The Professionalization of Faculty at Religious Colleges and Universities

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As faculty become defined more by the professional norms of their discipline, the potential for conflict with the faith-based norms of religious colleges and universities should increase. Survey responses from over 1,900 faculty at six religious colleges and universities show that most faculty members support including religious criteria in hiring, contrary to professional, disciplinary norms, but most faculty reject religious constraints on academic freedom, conforming to professional norms. These seemingly conflicting positions are reconciled by a high level of commitment to the integration of faith and learning.

A historical trend frequently discussed over the last several decades is a decline in religious identity among church-related or formerly church-related colleges and universities (Burtchaell 1998; Marsden 1994; Parsonage 1978; Ringenberg 1984). Typically, the decline is related to faculty attitudes becoming less reflective of local, sectarian understandings of higher education and more reflective of the national, disciplinary understandings of academic professions (Gleason 1995; Jencks and Riesmann 1968; Marsden 1994). What has not been investigated are faculty attitudes at religious colleges or universities toward both the norms of their academic profession and those of their religious school. This study seeks to explore the "what" and "why" of faculty attitudes on three widely discussed, highly visible, and extremely important issues at religious colleges and universities: (1) the level of academic freedom that should exist when research or teaching conflicts with the views of the sponsoring church, religious denomination, or religious community, (2) the degree to which a candidate's religious belief and practice are relevant in faculty hiring, and (3) the appropriateness of integrating faith with teaching and research.

THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION AND THE MODERN UNIVERSITY

A major development in American higher education during the 20th century was the emergence and development of disciplinary academic professions (Geiger 1986; Jencks and Riesman 1968; Smith 2003). Social scientists and other scholars have identified three characteristics of professions relevant for our study.[1] First, professions require expertise of their members—a mastery of a specialized body of knowledge and techniques, usually acquired by formal education and apprenticeship. Second, professions claim the jurisdiction or autonomy to regulate themselves, including the right to determine who are members of the profession, what methods or practices are legitimate, and the standards of success and failure for its practitioners. Third, professions are cosmopolitan, transcending their particular locations, institutions, and communities.

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These three general features of professions are related to characteristic attitudes among members of the academic profession. We focus on two attitudes associated with academic professionals. As professionals, faculty are more likely to (1) support academic freedom limited only by professional competence and (2) claim a virtual monopoly on faculty hiring. First, for academic freedom, faculty in various academic disciplines claim expertise in a domain within which they expect to be recognized not only as experts but also as autonomous. Accordingly, faculty expect their autonomy within their academic discipline to include control over the course content, expectations and requirements, the design of classes, the selection of research topics, and the publication of the results of their research in various academic venues. A necessary condition of exercising such autonomy is academic freedom. Not surprisingly, the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) 1940 Statement on Academic Freedom has been called the "'Bible' and the 'Constitution' of . . . the entire academic profession" (Metzger 1993:5).

Second, for hiring, academic professionals will typically assume that only those who have mastered the appropriate knowledge are qualified to judge who should be hired to join their faculty ranks or departments. They will further believe, as cosmopolitans, that faculty candidates should be assessed by the broad criteria of their discipline rather than by the specific criteria of the hiring institutions. Thus, faculty, as professionals, will expect to play the dominant role in hiring and tenuring colleagues (Abbott 1988; Altbach 1997; Jencks and Riesman 1968).

THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION AND TENSIONS AT RELIGIOUS COLLEGES OR UNIVERSITIES

Previous studies have shown the impact of professionalization on faculty attitudes toward research or teaching (Heiss 1968; Light 1973) and the extent to which faculty regard themselves in roles with conflicting obligations based on different value orientations toward research and teaching (Parsons and Platt 1968). What none of these studies has done is examine faculty attitudes toward being both a member of an academic profession and being a member of the faculty at a religious college or university.

We define a religious college or university as one in which the beliefs of the founding or sponsoring religious group has some direct, observable, and effective influence on the academic mission and practices of the institution (O'Connell 2002). Since the emergence of the modern university, the idea that religious beliefs or values are relevant to the academic mission or practices of an institution has been increasingly delegitimized (Hofstadter and Metzger 1955; Jencks and Riesman 1968; Marsden 1994; Veysey 1965). Not surprisingly, institutions that are religious as defined above are often called sectarian and considered unacademic or unprofessional.

For example, while the AAUP 1940 Statement on Academic Freedom acknowledges the right of religious institutions to place limits on the academic freedom of its faculty, the AAUP not only asked that such limitations be made clear at the time faculty are hired, but also insisted that such institutions be distinguished from institutions where no such limitations are imposed. Further, by 1970, an AAUP committee issued an "Interpretive Comment" on the limitations clause declaring that most church-related colleges or universities no longer use it, and implying that the AAUP no longer endorsed the limitations clause. In 1988, a subcommittee of AAUP's Committee A on academic freedom went one step further. It issued a report declaring that any religious colleges or universities that appealed to the limitations clause forfeited their "moral right to proclaim themselves as authentic seats of higher learning" (American Association of University Professors 1989:49).

Section 702 of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act imposes a similar pressure on religious colleges or universities. It prohibits discriminatory hiring on the basis of religion, race, color, sex, or national origin. However, a college or university may receive an exemption if it is "sufficiently religious." Being sufficiently religious includes having a mission that reflects religious values; being owned, supported, or managed by a particular religion or religious community; having a

curriculum reflecting its religious identity; or having employees whose occupational qualification requires religious identity.

Colleges and universities that value their religious identity may invoke the AAUP limitations clause and the religious exception category of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to justify hiring faculty whose religious identity is consistent with the institution's identity. Such schools may further expect from their faculty a commitment to religiously preferential hiring policies. Yet, as professionals, faculty at religious colleges or universities may view themselves as obligated to hire colleagues based only upon disciplinary competence. What actions would faculty at religious colleges or universities support if questioned about academic freedom and faculty hiring at their institutions?

RELIGIOUS CONSTRAINTS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Academic freedom is likely to be regarded as the antithesis of religious control, with faculty teaching or publishing constrained under the authority of the school's religious tradition. Thus, the question of how academic freedom is protected while privileging a religious point of view is widely seen as a dilemma at religious schools (Diekema and Ericson 2004; Johnson 1995; Kramnick and Moore 1996; Lively 1996; Marsden 1997).

As Jencks and Riesman (1968) predict, the profession's understanding of academic freedom should trump all other loyalties, even loyalty to religious influences on teaching and research among faculty at Catholic and Protestant schools. Therefore, we hypothesize that *most faculty will tilt the balance between academic freedom and religious traditions in favor of fewer religious constraints on their teaching and research.*

RELIGIOUS CRITERIA IN FACULTY HIRING

Faculty members are directly involved in hiring new faculty as a part of their responsibilities as academic professionals (Floyd 1985; Snauwaert 1993). Faculty are particularly active in hiring decisions because their departments' interests are at stake and because they have expertise on criteria with which administrators might not be as familiar (Spitzberg 1984; Stinchcombe 1990). This application of academic professionalism may weaken the resolve of Protestant and Catholic schools to hire faculty members willing to fulfill the religious dimensions of the school's mission. Rather than making decisions that include faith-based criteria, many Protestant schools assess prospective faculty members solely in terms of academic reputation and personal compatibility (Jencks and Riesman 1968). So powerful is the notion of what counts as being a member of the academic profession that even in Catholic colleges and universities, a candidate's religious identity is typically regarded as irrelevant or at best secondary (Burtchaell 1998).

A recent example is the debate at Catholic universities over the implications of *Ex Corde Ecclesia* (2000), an apostolic constitution issued by Pope John Paul II to identify general norms applicable to all genuinely Catholic colleges or universities. *Ex Corde* directs Catholic colleges and universities to ensure that at the time of the appointment, all teachers and administrators are informed of the Catholic identity of the institutions and of their responsibility to promote or respect it (art. 4, sec. 2). *Ex Corde* also urges Catholic schools to ensure that Catholic faculty constitute a majority within the institution (art. 4, sec. 4). Moreover, it requires Catholic colleges and universities to have a chair or department of theology and, more controversially, it insists that Catholic theologians in such Catholic institutions receive a mandate from a "competent ecclesiastical authority" (art. 4, sec. 3, fn. 50).

Ex Corde has generated a firestorm of protests from American Catholic educators. In a special supplement on "Keeping Colleges Catholic" in *Commonweal* (1999:13), the editors state "those who adopt the canonical requirement will forsake several distinctive features of higher education in this country—autonomy, academic freedom, and pluralism." The presidents of both

Catholic universities in our sample (at the time of our surveys) describe *Ex Corde* as "an obvious threat to academic freedom" with claims for ecclesiastical authority over hiring that "threaten particular havoc" with their universities (Monan and Malloy 1999:10). In addition, some faculty at Catholic institutions chafed over the expectation that the majority of its faculty be Catholic and incorrectly insisted that Catholic institutions were "forbidden by law to discriminate in their hiring and promotions on grounds of religion" (Burtchaell 1999:674). Thus, we hypothesize that *most faculty will lean toward professional and disciplinary academic criteria rather than institutional and personal religious criteria in faculty hiring decisions.*

INTEGRATING FAITH AND LEARNING AS A MEDIATING FACTOR

Of course, we do not expect all faculty to be of one accord regarding academic freedom or hiring. The above hypothesis refers to central tendencies. Variation of opinion should exist and we expect that this variability in professionalization may be explained, in part, by a key concept for religious colleges and universities: the integration of faith and learning. We treat the phrase "integrating faith and learning" as signifying either institutional or faculty efforts to connect the academic disciplines to religious convictions in mutually informative and academically productive ways. While little research exists on the integration of faith and learning,[2] it is, for the reasons developed below, perhaps the strongest version of the notion of a religiously influenced educational aim. Thus, it can be logically expected to influence how faculty make sense of their secular profession at a sectarian university.

Some scholars insist that unless the religious college or university embraces integrating faith and learning, it has no distinctive mission (Benne 2001; Malik 1982; Noll 1994; O'Connell 2002). Without a distinctive mission, the argument goes: the "religious" college or university has no distinctive institutional identity or marketing niche. Absent such distinctive advantages or attractions, why should students and parents choose it over other institutions, many of them far less expensive because they will be state-supported? Since it is religious in name only, it should give way to the nonreligious or secular institutions.

Others predict that religiously identified institutions that separate faith and learning will inevitably become secular institutions in both teaching and research (Burtchaell 1998; Gleason 1995; Marsden 1992). Many mainline Protestant colleges and universities have accepted the dictum that central Christian convictions ought to have little or no impact on the curriculum (Cuninggim 1994; Patillo 1964). Jencks and Riesman (1968:368) make a similar observation for Catholic schools: "When Catholic instructors have studied under the same scholars as non-Catholics, when they attend the same national meetings, and when they read the same journals, they are not likely to teach a subject such as American history very differently from non-Catholics." The exclusion of religious perspectives in research shows a similar pattern. Marsden (1997) explains how the nature and aims of the modern university relegate faith-informed scholarship to an "outrageous" idea, ill-fitted for the modern academy. Thus, given the expected impact of the academic profession on religious higher education and the primary significance of faith and learning to religious schools, we hypothesize that at religious colleges and universities, *faculty who attempt the integration of faith and learning will be more supportive of religious constraints on academic freedom and of using religious criteria in hiring.*

THE FACULTY SURVEYS

We test these hypotheses with a survey of faculty at religious colleges and universities. In the late 1990s, surveys were mailed to all full-time faculty members of six religious[3] colleges and universities: Baylor University (TX), Boston College (MA), Brigham Young University (UT), Georgetown College (KY), the University of Notre Dame (IN), and Samford University (AL).[4] Four are doctoral research universities, two are liberal arts colleges, two are Catholic, and three are

TABLE 1
AFFILIATIONS AND RESPONSE RATES

School	Affiliation	Date Surveys Mailed	Number of Surveys Mailed	Response Rate (%)
Baylor	Baptist	Fall 1994	599	67
Boston College	Catholic	Spring 1995	474	42
BYU	Latter-day Saints	Spring 1998	1520	58
Georgetown College	Baptist	Spring 1995	80	66
Notre Dame	Catholic	Spring 1995	631	39
Samford	Baptist	Fall 1995	233	42
Total			3537	55

Baptist. Earlier research on these surveys has focused on differences among the six schools (Lyon and Beaty 1999; Lyon, Mixon, and Beaty 2002). This study combines all faculty and represents, we believe, the largest sampling of faculty opinion at religious schools on these issues that has ever been assembled. While the faculty responding to these questions appear to be representative of their respective schools,[5] we cannot claim that this large sample accurately reflects the universe of faculty at religious colleges and universities. The presence of four research universities greatly overestimates their proportion in the larger universe of faith-based higher education. The faculty at smaller, liberal arts, Protestant colleges are likely to resist discipline-specific professionalization more than faculty at research universities (Marsden 2000). Thus, our analysis is directed as much toward the factors associated with faculty attitudes as it is toward the distribution of faculty attitudes.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE MEASUREMENT MODEL

The first step was to identify indicators of our three dimensions of interest—religious constraint on academic freedom, religious criteria in faculty hiring, and faith and learning integration. Given that there is no preexisting theory to "confirm" which measures are the best indicators of each of these three dimensions, we carefully selected a set of questions from our survey and subjected those questions to a series of exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) techniques. Table 2 presents the questions chosen for each dimension, the responses, and reliability analysis scores (all within acceptable ranges).

To test our hypotheses concerning the level of professionalization among faculty at religious schools, we examine the distributions of each response set. These distributions confirm only one initial hypothesis. Contrary to our understanding of academic professionalization, most faculty at all schools in our survey want to consider religious criteria when hiring colleagues (Item 1). Many are uncomfortable relying exclusively on academic criteria (Item 2) and are even willing to go "short-handed" until a candidate with both academic and religious qualifications is found (Item 3). Similarly, the distribution for faith and learning integration tilts strongly toward integration. Most faculty respond that their Christian beliefs are relevant to the content of their particular discipline (Item 4), that their beliefs are relevant to the way they teach their classes (Item 5), and many claim they could include a Christian perspective in their teaching (Item 6). Only for religious constraints on academic freedom do the results support our hypotheses regarding faculty professionalization. With only BYU as a notable exception (cf. Lyon, Mixon, and Beaty 2002), faculty at religious colleges and universities are likely to favor less religious constraint—so much so that at most schools over half of the respondents gave the most "professional"—or least "religious"—response to each of the items. Faculty at these religious schools clearly value their freedom as teachers and researchers and will resist religious constraints on their work, even if it reduces denominational support for the school (Item 8).

TABLE 2
OPERATIONALIZATION OF MEASUREMENT MODEL

	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)
Religious Criteria for Hiring				

Item 1: To meet its academic and faith-related goals, your school should hire faculty who have a high degree of academic promise or prominence, and whose religious commitments are deeply significant to them.

Baylor	44	40	12	4
Samford	57	36	6	1
Georgetown College	46	34	20	0
Boston College	29	25	25	22
BYU	75	22	3	0
Notre Dame	44	29	16	11
Overall	56	27	9	5

Item 2: To meet its academic and faith-related goals, your school should hire faculty who have the highest levels of academic promise or prominence, regardless of religious beliefs or commitments.

Baylor	18	18	38	26
Samford	13	14	47	27
Georgetown College	8	24	43	24
Boston College	47	26	18	9
BYU	2	9	42	47
Notre Dame	33	22	30	15
Overall	15	15	37	33

Item 3: To meet its academic and faith-related goals, your school should search for and hire faculty who share the institution's religious commitments and have academic promise or prominence, even if it means that the department may have to function short-handed until such a candidate is found. (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.821$.)

Baylor	18	37	29	17
Samford	18	40	35	6
Georgetown College	16	39	39	6
Boston College	12	17	37	34
BYU	38	44	15	3
Notre Dame	14	27	36	23
Overall	26	37	25	12

Faith & Learning Integration				

Item 4: My Christian beliefs are relevant to the content of my discipline.

Baylor	31	29	22	18
Samford	41	35	18	6
Georgetown College	48	17	31	4
Boston College	31	24	23	22
BYU	57	32	9	2
Notre Dame	24	29	26	22
Overall	43	30	17	10

Item 5: My Christian beliefs are relevant to the way I teach my class.

Baylor	45	38	11	6
Samford	60	33	5	2
Georgetown College	60	30	11	0
Boston College	30	35	18	16
BYU	63	32	4	1
Notre Dame	23	39	20	18
Overall	50	35	9	6

(*Continues*)

TABLE 2
(Continued)

	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)
Item 6: If I wished to do so, I could create a syllabus for a course I currently teach that includes a clear, academically legitimate, Christian perspective on the subject. (Cronbach's α: 0.814.)				
Baylor	16	28	27	30
Samford	23	40	30	7
Georgetown College	16	36	38	10
Boston College	25	25	27	23
BYU	29	43	21	7
Notre Dame	22	23	31	25
Overall	24	35	25	16
Religious Constraints on Academic Freedom				
Item 7: To meet its academic and faith-related goals, your school should guarantee its faculty the freedom to explore any idea or theory to publish the results of those inquiries, even if the ideas question some traditional denominational beliefs and practices.				
Baylor	54	36	9	1
Samford	46	42	9	3
Georgetown College	64	28	6	2
Boston College	75	23	2	0
BYU	12	21	40	28
Notre Dame	73	22	5	0
Overall	39	26	22	13
Item 8: If conflicts develop between academic freedom and traditional denominational commitments, your school should, in most cases, preserve academic freedom even if it reduces denominational support, financially.				
Baylor	54	33	9	3
Samford	49	39	10	2
Georgetown College	56	42	0	2
Boston College	63	31	5	1
BYU	7	9	34	50
Notre Dame	57	30	11	2
Overall	34	22	20	24
Item 9: To meet its academic and faith-related goals, your school should allow the faculty to read and discuss anything in the classroom they believe pertains to what they are teaching even if the material questions some traditional denominational beliefs and practices. (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.915$.)				
Baylor	59	32	8	1
Samford	49	44	5	2
Georgetown College	60	36	4	0
Boston College	68	27	5	0
BYU	11	31	34	24
Notre Dame	63	27	8	1
Overall	38	31	20	12

In the next step, we operationalize the measurement model using LISREL 8 to perform a CFA. As the model posits, each of these three dimensions represents distinct but interrelated concepts concerning faculty roles as professionals at religious colleges and universities. We fit a three-factor oblique solution using CFA, allowing the three dimensions to covary, and find that the model fits relatively well (Kelloway 1998).[6] Table 3 presents standardized parameter estimates for each latent variable, as well as a correlation matrix for the latent variables.

TABLE 3
CONFIRMATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR ENDOGENOUS DIMENSIONS

	For Hiring	Integration	On Academic Freedom	R^2
Item 1	0.79[a]			0.63
Item 2	0.80			0.64
Item 3	0.75			0.56
Item 4		0.67[a]		0.44
Item 5		0.89		0.80
Item 6		0.77		0.60
Item 7			0.93[a]	0.86
Item 8			0.87	0.75
Item 9			0.87	0.75

RMSEA = 0.084; χ^2 = 343.2; 24 df; GFI = 0.96; AGFI = 0.93; N = 1,902.
[a]These paths fixed to a value of 1 in structural equation model.
Correlations Among Latent Variables

	Religious Criteria for Hiring	Faith and Learning Integration	Religious Constraints on Academic Freedom
Hiring	1.00		
F&L Int	0.45	1.00	
Acad Frdm	0.69	0.66	1.00

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES WITH A PATH MODEL

We predicted that even in religious colleges and universities, the norms of the academic profession would prevail, resulting in majority support for academic freedom in teaching and research and for academic criteria in faculty hiring. This proved to be true only for academic freedom. We also predicted that while these professional norms would make the integrating of faith and learning difficult, those faculty who do integrate faith and learning will be especially resistant to professional norms that conflict with the religious aims of their school. Testing this final hypothesis requires a multivariate, causal model.

Previous research predicts that faculty responses will vary significantly across different group contexts. One important variable is faculty denomination. We measure whether faculty are of the same denomination as that which sponsors their school (e.g., a Mormon at BYU, a Baptist at Baylor) with a 0,1 binary measure (1 = yes). Both Marsden (1994) and Burtchaell (1998) identify hiring outside the faith tradition of the school as an important first step toward secularization. Thus, we predict that *faculty with the same faith tradition as their college or university will be less professional in their responses on integrating faith and learning, supporting academic freedom, and using religious criteria in hiring*.

Similarly, faculty who were students at the school where they now work should identify with the school and possess a greater affinity for the school's religious traditions (Ashforth and Mael 1989; Lyon, Mixon, and Beaty 2002). We measure whether the faculty member has a degree from the school at which he or she works with a 0,1 binary measure (1 = have degree from that school). Thus, we predict that *a faculty member with a degree from the school at which he or she teaches will be less professional in his or her responses on integrating faith and learning, supporting academic freedom, and using religious criteria in hiring*.
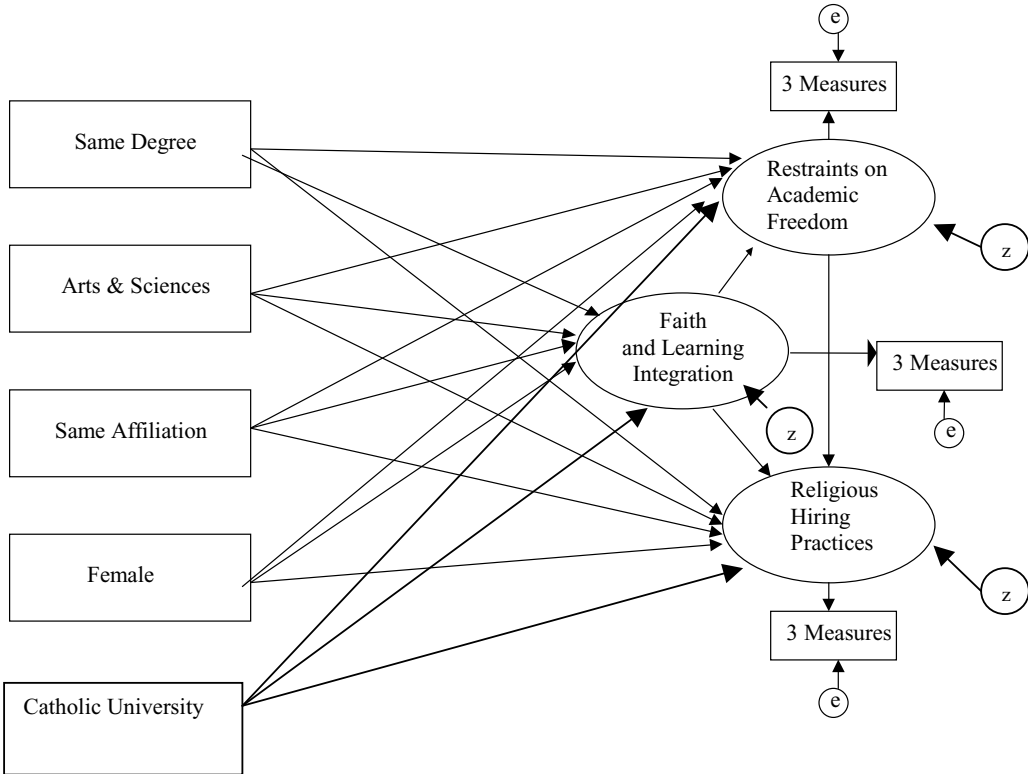
An early study by Leuba (1921) described differences in the faith of faculty along discipline lines, and it has been shown consistently since then that faculty in arts and sciences demonstrate

the least religiosity (Stark 2003; Wuthnow 1985). We measure whether the faculty member works in a college of arts and sciences with a 0,1 binary measure (1 = yes). This may be due to efforts at defining disciplinary boundaries (Wuthnow 1985) or protecting academic freedom (Lyon and Beaty 1999), but in any case, we predict that *faculty in the college of arts and sciences will be less religious in their responses on integrating faith and learning, supporting academic freedom, and using religious criteria in hiring*.

Although gender is of considerable importance in faculty considerations (Bellas, Ritchey, and Parmer 2001; Bronstein and Farnsworth 1998), the effect of gender is difficult to predict. While some research has shown that female faculty are as likely to support academic criteria as their male counterparts (Olsen, Maple, and Stage 1995), studies have also shown women to be more religious than men (Stark 2000; Stark and Bainbridge 1987). Conversely, religion is often seen as a justification for patriarchy (Becker and Hofmeister 2001; Carlson and Bohn 1989) and could be resented by female faculty. Thus, we predict that *attitudinal differences will exist by gender*, but the literature is insufficient to predict the direction. Nonetheless, it could be an important control variable, which we measure as a 0,1 binary variable (1 = female faculty).

The effects of being a faculty member at a Catholic rather than a Protestant institution are less difficult to predict. First, given the negative response by the presidents of Boston College and Notre Dame to *Ex Corde* and the assumption that they are voicing the views of their faculty, at least in the main, we predict that *faculty at Catholic universities are more likely to accept professional criteria on faculty hiring and academic freedom*. Moreover, these presidents are reflecting the traditional Catholic view of the relation between faith and reason that supports reason's autonomy and authority in the various academic disciplines. While Protestants are more likely to suppose that faith must correct reason's fallen capacities, the traditional Catholic view assumes that faith and reason are complementary capacities whose mutual activities can result in an ultimately harmonious and unified body of knowledge or truth.[7] Accordingly, we predict that *faculty at Catholic universities will be more likely than faculty at Protestant institutions to affirm the integration of faith and learning as an institutional goal*. We include a 0,1 binary measure of whether or not the college or university where the faculty member is employed is a Catholic sponsored institution (1 = Catholic).

When our theoretical model describing the nuanced relationships among faith and learning, academic freedom, and religious criteria in hiring is juxtaposed with empirical findings from previous research on faculty at religious colleges and universities, the following path model is presented (see Figure 1). Although reciprocal relationships are possible, our model assumes one-way causation and defines religious criteria in hiring, because it is the most specific and behavioral, as the most endogenous dimension. It is followed by the more abstract dimension of religious constraints on academic freedom, and then by the attitudinal variable considered by analysts as the most primary and basic—the integration of faith and learning. The ordering of these three dimensions is informed by Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) theory of reasoned action, which states that behavior results from specific intentions that spring from a combination of attitudes and norms. One's actions, then, are based on judgments regarding that particular behavior as well as perceptions of social pressure to perform the behavior. In this case, a faculty member's feelings regarding constraints on academic freedom or hiring practices (behaviors) are based on his or her stance on faith and learning integration (attitude) along with the university's stance (norms). Similar attitude-behavior path models appear throughout sociological and psychological research (e.g. Cohen and Zhou 1991; Tsoudis and Smith-Lovin 1998).[8]

We use LISREL 8 to estimate a maximum likelihood latent variable structural equation model. The standardized parameter estimates are presented in Figure 2. Two important goodness-of-fit measures indicate a good fit of the data, while a third indicates an adequate fit. The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA = 0.045) and the adjusted goodness of fit (AGFI = 0.98) are both within acceptable ranges (see Byrne 1998). The chi-square value for the final model is still significant (297.98; $p < 0.001$; 86 df). Figure 2 provides standardized parameter estimates

FIGURE 1
A MODEL OF PROPOSED INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG FACULTY
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, THE INTEGRATION OF FAITH AND
LEARNING, RELIGIOUS CONSTRAINTS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM, AND THE
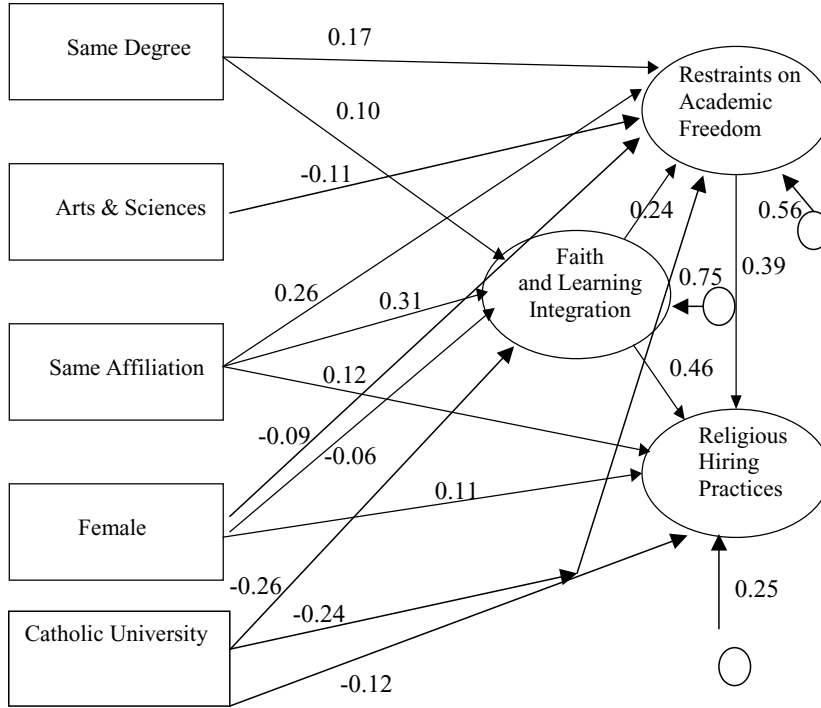**USE OF RELIGIOUS CRITERIA IN HIRING PRACTICES**

of the paths between dimensions in the model. Only statistically significant paths are reported (all reported significant paths are at the $p = 0.001$ level of significance). One indicator for each latent endogenous variable is fixed to a value of 1 (see Table 3). We assume that the observed exogenous variables are measured without error. We allow the error terms for the indicators of the latent endogenous variables to be correlated. We estimate and report the error terms for the latent endogenous variables (Figure 2). Correlations among observed exogenous variables are available upon request.

Faculty who hold the same religious affiliation as the denominational tradition of the college or university are, as predicted, more likely to support the use of religious criteria in hiring (0.12), to support religious constraints on academic freedom (0.26), and to support faith and learning integration (0.31).

The other faculty characteristics also perform largely as predicted. Members of colleges of arts and sciences are less supportive of religious constraints on academic freedom (−0.11) than are their colleagues in other units on campus. Females are more supportive of the use of religious criteria in hiring (0.11), but slightly less likely to support faith and learning integration (−0.06) or constraints on academic freedom (–0.09). Catholic university faculty score significantly lower on all three latent variables. As predicted, such faculty are significantly less likely to support religious constraints on academic freedom (−0.24) and religious constraints on hiring (−0.12), but also are less likely to support faith and learning integration (−0.26), a finding at odds with our theoretical expectations.

FIGURE 2
STANDARDIZED ESTIMATES OF INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG FACULTY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, THE INTEGRATION OF FAITH AND LEARNING, RELIGIOUS CONSTRAINTS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM, AND THE USE OF RELIGIOUS CRITERIA IN HIRING PRACTICES

Chi-square 297.98, 86 df, $p = 0.0001$; RMSEA = 0.048; GFI = 0.98, $N = 11, 1902$

Finally, as predicted, the integration of faith and learning is central to our conceptual model. It has a strong causal effect on hiring (0.46) and academic freedom (0.24) that diminishes the commitment to professional attitudes.

DISCUSSION

Our data show clear limits on the application of disciplinary professional norms at religious colleges and universities. Most surveyed faculty support using religious criteria for vetting faculty hires and most support or even practice integrating their religious faith with their disciplinary learning. Only for academic freedom do we find compelling evidence for faculty members identifying more with the professional norms of their discipline than with the faith-based norms of their schools. For academic freedom, if faith conflicts with the protocol of disciplinary research or with the major tenets of disciplinary teaching, then faith must yield to discipline.[9] However, given the levels of support for integrating faith and learning, such conflict may be rare (cf. Lyon et al. 2005). Our data indicate that faculty who integrate faith and learning are unlikely to view the faith-based traditions of their institutions in opposition to their disciplinary calling, as evidenced by their willingness to incorporate religious tradition (faith) into important disciplinary areas such as teaching and research (learning). Thus, faculty who integrate faith and learning can support academic freedom and religious criteria in hiring without necessarily experiencing an internal conflict.

The total effects in the LISREL path model show that for all three of our indices, important predictors were "same degree" and "same affiliation." Faculty who graduate from the school where they now teach or who belong to the denomination that sponsors their college or university are much more likely to support: (1) integrating faith and learning; (2) allowing religious traditions to constrain academic freedom; and (3) employing religious criteria in faculty searches. Arts and sciences faculty tend to be less religious in their views on academic freedom and hiring, as predicted, but the effect is weak and more detailed departmental measures may have yielded stronger effects, since it is the faculty in the social sciences and humanities who have the most animus toward religion (Stark 2003; Wuthnow 1985).[10]

Of considerable strength and interest are the consistently professional attitudes held by faculty at Catholic universities. Much of this professionalization can be explained by traditional Catholic views on the autonomy accorded reason and academic disciplines. What is surprising is the comparative lack of support for integrating faith and learning among faculty at Catholic universities. This suggests that in spite of Catholic traditions supporting a compatibility of faith and reason, the strain toward professionalism often trumps Catholic norms among universities with strong research profiles. Boston College and Notre Dame garner more external grants and produce more doctoral graduates than the other schools in the sample, and their faculty are more likely to view their roles along the lines predicted by Marsden (1994) and Burtchaell (1998) in that they hold a more secular, more professional self-definition. This suggests that should faith-based schools such as Baylor and BYU develop a more rigorous research agenda, they may also expect the development of more professional attitudes among their faculty.

Still, in partial contradiction to the patterns at our two Catholic research universities, the more general findings show that among a significant number of the faculty, the norms of the religious university supersede the hiring norms of the profession, but the norms regarding academic freedom are in accord with those of the profession. Our data suggest that a key to understanding the level of and variation in faculty professionalization is their position on integrating faith and learning. The integration of faith and learning was among the strongest predictors of academic freedom and it was the strongest predictor of attitudes regarding hiring. Since most faculty responded that they can integrate faith with learning, and since this integration produces a distinctive view of faculty norms in which faith and learning do not conflict, many faculty appear able to hold the otherwise contradictory views of supporting religious criteria in hiring and rejecting religious constraints on academic freedom. Thus, the position held by analysts such as Noll (1994) and Sloan (1994) concerning the importance of integrating faith and learning among faculty at religious colleges and universities is supported by these data.

NOTES

1. While no single analyst used only these three characteristics, they are included prominently in works by Wilson (1942), Jencks and Riesman (1968), Bledstein (1976), Bok (1982), Geiger (1986), Wolfe (1992), Sullivan (1995), and Bennett (1998).
2. See Lyon et al. (2005) for research regarding the causes and distributions of attitudes on the integration of faith and learning, but our review of published scholarship found no empirical research on the consequences of adopting certain attitudes toward faith and learning.
3. Whether certain schools with a religious tradition are truly and distinctively religious is a matter of considerable debate. However, a number of analysts using a wide variety of definitions agree that the schools in our sample are distinctively religious (Benne 2001; Cuninggim 1994; Hughes and Adrian 1997; Mixon, Lyon, and Beaty 2004).
4. These schools were initially selected as a purposeful sample (mail-out to all faculty, one follow-up) to analyze the differences between Baptist (Baylor) and Catholic (Notre Dame) universities and between Baptist universities (Baylor) and colleges (Georgetown College). It grew into a convenience sample as colleagues at other schools (Boston College, Brigham Young, Samford) learned of the survey and volunteered to help administer it to faculty at their institutions. While these surveys are discussed in several publications referenced in this article, see Lyon and Beaty (1999) for the initial and most detailed discussion.
5. For all available comparisons between official university records and our sample—college or school in which the faculty member teaches, number of years on the faculty, academic rank, where the faculty member receives his or her degree, highest degree earned, and gender—no statistically significant biases emerge.

6. We contrasted the three-factor oblique model with others, including three-factor orthogonal and two-factor oblique models with one of the dimensions excluded. The three-factor oblique model reported here had the best overall fit.

7. For one powerful and recent account of the traditional Catholic view of the relation of faith and reason, see the Encyclical Letter of John Paul II (1998, especially pp. 28–32, 56, 58, 61, 65).

8. Gender, whether one got their degree from the same institution at which they work, whether the faculty member is employed in a college of arts and sciences, and whether the faculty member has the same religious affiliation as the institution at which they are a faculty member are explicitly observed exogenous dummy variables. Since the measures were included as controls because of previous empirical findings, in the final model we dropped all paths between explicitly observed exogenous variables and endogenous latent variables that were not statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

9. A possibility worthy of future research is that minority faculty (e.g., a Catholic at Baylor or a Baptist at Notre Dame) might support academic freedom as a means of self-protection.

10. In order to reduce privacy concerns, faculty members were not asked to identify their department. Instead, they were asked only to identify their place in the school of arts and sciences, business school, etc.

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