement finds itself working through other elements of the typology especially when it is

used as a rubric to measure the religiosity of an institution. The mission is a statement that in part describes the “Public relevance of Christian vision” if that college or university has such a vision. In the case of CCCU institutions, this vision is quite clear from the mission and throughout the institutional goals and behaviors. As Benne understands the identity of the orthodox Christian college or university, “They are sufficiently in tension with the American educational mainstream that they feel obligated to define themselves differently than mainstream institutions, even if they might have to bear the ridicule or even contempt of that mainstream” (2001, p. 51) When framing out the institutional mission these colleges and universities take a risk. They are proposing to root their identity in something explicitly religious from a rather narrow slice of the religious landscape.

Missionary Endeavor

An analysis of the mission statements of the thirteen members of the Christian College Coalition members of the CCCU shows a distinct focus on mission and evangelism. There is a great deal of continuity with the Bible college mission of restoring society and culture in a Christian framework. Such a restorative act pushes the mission of the institution beyond the educational purposes of career advancement or even moral and character development. The implication is that these colleges are preparing leaders who are ready to begin a distinctly evangelical work of restoring the world through an informed Christian conviction. The following table shows those mission statements that have a focus on missionary endeavor as a key outcome for its students.

Table 5.

Mission Statements: Missionary Endeavor

Institution	Mission
Bethel University	"transform culture" http://www.bethel.edu/about/mission-history
Gordon College	"transform society and culture" http://www.gordon.edu/page.cfm?iPageID=385&iCategoryID=31&About&Mission_Statement
Seattle Pacific University	"engaging the culture and changing the world" http://www.spu.edu/about-spu/mission-and-signatures
Taylor University	"to minister Christ's redemptive love and truth to a world in need." http://www.taylor.edu/about/mission/
Trinity International University-Illinois	"to engage in God's redemptive work in the world" http://www.tiu.edu/about/history.dot
Wheaton College	"improve society worldwide" http://www.wheaton.edu/About-Wheaton/Mission

Cultivating Christian Community

Another theme within the mission statements is the function of the institution to develop its students in a distinctly evangelical Christian community. The various governing membership rules involved will be discussed below. That the institutions follow through with those particular persistence requirements along stricter moral and ethical lines with evangelical Christianity as the defining structure only speaks to the consistency with the mission statements as written (Table 6).

Biblical Christianity

A third distinction expressed in the mission of these thirteen colleges and universities is not just that they are offering a Christian higher education, but that they are offering a particular kind of Christian higher education. This is characterized by the word "biblical." While not all use this term in the mission statement, it is pervasive in other areas throughout the presentations these institutions give to both prospective students and current students (Table 7).

Table 6.

Mission Statements: Cultivating Christian Community

Institution	Mission
Asbury University	"a commitment to academic excellence and spiritual vitality" http://www.asbury.edu/about-us/university-profile/mission
George Fox University	"a supportive community that encourages academic rigor and spiritual growth." http://www.georgefox.edu/about/mission_vision_values/index.html
Gordon College	"People and programs that reflect the rich mosaic of the Body of Christ. Life guided by the teaching of Christ and the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. The maturation of students in all dimensions of life—body, mind and spirit." http://www.gordon.edu/page.cfm?iPageID=385&iCategoryID=31&About&Mission_Statement
Malone University	"to develop men and women in intellectual maturity, wisdom, and Christian faith" http://www.malone.edu/about-malone/foundational-principles.php
Messiah College	"maturity of intellect, character and Christian faith in preparation for lives of service, leadership and reconciliation in church and society" http://www.messiah.edu/about
Seattle Pacific University	"people of competence and character, becoming people of wisdom, and modeling grace-filled community." http://www.spu.edu/about-spu/mission-and-signatures
Wheaton College	"by promoting the development of whole and effective Christians" http://www.wheaton.edu/About-Wheaton/Mission

Table 7.

Mission Statements: Biblical Christianity

Institution	Mission
Bethel University	"live out biblical truth" http://www.bethel.edu/about/mission-history
Gordon College	"The application of biblical principles" http://www.gordon.edu/page.cfm?iPageID=385&iCategoryID=31&About&Mission_Statement
Malone University	"based on biblical faith" http://www.malone.edu/about-malone/foundational-principles.php

The missions of these institutions have a coherent idea of what their identity is in American Christianity and exhibit consistent strains of thought regarding their outward mission

to restore, transform, or otherwise change the world in an effort to live out a calling from God to do so. This is not a mission that is projected as an isolated endeavor in the ivory towers of higher education. While these are communities that have a rather strict set of rules in which members “covenant” to one another, the missions of these institutions are decidedly outward-pointing. The cultivation of Christian character inside the walls of the college or university is for the purpose of changing culture and society on the outside. If these institutions are viewed from outsiders as cordoned off from the profane world that is likely a correct perception from a point of view. However, without understanding the nature of that relative isolation as a means to a theologically-informed and shaped mandate to be outward-facing we can easily get a skewed perspective on the nature of evangelicalism itself.

Public Relevance and Rhetoric

Logically expanding on the mission statements of these institutions is how they communicate their programs that put those missions into action. The categories of public relevance and public rhetoric are the two characteristics that expand on the mission. *Public relevance* is the presentation of the college or university as a legitimate player in the higher education market that maintains a clear and distinct identity as a Christian institution. Such a presentation of relevance also includes greater specifics about the curriculum as a means to achieve a distinctive higher education in order to be the kind of leader the college or university seeks to develop as professional adults. *Public rhetoric* is how that institution presents itself externally particularly to prospective students. Looking at these data paints a clearer picture of how the institution understands itself and the kind of students it would like to attract to join its community. Specific statements that have to do with both of these categories are found in institutional educational philosophy statements and in admissions materials.

Public Relevance

For Benne, public relevance is regarding the relevance of the tradition to the college or university. As noted above for the typology as a whole the primary weakness here as well is the focus on “the relevance of the sponsoring tradition” (2001, p. 53). Evident in the outward-facing presentation of these colleges and universities is a clear effort to pull farther away from the anti-intellectualism characteristic of previous decades. As George Marsden observed regarding evangelical post-secondary institutions, “(A)s a group they apparently have little interest in supporting Christian scholarship at the highest academic level. Not only do they not have a first-level research university, they struggle to find money to support even very modest amounts of university-level scholarship, such as that in research institutes” (Carpenter, et al., 1987, pp. 294-295). Evident in the current language among colleges and universities is a clearer presentation of such academic scholarship. Not only was this briefly mentioned in the mission statements, it is much clearer in the presentations of educational philosophy and academic functions of the institution in general (Table 8).

Table 8.

Public Relevance: Outward Facing

Institution	Public Relevance of Christian Vision
Asbury University	"preparing students for further advanced degree study or for professional employment, the educational programs of the university reflect a liberal arts character." http://www.asbury.edu/about-us/university-profile/purpose
Bethel University	"educationally excellent, globally engaged" http://www.bethel.edu/about/mission-history
Greenville College	We will use technology and partnerships to expand our undergraduate and graduate programs in both on-site and on-line venues. http://www.greenville.edu/about/foundational_documents/
Malone University	"a university with high academic prestige and strong acceptance rates into a wide range of graduate programs" http://www.malone.edu/why-malone/
Seattle Pacific University	"100 percent of SPU engineering students were employed within a year of graduation; and 94 percent of pre-professional health students were admitted to medical school or graduate school in their prospective field." http://www.spu.edu/depts/ugadm/values/

However, other institutions continue to focus on the Christian distinctiveness of their mission. This is often framed in terms of a liberal arts education that takes into account a holistic program that is relational and biblically/theologically grounded. To be sure, academic excellence is highlighted. Combined with the missionary and evangelistic outcomes as shown above in the various mission statements, this academic pursuit has a different flavor. The focus is more inward on the cultivation of the student's spiritual fitness and academics in service of that fitness (Table 9).

Table 9.	
<i>Public Relevance: Inward Cultivation</i>	
Institution	Public Relevance of Christian Vision
George Fox University	Our promise: At George Fox, each student will be known – personally, academically and spiritually. http://www.georgefox.edu/be-known/index.html
Gordon College	Gordon College approaches education from within the framework of biblical theism, which provides a coherent perspective on life and the world. http://www.gordon.edu/page.cfm?iPageID=379&iCategoryID=31&About&Philosophy_of_Education
Messiah College	A Message from the President Welcome to Messiah College—a Christ centered educational community committed to the intellectual, personal, and spiritual development of our students. <i>2012-2013 Undergraduate Catalog</i>
Taylor University	Whole Person Focused. We involve students in learning experiences imbued with a vital Christian interpretation of truth and life which foster their intellectual, emotional, physical, vocational, social, and spiritual development http://www.taylor.edu/about/mission/
Westmont College	Westmont College is an undergraduate, residential, Christian, liberal arts community serving God's kingdom by cultivating thoughtful scholars, grateful servants and faithful leaders for global engagement with the academy, church and world. http://www.westmont.edu/admissions/
Wheaton College	Educational Purpose Committed to the principle that truth is revealed by God through Christ "in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," Wheaton College seeks to relate Christian liberal arts education to the needs of contemporary society. The curricular approach is designed to combine faith and learning in order to produce a biblical perspective needed to relate Christian experience to the demands of those needs. http://www.wheaton.edu/About-Wheaton/Statement-of-Faith-and-Educational-Purpose

Finally, the kind of biblical perspective at the institution may be specified as part of this vision. Recalling the divisiveness that occurred at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century over biblical interpretation, current evangelical institutions will subscribe to a specific understanding of the way the Bible is interpreted within the curriculum. While all CCCU institutions beyond the thirteen of focus here have explicit reference to the centrality of the Bible in the mission and curriculum, some will have a more pointed reference to the shared

understanding of the college community. This is often through the use of language such as “authoritative,” “final,” “inerrant,” and “infallible.” Again, this offers another level of institutional distinctiveness with the assumption that other institutions will not direct their educational philosophy from that perspective (Table 10).

Table 10.	
<i>Public Relevance: Distinctiveness</i>	
Institution	Public Relevance of Christian Vision
Asbury University	Central to this endeavor is a clear affirmation of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as God’s infallible and authoritative” http://www.asbury.edu/about-us/university-profile/purpose
Trinity International University-Illinois	“an institution committed to inerrant Scripture” http://www.tiu.edu/about/core-values.dot

Public Rhetoric

As Benne describes public rhetoric, it is the presentation of the school in its publications and other materials produced to communicate the mission and the character of the institution. In this case that character is decided evangelical Christian. In this sense the mission of the institution is clarified by its public claims to fidelity to the religious tradition and collegiate community it is fostering along evangelical Christian lines. “If a student is not a Christian of the sort that sponsors the school, the school explicitly states its intentions to shape them in that direction” (Benne, 2001, pp. 53-54). Statements from admissions offices that are attracting students to join the community give a clear idea of the culture of the institution before they apply. Here the same emphasis on God and Christianity in language that follows from the evangelical culture of missionary endeavor, conversion, and revival experience.

Table 11.

Public Rhetoric

Institution	Public Rhetoric (Emphases Added)
Asbury University	Do you want to make an impact? Then start here. We will encourage you to immerse yourself in a new culture, tackle those hard academic and faith questions, and stretch your boundaries as you discover God's call for your life . http://www.asbury.edu/admissions/undergraduate
Bethel University	The College of Arts & Sciences at Bethel University is a top-ranked liberal arts college and a tight-knit Christian community. We attract students of great intelligence, humility, and compassion who want to use their God-given talents to change the world . http://cas.bethel.edu/admissions/explore/
George Fox University	For more than a century, George Fox University has been committed to providing a Christian education through which every student can grow intellectually and spiritually with the guidance of devoted Christian scholars . http://www.georgefox.edu/college-admissions/about.html
Gordon College	Gordon College values freedom. Freedom to ask challenging questions, probe new ideas and discover your calling . This freedom is deeply rooted in our faith in Christ —and it comes with the responsibility to live with integrity, to grow in wisdom, and to love God and our neighbor. http://www.gordon.edu/admissions
Greenville College	We are a Christian community committed to challenging and nurturing students. We are dedicated to excellence in higher education grounded in both the liberal arts tradition and a rich Wesleyan heritage. We provide an education characterized by open inquiry into all creation and guided by the authority of Scripture , tradition, reason, and experience. http://www.greenville.edu/about/foundational_documents/
Houghton College	Houghton College challenges students to academic excellence in the context of a relevant Christian community ... Contact our office today to learn the answers and to discover how Houghton can prepare you to fulfill God's purpose for your life. http://www.houghton.edu/admission/
Malone University	As a Christian university for the arts and sciences, we believe that stepping up to serve is at the very heart of striving for success. Students of all denominations come to Malone for the education they need to become lifelong leaders in the spirit of Christ , secure in the knowledge that getting ahead means nothing without giving back. http://www.malone.edu/

Table 11 Cont.	
Messiah College	<p>Seemingly opposite ideals like: faith and intellect, work and play, discipline and imagination, harmony and difference coexist at a Christian College? You begin to see anew. Students who come to Messiah College enter a Christian microcosm, coming together from many different places and many different Christian backgrounds to learn, worship, and live together. Each student brings a rich perspective — his or her own color — and, at Messiah, those colors are celebrated, appreciated, and allowed to remain distinct. In the grace of our shared love of Christ, in our worship, study, and service, and in friendly gatherings and thoughtful conversations, our separate, vibrant colors are crafted together like a strong and splendid stained glass window. And the insight that is born in everyone is the light that shines through. http://www.messiah.edu/admissions</p>
Seattle Pacific University	<p>With a long and distinguished history in Christian higher education, Seattle Pacific University entered the new century positioned to engage the culture and influence the world for good. At a time when the legacy of the secularized modern university is under scrutiny, Seattle Pacific provides nearly 3,800 students with a high quality, comprehensive education grounded on the gospel of Jesus Christ. This combination of vital scholarship and thoughtful faith is a powerful one that brings about lasting change in the lives of our graduates, and in the people and communities they serve. http://www.spu.edu/info/informationaboutspu.html</p>
Taylor University	<p>You know the story. . . Peter standing hesitantly in a wooden fishing boat, wind whipping through his hair, waves splashing against the side, noise, confusion, fear. . . and Jesus says “Come.” And in the midst of that confusion, Peter takes a step . . . out of the boat, onto the water, and toward his friend. / As you prepare to make your college decision, you have your own set of wind and waves: Where are you going to college? What’s your major going to be? How are you ever going to afford it? / And in the midst of this noise and confusion you look to Jesus for some kind of clear direction. If you are able to avoid the distractions, and instead, listen carefully, you will hear Him tell you not where to go... but where to come. You see, as Christians, our direction is always the same. Not toward an education, a career, personal goals...but beyond these goals toward Jesus. http://www.taylor.edu/admissions/</p>

Table 11 Cont.	
Trinity International University-Illinois	We are Christ-centered, biblically based , historically rooted, mission focused, culturally minded, and socially aware. Trinity college has a long history (founded in 1897) and strives to educate men and women for faithful participation in God's redemptive work in the world by cultivating academic excellence, Christian fidelity , and lifelong learning. http://undergrad.tiu.edu/about/facts.dot
Westmont College	As a liberal arts college in the Christian tradition , we ground our pursuit of learning and wisdom in the context of God's revelation —manifested in the scriptures and in the world around us, and apprehended through reason, observation, experimentation, and the affections. http://www.westmont.edu/_academics/index_ge.html
Wheaton College	Academic excellence. Christian commitment . Leadership and servanthood... Wheaton's Graduate School provides further theological training and ministry skills needed to advance the cause of Christ and His Kingdom . Wheaton's distinction comes from a commitment to pursue the truth of Jesus Christ , and to pursue His truth with the highest of academic standards. Quite simply, Jesus Christ is the foundation of everything that goes on here. http://www.wheaton.edu/Admissions-and-aid

There is very little ambiguity in the kind of community and the kind of student that each of these colleges and universities is seeking to form with its students. As we will see below, it is quite impossible to be a member of any of these colleges and universities without having confessed some degree of faith or preferably conversion to Jesus Christ and with that a background of consistent involvement with a church community. These institutions seek student who have this background already and have a desire to cultivate that faith as a part of the community.

The language assumes that the student has knowledge of Christian culture. For instance, Taylor University begins with the statement “You know the story” proceeded by a paraphrased version of Matthew 14:28-33. Three instances use the terms “calling” or “purpose” which assumes a shared understanding of “vocation” from a Christian perspective as a divinely

ordained role in the world. Having some understanding of what it means to have a “Christian commitment,” “the authority of scripture,” “the truth of Jesus Christ,” and what it means to “love God” all make assumptions that those in a college search know at least something about these terms and can put them in a context where the kind of culture and faith they describe can be understood. Those who lack any understanding of these terms not just from an academic or intellectual perspective but from a personal affective perspective will undoubtedly have difficulties not only with admission, but with feeling comfortable assimilating to the kind of culture that the institutions are creating. Why this is so will be covered in more depth as we discuss membership requirements for both students and faculty.

Membership Requirements

With such specific language in mission and outwardly directed messaging that assumes a shared understanding of Christian culture and evangelicalism, it is not hard to imagine that looking inward the language gets even more specific regarding what the strictures are to join these communities. A Regulated environment dictated by certain rules and regulations is not a novel idea but will be found in virtually all institutions of higher learning.

Student handbooks and bulletins form the basis for most contractual litigation between students and colleges. In addition, the college student contract can include statements found in the application, brochures, syllabi, other publications, and even oral statements made by faculty and administrators. As long as the statements are specific enough to enforce, courts will treat them as promises and enforce them. Where untruthful statements are made and students rely on them to their detriment, the students can also have claims for misrepresentation, fraud, and deceptive practices under state deceptive practices statutes (Mawdsley, 2004, p. 5).

Moreover, "Higher education administrators establish standards of conduct for students to ensure the safety of the campus community and to facilitate the pursuit of the institution's educational mission" (Rachel Heafitz, 2012, p. 562). The issue is not so much the kind of policies that an institution dictates. Rather, it is the level of consistency and clarity by which those policies are enforced. Among the colleges and universities in the CCCU this clarity is present long before a student matriculates. It is made present at the time of application. The applications include a consent to the philosophy of the school and the community standards, often called covenants, that students are expected to follow (Table 12).

Table 12. <i>Membership Requirements</i>	
Institution	Membership Requirements (Emphases Added)
Asbury University	Extensive requirements. Example: Issues of morality at Asbury University are seen as those which can be delineated as right, virtuous and just and are based on Biblical mandates . Discernment in these moral issues is important in our development as individual believers, and violations in this category often result in greater disciplinary consequences. Offenses of sexual immorality, abortion and drunkenness (alcohol or drug induced) are almost certain to result in immediate dismissal from the University. <i>Handbook for Community Life</i>
Bethel University	Bethel University is an educational community committed to integrating evangelical Christian faith with learning and life. As people created in the image of the covenant-making God, we covenant together to discover the mind of Christ and to become like Christ . We pursue this mission as people called by Jesus to live holy lives according to the values, expectations, and goals of the Kingdom of God. A crucial part of our mission is to develop whole and holy persons who will go into the world to serve others. http://www.bethel.edu/about/covenant Rigorous demands on application: " Have you accepted Jesus Christ as your personal Lord and Savior? " etc.
George Fox University	In accordance with Christ-centered convictions honoring the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit , the George Fox University community expects its student to follow a lifestyle that excludes gambling, the use or possession of nonmedicinal drugs, alcohol, tobacco, obscene or pornographic articles or literature, and forbids immoral sexual behavior. <i>Application for Admission</i>

Table 12 Cont.	
Gordon College	<p>Gordon College strives to maintain its identity as a Christian college community of students, faculty and staff. We expect that all members of the Gordon community: Call themselves Christian by virtue of the grace of God and their commitment to Jesus Christ. Recognize the Bible as the Word of God, fully authoritative in matters of faith and conduct. Have a sincere desire for that commitment to mature both in insight and behavior. About&Assumptions_and_Principles">http://www.gordon.edu/page.cfm?iPageID=1817&iCategoryID=31&About&Assumptions_and_Principles</p>
Greenville College	<p>Application asks for church membership.</p> <p>As long as you are a member of the Greenville College community, you are responsible for implementing these stated expectations. Your signature on the application attests that you understand and are willing to comply with the expectations and responsibilities. http://www.greenville.edu/about/foundational_documents/lifestyle_statement.dot</p>
Houghton College	<p>From Application: If I am admitted and decide to join the Houghton College community, I voluntarily covenant with God and with other members of our community to live with integrity and discernment according to the provisions of the Community Covenant.</p> <p>To become this kind of community, it is essential that we share a set of values, convictions and commitments that guides our life together. We honor our individual freedom in Christ, the rich diversity of our experiences and backgrounds, and the critical exploration and decision-making that is inherent in our personal development. At the same time, we embrace the vision, ideals and standards that bring us together and allow us to function as a unified Christ-centered academic community. This is a delicate balance, and our statement of community responsibilities describes the ways in which we will seek that creative balance. In joining this community, we individually and corporately covenant with God to live with integrity according to its provisions. http://www.houghton.edu/community-covenant/</p> <p>To achieve its ideals, Houghton College will sustain a scholarly community of believers who confess the Lordship of Jesus and who actively seek truth and recognize its foundation in Christ. - <i>Houghton College Catalog p. 6</i></p>

Table 12 Cont.	
Malone University	<p>Your signature on this agreement is an affirmation that you understand and accept the lifestyle expectations as stated in the student handbook, The Pendle Hill, and this Community Agreement, and that you agree to comply with them while you are a member of this community. If you have difficulty accepting campus regulations or cannot exert a positive influence on behalf of the University, you are encouraged not to enroll as a student.</p> <p>Agreement: I have read and understand the above Community Agreement outlining behavioral lifestyle expectations and upon my admittance to Malone, I agree to comply with them. I shall respect Malone's standards while enrolled as a student at the University. I agree that these standards involve positive citizenship, personal integrity, regard for the rights of others, and respect for the duly constituted leadership of Malone. <i>Application</i></p>
Messiah College	<p>I certify that I have read and am familiar with the above standards and expectations for student conduct at Messiah College. If admitted as a student, I agree to abide by the Messiah College Code of Conduct. I also certify that the information I have provided on this application is complete and accurate. Messiah College reserves the right to revoke admission or readmission in the event of an applicant's misrepresentation in any phase of the application process. <i>Application</i></p>
Seattle Pacific University	<p>Seattle Pacific University's standards for behavior are representative of the University's identity and are designed to provide a positive learning environment while promoting the intellectual, social, spiritual, and physical well-being of students. The expectations of the Seattle Pacific community, explained below, reflect the University's commitment to its Christian philosophy of education in the context of a Wesleyan heritage.</p> <p>http://spu.edu/acad/UGCatalog/20123/GeneralInfo/StudentLife/standards.asp#lifestyle</p>
Taylor University	<p>It is my desire to maintain the expectations of Taylor University. I have read the Life Together Covenant and accept these responsibilities as a participant in the Taylor community. To the best of my knowledge, the information provided in this application is complete and accurate. From Application</p> <p>A foundational support for the Life Together Covenant is the Taylor University Statement of Faith. The Statement of Faith affirms that the Bible is the inspired and authoritative word of God, and it provides the essential teachings and principles for personal and community conduct. The Statement of Faith also affirms the presence of the Holy Spirit in every believer; God, through the Holy Spirit, places in every believer the inner resources and attributes to minister to others through supportive relationships. http://www.taylor.edu/LTC/</p>

Table 12 Cont.

Westmont College	<p>As an interdenominational Christian college, Westmont embraces, nurtures and challenges students' Christian faith as we seek to deepen the knowledge and understanding of what it means to be a follower of Jesus Christ. Please tell us why you seek this type of experience and what it means to you.</p> <p>The Westmont community chooses freely and willingly to impose upon itself rules for behavior which serve both the long range interests of the institution and the immediate good of its individual members. While we do not view these expectations as an index to maturity in Christ, we do regard violations as a serious breach of integrity within the community because each member has voluntarily chosen to associate with it and to accept its standards. <i>Application for Admissions</i></p>
Wheaton College	<p>"I affirm by my signature below that I have carefully read Wheaton's Community Covenant, that this covenant expresses my own Christian convictions, aspirations and commitments, and that, if I am accepted and subsequently enroll as a student at Wheaton College, I will gladly join in fulfilling its responsibilities."</p> <p>Essay One: In 500 words, share your personal story of faith in Jesus Christ and how your experiences over the past two to three years have been formative in growing your relationship with Him as your Savior and Lord.</p> <p>A recommendation from a pastor, youth pastor, former pastor, Bible study leader, Christian school teacher, church official, or other mature Christian is required. This person should be a mature Christian adult who knows you well and has had opportunity to observe your spiritual life. <i>From Application</i></p>

The codes of conduct, community covenants, and other regulations these institutions have developed to shape their communities and cultures are developed to continue to protect their institutional identity and are coupled with a sincere interest in the development of evangelical Christians to be leaders in the world with a solid moral and ethical Christian foundation. To address the future research suggested of one study of CCCU mission statements (Firmin & Gilson, 2010), pursuing these documents and social behavior expectations within the culture of the institution reveal how the mission, public relevance, and public rhetoric are actually enacted in measurable behaviors from students and faculty as well as through educational outcomes. What becomes very clear is that faith in Jesus Christ, an understanding of the bible as

authoritative and inerrant or infallible, and growth in Christian faith are essential not only for one to be successful at these institutions, but are in fact required from the moment the application process begins. By investing specific language dedicated to evangelical Christianity in the statements above, these institutions resist secularization in order to offer students an education grounded in a faith in Jesus Christ.

Academic Freedom

However much these institutions create a clear environment for students to develop and learn within a decidedly Christian environment, what are the strictures for faculty? These documents make no clear distinction between faculty, administration, and students but more often than not employ the term “covenant” to describe the kind of theologically informed political relationship that shapes the institutional community. These are community agreements that hold all members of the institution in mutual accountability for their behaviors and action to ensure that the mission, goals, and expectation of the community are held together.

The faculty member is not simply a teacher or a scholar but a spiritual leader on the campus at CCCU institutions. George Fox University gives a clear example by saying that the educational program is taught through the “guidance of devoted Christian scholars.” Faculty are therefore expected to be Christian and not only adhere to, but model the behaviors expected among the students. The question is how these strictures work within the guidelines of academic freedom. For this we recall the narrative at the beginning of this chapter regarding the dismissal of the Catholic professor from Wheaton. Is this a fair treatment of academic freedom for faculty who do not uphold to the letter the faith commitments of an organization?

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has been a leading organization to protect the academic freedom of university professors and in doing so, has passed

numerous resolutions in its history that describe the content of this freedom. The 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure bases the notion of academic freedom on the common good which “depends upon the free search for truth and its free exposition” (AAUP, 1940). To support this end, academic freedom is described in three points. In research, faculty “are entitled to full freedom in research and the publication of the results” (AAUP, 1940). For teaching, the qualifications are that the content of the class is related to the subject. Moreover, “limitations of academic freedom because of religious or other aims of the institution should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the appointment” (AAUP, 1940). This has hence become known as “the limitations clause” in subsequent publications and interpretations.

Clarifications of this statement follow including the 1964 “Committee A Statement on Extramural Utterances” (AAUP, 1940). Here faculty cannot be dismissed on the grounds that utterances or expressions as a citizen cannot be grounds for dismissal unless linked to negligence or unfitness in their position. Finally, this has been linked to the First Amendment (*Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 1967).

These statements and qualifications are not limited to the AAUP. The American Council on Education (ACE) has produced statements on academic freedom and the rights and responsibilities of colleges and universities for supporting it. However, they add and clarify a qualification on how the policy can be interpreted. “Individual campuses must give meaning and definition to these concepts within the context of disciplinary standards and institutional mission” (ACE, 2005). While academic freedom is in itself a universal principle for how academic institutions will draft their policies, the conditions in which this freedom exists and as defined in ACE terms, ought to be decided according to the mission of the academic institution. Thus, it can be said that it is a universal principal for faculty in higher education, yet locally

applied. It is in between these two ways of defining and applying the principle for institutional policy that problems and conflicts emerge. Where there is heterogeneity of missions according to a diversity of religious traditions supporting the religiously affiliated colleges and universities, it provides a fertile ground for conflicts to emerge.

There is finally constitutional justification for the appropriateness of such limitation in the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* 703(e)2. This legislation reads as follows:

“(I)t shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion” (“Civil Rights Act,” 1964).

Hiring based on religious-affiliation for a religiously-affiliated college or university is thus a protected right. Legally, in the case with Wheaton College versus Hochschild that began this essay, it is a protected right to hire and/or dismiss an employee of the institution who does not meet the religious limitations and requirements of that institution. The issue for the AAUP is one of clarity that the institution to its prospective employees diligently communicates these limitations and requirements.

These official statements raise a series of questions for institutions that attempt to maintain their distinctiveness in terms of their religious orthodoxy. While this qualification does not seem to be in question with the practice of teaching, at least according to the above

documentation, there remains a question with one's religious affiliation outside of their profession and the qualifications an institution can place on the academic freedom of the faculty, particularly in the case of a speech act external to the institution. The incident from Wheaton College raises this issue quite directly since it was assumed that the faculty who was dismissed from his post would not be able to uphold the evangelical mission of the college based on the primacy of the Catholic Magisterium in the arena of biblical interpretation and revelation. The counter argument was that, as Hochschild was a professor of medieval and classical theology, the college would be hard-pressed to find a qualified evangelical to fill the post since most scholars in the field are Catholic. Moreover, Hochschild was well aware of what his conversion would mean based on what he agreed to uphold as a member of the Wheaton faculty.

In sum, the application of qualifications to academic freedom seems best when controlled locally and based on clearly stated limitations and responsibilities along with rights of faculty for not only religiously-affiliated institutions, but also all institutions of higher learning. That one set of these institutions takes as its premise to construct certain limitations rooted in religious conviction is not a violation of academic freedom if agreed upon at the time of appointment or employment. This clarifies the issue of the rights and responsibilities of faculty in general and the universal application of academic freedom within clearly defined bounds to avoid contention over content of teaching and research and ethical conduct during a faculty member's employment at the institution in particular.

A problem arises when faculty are held accountable to policy that was never clearly articulated under the contract to which they were beholden at the time of the appointment. Whether such policy is religious in nature or not seems to be irrelevant. As far as faculty policy for hiring, promotion, and dismissal is concerned, we must therefore conclude that religion is not

the issue. The real issue at the core of the debate is uneven and poorly articulated rights and responsibilities to which the employee is beholden which theological commitments can indeed complicate.

The Sectarian Response

Reading through the evidence of these thirteen institutions it is clear that they have inherited a tradition that began with the intentionally sectarian Bible colleges that sought a safe haven from the growth of secularization in the wider culture. They also give direct statements that peak to secularization and secularism not only in their core documents of mission, faith, values, etc. but in other sources such as conferences, lectures, articles and so forth.

Table 13.

Sectarian Responses of CCCU Members

Institution	Sectarian Response
Asbury University	But few, if any, of that day, of the church colleges, put the Bible in the curriculum and emphasized the fundamental doctrines and experiences of Christianity. The objective of Asbury College, from its beginning, in connection with a thorough college course of study, has been to get sinners converted, and believers sanctified, and the student body established in the experience and doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. http://www.asbury.edu/about-us/university-profile/from-founder

Table 13 Cont.

Bethel University	<p>They had resisted the leadership of Lutheran Church preachers in order to seek the truths of the Bible for themselves. These early pioneers sailed from Sweden with a deep distrust of ecclesiastical and secular authority. http://www.bethel.edu/bgc-archives/leaders/bgc/</p> <p>(A student) believes coming from the "Bethel bubble" equipped her well for the secular academic environment she found on board. While enrolled in the Semester at Sea program she had many occasions to share her faith with fellow travelers. Lindberg came back with a new appreciation for the Christian environment Bethel offers and the opportunity it provides for learning more about her faith. http://www.bethel.edu/publications-archive/focus/past-issues/spring-2003/atsea</p>
Messiah College	<p>Why would Messiah College want to invite secular performers to campus? Both Christian and secular performers are selected for their ability to stimulate constructive thought, communicate, deepen understanding, and sharpen critical judgment in ways that will help achieve our mission of maturing young people in their intellect, character and Christian faith. When they leave Messiah, students need to know how to interact with their culture, what to do when they're faced with issues they disagree with, and how to be salt and light in a complex world that won't necessarily reflect their own Christian world view. http://www.messiah.edu/offices/student_affairs/pop_culture/qa.html</p>

Messiah College Cont.	<p>The general education requirement for Ethics, Worldviews, Pluralism and Science Tech and the World, integrates a Christian perspective in the course content. As a result, these requirements are satisfied only when taken at Messiah College or a comparable Christian college or university. Similar courses taught at secular institutions, public and private, will not fulfill the general education requirement.</p> <p>http://www.messiah.edu/academics/epicenter/Database.html</p> <p>Faithful, effective Christian education transforms people to see the world from God's perspective. In fact, the abandonment of this purpose, intentional or otherwise, explains why so many historically-Christian schools are now indistinguishable from their secular counterparts, and it further explains why even some schools that do retain Jesus in their mission statement then crowd-out Jesus from their curriculum.</p> <p>http://www.messiah.edu/departments/business/distinctives/</p>
Taylor University	<p>How can I be prepared for the secular world in business and law (for example) if I study philosophy at Taylor?</p> <p>http://www.taylor.edu/academics/undergraduate/schools/school-of-liberal-arts/philosophy/why-taylor.shtml</p> <p>It is pivotal that today's Christian business professional be able to defend their beliefs within our secular and pluralistic society.</p> <p>http://www.taylor.edu/academics/undergraduate/schools/school-of-business/business/why-taylor.shtml</p>

Taylor University Cont.	Taylor University's historian Dr. William Ringenberg noted, "The intellectual revolution at the turn of the century cracked the spiritual foundations of major universities" in America by challenging the role of the Christian worldview. "This, coupled with the dehumanizing of education" and the unrest caused by "the inability of secular education to guide students in their quest for meaning" helped to further shape, strengthen and define Taylor's Christian educational mission. For 165 years, Taylor has been faithful to that mission. Catalog p. 7
Trinity International University-Illinois	The Christian schools of the past—including the great American universities of Princeton, Yale, and Harvard—are now largely or entirely secular institutions, built not on a vision of the glory of God but as temples to the wisdom of this world . As Malik puts it, they have "swerved" from their grounding in Jesus Christ. Our task, if we are to be salt in the world of our day, is to build institutions where we can think like Christians and learn to live as Christians in a culture in which both have become equally hard. Catalog p. 6
Westmont College	We believe that the skills we seek to foster in all our students will help you both reject life-abusing patterns present in secular culture and defy stereotypes and social, political and spiritual predictability. In this way, your own individuality as a Christian involved in the world will emerge as a unique tool for furthering Christ's kingdom. http://www.westmont.edu/_offices/orientation/transitions/what-westmont-wants.html

Westmont College Cont.	<p>The God of the Bible obliterates the division between the sacred and the secular by doing away with the secular altogether. The whole creation is sacred because the whole creation is God's — in him and from him and through him and to him (Romans 11:36). "The world is charged with the grandeur of God," wrote the priest-poet Gerard Manley Hopkins. "It will flame out like shining from shook foil." http://www.westmont.edu/_student_life/student_handbook/chapel.html</p> <p>Students will be experienced at reconciling Christian and secular scientific world views. They will be knowledgeable in the area of the interface between Christian faith and science. They will have a perspective that integrates their scientific and theological beliefs into a seamless whole. http://www.westmont.edu/_academics/departments/chemistry/goals.html</p>
Wheaton College	<p>Students with good theological training will know how to evaluate critically their own personal theological leaning, be aware and respectful of other theological positions, and be able to distinguish those values that are distinctly Christian from those that the secular world espouses. http://www.wheaton.edu/Academics/Departments/Theology/Undergraduate-Studies</p>

The theological view that these institutions present is that between the sacred and profane. The ideas of a sacred space in a church and the function of the interior of the church as a place devoted to the worship of God and the Christian college become intimately intertwined as these statements illustrate. There is a clear "us and them" mentality. Recall in the discussion above that the mission profiles of these institutions is characterized by a missionary and evangelical impulse designed to reconcile, restore, and redeem the world "outside" the "bubble" as the student in Table 13 described it. The sectarian response is therefore a commitment to an understanding of the Christian college as a sacred space to develop Christian youth into adults

who can take their knowledge of the Christian beliefs into the world in order to reconcile it to God. The CCCU college thus has a distinct missionary and evangelistic character that distinguishes it from other institutions of higher education including other religious colleges and universities with a few exceptions such as Liberty University, Oral Roberts University, and Bob Jones University. Without a perceived threat of secularization nipping at the heels this sectarian response would lose momentum because one of its primary reasons for being evangelistic would not be present.

Conclusion

This sample of Christian colleges and universities operates in a dualistic perspective of the world that holds the sacred reality they espouse and their understanding of secularism in dramatic tension. The language makes no ambiguities that not only are they preparing students to be educated with a specific worldview; they do so in order that their students will emerge with evangelistic intent. However, present also is a need to reconcile the two worldviews. This is where the tension from the sectarian institution arises.

The question is how these institutions can both maintain their clear mission of developing a Christian worldview in their development of students to be those who enter the secular world and then transform it. As Niebuhr argued the transition from sect to denomination places these institutions in a precarious position. As students move up the social ladder in terms of wealth and status, they may become more secular in their worldview over time. This has yet to be uncovered. Whether maintaining the dualistic, two-sphere approach in religious mission will sustain itself over time under increased pressure from a society that is increasingly geared to more practically based education to contribute to secular economic concerns is perhaps a concern of which these institutions should be wary.

The response that by the analysis of the texts above shows is that they will anchor their identity even more firmly in their specific understandings of Christianity and the purpose these convictions serve for the wider populace. Moreover, what others think of this is a challenge but no reason to change or “water down” their convictions. This is very much seen as a spiritual battle between the forces of good and evil and when couched in language of life and death, the mission is well beyond educating successful students but giving these students the task to bring people out of the clutches of sin and death into the life only their understanding of Christianity can offer. The question before these institutions is that if the tension between sacred and secular continues on the path to strengthen the tension between the secular and the sectarian is if there is a danger that it will snap. The mission of the Christian college can be undermined if it is so insular to the secular culture it has lost ground so much that its mission will have little to no effect. The danger is that the missionary endeavor will compromise the academic mission of the Christian institution.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In this dissertation we have engaged in a thorough critique and examination of texts in the history of higher education and with the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities' founding 13 members that form the Christian College Coalition. Through the lens of secularization theory and sectarianism two things are apparent: 1) in the study of the history of higher education religion is taking a lesser and lesser role based on the content of the course syllabi sampled; 2) there is a continued and even strengthening response to secularization among a growing group of institutions that have assumed a consistent, evangelical worldview. What can we learn from this?

For more secular institutions it is important to give the continued influence of religion a fair treatment not just among students as a function of student affairs but in the way that the study of higher education is taught. Understandably each curriculum has a limited amount of credits and possible course offerings. Even more, there is a limited amount of space that one course in the history of higher education can cover. As the study of higher education contains multiple historical narratives that run through its development not all can be covered in one course except on a relatively shallow level. The question to ask is if the study of higher education is going deep enough in the study of history to tease out all of the nuances that are packed in the growing volume of the ASHE History reader.

Adding to the dilemma of what to teach in the history of higher education is the growth of materials that have not been covered. Authors such as Ringenberg, Marsden, Hart, Reuben, and others who are more specific in the treatment of religion in the history of higher education are rarely if ever included in the required or suggested readings. Are these texts more valuable than a bibliographic entry or a footnote? If we are to treat religion in higher education we need to

consider looking at these texts more seriously in order to round out the curriculum.

An area that would help to advance this history of higher education in this regard is the development of more institutional histories from the Christian colleges and universities that have been mentioned in this dissertation. If those have been written perhaps they bear the responsibility of making them available to a wider academic audience. As discussed above, the two-sphere approach that ratchets up the tension between secular and sectarian worldviews may be so protective of maintaining the biblical and evangelistic ethos and mission that it is insulated from the larger academic community in the study of higher education. Just as religious institutions that are inviting more secular influences into their walls in order to gain wider legitimacy and a greater market influence in their own academic and cultural openness, sectarian institutions should be open at the very least to wider academic scrutiny not just by scholars of religion, but also by scholars of education.

Conducting ethnographies is one way to get at the inner working of these institutions among others and an area that should merit further consideration. Two recent books have been published that are in the ballpark of ethnographies but are more accurately described as embedded journalism. Hanna Rosin (2007) went inside the walls of Patrick Henry College while Brown student Kevin Roose (2009) spent a semester studying at Liberty University. Both give rare inside views of these conservative institutions directed at a wider secular audience. However, if more scholars were given such access into these institutions with the same kind of access perhaps we would have a more solid contribution of Christian higher education into the scholarship of higher education. Institutions would have to open up their doors for secular access. This is a risk to be sure, but would help expand the breadth of the history of higher education and increase the representation of institutional diversity in the field.

How should evangelical and other religiously-affiliated institutions of higher education handle the overlapping and often contradictory pressures of theological stability, market legitimacy, standardization, utility, social relevance, and fiscal health when there are enough pressures for secularization not based on lack of religion, but on a changing religious landscape? The question that Joeckel & Chesnes ask is of utmost importance. One posture to take is to give up and let secularization run its course. The other option is to raise the walls of sectarianism even higher starting with stricter orthodoxy and membership requirements. Achieving balance is likely the healthiest place to be and has been a hallmark of many of these colleges and universities. With solid enrollment figures and a strong and supportive network it is easy to become complacent. The realities of how difficult this balance will be to maintain will come in those times where money and resources are lessened by wider concerns in society.

Diversity implies that institutions have to maintain boundaries in their mission in order to maintain an identity distinct from other colleges and universities. The line to tread is between diversity inside the walls of the evangelical college or university inviting the risk of secularization and raising the sectarian walls so high that fresh thinking can neither get in nor maintain enough intelligibility and coherence for the world outside to care.

Research Design

Looking at what I have completed here, what I have done is 1) discuss the history of the study of secularization; 2) analyze religion in history texts; 3) analyze sectarian language; 4) map these to each other to reveal a consistent pattern of discourse that put secular and sectarian institutions in tension. These institutions rely on one another to maintain distinctiveness with regard to religion.

In retrospect, another approach would have been to get at the results more thoroughly by looking at the texts from a more hermeneutic perspective. Using other methods such as narrative criticism, analysis of author and audience, and more thorough analysis of the purposes behind each of the history texts would have given a more solid understanding of why the texts read as they do. What I have presented here is how the texts read with a thinner discussion of why they read this way. While some consideration has been given, a more incisive discussion would have perhaps have been more useful and stimulating. Critical Discourse Analysis may not be the best tool to use for text analysis given both its slippery philosophical nature in academic study. Historical critical tools such as these in historical criticism and using some of these may have yielded different or even more convincing results.

Future Research

The histories analyzed in this dissertation follow a rather conventional style. They segment the narrative of higher education into different eras and then segment those eras into specific topics. Using this method one can follow the development of curriculum through each era without having to read each chapter. In this manner the text offer a sort of “choose your own adventure” option to study history. The ASHE Reader follows the same sort of segmentation into different eras and topics, but with less cohesion based on its nature and content – a collection of contributions from different authors that is consistently revised to change with the times and to keep current with the recent scholarship in the field.

Perhaps a different way of telling the narrative of higher education can be written. Rather than distill the narrative into specific silos of curriculum, administration, faculty, etc. what would a more holistic account look like? People don’t experience the world in silos but have the mental ability and even stress to make connections, manage environments, create order, and

instinctively turn distinct experiences into a complete whole. While academics need to use categories in order to create manageable limits, what does the story look like from the experience of the observer who would be able to see time unfold from outside of the set of human activity?

This does not mean jettisoning the categories listed above among others no listed. What it means is reorganizing history into a different configuration. Rather than start with a general description of an era and the move into specific categories, this begins with the common experience of the actors in the drama that can move out from that center. What does it mean to experience college as a student, professor, administrator, staff member? Great narratives are told by developing great characters. While history often focuses on facts to remain objective, it also has a tendency to eschew the fundamental experience people have of reality as a whole. Perhaps we are hesitant to tell history this way because it sounds too subjective. However, history is a story and stories need to be told that look at events as one experience that many people have at the same time. If religion and spirituality have been important to students, administrators, and faculty alike, then such a history would include religion and spirituality as elements of one story that ties the experience of these actors together.

It is of interest to analyze how CCCU institutions market themselves. The founder of the CCCU was involved with *Christianity Today* (Henry, 1956) which is a popular evangelical magazine. The readership is the largest of any Christian publication and is clear about its audience of evangelical Christianity. The question to raise is where these institutions are marketing themselves and if this effort has skewed enrollment numbers and budget figures. The reasoning is that if they are pulling from a specific student niche at a faster rate that these students might be enrolling at other institutions, the rate may appear much higher than it actually is. This raises the question of diversity within these institutions.

Studies continue to show that incoming students are more likely to be accepting of non-heteronormative identities, lifestyles, and practices. For evangelical institutions this may have a ripple effect. Evidence is already pointing in this direction as mainline denominations continue to make moves for full affirmation of gay and lesbian church members and congregational leaders including those ordained to administer word and sacrament. This is true at the small, Christian institution Patrick Henry College. While not a CCCU member and a newly formed institution, Patrick Henry follows the same framework as the above institutions and in many respects even more conservative. However, even there, gay and lesbian students are coming out of the closet and demanding that the institution affirm them at the risk of expulsion (Baratko, 2012).

Inclusiveness and diversity are the norm for students entering college and rigid normativity is an increasingly foreign and strange idea to them. There are no signs that this progression will slow down as religious and moral pluralism continue to expand among younger generations. Sectarian institutions will have to deal with the precarious position of building higher walls to protect the sacred sphere they inhabit or opening them a little to invite a more diverse student body inside. If part of their mission is to transform the lives of students it would make sense to transform students who are not yet partakers of the Christian evangelical worldview by letting them pass through the archway of the orthodoxy test before they even apply. While this is a risk to maintaining institutional identity, CCCU institutions will have to heed that risk to stabilize their dramatic enrollment numbers should this be a bubble and not a lasting trend. Planning now rather than reacting later may just save the integrity of these academic communities.

THE STRAINED PARTNERSHIP

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Appendix A: Course Syllabi Analyzed

Institution	Term	Year	Course Title	Course Number	Instructor	URL
Bowling Green	FA	2011	Foundations of Higher Education	HIED 7105	Dafina Lazarus Stewart	www.bgsu.edu/downloads/edhd/file58503.pdf
Brown University	FA	2012	American Higher Education in Historical Context	EDUC 1730	Luther Spoehr	http://www.brown.edu/Courses/uploads/EDUC%3A1730%3A2012-Fall%3AS01.pdf
Claremont Graduate University	FA	2005	Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Higher Education	EDUC 459	Jack Schuster	http://www.cgu.edu/MSDocs/Syllabus%20Ed%20459-FL%2707.doc
George Mason	FA	2011	History of Higher Education in the United States	CTCH 621	Mary Frances Forcier	http://www.gmu.edu/schools/chss/dacce/documents/CTCH621Fall2011.pdf
George Washington University	FA	2008	Higher Education in the United States	EDUC 283	Jaqueline Skinner	No longer available online.
Iowa State	SPR	2011	Higher Education in the United States	HGED 504	Susana Muñoz	http://www.hs.iastate.edu/cwsyllabi/2011Spring/ELPS//HGED504.pdf
Iowa State	SU	2009	Higher Education in the United States	HE 504	John Schuh	http://www.elps.hs.iastate.edu/documents/highered/HGED504_2009_syllabus.pdf

Loyola	FA	2011	American Higher Education	ELPS 427	Terry E. Williams	http://www.luc.edu/education/syllabi/Fall%2011/ELPS/elps427-williams-1116.pdf
Michigan State	SPR	2006	Foundations of Postsecondary Education	EAD 870	Kristen Renn	https://www.msu.edu/~guerre21/index/coursework_files/EAD%20870-1.doc
New York University	FA	2009	Foundations of Higher Education	E98.2090	Ann Marcus	http://wagner.nyu.edu/courses/nonwagsyllabi/SOED-GE.2090.pdf
Old Dominion University	SU	2010	History of Higher Education in the United States	HIED 793/893	Keith Moore	http://education.odu.edu/efl/academics/highered/higher_ed_syllabi2011Sp/Moore%20HIED%20793.pdf
Old Dominion University	SU	2005	The History of Higher Education in the United States	HIED 793/893	Dennis E. Gregory	http://education.odu.edu/efl/docs/syllabus/HIED793_893.pdf
Oregon State	WIN	20XX	History of Higher Education	AHE 638	Shelley Dubkin-Lee	https://secure.oregonstate.edu/ap/cps/documents/view/100994
Penn State	FA	2011	The History of American Higher Education	HE 554	Roger Geiger	http://www.ed.psu.edu/educ/eps/higher-education/Courses/History%20Syllabus/view
Stanford	WIN	2012	History of Higher Education in the U.S.	Educ. 265/165, Hist 158C	David Labaree	http://www.stanford.edu/~dlabaree/courses/265-165.pdf
Texas A&M	SU	2012	History of Higher Education in the United States	HIED 627	Derek Lester	http://web.tamu-commerce.edu/academics/cvSyllabi/syllabi/201240/40381.pdf

University of Florida	FA	2011	American Higher Education	EDH 6066	Pedro Villarreal	http://education.ufl.edu/villarreal/files/2011/10/EDH-6066-American-Higher-Education-Villarreal.pdf
University of Illinois	FA	2006	Foundations of Higher Education	EOL 571	Tim Cain	http://education.illinois.edu/eol/courses/documents/EOL571.pdf
University of Kansas		2010	Higher Education in the United States	ELPS 882	John Rury	http://soe.ku.edu/elps/academics/highered/mse/docs/syllabi/ELPS882_0.pdf
University of Maryland	FA	2005	History of Higher Education in the United States	EDPL 657	John B. Williams	http://www.education.umd.edu/EDPL/courses/EDPL657Williams.pdf
University of Maryland	SPR	2010	History of American Higher Education	EDHI 657	KerryAnn O'Meara	http://www.education.umd.edu/EDHI/academics/CourseSyllabi/Updated%20Feb%202010/EDHI%20657%20-%20History%20of%20American%20Higher%20Education.doc
University of Michigan			Introduction to Higher Education	EDUC 561	Larry Rowley	http://www.soe.umich.edu/files/EDUC_561_rowley_F.pdf
University of Missouri	FA	2010	History of Higher and Continuing Education in the United States	ELPA 9449	Rozana Carducci	http://bengal.missouri.edu/~carduccir/ELPA%209449%20Syllabus%20Fall%202010%20Final.pdf
University of Missouri-Kansas City	FA	1999	History of American Higher Education		J. Douglas Toma	http://www.higher-ed.org/syllabi/toma4.htm

University of Pennsylvania	FA	2011	History of American Higher Education	EDUC 640	Marybeth Gasman	https://docs.google.com/document/d/1WP97f8y5tLkH4giZiT1miOqZmKW3UDw21U2bH5pAAbk/edit?hl=en
University of Texas at Austin	FA	2008	History of Higher Education	EDA 391	Richard Reddick	http://edadmin.edb.utexas.edu/current/courses/eda391s-reddick.pdf
University of Washington	FA		History of American Higher Education		Ed Taylor	http://www.higher-ed.org/syllabi/taylor.htm
USC	FA	2004	Foundations of Higher Education	EDUC 500	Adrianna Kezar	http://www.usc.edu/dept/chepa/kezar/documents/foundationsofHigherEd.pdf
Vanderbilt	FA	2007	Nature and Function of Higher Education	3800	William Doyle	http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lpo/doyle/lpo3800f07.pdf

Appendix B: Texts Analyzed from Veysey

Factor	Page	Pos/Neg	Text
Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	26	N	"Insofar as the college furnished the mind as well as sharpened it, it could do so with a firm sense of propriety born of reverence."; "The self-assurance of this kind of Christianity permitted intolerance."
Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	39	N	"What the orthodox college president would not concede, in effect, was that a minister was simply one kind of careerist and an engineer another."
Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	204	N	"if the Bible were taught in colleges, it must be as an ordinary literary document, subject to the usual kind of scholarly analysis." "(religion) was 'not so much of an act as a mood,' and it should continue because it promoted morality."
Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	2	N	Intellectual leadership yearning for equality with Europe - "This leadership, separating itself from orthodox evangelical piety and continuing to reject Jacksonian vulgarity, became receptive to European scientific and educational developments which might offer a counterweight to the cruder tendencies manifested in the surrounding society."
Competition	10-11	N	"unpromising ways of the past", older ways firmly identified in everyone's mind with religious piety", "primary concern over educational rather than religious problems."
Scientific Challenge	44	N	"intransigence, panic, or self-deceptive compromise in an effort to gain leverage"
Scientific Challenge	81	N	"Men of more outstanding intellect were likely to be attracted, instead, to one of the clearer and more substantive conceptions of what a university should be: research or liberal culture."
Scientific Challenge	150	N	"research soon came to possess the emotional characteristics of a religion." "sacrilege" of worldly spirit undermining research.
Scientific Challenge	157	N	Seminar as cult - "The seminars of Stanley Hall, Frederick Johnson Turner, William Graham Sumner, and others launched what almost constituted a series of cults."
Scientific Challenge	158	N	"A peculiar mood of zealotry gripped many would-be investigators in the eighties and nineties."

Scientific Challenge	385	N	"Religious motives of this (abstract theological grounds to limit freedom of professorial speech) sort had become obsolete by the nineties, save at the rural fringes of the academic community."
Scientific Challenge	157 -158	N	"In general, the demand for profound emotional experience in the context of academic investigation exceed the supply."
Intellectual Freedom	163	N	"Gilman's religious views...limit his conception of academic freedom"
Intellectual Freedom	164	N	"protective façade"
Pluralism/ Differentiation	237	N	"these institutions now attempted to maintain a rival tradition of their own, based on the supposed advantages of a rural environment, a wholesome moral and religious spirit, small numbers, the patriotic rejection of European influences, and the absence of any unsettling graduate work."; "(Denominational colleges) began clinging precariously to existence by lowering their standards.."
Indifference	56	N	"Piety sometimes starkly survived,"
Indifference	227	N	"Amherst students had suddenly grown more worldly-wise; all at once the old religious problems seemed not to interest them any more,"
Indifference	280	N	"Harvard led the way toward secularization; there only one student in five was accounted a professing Christian in the Evangelical sense in 1878., whereas at Princeton the estimate ran three-fifths and at Amherst four-fifths.
Sectarianism	15	N	"Religious leaders often resented the trend toward secularization augured by the university."
Sectarianism	25	N	"More important in terms of the challenges which now began to appear, orthodoxy demanded an acceptance of Biblical authority, including the accounts of miracles."
Sectarianism	26	N	"Insofar as the college furnished the mind as well as sharpened it, it could do so with a firm sense of propriety born of reverence."; "The self-assurance of this kind of Christianity permitted intolerance."
Sectarianism	32	N	"Believing that the Christian religion, as they knew it, was true, these academic leaders could do nothing but resist encroachments upon it and upon the educational structure which they had linked to its defense."
Sectarianism	39	N	"What the orthodox college president would not concede, in effect, was that a minister was simply one kind of careerist and an engineer another."
Sectarianism	44	N	"intransigence, panic, or self-deceptive compromise in an effort to gain leverage"

Sectarianism	49	N	"The tactic of seeking to control the composition of the faculty was one principal means by which pious academicians sought to stave off an intellectual revolution."
Sectarianism	50	N	"Failure to adopt a thoroughly ruthless policy" "protective isolation"
Sectarianism	200	N	"Like the earlier theologians, these men (activists for liberal culture) implied that science must stick to its subordinate place."
Sectarianism	374	N	"denominationalism had become a stigma" "respectability that now came with tolerance" - Chicago had a religious test for new faculty.
Sectarianism	385	N	"Religious motives of this (abstract theological grounds to limit freedom of professorial speech) sort had become obsolete by the nineties, save at the rural fringes of the academic community."
Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	203	Neut.	"religion was no longer the unavoidable central focus for their (proponents of culture) academic outlook."
Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	338	Neut.	"Few new ideas have been advanced on the purpose of higher education since the 1900, and there have also been few deviations in its basic pattern of organization." - mentions junior and community colleges in a footnote.
Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	340	Neut.	"To succeed in building a major university, one now had to conform to the standard structural pattern in all basic respects - no matter how one might trumpet one's few particular embellishments."
Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	80	Neut.	"And even if their (utilitarian academic reformers) religion had become largely ethical in content, it retained pervasive sentimental ties with the orthodox past."
Public Service	80	Neut.	"And even if their (utilitarian academic reformers) religion had become largely ethical in content, it retained pervasive sentimental ties with the orthodox past."
Sectarianism	373	Neut.	Chicago - "Yet it was to be expected that in certain respects the religious tie would inspire a more conservative atmosphere than was persistent at either Cornell or Johns Hopkins." -
Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	382	P	"The university President, like the minister of one of the forward-looking Protestant denominations, should bring men together in a context of inspiration; he should not gratuitously antagonize them."

Appendix C: Texts Analyzed from Rudolph

Author	Factor	Page	Pos./Neg.	Text
Rudolph	Competition	277	N	"Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, among others, found that the small denominational colleges with their backward-glancing curricula could neither meet the needs of a growing population nor its preferences."
Rudolph	Competition	330	N	"President Eliot might proclaim that 'a university cannot be built upon a sect' - which was unquestionably true in Germany and Cambridge, but was it not worth trying in the United states, where all things were possible?" - What follows argues the answer is no.
Rudolph	Indifference	37	N	"Growing religious toleration and indifference were in part consequences of religious diversity and of religious competition; Americans could find no other way to accommodate such diversity except by acquiescing quietly in its existence."
Rudolph	Indifference	38	N	"(M)any Americans imbibed deism, flirted with atheism, adopted a firm, indifference to religion. In the 1790's the typical Harvard student was an atheist."
Rudolph	Indifference	358	N	"The colleges implored their young men to give themselves to God, but fewer and fewer of them did so. The colleges, in the end, could not argue persuasively or successfully against success which, unless chastened by some sense of philanthropy or modified by some rare sense of proportion, was likely to be quite the opposite of service."
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	28	N	"By proving that earthquakes were natural phenomena (John Winthrop) annoyed a few clergymen, but he also advanced learning and freedom from ignorance." - didn't prove in as much as Kant didn't prove the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755. He
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	28	N	"...how to reconcile man's newly emancipated reason and natural law with the old theology and Christian law. The torturous methods by which the problem was solved, in an age innocent of psychology and scarcely aquatinted with the complexities of the human constitution, cannot be made readily understandable."

Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	134	N	"The Yale report was a magnificent assertion of the humanist tradition and therefore eventually of unquestionable importance in liberating the American college from an excessive religious orientation."
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	141	N	"On the other hand, the propagation of dogma was not the purpose of literary societies. They, instead, respected reason, nurtured intellect, and subjected much that was established to scrutiny and debate."
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	303	N	"In the tradition of their colonial past, Harvard, not Yale or Princeton, led in this movement to unshackle the old institutions and to build within them a contagious respect for learning."
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	344	N	"How remote from the narrow sectarianism, how different from the suspicion of the intellect, how hostile to all the tendencies that held the little Methodist colleges in the grips of pettiness and ignorance, how remote from all this were the words that Methodism sponsored at Vanderbilt in 1875"
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	346	N	"Where universities most revealed their spirit was in the manner in which they accommodated science and secularism, freed themselves, for better or worse, from the religious orientation which had been so fundamental in the old colleges, embraced curiosity as a value, and enshrined intellect as the moving force of the university."
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	409	N	If there were losses in personal security and psychological certainty when the college professor underwent professionalization, there were also magnificent gains: the tremendous conquest of ignorance, the sheer increase in the number of Americans for whom intellectual pursuits brought pleasure, the harnessing of knowledge in the service of man."
Rudolph	Intellectual Freedom	410	N	Intellect rather than piety was their touchstone, and ignorance was their particular challenge.
Rudolph	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	419	N	"The clergyman president went into discard...because the world in which the colleges and universities now moved was more secular, less subject to religious influences."
Rudolph	Scientific Challenge	348	N	"(B)eginning to overshadow the chapel itself were the science laboratories and the libraries, as necessary to the new dispensation as chapel had been to the old."

Rudolph	Sectarianism	56	N	Competitive necessity - "the obligation of the denomination to its own people, and it indulged in the magnificent conceit of claiming that other sects were more sectarian than the Methodists. This conceit was a powerful justification, perhaps even a stimulant, of the college movement."
Rudolph	Sectarianism	73	N	"In the era of the colleges, however, denominational appetite was strong, and it must have been particularly annoying to watch Harvard moving into a virtual intellectual awakening <i>without</i> benefit of the great moving force behind all but a handful of American institutions of higher learning."
Rudolph	Sectarianism	74	N	"...these agencies of religious life helped to make certain that no one would confuse the American college with Harvard during the first half century or so after 1800."
Rudolph	Secularist Activism	117	N	"(Philip) Lindsley possessed one of the most exciting imaginations of any American college president His idea of what an American college or university was and could be, his commitment to intellectual excellence, his rejection of denominationalism as a secure basis for a great institution, his recognition of a need for broadly practical education, yet his devotion to the humanist tradition - all this set him apart. His unremitting, even heroic, struggle to develop a great university in Tennessee was probably impossible from the start."
Rudolph	Secularist Activism	147	N	"Evangelical religion could not cope with the fraternity movement..."
Rudolph	Secularist Activism	267	N	"And while these (nonsectarian, equal courses of study, encouragement of scientific studies) clear departures from traditional collegiate practice as much as said that Cornell was at war with the old-time American college, White returned to the oldest collegiate purpose of all for his final principle: the development of the individual in the fullest sense and the preparation of that individual for a useful role in society."
Rudolph	Secularist Activism	432	N	"Both the Carnegie Foundation and the General Education Board tried to weaken further and kill off the weaker denominational colleges, underestimating the vitality of these institutions which for decades defied all reason and now continued to refuse to die."

Rudolph	Secularist Activism	433	N	"The foundations, using money as a lever, became one of many agencies for bringing order into American higher education, for standardizing, for organizing the academic community along chosen, rational lines." - this included the severing of denominational ties.
Rudolph	Social Mobility	149	N	"As long as the American college remained under the influence of evangelical orthodoxy, as long as a religious orientation was both persistent and sincere, the colleges continued their preference for a brotherhood of professing Christians rather than a multiplicity of Greek brotherhoods."
Rudolph	Social Mobility	150	N	"The fraternities, then, were schools of success, institutions that prepared young men to take their place among men, not angels."
Rudolph	Social Mobility	173	N	"Although clergymen at first prevailed on the collegiate corporations, their usefulness in an increasingly secular United States was seriously questioned."
Rudolph	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	10	N	"(T) college was moving out from under the firm grasp of a monolithic theology into a world more receptive to theologic and philosophic diversity."
Rudolph	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	267	N	"And while these (nonsectarian, equal courses of study, encouragement of scientific studies) clear departures from traditional collegiate practice as much as said that Cornell was at war with the old-time American college, White returned to the oldest collegiate purpose of all for his final principle: the development of the individual in the fullest sense and the preparation of that individual for a useful role in society."
Rudolph	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	459	N	"The old religious purpose, for instance, was no longer secure in an atmosphere of increasing secularism; the new presidents and the new professors could not be counted on to seize every opportunity to do battle for God and sect against the onslaughts of science, relativism, materialism."
Rudolph	Competition	211	P	"(Dartmouth) unleashed an era of denominational college-founding by making clear that no exclusive relationship necessarily existed between a college corporation and the state that had chartered it, and that once chartered a college was beyond the control of the state."

Rudolph	Scientific Challenge	226	P	"The evangelical saw science as a useful tool in demonstrating the wondrous ways of God. Science, therefore, gained entry into the American college not as a course of vocational study but as the handmaiden of religion."
Rudolph	Scientific Challenge	347	P	"While Darwin and the implications of his theory for the whole fabric of moral certainty and divine authority would unsettle many campuses, there was also a significant effort to reconcile science and religion, either by ignoring the incompatibilities that scientific study and higher criticism now suggested or by discovering ways in which the two interests might be kept distinct."
Rudolph	Sectarianism	54	P	"(T)he churches looked forward to a new day when Christianity would prevail in the lives of men... The spirit of toleration that had characterized the colleges in the late colonial period and during the early years of the republic was now threatened by denominational ambition. The intellectual prospects of the American college were now jeopardized by a torrent of piety."
Rudolph	Sectarianism	70	P	"But (the denominations) could also find expression in more attractive motives, perhaps in the rather expansive and essentially humanitarian desire to Christianize the world or in a persistent effort to remind young college students of their obligations beyond self, to God and to society."

Appendix D: Texts Analyzed from the ASHE Reader (1997)

Author	Title	Page	Factor	Pos./Neg.	Text
Perkin	Overview of the History of Higher Education	15	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	N	most universities in eighteenth-century Europe were moribund, with idle professors feebly teaching a medieval curriculum without much relevance to modern life...
Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	250	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	N	"Nothing more seriously violated the canons of mental discipline than the charge that higher education should respond directly to the social and economic needs of the society."
Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	251	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	N	"Concerned with educating the whole man, advocates of mental discipline also necessarily addressed themselves to the development of character and the inculcation of Christian values, often fearing a student's mental development might outpace his moral growth."
Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	254	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	N	"the South lacked the basic orientation to the essentially non-theological frame of reference associated with the German-modeled graduate centers which were developing in other regions."
Cremin	"College"	66	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	N	"It demonstrated once more that a body of clergymen standing on prerogative and corporate rights could not prevail against lay representatives demanding that the college serve the interests of a secular society."
Church & Sedlak	"The Antebellum College and Academy"	146	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	N	"Some historians have seen the antebellum period as the nadir of higher education in which anti-intellectual evangelicals displaced qualified educators and the value of higher education became debased."

Perkin	Overview of the History of Higher Education	19	Social Mobility	N	In the United States women were confined to seminaries, mostly founded before 1820 and 1850...
Wechsler	"An Academic Gresham's Law: Group Repulsion as a Theme in American Higher Education	419	Social Mobility	N	"Perhaps the only time the poor but pious students attained any prestige at the institutions ostensibly founded for them occurred during the religious revivals, which occurred with less frequency as the century progressed."
Wechsler	"An Academic Gresham's Law: Group Repulsion as a Theme in American Higher Education	422	Social Mobility	N	"Into such a system, Jews had no access."
Anderson	"Training the Apostles of Liberal Culture: Black Higher Education, 1900-1935"	433	Social Mobility	N	"Black religious organizations owned so few of the total number of black colleges, however, that less than 15 percent of the total number of black college students were enrolled in institutions sponsored by those organizations."
Gordon	"From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920"	474	Social Mobility	N	"The diversity of denominational allegiances, the male-dominated hierarchy within evangelical Protestant churches, and the isolation of white women on farms and plantations kept antebellum southern white women from developing the bonds of womanhood, and thus the intimacy necessary for the creation of a separate women's culture."
Gordon	"From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920"	494	Social Mobility	N	"Formal denominational ties and required religious observances characterized southern women's colleges long after the Seven Sisters schools dropped such practices to identify themselves as secular institutions."

Olivas	"Indian, Chicano, and Puerto Rican Colleges: Status and Issues"	679	Social Mobility	N	"The historical development of higher education for Indians, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans can be characterized as a record of evangelism, majority dominance, paternalism, and neglect."
Wright	"For the Children of the Infidels?: American Indian Education in the Colonial Colleges"	74	Competition	N	"Also like their Virginia predecessors, the New England colonists - neglectful of their chartered mission - spent more effort seeking funds for Indian conversion than in actually spreading the Gospel."
Gordon	"From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920"	493	Competition	N	"having too many Jewish students lowered the social prestige of their institutions."
Levine	"Discrimination in College Admissions"	510	Competition	N	"these schools sought deliberately to become bastions of the Protestant upper middle class and to confine their student bodies to young men from socially desirable socioeconomic backgrounds."
Levine	"Discrimination in College Admissions"	510	Competition	N	"The object of these colleges' affection was the son of the WASP businessman or professional, the alleged twentieth-century spiritual heir to New England ministers' and farmer's sons."
Goodchild	"The Turning Point in American Jesuit Higher Education: The Standardization Controversy between the Jesuits and the North Central Assertion, 1915-1940"	537	Competition	N	"the NCA requirements for faculty professionalization forced Jesuit institutions to establish graduate and doctoral programs prematurely to obtain Catholics for their faculties."

Goodchild	"The Turning Point in American Jesuit Higher Education: The Standardization Controversy between the Jesuits and the North Central Assertion, 1915-1940"	546	Competition	N	"these developments led Jesuit university educators to distance themselves from the older Jesuit college model for the Society's apostolates, to eschew their European university mission with its professional studies orientation, and to adopt the modern American university mission with its research orientation."
Trow	"American Higher Education: Past, Present, Future"	575	Competition	N	"Malnutrition at the margin is still characteristic of a system of institutions influenced so heavily by market forces."
Cremin	"College"	61	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	N	"neither government by a religious group nor religious instruction was a possible alternative in a college intended to serve the interests of a religiously and ethnically heterogeneous society. Only a secular college with no religious ties would do."
Cremin	"College"	67	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	N	"A polarization of denominational and secular concerns in the 1780's gave rise to public colleges and universities which, in turn, provoked the proliferation of private or church-related colleges in the nineteenth century."
Ross	"The Development of the Social Sciences"	295	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	N	"Many of them came from family backgrounds in which the Protestant evangelical tradition had been a powerful influence. In part the failure to believe literally in Christianity any longer, or the failure to achieve a religious experience some evangelical sects demanded led them to pour their energy into the fervor for moral betterment."

Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti	"Overview of the Unrest Era"	736	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	N	"Protestant colleges were more likely to experience protest than were Catholic colleges, though the incidence of severe protest at the latter rose between 1968-1969 and 1970-1971, and violent incidents were proportionately more likely to occur."
Leslie	"The Age of the College"	338	Industry	N	"Evangelicalism and the Jacksonian spirit of the ante-bellum United States reduced the educational requirements for admission into the professions."
Sloan	"The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal"	100	Scientific Challenge	N	"American scientists in the nineteenth century almost unanimously took the position that science was a true handmaiden to theology." "The ultimate results, however, appear to have been beneficial neither to science nor to theology, and to have robbed both of a needed inner dynamic and self-direction."
Gruber	"Backdrop"	204	Scientific Challenge	N	"The challenge to the classical curriculum and the intellectual foundations on which it rested further was facilitated by an erosion of religious influence and an advancing secularism to which the impact of Darwinism contributed."
Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	255	Scientific Challenge	N	"The emergence of science was inhospitable to liberal Christian education, and the rapid multiplication of disciplines began to force major adjustments in higher education throughout the region."
Ross	"The Development of the Social Sciences"	293	Scientific Challenge	N	"It is clear, however, that the concatenation of declining religious authority, growing urban problems, and the prolonged depression and labor conflict of the 1870's was beginning to create a sense of crisis among some intellectuals."

Gruber	"Backdrop"	214	Secularist Activism	N	"A student of the new science of sociology has described 'the whole atmosphere of social science' between 1885 and 1915 as 'one of the struggle for legitimacy against adversaries.'"
Ross	"The Development of the Social Sciences"	292	Secularist Activism	N	"A number of men who has started in the older clerical or public milieus began to devote their full energies to teaching these subjects in the 1870's and to teaching them as independent subjects free from religious constraint."
Ross	"The Development of the Social Sciences"	296	Secularist Activism	N	"(T)he new experimental psychologists wanted to divorce themselves altogether from religion and metaphysics and to shift the ground on which moral and existential issues were to be solved."
Ross	"The Development of the Social Sciences"	300	Secularist Activism	N	"Their agreement to live and let live presupposed a conception of knowledge in which systematic principles were not grounded in metaphysical and religious principles, as they had been for many earlier theorists in the nineteenth century."
Trow	"American Higher Education: Past, Present, Future"	594	Secularist Activism	N	"A more controversial topic was religious studies. The Zook commission had not made reference to religious belief, and the Redbook explicitly rejected religion as a basis for infusing values or unity into undergraduate education."
Kerr	"From Truman to Johnson: <i>Ad Hoc</i> Policy Formulation in Higher Education"	629	Secularist Activism	N	"Despite several White House attempts to 'calm McDonald down,' he persisted in arguing that the presence of Zook and Brown on the Commission would ensure 'the domination of the private and sectarian point of view.'"
Kerr	"From Truman to Johnson: <i>Ad Hoc</i> Policy Formulation in Higher Education"	630	Secularist Activism	N	"Some members representing private and sectarian colleges recoiled at the prospect of limiting federal institutional aid to public colleges."

Cremin	"College"	55	Sectarianism	N	"All college laws... excepting a few little ones extend farther than the New Haven bounds."
Cremin	"College"	63	Sectarianism	N	Rutgers serving the Dutch Reformed churches - "Breaking the tradition of a provincial college monopoly, this new collegiate model marked the transition from the provincial colleges of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the private institutions of the nineteenth."
Cremin	"College"	64	Sectarianism	N	"it is therefore difficult to agree with those who have argued that (Clap's) defiance of the memorialists constituted a victory for academic freedom. On the contrary, Clap's defiance was a victory for the concepts of a college as a sectarian seminary and of college governance as paternal absolutism."
Church & Sedlak	"The Antebellum College and Academy"	132	Sectarianism	N	"In the first half of the nineteenth century colleges and academies came more and more to rely, not on physical force, but on the power of religion to control their students." "The schoolmasters were able to develop a desire for religious experience among their students and depend on that desire to make the students themselves enforce a great deal of the institution's disciplinary code."
Potts	"'College Enthusiasm!' as Public Response: 1800-1860"	152	Sectarianism	N	"Removalists usually argued that colleges could attain increased prominence and support within the denomination if transferred to a more convenient location and reorganized to insure a larger degree of denominational control."
Hoeveler	"The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the 'Wisconsin Idea'"	237	Sectarianism	N	"Sectarian had been ruinous to that ideal (the unity of Christendom under flag of moral reform).

Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	252	Sectarianism	N	"Regulating student's personal lives consumed a significant amount of the faculty's time."
Gordon	"From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920"	481	Sectarianism	N	"Women's college founders continued the seminary's association of women's education with religion, requiring chapel attendance, prayer meetings, Bible study and placing heavy pressure on students to 'convert.'"
Goodchild	"The Turning Point in American Jesuit Higher Education: The Standardization Controversy between the Jesuits and the North Central Assertion, 1915-1940"	530	Sectarianism	N	"The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus also prohibited any external regulation of Jesuit colleges and universities."
Goodchild	"The Turning Point in American Jesuit Higher Education: The Standardization Controversy between the Jesuits and the North Central Assertion, 1915-1940"	532	Sectarianism	N	"While Loyola University with its professional schools grew, the college stagnated because Burrowes could not change the curriculum with its religious dimension. Indeed, its educational and religious curricular design and intense religious discipline made it unappealing to graduates from local Catholic academies and high schools."

Goodchild	"The Turning Point in American Jesuit Higher Education: The Standardization Controversy between the Jesuits and the North Central Assertion, 1915-1940"	531	Competition	Neut.	"The Jesuits needed to reorganize their curriculum to compete more favorably with other Catholic colleges which met NCA standards."
Church & Sedlak	"The Antebellum College and Academy"	143	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	Neut.	"The historian of higher education in the antebellum period finds the typical school under a nominal denominational identification, but open to all without tests of religious faith."
Perkin	Overview of the History of Higher Education	5	Public Service	Neut.	The new urban schools, called <i>studia</i> came to serve the needs of a more secular, if still profoundly religious society...
Perkin	Overview of the History of Higher Education	22	Public Service	Neut.	"rise of the state university", "secular institutions with all the strength of public funding behind them but also under the monitoring eye of the state legislature."
Cremin	"College"	42	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	P	In the realm of divinity, formal study remained a prerequisite to ministerial ordination through the middle of the seventeenth century owing it to the high standards of the Puritan congregations in New England and to the expectations of English bishops and the Dutch synods."
Cremin	"College"	44	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	P	the main end of (the student's) life and studies was "to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life, John 17.3. And therefore to lay Christ in the bottom, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning

Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	249	Religion Entangled with Mental Discipline	P	"Discipline and piety joined with liberal culture and Christian education to create a potent, viable educational philosophy which retained its strength well into the twentieth century."
Perkin	Overview of the History of Higher Education	21	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	P	Colonial colleges emphasized " general education and the training of moral character. In time they evolved from seminaries into liberal arts colleges, educating young gentlemen of the planter and business classes as well as the cloth."
Cremin	"College"	54	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	P	The Great Awakening was the catalyst for breaking the mold of ecclesiastic-secular college governance.
Stetar	"In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War"	262	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	P	"The university-centered, secular liberal culture described by Veysey found the South inhospitable. A distinctly college-centered liberal Christian education emerged instead, and its merits were extolled throughout the South."
Ross	"The Development of the Social Sciences"	305	Rationalization as Accommodation to Social Norms	P	"The problem (Albion Small) said, was the breakdown of the older Protestant standard of values,..."
Perkins	"The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women"	185	Social Mobility	P	"The decades of the 1830s and 1840s in which free blacks sought access to educational institutions in the North paralleled the founding of seminaries for white women."
Ogren	"Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920"	354	Social Mobility	P	"Teamwork in YMCA chapters included 'aiding new students in finding boarding places' and studying the Bible."

Anderson	"Training the Apostles of Liberal Culture: Black Higher Education, 1900-1935"	442	Social Mobility	P	"The denominations wanted not only to maintain their more than one hundred 'colleges' and professional schools but to improve and expand them."
Wagoner	"The American Compromise: Charles W. Eliot, Black Education, and the New South"	465	Social Mobility	P	"Second to the uplift provided by honest labor, Eliot told the Tuskegee students, was devotion to Christian family life."
Geiger	"Research, Graduate Education, and the Ecology of American Universities: An Interpretive History"	274	Competition	P	"Generally, however, scholarship or research was forced outside of the college. The first approximation of graduate professional training occurred in the theological seminaries in the early nineteenth century."
Cremin	"College"	58	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	P	"But the College of New Jersey, King's College, and the College of Philadelphia all emerged in colonies where religious diversity was the norm... These colleges, therefore found accommodation to various denominational groups to be in their own interest."
Vine	"The Social Function of Eighteenth Century Higher Education"	117	Public Service	P	"Reason was that agency or faculty which allowed for calculation and prudence in solving difficult problems; it directed man to his duty to God and society."
Gordon	"From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920"	482	Public Service	P	"The Durants believed higher education would strengthen women's minds and bodies, prevent sentimentality and idleness, and prepare them to make the world a better, more Christian place."

Altbach	"American Student Politics: Activism in the Midst of Apathy"	739	Public Service	P	"At the same time, American students have certainly turned 'inward' in many respects. They have become more concerned with careers in a difficult economy, and the increase in interest in religions - first 'alternative' faiths such as Hinduism and Zen Buddhism and, more recently, fundamentalist Christianity and conservative Judaism - shows a concern for spiritual issues."
Altbach	"American Student Politics: Activism in the Midst of Apathy"	741	Public Service	P	"Ninety percent of American students claim religious affiliation, and 80.6 percent in 1995 reported that they attended a religious service at least once in the previous year...In the past two decades, there has been a resurgence of interest in religion, reflecting, it seems, a concern for personal values and orientations as opposed to societal issues."
Hoever	"The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the 'Wisconsin Idea'"	237	Industry	P	"Ely then proposed that the religious denominations center their activity around the state universities of the country; they should form Christian associations, guild houses with libraries and dormitories."
Brubacher and Rudy	"Professional Education"	379	Industry	P	"The ministry, perhaps, demanded most by usually expecting the candidate to know the classical tongues and, if he had attended college, to know some theology as well."
Brubacher and Rudy	"Professional Education"	380	Industry	P	"Whatever the vocational destination of the young bachelor of arts, there was little doubt in colonial and early national times that religion was the principle integrating factor in any sound liberal education."

Sloan	"The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal"	99	Scientific Challenge	P	"The close alliance between the Church of Scotland and the representatives of culture also eventually gave to Scottish thought an added element of religious respectability."
Potts	"'College Enthusiasm!' as Public Response: 1800-1861"	155	Scientific Challenge	P	"Assuming a mutually beneficial interaction between scientific and religious belief, colleges established a 'dynamic relationship' with science which provided a firm foundation for scholarly as well as curricular developments in the late nineteenth century."
Hoeveler	"The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the 'Wisconsin Idea'"	236	Scientific Challenge	P	Bascom "was one of the first religious thinkers in America to accept the main outline of evolutionary science and to establish it upon an entirely new theology, what he himself labeled the 'New Theology'."
Hoeveler	"The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the 'Wisconsin Idea'"	237	Scientific Challenge	P	"religious truth was now united with secular truth; it could no longer be compartmentalized as sacred dogma or the special prerogative of the priestly class."
Gordon	"From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920"	483	Secularist Activism	P	"Alice Freeman, a young University of Michigan graduate with a secular intellectually ambitious plan for Wellesley's development."
Trow	"American Higher Education: Past, Present, Future"	592	Sectarianism	P	"Sectarian institutions, especially Catholic ones that had chosen to retain requirements in philosophy, theology, and ancient languages, had avoided curricular disintegration, but most American institutions could not rely on religious imperatives to achieve coherence or maintain values."

Appendix E: Texts Analyzed from Thelin

Author	Factor	Page	Pos./Neg.	Text
Thelin	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	29	N	"As such (colonial colleges) provide a dubious model for the restoration of religion to a central place on the American campus of the twenty-first century, especially in a society characterized by religious diversity."
Thelin	Secularist Activism	147	N	"The secularization of American life in general, rather than academic atheism, altered the place of religion on the American college campus. Financial pragmatism and the lure of a Carnegie pension plan did indeed prompt many presidents and boards to reconsider precisely how important a denominational influence was to the character of their campus."
Thelin	Competition	353	Neut	"One ironic consequence of the curricular wars was the emergence of a conservative voice among young alumni, especially at the elite historic institutions."
Thelin	Social Mobility	91	P	"Close historical analysis of Bucknell, Franklin and Marshall, Princeton, and Swarthmore College casts doubt on the conventional view that historic colleges were unwanted in the 'age of the university'."
Thelin	Social Mobility	142	P	"The hallmarks of the urban Catholic colleges were utility and upward mobility, especially for the sons of first-generation immigrants."
Thelin	Competition	44	P	"A corollary to this interpretation was that (small, underfunded church-related liberal arts) colleges allegedly were inefficient, ineffective, stubbornly conservative, and an obstacle to the creation of a 'truly modern' network of 'real' universities."
Thelin	Competition	44	P	"Furthermore its role may have been under-appreciated by a generation of American historians writing in the decades after World War II."
Thelin	Competition	108	P	"The church-related colleges tended to maintain a denominational affiliation while reducing their strict sectarian emphases... Often the compromise was to fuse piety and intellect. A modern liberal education was to be concerned with building character as well as saving souls."

Thelin	Competition	113	P	"Religion played a central (though often overlooked) role in this institutional evolution, in both substance and style. Even though some commentators at the time described religion as waning in influence and often out of touch with the new trends of commerce and science, there is intriguing evidence that it was a driving force in the industrial and corporate ethos of the era."
Thelin	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	93	P	"These three colleges demonstrated that a campus in the South could be conservative and denominational without being stagnant or indifferent to social and pedagogical changes."
Thelin	Tolerance/ Egalitarianism/ Democracy	94	P	"Yale had maintained its commitment to main-line Congregational theology, including daily chapel and an unapologetic commitment to a curriculum that emphasized piety and character-building as well as intellect. This should have been a formula for disaster. But contrary to the predictions of critics, Yale had flourished and by 1870 was the largest college in the country."
Thelin	Pluralism/ Differentiation	96	P	"One finds after 1870 a proliferation of new colleges founded by Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. The religious affiliation of a college was often a sign of ethnicity."

Appendix F: Full Enrollment Data from CCCU Institutions During the 2000s

Institution	Joined	Affiliation	State	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Abilene Christian University	1995	Churches of Christ	Texas	4,739	4,673	4,668	4,648	4,761	4,685	4,777	4,675	4,669	4,813	4,728
Anderson University - IN	1982	Church of God (Anderson)	Indiana	2,381	2,427	2,506	2,589	2,677	2,811	2,730	2,707	2,737	2,691	2,565
Anderson University - SC	2011	South Carolina Baptist Convention	South Carolina	1,398	1,450	1,639	1,664	1,666	1,644	1,707	1,902	2,064	2,279	2,512
Asbury University	1976	None	Kentucky	1,359	1,352	1,311	1,264	1,278	1,296	1,268	1,396	1,550	1,619	1,623
Azusa Pacific University	1976	None	California	6,497	6,835	7,693	8,188	8,162	8,327	8,128	8,084	8,548	8,539	9,258
Belhaven University	1979	None	Mississippi	1,594	1,883	2,021	2,354	2,493	2,596	2,575	2,485	2,619	2,883	3,099
Bethel College-Mishawaka	1984	Missionary Church	Indiana	1,647	1,660	1,746	1,848	1,988	1,959	2,081	2,097	2,075	2,165	2,152
Bethel University	1976	Baptist General Conference	Minnesota	3,796	3,936	4,163	4,586	4,909	5,238	6,182	6,435	6,740	7,336	8,637
Biola University	1976	None	California	4,092	4,317	4,535	5,084	5,362	5,658	5,745	5,830	5,893	5,942	6,113
Bluefield College	2008	Baptist General Association of Virginia	Virginia	820	851	858	731	814	776	840	793	736	753	696
Bluffton University	1991	Mennonite Church	Ohio	1,059	1,050	1,110	1,121	1,191	1,211	1,154	1,117	1,149	1,127	1,129
Bryan College-Dayton	1976	None	Tennessee	613	611	617	588	647	766	920	1,044	1,079	1,148	1,244
California Baptist University	1990	Southern Baptist Convention	California	2,043	2,090	2,165	2,359	2,905	3,105	3,409	3,775	4,013	4,103	4,715

Calvin College	1981	Christian Reformed Church	Michigan	4,309	4,258	4,324	4,323	4,180	4,177	4,187	4,224	4,171	4,092	3,991
Campbellsville University	1976	Southern Baptist Convention	Kentucky	1,601	1,777	1,815	1,994	2,190	2,271	2,389	2,560	2,830	3,178	3,428
Carson-Newman College	2003	Southern Baptist Convention	Tennessee	2,230	2,195	2,639	2,114	2,053	2,007	1,958	2,012	2,032	2,150	2,064
Cedarville University	1991	Baptist	Ohio	2,855	2,969	3,000	3,015	3,093	3,114	3,110	3,055	3,066	3,102	3,205
Charleston Southern University	2003	Baptist	South Carolina	2,603	2,682	2,849	2,990	2,875	3,022	3,224	3,286	3,200	3,219	3,213
College of the Ozarks	1996	Presbyterian Church USA	Missouri	1,414	1,395	1,342	1,347	1,348	1,333	1,345	1,364	1,334	1,347	1,380
Colorado Christian University	1985	None	Colorado	1,967	1,849	1,801	1,580	1,680	2,122	2,166	2,151	2,599	2,511	2,733
Concordia University-Irvine	2011	Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	California	1,319	1,314	1,800	1,747	1,834	2,092	2,317	2,392	2,543	2,564	2,927
Corban University	1996	Baptist	Oregon	696	725	729	737	754	851	900	959	1,031	1,103	1,132
Cornerstone University	1991	None	Michigan	1,877	1,941	2,387	2,351	2,412	2,553	2,511	2,466	2,440	2,606	2,852
Covenant College	1976	Presbyterian Church in America	Georgia	1,149	1,245	1,196	1,261	1,299	1,263	1,282	1,343	1,343	1,367	1,304
Crown College	1997	Christian and Missionary Alliance	Minnesota	897	877	912	1,030	1,106	1,304	1,366	1,270	1,229	1,221	1,176
Dallas Baptist University	1984	Baptist	Texas	4,032	4,302	4,417	4,538	4,714	4,988	5,153	5,244	5,297	5,400	5,470
Dordt College	1981	Christian Reformed Church	Iowa	1,426	1,460	1,403	1,350	1,290	1,259	1,261	1,301	1,361	1,322	1,360
East Texas Baptist University	1995	Southern Baptist Convention	Texas	1,402	1,509	1,496	1,354	1,412	1,326	1,365	1,308	1,210	1,179	1,197
Eastern Mennonite University	1976	Mennonite Church	Virginia	1,398	1,304	1,352	1,245	1,297	1,302	1,324	1,234	1,387	1,525	1,537

Eastern Nazarene College	1982	Church of the Nazarene	Massachusetts	1,381	1,214	1,277	1,212	1,193	1,268	1,222	1,075	1,000	1,075	1,016
Eastern University	1976	American Baptist Churches USA	Pennsylvania	2,939	3,054	3,128	3,253	3,380	3,702	3,918	4,291	4,364	4,331	4,476
Emmanuel College	2011	International Pentecostal Holiness Church	Georgia	786	762	766	742	754	707	676	658	697	732	762
Erskine College and Seminary	1991	Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church	South Carolina	858	948	948	904	962	890	924	892	864	874	811
Evangel University	1976	Assemblies of God Church	Missouri	1,538	1,521	1,657	1,844	1,967	1,810	1,721	1,657	1,911	1,955	2,072
Fresno Pacific University	1981	Mennonite Brethren Church	California	1,676	2,016	2,347	2,167	2,019	1,996	2,321	2,391	2,436	2,668	3,356
Geneva College	1976	Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America	Pennsylvania	2,297	2,174	2,145	2,163	2,141	2,123	1,964	1,891	1,951	1,960	2,071
George Fox University	1976	Religious Society of Friends	Oregon	2,635	2,637	2,748	3,022	2,981	3,267	3,323	3,372	3,383	3,388	3,538
Gordon College	1976	None	Massachusetts	1,620	1,694	1,701	1,680	1,675	1,666	1,661	1,648	1,717	1,685	1,599
Goshen College	1985	Mennonite Church	Indiana	1,041	986	940	920	908	922	951	971	957	1,017	926
Grace College and Theological Seminary	1976	Fellowship of Grace Brethren Churches	Indiana	1,331	1,357	1,281	1,241	1,258	1,275	1,345	1,404	1,509	1,641	1,773
Greenville College	1976	Free Methodist Church	Illinois	1,169	1,160	1,239	1,342	1,315	1,350	1,451	1,528	1,618	1,576	1,605
Hannibal-LaGrange University	2010	Southern Baptist Convention	Missouri	1,150	1,099	1,117	1,134	1,067	1,056	1,091	1,184	1,099	1,042	1,191
Hardin-Simmons University	2003	Southern Baptist Convention	Texas	2,304	2,276	2,291	2,333	2,392	2,427	2,367	2,435	2,387	2,305	2,313
Hope International University	1994	None	California	840	1,022	1,204	1,210	1,275	1,143	901	974	864	987	1,197

Houghton College	1976	Wesleyan Church	New York	1,409	1,422	1,396	1,458	1,468	1,411	1,431	1,382	1,415	1,336	1,272
Houston Baptist University	2000	Southern Baptist Convention	Texas	2,673	2,829	2,745	2,340	2,227	2,294	2,143	2,339	2,564	2,710	2,597
Howard Payne University	2000	Southern Baptist Convention	Texas	1,480	1,521	1,412	1,385	1,319	1,364	1,328	1,386	1,388	1,232	1,290
Huntington University	1978	United Brethren Church	Indiana	938	989	991	969	959	1,005	1,071	1,148	1,230	1,270	1,260
Indiana Wesleyan University	1976	Wesleyan Church	Indiana	7,088	7,929	8,765	10,149	11,412	12,632	13,917	14,756	15,442	15,345	15,953
John Brown University	1976	None	Arkansas	1,536	1,675	1,708	1,829	1,928	1,904	2,065	2,061	2,017	2,073	2,131
Judson College - AL	2000	Southern Baptist Convention	Alabama	321	345	363	369	360	331	305	311	324	313	322
Judson University - IL	1976	American Baptist Churches USA	Illinois	1,111	1,085	1,172	1,166	1,220	1,241	1,243	1,236	1,239	1,231	1,178
Kentucky Christian University	1999	Christian churches and churches of Christ	Kentucky	569	592	590	558	601	591	556	632	662	583	651
King College	1979	Presbyterian Church USA	Tennessee	600	684	733	740	812	970	1,271	1,515	1,702	1,804	1,949
Lee University	1981	Church of God (Cleveland)	Tennessee	3,361	3,511	3,711	3,806	3,849	3,931	4,012	4,089	4,147	4,262	4,377
LeTourneau University	1985	None	Texas	2,981	3,098	3,338	3,597	3,758	3,983	3,983	3,925	3,662	3,386	3,169
Lipscomb University	1999	Churches of Christ	Tennessee	2,528	2,621	2,583	2,644	2,535	2,517	2,565	2,744	3,073	3,413	3,742
Louisiana College	2003	Southern Baptist Convention	Louisiana	1,125	1,204	1,161	1,135	1,085	1,005	987	1,056	1,096	1,461	1,893
Malone University	1976	Religious Society of Friends	Ohio	2,162	2,139	2,137	2,206	2,250	2,277	2,296	2,371	2,442	2,620	2,511
Messiah College	1976	None	California	2,797	2,858	2,895	2,952	2,917	2,916	2,854	2,837	2,802	2,801	2,932
MidAmerica Nazarene University	1978	Church of the Nazarene	Pennsylvania	1,717	1,683	1,825	1,925	1,985	1,779	1,823	1,720	1,743	1,778	1,764

Milligan College	1984	Christian churches and churches of Christ	Kansas	906	899	839	838	914	954	951	1,006	1,018	1,100	1,140
Mississippi College	2003	Southern Baptist Convention	Tennessee	3,423	3,223	3,227	3,406	3,588	3,905	4,041	4,467	4,741	4,796	4,963
Missouri Baptist University	2005	Baptist	Mississippi	2,806	3,105	3,190	3,656	4,058	4,460	4,511	4,598	4,614	4,836	5,062
Montreat College	1989	Presbyterian Church USA	Missouri	1,203	1,112	1,070	1,035	1,000	1,017	1,039	1,145	1,113	1,251	1,082
Mount Vernon Nazarene University	1982	Church of the Nazarene	North Carolina	1,961	2,232	2,337	2,392	2,455	2,549	2,670	2,675	2,558	2,622	2,609
North Central University	2010	General Council of the Assemblies of God in the United States of America	Ohio	1,168	1,230	1,265	1,216	1,223	1,226	1,198	1,220	1,094	1,243	1,381
North Greenville University	2000	Southern Baptist Convention	Minnesota	1,279	1,378	1,486	1,615	1,765	1,844	1,974	2,094	2,160	2,260	2,312
North Park University	1981	Evangelical Covenant Church	South Carolina	2,387	2,327	2,398	2,531	2,563	2,684	3,023	3,200	3,244	3,186	3,233
Northwest Christian University	1981	Christian churches and churches of Christ and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	Illinois	490	480	515	491	459	490	480	485	534	557	623
Northwest Nazarene University	1979	Church of the Nazarene	Oregon	1,316	1,370	1,470	1,565	1,587	1,625	1,749	1,836	1,939	1,950	2,016
Northwest University	1985	Assemblies of God Church	Idaho	1,039	1,066	1,120	1,161	1,180	1,260	1,281	1,259	1,246	1,383	1,422
Northwestern College - IA	1978	Reformed Church in America	Washington	1,243	1,287	1,305	1,283	1,284	1,273	1,342	1,315	1,226	1,206	1,243
Northwestern College - MN	1980	None	Iowa	2,081	2,277	2,448	2,592	2,734	2,944	2,978	3,026	3,023	3,070	3,100
Nyack College	1976	Christian and Missionary Alliance	Minnesota	2,226	2,454	2,618	2,814	2,908	3,000	3,063	3,250	3,041	3,151	3,305
Oklahoma Baptist University	1994	Southern Baptist Convention	New York	2,017	1,933	1,869	1,823	1,684	1,649	1,617	1,618	1,769	1,764	1,777

Oklahoma Christian University	1998	Churches of Christ	Oklahoma	1,752	1,840	1,702	1,630	1,901	1,904	2,095	2,223	2,166	2,171	2,181
Oklahoma Wesleyan University	1978	Wesleyan Church	Oklahoma	828	827	756	879	1,017	1,092	1,160	1,046	1,021	1,069	1,147
Olivet Nazarene University	1978	Church of the Nazarene	Oklahoma	2,859	3,350	3,863	4,314	4,364	4,480	4,486	4,636	4,521	4,666	4,550
Oral Roberts University	1997	None	Illinois	3,607	4,054	4,343	4,330	4,077	3,945	3,244	3,166	3,067	3,140	3,212
Palm Beach Atlantic University-West Palm Beach	1982	None	Oklahoma	2,295	2,584	2,784	2,996	3,066	3,172	3,264	3,291	3,226	3,260	3,659
Point Loma Nazarene University	1979	Church of the Nazarene	Florida	2,733	2,881	2,998	3,219	3,209	3,445	3,532	3,480	3,390	3,487	3,561
Regent University	2012	None	California	2,449	2,689	3,120	3,173	3,444	3,961	4,080	4,115	4,278	4,656	5,217
Roberts Wesleyan College	1982	Free Methodist Church	Virginia	1,596	1,697	1,835	1,843	1,920	1,948	1,903	1,871	1,902	1,928	1,835
San Diego Christian College	2008	None	New York	675	674	615	558	549	553	543	489	422	439	494
Seattle Pacific University	1976	Free Methodist Church	California	3,491	3,615	3,684	3,728	3,779	3,873	3,830	3,842	3,891	4,000	4,117
Shorter University	2009	Southern Baptist Convention	Washington	1,925	2,253	2,262	2,409	2,547	2,658	1,044	1,035	1,136	1,205	1,555
Simpson University	1976	Christian and Missionary Alliance	Georgia	1,214	1,161	1,265	1,175	1,131	1,094	1,023	1,076	1,147	1,143	1,216
Southeastern University	2002	Assemblies of God Church	California	1,232	1,363	1,458	1,675	1,964	2,336	2,901	3,069	3,075	2,950	2,779
Southern Nazarene University	1978	Church of the Nazarene	Florida	2,064	2,082	2,102	2,195	2,144	2,218	2,068	2,090	2,069	2,110	2,051

Southern Wesleyan University	1978	Wesleyan Church	Oklahoma	1,803	2,166	2,301	2,430	2,632	2,632	2,557	2,445	2,391	2,382	1,883
Southwest Baptist University	1995	Southern Baptist Convention	South Carolina	3,593	3,564	3,536	3,563	3,445	3,440	3,674	3,539	3,656	3,716	3,669
Spring Arbor University	1978	Free Methodist Church	Mississippi	2,558	2,616	3,174	3,531	3,511	3,701	3,715	3,965	3,973	4,120	4,195
Sterling College	1980	Presbyterian Church USA	Michigan	440	461	466	495	487	516	607	603	653	722	736
Tabor College	1979	Mennonite Brethren Church	Kansas	586	592	575	543	606	606	603	574	612	640	669
Taylor University	1976	None	Kansas	1,843	1,856	1,868	1,843	1,887	1,867	1,854	1,879	1,871	2,559	2,589
The Master's College and Seminary	1978	None	Indiana	1,448	1,524	1,503	1,461	1,523	1,555	1,545	1,511	1,417	1,348	1,442
Toccoa Falls College	2008	Christian and Missionary Alliance	Georgia	941	916	864	847	829	922	939	969	899	816	768
Trevecca Nazarene University	1980	Church of the Nazarene	Tennessee	1,709	1,819	1,878	1,911	2,089	2,196	2,217	2,286	2,366	2,476	2,345
Trinity Christian College	1980	None	Illinois	854	973	1,135	1,263	1,234	1,280	1,310	1,367	1,404	1,450	1,491
Trinity International University-Illinois	1976	Evangelical Free Church	Illinois	2,663	2,054	2,294	2,630	2,736	2,751	2,748	2,783	2,694	2,730	2,564
Union University	1993	Southern Baptist Convention	Tennessee	2,373	2,544	2,575	2,776	2,843	2,864	2,910	3,235	3,655	3,916	3,996
University of Mary Hardin-Baylor	2008	Baptist General Convention of Texas	Texas	2,590	2,624	2,655	2,638	2,694	2,724	2,735	2,651	2,648	2,689	2,956
University of Sioux Falls	1981	American Baptist Churches USA	South Dakota	1,272	1,332	1,405	1,485	1,586	1,606	1,674	1,628	1,589	1,570	1,519
University of the Southwest	2008	Baptist	New Mexico	508	640	886	894	741	627	526	552	509	528	500

Vanguard University of Southern California	1981	Assemblies of God Church	California	1,654	1,827	1,915	2,076	2,195	2,249	2,219	2,254	2,149	1,923	2,055
Warner Pacific College	1982	Church of God (Anderson)	Oregon	638	571	523	511	512	577	664	797	973	1,332	1,536
Warner University	1982	Church of God (Anderson)	Florida	1,001	1,117	1,132	989	1,023	970	1,043	1,181	1,154	1,078	1,082
Waynesburg University	2003	Presbyterian Church USA	Pennsylvania	1,616	1,790	1,714	1,887	2,105	2,134	2,323	2,462	2,549	2,515	2,516
Westmont College	1976	None	California	1,332	1,379	1,330	1,337	1,365	1,366	1,329	1,337	1,340	1,308	1,367
Wheaton College	1976	None	Illinois	2,827	2,844	2,872	2,944	2,898	2,932	2,924	2,895	2,915	2,920	3,026
Whitworth University	1981	Presbyterian Church USA	Washington	2,026	2,107	2,206	2,298	2,382	2,440	2,504	2,607	2,704	2,781	2,989
Williams Baptist College	1994	Southern Baptist Convention	Arkansas	660	688	612	653	632	615	629	619	560	619	631
Total				212,374	220,489	230,171	237,942	244,831	252,938	257,399	263,150	267,962	274,875	284,503

Source: U.S. Department of Education. Institute of Education Sciences. National Center for Education Statistics.