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Making Sense of a “Religious” University: Faculty Adaptations and Opinions at Brigham Young, Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College

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American higher education has its origins in the life of faith communities. In pre-Civil War America, many of America’s most prestigious universities began with a firmly rooted religious identity: Harvard was founded by Congregationalists, Princeton by Presbyterians, and Brown by Baptists. In creating these institutions, the founders acted on the assumption that faith harmonized with all aspects of learning and that the chief goal toward which students ought to strive was the glorification of God. For example, one of the specified goals at Harvard College in the mid-1600s was the following: “Let every student be plainly instructed and earnestly pressed to consider well the main end of his life and studies is to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life, and therefore to lay Christ in the bottom, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning” (Eby 1915: 67). Over one hundred years ago, however, Harvard made chapel voluntary and removed “*Christo et Ecclesiae*” from its seal. Today, Harvard, like many formerly religious universities, exhibits only vestiges of its religious ties (Marsden 1994). As we shall show, however, a handful of church-related universities still attempt to hold on to a serious commitment to the church while simultaneously striving for a respectable measure of academic excellence. Our research explores how the faculty at these selected intentionally religious universities view their institutions and how they adapt to the secular and sacred demands of their institutions.

The Secularization of the Academy and the Redefinition of Faculty Roles

Christopher Jencks and David Riesman (1968) identify the “academic revolution” as one of the most significant developments in the history of American higher education. The revolution includes two related aspects: 1) the rise of modern research universities (e.g., Johns Hopkins) and land-grant colleges (e.g., Cornell) and 2) the secularization of the traditional church-related college. According to Jencks and Riesman (1968:322), the academic revolution produced a new academic culture replete with new roles even for faculty at religious schools because “with a handful of exceptions, [religious colleges] have been caught up in the academic revolution and have accepted the academic profession’s view about what, how, and who a college should teach.” Prior to the academic revolution, one of the professor’s primary roles was to serve as an example of moral integrity for students, and hiring virtuous faculty members was one of the primary means by which such institutions’ maintained their religious identity. The model faculty member was an educator-as-character-developer (Bok 1982). After the academic revolution had run its course, university faculties were more devoted to scholarly research and disciplinary mastery and less concerned with the moral development of undergraduates (Jencks and Riesman 1968). The modern disciplines were formalized, the faculties were professionalized, and a unified curriculum was diversified to reflect both the specialties of the faculty and the vocational goals of the students (Turner 1992). Henry Tappan, chancellor of the University of Michigan from 1852-1863, exemplified this transformation. According to Marsden (1994:107), Tappan’s essential criterion for faculty hiring was “that they had to be professionals ... However amiable his character, however pure his religious or political creed according to the judgment of any sect or party, if he has not the requisite literary or scientific qualifications, he is of no account.” In this new academic culture, the ideal faculty member is now the scientist-as-researcher whose highly technical and specialized disciplinary knowledge holds priority over providing moral instruction to students. All major research

university presidents eventually embraced this prioritizing scheme. Their hiring practices inevitably came to reflect the new goals to which such institutions aspire--the highest possible academic reputation and prestige. These same values are similarly prioritized in present-day research universities.

In another work, Riesman (1958) compares American higher education to a snake, where the middle and the end are constantly trying to follow the head. Riesman identifies the top 100 or so major research universities as the head of the snake, while church-related schools—in the middle or near the end—try to keep up by following the secular standards set by the new academic culture. Subsequent case studies by Marsden (1994) and Burtchaell (1998) as well as organizational theory by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) support this metaphor. Thus, even universities that maintain a religious identification are likely to have a mission and curriculum much like the rest of the academy. In such institutions, religiously-informed missions and curricula as well as faculty guided by their religious beliefs will be increasingly rare. However, as we shall show, the academic revolution did not change everything, secularization is not complete, and some intentionally religious universities may still exist.

Identifying Intentionally Religious, Academically Successful Universities

The academic culture in the modern university supports scholarly research and publication, the discovery of new knowledge derived from or validated by empirical data, and the cultivation of an intellectually sophisticated skepticism. In this ethos, religiously motivated higher learning is frequently perceived as an antiquated project bearing no essential relationship to modern learning (Sloan 1994). Consequently, one would expect to find few, if any, academically successful universities that are also intentionally religious in motivation and identity. In order to determine if any do exist, we must operationalize our terms. Three indicators of an intentionally religious university might include:

- 1) having a mission statement that acknowledges a specific linkage to a church or claims a religious heritage (Cuninggim 1994);
- 2) having a mission statement that mentions at least one explicitly religious goal (Buckley 1998);
- 3) having a core curriculum requiring religion courses that reflect and support the university's religious identity (Schwehn 1999).

While these three criteria are certainly not the only way to determine the religious intentions of a university, they do provide an available, unobtrusive set of indicators. A review of the mission statements and curricular requirements of all private universities with a Carnegie Classification of Doctoral II (or Doctoral Research Intensive in the new scheme) or higher reveals only seven universities consistently ranked in the top two tiers of *U.S. News and World Report's* annual college rankings which are also intentionally religious by these three criteria. While the *U.S. News* ranking are widely cited and widely criticized (Morse and Gilbert 1995), the 115 or so universities comprising the top two tiers can serve our research purposes as identifying those “top 100” universities that Jencks and Riesman (1968: 24-25) view as being “the most prestigious” and possessing “the ablest and most ambitious students ... the ablest faculty ... and the most generous philanthropists. And they provide a model for the other 1,900 colleges.” In our terms, these Tier I and II national universities would be “academically successful” universities.

These seven intentionally religious, academically successful schools include Georgetown University, Notre Dame,

Boston College, Baylor, Brigham Young, Pepperdine, and Fordham. ^[1] The fact that these universities have achieved a high quantitative measure of academic reputation suggests there is strong pressure among the faculty to conform to the secular norms of the academy. On the other hand, the fact that their mission statements and curricular requirements reflect religious goals suggests institutional support for the religiously-motivated faculty norms more common before the academic revolution. Thus, faculty at these schools may be expected to experience a measure of conflict between the conventionally secular and intentionally religious understandings of their roles.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how faculty at intentionally religious, academically successful universities view their institutions and how they adapt to the potentially conflicting demands of their positions. Since four of the seven universities are Catholic, we chose to survey faculty at two Catholic universities; one is urban and Jesuit, Boston College; the other is in a more rural setting and sponsored by the Congregation of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame. Two of the seven are Evangelical/Protestant and Baylor is our representative. BYU completes our sample as the least “mainstream” of the sponsoring denominations. Thus, we pursue our investigation by interpreting the

results of faculty surveys conducted at Boston College, Notre Dame, Baylor, and Brigham Young.

Description of Universities Surveyed

Baylor University

Baylor University is a large Baptist university in Texas. When the survey was conducted in the Fall of 1994, 146 undergraduate degrees and 90 master's, doctoral, and other professional degrees were offered, giving Baylor a Carnegie Classification of Doctoral II. In 1996, according to the *U.S. News and World Report's* national university rankings, Baylor was in the second of four tiers. At Baylor, every student is required to take a minimum of two academic courses based on the Bible and to attend chapel for two semesters. Baylor's commitment to its religious identity is exemplified in its mission statement:

Baylor is ... the world's largest Baptist university. Baylor is founded on the belief that God's nature is made known through both revealed and discovered truth. Thus, the University derives its understanding of God, humanity, and the nature from many sources: the person and work of Jesus Christ, the biblical record, and Christian history and tradition...

University of Notre Dame

The University of Notre Dame is a Catholic university in Indiana. It was ranked as a Tier I university by *U.S. News and World Report 1996*, and held a Carnegie Classification of Research II. All students are required to take "Foundations of Theology: Biblical and Historical," and one other theology course (of students' choosing). In addition, they are required to take two philosophy courses. Notre Dame identifies itself as a:

Catholic community of higher learning, animated from its origins by the Congregation of the Holy Cross. The university is dedicated to the pursuit and sharing of truth for its own sake. As a Catholic university, one of its distinctive goals is to provide a forum where through free inquiry and open discussion, the various lines of Catholic thought may intersect with all forms of knowledge found in the arts, sciences, professions, and every other area of human scholarship and creativity. (Notre Dame Colloquy 2000)

Boston College

The second Catholic university surveyed was Boston College. During the 1994-1995 school year, the institution offered undergraduates fifty-six possible majors, and for graduate students, nineteen different fields of study. Boston College was ranked in Tier I by *US News and World Report* in the national university rankings, with a Carnegie Classification of Doctoral I. Boston College requires that all their students to take six hours of philosophy and six hours of theology.

When the survey was done in 1995, Boston College did not have an institutional mission statement. From an *Introduction to Boston College*, we find this statement:

"[Boston College] seeks excellence in all the ways that characterize a large contemporary American teaching and research institution of higher education, but also in the special ways that characterize a university of Jesuit and Catholic heritage."

Brigham Young University

Brigham Young University is sponsored by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. BYU offers 166 programs leading to bachelor's degrees, 80 leading to master's degrees, and 34 leading to doctorates, and has a Carnegie Classification of Research II. In the *U.S. News and World Report's* 1996 rankings, BYU was ranked in Tier II. Students are required to take a religion course each semester or a minimum of fourteen hours during their undergraduate career. Moreover, students are required to regularly attend a specific parish worship each Sunday. Brigham Young's strong devotion to religion and higher learning is evidenced in its mission statement:

... BYU seeks to develop students of faith, intellect, and character who have the skills and the desire to continue learning and to serve others throughout their lives ... To succeed in this mission the university

must provide an environment enlightened by living prophets and sustained by those moral virtues which characterize the life and teachings of the Son of God.

To summarize, the data suggest that, in terms of mission and curricular structure, BYU may be the most intentionally religious of the institutions in our sample. Following BYU are Baylor and Notre Dame. Baylor's mission appears more explicitly religious, but Notre Dame's curricular requirements include more theological and philosophical study than Baylor's. Boston College may be slightly less intentionally religious than Notre Dame or Baylor, at least in terms of mission and curriculum. And as the surveys will show, faculty views and actions vary in relation to the mission and curriculum of their university.

Methodology and Analysis of the Data

Surveys were mailed to all full-time faculty members at Boston College, Brigham Young, Notre Dame, and Baylor. Comparing the faculty characteristics of our samples with those of the entire faculty suggested only one significant bias: Catholics were more likely to respond to the Notre Dame and Boston College surveys than non-Catholics.^[2] Therefore, the samples were weighted for these two schools to balance the overrepresentation of Catholic respondents. For all other available comparisons between official university records and our sample—college or school in which the faculty member teaches, number of years on the faculty, academic rank, where the faculty member received degree, highest degree earned, and gender—no statistically significant biases emerged. Nonetheless, as with most surveys, our respondents are likely to be those most interested in the subject matter—in this case, those most supportive of or those most opposed to mixing faith and learning. Ordinarily, this would affect the standard deviation more than the mean. However, if those in opposition are more distrustful and more fearful of the survey and university administration, they would be less likely to participate. Thus, the results should be viewed in light of this possible bias toward supporting religious positions.^[3]

[See Table 1 below]

Once the data were collected, fifteen questions encompassing six topics likely to be contentious at universities striving to be intentionally religious and academically successful were analyzed. We were interested in answering two broad questions as we examined the data. First, how do faculty make sense of their role at a religious university? For example, how do they balance the religious and academic demands of their jobs? Second, if different patterns of faculty adaptations emerge, we want to know why the differences exist. Will denominational affiliation make a difference when it comes to the faculty's level of religious commitment? Do significant variations in faculty opinion and behavior exist within the schools?

SURVEY DATA ON Six Areas of POTENTIAL conflict

If secularization is a pervasive feature of the academic revolution, then its consequences should be evident in key areas of intentionally religious universities. Based on several recent historical treatments of secularization in American higher education (Marsden 1994, Sloan 1994, Gleason 1995, Burtchaeil 1998), we have identified six areas likely to reflect the tension between the expectations of the modern academic and the institution's religious culture: (1) university mission and goals, (2) classroom practices, (3) extracurricular religious activities, (4) faculty hiring, (5) understandings of academic freedom, and (6) integrating faith and learning.

University Mission and Goals: Little Conflict

All four schools mission statements clearly seek both religious and academic goals. How committed are the faculty to these goals that often seem incompatible? Three questions were asked to determine how committed the faculty are to either religious or academic goals of the university.

[See Table 2 below]

According to Table 2, faculty members at all four schools agree that their school should emphasize research (Q1) and most also agree that their school should emphasize moral development (Q2) and encourage a

Christian philosophy of life (Q3). The least consensus appears at Boston College where the faculty are split almost equally on providing an academic environment that encourages students to develop a well-thought-out Christian philosophy of life. Still, the majority of faculty at all four universities appear to be able to support both the religious and academic goals set forth in their school's mission statement.

Classroom Activities and Faith: Nothing Personal

In intentionally religious colleges, professors discussing faith-related questions, praying, and sharing their personal religious experiences in the classroom once seemed legitimate practices (Sloan 1994). Then, the success of science, both theoretically and technically, encouraged a model of the academic as one whose professional activities require an "objectivity" achieved by suspending all personal religious beliefs and practices during the exercise of one's professional duties (Marsden 1994). Table 3 shows that a significant number of faculty at all four schools "discuss faith-related questions in the classroom when raised by class material" (Q4). However, with the exception of BYU, a professor discussing personal religious experience in class (Q5) or leading a class in prayer (Q6) would be an extremely rare occurrence.

[See Table 3 below]

Extra-Curricular Activities: Religion More Acceptable

Intentionally religious colleges and universities typically include a variety of extra-curricular opportunities to develop the whole person. Well into the twentieth century, all religiously affiliated colleges and almost all state universities still held mandatory chapel services; many encouraged Sunday church attendance (Marsden 1994). Our surveys show that some of this extracurricular religiosity still survives.

[See Table 4 below]

Comparing Table 3 with Table 4 reveals that faculty at all four schools are generally more comfortable with religion *outside* the classroom. For example, almost half the Boston College respondents currently discuss their religious commitment outside of class (Q9), while less than a fifth share their personal religious experience in a Boston College classroom (Q4). Many faculty at all four schools agree with encouraging students to attend college-sponsored worship services (Q7) and they are only slightly less supportive of similar encouragement for themselves (Q8).

Preferential faculty hiring: Not for Catholics

As the goals of the university changed, faculty hiring practices also changed. The first American colleges and universities typically hired faculty of the same denomination as the university. In the new academic culture, a candidate's religious confession and identification is considered irrelevant. Faculty are hired based on their disciplinary competence as indicated by scholarly publications. Yet, one of the most effective, though controversial ways to build an intentionally religious university is by hiring faculty members who are committed to the school's religious heritage and mission (Burtchaell 1998, Wolfe 2000). Two questions in Table 5 assessed which criterion is more important to a faculty member when hiring: academic competence or religious commitment.

[See Table 5 below]

The proposition that a department should, if necessary, go short-handed until individuals who have both academic credentials and a religious commitment can be hired (Q10) receives considerable support at BYU, mixed support at Baylor, and our faculty at the two Catholic universities are solidly opposed. Similarly, most faculty at Notre Dame and Boston College see academic credentials overshadowing religious credentials by simply hiring those with the most "academic promise or prominence" (Q11). Giving Catholics special consideration for hiring decisions receives little support. Perhaps not coincidentally, these two Catholic schools have strong academic reputations in *U.S. News & World Report* and have faculties more committed to research (Q 1).

Understandings of Academic Freedom: Discipline Trumps Religion

The question of how academic freedom is secured while privileging a religious point of view is widely seen as a

dilemma at schools like these (Johnson 1995, Kramnick and Moore 1996, Lively 1996, Marsden 1997). Proponents of the standard view of academic freedom as advanced by the AAUP hold that “the pursuit of knowledge will proceed most fruitfully if scholars can follow their own convictions without limitation from official orthodoxies of a moral or ideological nature” (Bok 1982: 186). From this perspective, faculty should be permitted to pursue any topic within their field as long as it has sufficient intellectual merit according to the canons of their discipline, including topics that may undermine the schools religious orientation or beliefs. Proponents of a more nuanced view of academic freedom for religious institutions contend that the standard AAUP view threatens the ability of religious traditions to maintain their identity and is inconsistent with the values of diversity and pluralism (McConnell 1993).

[See Table 6 below]

In a notable display of unanimity, upwards from nine of ten faculty members at Baylor, Notre Dame and Boston College would choose freedom in their research and classroom discussions even if there were a conflict with religious beliefs. Similar to previous responses, Brigham Young’s faculty are much less likely to support the AAUP account of academic freedom that is broadly accepted by their counterparts at Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College.

Integrating Faith and Learning: More Apparent than Real

The rise of the modern university in the early twentieth century produced the widely held notion that faith and knowledge are so dissimilar that they must be studied as two separate spheres of human interest (Sloan 1994). In response to this separation, some intentionally religious schools have adopted “integrating faith and learning” as a major administrative initiative (Hughes and Adrian 1997). How do faculty members at the four institutions relate faith to learning? For example, at Baylor, compartmentalizing faith and learning appears to be a typical technique (Lyon and Beaty 1999), but would that be true at other universities? [\[4\]](#)

Based on previous responses, it is not surprising to see in Table 7 that Brigham Young faculty being are likely to agree that faith and learning should be integrated (Q15) and that they can create a syllabus with a Christian perspective (Q14). However, compared to the questions on academic freedom, this gap between Brigham Young and the other three schools is smaller.

[See Table 7 below]

More generally, the integration of faith and learning is typically more popular in theory than in practice. The surveys indicate that while most faculty at Notre Dame and Baylor reject keeping faith and learning separate, most faculty at the two universities do not know how to integrate faith and learning in the classroom. At BYU, Baylor, and Notre Dame, the number of faculty who embrace the ideal of integrating faith and learning is much greater than the number who actually practice the integration of faith and learning.

Accounting for the Differences Do faculty adaptations differ by the nature of the church that is identified with their schools? Table 8 provides an overview of the homogenous subsets produced through a series of analysis of variance tests, allowing us to determine which schools’ faculties are significantly different at the .01 alpha level in their degree of commitment to their school’s religious mission or tradition.

LDS Sponsorship

On the one hand, results indicate that the denomination sponsoring the schools does not appear to matter much when determining faculty attitudes, since faculties at Baptist Baylor and Catholic Notre Dame and Boston College are similar in their responses. More specifically, Table 8 shows faculty responses at Boston College to be significantly different from the other schools on only three (Q3, Q7, Q11) of the fifteen questions, but for each of these questions, the Boston College faculty are less supportive of the school’s religious goals. Notre Dame faculty are similar to Boston College faculty (i.e., mean responses are not significantly different) on twelve out of the fifteen questions and similar to Baylor faculty on ten of the questions. Generally, the responses at more religious Baylor overlap with those at Notre Dame which, in

turn, overlap with those at less religious Boston College.

The few significant differences cluster around the academic goals associated with the modern research university. Four of Baylor's five differences with Notre Dame address the importance of academic research (Q1, Q12) and the research-driven criteria for faculty assessment (Q10, Q11). This denominational difference may reflect the greater emphasis on research (Q1) and the strong academic reputations at Notre Dame and Boston College in comparison to Baylor as well as the longer theological and intellectual tradition of Catholicism in comparison to its Baptist historical counterpart.

[See Table 8 below]

In contrast to the overlap among Baylor, Notre Dame and Boston College faculty, our data suggest that Brigham Young faculty are distinctively committed to their school's religious tradition. On fourteen out of the fifteen questions, Brigham Young faculty are significantly different from faculties at the other three schools. The sponsoring church clearly makes a difference when comparing LDS to the more "mainstream" Baptist and Catholic denominations. LDS sponsorship at BYU produces an almost totally Mormon faculty (98%) and a distinct and highly religious adaptation. Thus, whether or not the denomination of the sponsoring church accounts for variation in the opinions and adaptations at intentionally religious universities depends upon which denominations are being compared. LDS sponsorship clearly results in a distinctive adaptation, but that may be due to a hiring policy that produces a homogenous faculty more than to any distinctiveness of the Mormon theological tradition. The homogeneity of the BYU faculty is significant because, as we will show in the following section, faculty who share a faith tradition with the sponsoring church are much more supportive of their university's religious goals.

Denominational Overlap with Sponsoring Church

Faculty members who claim the same religious affiliation as their school hold views distinctively different from their colleagues with another or no religious affiliation. The survey data show that for most faculty who are Baptist at Baylor, or Catholic at Notre Dame and Boston College, ^[5] being at a Christian university includes enhancing students' moral development and encouraging a Christian philosophy for living; having classroom activities that promote faith; encouraging students and faculty to attend worship services; going short-handed in order to hire someone with both appropriate academic and religious characteristics; and integrating faith and learning.

[See Table 9 below]

Faculty members who are the same denomination as their school have different ideas about faculty hiring than their non-Baptist/non-Catholic colleagues. Reflecting the means in Table 9, two-thirds of Baylor's Baptist faculty agree that Baylor should go short-handed in order to hire someone with both academic and religious characteristics, and half of Notre Dame's and Boston College's Catholic faculty agree (Q10). On the other hand, slightly less than half of Baylor's non-Baptist faculty agree with going short-handed, and even more strikingly, only eleven percent of non-Catholics at Boston College and twenty-one percent at Notre Dame agree with this statement.

These same-denomination faculty members are also more likely to support religious university goals (i.e., encourage moral development and Christian philosophy of life) and faith-related classroom activities. A little more than one-third of Baptist faculty at Baylor share their personal religious experience in class (Q5), compared to less than a quarter who are non-Baptist. More broadly, being Baptist is associated with a significantly more religious response to 13 of the 15 questions. Boston College and Notre Dame Catholic faculty follow this same pattern. For all fifteen questions, Catholic faculty at Notre Dame are more interested in the religious goals of their university than are their non-Catholic colleagues. Similar to Notre Dame, Catholic faculty at Boston College are more supportive of religious goals in their responses than non-Catholic faculty on fourteen of the questions.

Regardless of the question, faculty members who share their school's religious affiliation differed by

offering less secular responses. In fact, the variation by denomination *within* the university is so strong that it often exceeds the faculty variation *between* the universities. For example, Baptist faculty roles at Baylor resemble the Catholic faculty roles at Notre Dame and Boston College more than they do the faculty roles of the non-Baptists at Baylor. Similarly, Catholic faculty at Notre Dame and Boston College share more understandings of their faculty roles with Baptist faculty at Baylor than they do with their non-Catholic colleagues at their own university. At BYU, of course, virtually all faculty share their school's religious affiliation, helping explain why they appear so much more supportive of Brigham Young's intentional religiosity.

School From Which Faculty Member Received Degree

Highly correlated with denomination is whether or not the faculty member earned a degree from their current school. Faculty members who received a diploma from the university in which they now teach have a definition of a "Christian" university similar to those who are the same denomination as the school. For example, Table 10 shows that Baylor faculty who received a degree from Baylor believe that a Christian philosophy of life and attending public worship should be encouraged. These faculty members are also more likely to discuss faith in the classroom and share their personal religious experience in class. Overall, "having a Baylor degree" typically results in a less secular set of faculty responses. The same pattern is seen among Notre Dame, Boston College and Brigham Young faculty members who received a degree from their respective school.

[See Table 10 below]

However, "having a Baylor degree," or "having a Notre Dame or Boston College degree" may not produce an independent effect on faculty adaptations. Three of every four respondents with a Baylor degree are Baptist while less than half of those without a Baylor degree are Baptist. Nine out of every ten respondents with a Notre Dame degree are Catholic and seven out of every ten respondents with a degree from Boston College are Catholic. Similar to Baylor, less than half of those without a Notre Dame or Boston College degree are Catholic.

Because so many who have a Baylor degree are also Baptist, and because so many who have a Notre Dame or Boston College degree are Catholic, we cannot assess the effect of "degree" independently of the effect of being Baptist or Catholic. However, one variable that does appear to be independent of other predictors is the college or school in which a faculty member teaches.

College of Arts and Sciences

When compared to the mean responses of their counterparts in Business, Education, or other schools in Table 11, most Arts and Sciences faculty at Baylor, Notre Dame, and Brigham Young^[6] are less likely to believe that their role includes encouraging students to develop a Christian philosophy of life (Q3) or encouraging students' moral development (Q2); going short-handed in order to hire someone with both appropriate academic and religious characteristics (Q10); or integrating faith and learning (Q15).

[See Table 11 below]

Arts and Sciences faculty are more concerned with research, academic freedom, and keeping their faith separate from their academic discipline. As an example of support for research, the means for Question 1 in Table 11 reflect a distribution in which 43% of the Arts and Sciences faculty at Baylor (vs. 30% in "other Baylor colleges"), 81% at Notre Dame (vs. 57% in "other Notre Dame colleges") and 49% at Brigham Young (vs. 8% in "other BYU colleges") think their university should put maximum possible emphasis on advancing knowledge through research.

The same is true for faculty hiring. Faculty in the Arts and Sciences at Notre Dame and Baylor are less likely to support hiring policies that include religious criteria. The means in Table 11 reflect a distribution in which only 34% of Arts and Sciences faculty at Notre Dame and 47% at Baylor agree that a department should go short-handed in order to hire someone with both academic and religious characteristics; over

half the respondents in other colleges at Baylor and Notre Dame agree with this statement. Even at Brigham Young, Arts and Sciences faculty members are significantly different from their BYU colleagues on academic freedom and leading class in prayer. Almost half of the respondents in Arts and Sciences agree that faculty should be able to read and discuss anything in the classroom even if it questions some LDS beliefs and practices, while only one-third in other schools or colleges agree with this statement. Moreover, about half of BYU faculty members in a school other than Arts and Sciences practice leading their class in prayer, while only 30% of those in Arts and Sciences lead prayers in their classrooms. Overall, Table 11 indicates that Arts and Sciences faculty at Baylor significantly differ from their colleagues on ten of the fifteen possible questions. Notre Dame Arts and Sciences faculty significantly differ from their colleagues on seven of the questions, and Brigham Young Arts and Sciences significantly differ from their colleagues on twelve of the fifteen questions. Regardless of the university, Arts and Sciences faculty differed by offering more secular responses. Moreover, these disciplinary differences exist without any significant correlation with the most powerful predictor, the religious denomination of the faculty.^[7]

Conclusions

Four broad conclusions emerge from these surveys. First, in spite of the academic revolution, the majority of faculty at all four schools appear broadly supportive of their university's religious commitment. Most support an academic environment that encourages moral development. Most would be willing to discuss faith-related questions in the classroom, and so on. Although these faculty are employed at schools that are part of the "head of the snake," these faculty appear to be adapting by simultaneously supporting both the academic and faith-based goals of their universities. This is certainly not the first research to report limitations in secularization theory (Warner 1993), but it may be the first evidence coming from what has

been seen as a stronghold of secularization, the academy.^[8] Our results indicate that most faculty are able to balance both faith and knowledge. Yet, it is true that the balance is seldom equal. When faculty were asked questions such as "should your university go short-handed until a candidate sharing institution's religious commitments is found," or "...the university should guarantee its faculty members freedom to explore any idea or theory..." academic commitments took precedent over religious commitments. The only school that did not privilege academic goals over religious goals was Brigham Young. BYU's almost exclusively LDS faculty continued to give responses that supported their school's religious tradition regardless of the question, indicating a devotion to faith as the most significant part of their understanding of both the institution's mission and their own professional roles.

Second, an association seems to exist between the structure or organization of a university and faculty attitudes towards the school's religious tradition. In comparison to the other three schools, Brigham Young is more committed to their religious tradition in both organizational structure and faculty attitudes. The commitment to the Mormon faith is seen through organizational dimensions such as the mission statement, curriculum, hiring practices, and mandatory church attendance. Survey responses also indicate that Brigham Young's almost exclusively LDS faculty have a greater devotion to their school's religious goals when compared to the faculty at the other three schools. Based solely on organizational structure, Brigham Young appears to be the most intentionally religious, followed by Baylor, Notre Dame and then Boston College. The same pattern emerges with our survey of faculty attitudes.

Third, faculty responses varied around three significant variables, denominational overlap with the sponsoring church, receiving a degree from their current university, and the college or school in which they teach. If the faculty member's denomination is different from the university's sponsoring denomination, if the faculty member does not have a degree from the school where she or he teaches, if the faculty member is in the College of Arts and Sciences, he or she is significantly more likely to adopt more secular adaptations to the faculty role. Denominational overlap and being in Arts and Sciences are especially interesting. Baptists at Baylor have more in common with Catholics at Notre Dame and Boston College regarding their understandings of the religious nature of their faculty roles than they do with non-Baptists at Baylor. Similarly, Catholics at Notre Dame and Boston College are statistically more similar in their survey responses to Baptists at Baylor than they are to their non-Catholic faculty colleagues. And even at homogenous BYU, faculty in the College of Arts and Sciences exhibit significantly less support for

the religious components of their roles, just as they do at Baylor and Notre Dame. Finally, and most broadly, these surveys indicate that Riesman's snake is no longer the only metaphor for higher education. Not all universities have secularized in the pursuit of academic excellence, and although all four faculties varied in their commitments to their schools' religious heritages, they all maintain a level of religious commitment that might not be expected in modern research universities. With a growing appreciation of multiple educational missions (Keele and Nickman 1999) and intellectual paradigms (Lyotard 1984, MacIntyre 1988), a more nuanced metaphor might be akin to the classic organic structural functionalism of Spencer and Ward and to the more recent organic analogies for social groups (Turner and Maryanski 1979). The whole body of higher education can be seen as being an "ecosystem" of interdependent types of colleges and universities, many with unique contributions and vantage points. When the education practices of religious schools are introduced into a fairly specific ecological niche, say, the research niche, they adapt to the new habitat. The research of faculty at religious schools becomes more mainline in its methodology and less insular in its publication venues. Correspondingly, but to a lesser degree, the tolerance of different assumptions and methods is broadened in the larger academy. Both habitats change, but both also remain recognizably similar to what they were before the adaptations (Roberts 2000). The integrative point of the metaphor is that when a new element is introduced into a system, the element and the system adjust, each changing somewhat to accommodate the other. A new version of the old system emerges when the element introduces functions harmoniously as a part of the new whole.

This metaphor fits well with emerging concerns about over reliance on a single model for evaluating and classifying colleges and universities. As we move away from the model of one dominant pattern (the secular research university) and its correlative measures of excellence by which all of higher education must be judged, the distinctive contributions of intentionally religious universities may be more widely appreciated and more easily secured.

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Table 1

Survey Response Rates

	Date Survey was Mailed	Number of Surveys Mailed	Number of Surveys Returned	Response Rate
Baylor	October 1994	599	404	67%
Notre Dame	March 1995	631	249	39%
Boston College	April 1995	474	199	42%

Table 2

Religiously Defined University Goals

	N	Maximum Emphasis (1)	Moderate Emphasis (2)	Minimum Emphasis (3)	Not a Goal (4)
<i>Q1 To what extent should _____ emphasize advancing knowledge through research</i>					
Brigham Young	862	39.9%	54.2%	4.9%	1.0%
Baylor	426	36.6%	58.2%	4.7%	.5%
Notre Dame	248	77.3%	20.8%	1.0%	.9%
Boston College	195	59.3%	39.7%	.9%	0.0%
<i>Q2 To what extent should _____ emphasize the student's moral development</i>					
Brigham Young	871	86.2%	.2%	1.4%	
		3.65pt; padding:0in 5.4pt 0in 5.4pt'> 12.2%			
Baylor	424	51.7%	36.1%	10.8%	1.4%
Notre Dame	248	53.7%	37.3%	7.7%	1.4%
Boston College	192	57.5%	33.9%	5.9%	2.7%
		Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)
<i>Q3 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should provide an academic environment that encourages students to develop a well-thought-out Christian philosophy of life.</i>					
Brigham Young	858	59.3%	38.8%	1.2%	.7%
Baylor	410	28.8%	46.6%	19.0%	5.6%
Notre Dame	233	33.2%	38.1%	20.5%	9.2%
Boston College	176	19.7%	27.8%	33.8%	18.7%

Table 3

Classroom Activities that Reflect Religious Goals

<i>The following are sometimes mentioned as appropriate practices at a Christian university:</i>	N	Currently Practice (1)	Would Experiment with this practice (2)	Not Willing to Experiment (3)
<i>Q4 Discuss Faith Related Questions in the Classroom When Raised by Class Material</i>				
Brigham Young	854	92.5%	6.4%	1.1%
Baylor	395	58.2%	25.1%	16.7%
Notre Dame	233	51.8%	30.5%	17.7%
Boston College	182	48.3%	30.4%	21.3%
<i>Q5 Share Personal Religious Experience in Class</i>				

Brigham Young	840	75.1%	17.0%	7.9%
Baylor	396	27.5%	21.2%	51.3%
Notre Dame	239	17.7%	20.0%	62.3%
Boston College	181	18.2%	19.0%	62.8%

Q6 Lead Class in Prayer

Brigham Young	833	38.3%	44.1%	17.6%
Baylor	396	7.1%	25.3%	67.7%
Notre Dame	239	10.7%	22.2%	67.2%
Boston College	184	3.5%	18.7%	77.8%

Table 4

Extracurricular Religious Activities

	<u>N</u>	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)
<i>Q7 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should encourage students to attend college-sponsored public worship services</i>					
Brigham Young	870	37.8%	59.4%	2.5%	.2%
Baylor	414	14.3%	53.1%	22.7%	9.9%
Notre Dame	238	13.8%	49.1%	21.0%	16.1%
Boston College	176	12.4%	33.8%	32.3%	21.5%
<i>Q8 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should encourage faculty to attend college-sponsored public worship services</i>					
Brigham Young	868	34.1%	59.4%	5.8%	.7%
Baylor	415	13.0%	49.6%	22.7%	14.7%
Notre Dame	239	10.4%	43.2%	23.9%	22.4%
Boston College	178	12.2%	26.0%	28.9%	32.8%
	<u>N</u>	Currently Practice (1)	Would Experiment With (2)	Am Not Willing To Adopt (3)	
<i>Q9 As a teacher, I ___ discussing religious commitments with students outside of class</i>					
Brigham Young	860	95.2%	4.2%	.6%	
Baylor	403	70.7%	13.2%	16.1%	
Notre Dame	236	55.6%	24.6%	19.7%	
Boston College	184	48.5%	24.6%	26.9%	

Table 5

Preferred Faculty Hiring

	<u>N</u>	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)
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Q10 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should search for and hire faculty who share the institution's religious commitments and have academic promise or prominence, even if it means the department may have to function short-handed until such a candidate is found.

Brigham Young	863	38.0%	43.8%	14.9%	3.2%
Baylor	412	18.0%	36.9%	28.6%	16.5%
Notre Dame	240	12.4%	25.7%	36.5%	25.4%
Boston College	177	11.7%	16.2%	36.6%	35.5%

Q11 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should hire faculty who have the highest level of academic promise or prominence regardless of religious beliefs or commitments.

Brigham Young	865	2.2%	8.0%	41.5%	47.4%
Baylor	412	17.7%	18.2%	38.1%	26.0%
Notre Dame	239	36.8%	21.2%	28.3%	13.7%
Boston College	174	48.1%	25.5%	17.7%	8.8%

Table 6

Understandings of Academic Freedom

	<u>N</u>	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)
<i>Q12 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should guarantee its faculty the freedom to explore any idea or theory and to publish the results of those inquiries, even if the ideas question some traditional (Catholic, Baptist, Mormon) beliefs and practices.</i>					
Brigham Young	857	11.6%	20.5%	40.4%	27.5%
Baylor	415	54.5%	35.7%	8.7%	1.2%
Notre Dame	239	75.1%	20.4%	4.2%	.4%
Boston College	177	76.0%	22.4%	1.6%	0.0%

Q13 To meet its academic and faith-related goals, ___ should allow the faculty to read and discuss anything in the classroom they believe pertains to what they are teaching, even if the material questions some traditional (Catholic, Baptist, Mormon) beliefs and practices.

Brigham Young	850	11.4%	30.8%	33.9%	23.9%
Baylor	415	58.6%	31.6%	8.4%	1.4%
Notre Dame	240	65.2%	26.0%	7.7%	1.1%
Boston College	178	69.1%	26.2%	4.7%	0.0%

Table 7

Integrate Faith and Learning

	<u>N</u>	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)
<i>Q14 If I wanted to do so, I could create a syllabus for a course I currently teach that includes a clear, academically-legitimate, Christian perspective on the subject.</i>					
Brigham Young	814	29.0%	42.5%	21.0%	7.5%
Baylor	380	15.5%	28.2%	26.6%	29.7%
Notre Dame	229	20.4%	22.7%	30.0%	26.9%
Boston College	180	24.2%	24.7%	27.6%	23.5%

Q15 Since ___ strives to be a Christian university, the encouragement of both faith and learning are important tasks, but these are separate tasks and ought not to be integrated.

Brigham Young	856	1.8%	4.0%	41.6%	52.7%
Baylor	398	16.6%	25.4%	37.9%	20.1%
Notre Dame	229	13.6%	24.1%	42.7%	19.5%
Boston College	185	22.1%	30.0%	29.6%	18.3%

Table 8

Homogeneous Subsets of Survey Means

School	University Goals								
	Q1 Research		Q2 Moral Development			Q3 Christian Philosophy			
	1	2	1	2	1	2	3		
BYU		1.67	1.17		1.43				
Baylor		1.69		1.62		2.01			
Notre Dame	1.26			1.56		2.07			
Boston College	1.42			1.54				2.51	

School	Classroom Activities						
	Q4 Discuss Faith		Q5 Personal Religion			Q6 Prayer	
	1	2	1	2	3	1	2
BYU	1.09		1.33			1.79	
Baylor		1.58		2.24			2.61
Notre Dame		1.66		2.45	2.45		2.56
Boston College		1.73			2.46		2.74

School	Extracurricular Activities								
	Q7 Student Worship			Q8 Faculty Worship			Q9 Religion Outside		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
BYU	1.65			1.73			1.05		
Baylor		2.28			2.39			1.45	
Notre Dame		2.40			2.58	2.58			1.64
Boston College			2.63			2.82			1.78

School	Faculty Hiring						
	Q10 Short-Handed			Q11 Academic Prominence			
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
BYU	1.83			3.34			
Baylor		2.44			2.72		
Notre Dame			2.74			2.19	
Boston College			2.96				1.87

School	Academic Freedom					
	Q12 Research Freedom			Q13 Classroom Freedom		
	1	2	3	1	2	
BYU			2.84	2.70		
Baylor		1.57			1.53	
Notre Dame	1.30				1.44	
Boston College	1.26				1.36	

School	Integrate Faith and Learning			
	Q14 Christian Syllabus		Q15 F&L Not Integrate	
	1	2	1	2
BYU		2.07	3.45	
Baylor	2.71			2.62
Notre Dame	2.63			2.68

Boston College

2.50

2.44

Note. Homogeneous subsets are significantly different with an alpha \leq .01.**Table 9*****T-Tests within School for Religious Affiliation***

	BAYLOR		NOTRE DAME		BOSTON COLLEGE	
	Baptist	Other	Catholic	Other	Catholic	Other
UNIVERSITY GOALS						
Q1 Emphasize Research	1.74	1.65	1.33**	1.15	1.48	1.38
Q2 Emphasize Moral Development	3.50*	3.34	3.62***	3.19	3.65**	3.36
Q3 Encourage Christian Philosophy	3.15***	2.85	3.24***	2.51	3.11***	2.05
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES						
Q4 Discuss Faith in Classroom	3.34***	2.91	3.23**	2.74	3.37***	2.58
Q5 Share Personal Religious Experience	2.47***	1.87	2.04***	1.52	2.16**	1.61
Q6 Lead Class in Prayer	1.69	1.52	1.93***	1.29	1.71***	1.15
EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES						
Q7 Encourage Students Public Worship	2.88**	2.63	2.89***	2.20	2.85***	2.06
Q8 Encourage Faculty Public Worship	2.80***	2.50	2.73***	2.00	2.70***	1.83
Q9 Discuss Religion Outside Class	3.62***	3.11	3.36***	2.59	3.33***	2.53
FACULTY HIRING						
Q10 Go Short-Handed	2.86***	2.30	2.59***	1.81	2.62***	1.63
Q11 Academic Prominence	3.04***	2.49	2.57***	1.68	2.33***	1.59
ACADEMIC FREEDOM						
Q12 Freedom in Classroom	1.63**	1.42	1.59***	1.25	1.58***	1.19
Q13 Freedom in Research	1.65*	1.48	1.44***	1.11	1.40***	1.15
FAITH AND LEARNING						
Q14 Create Christian Syllabus	2.53***	2.11	2.61***	2.06	2.87***	2.19
Q15 Faith and Learning should not be integrated	2.85***	2.44	3.00***	2.26	2.81***	2.23

Note. Mean value is reported. In order to compare means across questions, answers were recorded when necessary so that a higher mean value always reflects a more religious response and a lower mean value always reflects a more secular response. *p \leq .05 **p \leq .01 *p \leq .001**

Table 10***T-Tests within School for Degree***

	BRIGHAM YOUNG	BAYLOR	NOTRE DAME	BOSTON COLLEGE
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	BYU	Other	BU	Other	ND	Other	BC	Other
UNIVERSITY GOALS								
Q1 Emphasize Research	1.71**	1.59	1.83***	1.62	1.25	1.26	1.61*	1.39
Q2 Emphasize Moral Development	3.83	3.83	3.49	3.38	3.68**	3.40	3.58	3.44
Q3 Encourage Christian Philosophy	3.58	3.56	3.14*	2.96	3.32**	2.83	2.91*	2.40
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES								
Q4 Discuss Faith in Classroom	3.91***	3.78	3.34*	3.04	3.29	2.97	3.65***	2.79
Q5 Share Personal Religious Experience	3.53	3.48	2.46**	2.06	2.23*	1.74	2.03	1.79
Q6 Lead Class in Prayer	2.86	2.71	2.78**	1.51	2.21***	1.51	1.71*	1.33
EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES								
Q7 Encourage Students Public Worship	3.37	3.31	2.80	2.72	2.90*	2.53	2.72*	2.30
Q8 Encourage Faculty Public Worship	3.29	3.23	2.77*	2.58	2.81**	2.34	2.66**	2.08
Q9 Discuss Religion Outside Class	3.93	3.89	3.59**	3.26	3.40*	2.97	3.35*	2.75
FACULTY HIRING								
Q10 Go Short-Handed	3.22*	3.07	2.76**	2.51	2.64**	2.17	2.28	1.99
Q11 Academic Prominence	3.37	3.30	2.98**	2.66	2.81***	2.05	2.25*	1.80
ACADEMIC FREEDOM								
Q12 Freedom in Classroom	2.74	2.62	1.56	1.53	1.58	1.40	1.42	1.34
Q13 Freedom in Research	2.90*	2.72	1.70*	1.52	1.32	1.30	1.27	1.24
FAITH AND LEARNING								
Q14 Create Christian Syllabus	3.00***	2.77	2.46	2.27	2.77**	2.27	2.72	2.45
Q15 Faith and Learning should not be integrated	3.50**	3.35	2.82*	2.57	3.04**	2.59	2.79	2.39

Note. Mean value is reported. A higher mean reflects a more religious response. *p≤.05 p≤.01 ***p≤.001**

Table 11

T-Tests within School for College or School

	BAYLOR		NOTRE DAME		BRIGHAM YOUNG	
	A&S	Other	A&S	Other	A&S	Other
UNIVERSITY GOALS						
Q1 Emphasize Research	1.63*	1.77	1.20**	1.45	1.54***	1.83
Q2 Emphasize Moral Development	3.26***	3.59	3.35***	3.75	3.84	3.85
Q3 Encourage Christian Philosophy	2.89**	3.16	2.88	3.13	3.53*	3.61
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES						
Q4 Discuss Faith in Classroom	3.15	3.12	2.99	3.16	3.83*	3.91
Q5 Share Personal Religious Experience	2.07	2.33	1.79	1.98	3.43***	3.66
Q6 Lead Class in Prayer	1.48**	1.73	1.58	1.91	2.62***	3.07
EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES						
Q7 Encourage Students Public Worship	2.69	2.82	2.54	2.84	3.28***	3.46

Q8 Encourage Faculty Public Worship	2.60	2.70	2.34*	2.74	3.20***	3.39
Q9 Discuss Religion Outside Class	3.34	3.44	3.03	3.08	3.93	3.91
FACULTY HIRING						
Q10 Go Short-Handed	2.41***	2.82	2.18*	2.55	3.14	3.24
Q11 Academic Prominence	2.57***	3.02	2.07***	2.68	3.28***	3.47
ACADEMIC FREEDOM						
Q12 Freedom in Classroom	1.41**	1.69	1.37**	1.68	2.58***	2.88
Q13 Freedom in Research	1.47***	1.70	1.26	1.44	2.75***	3.02
FAITH AND LEARNING						
Q14 Create Christian Syllabus	2.25*	2.47	2.34	2.48	2.85**	3.03
Q15 Faith and Learning should not be integrated	2.50***	2.86	2.60*	3.10	3.41**	3.54

Note. Mean value is reported. A higher mean reflects a more religious response. * $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Notes

[1] An intentional religious commitment is more common among liberal arts colleges, but these colleges would not be the “top 100” or the “head of the snake” in higher education. So, faculty at liberal arts colleges might not experience the same level of role conflicts. Still, even smaller religious colleges are likely to experience significant differences of faculty opinion on the appropriate level of religious socialization (Ingram 1996).

[2] At Notre Dame, 66% of the faculty who responded to our survey were Catholic, while the University reports only 57% of the faculty are Catholic. The actual proportion of Catholics at Boston College was estimated because Boston College does not ask faculty about their religious affiliation. After conversations with an expert panel of Boston College administrators and faculty, 40-45% emerged as the best estimate. Forty-seven percent of the respondents at Boston College identified themselves as Catholic. Both samples were weighted, producing a Notre Dame sample with 57% Catholic and Boston College with 43% Catholic.

[3] At the time this survey was distributed at BYU, a campus-wide controversy regarding the administration’s recommendation to deny continuing status to an English professor had resulted in an investigation by the AAUP. See “Academic Freedom and Tenure: Brigham Young University,” *Academe* (September/October 1997), 52-71. This controversy may have discouraged some faculty from responding either because they feared results were being collected for administrative use or to protest the administration’s decision. Such a bias may exist at the other institutions as well, even in the absence of specific controversies.

[4] While compartmentalization may offer significant advantages as a strategy for limiting the possible conflict between the twin demands of academic and religious goals, it also poses considerable dangers. Sloan (1994) argues that like almost any “separate but equal” status, one goal will inevitably in practice become more important and be privileged over the other. In the modern university, research and professional goals will overwhelm faith-oriented or -grounded commitments.

[5] Because Brigham Young’s faculty was 98% LDS at the time of this survey, the variation in denomination is insufficient for the kinds of comparisons shown in Table 9.

[6] Boston College data are not reported here because “college or school” it is not a significant predictor of faculty attitudes

[7] Denomination is not statistically correlated with college or school in any of these faculty surveys. Further, several previous surveys have discovered that faculty in the social sciences and humanities (which account for approximately two-thirds of the Arts and Sciences faculty in these schools) are less religious than their counterparts in the professional and natural sciences fields (Lehman and Shriver 1968, Wuthnow 1989).

[8] This is not to contend that these four school are no more secular now than they were four or five decades ago. If one indicator of a university’s intentional religious character is the percentage of faculty who are members of the sponsoring church, then all but BYU are more secular now. Baylor’s faculty was approximately 65% Baptist in 1950 and is about 50% now. Boston College’s percentage of faculty who are Catholic has dropped since it laicized its Board of Trustees in 1972. Much of the Catholic character was embodied by the curricular requirements of 12 hours of philosophy and 12 hours of theology (Burtchaell 1998). Boston College and Notre Dame now require only two courses in philosophy and two in theology.