Religion on Campus: Focus on Chaplains
Literature Review and Working Paper

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Religion and Secularism on Campus: The Big Picture

The role of religion on college and university campuses in the United States has gone through significant changes since the establishment of institutions of higher education. In the early years of the U.S. most of these institutions were founded to train Protestant clergyman and had religion at the heart of their purpose. In other words, at that time religion was at the center of, and the reason for, higher education. This changed over time as colleges and universities expanded their curriculum. Since the 1950s and 1960s, much scholarly work has focused on theories of secularization on college and university campuses (e.g. Marsden and Longfield 1992; Marsden 1994; and Burtchaell 1998). Mirroring theories about religion in the West more generally, these theories have speculated that religion, perceived to be at the periphery of college life both in regard to teaching and practice, will disappear completely. Many universities, even some of those with historical religious affiliation, have distanced themselves from religion to various degrees, claiming some form of secularity to maintain their commitment to intellectual (read: not religious) life (Burtchaell 1998). Indeed, scholars have argued that campuses, and their students, are becoming increasingly secular and that a college education inevitably leads to religious decline in young adults (e.g. Caplovitz and Sherrow 1977; Lehman 1972).

More recent literature has found that the idea that university and college campuses are secularizing, or that they cause students to become less religious, is not the whole story

(e.g. Cherry et al. 2001; Finke and Stark 2005; Schmalzbauer 2013): much like the general U.S. landscape, college and university campuses are not necessarily becoming more secular, but are part of an ever-changing landscape that is becoming more pluralist.

Because this literature review is focused on religion on college and university campuses in the US, it is helpful to get a sense of the broader context in regard to religious demographics among US adults that would be considered the traditional college age (18-29) (Figure 1, below). This Pew (2014) data shows the makeup of religious tradition by age group. The largest single percentage is the unaffiliated or "religious nones" (36%). However, 64% still affiliate with a faith of some kind. Of those who are affiliated, 20% identify as Evangelical Protestant, 16% as Catholic, 10% as Mainline Protestant, and 6% as Historically Black Protestant. Jews, Mormons, Muslims, and "other faiths" make up 2% each, while Hindus, Buddhists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Orthodox Christians make up 1% each. This gives us a broader context of the US demographics for this age group. College and university campuses themselves vary significantly in their percentage of affiliated and unaffiliated students and the different faiths that dot their respective landscapes (as exemplified by The Princeton Review's ranking of "least religious" and "most religious" colleges).

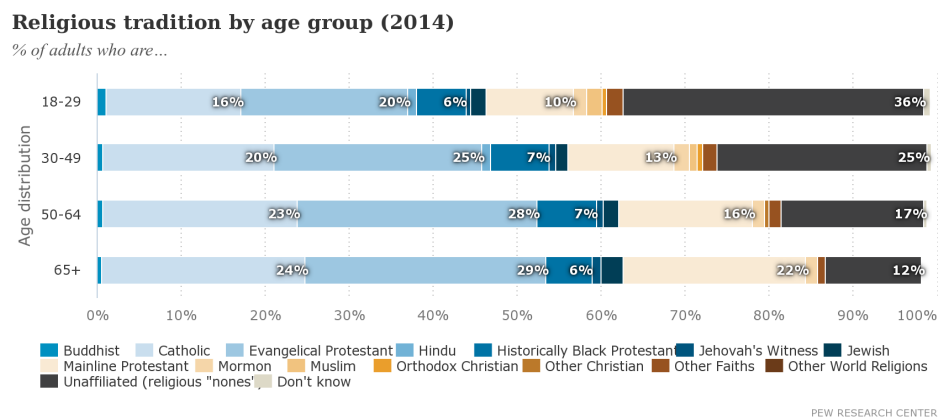**Religious tradition by age group (2014)**
% of adults who are…

Figure 1: Religious tradition by age group for sample of US population (Pew 2014)

This paper helps establish the state of the literature about religion on college and university campuses, with a focus on campus chaplaincy. The paper starts with students'

perspectives acquired through surveys and qualitative research. It then looks at religious groups on campus, including campus chaplains, campus ministries, and parachurch groups. The final section discusses how physical space is used on college and university campuses in regard to religion. In the conclusion, I ask questions about what these changes in religion and spirituality mean for campus chaplains and what these changes mean for scholarly work regarding chaplaincy in higher education.

From the Standpoint of Students: Surveys and Ethnography

Surveys of both college students and the American public in general provide empirical insight into contemporary trends of religion on campus. In this section I briefly discuss the results of three surveys aimed at understanding student experiences and views about religion and spirituality. The first is the American Religious Identity Survey (ARIS) 2013: National College Student Survey.[2] Conducted by principle investigators Barry A. Kosmin and Ariela Keysar from Trinity College, this survey asked just under 2,000 college and university students in the U.S. from 38 campuses, both public (44%) and private (56%), about their religious identity and worldview. The second is The Spiritual Life of College Students: A National Study of College Students' Search for Meaning and Purpose, which is presented in *Cultivating the Spirit: How College Can Enhance Students' Inner Lives* (Astin, Astin, and Lindholm 2010). The authors surveyed 112,000 first-year students from 236 diverse colleges and universities across the country at the beginning of the students' freshman and junior years to better understand religious and spiritual change in college and university students over time. The survey is complimented by qualitative work (interviews and observations) on 11 campuses. The third survey is the Interfaith Diversity Experiences and Attitudes Longitudinal Survey (IDEALS), carried out by Alyssa Rockenbach and Matthew Mayhew between 2011 and 2015, which examines the answers of over 20,000 students from 122 U.S. colleges and universities to understand their religious and worldview diversity attitudes over time. Fourth, I detail an ethnographic study, *Religion on Campus* (Cherry, Deberg, and Porterfield 2001), which looks at four U.S.

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[2] It is important to note that the ARIS 2013 National College Student Survey was carried out by the Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture, an institute that favors secularization.

colleges and universities to understand the state of religion in higher education. Finally, I briefly compare the surveys about student religion and spirituality to survey results about religion among the general American public.

In order to understand students' worldviews, the authors of the ARIS National College Student Survey asked students to identify as either religious, spiritual, secular, or don't know. 32% identified as religious, 28% as secular, 32% as spiritual, and 8% as don't know. Of the religious, 78.4% identified as Christian in one way or another, 7.6% as Jewish, and 2% as Eastern religion. Of the spiritual-identified respondents, 43% identified as Christian, 31.9% as nones, and 6.5% as new religious movement or other religion. Of the secular-identified respondents, 70.2% identified as nones, 8.6% as Christian, 4.8% as Jewish, 3.5% as Eastern religion, 1.7% as new religious movement and other religions. The survey also asked about students' alternative spiritual practices. The authors state that because students in the U.S. are "exposed to many new age and alternative therapies we thought it worthwhile to explore" those practices (Kosmin and Keysar 2013: 18). Of the religious students, 80% said they engage in prayer, while 28% engage in faith healing and 13% in homeopathy. Those with a spiritual worldview engage in prayer (43%), homeopathy (27%), and faith healing (20%). Of those who identified as secular, 13% say they engage in homeopathy, 12% in prayer, and 6% in faith healing. The results of the question "Is it necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values?" may, the authors argue, point to college and university students' tolerance of others. Those who identify as religious had a range of opinion: 9.4% completely agree, 24.4% mostly agree, 32.4% mostly disagree, and 33.8% completely disagree. 99.7% of the secular students and 89% of the spiritual students fell in the completely/mostly disagree camps.

Another study, encapsulated in *Cultivating the Spirit: How College Can Enhance Students' Inner Lives,* measures change and growth of students' spirituality and religiosity over time. To evaluate spirituality, the authors used measures such as "spiritual quest," equanimity, and charitable involvement. For religion, they used measures of religious engagement, skepticism, and struggle over time. In the study, the authors chose to measure religion and spirituality as distinct but not necessarily unconnected. Spirituality refers to the inner subjective life of students through which meaning, purpose, and connectedness are gained. Religion is the "adherence to a set of faith-based beliefs" (Astin et al. 2011: 5).

The authors found that religiousness declined somewhat during the college years, while spirituality increased significantly. Rather than looking solely on beliefs and practices, the authors look at institutional factors that contribute to spiritual growth, such as students' majors, extracurricular involvement, and student-faculty interactions.

A third survey, the Interfaith Diversity Experiences and Attitudes Longitudinal Survey (IDEALS), examined the answers of over 20,000 incoming students from 122 U.S. colleges and universities to understand their religious and worldview diversity attitudes. The principle investigators understand "worldview" to mean "a guiding life philosophy, which may be based on a particular religious tradition, spiritual orientation, nonreligious perspective, or some combination of these" (Mayhew 2016:2). About half (55%) of the students were worldview majorities (i.e. Christian), 28% did not identify with any religious institution (they identified as atheist, secular, humanist, and/or spiritual), 16% were worldview minorities (i.e. religions that are less represented in the U.S. such as Hinduism, Islam, and Native American traditions). 41% characterized themselves as "both religious and spiritual," 26% identified as "spiritual, but not religious," 22% as neither spiritual nor religious, and 11% as "religious, but not spiritual." In regard to students' expectations that campuses will support religious and spiritual endeavors, a majority (85%) of students said that it is "important" for campuses to provide a welcoming environment for individuals of diverse religious and nonreligious perspectives, and a majority expected their educational institutions to provide opportunities for them to meaningfully engage with individuals of another or no faith. The survey also found that students value interfaith engagement (83%), though their rate of interfaith behavior fell behind their attitudes. Students also evidenced an appreciative attitude toward specific religious groups, the most appreciated group being Buddhists (55%) and the least appreciated being Mormons (39%).

Over all, the authors found that a majority of students perceived their campuses as places that represent and are inclusive of diverse worldviews; however, worldview minorities and non-religious students were less satisfied with worldview diversity on their campuses. This was a longitudinal survey, and the authors found that students perceived less structural diversity the longer they were in school. This suggests that first year students come to college with some idealism about campus diversity and become more critical as they gain more experience. In regard to space on campus and recognition of

various religious holidays, 72% of students felt that their campus was "very" or an "extremely" safe space for people to express their worldview; however, 42% of students believed that the classroom is "slightly" or "not at all" safe for religious expression.

The authors of the survey also introduce the term "pluralism orientation," which they define as "the extent to which students are accepting of others with different worldviews, believe that worldviews share many common values, consider it important to understand the differences between world religions, and believe it is possible to have strong relationships with diverse others and still hold to their own worldviews" (Mayhew 2016:2). Most (63%) of the participating college and university students indicated high levels of pluralism orientation (Rockenbach et al 2016). The authors also found that interfaith engagement was positively associated with appreciative attitudes. Pluralism orientations also varied depending on student worldview: of worldview majority students, 57% had a high pluralist orientation, while 81% of worldview minority students did, and 67% of nonreligious students and 63% of students with "another worldview" did (Rockenback et al. 2016).

In an effort to test the aforementioned secularization theories and to provide qualitative evidence of the religious and spiritual climate on college and university campuses, Conrad Cherry, Betsy Deberg, and Amanda Porterfield (2001) conducted ethnographies on four campuses: one large, public state university; one Catholic college; one Protestant (Lutheran) college; and one traditionally Black private college that is non-denominational but claims Presbyterian roots. In *Religion on Campus* the authors note the changing landscape of religion in the United States, stating that "Given the overall tendency of American religion to assume new shapes as social and cultural conditions change, it is reasonable to suspect that religion on our college and university campuses has assumed some new appearances as well, appearances that may have gone unrecognized in the secularization theories" (Cherry, et al. 2001: 5). In other words, theories of secularization may not capture the whole picture of higher education. Instead of secularizing, they argue, the *shape* of religion might simply be changing.

While they found nuances in regard to the religious ethos on each campus, they conclude that, overall, religious practice and the teaching of religion on campus is alive and well. They note that, compared to the past, religion is more optional and more pluralistic on

college and university campuses, but this has not caused secularization, which they broadly define as lack of religious vitality due to strong tendencies of religious freedom and religious pluralism (Cherry et al. 2001:294). Additionally, the authors found that the undergrads and faculty they spoke to preferred to use the terms "spiritual" and "spirituality" rather than "religious" or "religion" when describing undergraduate attitudes and practices. The authors interpret this as a sign that undergraduates "understand 'religion' to mean institutions or organizations, whereas [they] understood 'spiritual' to mean a personal experience of God or ultimate values…[spirituality] connoted…a journey or a quest" (Cherry, et al. 2001: 275-276). This, they argue, shows how students prefer to be less bound by institutional religious boundaries: for many students, spirituality took the form of a bricolage wherein they took spiritual aspects from different religions or areas of life to create their own idea of spirituality, emphasizing, again, the "seeking" aspect of student spirituality. While many students identified as spiritual, a minority of students on all campuses attended religious services two to three times a month, while a larger percentage of students attended events like the Christmas Festival that featured musical groups: "that attendance was probably due in part to the popularity of musical performances on campus" (Cherry, et al. 2001: 283). Over all, religious practice at the schools "exemplified a healthier supply than demand" (282). In regard to teaching religion in the classroom, the authors found a range of teaching styles from advocacy of religion to distanced objectivity. They found that if schools want to make religion a part of the curriculum, having a religious studies department is crucial to that mission. They also found that, for students, classes were a site of spirituality and religious meaning, as well as a site for personal growth.

These surveys and ethnographic observations show that religion on college and university campuses has not disappeared. Instead, they show that there is religious and spiritual diversity. The IDEALS survey shows that students are open to people who have different religious faiths and worldviews than themselves. Significantly, it shows that they are open to interfaith engagement and expect their institutions of higher education to facilitate those experiences. Astin, et al. show that college does not result in a significant decline in spirituality; in fact, experiences in college can significantly increase one's spirituality. Astin, et al. also ask about religious identification: about 75% of respondents

reported being Christian of some variation, 2% Jewish, 1% Buddhist, 1% Hindu, 1% Islamic, and 17% identify as none.   When looking at religious identification, the college campus looks similar to the general population of the U.S. with a few small exceptions. 70% of Americans polled by Pew (2014) identified as Christian. Non-Christian faiths made up 5.9% of those polled: 1.9% Jewish, 0.9% Muslim, 0.7% Buddhist, and 0.7% Hindu. Unaffiliated, or "religious" nones, made up 22.8% of the population. In regard to belief and practice, 79% of Astin et al.'s respondents said they believe in God, 69% said they pray (61% at least weekly, and 28% pray daily), and 81% said they attended religious services in the past year. While the measures in the Pew study are not exactly the same, they show some differences between the general American Public and college and university students. In the Pew survey 83% said they believe in God; 55% said they pray daily, and 16% said they pray at least weekly; 36% said they attend religious services at least once a month, and 33% said once or twice a month/a few times a year.

Religiosity and Spirituality on Campus

In his study of campus religious life in America, John Schmalzbauer (2013) found that while mainline Protestantism has experienced decline on college campuses since the 1970s, other religious traditions have flourished. Various forms of evangelical Christianity, for example, have grown rapidly in the past decade with the creation of evangelical parachurch groups, like Campus Crusade for Christ (Cru) and InterVarsity Christian Fellowship. Both Catholicism (with Newman Centers) and Judaism (with Hillel and Chabad) have revitalized their campus organizations and have grown significantly with unique organizational models. Schmalzbauer (2013) also explains that the rise of immigrant religions such as Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism, with their student groups like the Muslim Student Association (MSA) and the Hindu Life Programs at Princeton and Yale, as well as the growth in alternative religions such as neo-pagan groups, are further signs of religious vitality on college campuses. While facing serious challenges since the 1970s, even some mainline Protestant religions are beginning to see a renewal (Schmalzbauer 2013). In effect, campuses are not becoming more secular; rather, what religion looks like is changing and the importance of spirituality (both in relation with and separate from

religion) is increasing; overall, religion on college and universities is becoming more pluralistic.

Furthermore, student affairs professionals are beginning to embrace how important spirituality is for their students. Schmalzbauer (2013) points out that student spirituality used to be a significant concern for student affairs professionals. He quotes a 1949 publication from the American Council on Education, which said that student affairs "must include attention to the students' well-rounded development – physically, socially, emotionally and spiritually, as well as intellectually." This later became an increasingly peripheral aspect of student affairs agendas (Collins et al. 1987; Love and Talbot 1999). However, more recently, some student affairs offices have increasingly focused on the importance of spirituality (however, not explicitly *religion*) in developing wholly rounded students.

Recent scholarship has proven the many positive effects of nurturing student spiritual growth. As mentioned above, Astin, et al. (2011) define spirituality in a way that often overlaps with religion, but is not the same as religion. They state that spirituality "involves an active quest for answers to life's 'big questions'; a global worldview that transcends ethnocentrism and egocentrism; a sense of caring and compassion for others coupled with a lifestyle that includes service to others; and a capacity to maintain one's sense of calm and centeredness, especially in times of stress" (Astin, et al. 2011: 137). Thus, they argue that spiritual development in colleges and universities is "highly compatible with many of the more 'traditional' outcomes of higher education, such as academic performance, leadership development, self-esteem, satisfaction with college, and motivation for further education" (Astin et al. 2011: 138). The authors suggest certain practices that promote spiritual development such as study abroad, interdisciplinary studies, service learning, philanthropic giving, interracial interaction, leadership training, and contemplative practices. Schmalzbauer (2013) correlates this rise in interest of students' spiritual development with the rise of the number of people who identify as "spiritual, but not religious" in the U.S. He notes that some religious figures are skeptical of replacing religion with spirituality; however, he argues, this rise in spirituality is occurring at a time when "parachurch groups, Muslim Student Associations, and Jewish religious organizations are enjoying steady growth…[therefore] it would be more accurate to see

[spirituality] as one more addition to the campus religious marketplace" (Schmalzbauer 2013: 126).

Campus Chaplains, Campus Ministries, and Parachurch Groups

   The terminology framing, and the institutional structure making up, the work of addressing students' religious/spiritual needs on campus varies. On college and university campuses, there may be university "chaplains" and there may be religious ministries. University chaplains[3] are most often employed by a private college or university and are mostly integrated into the day-to-day life of the institution. Religious ministries, made up of campus "pastors" or other religious leaders, on the other hand, are most often employed by a specific denomination or local parish, synagogue, mosque, religious association, etc. and do not always have institutional space or authority on campus as many university chaplains do. Religious student groups and parachurch groups are increasingly dotting the campus landscape and interacting with other religious professionals on campus; parachurch groups tend to be interdenominational Christian evangelist groups.

   In one of the first significant studies of campus clergy, Phillip Hammond (1964: xv) surveyed over 1,000 Protestant campus clergy (one-fourth of the sample were chaplains and the rest were campus pastors) to understand and "explain in structural terms the present state of an occupation – the campus ministry." Hammond argued that because campus ministry, at that time, had been in existence for 65 years it should be a thriving occupation, but it was not. He found that campus ministry was plagued by two main problems: ambiguity in the chaplain's role on campus and high turnover. He proposed that campus ministries become more institutionalized, both in regard to their own denomination and within the college or university. Institutionalization, he argued, would lessen the ambiguity of how to carry out the work of chaplaincy and give chaplains the acknowledgement to feel valued and, thus, more committed to their occupation.

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[3] It is important to note two things. First, the word "campus minister" or "campus ministries" is often used as an umbrella term for both chaplains and campus ministers. In this paper I note when I use the word as an umbrella term. Second, the term "chaplain" has a Christian connotation, though other faiths also provide chaplain services. Additionally, not all campuses use the word "chaplain" to describe someone who fits the definition of the word. Some may use the title "spiritual advisor" or "director of religious life," etc.

A significant portion of the book focused on understanding why the position of campus clergy had not become an institutionalized occupation in its 65 years as a growing field. Hammond stated that institutionalization is achieved when expectations of a role become shared and when those shared expectations "become indigenous" to the institution. Hammond saw the first impediment to institutionalization for campus clergy as difficulty shifting from "borrowed" to "indigenous" expectations; in other words, if campus clergy see their role as simply an extension of a parish pastor, then their role is tied to a "parish model," rather than a university model. This, he argued, needed to change and campus clergy needed to break away from the parish model. Second, Hammond identified impediments to institutionalization that acted as barriers in making the shift from "borrowed" to "indigenous" commitment; that is, according to Hammond, campus clergy, for the most part, did not have specialized training and differentiated role conceptions that give meaning and significance to an occupation, and, therefore, were less likely to commit to the job. Finally, Hammond (1964:130) found that those campus clergy who were more likely to be committed were "least likely to be in positions marked by shared expectations." In other words, those who displayed a commitment to stay in campus clergy were more likely to be in a poorly defined position, more likely to be innovative in their role as clergy (i.e. more than just pastoral), and received little acknowledgement from either the university or their denomination. These positions tended to be in large, "cosmopolitan" university campus. Clergy were also less likely to be acknowledged by their denominations if they had a more innovative style of ministry (i.e. more than the application of parish/congregational ministry in a university setting).

Hammond's proposal for overcoming these barriers to institutionalization was for the campus clergy position to become professionalized: this would include developing unique skills, special training distinct from parish clergy, chaplains' own standards of evaluation, and an understanding of the occupation as a career, rather than a stepping stone to parish clergy or a teaching position in a college or university. Based on Hammond's observations it would be useful to see how campus clergy have changed in regard to institutionalization as a profession, as well as how campus clergy understand their role. Recent scholarly literature has begun to address this but there is still more to learn.

In "In Their Own Words: Campus Ministers' Perceptions of Their Work and Their Worlds," Janice Davis, Merrily Dunn, and J. Shay Davis (2004) interviewed five Christian campus ministers in an attempt to understand the role of campus ministers, and their relationship with their institutions, from the campus minister's own perspective. Their sample included one chaplain, campus ministers, and denominational liaisons. It included four men and one woman, and they sampled from one large public research university and one small, private school, both located in the Southeast United States. They attempted to understand the purpose of campus ministries, how campus ministers perceive the support they get from campus administrators, how they perceive the spiritual climate on today's college campus, how the role of campus ministry has changed throughout the years, and its role on campus.

Their findings show four emergent themes: how campus ministers define their role; facilities; spiritual climate; and relationship with student affairs. First, in regard to how they define their role, the campus ministers' responses highlight three overarching themes from the many duties they have: 1) non-obtrusive evangelism, 2) being present with students on their faith journey, and 3) programming (sponsoring events and outreach). The authors note that events at the private college tended to happen on campus facilities such as the student union, while events on the public university campus tended to happen at the facilities of each group (e.g. a church or center on the periphery of or off campus). The chaplain identified the university as their employer; all others identified their denomination as such. All saw the campus community as the focus of their ministry.

Second, ministers interviewed noted the importance of their physical structures on campus as a place of safety and spirituality for students. Facilities differed depending on the type of institution: for public institutions the buildings were on the edge of campus and were run by specific denominations. They were not formally a part of the institution and, therefore, they were often difficult, or inconvenient, for students to find. On the private campus the school provided office space for campus ministers, which integrated them into the university.

Third, in regard to spiritual climate, participants from both the private and public school mentioned that only about 10% of students actively participated in formal religious activities. Those that do participate, they said, are committed to their religion and tend to

be "fundamental or conservative in their ideas" and, quoting a minister describing the most active Christian students on campus, "right-of-center theologically …[and] politically also" (Davis, et al. 2004: 180). One respondent noted that the university's location in the South might be the reason for this. In regard to the fourth theme, "relationship with student affairs," ministers at small, private campuses reported a clear connection to campus administration; for example, over the years, the campus chaplain has reported to the president and the vice president of student affairs. At the large, public university campus ministers reported no clear connection with campus administration. They understood that they are allowed to contact student affairs if necessary, and they are often involved in events like memorials or celebrations (i.e. September 11th, Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, etc.). Overall, the authors found a more institutionalized campus ministry in the private institution, while at the public institutions they found a clear desire among the ministers to have more of a connection with student affairs.

In "A Description of Traditional and Contemporary Campus Ministries," Tony W. Cawthon and Camilla Jones (2004) differentiate between traditional and contemporary forms of campus ministry. The authors identified traditional forms of campus ministry as those directly related to one denomination, such as Hillel, Newman Clubs, Baptist Student Union, etc. It is important to note that Cawthon and Jones, in their description of "traditional" campus ministries, often lump together "student associations" and "campus ministries"; these are actually distinct entities, though there is some overlap. In the paper they identify contemporary forms of campus ministry as those organizations not publicly or well-known to be affiliated with any particular denomination, such as Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Campus Crusade for Christ (Cru), InterVarsity Fellowship, etc. The authors describe both the traditional and contemporary organizations in cursory detail, offer a brief history of each, and describe their mission and goals as well as organizational structure. Additionally, they contend that campus ministries are divided into three main models: the presence model, the networking/resource model, and the church-on-campus model. These models have been more popular at different times since the 1960s, though currently (or at least at the time the article was written) the church-on-campus model is most popular.

Cawthon and Jones provide a brief overview of a sample of traditional and contemporary campus ministry organizations.[4] The Baptist Student Unions (BSUs), created in 1914, are one of the largest Christian ministries in the U.S. and are located on more than 1,000 campuses nationwide.[5] Because the acronym "BSU" has become associated with other campus groups, many local BSU ministries have changed their name over time; they are now more commonly known as Baptist Student Ministries (BCM), but may also be called Christian Challenge or Christian Student Ministries. These groups are supported by state-level Baptist conventions. In areas where these conventions are particularly strong, they provide funds for the campus groups. In other areas, the groups must raise their own funds. Membership includes Baptists and Southern Baptists, though it is open to anyone who wants to join. The first director of the Baptist Student Association, Frank Leavell, structured the organization around Baptist values and "challenged students to make a difference where they were; saw the local church as the link; and offered publications, programs, and resources" (161). BSUs/BCMs at each campus are organized around student leadership and involvement. The BSU saw the largest growth in the 1970s. Though there are more than 600,000 Baptist students on college campuses,[6] two-thirds do not participate in BSU/BCM activities. For this reason, Baptist Campus Ministries have implemented programs to enhance student participation, including a program called CrossSeekers (a discipleship/covenant program); they have also expressed a willingness to work with other campus ministry organizations.

UKirk is the umbrella organization for campus ministries connected to the Presbyterian Church (USA). Its purpose is to provide "professional support, empowerment, and community for those engaged in campus ministry on behalf of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)" (Ukirk nd). The PCUSA reports having a presence on 1,300 campuses, which includes ecumenical/interdenominational ministries, student associations, congregations that have the campus as their focal point, as well as UKirk chapters, which often overlap

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[4] Because Cawthon and Jones do not provide consistent information about each group, and they focus solely on Christian and Jewish groups, I have added additional information on these and other organizations below.

[5] As of 2004. This may no longer be the case because, as we have seen, the campus religious landscape is changing.

[6] As of 2004.

with Presbyterian Student Associations (PSAs) (Ukirk nd). The Presbyterian Church (USA) organized its first student association in 1905. Today there are many different campus groups connected to the Presbyterian Church (USA) and those groups go by many different names.

Catholic campus organizations have existed since the 1880s. Catholic student ministries, such as the Newman Center and other Catholic student groups (of which there are more than 1,300),[7] are made up of one million Catholic students in higher education. Newman Centers or Clubs may include residential living or houses close to campus, with or without a chapel. The Newman Centers are supported by private donations and endowments. Other Catholic student groups may be organized in a variety of ways, including university parishes, campus ministry departments/offices, or Catholic Student Associations.

Hillel is the largest Jewish campus organization, designed to facilitate students' learning about and celebration of their Jewish heritage. Hillel is open to all interpretations of Judaism (though Orthodox students are least represented), existing on over 500 campuses. It was created by Rabbi Benjamin Frankel in 1923 with the purpose of connecting with uninvolved Jewish students. Hillel chapters operate "interdependently under the auspices of an International Board of Directors, regional offices, and international centers that assist with operations" and is funded by "individual benefactors, foundations, Jewish federations, and international organizations" (Cawthon and Jones 2004:163).

The Muslim Student Association (MSA) is a non-profit association founded in 1963, with over 600 chapters in the USA and Canada today; membership ranges between 60 and 600 each (Kowalski and Becker 2015). Each chapter is an independent student-run organization, but MSA-National helps run various campaigns throughout the year, such as Islam Awareness Week, Ramadan Fast-a-Thon, and Project Downtown (MSA 2017). The MSA helps Muslim students develop their religious identity on campus, provides leadership opportunities, helps facilitate interfaith dialogue, and helps Muslim students appeal to their campuses for resources and religious accommodations. Importantly, as I will discuss later,

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[7] Gray and Bendyna 2003

the MSA has had a hand in hiring Muslim campus chaplains in the US, the first of which was hired in 1999 at Georgetown University.

Wesley Foundations are located on 510 non-Methodist affiliated campuses (church-affiliated schools have chaplains) and are supported by the United Methodist Church in regard to training, resources, and financial assistance (GBHEM nd). An ordained United Methodist pastor is assigned to serve each campus that has a Wesley Foundation; whether this pastor serves the campus community only or a local church in addition varies by campus. There are two avenues of leadership through which students can participate in the Wesley Foundation: the United Methodist Student Forum (UMSF) – which is "designed to assemble a national gathering of Methodist college and university students for leadership development, theological education, and an opportunity to voice student concerns within the church" - and the United Student Methodist Movement – which is a "network of college students actively involved in their college campus ministry and the local church student ministry programs" (Cawthon and Jones 2004:165).

In regard to contemporary campus ministry organizations, Cawthon and Jones (2004) look at the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Campus Crusade for Christ (Cru), InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, and Navigators Collegiate Ministries. Fellowship of Christian Athletes is the largest interdenominational Christian sports organization in the U.S. They provide services such as camps that revolve around athletics and leadership. They also facilitate bi-monthly groups called "huddles" where student athletes gather for growth, fellowship and outreach. As of 2017 over 17,000 huddles exist (FCA nd). As of 2004 Fellowship of Christian Athletes had over 600 staff members in 260 offices in the U.S. It is funded by private donations.

Campus Crusade for Christ (Cru) was founded in 1951 and is one of 60 ministries under Campus Crusade for Christ International. As of 2004, its international affiliate had over 25,000 staff and 500,000 volunteers in 191 countries. It is reported to be the number one American campus ministry by total income. It currently has over 5,300 campus ministries, 2,115 of which are in the United States (Cru nd). Cru has thousands of full-time campus ministry staff and, as of 2004, over 44,000 college and university students participating. To reach students, Cru staff focus on four areas: a) identifying campus catalysts who can start and maintain the campus ministry; b) embracing diversity through

the establishment of ethnic student ministries, targeting Hispanic, Asian American, and African American students; c) establishing the presence of staff on campus; and d) encouraging participation in Worldwide Student Network, an international student outreach organization (Cawthon and Jones 2004).

Intervarsity Christian Fellowship is an evangelical campus ministry created in the 1930s. Its purpose is to "establish and advance at college and universities witnessing communities of students and faculty who follow Jesus as Savior and Lord" (Intervarsity nd). They have over 1,000 chapters on 687 campuses. Many campuses have multiple chapters that may have separate outreaches, such as international students, athletes, ethnic minorities, sororities and fraternities, and more. The majority of their income comes from donations.

In one of the first major surveys of campus ministers and chaplains since the 1960s, the National Study of Campus Ministries (NSCM) was conducted by Betty DeBerg and John Schmalzbauer between 2002 and 2008. The survey sample included 1,659 staff in six Christian denominations (with a subsample of 335 Christian college chaplains), two parachurch groups, and 88 private colleges (Schmalzbauer 2018). It was supplemented by one-week visits to 12 campus ministries and in-depth interviews with 80 campus chaplains from private colleges and universities (Schmalzbauer 2018).[8] The NSCM focused on both denominational and non-denominational (parachurch) groups. The denominational groups in the survey included the Assemblies of God, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Roman Catholic Church, the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), and the United Methodist Church. The non-denominational parachurch organizations included the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (Schmalzbauer 2018).

Schmalzbauer's resulting 2014 paper, *The Evolving Role of the College and University Chaplaincy: Findings from a National Study*, focuses on the subsample of 335 Christian campus chaplains. His 2018 chapter, "Campus Ministry," in the *Oxford Handbook of Religion*

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[8] The study's sample consisted of predominantly church-affiliated schools because it was tied to the Lily Endowment's Programs for the Theological Exploration of Vocation (PTEV) initiative.

and American Education focuses on the general trends of Christian campus ministry (broadly defined) using the entire sample described above.

In his report of findings from the entire sample (including college chaplains) of the NSCM, Schmalzbauer (2018) compared the results to studies of the same population from the 1960s to see how campus ministry has changed over the years. Three significant findings from his study show that campus ministry on college and university campuses has indeed changed. First, it is made up of more unordained laypeople than the past: 60% of the campus ministers surveyed are laypeople. This is even more pronounced for parachurch groups as only 9% of parachurch respondents are ordained clergy. Mainline Protestant campus ministry, however, is the only sector of the profession that is dominated by clergy (78% were ordained). Second, more women are employed as campus ministers than in the past (what Schmalzbauer calls "feminization" of the occupation). The survey found that 44% of campus ministers are female. Importantly, Schmalzbauer (2018) notes that more women have leadership positions in campus ministry than they do in American congregations. Third, campus ministries are slightly more diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, with 14% being non-white.

These findings contrast with the 1960s, when campus ministers were most likely to be white, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist, ordained men under 40 years old and married with children. According to Phillip Hammond's (1966) study, 4% of campus clergy were African American and 1% "other." While there has been a relative increase in diversity over time, Schmalzbauer (2018) notes that campus ministers still do not totally mirror the students they serve. He also notes that parachurch groups and the United Methodist Church are more diverse than any other group surveyed in the NSCM, with 21% and 17%, respectively, identifying as non-white.

Schmalzbauer's 2014 paper found similar trends among the subsample of 335 campus chaplains in regard to feminization, laicization, and diversification. Among the campus chaplains 46% were female, 44% single, and 45% lay. Today's Christian college chaplains are a bit less diverse than campus ministries as a whole, with 88% identifying as white, 5% Black or African American, 2% Hispanic or Latino, and 2 percent Asian.

In both papers Schmalzbauer pays special attention to "backgrounds and demographics, training and formation, goals and priorities, core job activities, and overall

satisfaction" (2014:3). In regard to training, Schmalzbauer found that 90% of the subsample of Christian college chaplains had a graduate or professional degree. This shows a bit of growth but not a significant difference from the past, as Smith (1954) found in his post-war study that 84% of chaplains did. Significantly, parachurch ministers are less likely to have the same education; in fact Schmalzbauer (2018) found that just 15% of his parachurch respondents had a graduate or professional degree. The total sample of campus ministries shows a highly educated profession, with 76% having at least some graduate or professional education (Schmalzbauer 2018). In his 1963 study Hammond (1967) found that of his sample of campus ministers, only 67% had earned a degree in religion or theology. However, campus ministers and parachurch group leaders are more likely to have specialized training related to their role on campus, while campus chaplains are less likely to have training specific to higher education and the campus environment in which they work (Schmalzbauer 2014). Schmalzbauer (2014:8) found that "over half [of his chaplain respondents] would like to learn more about mentoring, coaching, or spiritual formation" as well as training in "ecumenical or interfaith dialogue, reflect[ing] a growing emphasis on student spirituality and religious diversity."

When asked why they entered the profession, campus chaplains' top three reasons were dedication to young people; enjoyment of the academic environment; and that it was a calling from God. Respondents also said they were influenced by their participation in campus ministry as students and that they were recruited into campus ministry: three-fourths reported involvement in campus ministry as an undergraduate. Additionally, most went to private colleges for their undergraduate education. In contrast, campus parachurch ministers included in the broader survey were more likely to have gone to state schools.

Schmalzbauer also analyzes the context of campus chaplains' work, specifically what their programs look like, the space they use on campus, and how they are funded. He notes that chaplains' offices have a larger staff at religious schools and that the average size is 2.84, however, they vary greatly. Additionally, chaplains work long hours (about 51 hours per week) with relatively meager pay (most fell between $31,000 and $51,000 per year). In regard to space, Schmalzbauer found that 68% of his campus chaplain respondents occupy a college or university facility, and 77% make use of campus worship space, whether that be chapel space on campus or multi-purpose space. In this way, he notes, campus

chaplains have an advantage over campus ministries supported by denominational or parachurch groups, who are not allocated such space. Schmalzbauer (2014:11) writes that "all but a few chaplains' offices receive funding from their colleges and universities. On average, about 76 percent of program budgets come from their sponsoring institutions. Only 11 percent of funds come from individual donations and offerings." Schmalzbauer also notes that chaplaincy budgets vary widely, from over $200,000 to as little as $50,000. At the time of the survey (2006) most chaplains reported recent increases in their budgets, though Schmalzbauer notes that this may have changed since the recession in 2008.

In regard to the mission and goals of chaplaincy, just over half (52%) of respondents stated that the main goal of chaplaincy is to "facilitate spiritual formation of students," followed by "provide worship or sacraments" (35%), "help students integrate faith and learning" (33%), "foster a commitment to social justice" (32%), and "create community that appreciates diversity" (30%); all of the other options fell below 30%. While a majority of all represented religious traditions stated that facilitating the spiritual formation of students was most important, these answers (and their percentages) varied by the religion of the institution. For example, Conservative Protestant institutions were more likely to say that facilitation of students' spiritual formation was most important, while they were less likely to say that a commitment to social justice or "interfaith dialogue" was important. Chaplains at Catholic institutions were most likely to report a commitment to social justice and integrating faith and learning. Spiritual formation was also at the top for campus ministers, though three other student-centered goals were different from chaplains: bring students to Christ (46%), equip students to minister to their peers (32%), and help students integrate faith and learning (25%). In the survey, 22% of campus minister respondents listed fostering a commitment to social justice as among their top goals. In regard to this commitment to social justice, Schmalzbauer (2014:11) points out that "not surprisingly, there were significant differences across faith traditions, with 39 percent of Roman Catholic, 18 percent of mainline Protestant, and 12 percent of conservative Protestant respondents [putting] it in the top three"; however, "two-thirds of the total sample [Christian chaplains, parachurch, and campus ministers] said that fostering social justice was a very important goal, including 58 percent of conservative Protestants."

Schmalzbauer highlights the strong emphasis on spiritual formation found in these surveys and seeks to explain it. He cites Robert Wuthnow's *After Heaven*, which illustrates a rise in "practice oriented spirituality" in the U.S. after the 1960s. In regard to accommodating religious pluralism, Schmalzbauer writes, "from Wellesley College's multifaith chapel to the Macalester College mosque, non-sectarian private institutions have led the way" (17). He also quotes Lucy Forster-Smith (2013), who argues in *College and University Chaplaincy in the 21st Century* that the "rapidly evolving, multicultural, multifaith context" has changed the role of campus chaplains. According to Schmalzbauer's study, while "only a few of the chaplains have made it a top priority…Catholic and Protestant institutions are coming to grips with the new diversity" (17). Schmalzbauer also notes what Wuthnow describes as the "declining significance of denominationalism," in the fact that very few reported "maintaining denominational loyalties of students" as a top three goal. This pattern also appears (as stated above) in Cherry et al.'s book, in that students are also not as committed to specific denominations: they identify in more spiritual than religious-specific terms.

In regard to what campus chaplains do during their average week, Schmalzbauer (2014:18) found that their top five job activities included socializing with students; worship or sacraments; campus-wide ceremonies or rituals; individual mentoring, coaching or spiritual direction; and committee or staff meetings. He (2018) found that the whole sample of Christian campus ministers' average week was only slightly different: first was socializing with students; second was individual mentoring/coaching/spiritual direction; third was participation in bible study or small groups; fourth was personal reflection and study; and fifth was committee or staff meetings. All respondents reported working with students as both the most important and most satisfying part of being a campus chaplain or minister, but also one of the most exhausting and time-consuming aspects of their job.

Job satisfaction overall for the Christian college chaplains subsample was high, with 84% describing themselves as satisfied (Schmalzbauer 2014). At the same time, only 48% were "highly satisfied." For the whole sample of Christian campus ministers, 82% described themselves as satisfied and only 34% were highly satisfied (Schmalzbauer

2018). When asked if they ever feel lonely, campus chaplains' average answer - on a scale from 1 to 4, 1 being often, 4 being never – was 2.89; 34% felt lonely and isolated fairly or very often (Schmalzbauer 2014). For the entire NSCM sample it was 31% (Schmalzbauer 2018). Schmalzbauer relates this significant loneliness to the fact that most private colleges and universities have only one chaplain. College chaplains reported high levels of cooperation from college administrators, faculty, and coaches or student activities officers, as well as the overall "collegial nature of relationships" on campus (21). Relationships with other campus ministries were positive, though even more so with non-Christian groups, especially Jews and Muslims. Some chaplains reported ambivalent relationships with some Christian ministries.

Much less scholarly literature exists on non-Christian and non-Jewish chaplains. Shenila S. Khoja-Moolji (2011) writes about the emerging model of Muslim chaplaincy on university and college campuses. She situates Muslim chaplaincy in the context of the post-9/11 era in the US to understand the role of Muslim chaplains in the current environment. Khoja-Moolji interviewed 19 current or former Muslim campus chaplains and spoke informally with students and university administrators. She found that in the post-9/11 context Muslim chaplains have played a vital role in "humanizing the American Muslim experience" and building bridges between various communities on the college and university campus. She also found that Muslim campus chaplaincy provides an avenue for Muslim women to hold public religious leadership positions. As of 2011, there were approximately 31 part-time or full-time Muslim campus chaplaincy positions in the US.

Khoja-Moolji's interviews pointed to two explanations for growing Muslim chaplaincy in the US: a demonstrated need by the Muslim student body and institutional isomorphism whereby colleges and universities tend to follow the example of institutions like them. Most Muslim chaplaincy positions are in private Northeast schools. Public universities and colleges tend not to fund Muslim chaplains so it is up to the community to provide a Muslim chaplain. In regard to training, there is no set educational requirement for Muslim campus chaplains (nor for chaplains generally), though there are a number of pathways to become a Muslim chaplain. For example, Hartford Seminary has a training program for Muslim chaplains: a certificate (or graduate certificate) in Islamic chaplaincy and a Master of Arts degree in Islamic Studies and Christian-Muslim Relations with a

concentration in Muslim chaplaincy. The Ecumenical Theological Seminary in Detroit also has an accredited program for Muslim Chaplaincy in varied settings. Several other schools offer a Masters in Islamic Studies, but they are not accredited. In her interviews, Khoja-Moolji (2011:10) found a wide range of paths to chaplaincy; for instance, respondents credited their combination of "academic knowledge, community service, and work experience" that helped them get a job. Khoja-Moolji views this diversity of paths positively as it allows Muslims from a wide variety of backgrounds to serve in the chaplain position, though, she says, there is a downside to non-uniformity.

In regard to roles and responsibilities, Khoja-Moolji found that Muslim chaplains serve as educators and "faith-ministers" – colleges and universities tend to be diverse and have a pluralist environment and Muslim chaplains have the opportunity to engage with different faiths. She details Muslim campus chaplain roles as including advising the Muslim Student Association (MSA); teaching language and sermon classes; media relations; liaising with university administration; serving members of the local Muslim community; interfaith programming; providing pastoral care; and providing religious education. Because Muslim campus chaplaincy is still developing as a profession, much of what Khoja-Moolji's respondents did on a daily basis came from the needs of the students; while this gave the chaplains some degree of freedom because their role was not set in stone, dealing with the needs of students places immense responsibility on them. Of her respondents, all stated that one-on-one student counseling takes up most of their time, followed by educating Muslim and non-Muslim students.

Khoja-Moolji's respondents described the general challenges they face in chaplaincy, including an overall lack of understanding of the role of Muslim chaplains within the Muslim community and in the broader campus community (this is even more acute for women chaplains given the predominantly male-oriented nature of Muslim leadership), and a general lack of funding on the institutional level, as they are often hired as interns, part-time, or as volunteers. Importantly, "[m]ost of the interviewees expressed the need for curricular materials, best practices, and counseling tools that could help them improve their work" (Khoja-Moolji 2011:15). Many Muslims chaplains expressed the need for professional development and networking opportunities.

Khoja-Moolji (2011: 13) also pays attention to gender differences in roles and notes

that leading students in prayer is sometimes a tricky situation for women Muslim chaplains to negotiate: "they have to come up with creative way to exercise their leadership in this area because, according to traditional Muslim practices, women do not perform these functions." Her respondents noted that not being able to lead prayer sometimes makes it hard to find a job. Women chaplains face further obstacles, such as having to establish their credibility within not only the non-Muslim campus community but within the Muslim community as well. Additionally, at the institutional level "some Muslim organizations in the United States do not encourage women's participation and may even exclude them" (Khoja-Moolji 2011:15).

Much of what I have outlined above has been from peer-reviewed journals of higher education and sociology. Chaplains themselves have written about their own experience and have suggested best practices based on those experiences (e.g. Chander 2013; Forster-Smith 2013, 2015). The breadth of this work is beyond the scope of this paper, but two books have focused on the role, and best practices of, campus chaplaincy from denominational points of view. In *The Spirited Campus: the Chaplain and the College Community*, Barbara Brummett (1990) provides biblical metaphors to explain the theological underpinnings of chaplaincy work on small, private, liberal arts colleges. The book is intended to assist new college chaplains on these types of campuses come to an understanding of their professional role. Brummett narrates five formative experiences of a fictional college chaplain on a fictional college campus. The first point she makes is that the college chaplain's role is vague, and she compares it to God creating everything out of nothing. Her fictional character, Kathryn Burgess, struggles with this vagueness but ultimately comes to find that her role is to reflect her religion and God on the campus and to be as authentic a person as possible. The second formative experience leads the fictional college chaplain to find that she must be true to her vocation and faith in the academic world, and to transcend herself and serve the people within the institution and not the institution itself. The third formative experience reaffirms the second, reminding the fictional chaplain that she serves the people and not the institution or its "idols." The fourth formative experience touches upon pluralism on the college campus, emphasizing the point that God's voice can be heard even if God's name is not mentioned. The fifth formative

experience finds the fictional chaplain playing the part of peacemaker and coalition-builder between diverse groups.

In this book Brummett addresses the role of the chaplain rather than campus ministers. Her argument for a focus on chaplains is that college and university chaplains are institutionalized to a degree and they best illustrate the tensions between religious ideals and "secular" ideals. Additionally, they play an important role because, through their job description, they are expected to work with all students regardless of faith; this is important, she says, because campuses are more diverse and pluralistic now than they ever have been.

Stephen L. White (2005), in *The College Chaplain: A Practical Guide to Campus Ministry*, speaks to what campus chaplains should do from an Episcopal perspective, though he argues that "while circumstances differ, the various roles of a chaplain [found in this book] pertain to all chaplains to some degree" (20). He is sure that chaplains of other faiths can draw on and creatively use the "best practices" that he identifies. Drawing on his Episcopal perspective, he describes campus ministry as celebration of word and sacrament; hospitality; presence; caring for one another; service to others; having fun; knowing God; and equipping the saints. He argues that campus ministry is especially important today (for Episcopalians) because there is a decline in young people involved in mainline churches and in young people seeking ordination. He also strongly believes that the time that young people are in college is a time when "they are most able to appropriate for themselves a faith in God that will enrich them and sustain them for the rest of their lives, and indeed when they are most acutely seeking a way to compliment the intellectual and emotional changes in their lives with a strong spiritual dimension" (17).

White's argument on the formative nature of college years feeds into what he understands the role(s) of a campus chaplain to be, which he breaks down using a number of metaphorical roles: pastor, priest, rabbi, prophet, steward, herald, missionary, and pilgrim. The chaplain as "pastor" refers to "a shepherd of souls; one who protects and guides a group of people"(23). In this role, the chaplain "gathers in" people by making the ministry approachable and welcoming and acts as a "presence" by being visible on the campus. Additionally, in this role the chaplain offers "hospitality" by hosting students in a warm and welcoming gathering place. This also requires "communicating caring" such as

reaching out to students and being there for them in times of stress and crisis, and "watching them change" – acting as a mentor and watching them grow and eventually leave campus. The "chaplain as priest" involves leading regular worship, leading prayer, being a model of prayerful life, acting as a model of "clear and crisp theological thinking" (59), celebrating God and not oneself, blessing students when asked to, leading sacraments and rituals, and, finally, to encourage young people to become chaplains themselves. The "chaplain as rabbi" role involves teaching people in a way that draws them in and makes them eager to learn more. For the chaplain this role includes seizing every moment as a teaching moment, educating students theologically, providing classes or groups where students can learn, helping students think through the difference between "calling" and "career," and providing individual direction and mentoring to students. The "chaplain as prophet" – "one who speaks for God and interprets God's will" (80) – involves chaplains taking on issues that need a "prophetic response" on both the world level and on the campus level. White gives the example of speaking out against misogyny, homophobia, xenophobia, racism, etc.; at the same time, he emphasizes that the campus chaplain should not polarize the community but find ways to raise hard questions and look at issues from all angles. The "chaplain as steward" - "one who manages the affairs of an estate on behalf of an employer" – speaks to the administrative aspects of chaplaincy: managing facilities, creating and managing information such as student lists, managing endowments, fundraising, and, importantly, giving students leadership experience by allowing them to do some of this work. The "chaplain as herald" involves preaching, holding leadership meetings, inviting guest speakers and preachers, and making known that the chaplaincy exists through a variety of means: creating an internet presence, being available via email, creating posters and banners, brochures, and websites, etc. The "chaplain as missionary" involves, from an Episcopal view, making Christ visible and present on campus, being a "part of the university while offering it a message it may not want to hear" (135). Finally, the chaplain takes the role of "pilgrim" – "one who makes a spiritual journey" (142) – by being a companion to students on their journeys and by being a model of a balanced life (because a balanced life is something students want and will, therefore, draw them to the chaplaincy).

All of these aspects of the chaplain's role, White argues forcefully, are dependent on campus ministers receiving full-time funding. For those who are university chaplains this is not usually a problem, but for chaplains and campus ministers who are not, funding can be a major obstacle to integration into the campus community. White argues that for a chaplain to be most successful they must be integrated into the institution and community, and this is only possible when chaplains are given the money, resources, and opportunity to do so.

These are two examples of how chaplains themselves have conceived of their role(s) on the college/university campus; they are from the perspective of specific, Christian denominations. Lucy Forster-Smith's edited book (2013) features narratives from chaplains from many different faiths and takes a multi-faith perspective, but much less is written about chaplains from non-Christian faiths, or about the modern campus chaplain who interacts with students from many different faiths or what their role is in the ever-changing campus climate.

Physical Space on Campus

In their ethnography of four different college and university campuses, Cherry et al. (2001) document (though it is not their explicit focus) the different places that religion pops up in institutions of higher education. There are differences depending on the type of campus (public or private, religiously affiliated or not, etc.), the religious/spiritual makeup of the students, and other factors. Laws regarding religion also play a part; for example, Cherry et al. (2001) mention *Widmar v. Vincent* (1981), which ruled that, under the First Amendment, meeting space must be made available to religious student groups on campus just as it would make available campus facilities to any other student group. Further extending this in 1995, *Rosenberger et al. v. Rector and the Visitors of the University of Virginia et al.* made it so that colleges and universities must provide finances to student religious groups on campus just as they would to any other student groups. On a public campus in the western United States, Cherry et al. (2001) note that religious/spiritual student groups use campus space that may not be perceived as explicitly religious, such as rooms in the student union, dorm rooms, and student lounges for bible studies, prayer groups, and other activities, as well as during athletic events on the court and in the locker

room. The Campus Ministers Association also has a presence on campus and has working relationships with admissions and the student health center, both of which provide the CMA with referrals.

In a small historically Black, private, formerly-Presbyterian-turned-nonsectarian college in the southern U.S., there were fewer student-led religious groups on campus; instead, most religious practice "was almost exclusively centered on the university chaplain and the activities and meetings he arranged" (Cherry et al. 2001:140). However, religion and spirituality also seeped into school-sponsored events such as homecoming, live music events (e.g., a gospel choir), and Religious Emphasis Week, to the extent that "virtually every public event became a worship service" (Cherry et al. 2001:141). This was partly due to the fact that just over half of the students identified themselves as clearly religious (in this case, Baptist). Also, while churches and formal worship space on public universities are relegated to the edges of campus or off campus completely, the southern university has a church on campus. Yet any presence of Presbyterianism was simply a token of the past. The southern university had no major in religion nor a religion department, and discussion of religion within classrooms was kept to a minimum. The college chaplain was responsible for teaching one of the few religion classes. When other religion classes were available they were found in liberal arts departments or the honors program.

The third campus that Cherry et al. (2001) explored was a private, Catholic college in the eastern United States. The authors report that the religious ethos was strong on campus even though a significant minority of the students were not Catholic. Because of this ethos, religious practice permeated most spaces on campus and there was an inclination among the students to find God "anywhere." Even non-Catholics reported participating in daily liturgical worship and other religious activities on campus. Classes on religion were abundant on this campus, especially in the philosophy and theology departments.

The fourth and final campus studied was a small, Lutheran-affiliated, private college in the Northern U.S. Students at this campus were 55% Lutheran, with evangelical Christian being the second-most prevalent religious self-identification. The chapel at the geographical center of the campus was well-attended and had daily services. It also housed the campus pastors and the religion faculty, as well as classrooms. Student-run religious

groups met in campus spaces similar to the groups observed in the western U.S. public university. Religious music also plays an important role on the campus, and the music department is home to much religious education. Similar to the southern college, concert events that featured the school choir would often take the form of a worship service. Many classes on religion were available to students; in fact, a course on the bible was required for all students.

In "Chapel Use on College and University Campuses," Ryan Cragun, Patrick Henry, Marcus Mann, and Stephanie Russell (2014) provide insight into how post-secondary students use chapel space on their campuses of higher education. They look at one historically (but no longer) religiously affiliated private college and one unaffiliated private university, both in the Southeastern United states, to understand if, and how, students use the chapels. They note that scholars have extensively studied the religiosity and spirituality of students – which they define as the "many ways in which people can be religious and typically includes the religious beliefs people hold, the religious behaviors in which people engage, and the religious organizations to which they belong" - but they argue that *belief* has been the focus, leaving a gap in regard to examining how students *behave* religiously (Ryan Cragun et al. 2014:103). The authors found few differences regarding religious behavior between the two schools, except that students at the unaffiliated private university were slightly more religious than the historically affiliated private college. In regard to chapel use they found, for both universities, that students are more likely to use chapel space for secular events, such as concerts, or individual spiritual practices such as meditation, and less so for religious services. They thus suggest to colleges and universities considering building a chapel on their campus to make sure that the space is a multi-use site that accommodates a variety of activities and events: secular, spiritual, and religious. The authors also contribute their findings to the trend that college campuses are becoming less religious than before; however, they note the lack of generalizability of their study and encourage further study of student religious behavior on campuses.

Margaret Grubiak (2012) focuses on the importance of the architecture of the Danforth chapels that were constructed on 15 college and university campuses from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s around the U.S., 11 of which were built at public institutions. Though the chapels did have a Christian focus (especially in their religious imagery,

displaying a cross and a picture of Jesus), they were formally declared meditation and prayer spaces open to all denominations. Their architecture - small, on the edge of campus, and integrated with nature - "directly engaged the mid-century emphasis on nonsectarianism on the university campus" (77). This neutrality was necessary for the public universities as the constitutionality of having a chapel on their campuses was questioned. While Grubiak (2012: 78) identifies the Danforth chapels as the last wave of religiosity on public university campuses, she emphasizes how the Danforth University Chapel program "contributed to a new university chapel type: the non-denominational meditation chapel." Grubiak emphasizes how history and current events contributed to the construction of these non-denominational chapels, specifically citing World War II and the Holocaust as a turning point that moved college and university campuses toward a more inclusive religious environment - at least in regard to Catholics, Protestants, and Jews - an early form of religious pluralism on campuses. While Cragun, et al. (2014) focus on the need for multi-faith campus centers that cater to all religions and no religions, the literature on religious and spiritual space on campus is missing a historical analysis of the rise of non-denominational spiritual centers on college campuses.

Conclusion

From this literature review, we can come to a few conclusions about religion on college and university campuses.

First, religion is far from dead on college and university campuses. It may take different shapes on campuses than it used to. An emphasis on spirituality (both in connection to religion and apart from it) is a fairly contemporary change. While there may be a significant rise in students who identify as secular and spiritual but not religious, there is also significant willingness to engage in interfaith dialogue among students of faith (or no faith), though there seems to be more "willingness" than chances to "practice." Space used for religious or spiritual practice has also changed. While on many campuses the chapels remain poorly attended, religious student groups, such as parachurch groups, are growing and religious practice can be found in the student union and the dorm.

With the above shifts in religion on campus in mind, we can ask new, and reformulate old, questions about campus chaplains in the contemporary campus context.

For example, what is the role of campus chaplains today? How, and is, the role of chaplaincy changing in the current political and religious climate in the US? If so, is it in response to that climate? Religious pluralism is the norm on college and university campuses, and students increasingly expect their universities to create space and provide support for interfaith interaction. In what ways do campus chaplains help fulfill this need? Is chaplaincy changing to support campus religious diversity and difference? If so, how? Is chaplaincy changing to address the increase in "spirituality" broadly defined? How are chaplains dealing with declining formal worship and an apparently growing secular population on campus? How do they deal with "healthier supply than demand" (Cherry, et al. 2001)? Importantly, are campus administrations responding to these changes by hiring more diverse chaplains? As White (2005) mentions, funding and campus integration is key to chaplains doing their job successfully. What do the various models of campus chaplaincy look like on different campuses? How do these models facilitate or hinder the work that chaplains do? What kind of training do chaplains come to college and university campuses with? What kind of training do campus chaplains feel that they want and need, specific to their workplace, to most effectively do their job?

Much of the literature I have reviewed is limited in various ways, whether by sample size and ability to generalize, by a lack of focus on diverse faith traditions, or by virtue of being more or less dated. Scholars thus have new opportunities to study campus chaplains from a sociological perspective, asking new questions or reformulating older ones in light of contemporary conditions.

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