What role does organized religion play in the life of the American campus? Among both scholarly and religious observers, the university has long been regarded as secular territory. In books like *How to Stay Christian in College*, evangelicals have portrayed higher education as a threat to religious faith. In a more academic vein, historians have chronicled the exclusion of religion from campus life.¹

There is a good deal of truth in the secularization narrative. At many elite universities the Gothic Revival chapel at the center of campus sits empty except for Sunday morning services that attract a handful of worshippers. Once overflowing with young Methodists and Presbyterians, Wesley and Westminster Foundations face tighter budgets and lower student participation. The historically massive student Christian movement is a shadow of its former self after self-destructing in the late 1960's. According to Sam Portaro and Gary Peluso, mainline Protestant campus ministries “took it on the chin” after 1970.²

At the same time, it is an open question whether campus life has been fully secularized. Mainline Protestantism is no longer at the center of student religious life, but new organizations have rushed in to fill the religious vacuum.³ Nearly invisible at the end of World War II, evangelical parachurch⁴ groups are among the largest religious organizations on campus. According to sociologist Michael Lindsay, ten percent of undergraduates at Princeton University belong to an evangelical campus ministry.⁵ Reflecting a renaissance of campus Judaism, Hillel and Chabad have enjoyed a period of impressive growth, constructing new Jewish centers on dozens of campuses. The number of Muslim Student Associations has risen from ten in 1963 to 600 today, while the presence of Hindu Students Councils, Buddhist Student Associations, and Sikh Student Associations continues to expand.⁶

Far from a religious desert, the campus is what the sociologist Wade Clark Roof would call a “spiritual marketplace.” This essay provides an overview of the student religious landscape in America, focusing most of its attention on schools that are not affiliated with a religious tradition. It identifies four signs of religious vitality on campus: 1) the expansion of campus evangelicalism;
The Expansion of Campus Evangelicalism

The sudden decline of mainline Protestant campus ministries after 1970 left a hole in the religious ecology of American higher education. Yet, instead of leading to the secularization of student life, the displacement of the mainline made room for a host of religious newcomers. The most successful of these newcomers were the evangelical parachurch groups. Today well over 100,000 students are active in InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, Campus Crusade, Great Commission Ministries, the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, the Navigators, and Victory Campus Ministry. Counting the 110,000 plus students who participate in groups sponsored by conservative evangelical denominations, more than 210,000 students are involved in evangelical campus ministries.

Surprisingly, the landmark studies of campus ministry published in the 1960’s barely mentioned groups like InterVarsity. Only Harvey Cox was prescient enough to notice the rise of campus evangelicalism. In a forgotten passage of *The Secular City*, Cox called InterVarsity “a remarkable organization,” notable for its “lay-led, highly visible, and extremely mobile” approach to ministry. The lay-oriented organizational strategy praised by Cox was a recipe for rapid growth. Starting with 22 chapters at the beginning of the 1940’s, InterVarsity had established a presence on 277 campuses by the 1946-1947 academic year. When Cox caught up with the organization in 1964, it had grown to 772 chapters with 9,053 students. Today 32,000 students participate in 831 chapters on 564 campuses. InterVarsity wasn’t the only conservative Protestant group to find success in the vineyards of American higher education. The largest evangelical non-denominational ministry was founded in 1951 by a California businessman named Bill Bright. Beginning with one chapter at UCLA, Campus Crusade for Christ now reaches 55,272 students on 1,300 campuses with a budget of $450 million. Much of the growth in parachurch organizations has come from the inclusion of Asian-American evangelicals. Since the late 1970’s the number of Asian-Americans in InterVarsity has risen by 267 percent. In 2002-2003, 35 percent of the students participating in IVCF were racial or ethnic minorities.

The influence of evangelicalism on campus is not confined to parachurch organizations. Several conservative Protestant denominations maintain a strong presence in higher education. Founded in 1953, the Assemblies of God Chi Alpha ministry attracts an estimated 13,000 students on 217 campuses. Reaching between 10,000 and 12,000 students at 89 institutions, Reformed University Fellowship represents the evangelical Presbyterian Church in America. While the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod maintains over 720 campus ministries, Southern Baptists reach 248,000 students through 886 Baptist Student Ministries. About 87,000 students are actively involved in Baptist campus groups. According to a Baptist official, “Campus ministries outside the Bible Belt...are multiplying rapidly.”
The growth of evangelical campus ministries parallels the increase in the number of evangelical students. According to surveys conducted by UCLA’s Higher Education Research Institute, the percentage of students identifying as born again has increased since the mid-1980’s. A 2004 Harvard Institute of Politics poll found that 35 percent of college students consider themselves born again, while 22 percent identify as evangelical or fundamentalist Christians. Though barely on the radar screen in the 1960’s, evangelicals are an unavoidable part of the campus religious landscape today.  

The Revitalization of Catholic and Jewish Campus Organizations

Like evangelical parachurch groups, Catholic and Jewish campus organizations have offered religious alternatives to mainline Protestantism. According to a 2003 study, there are 1,351 Catholic campus ministry organizations in the United States, three-fourths of which are found on non-Catholic campuses. These ministries serve a potential audience of 5.3 million Catholic students. A 2001 UCLA survey found that 22 percent of Catholic seniors at non-sectarian institutions frequently attended religious services, while 50 percent did so occasionally. Reflecting the strength of campus Judaism, there are 251 affiliated Hillel Centers, Foundations, and Jewish Student Organizations in North America. An impressive 34 percent of America’s 400,000 Jewish college students have participated in Hillel.

Despite their strong presence in American higher education, Catholic and Jewish campus ministries have encountered some difficult obstacles in recent decades. In the 1970’s and 1980’s, Hillel became “marginalized, maligned, and factionalized.” Though the number of Jewish undergraduates was at an all time high, the organization did not have the funds to be active on all of the campuses with large Jewish populations. What is more, Hillel’s parent organization B’nai B’rith was experiencing severe financial problems, leading the campus group to formally disaffiliate from it in the early 1990’s. In the Catholic world, budget cuts have made it difficult for campus ministries to serve the large population of Catholic college students.

In the face of such adversity, Jewish and Catholic student organizations have been forced to innovate. This innovation has often led to impressive results. For the first time, many Catholic campus centers have begun to engage in serious fundraising. The St. Lawrence Center at Kansas University currently receives 90 percent of its budget from private donations, while Yale University’s Catholic campus ministry has raised $68 million towards a new Catholic student center, more than the endowment of many Catholic colleges. Such approaches have spread to other Catholic campus ministries. Led by the former advancement director for the St. Lawrence Center, the Petrus Development firm has helped Newman Centers professionalize their fundraising operations. In a similar way, the Catholic Campus Ministry Association has sponsored training sessions in development and maintains a webpage with fundraising tips.

Like their Catholic counterparts at Yale and KU, Jewish campus organizations have launched bold new initiatives. In “Re-Engineering the Jewish Organization: The Transformation of Hillel,” Jay Rubin describes the reinvention of America’s premier Jewish student group. As in Catholic
The Growth of New Immigrant and Alternative Religions

campus ministry, one of the cornerstones of this transformation was a more professional approach to development. Enlisting the help of Seagram’s CEO and World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman, Hillel director Richard Joel was able to attract new funding from Jewish family foundations and Jewish federations. Hillel’s “Campaign for Jewish Renaissance” raised over $200 million in five years. Because of these efforts, many chapters have been able to upgrade their facilities. Between 1993 and 2001, twelve buildings were constructed by Hillel, with sixteen more in the works.

More traditional Jewish groups are also expanding their reach. Full-time Chabad Houses have been established at 61 American colleges and universities, with less extensive programs at an additional 80 schools. In the words of one Jewish leader, Chabad is the “fastest growing Jewish presence on campus.”

Reflecting a similar impulse in American Catholicism, conservative Catholics have organized their own college groups. Like the evangelical parachurch groups it emulates, the Fellowship of Catholic University Students (FOCUS) has enjoyed a dramatic increase in participation, growing from 24 students on a single campus in 1998 to 3,000 students on 29 campuses in 2006. In The New Faithful: Why Young Adults are Embracing Christian Orthodoxy, Colleen Carroll portrays conservative Catholic groups as part of new wave of religious traditionalism on campus. According to Carroll, these organizations realize “that in order to attract—and keep—young Catholics in the church, they must imitate the boldness of evangelical fellowships.”

The Growth of New Immigrant and Alternative Religions

Since the 1960’s the Protestant chapel at the center of campus has been overshadowed by evangelical parachurch groups, multi-million dollar Catholic centers, and newly constructed Chabad houses. The American university has truly become a house of prayer for all peoples. Contributing to this new pluralism, a host of new immigrant and alternative religions have organized their own campus organizations.

Today an estimated 75,000 Muslims are enrolled in American colleges and universities. Founded in 1963, the Muslim Student Association has 600 chapters in the United States and Canada. While less numerous than Muslims, Hindus are becoming a visible presence on the American campus. The Hindu Students Council has established chapters at over 70 schools, sponsoring study groups, classes, camps, and conferences.

While not a function of new immigration, a host of neo-pagan groups are also part of the new religious pluralism. In the 1960’s sociologist Andrew Greeley described what he called a “new-time religion on campus,” noting heightened interest in the “bizarrely sacred among students.” No longer regarded as bizarre, neo-pagans and Wiccans are a normal part of the campus religious landscape. A webpage on “Student Pagan Organizations” lists groups on 113 American campuses, including the University of Arkansas, Saint Olaf College, Iowa State University, Smith College, and Montana State University.
Other alternative religions are flourishing on campus. Nearly 100,000 18-30 year-olds participate in Mormon Institutes of Religion (often located next to colleges and universities), while Christian Science Organizations can be found on 130 campuses. Unitarian Universalist campus groups are active at 108 schools and the denomination has identified campus ministry as a major “growth initiative.” If Unitarian Universalists are the “liberal evangelists on campus,” the “freethinkers, skeptics, secularists and humanists” affiliated with the Center for Inquiry on Campus are the ambassadors of organized atheism and agnosticism. Formed in 1996 by students from 15 institutions, the network has expanded to include over 130 collegiate chapters in the United States. The fact that campus skeptics need to organize is one more sign of the vitality of student religion in America.

The Renewal of Mainline Protestant Campus Ministries

Despite declining influence since the 1960’s, mainline Protestantism is still a formidable presence in higher education. Currently, there are 700 United Methodist, 600 Presbyterian Church-USA, 180 Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 144 Episcopal, 80 Disciples of Christ, 76 American Baptist Churches-USA, and 48 United Church of Christ sponsored campus ministries operating at American colleges and universities. According to the Presbyterian document, “Renewing the Commitment,” there are more campuses served by Presbyterian ministries and congregations than by InterVarsity or Campus Crusade (though it is not known whether these programs attract as many students as the evangelical parachurch groups).

While weathering severe challenges, mainline Protestant campus ministries have shown tentative signs of renewal. This renewal can be seen in the rebirth of the mainline student movement, innovative approaches to fundraising, and the rise of congregation-based campus ministries. The first chapter of the ecumenical student movement ended abruptly when the University Christian Movement voted itself out of existence in 1969. The resurrection of this movement is the most important sign that the Protestant mainline has begun to recover from the traumatic upheavals of the late 1960’s. For the first time in two decades, 2,100 campus ministers and students from eleven denominations convened from December 28, 1990 to January 1, 1991 for a pan-mainline Protestant gathering. Christened the “Celebrate” conference, it was held four additional times between 1994 and 2006. All told Celebrate managed to attract some 7,000 students over the past fifteen years. Though a far cry from InterVarsity’s triennial national student missions conference (which draws almost 23,000 participants), Celebrate represents a significant comeback for the ecumenical student movement. This comeback can also be seen in the re-creation of the United Methodist Student Movement, the Presbyterian Student Strategy Team, the Episcopal Student Leadership Team, and the jointly sponsored United Church of Christ/Disciples of Christ Student Ecumenical Partnership.

To be sure, financial support for campus ministries from denominations has significantly decreased. Yet as in the Catholic case, tight budgets have prompted more innovative
fundraising strategies. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America has a campus ministry advancement webpage with articles on “E-Giving” and “Involving the Board in Fund Raising.”

Perhaps the most successful experiment in advancement can be seen in the Episcopal Church, where an innovative group of campus ministers has pioneered the raising of endowments. This initiative began at Cornell University where the Episcopal campus ministry raised a $2 million endowment during the 1980’s and 1990’s. Under the leadership of the Episcopal Church Foundation, this model has spread to twenty chaplaincies across the country, including those at Boston University, Oklahoma State University, Stanford, and the University of Florida. Chaplains from these programs received small grants to jump start their development efforts, as well as training in the “basic fundamentals of fundraising.” Over a dozen additional chaplains have received similar instruction.

Mainline denominations are also experimenting with congregational approaches to campus ministry. One of the leaders of this movement is University Presbyterian Church in Seattle. This Presbyterian Church-USA congregation routinely attracts between 1000 to 1300 students per week to its University Ministries programs. Through spirited worship, retreats, service projects, and small groups, the Seattle church is revitalizing mainline campus ministry. In recent years, University Presbyterian has attempted to share its approach through a self-published handbook and a network of congregations engaged in campus ministry. In the PC-USA nationally, about 700 churches are engaged in “outreach to college students other than their own members.” Other denominations are also utilizing congregation-based approaches. According to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 600 congregations have committed themselves to some type of campus ministry. Such initiatives indicate that mainline Protestants are still searching for ways to revitalize student religion.

**Conclusion**

What is the state of organized campus religion in America? This brief overview has explored the size and scope of student religious organizations in the United States. While membership statistics cannot tell us anything about the spiritual and religious quality of campus groups, they can debunk some common myths about religion on campus.

First, the decline of one kind of student religious organization should not be interpreted as the secularization of campus life. Over the course of American history, the fortunes of specific groups have waxed and waned. For example, the dominant student religious organizations in America, the YMCA and the YWCA, abandoned the campus in the decades following World War II. Inevitably, new religious groups arose to take their place. A similar dynamic is going on today as mainline Protestant denominational ministries yield some of their territory to other forms of campus ministry. Such change is an example of what Conrad Cherry, Betty DeBerg, and Amanda Porterfield call the “protean flexibility” of American religion, a flexibility that has led campus religion to “assume new shapes as social and cultural conditions change.”

Second, though it has become fashionable to speak of students as “spiritual but not religious,”
plenty of students could be described as spiritual and institutionally religious. The proliferation of evangelical parachurch groups, Hillel Foundations, Muslim Student Associations, and neo-pagan clubs suggests that the campus is abuzz with organized religion. Surveys of college students bear this out. According to a 2001 survey administered at 50 colleges and universities, 14 percent of freshmen participate in campus religious groups frequently, with another 16 percent doing so occasionally. A similar survey administered at 47 colleges and universities in 2003 found that 19 percent of juniors were involved in a campus ministry.\textsuperscript{44}

Third, contrary to the myth of secularization, student participation in campus religion has not dramatically decreased. Compared to an earlier era, voluntary student religious life looks quite healthy. Today anywhere from one-fifth to one-third of students have participated in a campus religious organization. This rate of religious involvement compares quite favorably to figures from the 1920’s when one out of seven students took part in the YMCA/YWCA and a smaller number of students were involved in denominational campus ministries.\textsuperscript{45}

Last but not least, higher education is not especially damaging to religious faith. Given the wealth of religious options available on campus, it should not be surprising to learn that college students are less likely than other young adults to lose their religion. Though religious participation tends to decrease in the young adult years, a University of Texas study found that going to college decreased the risk of religious decline.\textsuperscript{46} Such findings suggest the need for a new evangelical advice book: \textit{How to Stay Christian Outside of College}. In the final analysis, the student union may be one of the most religious places in American society.

\textbf{Endnotes}


\textsuperscript{2} Sam Portaro and Gary Peluso, \textit{Inquiring and Discerning Hearts: Vocation and Ministry with Young Adults on Campus} (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), 121. The mainline Protestant denominations include the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Episcopal Church, the United Methodist Church, the Disciples of Christ, the American Baptist Churches (but not the Southern Baptist Convention), the United Church of Christ, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. They have historically represented the moderate to liberal wing of American Protestantism.

\textsuperscript{3} The metaphor of a campus “spiritual vacuum” comes from Alice Hageman, “Reflections on the Student Christian Movement of the 1960’s and Its Effect on My Life,” \textit{Journal of Ecumenical Studies} 32(3)1995: 379. Hageman laments the decline of the ecumenical/liberal Protestant SCM and the
corresponding rise of evangelicalism on campus.

4 The term parachurch literally means alongside or beside the church. These religious voluntary organizations are separate from religious denominations and churches. For more on the parachurch as organizational form see Richard Hutcheson, Mainline Churches and the Evangelicals: A Challenging Crisis? (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 63.


7 Throughout this article I rely on the officially reported statistics of parachurch and denominational campus ministries. No systematic study of the accuracy of such statistics has been conducted. Like the self-reported statistics of congregations, they may reflect a natural tendency to inflate participation. At the same time, many campus ministry organizations make an effort to encourage accurate reporting through special forms and surveys. Current figures for evangelical parachurch groups are taken from the Campus Crusade for Christ webpage here, the InterVarsity Christian Fellowship webpage can be found here, the Fellowship of Christian Athletes webpage here and the Ivy Jungle report on “The State of College and University Ministry November 2001” here. According to these sources, 55,272 students were involved in Campus Crusade (2003-2004 data from Crusade), 32,000 in InterVarsity (2004-2005 data from IVCF), 6,900 in Great Commission Ministries (2001 data reported by Ivy Jungle), 5,000 students in the Navigators (2001 data reported by Ivy Jungle), and 2,280 in Victory Campus Ministry (2001 data reported by Ivy Jungle). In addition, Campus Ambassadors have 48 campus groups (2001 data reported by Ivy Jungle). Although the Fellowship of Christian Athletes does not release data on the number of college students involved in its ministries, 350,000 high school and college students took part in 8,000 FCA Huddles in 2004. On Baptist college groups, see John Hall, “Student Ministries Survive by Coping with Cultural, Denominational Changes,”Christian Post 10 October 2003. Available here. The number of Assemblies of God groups can be found here. Statistics on the estimated number of participants were taken from the 2003-2004 Chi Alpha Census Summary, courtesy of Chi Alpha and the Assemblies of God. According to John Hall, 248,618 students were reached by Baptist collegiate ministries, while 87,000 are “actively involved.” There are 217 Chi Alpha (Assemblies of God) chapters which minister to an estimated 13,000 students. Finally, according to Ivy Jungle, between 10,000 and 12,000 students were involved in Reformed University Fellowship in 2001. The Baptist number may include Baptist Student Ministries at Baptist colleges. The Assemblies of God group Chi Alpha is present only at non-church institutions.


10 For Campus Crusade ministry statistics, see http://www.campuscrusadeforchrist.com/aboutus/factstats.htm. On the annual revenues of Campus Crusade see Beth McMurtrie, “Crusading for Christ, Amid Keg Parties and Secularism,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 18 May 2001, A42. Only a portion of Campus Crusade’s budget is devoted to campus ministry.


13 HERI data cited in Alyssa Bryant, “Evangelicals on Campus: An Exploration of Culture, Faith, and College Life,” Religion and Education 32(2)2005; The 2004 Harvard Institute of Politics Survey of Student Attitudes findings on the percentage of college students who identify as “born again” or evangelical/fundamentalist can be found in “Fall 2004 Survey—Top Line Data” at http://www.iop.harvard.edu/pdfs/survey/fall_2004_topline.pdf.


18 Jones, “Campus Ministry Fills Need as Funds Shrink,” 10; the $68 million figure comes from the webpage of Yale’s St. Thomas More Catholic Chapel and Center, available at http://www.yale.edu/stm/development/.


27 For a list of Hindu Students Council chapters around the country see the Hindu Students Council webpage chapter list at http://www.hscnet.org/chapters.php.

“Student Pagan Organizations” list available at the following webpage: http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/2372/pagan/spo.html.


The figure of 700 plus United Methodist campus ministries appeared on the Greater Board of Higher Education and Ministry webpage at http://www.gbhem.org/asp/campusMin.asp. The figure of 600 Presbyterian Church-USA campus ministries comes from the Presbyterian Church (USA) Collegiate Ministries webpage at http://www.pcusa.org/collegiate/. See also “Renewing the Commitment: A Church-Wide Mission Strategy for Ministry in Higher Education by the Presbyterian Church (USA),” Submitted to the 213th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (USA) 2001. Available online at http://www.pcusa.org/collegiate/pdf/renew.pdf. According to a report from the Presbyterian Church (USA) National Ministries Division, 738 Presbyterian congregations engage in “outreach to college students other than their own members.” See “By the Numbers,” NMD Committee Report, 24 April 2006, available online at http://www.pcusa.org/collegiate/pdf/collegiatestatistics.pdf. The figure of 180 Evangelical Lutheran Church in America campus ministries and 600 campus-related congregations comes from the ELCA Lutheran Campus Ministry webpage at http://www.elca.org/campusministry/. The figure of 144 Episcopal chaplaincies is derived from the “Groups and Organizations” section of the Episcopal Church USA webpage. Information on Episcopal campus ministries can be found at http://www.episcopalchurch.org/8020_53813_ENG_HTM.htm. The figure of 80 Disciples of Christ comes from the Disciples webpage at http://www.disciples.org/internal/genmin.htm. The list of 76 American Baptist Churches (USA) campus ministers is derived from information available at http://www.nationalministries.org/education/campus_ministers.cfm. The figure of 48 United Church of Christ campus ministries is calculated from the UCC’s Education and Formation webpage at http://www.ucc.org/education/links.htm. Some of these mainline campus ministries are at church-related colleges and universities. Others are housed in congregations or ecumenical Higher Education Ministries Arena, United Ministries in Higher Education or United Campus Ministries sites. See the document “Renewing the Commitment” for the statement that the Presbyterian Church (USA) reaches more campuses than InterVarsity or Campus Crusade. Available online at http://www.pcusa.org/collegiate/pdf/renew.pdf.


37 The First Monday fundraising newsletters are posted on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America webpage at [http://www.elca.org/campusministry/advancement/](http://www.elca.org/campusministry/advancement/).


The figure of 600 congregations engaged in collegiate ministry comes from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America campus ministry webpage at http://www.elca.org/campusministry/.


On page 46 of *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), Roger Finke and Rodney Stark describe a parallel phenomenon in American congregations, arguing that membership losses in a subset of American denominations do not indicate a decline in religion, “but only a decline in the fortunes of specific religious organizations as they give way to new ones.”


The estimate of one-fifth to one-third of students was derived from the statistics mentioned in the previous paragraph. They were taken from the 2001 Your First College Year survey and are reported in Bryant, “Campus Religious Communities and the College Student Experience,” 92. Results from the 2003 pilot survey of the Spirituality and Higher Education Project are reported in Emily Winslett, “’Twentysomethings’ and the Episcopal Church.” Figures from the 1921 YMCA/YWCA are from Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 343, but were originally reported in C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the YMCA in North America*, 628, 645-46. According to Marsden, 90,000 out of the 600,000 college students in 1921 were enrolled in the YMCA/YWCA. There were about 300 Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish denominational organizations on campus in the 1920s. Assuming each of these attracted an average of 100 students, that would mean an

46 Jeremy E. Uecker, Mark D. Regnerus, Margaret L. Vaaler, “Losing My Religion: The Social Sources of Religious Decline in Early Adulthood.” Unpublished paper, Department of Sociology and Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 7 March 2006. In a related study, the University of Notre Dame sociology graduate student Jonathan Hill found that college graduates were more likely to attend church than those with less education, arguing that there is “little support to the notion that college secularizes individuals.” See Hill, “Higher Education and Change in Religious Belief and Practice: A Longitudinal Analysis.” Paper delivered at the annual meeting of Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, November 2006.