ABSTRACT

Faithful Innovation and Mission Drift in Christian Parachurch Student Organizations

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The purpose of this thesis is to explore the stories of three Christian student movements in the United States—the YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade—in order to evaluate the interactions of the Christian faith and culture on the college campus and how those interactions may creatively expand upon the mission or lead to mission drift. Although these organizations have distinctive stories, they all initially shared an aim to evangelize and disciple students on American college campuses. The discussion of the history of these organizations is for the purpose of analyzing how these groups adapt to cultural changes or the needs of the student population and how particular changes lead to mission drift and possibly secularization while others demonstrate faithful innovation.

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FAITHFUL INNOVATION AND MISSION DRIFT IN CHRISTIAN PARACHURCH STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

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CHAPTER ONE

Innovation and Mission Drift in Christian Parachurch Organizations

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the stories of how three Christian student movements in the United States—the YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade—have attempted to remain culturally relevant on the college campus while aiming to advance the Christian faith. Although these organizations have distinctive stories, they all began with the aim to evangelize and disciple students on American college campuses. This thesis explores how these groups adapt to cultural changes and the needs of the student population and then analyzes what particular changes might either contribute to mission drift, which might open the organization to the possibility of secularization, or demonstrate faithful innovation.

The Emergence of Christian Parachurch Organizations

Before discussing the organizations, the following section briefly describes some historical reasons for the emergence of these Christian parachurch organizations. The vast majority of early American institutions of higher education were founded by Christian denominations for the sake of a Christian mission and vision.[1] Education during the early days of the United States was seen as a way of preparing students for Christian leadership to equip them to live out the calling of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For example, the original motto of the oldest institution of higher education in the

1. Todd C. Ream and Perry L. Glanzer, *Christian Faith and Scholarship* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Periodicals, Inc., 2007), 8.

United States, Harvard University, proclaimed, "Truth (Veritas) for Christ (Christo) and the Church."[2]

However, a number of factors would lead to the secularization of these denominational colleges. Americans began trying to copy the German academic education system. This system drew upon idealism philosophies that shifted trust and confidence from the church to the state and government.[3] It essentially abolished the understanding of higher education having a primary role in character formation.[4] Other factors greatly contributed to the eventual secularization of the university including the pluralism of the United States as a nation, the growth of state universities, and the intellectual preference of objective scientific data over theological beliefs.[5] Finally, the secularizing of the university withdrew faith-based conversations from many classrooms.[6] These compounding factors and pressures on the system of higher education at the turn of the nineteenth century created a more secular system of higher education in which the ideal of the original missions and visions of American Protestant universities became marginal to the increasingly secular universities. By the 1920s, the

2. "History," *Harvard at a Glance*, accessed October 2, 2016, http://www.harvard.edu/about-harvard/harvard-glance/history.

3. Todd C. Ream and Perry L. Glanzer, *Christian Faith and Scholarship* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Periodicals, Inc., 2007), 12.

4. Ibid., 13

5. Ibid., 13.

6. Idid., 15.

original form of the American university was replaced with a newer, more secular understanding of the good university.[7]

The secularization of American higher education had a great many implications for the Christian church. Denominational colleges that were founded for the sake of preparing men and women to live out their faith within their individual lives, as well as the growing number of state universities, now increasingly divorced matters of faith from the intellectual work of education.

Concordantly, the increasingly secular universities became a place in which an "oppositional collegiate subculture" could be cultivated in the form of Christian groups.[8] That is, Christian groups that had the chance to form on increasingly secular college campuses were intrinsically countercultural, which, at the origins of the group or organization, necessitated a refined and steadfast mission while at the same time providing a context for students whose Christian concerns were marginalized from the curriculum.[9] These factors along with the church's great need implored for innovation.

Parachurch Organizations in the University

As a result, the church innovated, as it was and is called to do. Parachurch organizations, which work alongside and outside of denominational Christianity to further the Christian mission, began to form in the United States and ushered in a new dynamic to Christian life and community in America. Many parachurch organizations

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7. Ibid., 13.

8. Peter Magolda and Kelsey Ebben Gross, *It's All About Jesus! Faith as an Oppositional Collegiate Subculture* (Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, 2009), 101.

9. Ibid., 102.

served in a specific purpose for social or public needs, and many came to existence for the sake of evangelizing or spreading the Gospel to a specific population.[10]

The three parachurch organizations I am studying arose for the sake of college students: for the purpose of spreading the Gospel to this population and empowering them as leaders and change-makers within their world. These organizations, from outside of the university itself, created movements of college students on campus to challenge them to integrate faith in Christ into their life while at college. Parachurch organizations on college campuses served students in the following ways: providing shared experiences, mentoring in Bible study, connecting with local congregations, discipling, challenging students to go on missions, and pushing students to continue the movement themselves.[11]

These organizations took on the challenge of serving a population that is now known to be a faith-losing age group.[12] Therefore, the university is a very full mission field for parachurch organizations to serve an age group known to fall away from religious commitment within a contained and supportive context, the university. While there are many temptations available for students to indulge and philosophies present that might pull them from their faith, Christian parachurch organizations emerged to offer the college student a different community in the university context.[13]

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10. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 26.

11. David P. Setran, *The College "Y" Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 42.

12. Jonathan P. Hill, *Emerging Adulthood and Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: Calvin College Press, 2015), 19.

13. Peter Magolda and Kelsey Ebben Gross, *It's All About Jesus! Faith As an Oppositional Collegiate Subculture* (Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, 2009), 89.

In this thesis, I will analyze how three parachurch organizations have attempted to fulfill the Great Commission in the college context. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the changes and shifts made within the Christian parachurch organization in order to determine whether these changes brought the purpose of the movement more closely to its Christian mission or pulled it away from its aim and mission. In a secular university context, it is important for the Christian student movement to be able to improvise and use strategies of traditioned innovation in order to be an effective and thriving ministry. However, improvisation or changes that are taken too far or move the organization from its Christian mission might open up the parachurch organization to secularization, as this was a trend seen in American universities. With an analytical look at strategic or institutional changes made in three Christian parachurch organizations on the college campus, this thesis seeks to illuminate what makes the difference between organizational responses to culture that reflect the Christian value of faithful innovation or lead to mission drift and possible secularization.

Innovation and Secularization

As has been seen by the secularization of originally religious universities, parachurch organizations ran the risk of facing secularization in a similar manner. Within the university context, parachurch organizations had to make many adaptations and adjustments to serve the college population. For a parachurch organization to find a following and create a successful movement, it must be relevant and relatable for the college student.

Innovating in this way, a parachurch organization runs the risk of spinning away from its centering aspect: its Christian mission, its commitment to the Gospel and the

Great Commission. Parachurch organizations have run the great risk of balancing the need to reach a young and secular population with the necessity to have a consistent and unwavering Christian mission.

Todd Ream and Perry Glanzer expand upon the definition of institutional secularization:

> The institutional form [of secularization] involves "the transformation of an institution that had once been considered religious in character into something not thought of as religious… like the European university…" In higher education this transformation occurs when a particular college or university separates itself from church governance and financial support and excludes Christian purposes from its mission. Both societal and institutional forms of secularization are captured in Webster's dictionary (1978) definition of the term – "the separation, as of civil and educational affairs, from religious or ecclesiastical influence or control."[14]

It is important to have a clear understanding of secularization and its implication for the sake of this argument. Secularization that occurs within societies deals ultimately with differentiation.[15] That is, secularization occurs within groups of people who segregate responsibilities, all of which might not necessarily be faith centered. Secularization within an institution is the transformation of that entity into something different than it was before – that is, from a faith-animated institution into a faith-indifferent or even faith-hostile institution.[16] When activities become secularized, it is

14. Todd C. Ream and Perry L. Glanzer, *Christian Faith and Scholarship* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Periodicals, Inc., 2007), 9.

15. C. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 249.

16. Ibid., 250.

ultimately a transfer of the function of the actions.[17] Activities, then, might not always be removed in secularization but simply changed in purpose. Finally, secularization of mentality lies in a "shift of attention."[18] A mentality that secularizes shifts its focus – its seeing, hearing, and orientation – to something that is not of the faith.

The roots of secularization of a Christian parachurch organization can lie in mission drift. Mission drift is the slow move of an organization away from its central aim, attitude, and purpose. Greer and Horst say of mission drift: "Mission drift unfolds slowly. Like a current, it carries organizations away from their core purpose and identity."[19] For a parachurch student organization, this slow and gradual change might open up the organization to the possibility of secularization.

Mission drift, a process that is slow and often manifest in small and subtle gradated changes, is hardly intentional. An organization and its leaders might not even be aware of the changes that are causing mission drift.

> Most organizations have not willingly, consciously, changed direction. Most have not volitionally chosen to soften their Christian distinctiveness. Neither Harvard nor Yale held a "mission change day" where they mapped out their new identity. Instead, they drifted quietly, gradually, and slowly. And one day, they hardly resembled the institutions their founders intended.[20]

The danger of mission drift that leads to secularization looms over a parachurch organization in that it might be transformed into something that it originally was not.

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17. C. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 250.

18. Ibid., 250.

19. Peter Greer and Christ Horst, *Mission Drift: The Unspoken Crisis Facing Leaders, Charities, and Churches* (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 2014), 17.

20. Ibid., 22.

This institutional mission drift might be gradual and gradational, and it probably coincides with changes in both activities and mentality. The compounding effects of small changes have the potential to contribute to the ultimate transformation and secularization of the organization.[21]

However, if an organization resists all changes and moves forward stubbornly steadfast in all of its activities and mentalities, it might forego the opportunity to innovate for the sake of reaching and empowering more students with the Gospel. For this reason, it is crucial to understand the possibility of faithful innovation or traditioned innovation. In describing traditioned innovation, Greg Jones says:

> They adapt the old system, create innovation, in order to stay true to their calling. Traditioned innovation is a way of thinking and living that holds the past and future together in creative tension… requiring both a deep fidelity to the patterns of the past that have borne us to the present and a radical openness to the changes that carry us forward. Our feet are firmly on the ground with our hands open to the future.[22]

Traditioned innovation, or faithful innovation (these terms will be used interchangeably) then, challenges the Christian to remain committed to the ultimate good, the calling, and valuing the activities of the past while also being attentive to new activities that might carry the movement forward. In being faithful to the greater motivating or animating force, an organization gains freedom to seek ways to explore and improvise ways to reach more people and adapt to new needs, to faithfully innovate. As this thesis continues, I will explore the histories of parachurch organizations in order to

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21. C. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 252.

22. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 51.

see how an organization balances embracing faithful innovation while also resisting secularization that might arise due to mission drift.

Evaluative Framework

In order to understand how a parachurch student organization moves into mission drift or faithful innovation, it is important to understand the group's organizational objectives and activities and its approach to culture. As the purpose of this thesis is to analyze how three parachurch Christian student movements go about ministry and interact with culture and the results that these interactions produce, vocabulary from both Christopher P. Scheitle and H. Richard Niebhur will provide an evaluative framework to describe the groups' organizational objectives and activities and their approach to culture. As the stories of the three organizations are described, these terms will provide a framework for discussion and analysis.

Scheitle and Parachurch organizations: Objectives and Activities

Scheitle describes the sociology of Christian parachurch organizations, elucidating the ways in which they generally tend to function. Scheitle's terms provide an evaluative framework for discussing how these changes and strategies affect the organization's ability to faithfully innovate or tendency to fall into mission drift, which might open the organization up to secularization. Parachurch organizations, like all religious organizations, have "two broad categories of behavior": worship and outreach.[23] Worship, "all the behaviors an individual does to contemplate and experience their faith

23. Christopher P. Scheitle, Beyond the Congregation: The World of Christian Nonprofits (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 40.

internally," is often manifest as prayer, Bible study, private or public reflection, and other kinds of devotion.[24] As worship centers the group on the true focus and animating force of the mission, it is crucial to the organization's identity as a Christian parachurch student organization. It is important to note that Scheitle includes worship as the other primary behavior of a Christian group.[25] As a Christian organization seeks to be faithfully animated by the message of the gospel and the person of Jesus Christ, it will be crucial to note how an organization's outreach brings it closer to or farther from this mission of worship of God.

The second category of behavior is outreach, often an outflow of worship. Outreach is motivated by the Christian's desire "to try and shape the world into the vision described by their beliefs."[26] Outreach entails four different objectives—conversion, community, communication, and charity—and is put into practice through the organization's activities.[27] Any shift from this initial mission could be considered mission drift

Outreach objective: conversion. The objective of conversion implies that the aim of the organization is to bring in more believers of the Christian gospel. Activities motivated by the objective of conversion would be focused on sharing the faith, expanding the reach of the Christian message, and ultimately bringing others into the

24. Ibid., 40.

25. Ibid., 40.

26. Ibid., 40.

27. Ibid., 40.

Christian faith. As was mentioned previously, the three parachurch organizations that are the focus of this thesis are all essentially focused on the outreach objective of conversion from their beginnings.[28]

Outreach objective: community. Community outreach is motivated by the goal of providing supportive and mutually uplifting fellowship for the believer. Because the community outreach objective is more internally focused, it is often focused on maintaining and supporting a population of believers that is already included in the work of the organization instead of reaching out and bringing others into the work.[29]

Outreach objective: communication. Communication outreach "can be both internally and externally aimed," as it includes outreach that is focused on supplying resources for believers or nonbelievers.[30] These outreach objective might also motivate publications that are meant to persuade or advocate concerning certain Christian issues informed by Christian belief.[31]

Outreach objective: charity. As the Christian gospel includes commands and encouragements regarding serving the "least of these," charity is another outreach

28. Ibid., 40.

29. Ibid., 40.

30. Ibid., 41.

31. Ibid., 41

objective for many Christian parachurch groups. This objective pushes Christians to contribute the world's material needs both locally and across the world.[32]

These four objectives can all serve a Christian mission, but the collegiate YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade primarily focused on conversion while having community and communication as secondary goals. While innovation that fits within these categories could be classified as faithful innovation, a deviation from the group's initial focus will be considered mission drift.

Scheitle names nine different sectors of activity for a parachurch organization.[33] Again, innovation that involves expanding from one of these sectors of activity to another sector could be considered faithful innovation if it keeps worship of God at the center of its mission and the group continues to maintain its initial focus of activity.

Outreach activity: charismatic evangelism. Organizations that actively engage in charismatic evangelism activities are often focused on "conversion and worship."[34] Because charistmatic evangelism activities are aimed at bringing in more believers, they are often crafted and designed to draw in more people. Charismatic evangelism activities such as prayer, discipleship, preaching, and music are designed for the sake of evangelism, bringing more people into the Christian faith.[35] The collegiate YMCA,

32. Ibid., 41

33. Ibid., 60.

34. Ibid., 61.

35. Ibid., 61.

Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade were all created in order to engage in these outreach activities on the college campus.

Outreach activity: relief & development. Relief and development activities create opportunities for material growth or material assistance for those in need. Often, these activities are paired with some kind of charismatic evangelism in Christian parachurch organizations.[36]

Outreach activity: education & training. Education and training activities are designed to support the greater church, a nod to the literal meaning of the word "para-church." These organizations, often led by church leaders or experts, consult local churches or pastors and provide informative instruction.[37]

Outreach activity: publishing & resources. Publishing and resources activities are characterized by the publication and distribution of Christian resources. These resources can include gospel tracts or books focused on certain issues and informed by the Christian perspective.[38] Today, one might consider blogs, applications, or podcasts along with other online resources to be included in this sector of activity.

Outreach activity: radio & television. Outreach activities in the radio and television sector utilize the mass media for the sake of furthering the Christian message.[39]

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36. Ibid., 61.

37. Ibid., 62.

38. Ibid., 62.

39. Ibid., 62.

Outreach activity: missions & missionary. While the outreach activity included in the missions and missionary sector might seem similar to the charismatic evangelism sector, these activities are often abroad or in a distant location. These activities can include short-term or long-term missions as well as financial support of mission work.[40]

Outreach activity: fellowship & enrichment. Fellowship and enrichment activities are most often focused on the outreach objective of community. These activities tend to gather people of similar social groups for the sake of "building community and nurturing faith among these groups."[41]

Outreach activity: advocacy & activism. Of all of the sectors of outreach activity, advocacy and activism is the most "politically charged."[42] These activities are designed to educate and work toward change in certain public issues that intersect with the Christian faith. Groups that actively pursue outreach in this sector are often seeking reform or change in some way.[43]

Outreach activity: fundraising, grant-making, & other. Finally, the last sector of outreach activity includes those endeavors that bring in financial resources to benefit

40. Ibid., 62.

41. Ibid., 62.

42. Ibid., 62.

43. Ibid., 62.

other activities in the Christian mission, often pursued by the church or other parachurch organizations.[44]

The collegiate YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade, I will maintain, were all created initially in order to engage in charismatic evangelism, education & training, and fellowship & enrichment on the college campus. Nonetheless, parachurch organizations are able to adapt and adjust their outreach objectives or activities, and expansion into any of these nine activities has the potential to be faithful innovation that benefits the organization's mission by bringing the organization closer to fulfilling its animating purpose. Yet, expanding into these activities without focusing upon its central Christian purpose of worship or maintaining one's original areas of activity could also lead to mission drift and eventual secularization.

H. Richard Niebhur's Five Types of Faith-Culture Interaction

In his *Christ and Culture*, H. Richard Niebhur explores the relationship between the Christian faith and the culture of the world. Faith in Christ from a person in the fallen world necessitates an understanding of this faith embedded in the context of the world's culture. Niebhur says, "Belief in him and loyalty to his cause involves men in the double movement from world to God and from God to world."[45] Faith in Christ, then, must interact in some way with the culture of the world, which Niebhur explains as a conglomeration of the following things: "social heritage,"[46] "human achievement,"[47]

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44. Ibid., 62.

45. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 28.

46. Ibid., 32.

"values,"[48] "temporal and material realization of values,"[49] and the incidental occurrence of "pluralism."[50] Culture, then, is the substance of a pluralistic society, the direction of the hegemonic forces at play within a group of people.

In his discussion of the interaction between the faith and the world, Niebhur lists five different types of Christian cultural interactions: Christ against culture (reject culture), Christ of culture (accommodate culture), Christ above culture (synthesize with culture), Christ and culture in paradox (be in a dualistic relationship with culture), and Christ the transformer of culture (transform culture).[51] The way that a Christian, and in this case a Christian parachurch group constructs and lives out this theological attitude toward and interaction with culture will allow further exploration into an organization's mission drift or faithful innovation. The following section describes these five stances so that they can aid the analysis of the collegiate YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade.

Christ against culture – reject culture. This attitude, one of the extremes on the spectrum, motivates a Christian to view the Christian mission as set in opposition to the ways of the world and the culture of the greater world. The two forces are at war with one another, and the Christian must fight for the victory of the Christian mission or

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47. Ibid, 33.

48. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 34.

49. Ibid., 36.

50. Ibid., 38.

51. Ibid., 231.

remove oneself from the non-Christian world. A person who embodies this stance sees Christ as one who "confronts men with the challenge of an 'either-or' decision."[52]

There are ways in which a Christian parachurch organization can embody this attitude, although it would rarely be the overpowering stance of the organization, as these three movements are embedded within the culture of the world on the college campus. However, an attitude or a stance the rejects some of the patterns and values of the non-Christian culture in which it lies might be motivated by this view that Christ calls his followers to separate themselves from the world in the Christ against culture understanding.

Christ of culture – accommodate culture. The other extreme on Niebhur's spectrum of Christian attitudes toward culture presents Christ as one who is the "great hero of human culture history."[53] This stance presents the Christian mission as something that should celebrate the culture of the world because the Christian faith in some way should lead to great cultural achievement. The Christian walk is meant to be in harmony with the values of the world.[54]

Again, because this stance represents one of the extremes on the spectrum, it would be rare for a Christian parachurch organization to fully embody this attitude because it barely creates space for a need or any kind of lack in the world's culture on the college campus. However, there are ways that a Christian parachurch organization can

52. Ibid., 40.

53. Ibid., 40.

54. Ibid., 41.

accommodate the culture of the world, accepting and celebrating or even following after some of the secular tendencies or achievements of the greater university.

Christ above culture – synthesize with culture. The synthesis stance is characterized by a non-compartmentalized faith and cultural life. The faith is something that is actively shaping one's cultural life, as the cultural life does the same to the faith. One who accepts this understanding would believe that human action and human achievement is not "alien" to the faith but complementary to it.[55] According to Niebhur, this interaction is motivated by the thought that "A Christian must then first of all be a good man in accordance with the standard of good culture."[56] The synthesis utilizes the treasures of culture as tools for communicating and cultivating the Christian faith in a communicable, clear, and sometimes institutionalized manner.[57]

A Christian parachurch student movement that displays interactions characterized by the synthesis interaction type would be one that meets the student in many different aspects of his or her lifestyle. The movement would be one that is seeker-friendly, presenting an accessible Gospel but also one that goes along with the person's engagement with culture. As the Christ above culture attitude values "good men" within society, a leader within a movement characterized by this interaction type would be a leader within the greater campus culture.

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55 Ibid., 124..

56. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 127.

57. D. Stephen Long, *Theology and Culture: A Guide to the Discussion* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2008), 64.

Christ and culture in paradox – be in a dualistic relationship with culture. The dualist stance involves a vague and paradoxical interaction with culture. The dualist understands that Christ and culture are not in harmony but does not reject culture. The dualist lives out the Christian faith in the worldly culture in line with existential philosophy, making deliberate choice after deliberate choice while also embracing his or her connection with the rest of humanity.[58]

A Christian student movement that takes on the Christ and culture in paradox attitude would be characterized by a more private and personal faith that would rarely institutionalize or even organize. It would be one that understands the disharmony between the faith and culture and yet still engages, choice by choice, with both.

Christ the transformer of culture – transform culture. The conversionist attitude motivates the search for opportunities for the faith and culture to meet for the sake of the renewal of culture for the purposes of the Christian faith. These interactions are for the sake of bringing to life the good qualities within culture for their purpose in the Christian mission. While one with this view understands the power of sin and darkness in the world, they also persist in the work of redemption on earth and in the present. Niebhur says:

> Christ is the transformer of culture in the sense that he redirects, reinvigorates, and regenerates that life of man, expressed in all human works, which in present actuality is the perverted and corrupted exercise of a fundamentally good nature; which, moreover, in its depravity lies under the curse of transiency and death.[59]

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58. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 153.

59. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 209.

A Christian student movement that views Christ as the transformer of culture would be one that seeks opportunities for conversation about and engagement with the parts of culture that can be redeemed for the use of the Christian faith's purposes. Redemption and transformation would be the aim and motivation of activity. The organization would be active but within a trusting perspective that is designed to point people beyond to faith in God instead of in the values of the culture.

The previously described terms will be used to describe and analyze the ways that the three organizations organize and prioritize their organizational outreach objectives and activities (Scheitle) and understand Christ's and the Christian's relationship with culture. While these frameworks provide a standard for evaluation and analysis, it is important to note that there is no organization that is an pure and simple example of one kind of activity, objective, or cultural stance

While the organizations will be described, analyzed, compared, and contrasted according to these terms, results will also be compared and contrasted. The organization's firm reliance to its Christian mission and its success on the college campus will shed light on the effects of these different outreach and theological patterns. Two of the main effects that will be described are faithful innovation and mission drift, which opens the organization up to the possibility of secularization.

The Focus of This Thesis

This thesis will study these three Christian parachurch organizations - YMCA, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, and Campus Crusade for Christ - originated as movements of university students for the sake of the Christian mission. As is common

within any institution, especially one developing within the transient college student population, shifting populations and cultural trends brought opportunities for these organizations to adapt and adjust their strategies of finding followers and achieving their mission on the college campus. Christian student movements have the responsibility innovating to the needs of the college student while firmly advocating that Christ is the ultimate end for the college student; the movement must balance faithful innovation in order to avoid falling into a transformative mission drift. I will use the evaluative framework of Scheitle's organizational descriptions of outreach objectives and activities as well as Niebhur's categories of the Christian approach to culture in order to understand these phenomena.

Each of these three parachurch organizations originated with very Christ-centered mission statements, focused on "sharing the good news of Jesus Christ,"[60] to see people "grow in love for God,"[61] and to "send Christ-centered, multiplying disciples."[62] These mission statements provide many ways for the organization to adjust, shift, improvise, or use traditioned innovation in their strategies for the sake of meeting the needs of the population served. However, the ultimate aim or end of the organization is made clear in light of this language. These organizations each began for the sake of Christian evangelism and discipleship. While strategies might change and adjustments to culture are made, the abandonment of worship and its mutual relationship to outreach would be a

60. "Mission," *World YMCA*, 2013 http://www.ymca.int/who-we-are/mission/.

61. "Our Purpose," *Intervarsity Christian Fellowship/USA*, 2016 https://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-purpose.

62. "About Us," *Cru*, 2016.

key sign of mission drift. Therefore, in the analysis, each organization will be analyzed within the frame of Christian evangelism and discipleships as the greater goal.

I will analyze each organization in one chapter, chronologically: YMCA, IVCF, and then Campus Crusade for Christ. Primarily, I will give a brief history of the organizations, its origins, its leadership, its mission, and its strategies in achieving its mission. Following that, I will cite changes in strategy, mission, activities, and approach to culture that the organization has encountered over time in light of Scheitle's and Niebhur's typologies.

While the outreach objectives and activities and the organization's approach to culture will be used as an evaluative framework to analyze the stories of the organizations, the following questions will open up discussion about the organizations. These issues probe the implications of the organization's change over time and potential to change in the future. Finally, I will summarize the organization's adjustments over time according to its faith-culture thought and interaction for signs of secularization or commitment to Christian mission.

The questions are listed below, but a crucial piece of this is the basis for any form of Christian mission. For that reason, it is important to return to Scripture:

> Then the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had told them to go. When they saw him, they worshiped him; but some doubted. Then Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age.[63]

63. Matthew 28:16-20 NIV.

This, the Great Commission, is the foundation and motivation for Christian mission in any part of the world. The central presupposition of this thesis is that these, the words of Christ, must be the center and all else must flow from this. For Christians, it will be important to remember the words of the Great Commission and the impact and responsibility of Christ entrusting His followers with this project throughout the analysis of YMCA, IVCF, and Campus Crusade for Christ.

The following are the questions that will serve as the prompts for discussion following each organization's history to seek out markers of change in the groups. They are listed with a description so that the goal and context of each question is clear.

Does the organization have a clear Christian mission? How has the mission changed over time?

The most fundamental way for a Christian student movement to communicate its identity is in the very simple words of its mission statement. Most organizations have a cited mission statement or vision statement in their literature or on their website. This statement and the motivating sentiment behind it serve as the animating force for the organization.[64] The mission statement should be the springboard that describes both the needs that the organization hopes to address and the good that the organization hopes to see through its work.

It is truly important for this mission to be clear and consistent for the sake of the work of the organization. If the mission statement does not truly animate or inspire the

64. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 13.

work of the organization, then the organization might encounter a problem. Whether or not the mission statement has changed over time will also indicate a sign of mission drift.

To understand the importance of a mission, it is necessary to understand that the outreach objectives of the organization are crucial.[65] Therefore, it is best for the mission of an evangelical parachurch organization to have a mission (both in letter and in action) that is Christ-centered. This way, the person of Christ remains the final and ultimate end for the organization and for the population that it serves. A movement from the Christ-centered mission would be a movement away from the worship Christ, which would be a movement toward mission drift. In terms of traditioned innovation, a mission may change to remain relevant to a changing college culture, but it would remain Christ-centered.[66]

How has the organization's public rhetoric changed or adjusted over time?

Storytelling is an aspect of Christian traditioned innovation that is of great value to the organization itself, those served, and those outside the organization.[67] The way that a parachurch organization publicly tells its own story and the language used to do so is of great importance to its work. Therefore, a significant shift in public rhetoric or the way that the organization tells its own story would be relevant for the purposes of this thesis.

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65. Ibid., 250.

66. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 51.

67. Ibid., 14.

What roles do the original activities of evangelism and discipleship play?

In order for the movement to be oriented around Christ and therefore take on the habitual activity of the Great Commission, evangelism and discipleship are necessary activities that complement one another. The command of the Great Commission is very clear and lays out the expectation of Christ for His people to share His word and create disciples. As was seen in the brief statements taken from the mission statements of the three organizations, it is clear that evangelism and discipleship are the central ways that these movements are going about obeying the Great Commission.

While evangelism and discipleship can appear in a myriad of different manners, it will take analysis and prediction to see whether a certain practice might lead to mission drift fronted by a change in outreach activities and a conversion objective. That is, the activity might experience a transfer of function to a secondary purpose besides sharing Christ.[68] If a strategy of evangelism could tend to focus more on the secular connection instead of the sacralizing connection, it could be a sign of secularization.

For example, an evangelism strategy that is more useful for recruiting students as leaders or members in an organization subjugates the ultimate end of the activity, the kingdom of God, to a secondary effect.[69] This would be a sign of secularization. The practice of discipleship is truly key to maintaining the sincerity of the evangelism. Organizations that evangelize for the sake of numbers and lack the follow-through of

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68. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 250.

69. Peter Magolda and Kelsey Ebben Gross, *It's All About Jesus! Faith As an Oppositional Collegiate Subculture* (Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, 2009), 85.

maintaining discipleship relationships might not be staying true to the command of the Great Commission. James Smith describes discipleship in this way:

> Discipleship is a kind of immigration, from the kingdom of darkness to the kingdom of God's beloved Son (Col. 1:13). In Christ we are given a heavenly passport; in his body we learn how to live like "locals" of his kingdom. Such an immigration to a new kingdom isn't just a matter of being teleported to a different realm; we need to be acclimated to a new way of life, learn a new language, acquire new habits—and unlearn the habits of that rival dominion. Christian worship is our enculturation as citizens of heaven, subjects of kingdom come (Phil. 3:20).[70]

How does the movement go about working toward its mission and vision? That is, what are the organization's strategies?

James Davison Hunter contends that the things a group of people create have a great importance can give an insightful look into the values of the organization.[71] For Christian student movements, the creation is the activity or the action that the organization provides. These creations – whether they are events, publications, opportunities, or even giveaways – should speak to the mission and vision of the organization. If activities are seen as compartmentalized from the mission and vision of the organization, they might be done for the sake of a good that is other than Christ and the kingdom of God. In this case, an activity might be taking on a new function, which would be a sign of secularization of activities.[72]

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70. James K.A. Smith, *You Are What You Love* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2016), 66.

71. James P. Hunter, *To Change the World: the Irony, Tragedy, and Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 27.

72. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 250.

What role does leadership have in the organization?

Greg Jones maintains that it is greatly beneficial for a leader of an organization to have great clarity of vision while at the same time a capacity for dreaming that motivates their leadership.[73] At once, it is important for a leader to set an example of being firm on the issues that should not change while also being the front lines of openness for new and exciting strategies, experiments, or innovations. In this way, the leader is both the protector of the mission and also kept from having arbitrary power or control over the work of the organization. A leader should have a clear "why," which should coincide with the mission.[74]

How an organization defines it leadership also greatly influences the centralizing aspects of the movement. Whether or not an organization has leadership requirements and the content of the requirements for both staff and student leaders provides a view into the organization's values and priorities.

How does the organization fund its work?

While the mission should be the centralizing and motivating factor of the movement, the financial backing is what allows the organization to run. Big donors of biased financial backing might cause an organization to shift in a certain way or be burdened to adjust to the interests of a certain need. With this in mind, the funding and the way an organization goes about getting funding might illuminate hints of the origins of specific changes.

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73. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 19.

74. Ibid., 20.

How does the movement assess its impact?

Does the organization have a system in place that will be able to analyze the way it is reaching college students and staying true to its mission? If the organization is not asking the questions that are being addressed in this paper, they are at a greater risk of missing a preliminary sign of secularization.

How does the movement adapt to the needs of the population it serves?

This question ultimately asks how the organization embodies a culture of traditioned innovation.[75] If the organization is able to sustain its strength of mission while dreaming and experimenting with its strategies in a way that does not change the ultimate function of its activity, then it has found a beautiful balance in meeting needs while also remaining resolute.

If an organization changes too swiftly to the cry of the population it serves and merely accommodates to certain negative cultural pressures, it might be at a greater risk to the secularization of activity. The function or purpose of the goings on of the movement might spin away from Christ in that they are constantly being centered around the college student instead of the mission of the Gospel.[76]

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75. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 51.

76. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 250.

As the strategies adapt, does the mission adapt as well?

This serves as a final question to discriminate between secularization and traditioned innovation. If the organization is able to adapt and adjust its work to the needs of the college student while remaining true to the mission of the kingdom of God, then it is most likely evading mission drift. However, if the organization sees a change in mission that pulls the focus away from Christ, then the organization might be headed toward mission drift, which could open it up to secularization.[77]

In the well-renowned exploration of Christian ethics, *Orthodoxy*, G.K. Chesterton claims, "Progress should mean that we are always changing the world to suit the vision. Progress does mean (just now) that we are always changing the vision."[78] In this critique of the Christian church and Christian society as a whole, Chesterton reminds the reader the importance of maintaining the integrity of Christian mission. Progress, then, is an important aspect of the movement of a Christian parachurch organization. However, it must not pull the movement away from the animating mission or vision.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze three Christian student movements – YMCA, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, and Campus Crusade for Christ – to understand how the organization's outreach objectives and activities and its approach to culture affect its ability to faithfully innovate or its slip into mission drift, which could open the organization up to secularization. While the organizations will be described,

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77. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 19.

78. Chesterton, G. K. 1959. *Orthodoxy*. Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books.

analyzed, compared, and contrasted according to these terms, results will also be compared and contrasted. The organization's faithfulness to its Christian mission and its success on the college campus will shed light on the effects of these different outreach and theological patterns.

While these three organizations are Christian parahcurch organizations with objectives centered primarily on conversion and activities in the charismatic evangelism, fellowship & enrichment, and education & training sectors, there are ways that the organizations can move into different objectives and activities for the purpose of faithfully innovating and bringing their mission to new sectors. However, an organization that adapts its objective and activities might fall into mission drift and open itself to secularization if those activities are allowed to change the mission istead of expanding the influence of the mission. With the organizational patterns in mind, as well as Niebhur's theological outlooks, I will analyze how these organizations grow and change in ways that faithfully innovate or allow mission drift to occur.

Much is at stake in the world of the Christian parachurch student movement. As has been seen by the secularization of originally Christian institutions of higher educationsuch as Yale and Harvard, mission drift is a real and incisive phenomena that can lead to great change and eventually secularization. However, fear of mission drift and staunch resistance of the world might not provide the best course of action, as an organization must faithfully innovate in order to provide an effective ministry on the highly transient and intensely culturally embedded college campus.

CHAPTER TWO

The Collegiate YMCA

Introduction

When an American calls to mind the YMCA in the present day, it is hardly likely that an evangelical student movement comes to mind. However, the university evangelical student movement was a significant portion of the YMCA's work in the United States from 1877 to the middle of the twentieth century.[1] The Y's history is one that is full of organizational change and cultural adaptation to student sentiment and external factors.

The collegiate YMCA is the focus of this chapter. The purpose of this portion of the thesis is to synthesize the history of the student movement arm of the Young Men's Christian Association in the United States and analyze the organization's change over time in order to determine whether it adjusted by patterns of faithful innovation, a commitment to the principles of the past with an open mind to the options of the future[2] or pathways into secularization, the move from a religious to a non-religious framework by any variety of factors, through mission drift[3].

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1. Owen E. Pence, *Present-Day Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the United States* (New York: Association Press, 1948), 43.

2. L. Gregory Jones, *Christian Social Innovation: Renewing Wesleyan Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016), 51.

3. John Sommerville, "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our Tacit Rules for Using the Term 'Secularization,'" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 2 (2000): 250.

Primarily, I will summarize the history of the student movement in the United States. This history is hardly exhaustive and is part of a greater narrative of the YMCA nationally and internationally. However, the facts and details relevant to the purpose of this thesis will be included.

Following the historical view, I will introduce David P. Setran's way of analyzing the history of the YMCA into three phases. The phases that Setran proposes are helpful in understanding the shifts and adaptations of the YMCA as a Christian student movement and allow for a more concrete analysis of the YMCA's trajectory.[4]

Finally, guided by the discussion prompts and Scheitle's and Niebuhr's terms listed in the first chapter, I will use the summary information provided to analyze the patterns, adaptations, and strategies of the YMCA over time. The purpose of this analysis is to clarify whether the collegiate YMCA faithfully innovated while staying true to its mission or secularized due to mission drift while also expounding upon the factors that have played into this shift. This discussion will include insights that describe the outreach objectives and activities as well as theological outlooks using terms mentioned in the first chapter. Ultimately, the YMCA student movement was secularized after its mission drifted due to sweeping adaptations based on external cultural factors, the perceived need of the population served, and the endorsement of the philosophy of the "muscular" faith.[5]

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4. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 8.

5. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 59.

History of the YMCA

The Young Men's Christian Association began in the United Kingdom in the late 1830s. The nation's movement toward industrialism provided the backdrop for the YMCA's beginning as men sought uplifting and dignifying community in the midst of a corporate and industrial world.[6] George Williams, a convert to the Congregationalist church and a clerk in a dry goods firm, saw a great need for the working men need in his city of London to come together and hold one another to a higher standard of living.[7] This was the beginning of Young Men's Christian Associations, rooted in a rejection of aspects of culture that demoralized the Christian in society.

Some fifteen years later, the United States was in a state of revival and religious piety and commitment. "Revivalism created the environment for the introduction of the YMCA to America, and the mushrooming cities furnished the soil in which the seed was to find rootage,"[8] Sweet claims. The Associations spread their way over to the United States starting in Boston and quickly grew in the receptive and supportive environment, beginning officially in the country in 1851.[9] Leaders such as Dwight L. Moody, president of the American YMCA from 1865 to 1869, and Charles Langdon rose up as

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6. Ibid., 61.

7. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume I: The Founding of the Association, 1844-1855* (New York: Association Press, 1896), 10.

8. William W. Sweet, "History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America by C. Howard Hopkins," *Church History* 22, no. 1 (1953): 66.

9. Ibid., 66.

visionaries in the organization.[10] Moody, an evangelist at heart, was committed to seeing the YMCA in the U.S. evangelize to young American men.[11] Langdon was committed to the cause of uniting the Associations across the country.[12]

Langdon's idea caught on not only across the United States, but also across national boundaries and throughout the world. In August of 1855, leaders from YMCAs across the world met in Paris to form the World's Alliance of YMCAs, taking the organizational pattern from Langdon.[13] The Paris Convention is relevant to the purposes of this thesis because it was here, "feeling that they are one in principle and in operation,"[14] that the overarching organization crafted its constitution and directed its mission. Also, the international stage revealed the distinctive characteristics of the American YMCAs.

The "fundamental principle" connecting the Young Men's Christian Associations was as follows:

> The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be his disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men.[15]

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10. Ibid., 66.

11. Mayer N. Zald, *Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 52.

12. William W. Sweet, "History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America by C. Howard Hopkins," *Church History* 22, no. 1 (1953): 66.

13. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume I: The Founding of the Association, 1844-1855* (New York: Association Press, 1896), 172.

14. Ibid., 177.

15. Ibid.,177.

With the fundamental principle established, it is clear that the international purpose of the organization was clearly and directly Christian. The statement upholds discipleship and the importance of Christian thought and behavior. Furthermore, it maintains that the corporate industry of the men would be for the "extension" of the work of God, in other words, evangelism.[16] This view that the work of men in the new industrial society reflects the YMCA's desire to transform culture, to see its use in the work of God on earth.

While the British associations were most exemplary in organization at the Paris Convention, the American associations (only four years old at the time) were "larger in membership, more aggressive, less spiritual with a greater variety of activities."[17] Within the revivalist context, the American associations had grown quickly. Similarly, a more active and less intellectual character was developing in the organizations.

The YMCA in American universities had its beginnings following the revivals of 1857-1858. Two state universities, one in Michigan and one in Virginia, were the first universities in which students formed YMCAs in the late 1850s.[18]

Adam Spence, a student inspired in a revival, had a desire to see Christians come together on his campus in Ann Arbor. His mother advised him to organize a Young

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16. Ibid., 177.

17. Ibid., 172.

18. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 112.

Men's Christian Association among students, and Spence did just that in 1858.[19] Spence later became a professor and continued his involvement with the YMCA at his campus. In 1868, Spence proposed that YMCAs be made at all institutions of learning at a World Alliance Convention. The proposal failed, but within two years, a resolution was passed in the United States to begin forming more YMCAs on college campuses.[20]

By the mid to late 1870s, YMCAs began to take root on campuses all across the country. Finally, in 1877, representatives of student movements were invited to YMCA's national convention in Louisville.[21] Luther Wishard was selected as the secretary to represent all collegiate associations to the greater American organization. Wishard's maintained a fervor and passion for campus ministry, believing that the morality of the entire world could be greatly affected for Christ on the college campus.[22] In his autobiography, he says that the YMCA's growth in American universities was "an internal call, the call of God to change not only the colleges but the world in my generation."[23]

Wishard's desire to see the world affected was not simply wishful thinking. Starting in the late nineteenth century, the YMCA commenced its arm of mission work

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19. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume I: The Founding of the Association, 1844-1855* (New York: Association Press, 1896), 113.

20. Ibid., 114.

21. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 4.

22. Ibid., 4.

23. Ibid., 5.

across the world, the Student Volunteer Movement, a clear example of the organization's work in the missions & missionary sector of outreach activity. Through this movement, students were challenged to donate their money to international missions or to choose to evangelize internationally themselves.[24]

Young Men's Christian Associations on college campuses provided a way for young men to grow spiritually and socially. Many viewed the YMCA as a moral alternative to a fraternity. In this way, community was a complementary outreach objective to the goal of conversion. The groups provided community, activity, and spiritual support for college men while remaining parachurch.[25] That is, the YMCA did not make denominational claims (while it was almost completely Protestant) and was not attempting to replace the role of the local church in the student's life.[26]

The activity of YMCAs on college campuses until around the First World War was characterized by evangelism, Bible study in community and in solitude, campus-wide group meetings, and university service efforts.[27] Such activities, a part of the charismatic evangelism sector, were crafted for the sake of encouraging worship in the participants, giving them opportunities to contemplate and approach God alongside

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24. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume II: The Confederation Period, 1855-1861* (New York: Association Press, 1922), 146.

25. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 199.

26. Ibid., 200.

27. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 10.

others and on their own. Every month, the *Intercollegian* magazine would release different topics for discussion for the YMCAs in large or small groups. The magazine is an example of the collegiate YMCA's reach into the publishing & resources sector of outreach activity. The topics in the *Intercollegian* would be relevant to the university lifestyle and to the various "temptations" on the campus such as intemperance of cheating.[28] Through discipleship and evangelism, thousands of college students converted to Christianity due to the efforts of the college Y.[29]

As the organizations grew, a focus on community and action developed. Activities in both the fellowship & enrichment grew in significance, motivated by both the community and conversion objectives, as associations began to take on the task of serving the university populations. YMCAs became known for creating campus activities for all students to enjoy including new student welcomes, employment support, and social activities. In a synthesizing approach to culture, the YMCA provided many of the programs that student life staff would eventually step into in the later years.[30] Numbers peaked as the YMCA began to take on these campus projects.[31]

Service moved out from the campus as well. Students worked with the poor or with youth in their cities and towns to see a tangible effect on their community in these

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28. Ibid., 6.

29. Ibid., 9.

30. Dorothy E. Finnegan and Nathan F. Alleman, "The YMCA and the Origins of American Freshman Orientation Programs," *Historical Studies in Education* 25, no. 1 (2013): 96.

31. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 2.

relief & development activities, now motivated toward the objective of charity.[32] Toward the beginning of the twentieth century, many collegiate YMCAs were devoted to constructing buildings in their communities or on college campuses.[33] The focus of the associations had shifted over time to the personal knowledge of Christ and commitment to him to a more social commitment to one's community and active and collaborative effort in service to others.[34]

This philosophy itself shifted again following the close of World War I. Associations in this time period grew frustrated with service efforts and even saw some of their programs being taken over by universities or church ministries on campus. The focus of the associations' work shifted to the propagation of the social gospel and social activism, the realization of the "ideal social order."[35] The bend toward evangelism and discipleship, which had shifted to tangible service now manifested itself in social stances and vocal activism in this move into advocacy & activism activity. Numbers dwindled, and frustrations and schisms arose between different groups.[36]

Students involved in YMCAs at this time leaned to a more liberal theology and political viewpoint, and they were deeply concerned with their democratic representation

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32. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 634.

33. Ibid., 288.

34. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 642.

35. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 19.

36. Ibid., 24.

in the YMCA's national convention. In the 1922, student YMCAs requested that they be a separate division within the larger organization so that they might have more freedom in operations.[37] When the request was originally denied by the embittered national convention, students grew more frustrated. After five years, in 1927, the YMCA granted the decision. However, the length of time had only allowed for more college YMCAs to dwindle or disenfranchise.[38] According to Setran, "Democratization had been achieved, but the damage had already been done."[39] A few collegiate YMCAs continued to exist, but the movement did not flourish as it had previously.[40]

A numerical analysis provides a more concrete picture of the arc of the YMCA's ministry on American college campuses:

> While in 1877, only 40 chapters existed, by 1900 there were 559 local chapters and 31,901 college and university students claiming campus Y membership. By 1920, the year the movement reached its numerical peak as a percentage of the entire college and university student population, Y chapters could be found in a stagger 764 institutions of higher education, boasting a total student membership of 80,649.[41]
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> While in 1920, 39 percent of the male student population was involved in the organization, only 8 percent could claim the same in 1935.[42]

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37. Ibid., 30.

38. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 31.

39. Ibid., 31.

40. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 242.

41. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 4.

42. Ibid., 18.

> The number of students volunteering for foreign ministry, for example, declined rapidly in the 1920s. While 2,800 students volunteered in 1920, the number of volunteers was a mere 800 in 1925. By 1928, the number was further reduced to about 230 volunteers. The decline in students enrolled in Bible studies was equally precipitous. While nearly 40,000 were involved in Bible study groups in 1915, these numbered diminished to 25,000 by 1920, 20,000 by 1925, and a mere 5,000 by 1930. Decisions for the Christian life were down from about 5,000 in 1917 to less than 1,000 by 1930.[43]

Evaluating the Collegiate YMCA's Changes

The next section of this chapter will utilize the basic understanding of the history of the collegiate YMCA to analyze the way in which the student movement of the YMCA accommodated and synthesized with American culture in ways that led to mission drift instead of faithful innovation. First, I will use David P. Setran's three phases to more clearly illustrate the timeline of the YMCA. Following this, I will provide analysis and evidence for the causes and factors contributing to the secularization of the collegiate YMCA including the following topics: mission drift, leadership and funding, public rhetoric, development of the person, outside factors, muscular Christianity, and focus on the needs of those served.

David P. Setran's Three Phases

Setran considers the issue of secularization in the YMCA by breaking its history down into three distinct phases. Acknowledging the cultural and philosophical trends that contribute to the start of the move towards a more secular institutional university life, Setran also sees the Christian response to this shift as a contributing factor. He outlines the YMCA and its growth and history in the prime time of university secularization.

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43. Ibid., 21.

Dividing the history of the YMCA in universities into three major phases, Setran lays a framework for understanding the YMCA's movement through different historical and cultural contexts, leadership changes, and educational climates in higher education.[44]

The first phase held a strong focus on evangelism in college campuses. Colleges and universities were shifting from the antebellum precedent in which the university served as more of a parental institution to the student, especially in regards to religious life.[45] Here, the YMCA stepped into place. During this phase—which Setran marks as reaching from 1858-1888—college YMCA chapters rocketed in growth.[46] Paralleling many national Christian revivals that occurred in the area, the YMCA's work focused on saving college students for Christ. Although a non-denominational, extra-church agency, the YMCA worked to escalate its numbers of saved college students each year throughout this period. Primarily under the leadership of Luther Deloraine Wishard, the amount of students involved in YMCA's across the country grew from 1,320 students in 1877 to 14,193 in 1877.[47] The first phase was marked by growth and expansion with an intent focus on evangelism in college campuses and training collegiate men in sharing their faith and continuing the work.

The second phase, which fell between 1888 and 1915 according to Setran, was a shift in focus from evangelism and spiritual work to Christian service and practical

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44. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 7.

45. Ibid., 18.

46. Ibid., 24.

47. Ibid., 29.

work.[48] During this phase, the YMCA's priorities changed (along with its leadership) and embraced a more muscular view of the Christian faith and the faith's call to action.[49] Members were charged to expand their ministry outside of the college campus and serve the needs of the community in a way that was unifying with the YMCA's mission as a whole, a type of social evangelism. Also, the YMCA challenged students to pay attention to their personal character and morality.[50]

Interestingly, this phase of the YMCA in university life concurred with a great rise in enrollment in universities across the country. Also, universities became more and more institutional and less and less ideological. Students attended colleges in order to be trained professionals by the time they left, and holistic development was more and more left to extracurricular activities.[51] Greek fraternities and athletics were both on the rise during this phase.[52] Turning from intellectualism, which was perceived as a feminine pursuit (and this was perceived as a negative connotation), the YMCA saw extracurricular character and service development as a hearty, manly response.[53]

Because of the growth and standardization in college campuses and the religious and cultural climate of the nation during this time, voluntarism was of great importance to Americans and Christians. The ability to choose to be involved in the faith was valued

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48. Ibid., 52.

49. Ibid., 107.

50. Ibid., 102.

51. Ibid., 118.

52. Ibid., 143.

53. Ibid., 114.

by many Christians as a sign of authentic desire to engage in one's spiritual journey.[54] Religion was increasingly left out of the classroom and often challenged by professors. Christian worldview in universities was being reshaped into more of an ethical context. The YMCA's move in this phase was to provide opportunities to meet the needs of students, many of which developed into longtime student life activities in the far future, and grow them into ethical people.[55]

By the end of World War I and Setran's second phase in the history of the YMCA, the organization was perceived to have great importance in university life, with prestige and prowess from students and administrators. Its more practical method of doing Christian life was "integrally connected to the progressive mood in higher education."[56] However, the First World War threw a wrench into American society that greatly affected higher education. With more great shifts to occur in the YMCA following its institutionalization in the second phase, grown out of its grassroots evangelism in the first phase, this third phase began as a bit of an identity crisis for the organization.[57]

University attendance plummeted, and with this, participation in the Y also declined greatly. In response to American cultural changes, both universities and the Christian faith changed in ways that almost removed the "niche" that the YMCA had been filling.[58] Administrators began to take charge of student life activities, such as

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54. Ibid., 126.

55. Ibid., 154.

56. Ibid., 158.

57. Ibid., 177.

58. Ibid., 184.

service and moral support, while also providing more religious classes. Different denominations created their own specific movements both in and out of universities. The YMCA also struggled to address a new, more existentialist youth.[59] In a move from traditional religion, "YMCA leaders hoped that the vision of the Kingdom of God would generate the excitement necessary."[60]

The YMCA furthered its social gospel that was prized in the second phase but with a new focus: social issues including race, industrialism, and international concerns. Even the view of serving the poor changed from serving their physical needs to advocating for policy change.[61] Students involved exhibited "radical" ideological views and concerns in the form of liberal Protestantism "just as their less spiritual brothers and sisters turned to football and jazz."[62] Students prophetically desired to see the Kingdom of God on earth. This prophetic group progressively declined and declined in number.[63]

Setran sums it up with this simple statement: "The decline of the YMCA chapters on university campuses was thus in many ways a product of its success."[64] The YMCA followed the needs of the times, and by doing so, eventually faded into the background. Even though, Setran is sure to note that the leaders of the YMCA might not have been equating ministerial success with numbers, the YMCA's role in university life seemed to

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59. Ibid., 199.

60. Ibid., 199.

61. Ibid., 214.

62. Ibid., 236.

63. Ibid., 234.

64. Ibid., 241.

bridge the gap from antebellum religiosity to modern specialization and secularization in a manner attuned to the youth it was serving.[65]

In terms of approach to culture and outreach objectives and activities, there were many significant changes in the story of the collegiate YMCA. Although these changes occurred subtly and gradually over time, the mission drift of the YMCA was in line with changes in approach to culture and outreach.

The first phase was characterized by a rejection of the industrialization of culture and a desire to transform these new patterns of society into a tool to spread the gospel. Most clearly motivated by the objective of conversion, the collegiate YMCA focused most of its efforts in charismatic evangelism activities such as Bible study and grassroots evangelism efforts on campus.[66] Activities outside of this sector—such as fellowship & enrichment activities that provided supportive community; publishing & resources activities, such as the *Intercollegian*,[67] that enhanced discipleship; and missions & missionary activities, such as the Student Volunteer Movement,[68] for the sake of conversions of others—all expanded the organization's conversion objective and directed those included to more worship through understanding of the Gospel.

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65. Ibid., 242.

66. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 10.

67. Ibid., 11.

68. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume II: The Confederation Period, 1855-1861* (New York: Association Press, 1922), 146.

Though continuous with the first phase, the second phase of the collegiate YMCA shows patterns of approach to culture that sought to synthesize along with transforming it. The YMCA approached the culture of the college campus and engaged in activities that would mutually benefit the purposes of the YMCA and the purpose of the university. Engaging in student life activities that were similar to college fraternities, the collegiate YMCA pursued the objective of community through fellowship & enrichment activities.[69] In this phase, a focus on the outreach objective of charity grew in the students, as relief & development activities were encouraged both on the college campus and for those in need in surrounding communities.[70] In many ways, the outreach of the organization fueled worship that also synthesized with culture because the activities combined secular and faithful pursuits while also drifting away from the Christ-centered mission.

Finally, the third phase of the collegiate YMCA, which was shaken by World War I and great cultural changes in the country, saw big change in the story of the YMCA. This phase, the greatest drift in mission, included the rejection of conservative culture and nationalism and the accommodation of liberal political culture into the faith practice of the organization. The YMCA's conversion objective fell by the wayside, as the organization was aimed at charity and communication through advocacy & activism activities.[71] After the second phase's shift into a more active faith as opposed to a faith

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69. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 199.

70. Ibid., 634.

71. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 214.

lived for the sake of worship, the third phase's changes of activities and objectives allowed the mission to drift decidedly away from Christ while also marginalizing many of those served. This allowed for the collegiate YMCA's secularization and eventual decline and move from the college campus.

Discussion: Mission Drift and Mission Statements

One way to understand how mission drift can occur is by looking to what the organization claims of itself in its mission statement. The YMCA provides an example of this mission shift. The Paris Basis of 1855 set a clearly stated mission for the greater World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations across the world. The statement crafted at this meeting is as follows:

> The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be his disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men.[72]

As was stated previously, the statement clearly describes the mission of the organization as decidedly Christ-centered and focused on evangelism and discipleship. This mission statement was put into practice clearly in the collegiate chapters of the YMCA. Evangelism and discipleship were a definite focus and conversion a clear objective, and thousands of young men were converted to Christianity through the early efforts of the YMCA on campuses.

However, the current website of the YMCA provides evidence for the mission shift of the organization since the origins in 1855. Today, the website reads:

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72. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume I: The Founding of the Association, 1844-1855* (New York: Association Press, 1896), 177.

> The World Alliance of YMCAs was founded in 1855 at its first World Conference, held in Paris. At that time, conference participants developed the YMCA's first mission statement, the Paris Basis. Since then, the YMCA's mission statement has been interpreted to reflect contemporary realities, first in 1973 with the Kampala Principles, and most recently in 1998 with Challenge 21.[73]

Clearly, the mission statement has shifted in the time spanning over one hundred fifty years. However, the action of the YMCA, as is shown by the description of the three phases between 1877 and 1940, was obviously directed by either an unclear mission statement or one that was open to wide interpretation. As the organization began with the outreach objective of conversion through charismatic evangelism, it grew into charity through fellowship & enrichment along with relief & development and eventually advocacy & activism. This is evidence of an unclear mission statement or an organization that was not motivated by its originally agreed-upon purpose, and the changes that the statement has undergone since then underscores the YMCA's susceptibility to secularization through mission drift. The YMCA's actions slowly and gradually adapted and changed into something that was farther and farther from its centering Christian purpose.

Discussion: Leadership and Partnerships

Leadership and partnerships are crucial to the centering qualities of an organization, especially a parachurch organization like the collegiate YMCA. Who chooses to align themselves with an organization's mission and work says a great deal about the organization, its belief system, and the manner in which it works. Similarly, the resources provided by a church partnership have the ability to sway the way that a

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73. "Mission," *World YMCA*, 2013, http://www.ymca.int/who-we-are/mission/.

parachurch organization works. Partnerships and leadership therefore provide an objective look into the stances and work of the organization.[74]

While the YMCA was led by a great many significant personalities, the leadership was diffuse in comparison to other Christian ministries, such as the Campus Crusade, which was led primarily by the enthusiasm and vision of a single man, Bill Bright.[75] Instead, the YMCA had a convention of various secretaries that oversaw different aspects of the organization's work across the country and across the world.[76]

One example of a leader within the YMCA in the 1870s in the United States was the well-known Christian leader, Dwight L. Moody. Moody was devoted to the ministry of evangelism and had a desire to live this out in the best way he could.[77] He became a secretary to the convention in Chicago, devoting his life to the work of the YMCA. However, Moody eventually resigned from this position for the purpose of rededicating his life to evangelism.[78] He simply did not believe that the YMCA would be able to maintain being an effective agency of evangelism in the United States. He said, "There are many ways of reaching young men… I have tried that method in Association work

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74. Jeffrey K. Hadden and Anson Shupe, *Secularization and Fundamentalism Reconsidered* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 25.

75. Ibid., 26.

76. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume II: The Confederation Period, 1855-1861* (New York: Association Press, 1922), 46.

77. Mayer N. Zald, *Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 52.

78. Ibid., 53.

and failed; so I gave it up and became an evangelist."[79] While Moody remained a supporter of the YMCA, the fact that he as a leader believed that evangelism would not be effective through the work of the organization although it was an original aim points to the inconsistencies with the collegiate YMCA's mission, which allowed it to drift.[80]

Leaders of the organization took on totally different view in the third phase of the Y's history. For example, Raymond Robins, who had once been a labor leader working toward Chicago's civic reform, travelled to forty-two different campus YMCA meetings to deliver a series titled, "The Challenge of the Changing Social Order."[81] His speech advocated for Christian students to use their ministry "for the working out of social justice through the law."[82] In the words of Setran, "This was indeed a new evangelism."[83] Shifting leadership like this allowed for new outreach objectives and activities to be grafted into the work of the organization, which gradually and eventually changed the collegiate YMCA.

Similar to leadership, partnerships and public support say a great deal about the character of an organization. Organizations or churches that align themselves with the YMCA often had an ability to sway or influence the work of the YMCA or had an impact on the work of the organization. For example, in the first phase of the YMCA,

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79. Ibid., 53.

80. Ibid., 52.

81. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 22.

82. Ibid., 22.

83. Ibid., 23.

partnerships with churches were present and a great amount of mutual support was established between church leaders and YMCA leaders. Often, speakers at YMCA group meetings would be pastors or leaders of local churches.[84]

In the second phase, many of the partnerships developed and support given came from universities. Because the YMCA provided a great deal of important programs in student development, partnerships between the organization and the institution served were developed. Because of this trust between the two organizations, YMCAs would often adjust their work according to the needs of the university they were serving.[85]

During this phase, the organization received a great amount of support from the Bull Moose himself, Theodore Roosevelt. The president appreciated the organization because "it has tried not to dwarf any of the impulses of the young, vigorous man, but to guide him aright."[86] His support was both a result of and contributed to the muscular Christianity that developed in the YMCA during the second phase, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Finally, in phase three, partnerships that had characterized the YMCA previously began to break down. Not surprisingly, churches that had partnered with collegiate

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84. Owen E. Pence, *Present-Day Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the United States* (New York: Association Press, 1948), 8.

85. James W. McCandless, *Developing Christian Personality and Building a Christian Society: A Study of Religious Effectiveness of Y.M.C.A.'s* (New York Association Press, 1949), 47.

86. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 62.

YMCAs began to lose faith in the work of the associations.[87] One church representative stated that the Y "was giving too large a proportion of its time to things that are social rather than religious."[88] The partnerships breaking down were, again, a sign of mission drift and a contributing factor to the process.

Similarly, the YMCAs on campuses were also curtailing good relationships with the universities in the third phase. While the Associations previously filled a crucial role in the realm of student development, student life staff began to fill this void. Then, the YMCA fell into what many universities saw as "trouble-making."[89] In a rejection of campus culture, the YMCA's activism on campus often caused schisms between other campus leaders, causing the universities to develop frustrations with them. This relationship that had previously allowed the YMCA to have a great influence on the college campuses took the associations into an even lesser degree of influence on the campus, which contributed to the dwindling numbers.[90]

Public support for the YMCA during the third phase came from different voices than before. As before support came from conservative church leaders or politicians, liberal politicians voiced praise for the new manifestation of the YMCA on campuses. For example, the socialist candidate for president Norman Thomas once said, "More than once I have been impressed with the bravery with which secretaries of the student YMCA

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87. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 25.

88. Ibid., 25.

89. Ibid., 27.

90. Ibid., 32.

and the student officers of it have stood for their convictions."[91] Leaders such as Thomas were happy to see an evangelical movement shifting toward a more social gospel. Overall, the shift in support of the YMCA student movements from evangelical leaders and churchest to socialist politicians provides evidence of its mission drift and eventual secularization.

Leadership, partnerships, and public support have a great deal to say about the organization and its stance on certain issues. Simultaneously, support in these ways also contributes to the formation and adaptation of an organization. The YMCA had a variety of different means of support from churches, politicians, institutions, and universities all of which contributed in some way toward the secularization.

Discussion: Public Rhetoric

The language that an organization uses also provides a very clear view into the values and strategies of that organization. The YMCA had a loud public voice and a wide network for expression. That being said, it is clear to see that public rhetoric became more secular throughout the life of the collegiate YMCA.

The *Intercollegian* was the YMCA's magazine that put out different topics for discussion in YMCA campus groups.[92] At the beginning, the *Intercollegian*, one of the YMCA's publishing & resources activities, was devoted to providing topics that were Christ-centered but relevant to the college student. For example, some topics involved

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91. Ibid., 24.

92. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 11.

temperance or the use of substances, purity, or Scripture reading. The magazine was oriented to the needs of the population served, but it began as something that was Christ-centered.[93]

A shift can be seen from the language of a YMCA newsletter from a student on Northwestern's campus.

> It is a search, an adventure, and the collegian can only learn to appreciate this if it has to do chiefly with things like war, industrialism, race relations, population control, and the like. Organized religion based on denominations often gets out of step with the times. The YMCA of Northwestern University has done much to show students that they can be religious without an institution. Religion is life, and life is everywhere.[94]

While this example illustrates a waning partnership or support of denominational churches, it also shows a less spiritual approach to the religious life. Instead of using language to provide a nonbeliever with a way of understanding the Christian faith or connect to Christian churches, the YMCA denigrated churches and elevated social justice pursuits in the third phase, revealing an accommodation with liberal political approaches to culture and its synthesis with spirituality.

Similarly, the Bible study resources used and publicized by the organizations took a turn for the secular:

> While in 1902, for example, Northwestern students were asked to commit a yearlong study on *The Life of Paul*, *The Acts of the Apostles*, and *The Ministry of Christ*, their postwar counterparts were studying *The Labor Movement and Christianity*, *Problems of Our Cities*… Josiah Strong's *Our Country*, Jacob Riis' *How the Other Half Lives*…"[95]

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93. Ibid., 14.

94. Ibid., 27.

95. Ibid., 21.

Even if the readings from postwar YMCA students were attended to through the Christian lens, it is clear that the rhetoric used and endorsed by the later YMCA was centered more on social issues than on Christ and the Gospel. Even "theological language (including terms such as "faith" and "salvation" were no longer deemed useful on the campus setting by a multitude of YMCA leaders at the Lake Geneva Student Conference in 1930.[96] It is clear that the rejection of prewar Christianity and the movement toward a more social Gospel focused rhetoric contributed to the process of secularization.

Mission Drift Discussion: World War I

While some factors contributing to the secularization of the collegiate YMCA came from within the members and the leadership of the organizations, it is important to remember that some forces from outside the organization also contributed to the process. The three phases span the post-Civil War America to the pre-World War II nation. A tumultuous time in the country, many uncertainties were challenged in the aftermath of the First World War. The situation in which the post-war Christian lived can be described in this way:

> Shifting theories of religious education first surfaced in the cauldron of World War I as organization leaders began to recognize the triteness and insufficiency of conversion and "clean living" for a world immersed in global conflict.[97]

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96. Ibid., 17.

97. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 18.

Certainly, the confusion and frustration following the war were manifested in some of the social activism of the third phase. For example, almost every YMCA campus chapter across the country took a similar stance on pacifism. These statements were not simply held quietly but were vocalized across campuses and also realized through the YMCA's sponsoring of "peace clubs" or peaceful protests at universities.[98]

Student leaders had grown dissatisfied with the questions that the prewar YMCA was asking and the ways in which the problems of humanity were being addressed. The war seemed to elevate the stakes for many young men while also throwing them into a state of confusion and instability. Similarly, the war had an effect on higher education in the United States, in which enrollment took a great toll.[99] Confusion caused by the war developed in YMCA students a more decisive approach to culture, as associations began to reject American nationalism and conservative culture while accommodating liberal political culture and socialist activism. These approaches to culture lived out in advocacy & activism activities both spun the organization away from the worship of Christ and marginalized students of differing political viewpoints.

Mission Drift Discussion: Muscular Gospel

One thing that is important to remember about the Young Men's Christian Association is that it was just that: an organization for men. This masculinity manifested itself in very powerful ways, particularly in the second phase. According to Niebuhr, they synthesized with culture by seeking leaders who were exemplary according to culture, and the muscular gospel is an extension of this attitude.

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98. Ibid., 23.

99. Ibid., 27.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, there was a sort of "crisis" of masculinity amongst Christian men in the United States.[100] Many were concerned that the faith was characterized in terms that were too feminine and that this might be damaging to the faith. Many factors contributed to the crisis of masculinity including industrialism that removed many jobs that allowed men to work with their hands and the development of a corporate ladder that removed much of the need for innovative blue-collar workers.[101]

This apparent desire for men to take on what was manly according to culture manifested itself in the YMCA, and YMCA leader John R. Mott is quoted in 1908 as saying:

> It is necessary to bear in mind the prevalent ambition of young men "to do things" as they express it. To build a bridge, to organize a corporation – these seem to be achievements, but the work of the ministry does not seem to them in any real sense the achieving of tangible and important results.[102]

This underscores many leaders concerns that ministries over-feminized the Christian life and the characterization of Jesus. Many people saw this as a legitimate problem, and the YMCA compensated with various strategies. Many groups stressed the "strenuous" aspects of the Christian life.[103]

Student leaders were often chosen based on their perceived manliness or athletic ability. These leaders often characterized the "work" of the Christian life as active

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100. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 59.

101. Ibid., 63.

102. Ibid., 63.

103. Ibid., 59.

service, "perhaps the hallmark of the muscular Christian vision and the clear path of the campus YMCA in these years."[104] This muscular faith, then, ushered in the way of living out the faith that was more focused on activity and manly service instead of contemplation on the truths of the Gospel. The need of clearly communicated true doctrine was subordinated to the need to live out the perceived manly service of a Christian.[105] This softened the organization's stance on doctrinal lines, making it more susceptible to the following secularization. It is clear that this synthesis with culture affected the organization's outreach activities and ultimately its worship.

Mission Drift Discussion: Voluntarism

In many ways, the voluntarism of the YMCA and the way in which it quickly attended to the needs of the population it served contributed to the secularization of the organization. The YMCA was devoted to democratic qualities that allowed leadership to come from the group of people served. In this way, the YMCA was sensitive to the needs of students and quick to adjust to them.[106] However, without a clear and consistent mission and clear doctrinal lines that were held in value, these adjustments led to the YMCA's mission drift and then dwindling from influence on the college campus.

Additionally, by providing non-school moral support, the YMCA also presented the option for the universities themselves to forego the responsibilities of moral formation.

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104. Ibid., 65.

105. Ibid., 64.

106. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 1.

Because the YMCA had such a great influence on the college campus and for a while they were effectively doing the work of moral formation, many universities did not take on the task of spiritual development of students.[107] Without this support from partners in phase three, the YMCA stepped into a more secular time.

The collegiate YMCA attended to the crisis of masculinity and the needs of the university, which led to the phase characterized by service instead of evangelism. Because the organization had its focus on the members and their needs, this shift did not seem too shocking of a mission drift. However, in the tumultuous times following World War I, the shift to the activist phase showed that the shifting needs of the student population lead to the secularization of the organization.[108]

Mission Drift Discussion: Theological and Eschatological View

Finally, the YMCA is a great example of how the eschatological view of an organization greatly contributes to the work of its Christian mission. At the beginning, the YMCA had an understanding of the Christian mission that prized the kingdom of God in the future and after death. That is, the organization was focused on evangelism so that people could know the Gospel of Christ for their salvation.[109] In the third secular phase, the Y rejected even the word salvation and looked more to the making right of the present-day world:

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107. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 1.

108. Ibid., 18.

109. Ibid., 6.

> By far the most commonly used expression of moral purpose among student YMCA leaders after World War I, the Kingdom of God was a vision of the "ideal social order," suffused with social purposes of Jesus Christ and embodying the parallel ideals inherent in John Dewey's concept of democracy.[110]

In this final phase before the demise of the collegiate YMCA, the kingdom was not a prize to be enjoyed after devotion to Christ and death, it was a pattern set for the purpose of achieving its qualities on earth. This social gospel was animated by a view of the Kingdom of God that was not valuable for participation in the future but for its principles to be achieved on Earth with no compromise.[111] This example shows how the shifting view of the Kingdom of God, the nature of God, and the purposes and abilities of the person greatly affected the trajectory of the organization. An organization's approach to culture reflects their view of how God intends the Christian to approach culture, which mirrors their understanding of the character of God. This understanding, then, has great implications for the objectives and activities of the organization.

Analysis: Niebuhr and Scheitle

While the collegiate YMCA saw immense success and popularity in its ministry in the United States through the first decade of the twentieth century, the mission drift and eventual decline of the organization from the college campus provides an interesting look into the causes and effects of mission drift. In order to analyze this occurrence, I have used Niebuhr's terms to discuss the organization's approach to culture and

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110. Ibid., 19.

111. Ibid., 19.

Scheitle's terms to elucidate the collegiate YMCA's outreach objectives and activities and how these relate to the organization's worship of God.

In many ways, the YMCA synthesized with the culture of the American college campus. Values of the American college student were accepted and valued by the ministry, as is demonstrated by the ministry's embrace of the muscular gospel.[112] The YMCA's challenge to students to be active and strong men and leaders was in harmony with the hegemonic culture of the United States at the time. Similarly, synthesizing with the state of confusion following World War I, the YMCA's trajectory took a turn into more intense engagement with culture, as the collegiate chapters often more decidedly rejected nationalism and materialism and accommodated liberal activism.[113] The ways that the YMCA synthesized with the culture of the college campus did provide is a platform for reaching many students effectively, but it also ushered in the mission drift. The way the mission was lived out was dependent upon the culture and mood of the university campus because of this approach to culture.

Additionally, there were ways that the YMCA's approached culture from a transformative perspective. The YMCA began with a perspective that saw the Christian mission as transformative to the culture of the world. In the British context, chapters began with a desire to dignify men who worked in industrial environments, challenging

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112. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 59.

113. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 18.

them to use their work as a platform to spread the gospel.[114] As the YMCA moved into collegiate chapters on the American college campus, activities that provided community and services to the college student were used as tools to share the Christian faith and bring others into the movement.[115] Finally, the collegiate YMCA's advocacy & activism in the later years of its outreach, although decidedly political, did stem from a transformative view of the Christian faith and culture. The YMCA's desire to transform and greatly change culture, stemming from its intense engagement with culture following World War I, sought the kingdom of God on earth and an "ideal social order." [116]

The outreach activities and objectives that coincided with these approaches to culture shed light on the heart and animating force of the collegiate YMCA. While the organization began for the objective of conversion, utilizing charismatic evangelism activities as well as fellowship & enrichment and education & training, the objective of community also provided important motivation for the organization. As the YMCA grew in number on the college campus, innovating to bring in more students to the movement, the community objective was emphasized more as fellowship & enrichment and relief & development activities became more significant. In this phase, the YMCA's activities evidence a ministry objective of charity as well, as the organization was committed to serving the college student and eventually those in need. In the final phase,

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114. Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association, Volume I: The Founding of the Association, 1844-1855* (New York: Association Press, 1896), 10.

115. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 52.

116. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 19.

communication and charity became central objectives, even in the transformative approach to culture, as advocacy & activism activities became more principal. As other activities grew, charismatic evangelism activities fell away from the center.

Setran's three phases illustrate a move from charismatic evangelism to advocacy & activism as the collegiate YMCA synthesized with and attempted to transform culture in the midst of mission drift. While the mission drifted, outreach activities and objectives shifted in a way that was not fueled primarily by worship of God but by the shifting moods of the collegiate culture.

Conclusion

The YMCA was exemplary in its influence on college campuses across the United States. Beginning as an evangelical effort, evolving into a social and service effort, and finally secularizing into an activist movement, the collegiate YMCA's history is a clear example of mission drift in a parachurch organization. Without a clear and consistent mission statement, with significantly shifting support and rhetoric, with philosophies and values based on the needs of the population served instead of the truths of the Gospel, and finally with an eschatological view for the Kingdom of God to be activated on Earth, the YMCA developed into a secular movement before eventually disappearing from significance on the campus.

This chapter's history and analysis provided a clear understanding of the YMCA and its character as well as its process into secularization. The next two chapters will provide a look into the histories of two other parachurch campus ministries, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship and Campus Crusade for Christ, and how these organizations took on faithful innovation or gradually fell into mission drift.

CHAPTER THREE

Intervarsity

Introduction

The decline of the Young Men's Christian Association opened up space in American universities for new campus ministries focused upon evangelism and discipleship. While student life offices had taken over much of the work done by the YMCA at the turn of the century, the YMCA's waning influence left a lack of evangelical voice on the college campus.[1] The leaders of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship saw the need as an opportunity and began campus ministry in the United States near the beginning of the 1940s, although its international roots were connected with earlier organizations such as the YMCA and the Student Volunteer movement.[2]

Intervarsity Christian Fellowship's beginnings in the United States and Canada were marked by theological clarity and fervor for evangelism and missions.[3] More than seventy years later, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship's activities continue on college campuses across the country and its partners across the world. The ministry abides in the

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1. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 241.

2. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 37.

3. John Schmalzbauer, "Whose Social Justice? Which Evangelicalism? Social Engagement in a Campus Ministry," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, ed. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 52.

twenty-first century world of social media and social justice, and its time has not been free from controversy. In the past two years alone, Intervarsity has managed to incite anger and controversy both conservative and liberal Christian audience by engaging in acts and stances such as embracing and furthering the Black Lives Matter Movement[4] but also issuing a hardline stance on the sanctity of heterosexual Christian marriage.[5] Many believe Intervarsity to be the embodiment of the social justice of the "evangelical left" while much of Intervarsity's core values lay in its commitment to clear theology.[6] There is much to explore as the history of Intervarsity's movement and mission continues to unfold in this era.

In this chapter, I seek to explore the history of the Intervarsity movement in order to see whether the organization has embraced faithful innovation or has fallen into mission drift that may lead to secularization. I will describe a brief history of the movement for the sake of context and then delve into Intervarsity's adaptations throughout its history in order to analyze and search for mission stability or mission drift.

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4. Stetzer, Ed, "InterVarsity, #BlackLivesMatter, Criticism, and Three Suggestions for the Future." *Christianity Today*, (2016), http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2016/january/ intervarsity-race-criticism-and-future.html.

5. "Intervarsity Reiterates Theology of Human Sexuality." *Intervarsity*, last modified October 7, 2016, http://intervarsity.org/news/intervarsity-reiterates-theology-human-sexuality.

6. John Schmalzbauer, "Whose Social Justice? Which Evangelicalism? Social Engagement in a Campus Ministry," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, ed. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 51.

History of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship

In this section, I will detail a brief history of the beginning of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship in the United States for the sake of understanding the context of the movement's vision and the intentions for its service. Following this brief history, I will provide a short description of its growth through the twentieth century to reach its current standing. I will explain its current outreach objectives and activities in order for its movement to be understood and to predict whether the organization shows signs of mission drift that might open the organization to secularization or remains true to its mission while improvising and innovating. Intervarsity's beginnings occurred very long ago and across the Atlantic Ocean, but the implications for its start still have an affect on the ministry today.

In the late nineteenth century in Great Britain and the United States, there was a great push for Christian evangelism, discipleship, and missions, especially among young men at universities. The Student Volunteer Movement and the Student Christian Movement are well-known examples of this movement along with the Young Men's Christian Association. Even though it took a while for its unique character to take shape, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship can trace its roots back to this time.[7]

In England, the Student Christian Movement along with different Intercollegiate Christian Unions pursued evangelical purposes in the late eighteenth century. These groups often met at conferences in order to together discern how to meet the needs of the world. By the late 1910s, these groups began to show signs of mission drift. For

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7. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 37.

example, the Student Christian movement would enlist people from other faiths to further their work in making connections and building a movement. To many, the purposes were getting too far away from the central tenets of the Christian Gospel.[8] Slowly but surely, prayer and Bible study was "gradually displaced."[9]

Finally, in 1919, a group of concerned students from the Oxford Intercollegiate Christian Union voiced their frustrations toward many evangelicals' relaxed theology.[10] When challenging leaders from the Student Christian Movement and other Intercollegiate Christian Unions, these students found that many of the men refused to say that the "saving blood of Christ" was central to their purposes.[11] The evangelical groups had relaxed on evangelism and Christ-centered mission in order to focus on personal development and connection, showing a shift in outreach objectives. The students from the Oxford Intercollegiate Christian Union made the final decision to leave the group and form a more theologically clear group in order to keep Christ central. They formed the Oxford University Bible Union.[12]

Other student groups began following in their footsteps, and other Bible Unions or Christian Unions began forming on British university campuses for the sake of creating a movement with a firm commitment to Christ-centered, Gospel-centered theology. By December of that year, 1919, the groups made arrangements to come

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8. Ibid., 37

9. Ibid., 37.

10. Ibid., 38.

11. Ibid., 37.

12. Ibid., 38.

together for the sake of mutual encouragement and friendship. The Christian Union and Bible Union named these gatherings "Intervarsity" meetings.[13]

By 1928, as Christian Unions and Bible Unions continued to grow and prosper on British university campuses, the Intervarsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions officially formed.[14] Theology was extremely important to this group because they had seen and experienced the mission drift that occurred due to the effects of loose and relaxed theology. In this way, Intervarsity began in a rejection of culture that allowed softened theology and secularization. Meeting together, they prayed, discussed Scripture, and discerned mission movements abroad.

In this decade across the Atlantic Ocean, universities in the United States saw the Young Men's Christian Associations' influence waning as it faded theologically into a social gospel.[15] Some students were concerned, and word made it to the Intervarsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions that there was a need in the United States and Canada. The Fellowship decided to send Howard Guinness to the United States and Canada. Guinness was an enthusiastic and positive evangelist with a hardworking spirit. The Fellowship believed he was the man to report on the spiritual climate in the United States and Canada to reignite disillusioned Christian students.[16]

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13. Ibid., 38.

14. Ibid., 39.

15. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": student religion in the era of secularization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 241.

16. A. Donald MacLeod, *C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2007), 39.

After two years of working on Canadian campuses, Guinness met a man named C. Stacey Woods in January of 1930. Woods was born and raised in Australia but attended Wheaton College and Dallas Theological Seminary in the United States. He was a man of committed evangelical faith who had a desire to see other people come to know Christ.[17] After his education, Woods was assured that he was called to be a missionary in service to the gospel for the people of India. However, Guinness offered him the opportunity to lead the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship in Canada. After prayer and reflection, C. Stacey Woods believed that God was in fact leading him to serve in this campus ministry context.[18]

In 1936, C. Stacey Woods came together with a group of other leaders – both men and women – to compose and enact a constitution for the Canadian Intervarsity Christian Fellowship. This constitution would eventually be adopted by the movement in the United States. The constitution reaffirmed the need for clear theology in order to stay true to the commands of the gospel and avoid falling away from a Christ-centered focus; in a sense it was designed to maintain the permanence of the outreach objective of conversion.[19]

Two years later, Woods received an invitation to meet and speak with a group of students at the University of Michigan. After spending time with the men on campus in

17. Ibid., 33.

18. Ibid., 42.

19. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 48.

Michigan, Woods worked to develop an Intervarsity movement in the United States.[20] In 1939, leaders were appointed to "pioneer" work on campuses across the country.[21] Stacey Woods began working alongside Charles Troutman, who had also attended Wheaton College, to create the framework for Intervarsity to take off in the United States. Troutman and Woods were said to have balanced one another excellently in the ministry context, with Woods as fiery and impulsive and Charles as practically wise and thoughtful.[22] Together, "building on the British heritage of the Intervarsity Fellowship, they forged a student work that combined what they considered the biblical essentials with the needs of American students."[23]

Woods and Troutman firmly agreed on one important tenet of the movement: the necessity for it to be student-led:

> Of first importance, they wanted to establish an "evangelizing fellowship." In addition, they believed the student work should not be paternalistic. The biblical teaching of the priesthood of the believer had practical implications. Students who knew Christ were responsible for the gospel and their own witness on campus. Intervarsity would be a student movement, rather than a movement of students. When asked by a group of businessmen, who were rather skeptical of this philosophy, what justification he had for insisting upon a student movement rather than a mission to students, Stacey Woods replied, "The Word of God."[24]

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20. Ibid., 52.

21. Ibid., 53.

22. A. Donald MacLeod, *C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2007), 73.

23. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 57.

24. Ibid., 58.

In this way, the Intervarsity movement took a transformative approach to the college campus culture. The movement guided students by the doctrinal basis and its commitment to theology but saw in them potential to lead and be trusted.

Again, the theology of the movement remained a central foundation and organizing paradigm for Woods and Troutman. In fact, Woods did not believe a campus group was fully ready to charter as a part of the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship until its involved students organized and participated in a Daily Prayer Meeting.[25] This shows his desire to ensure that worship was central and motivating to the mission of Intervarsity chapters. Many liberal Christians believed Intervarsity to be too conservative or too fundamental for the American college campus. However, Woods and Troutman did not want this the student-led and theologically firm natures to be in conflict with one another. They desired for these tenets to work hand-in-hand. One faculty member at a university remarked:

> I do not agree with Intervarsity in its theology. It is old-fashioned, obscurantist, and reactionary. But there is one thing that does appeal. This movement is not working from the outside like a propaganda agency trying to tell students what they should believe or what they should do. Rather, this is a genuine grass-roots student movement, a genuine expression of undergraduate felling and conviction. We may not agree with your viewpoint, but we will defend your right to carry on a work when it is on this basis.[26]

Woods and Troutman organized the theology into a Basis of Faith. While not an exhaustive description of the Christian faith, Woods described the statement as "an

25. Ibid., 58.

26. Ibid., 58.

anchor that keeps the organization from drifting from its doctrinal and scriptural moorings."[27] The Basis of Faith read as follows:

> The Statement of Basis of Faith of the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the USA is taken from the Articles of Incorporation, Article IV
> Each member of the Corporation, Board of Directors, Staff and Council of Reference, as a qualification of membership of office, as the case may be, shall subscribe ex animo, at the time of election or before taking office and yearly thereafter, to his belief in the Doctrinal Basis of the Fellowship, which shall be the basic Biblical truths of Christianity, including:
> a. The unique, divine inspiration, entire trustworthiness and authority of the Bible.
> b. The deity of our Lord Jesus Christ.
> c. The necessity and efficacy of the substitutionary death of Jesus Christ for the redemption of the world, and the historic fact of His bodily resurrection.
> d. The presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the work of regeneration.
> e. The consummation of the kingdom in the "glorious appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ.[28]

The constitution for Intervarsity Christian Fellowship – USA was adopted in 1941, but the work of the organization was greatly slowed by World War II. However, following the war, there were eighteen staff members and 277 campus chapters across the United States.[29] The chapters were centered on the Basis of Faith and encouraged to engage in charismatic evangelism and fellowship & enrichment activities such as Daily Prayer meetings, Bible study, and evangelism on their campuses.

Many students who were involved with Intervarsity at the time were servicemen returning from World War II. This transformative approach to the culture following the war established in Intervarsity a dependable and mature group of members and leaders

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27. Ibid., 62.

28. A. Donald MacLeod, *C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2007), 83.

29. "Intervarsity History," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/history.

within the student movement. The experiences of the servicemen enriched the ministry in many ways, allowing it to continue to grow.[30]

In 1947, a group of evangelical leaders from Intervarsity movements across the globe convened at the Conference of Evangelical Students in Cambridge. There, they created the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students. This group was formed so that Intervarsity Christian Fellowships across the world would be able to share resources and support one another and their central cause. Today, the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students includes the United States, Australia, Britain, Canada, China, France, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, and Switzerland.[31]

The International Fellowship of Evangelical Students established the presence of Intervarsity across the globe while also creating connections and opportunities. Through IFES, students have been able to travel across the world to engage in mission & missionary outreach activities for the objectives of global community and conversion.[32]

Also in 1947, Intervarsity began a new venture in the ministry by engaging in the publishing & resources sector of outreach with the creation of Intervarsity Press. The ministry began a publishing company for the following purpose: "to supply quality literature suitable for the campus."[33] To this day, Intervarsity Press is a well-regarded

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30. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 120.

31. "Intervarsity and IFES," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/intervarsity-and-ifes.

32. Ibid.

33. "Intervarsity History," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/history.

and prolific publishing institution that provides evangelical reading on various topics and for various different audiences.

Intervarsity upholds the core value of "discipleship of the mind."[34] The move to establish Intervarsity Press as a part of its movement supports and reaffirms their belief in the importance of an intellectual engagement with the faith. Similarly, Intervarsity began publishing the *HIS* student magazine "to bring together the existing free movements" in order to grow the inter-campus connections between chapters and challenge students in ways to intellectually engage with the faith and evangelism. The magazine continued to be published until 1986.[35]

With a changing student population and new needs and desires to be addressed, Intervarsity deemed the academic year of 1950-1951 "The Year of Evangelism."[36] In 1950, there were almost 500 chapters.[37] That year, Intervarsity chapters were encouraged to hold campus "missions" in which a speaker would provide a series of lectures addressing the needs of the students and their campus and how the gospel fulfilled those

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34. "Core Values," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-core-values.

35. "Intervarsity and IFES," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/intervarsity-and-ifes.

36. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 121.

37. "Intervarsity History," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/history.

needs.[38] This emphasis on charismatic evangelism in outreach activities reaffirmed the importance of the conversion objective of Intervarsity's outreach.

As the 1950s continued, the spirit of evangelism remained strong within Intervarsity's chapters as other campus-wide missions were held for the sake of reaching non-Christian college students. Student education & training and fellowship & enrichment became an important emphasis for the movement, as Intervarsity took a keen interest in students spending time off of their campuses to grow in their skills in leadership, evangelism, and discipleship. One such location was Campus-in-the-Woods, and students were able to spend a month out of the summer learning certain ministry skills alongside other student leaders and staff members.[39]

Intervarsity also witnessed growth in their triennial student missionary conference, Urbana. The 1948 conference welcomed around 1,100 students, and the second conference, which was held in 1951, brought in 1,646 university students who desired to learn more about missions and evangelism, with 60% of the students "indicating their purpose to proclaim Christ abroad" and 35% willing to go.[40]

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38. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 121.

39. A. Donald MacLeod, *C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2007), 149

40. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 132.

By Urbana of 1970, 12,000 students were in attendance.[41] 15,745 students attended Urbana 2006, with 9,344 students committing to missions and over $1,000,000 given to various missions organizations across the globe.[42]

Intervarsity laid out the purposes of Urbana following the 1951 conference. The aim was to provide solid teaching through biblical exegesis, to present students with issues facing the world and Christian leaders, and to "encourage each student to respond intelligently to God's claim on his/her life."[43] The conference was designed with fellowship & enrichment activities to grow in community in the movement and charismatic evangelism and education & training activities to foster the objective of conversion. Urbana also included publishing & resources activities for the sake of communication and conversion, as Intervarsity Press would publish a compendium following each conference containing the main content of the speakers.[44]

Urbana continued to grow and adapt, eventually relocating to St. Louis in 2000.[45] The conference became well known for addressing social justice issues of the day including topics that were not normally addressed to Christian audiences. Because the conferences were based in firm theology yet opened up conversations about these beliefs

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41. Ibid., 266.

42. "Urbana 15," *Urbana*, https://urbana.org/past-urbanas/urbana-15.

43. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 133.

44. Ibid., 133.

45. John Schmalzbauer, "Whose Social Justice? Which Evangelicalism? Social Engagement in a Campus Ministry," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, ed. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 50.

affecting the world, the Urbana conference provides a solid example of Intervarsity's transformative approach to culture.

Intervarsity was consistently involved in discussions of race relations in the United States, especially within the church. While the membership was largely white throughout the first few decades of its ministry in the US, Intervarsity was committed to racial integration within its chapters and small groups. After a conflict in 1948, Stacey Woods, who was passionate about civil rights and the non-segregation of Intervarsity, passed a transformative resolution that segregation was not an acceptable or welcome practice within the ministry.[46] The resolution stated, "Since colored people tend to relate segregation and the Christianity which we represent, we must demonstrate that in Christ there is neither black nor white."[47]

Ivery Harvery was Intervarsity's first black staff member, joining the ministry in 1952 after being influenced by his university chapter and Campus-in-the-Woods in college.[48] Harvey eventually led campuses in the South, where he met with civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.[49] The ministry continued to wrestle with issues of race and led the way in exploring multiethnic ministries on the college campus.

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46. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 96.

47. Ibid., 97.

48. Ibid., 135.

49. Ibid., 135.

While the rate of growth of the ministry gradually declined throughout the close of the century, Intervarsity is still present on the college campus today. Not free from controversy, the movement has been present in the news for its conferences, legal battles, racial ideologies, and sexual ideologies. The ministry continues to engage the college campus in the world of the internet and social media through blogs and online resources in order to grow and support university chapters.

Now that a brief history has been established, I will elaborate on the current state of Intervarsity by listing a few key statistics and important doctrinal statements from Intervarsity's 2015-2016 yearly report. Then, I will address a few of the distinctive issues that Intervarsity has faced or embraced over its years in ministry. Finally, I will comment on the aspects of the organization that both follow traditioned innovation and aim toward risk of secularization.

Today its numbers not only give a picture of the size and reach of the organization but also communicate a story of what is valued and what is shared with its constituents.

General Numbers

- 1,011 active chapters
- 667 campuses
- 41,007 core participants
- 9,344 people committed to missions

Intervarsity Press

- 133 new titles published

Ethnic Demographics

- 142 Native American participants
    - 15% increase in 1 year
- 233 Middle Eastern participants
    - 29% increase in 1 year
- 1,615 multiracial participants
- 2,622 Latino participants
    - 59% increase in 5 years
- 4,875 international participants
    - 40% increase in 5 years
- 5,317 African American participants

    - 50% increase in 5 years
- 6,729 Asian American participants
    - 25% increase in 5 years
- 18,423 white participants

Finances

- Income
    - Total Income: $105,768,000
    - 74.6% donations
- Expenses
    - Total Expenses: $106,321,000
    - 82.9% programming
- $553,000 decrease in net assets
    - Covered from prior year increases
- Tax exempt 501(c)(3)
- 6 year 4 star rating on Charity Navigator
- Member – Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability[50]

Intervarsity's website also documents key theological stances, which are listed below:

Purpose

> In response to God's love, grace, and truth: the purpose of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship/USA is to establish and advance at colleges and universities witnessing communities of students and faculty who follow Jesus as Savior and Lord: growing in love for God, God's Word, God's people of every ethnicity and culture and God's purposes in the world.[51]

Vision

> To see students and faculty transformed, campuses renewed, and world changers developed.[52]

Doctrinal Basis

> We believe in:
> The only true God, the almighty Creator of all things,
> Existing eternally in three persons
> Father, Son, and Holy Spirit full of love and glory.
> The unique divine inspiration,
> Entire trustworthiness
> And authority of the Bible.
> The value and dignity of all people:
> Created in God's image to live in love and holiness,

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50. "2015-2016 Annual Report," *Intervarsity*, https://pubhtml5.com/pihy/kskb.

51. "Our Purpose," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-purpose.

52. "Our Vision," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-vision.

But alienated from God and each other because of our sin and guilt,
And justly subject to God's wrath.
Jesus Christ, fully human and fully divine,
Who lived as a perfect example,
Who assumed the judgment due sinners by dying in our place,
And who was bodily raised from the dead and ascended as Savior and Lord.
Justification by God's grace to all who repent
And put their faith in Jesus Christ alone for salvation.
The indwelling presence and transforming power of the Holy Spirit,
Who gives to all believers a new life and a new calling to obedient service.
The unity of all believers in Jesus Christ,
Manifest in worshiping and witnessing churches
Making disciples throughout the world.
The victorious reign and future personal return of Jesus Christ,
Who will judge all people with justice and mercy,
Giving over the unrepentant to eternal condemnation
But receiving the redeemed into eternal life.
To God be glory forever.[53]

Now that a brief history has been established and the current state summarized, I will address a few of the distinctive issues that Intervarsity has faced or embraced over its years in ministry. Finally, I will comment on the aspects of the organization that both follow faithful innovation and others that show the possibility of mission drift opening the organization to secularization

Discussion: A Focus on Redemptive Race Relations

Intervarsity's beginnings in the United States coincided with the growth of the civil rights movement in the nation. While for many years Intervarsity chapters remained almost entirely white, integration became an important commitment for the movement very early into the work. As the number of black students grew, race relations became an even more prevalent issue for Intervarsity, especially in activities like Urbana. Today,

53. "Our Doctrinal Basis," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-doctrinal-basis.

the organization continues to publish books and blogs focusing on the issue of racial reconciliation and is dedicated to growing an ethnically diverse movement, using its outreach in the publishing & resources sector to transform culture.

In 1948, a group of Intervarsity students was denied stay at a retreat center because of the presence of black students in the group.[54] Similar occurrences happened at various Bible conferences across the country in the late 1940s. Finally, the Intervarsity Board passed a resolution that affirmed that organization's commitment to full recognition of Intervarsity chapters on black college campuses, non-segregation of conferences, and the efforts of showing "that in Christ there is neither black nor white." [55] This marked Intervarsity's rejection of aspects of culture that inculcated racism and segregation.

It is clear that leaders such as Woods were dedicated to welcoming students of different races, but in the early years, there was not so much a sense of racial activism within Intervarsity. The organization remained committed to engaging and welcoming students of different races and brought on staff members of color, the first of whom was Ivery Harvey in 1952. Harvey worked mainly with chapters of black students in the South, where he engaged with civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X.[56]

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54. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 96.

55. Ibid., 97.

56. Ibid., 135.

Urbana 1970 shows a different side of racial reconciliation in Intervarsity. Tom Skinner, a black preacher and evangelist, spoke as a plenary speaker at the conference, which was based on the theme, "Christ the Liberator."[57] Skinner engaged the primarily white audience with the story of the black experience and prejudices based on race. He spoke of how the gospel meets people in that experience and that Christ is not accepting or tolerant of racism. His rousing speech ended when he yelled, "The Liberator has come!" and the crowd rallied cheers on their feet.[58]

Skinner's speech was followed by a meeting of about 600 black students who attended that conference to discuss racial prejudice within the American Christian church. Together, the students discussed what their own roles might be within the mission of the church and their organization, Intervarsity. The next night, the black students and a group of white students met to engage in honest conversation about racial prejudice. The students, together, did not ignore the issue of race in the room or attempt a "colorblind" attitude but instead asked probing and difficult questions to one another. Following the meetings, the black students presented a request to the leaders that the focus of the conference be shifted to racial reconciliation.[59] Even though the group was sorely frustrated when their request was denied, the momentum continued as they moved on from Urbana 1970.[60]

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57. Ibid., 267.

58. Ibid., 268.

59. Ibid., 268.

60. Ibid., 268.

Leaders of Intervarsity nationally began to take seriously the concerns of the black students who felt that the ministry could do much more in the work of racial reconciliation. National leadership resurrected a proposal that they had ignored from staff members Neill Rendall and Paul Gibson who envisioned a future for Intervarsity's work with black students. It included ideas on the recruitment of black students, a distinctive training for black members of the staff, and a focus on areas with high populations of black students.[61]

Students frustrated with Intervarsity's lack of response at previous Urbana conferences presented a statement to the leaders of the movement at Urbana 1973, "Statement from the Afro-American People."[62] Many white students rallied behind the effort to acknowledge racial failings at the conference releasing a statement that said: "We feel that the structural and institutional manifestations of sin in society have not been adequately dealt with at Urbana 1973."[63]

Here, the students were using language referencing the structural institutions that cause racism and not only the relational failings that do so. This is a shift from the relational language used in the statement in 1948, showing a move towards a social justice framework in addressing the issues of race and advocacy & activism activities within the organization.

In 1976, staff members in Southern California commissioned the "ABC" Conferences, which stood for Asian, Black, and Chicano students. In 1977, the Black

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61. Ibid., 290.

62. Ibid., 290.

63. Ibid., 292.

Staff Fellowship was formed among black Intervarsity staff members. These staff members spearheaded the "Young, Black, and Christian" conference designed for black students in Intervarsity.[64] Intervaristy Press explored and published books engaging in racial issues as the organization continued to explore its racial identity.

Since the turn of the century, Intervarsity has emphasized its focus on racial reconciliation and ethnic diversity. Urbana 2006 was marked by speakers and musicians of different races and ethnicities, including worship songs in Chinese and Spanish. Only four of the eleven main speakers at Urbana 2006 were white males. This message being sent was bolstered by the attendance of the conference, which was 60% white.[65]

The conference engaged the students with many different race-related discussions, ranging from the use of the book of Ephesians to discuss race to an exposé on the plight of Native Americans to a breakout session titled "Being White."[66] One of the student-led racial experiences of the conference was a worship session including Korean and Japanese American students in which the discussion and prayer led to an emotional apology for violence in World War II from the Japanese Americans and an acceptance and forgiveness form the Korean Americans.[67] This evidences Intervarsity's characteristic transformative approach to culture, seeking transformation in indviduals' minds and hearts that brings about transformation to communities and the greater culture.

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64. Ibid., 293.

65. John Schmalzbauer, "Whose Social Justice? Which Evangelicalism? Social Engagement in a Campus Ministry," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, ed. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013),51.

66. Ibid., 55.

67. Ibid., 56.

Using its publishing & resources branch of ministry, Intervarsity Press continues to publish books focused on race and the Christian church, and Intervarsity's website shares resources, blogs, and sermons having to do with the issues. One of their more highlighted blogs is titled "4 Steps for Entering Into the Work of Racial Justice on Campus."[68] Multiethnic Matters is the blog page of Intervarsity Multiethnic Ministries, and it stays engaged with students by publishing relevant blogs from a variety of different voices ranging from students to staff members to preachers to professionals.[69]

As seen by the numbers cited above, Intervarsity records and celebrates its racial and ethnic diversity today. The report highlights the movement's growth in minority involvement and celebrates the different voices and perspectives present in students involved and being developed as leaders. Of the six members of the executive team, there is one white male.[70] Chief Executive Officer and President Tom Lin has repeatedly affirmed Intervarsity's pursuit of racial reconciliation and ethnic diversity in ministry.

Intervarsity's last Urbana conference was held in 2015. At this conference, in the wake of many instances of racial profiling and conflict with law enforcement, the speakers and musicians wore shirts that said "#BlackLivesMatter." Speaker Michelle Higgins proclaimed that the Black Lives Matter ideology was "a movement on mission in

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68. Orlando Crespo, "4 Steps Entering Work Racial Justice Campus," *Multiethnic Matters*, last updated February 23, 2016, http://mem.intervarsity.org/blog/4-steps-entering-work-racial-justice-campus.

69. *Multiethnic Matters*, http://mem.intervarsity.org/blog.

70. "Executive Team," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/executive-team.

the truth of God."[71] Intervarsity's Twitter feed followed suit, posting and retweeting many tweets with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter.[72] The statements did not avoid controversy, as many more conservative followers worried about anti-police sentiment or ideologies that supported abortion. Many were confused by the vague nature of the Black Lives Matter movement. However, Intervarsity's interim president defended their support of the ideology, saying, "Intervarsity chose to participate in this conversation because we believe that Christians have something distinctive to contribute in order to advance the gospel."[73] The accommodation of this cultural trend allowed Intervarsity to faithfully innovate to the needs of its population, engaging students in difficult advocacy & activism conversations in a theologically sound environment for the sake of a safe and supportive community for ethnic minorities.

Race relations have been an issue that Intervarsity confronted and engaged with throughout its history. While at first using language that advocated only for desegregation and relational cures to racism, the movement moved through a transition led by black students into the vocal stance that the organization takes today.

Discussion: Urbana and Social Justice

Urbana has been a hotbed for issues such as racial reconciliation since its beginning in 1948. It was at the Urbana conference that black students began to gather to

71. Stetzer, Ed, "InterVarsity, #BlackLivesMatter, Criticism, and Three Suggestions for the Future." *Christianity Today*, (2016), http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2016/january/ intervarsity-race-criticism-and-future.html.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

discuss Intervarsity's future with race relations. Other issues are discussed at Urbana, and many of them lead to conversations of social justice. Often, outsiders (and some insiders) view Intervarsity as the "evangelical left" because of its consistent presentation of social justice issues.[74]

Urbana highlights the different ways that Intervarsity has grown in its focus on social justice. Urbana 2006 was marked by conversations about race, human trafficking, climate change, and poverty. Organization such as the International Justice Mission, which advocates for the end of human trafficking through activism and legal work, took the stage and shared their work with the students.[75]

After Intervarsity President Steve Hayner signed "An Evangelical Declaration on the Care of Creation" in 1994, many speakers focused their discussions on the Christian duty of creation care.[76] Bono made an appearance via webcam at Urbana 2006, speaking about his lobbying organization and the suffering of those with HIV/AIDS.[77] Urbana 2009 offered a special track for participants to focus specifically on the issues of poverty while experiencing the conference.[78]

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74. John Schmalzbauer, "Whose Social Justice? Which Evangelicalism? Social Engagement in a Campus Ministry," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, ed. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 52.

75. Ibid., 52.

76. Ibid., 56.

77. Ibid., 56.

78. Ibid., 58.

In a 2006 survey of over 500 different Intervarsity campus staff members, 87% affirmed that "social justice was at the heart of the gospel."[79] Intervarsity has developed and is continuing to develop a focus on social justice in a transformative approach to culture, especially on the stage of Urbana, at which students engage in activities or conversations in the relief & development, fellowship & enrichment, education & training, advocacy & activism, and missions & missionary sectors.

Discussion: Intervarsity and Gay Marriage Views

Though considered by many to embody the "evangelical left," Intervarsity surprised many in October by releasing a controversial statement regarding same-sex marriage. Time magazine reported that the statement adopted a policy of "involuntary termination" of staff members who supported legal same-sex marriage.[80]

However, Intervarsity quickly released a statement maintaining that no staff member would be "fired because of their views."[81] The statement claimed that Intervarsity was simply reiterating their already present Scripture-based view of human sexuality. Vice President Greg Jao said, "We recognize employees who disagree, or whose beliefs have changed over time, will leave employment because we have reiterated our beliefs."[82] Many were upset by the move, and some chapters were affected. 19

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79. Ibid., 58.

80. Elizabeth Dias, "Top Evangelical College Group to Dismiss Employees Who Support Gay Marriage," *Time*, last modified October 6, 2016, http://time.com/4521944/intervarsity-fellowship-gay-marriage/.

81. "Intervarsity Reiterates Theology of Human Sexuality." *Intervarsity*, last modified October 7, 2016, http://intervarsity.org/news/intervarsity-reiterates-theology-human-sexuality.

82. Ibid.

chapters within the California State system were derecognized in light of the issue but reinstated later.[83] Although to many, it was confusing for an organization so committed to civil rights to take such a hard line on the marriage equality issue, Intervarsity's rejection of culture in this way was an attempt for the organization to stay true to its biblical theology.

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Reactionary Beginnings and Firm Theology

The beginning of the Intervarsity movement came out of a rejection of British culture's push toward secularization. Leaders in Britain desired to create a movement that was centered on Christ and focused on good theology in light of movements that had strayed away from the main message of the Gospel. For this reason, the foundation for Intervarsity was laid with firm theology and a motivation to stay true to the Gospel throughout time.

Early leaders crafted the "Basis of Faith" with mindfulness and prayer as an "anchor" to keep the organization true to its end.[84] The Basis of Faith, which has been expanded in ways that do not allow it to stray from its original meaning, is still an important part of Intervarsity's work today. Because of the roots of the organization and its commitment to its Basis of Faith that points to the Gospel of Christ, Intervarsity would require a great upheaval of culture and rhetoric in order to secularize due to mission drift.

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83. Joseph Merritt, "Intervarsity's Move on Gay Marriage," *Atlantic*, last modified October 7, 2016, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/10/campus-ministry-a-culture-war-outpost/503426/.

84. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 62.

Though not clearly an outreach activity, Intervarsity's commitment to its doctrinal basis is in line with the conversion objective because it shows the organization's hope and desire that every new person brought into the ministry is brought into a movement that is powerfully theologically sound.

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Intellectual Focus and Intervarsity Press

Intervarsity's theological focus is supported and bolstered by its intellectual focus. Publishing & resources activities of the organization such as Intervarsity Press, *HIS* magazine, and the various online blogs and resources shared on the website not only provide students with support but also encourage them to engage in the intellectual work of the Christian faith. Intervarsity Press continues to foster Christian education on a variety of issues and from a variety of authors in order to project the Christian voice and support the Christian reader.

The "discipleship of the mind" core value also speaks to the context of the university student.[85] In an accommodation of the collegiate academic culture in which Intervarsity chapters reside, Intervarsity meets students who attend a university for the sake of education with a ministry that takes that commitment seriously and seeks to enhance it through discipleship and Bible study. Focusing on the great benefits that intellectual challenge can have on the life of the mind and the experience of faith, Intervarsity seeks the personal transformation of each student. In this way, Intervarsity meets the needs of the student while also calling them to new depths in their faith and worship.

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85. "Core Values," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-core-values.

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Urbana

Urbana's great aim to provide students with solid and motivating Christian teaching while also encouraging them to give their lives or their resources to the work of evangelism across the world has been matched by its great methods and great successes. The conference has grown to reach almost 16,000 students and has provided students the opportunity to get away from their college campus and dwell on the bigger questions about their faith and the world.[86]

The conference embodies faithful innovation in that it is centered around the gospel and missions across the world, reflecting the traditional methods of meeting together and hearing teaching while also addressing the issues facing and confounding the student and the campus without timidity. Urbana not only provides relevant and interesting topics and even entertainment, but, in a transformative approach to culture, it also asks its participants to rise up to the task of engaging with serious questions about the Gospel and the broken world. While the focus on social justice could lead to mission drift, an Urbana conference that is Christ-centered and imbued with prayer, worship, and discipleship can be very powerful in motivating and developing Christians and Christian leaders on the university campus. The outreach at Urbana displays activity and objectives that call students to worship of God and is mutually animated by worship of God.

86. "Urbana 15," *Urbana*, https://urbana.org/past-urbanas/urbana-15.

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Redemptive Race Relations

One of the most edifying patterns of faithful innovation that Intervarsity has made in remaining true to its mission is the organization's transformative efforts in racial reconciliation. The organization began as a wholly white movement in the United States and gradually extended to include groups of black students. Leaders were passionate about including students of color and did not hesitate to ban segregation to focus on how individual relationships can cure racial ills. However, students of color became frustrated and used their voice to express a desire for the group to address the destructive nature of racism in society and in the church specifically. Today, Intervarsity treasures ethnic diversity and speaks vocally about issues of redemption and race to a variety of different audiences.

Intervarsity's efforts have proved to be effective in regards to bringing in and developing students of ethnic minority background. The organization of about 40,000 college students is currently 46% white, so the majority of students involved come from an ethnic minority background.[87] The percentage of all ethnic minority groups in the ministry continues to grow. These statistics show that Intervarsity has created a place of welcome and support for students of color and has provided a multiethnic environment for students of different backgrounds to learn from and create friendships with students who have different perspectives. This outreach activity, which so successfully brings in

87. Stetzer, Ed, "InterVarsity, #BlackLivesMatter, Criticism, and Three Suggestions for the Future." *Christianity Today*, (2016), http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2016/january/ intervarsity-race-criticism-and-future.html.

and listens to students from various backgrounds, supports conversion efforts in welcoming more and more people to the ministry.

While embracing the Black Lives Matter ideology might be disconcerting to some supporters in a variety of ways, Intervarsity has been careful to clarify its motivations and hopes for furthering that racial movement. Looking to the need for racial reconciliation and redemptive race relations for college students in a world where the Black Lives Matter movement exists provides a place for student to discuss and engage with these issues in an honest and Christian environment. Interim President Lundgren's words that "Christians have something distinctive to contribute in order to advance the Gospel" reaffirms that Intervarsity's transformation-focused racial conversations are underscored by a desire for Christians to first and foremost spread the gospel and secondly participate in God's redemption of the world because of that gospel.[88]

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Student Focus

The focus on the student leadership has been a value of intervarsity since the very beginning. Intervarsity even experienced conflict in ideology with Campus Crusade because of that organization's staff-led focus.[89] Intervarsity's staff is not as settled and present on university campuses as other campus ministers are, leaving the responsibility

88. Stetzer, Ed, "InterVarsity, #BlackLivesMatter, Criticism, and Three Suggestions for the Future." *Christianity Today*, (2016), http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2016/january/ intervarsity-race-criticism-and-future.html.

89. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 152.

of maintaining and building the ministry to the student leaders. In this way, students are able to create a ministry that meets the needs of their peers and their specific campus while also rising up to the challenge of leading and innovating themselves. The grass-roots strategy requires a trust from the national organization and the hard work of the student leaders, but it can lead to a movement that is constantly refreshed by new students who are motivated and excited by the gospel and see and experience the unique needs of their campus.

Mission Drift Discussion: Social Justice Focus

While many components of Intervarsity point to the firmness of their Christian identity and their ability to innovate, some factors reveal risks of secularization. One of these is the focus on social justice and communication enacted in advocacy & activism. With social justice issues being constantly at the heart of the Urbana conferences and initiatives growing within campus chapters, the organization could be moving toward a more social justice focus in an accommodation with left-leaning culture. While the original aim of Intervarsity was to hold firmly to the importance of evangelism, the social justice issues have been seen to take this commitment over in other ministries like the YMCA. As mission drift can occur by small and gradual changes, the Urbana conference, student, and staff focus on issues that are not central to Christ's offer of salvation might be signs that the organization is susceptible mission drift.

Analysis: Niebuhr and Scheitle

Intervarsity's history provides one of the clearest pictures of a transformative Christian approach to culture. Even as the organization made moves in outreach that

rejected or accommodated parts of the greater culture, most approaches that the movement took toward culture were in light of the gospel as a transformative agent to the world. What is central to Intervarsity's history, leadership, and its continued outreach lie in the balance of two goods: the leadership of the college student population and the commitment to biblical, Christ-centered doctrine as the organization's guidepost.

Intervarsity's roots as a rejection to the culture of British Christian organizations growing increasingly secular and soft on important theological doctrine provided the movement an impetus to lay a firm theological foundation for the organization's future.[90] Clear doctrine was essential to the organization's beginnings and still is today. The organization has even expanded its doctrinal basis to include more biblical references and detail in its wording. While this clarity in doctrine firmly established the organization in the Christian tradition, it did not take away from the organization's ability to engage with culture.

Instead, the doctrinal basis and the value of commitment to Christ-centered theology freed the organization to engage in cultural transformation. The organization was more involved in the civil rights movement and in racial reconciliation than the other two movements, fueled by the movement's view that the redemptive work of Christ could be done in American race relations.[91] Intervarsity publishes books on a wide variety of issues and engages students in challenging conversations about social justice at the

90. Ibid., 37.

91. Ibid., 96.

Urbana conference in order to see the personal transformation of the mind and eventually the transformation of communities.[92]

While the organization accommodated the intellectual culture of the university and the students' desire for racial reconciliation in the ministry, these cultural stances were done in a way that valued the student's desires in a way that sought to transform them into positions in line with the gospel and Intervarsity's theological mission. Outreach activities in Intervarsity began with primarily in fellowship & enrichment and charismatic evangelism, and these activities have since grown into the sectors of publishing & resources, relief & development, missions & missionary, and even advocacy & activism.

While the collegiate YMCA's expansion of outreach activities caused eventual mission drift, Intervarsity's clear theology and transformative approach to culture caused students and staff involved to constantly check their outreach activities and objectives against the organization's doctrine and purposes. The transformative view of culture fuels the organization's objective of conversion, and its value of discipling the mind evidences Intervarsity's desire to see personal conversions to the Christian gospel.[93] In this way, Intervarsity is able to entertain and be led by the desires of the students involved while also remaining firmly committed to its doctrine.[94] This pattern shows a clear relationship between Intervarsity's outreach and worship of God, as the

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92. "Core Values," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-core-values.

93. Ibid.

94. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 293.

organization's doctrine continually challenges students and staff to contemplate biblical truth while its outreach is designed to lead students to personal and transformative encounters with the Christian gospel.

Conclusion

Intervarsity's strengths lie in their freedom to innovate in student conferences, racial reconciliation, student leadership and conversation because of their firm commitment to their Basis of Faith. Even if the organization's engagement with social justice and its put it at risk for mission drift, the organization's efforts to engage and challenge college students in light of its Christ-centered and biblical doctrinal basis allow constant reminders of the conversion efforts of the ministry.

The next chapter introduces Campus Crusade for Christ, an organization that had interaction with Intervarsity throughout the years and that is still present on the college campus today.

CHAPTER FOUR

Campus Crusade for Christ

Introduction

Ten years after the start of Intervarsity, another campus ministry began ministry in the sorority house on UCLA's campus.[1] Campus Crusade for Christ entered with purpose, hard work, and style, reflective of the visionary behind the movement, Bill Bright. Bill Bright, emboldened to start the movement by his greatly influential teacher Henrietta Mears and his wife, who he later referred to as "co-founder"[2] began his ministry for the ambitious purpose: "Win the campus for Christ today – win the world for Christ tomorrow."[3]

The college ministry branch of Campus Crusade for Christ International is today known as Cru, and the ministry continues on an estimated 5,000 campuses worldwide and 2,400 campuses in the United States, with plans to expand to over 10,000 more universities.[4] Throughout the years, the campus ministry has grown and evolved, engaging students in different ways ranging from magic shows to folk music and from

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1 "What We Do," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do.html.

2. "Bill and Vonette Bright," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/our-leadership/our-founders.html.

3. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 14.

4. "Annual Report," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/content/dam/cru/about/2015-cru-annual-report.pdf.

conferences to smartphone apps. Cru has also expanded its multiethnic student ministries, engaging Asian American students through Epic, black students in the Impact movement, and Latino students through Destino.[5] However, most notable is the expansion of Cru's ministry off the college campus.

Within its first ten years, Campus Crusade expanded internationally, as Bill Bright spoke in South Korea and students went on missions to countries abroad. Today, while Cru is active in over 191 countries, it is also pursuing ministry beyond university student populations.[6] Throughout the years on campuses, Campus Crusade and Bill Bright's vision expanded to begin ministry in poor communities, to families, to high school students, in politics, and many more. Today there are over 60 different ministries, which grew out of what Campus Crusade International President Steve Douglas calls the "root" of their work, campus ministry.[7]

In this chapter, I will describe the history of the Campus Crusade for Christ ministry in order to analyze how it has adapted to social and cultural shifts and how these changes have affected the overall mission of the organization. Following a brief history of Campus Crusade for Christ, I will focus on a few brief topics for the sake of analysis in order to explore whether the organization has drifted from its mission in a way that exposes it to potential secularization pressures, faithfully innovated, or changed in a different way.

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5. "What We Do," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do.html.

6. "About," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about.html.

7. "Annual Report," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/content/dam/cru/about/2015-cru-annual-report.pdf.

History of Campus Crusade for Christ

As many organizations focused dedicated to the activity of charismatic evangelism are, Campus Crusade for Christ's existence was largely due to the work of and based around the personality of its visionary, Bill Bright. Bright, who was born and raised in a Methodist family in Oklahoma, tried different business ventures after his move to Hollywood in his young adulthood.[8] Bright said of this time,

> I desperately wanted to 'make it big,' to be a success. Nothing could stop me, so I thought, but how wrong I was, because the God I didn't even acknowledge was already working in my life the day I arrived in L.A.[9]

In Hollywood, he crossed paths with Dawson Trotman, founder of the Navigators campus ministry, and began attending Hollywood Presbyterian.[10] Bright was soon convicted and inspired under the teaching of the powerful evangelism-focused teacher, Hentrietta Mears.[11]

Henrietta Mears, known for teaching students like Trotman, Bright, and even Billy Graham and Ronald Reagan, had a reputation for inspiring "scores" young men to

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8. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 17.

9. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 6.

10. Ibid., 6.

11. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 19.

go into ministry.[12] "Be ambitious for God," she told her students.[13] Mears reinvigorated his spiritual life and inspired him to use his gifts to bring Christ to the world. After a few bouts at seminary, which greatly discouraged and frustrated Bright—"Nobody cares about winning souls," Bright said of Fuller Seminary—and fostered in him a suspicion of Christian intellectualism, Bright, alongside his wife Vonette, had a new vision.[14]

While at a Hollywood Presbyterian retreat in the February of 1951, Bill and Vonette spoke about their struggles with one another and with Bill's frustrations with the ministry that he saw at seminary.[15] They decided to go into separate rooms and reflect on what they believed God was asking of them. Following this time of reflection, both came back together and composed a document committing themselves to be "slaves of Christ."[16] The Brights affirmed to one another that they would sacrifice worldly comforts and desires in order to serve the Great Commission and were open to what the Lord would lead them to.

That next week, Bill was overcome with a vision of what that might be. He claims to have "met with God" in a way that was "so rich, so meaningful, and yet so

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12. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 9.

13. Jennifer Woodruff Tait, "Ambitious for God," *Christianity Today*, March 2017, http://www.christianitytoday.com/history/issues/issue-92/ambitious-for-god.html.

14. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 30.

15. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 58.

16. Ibid., 59.

indescribable."[17] This vision was centered around the idea: "Reach the campus for Christ today—reach the world for Christ tomorrow."[18] After prayer and reflection with Vonette, Bright presented his idea before others he respected such as Henrietta Mears and his Fuller professor Dr. Wilbur Smith (who actually gave him the name Campus Crusade for Christ). In a final rejection of the intellectual culture of ministry, Bright dropped out of Fuller Seminary, due to his wariness of intellectual ministry, his firm conviction in his calling, and his adoration of ministry rooted in a trust in the Holy Spirit instead of formal ordination, inspired by Mears in this way.[19] Mears, in full support of the vision, offered her home as the headquarters for the movement as the Brights began work on campus – UCLA.[20]

In spring of 1951, Bill Bright walked into his first outreach, which was in the Kappa Alpha Theta sorority house on UCLA's campus. By reaching out to the president of the sorority, Bright managed to gather 60 women to listen to his Gospel presentation.[21] Reflective of his firm commitment to charismatic evangelism for the objective of conversion, Bright then invited anyone who wanted to "enter into a new relationship with

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17. Ibid., 61.

18. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 14.

19. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 17.

20. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 45.

21. "What We Do," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do.html.

Jesus" to openly respond.[22] Over half of the women formed a line to speak with Bill and pray to accept that offer, and Campus Crusade began.[23]

In the first year of ministry, Bright focused on evangelizing to campus leaders or other influential students. Still today, Cru's website documents that Bright brought on to his mission the student body president, Greek presidents, the student newspaper editor, and other athletes.[24] In a synthesis with the culture he had lived in as a young man, Bright used a business-like strategy to "sell" the Gospel to college students, focusing on how the message would meet them in their current lives and improve their lives within the present.[25] With the support of his Board of Directors—including Fuller professor Dr. Wilbur Smith, Navigators founder Dawson Trotman, Henrietta Mears, and Billy Graham—Bright began to recruit a staff to join the ministry.[26]

Bright began seeking young leaders to join him as a staff member on Campus Crusade. He sought initially only young men with a belief in the Gospel and the mission of Campus Crusade who were physically and personally attractive, accommodating to

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22. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 16.

23. Ibid., 16.

24. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

25. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 61.

26. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 19.

cultural norms of influence.[27] Staff members were required to memorize Bright's 20-minute Gospel presentation, "God's Plan for You" and had to demonstrate an ability to communicate the Gospel in a quick and effective way that would "win" students.[28] To recruit both donors and staff members, Bright's marketing strongly rejected communist sentiment in the university in order to paint a bigger picture of the importance of ministering to American college students.[29] Flyers proclaimed, "Most Strategic Field in the World!" of the college campus.[30] Gordon Klenck, Campus Crusade's first staff member, remembers this:

> Vonette's brother told me about Crusade. I read Campus Crusade's first newsletter, filled with testimonies of UCLA students, and thought, 'This is terrific!' It didn't occur to me that this was such a small organization—that this was only Bill and Vonette—because of the number of students who shared their testimonies.[31]

By the beginning 1952, Bright had brought on 6 staff members,[32] and by the end of 1952, there were 11 staff members.[33] In 1952, Bright and the staff had created

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27. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 62.

28. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

29. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 64.

30. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 29.

31. Ibid., 18.

32. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

relationships with hundreds of students, and over 250 of them had made commitments to Christ, vibrantly successful charismatic evangelism activities aimed at conversion.[34] Staff presence was important to Campus Crusade, and many of the staff members spent most of their days on UCLA's campus meeting with students individually or in small group Bible studies. The organization continued to grow on UCLA's campus, moving to other universities like USC in the early 1950s and soon to 15 other states by the end of the decade.[35] By 1960, 109 staff members worked for Campus Crusade, originally receiving $100 monthly compensation and eventually being charged to raise their own support and funding.[36]

Another arm of Campus Crusade began to develop in the 1950s, as Campus Crusade began a "mission sending" organization.[37] Under the leadership of Bright, Joon Gon Kim began ministry on campuses and in communities in South Korea in 1958.[38] In 1959, college students from the United States began ministry in Pakistan and other countries in the Middle East during their summer vacations, expanding the reach of the

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33. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 28.

34. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

35. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 87.

36. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 20.

37. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

38. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 88.

ministry across national borders and into the 1960s and expanding Campus Crusade's mission into the missions & missionary sector.[39]

This "revolutionary"[40] decade began with a scare for Bright and Campus Crusade. Bright had a vision for a beautiful staff headquarters and desired to purchase Arrowhead Springs, a complex that was far out of Campus Crusade's budget. However, in the literal last two minutes before losing hundreds of thousands of dollars donated to Campus Crusade (the last donor committed his money two minutes before the deadline), Campus Crusade successfully purchased the new headquarters, synthesizing the aesthetic appeal of the complex with his desire for Campus Crusade's future success. Bright called the experience "the greatest act of faith in which I had ever had a part."[41] With the new location and renewed resolve, Bright and the staff looked confidently into the 1960s.

The ministry expanded throughout the 60s in numbers and method in the 1960s. Moving into the radio & television sector of outreach, Campus Crusade began a weekly radio broadcast that included a relevant and relatable Gospel message.[42] Crusade experienced clashes with intellectual student movements like Intervarsity[43] and fundamentalist donors like Bob Jones University, moving firmly in the evangelical

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39. Ibid., 250.

40. Bill Bright, *Revolution Now!* (San Bernadino: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 1969), 8.

41. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 15.

42. Ibid., 250.

43. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 70.

direction.[44] Crusade's Athletes in Action, under the leadership of staff member Dave Hannah, began its specialized ministry toward college athletes.[45] High school ministry took off.[46] Illusionist Andre Kole was charged by Campus Crusade to use his travelling magician's act to communicate the Gospel through entertainment.[47] Similarly, Crusade's folk group The New Folk pioneered the genre of contemporary Christian music, selling out concerts on college campuses.[48] Josh McDowell embraced the intellectual side of the ministry, writing books and presenting lectures across the country.[49] Ministries abroad were established in Canada, Europe, and Africa, as students from the United States were sent there and students within those places developed movements.[50] Faithfully innovating throughout the 1960s, Campus Crusade transformed worldly values or activities for the sake of conversion through charismatic evangelism.

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44. Ibid., 83.

45. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 250.

46. Ibid., 250

47. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

48. Claude Hall, "Youth Drive Through Youth Music," *Billboard*, October 12, 1968, https://books.google.com/books?id=wwoEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA56&lpg=PA56&dq=billboard+%22the+new+folk%22&source=bl&ots=cRAJmIxIgP&sig=lcw49xqkFdAqWJdtkZR_rV1Sb9Q&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHn8Kh8LXSAhUCy2MKHRabCD4Q6AEINjAF#v=onepage&q=billboard%20%22the%20new%20folk%22&f=false

49. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 24.

50. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 250.

All of these expansions were founded upon one of Crusades most essential developments in this decade, the "Have You Heard the Four Spiritual Laws?" booklet. Written by Bill Bright and described by him as "the distilled essence of the Gospel," the booklet was central to Campus Crusade's ministry.[51] By condensing the Gospel message in a short and tractable format, Crusade hoped to win more for Christ through its clarity and empower others to evangelism. In that anyone was able to read through the booklet with another person, "Four Spiritual Laws" furthered the "aggressive evangelism" style that Crusade encouraged.[52] This publishing & resources activity is still widely used and valued by the organization today.

While the immense growth and expansion of Crusade in the 1960s was grounded by the clarity of the "Four Spiritual Laws" booklet, the ministry also experienced the effects of the cultural revolution. On Berkeley's campus, riots and cultural demonstrations were popular. The disruptive and divisive effects of the riots bothered student body president Charlie Powell until he met with Campus Crusade staff and Bill Bright.[53] Powell and other student leaders along with the staff decided to stage their own demonstration, and for a week, hundreds of student leaders from Crusade gathered for events on the main campus mall and then dispersed across the campus to discuss spiritual

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51. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

52. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 91.

53. Horner, Bob. "Berkeley Blitz – Bob Horner," *The Legacy Project*, http://legacyccc.com/2010/11/bob-horner-berkeley-blitz/.

things with their peers.[54] The New Folk performed, Billy Graham spoke, and speaker John Brown proclaimed, "We're revolutionary. We think the world ought to change, and we think it will change."[55] The event became known as "The Berkeley Blitz."[56] Bright and Crusade accommodated the revolutionary ideology while rejecting its use in liberal political agendas as exampled by the events at Berkeley and other campuses, the emergence of the New Folk, and Bright's publishing of his book *Revolution Now*!, which says:

> The world needs a revolution—the right kind of revolution. One that will build, not destroy. One that will propagate love, not hatred. A revolution that will bring equality, not suppression. One that will restore man to God's image, rather than debase him to a bestial level. You can experience this revolution. In fact, you can help bring it to pass. I invite you to meet the greatest Revolutionar of all the centuries. You will never be the same. And the world will be further changed if you join the REVOLUTION NOW.[57]

This attitude primed the ministry for the 1970s and Crusade's Explo '72 and Explo '74. These events capitalized on the cultural relevance of Crusade's Gospel presentations and were created for the purpose of continuing that movement by bringing together large groups of students. Explo '72, held in Dallas, led over 85,000 students and staff in evangelism and discipleship training along with outreach and music concerts.[58]

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54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 23.

57. Bill Bright, *Revolution Now!* (San Bernadino: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 1969), 8.

58. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 146.

Explo '74, was held in South Korea and engaged as many as 1.5 million people,[59] although Bright had been accused of overestimating these numbers.[60] Also at Explo '74, Bright synthesized his ministry and politics, making a controversial statement endorsing a Korean candidate for president who had been known as "repressive," which brought censure from many leaders including Billy Graham.[61]

Bright and Crusade ventured into more controversial ground in the 1970s and into the 1980s, as Bright emphasized the United States' need for Christian leaders.[62] After key staff members attended the Continental Congress on the Family in 1976, Crusade began its family ministry Family Life, which embraced conservative Christian and complementarian values.[63] Bright also enacted his vision for Here's Life, America, a movement that mobilized individuals and churches to spread the Gospel and was characterized by the iconic but "laughingstock"[64] bumper stickers that proclaimed, "I

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59. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

60. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 152.

61. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 153.

62. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 112.

63. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 155.

64. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 43.

found it!"[65] Ministry to politicians and ambassadors began in Washington D.C., as the Christian Embassy was founded under Campus Crusade, which is still controversial today.[66]

Though political intrigue ruffled many feathers, Campus Crusade continued to grow through the 1970s and 1980s, with a staff of 16,315 in 1986.[67] Crusade also utilized technological advances through these decades to expand its ministry reach. German Jewish producer John Heyman approached Bill Bright with the idea to create a film based on the person of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke.[68] Overjoyed with the idea, Crusade placed Paul Eshelman in charge of the development of the project.[69] The movie was released to theatres in the United States by Warner Brothers, but it did not do well in theatres.[70] In a transformation of the medium of film, Crusade's *Jesus Film* became a Gospel tool both in domestic church communities and mainly abroad. Teams sent across hundreds of different countries still today put on screenings of the movie, as it is the most

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65. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 250.

66. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

67. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 28.

68. S. Brent Plate, "Sticks and Stones: Watching the *Jesus Film* with Muslims," *CrossCurrents* 62, 2 (2015): 200.

69. Ibid., 201.

70. Ibid., 200.

translated movie in history.[71] Today, the *Jesus Film* has been uploaded to a smartphone application for ease of sharing and has been viewed over 10 million times digitally with over 100,000 installations of the app.[72]

Crusade also engaged large audience through the effective use of technology through Explo '85. The event was put on via live videoconference from London and telecast to other locations through satellite. Explo '85 engaged over 300,000 viewers from 98 different sites across the world.[73]

In the 1990s, as the Crusade headquarters moved from Arrowhead Springs to Orlando, the student ministry required some change as well. Describing the ways in which Crusade's synthesis with culture in the previous decades presented a challenge for the future, U.S. Campus Ministry director Steve Sellers said it this way:

> We rode the cultural wave of revolution in the 60s, but when we got into the apathy-ism of the 70s and the me-ism of the 80s, we lost the bearings of how we get to each of these students and stay innovative. That was the challenge of the 90s.

In 1996, with around 20,000 staff members, Crusade staff refocused attention in 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)

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71. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

72. "Milestones," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do/milestones.6.html.

73. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 146.

establishing the presence of staff on campus; and (d) encouraging participation in international student outreach[74]

These goals were reflective of Crusade's original aims but embracing new values such as ethnic diversity. In the 1990s, under the leadership of Steve Sellers, Crusade introduced African American, Latino, and Asian American ministries in Impact, Destino, and Epic respectively.[75]

Another project that began in the 1990s was a simple one, but it was very effective. Campus Crusade began giving out "Freshman Survival Kits" in 1996. The packages, handed out to new students on campus, were complete with a Bible, some material about Cru, and other trinkets such as a CD or a snack.[76] Steve Douglass claimed that the kits reached about a million student yearly.[77]

In 1996, Bill Bright received the Templeton Prize, the most prestigious award for those involved in Christian charities. He donated the funds back to Campus Crusade.[78] As Bill Bright grew sick in the late 1990s, Steve Douglas eventually took over as

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74. Tony W. Cawthon and Camila Jones, "A Description of Traditional and Contemporary Campus Ministries," *College Student Affairs Journal* 23, 2 (2004): 167.

75. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 218.

76. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 35.

77. Ibid., 35.

78. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

President of Campus Crusade International in 2001. Bill Bright passed away in 2003 followed by Vonette Bright in 2015. However, their ministry continues on.[79]

Crusade continues to focus on developing student leaders on campus and has recently emphasized its missions & missionary push to send students on mission during summer or spring break.[80] In 2011, Campus Crusade's campus ministry became known as Cru for the "sake of a more effective ministry."[81] The *Jesus Film* is not the only available digital resource available to students in Cru, as, in a synthesis with the growing technological use in society, the ministry encourages the use of a variety of different smartphone apps, blogs and websites such as God Tools, which contains the updated "Four Spiritual Laws" and other material; Legacy, which keeps record of primary source Campus Crusade stories; and Soularium, a kind of card game that allows people to casually engage in spiritual conversations.[82]

Cru on campus today looks different on different campuses. Small group Bible studies, discipleship groups or partners, and a large group gathering characterize most chapters, as it was when Campus Crusade began.[83] Today, the Winter Conference brings students together by region to gather together for fellowship, teaching, worship, and

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79. "Milestones," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do/milestones.6.html.

80. "Milestones," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do/milestones.6.html.

81. "Noteworthy," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35, 4 (2011): 204.

82. "Apps and Tools," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/digitalministry/apps-tools.html.

83. "Campus," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/communities/campus.html.

outreach over the winter break.[84] Cru offers other student conferences, including the Sent conference for college juniors and seniors focused on calling and vocation.[85]

Campus Crusade for Christ International is comprised of 60 different ministries.[86] The purpose statement proclaims:

> Helping to fulfill the Great Commission in the power of the Holy Spirit by winning people to faith in Jesus Christ, building them in their faith and sending them to win and build others; and helping the Body of Christ do evangelism and discipleship.[87]

However, the mission statements of the various ministries are all very different. The focus of Campus Crusade is very expansive, especially considering the ministry that began as a young married couple in a sorority house has now grown into the largest parachurch evangelical campus ministry in the country.[88] Number 25 on Forbes 100 Largest US Charities List, Cru employs 25,000 full time staff with a yearly budget of $543 million,[89] 65% of which is staff-raised funds and 25.9% is ministry donations.[90] While it is doubtful that Crusade has secularized or will secularize, though political

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84. "Cru Winter Conference," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/communities/campus/winterconference/.

85. "Home," *Sent Conference*, http://sentconf.com/.

86. "Communities," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/communities.html.

87. "About," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/communities.html.

88. John Schmalzbauer, "Campus Religious Life in America: Revitalization and Renewal," *Society* 50, 2 (2013): 117.

89 "The 100 Largest Charities," *Forbes*, 2016, https://www.forbes.com/companies/cru/.

90. "Annual Report," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/content/dam/cru/about/2015-cru-annual-report.pdf.

involvement might be a sign of mission drift, Campus Crusade through its movement most clearly shifted into an institutional stage.[91]

Discussion: Crusade and Conservatism

One of the consistent aspects of Campus Crusade through the years, or at least under the leadership of Bill Bright, was an implicit lean toward conservative politics. While today, it is less clear to discern Campus Crusade's political leanings – mainly because the movement is less dependent upon a single personality for the sake of vision and leadership – the right-leaning political viewpoint caused the organization a variety of problems throughout the years.

At the start of Campus Crusade for Christ, Bright and other staff members had to make a choice about the trajectory of the organization. Though big donation money was coming from many conservative donors in the South, such as Bob Jones and Bob Jones University, Bright and Crusade ultimately separated itself from Bob Jones University because of their fundamentalist ethical and theological views, such as a condemnation of dancing.[92] The movement still embraced an evangelical style while still embracing many conservative or worldly values.

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91. William Little, et. al., *Introduction to Sociology – 1st Canadian Edition* (https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology/chapter/chapter21-social-movements-and-social-change/#section21.2.

92. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 83.

A great deal of funding came from successful conservative businessmen, many of whom were from the Sunbelt. Much of the rhetoric used in marketing to donors accommodated to the belief system of this population.[93]

While the politically tinged rhetoric did bring in a lot of money and garnered important financial support, it also seemed to cause a lot of problems. Many of Bright's political pursuits took away from the efficacy of Crusade as a ministry. He claimed that the ministry was apolitical, going so far as disallowing his staff members from participating in the civil rights movement.[94] This rejection of culture encouraged Crusade staff members to pull away from this aspect of culture instead of engage with it. However, Bright's lines between political and moral action were often blurred, leading to unnecessary worries for the ministry, like his public worry of John F. Kennedy's being a sole advocate for the Vatican as president.[95] His endorsement of Korean President Park Chung Hee's regime was an affront to many Korean people and even to Bright's friend Billy Graham, who publicly condemned Bright's support.[96] Even though time and time again Bright reiterated that Crusade was not a political organization, the history speaks that the ties between the ministry and conservative politics were very strong.

Political concerns potentially created mission drift especially in the 1970s and 1980s, as many believed that ventures such as Family Life, Here's Life, and the Christian

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93. Ibid., 98.

94. Ibid., 112.

95. Ibid.,109.

96. Glenn H. Utter and John W. Storey, *The Religious Right: A Reference Handbook* (Millerton, NY: Grey House Publishing, Inc., 2007), 218.

Embassy were enacted under Bright's political agenda; and many on the staff had no desire to get involved in a political ministry.[97] As 1976 was an election year, Bright proclaimed:

> Part of the great spiritual awakening is a plan to help bring Christ back into government… There are 4345 congressional districts, and I think Christians can capture many of them by next November. I'm saying to Christians, 'Let's get involved.'[98]

When a scathing article was published about Bright's conservative political involvement in the *Sojourners* magazine,[99] Bright, who was "devastated," got into some heated public arguments with other Christian leaders.[100] Eventually, staff members Spencer and Sherman Brand wrote a letter to Bright claiming,

> Having Campus Crusade for Christ implicitly linked to a political preference is equally as harmful to 'Here's Life, America' and the fulfillment of the Great Commission as the taking of an explicit political stand… without a balanced public view of associations with individuals from other political viewpoints, do you realized, Bill, that Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms have voted against every major civil rights Bill that has come before them in Senate? [Bright spent a considerable amount of public time with these two]. You cannot claim to be politically non-partisan and yet be publicly linked only with conservative people.[101]

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97. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 158.

98. Ibid.,161.

99. Ibid., 166.

100. Ibid., 167.

101 Ibid., 167.

Bright later claimed that many of the issues he fought for in the public arena were what he believed to be moral issues, although he admitted "some moral issues may look like politics."[102]

However, conservatism that was characteristic of Campus Crusade was not solely political; the organization also seemed to embrace a conservative lifestyle and appearance, rather, a lifestyle and appearance embraced and appreciated by most white, middle class Americans. Even though active during the Civil Rights area, Campus Crusade was not active in racial movements during the era, possibly because the movement was still in a growing phase.[103] Campus Crusade only began focusing on multiethnic ministry in the United States in the 1990s.[104]

Crusade's Family Life ministry today still embraces a complementarian view of marriage, a perspective that contends the husband is the head of the family and the wife is the helper.[105] While the Family Life ministry embraces this more conservative viewpoint, Cru seems to affirm women in leadership, as women on staff are able to serve in the same leadership capabilities that men are.[106] Inconsistencies in theological stances across

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102. Mary Rourke, "Honoring the Life's Work of a Soul Man," *Los Angeles Times*, (Los Angeles), March 7, 1996.

103. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 166.

104. Ibid., 204.

105. "Family Life," *Family Life*, http://www.familylife.com/.

106. Dj Jenkins. "Top 5 Things I Learned in Cru: #5 – Women in Leadership." *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/communities/campus/blog/2012/top-5-things-i-learned-in-cru-5-women-in-leadership.html.

ministries here evidence Crusade's synthesis with culture for the sake of successful and effective growth in ministry.

Cru has made many strides in this area. In 2012, Daniel Harman, Missional Team Leader for Cru at the University of Louisville, was demoted for denying his women student leaders the opportunity to lead coed Bible studies.[107] While staff members were previously only allowed to serve on staff if both members of the marriage desired to serve, today single women are able to serve. At the regional conferences today, as well as putting the spotlight on the multiethnic ministries, Cru encourages women teachers and women in all forms as leadership, bringing in women teachers to speak to the coed groups.[108] This is a significant change, as Crusade previously held that,

> A woman in a place of leadership should not try to compete with men… a staff girl should realize that girls get emotionally involved in decisions to be made. She should usually defer to the man's decision.[109]

This was Crusade's policy and present in their staff manual until the mid-1970s.[110] It is clear that there have been obvious changes, as now women are afforded the same leadership opportunities as men are, a sign of faithful innovation away from the more restrictive fundamentalist culture. However, a conservative view of gender roles

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107. Katherine T. Phan, "Cru Leader Demoted Over Refusal to Let Females Teach Bible Study," *The Christian Post*, December 3, 2012, http://www.christianpost.com/news/cru-leader-demoted-over-refusal-to-let-females-teach-bible-study-86003/.

108. "CruWC 2017," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/communities/campus/winterconference/dallas/.

109 John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 156.

110. Ibid., 146.

has been a part of Crusade since the very beginning and still remains in many ways, such as in the Family Life Ministry or in current staff guidelines.[111] Single parents and divorced people will most likely be denied the chance to serve on staff. This is reflective of the lingering conservative perspective.[112]

Discussion: Crusade and "Winning"

One of the more complicated aspects of Campus Crusade as a ministry is their high emphasis on effectiveness. Objectives are pursued with fervor and for the sake of their achievement. While it has been proven that Campus Crusade's methodology has proven effective in its ministry to thousands of college students over the years, there are ways in which the "winning" attitude has affected the ministry. Bright was a powerful and effective entrepreneur, and he knew how to "sell" the Gospel, synthesizing his cultural business skills with his ministry.[113]

Bright was committed to being a "slave" to Christ with the work ethic and attitude of an entrepreneur.[114] He could fundraise efficiently and well, even if it came down to the last minute. He made connections and used his ambition to grow and grow the ministry and even used his business and marketing know-how to communicate the Gospel in a certain way for the objective of conversion.

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111. "Family Life," *Family Life*, http://www.familylife.com/.

112. "What are the Qualifications and Standards for Missionary Staff?" *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/opportunities/careers/supported-staff/qualifications.html.

113. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 62.

114. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 17.

By condensing the message of the Christian Gospel to the "Four Spiritual Laws" booklet, now known as the "Knowing God Personally," Bright and Crusade expedited the evangelism process.[115] The booklet enabled new evangelists to share the Gospel without fear because they had a quick, easy to understand resource at their fingertips. This innovative and clearly structured presentation of the Christian faith communicated the knowable and communicable basic tents of the Christian faith in ways that enabled "aggressive evangelism."[116] The "I Found It!" marketing campaign, a confusing combination of advocacy & activism and publishing & resources for the objectives of communication and conversion, of the Here's Life movement echoes this knowable, sellable description of faith: as if it was a simple "it" to be found.[117] Like salesmen, people who use the booklet, an app, or the film are able to present the product as a prompt for further discussion. Bill Bright said of this strategy:

> Aggressive evangelism is simply taking the initiative to share Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit and leave the results to God. We make a special point that aggressive evangelism does not mean being offensive; it does mean taking the offensive. Everywhere we go we tell everyone who will listen about Christ.[118]

However, there have been claims that this quick presentation of the Gospel, as is characterized by both the "Knowing God Personally" booklet and the *Jesus Film*, might leave people with a great deal of questions of a lack of support. Heyman, producer of the

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115. "How to Know God Personally," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/how-to-know-god/would-you-like-to-know-god-personally.html.

116. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 91.

117. Ibid., 62.

118. Ibid., 91.

Jesus film, once criticized Campus Crusade, saying, "they accept commitments but do nothing to nurture the commitments and people are left out there dangling and still looking."[119] While this is an oversimplification of what Crusade does, as the ministry is always persistent in connecting those served on mission or in outreach to local churches, it does speak to the effects of ministry through the use of tools like the booklet or the film. Heyman's perception points to a possible lack in Crusade's strategies to connect those served with supportive community and fellowship & enrichment.

Crusade also encouraged the "winning" attitude by charging the staff to maintain an attractive appearance and a happy countenance. In Crusade's early years, it was required that, among "a heart for God and a teachable attitude" staff also have "an attractive personality" and "a pleasing personal appearance."[120] Quebedeaux describes the perception of these characteristics by outsiders:

> From its inception in 1951, Campus Crusade for Christ has been stereotyped by outsiders—Christians and non-Christians alike—as a movement of superficial cultural and social conservatives wedded to the American way of life and concerned only about people's "spiritual" welfare and not about their day-to-day life in the world. They tend to view Campus Crusaders as upstanding, middle-class, moralistic evangelists with one-track minds geared exclusively to "getting people saved" for the next world while they go to hell in this one.[121]

The Crusade staff manual was meticulous in detail about personal appearance and etiquette for both men and women. The "I Found It!" campaign was recognizable by

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119. S. Brent Plate, "Sticks and Stones: Watching the *Jesus Film* with Muslims," *CrossCurrents* 62, 2 (2015): 202.

120. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 52.

121. Ibid., 61.

billboards with smiling faces and happy countenances.[122] Today, Crusade's qualifications still require those being considered for staff to "appear neat, well-groomed, and willing to dress appropriately."[123] However, these strategies most likely do not come from some kind of pretention. It is most likely an attempt to be attractive in order to be effective in ministry. As Quebedeux puts it, "The reason for this effort, moreover is to be 'all things to all people' to win them for Christ."[124] Nevertheless, it was an accommodation with cultural norms of influence and attractiveness.

This sentiment is even present in Crusade's strategy to develop campus leaders as Cru leaders. From the beginning, Crusade touted engaging with student body presidents and Greek houses.[125] Even Athlete in Action seeks out ministry with the most athletically talented college students.[126] It is possible that this emphasis on finding the most "popular" students could form a kind of muscular Gospel, holding up socially, politically, or athletically talented students as the key to ministry success.[127]

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122. Ibid., 62.

123. "What are the Qualifications and Standards for Missionary Staff?" *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/opportunities/careers/supported-staff/qualifications.html.

124. Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishing, 1979), 62.

125. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," Bill Bright, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/

126. "Why We're Here," *Athletes in Action*, http://athletesinaction.org/about.

127. S. Brent Plate, "Sticks and Stones: Watching the *Jesus Film* with Muslims," *CrossCurrents* 62, 2 (2015): 202.

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Crusade and Adaptations and Advancements

Campus Crusade, though firmly committed to the essentials of the Gospel in a way as permanent and clear as communicated in the "Knowing God Personally" booklet and the Jesus film, has adapted in major ways throughout its ministry in order to present the Gospel effectively to a changing and growing population of university students.[128] Even though Cru's staff has strict conservative guidelines, it seems that the strategies used to share the Gospel with students are held with a loose hand a readily adaptable to synthesize with the next popular cultural medium.

In the 1960s, ministry took on a "revolutionary" tone. The Berkeley Blitz is an example of the effective gathering of students to share the Gospel but in a mode familiar and accepted by the campus population.[129] The New Folk not only paved the way for contemporary Christian music, they also met students in the folk area by opening up spiritual conversations in a relevant format.[130] Explo '72 not only engaged with young people's desire to come together and engage in something bigger than themselves, but it

128. "How to Know God Personally," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/how-to-know-god/would-you-like-to-know-god-personally.html.

129. Horner, Bob. "Berkeley Blitz – Bob Horner," *The Legacy Project*, http://legacyccc.com/2010/11/bob-horner-berkeley-blitz/.

130. Claude Hall, "Youth Drive Through Youth Music," *Billboard*, October 12, 1968, https://books.google.com/books?id=wwoEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA56&lpg=PA56&dq=billboard+%22the+new+folk%22&source=bl&ots=cRAJmIxIgP&sig=lcw49xqkFdAqWJdtkZR_rV1Sb9Q&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHn8Kh8LXSAhUCy2MKHRabCD4Q6AEINjAF#v=onepage&q=billboard%20%22the%20new%20folk%22&f=false

also met students with a music festival and singers, even Johnny Cash.[131] The *Jesus Film* took advantage of the effective medium of film to spread the Gospel across the world.[132]

Today, Campus Crusade has taken advantage of the study abroad craze of university students by offering study abroad opportunities through Cru. Summer Missions give students the chance to go abroad and travel across the world while also challenging them to ministry. Domestic Summer Mission programs have recently offered internship or employment opportunities for students looking to build their resume while also engaging with ministry.[133]

Faithful Innovation Discussion: Cultural Shift and Technology

As was described in the previous section, there are many ways the Campus Crusade for Christ took a cue from the culture in which it was surrounded and made changes that were important and effective. The "ambition" that Henrietta Mears taught Bill Bright infused throughout his ministry, as he dreamt big and saw that Campus Crusade and the Gospel could synthesize with the different cultural trends throughout the years: the revolutionary phase of the 1960s, the popular music scene, the movie industry, and today, the technology industry.[134] These are all examples of the ways in which

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131. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 146.

132. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

133. "Summer Missions," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/opportunities/mission-trips/summer.html.

134. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 17.

Crusade innovated in a way that stayed true to the Gospel. They also display a leaning toward synthesis church interaction, providing common ground between the world of culture and the world of faith.

Applications put ministry capabilities at anyone's fingertips. Free application such as the God Tools app has the "Knowing God Personally" booklet and Bright's other "Spirit Filled Life" booklet digitized and portable. The Soularium app is an easy to follow conversation guide that ultimately takes students into a question about the Gospel and the person of Christ.[135]

Mission Drift Discussion: Politics

Though it seems that Campus Crusade has self-corrected from some of the political mishaps in the 1970s and 1980s, this is still a dangerous game for the ministry. If Crusade were to have continued to grow into the political world in advocacy & activism that imbued across the different ministries including the campus ministry, it would put the organization at risk for mission drift. When political involvement and Christian commitment mix, it would be possible for the ministry to struggle to discriminate between the importance of the two goods.

Many staff members were clear that they did not want to be involved in a political ministry. Bill Bright was clear that he did not want Crusade to be political. However, when his public rhetoric and appearances leaned conspicuously toward political conservatism, problems arose and the ministry suffered. These things distracted from the greater mission of Campus Crusade.

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135. "Apps & Tools," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/digitalministry/apps-tools.html.

It is possible that these events were in fact so damaging to Campus Crusade because the ministry was centered around a single personality, Bill Bright. When one man centers and casts vision for the entire organization, everything that he does and believes has implications for the rest of the group. It is true that Bright called many of the shots for Campus Crusade, but because he was so influential and clearly influential beyond all others, his political involvement had greater implications.

It is unlikely that Crusade's political involvement will grow or cause problems for the organization today. Again, it seems clear that the ministry self-corrected after many of the problems occurred through the 1980s. Even today, Crusade steers clear of issues that might be politically divisive (or even religiously divisive, e.g. speaking in tongues).[136] Now that the ministry is not centered around a single leader, decision-maker, and visionary, individuals within the ministry are able to espouse their own political beliefs as long as they do not interfere with the effectiveness of the ministry.

Institutionalization Discussion

While it is clear that Campus Crusade for Christ has not secularized in its over 65 years of ministry, another phenomenon may have occurred. Social movements can be manifest in different stages: preliminary stage, in which people are made aware; coalescence stage, in which people are called together for the sake of an issue; institutionalization phase, in which the movement becomes an established organization;

136. "What are the Qualifications and Standards for Missionary Staff?" *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/opportunities/careers/supported-staff/qualifications.html.

and decline stage, in which the issue is no longer of great importance.[137] Campus Crusade has developed far past the coalescence stage and into the institutionalization phase for many reasons due to its church type thought and its synthesis interaction with culture.

The movement, instead of being led by students and involving students empowered to make change, takes cues from students but ultimately developed into a ministry for students and from an organization that has expanded far beyond students. The ministry, though empowering students as leaders on their campus, is not clearly student-led. The expansions of the ministry were not determined by the students or based on the needs of the students but instead on presenting the Gospel to different populations. Therefore, Crusade evolved from a coalescence ministry, a grassroots venture on a college campus, into an institutionalization ministry, a vast and expansive organization. Because the organization's church type thought motivates Crusade to significance and informs its synthesis activities that take advantage of the structures and values of the world for the sake of the mission, the organization has grown but at the same time has institutionalized.

Analysis: Niebuhr and Scheitle

Of the three organizations analyzed, Campus Crusade is the single one that began as the dream of vision of individuals instead of growing out of other organizations.[138]

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137. Jonathan Christiansen, Four Stages of Social Movements, *EBSCO Research Starters*, 2009, https://www.ebscohost.com/uploads/imported/thisTopic-dbTopic-1248.pdf.

138. "Milestones," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/about/what-we-do/milestones.6.html.

Campus Crusade's work was centered on the charismatic evangelism inspired by Bill Bright and aggressive evangelism for the sake of the conversion objective. These outreach activities and objectives, however, did not preclude Campus Crusade from having a high interaction with culture. The organization in many ways synthesized with the American collegiate culture, rejecting and accommodating different aspects along the way, for the sake of innovation and growth in ministry.

While Campus Crusade's approach to culture can most generally be understood as synthesizing, the organization did reject and accommodate different values held by culture in its time as a ministry. Although Campus Crusade did not take a stance on the civil rights movement, Bright's encouragement for staff members to stay uninvolved in the social and political race issues of the 1960s was a rejection of culture.[139] In this way, the ministry retreated from engaging with this aspect of culture by choosing to abdicate involvement. Later, the ministry accommodated different political issues, as Bright's conservative views were evident to the public. His engagement with politics in the 1970s and 1980s accommodated a conservative political agenda as Bright admittedly confused the line between moral and political commitments.[140]

However, these advocacy & activism activities have not yet led to a mission drift of the organization from its Christian commitment. This evidences a synthesis approach to culture that sees no disharmony between the ministry's outreach and, in Crusade's case, conservative political culture. While the advocacy & activism of the collegiate YMCA

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139. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 112.

140. Ibid., 109.

proved to allow mission drift to occur, Campus Crusade never ceased or decentralized their charismatic evangelism activities for the sake of conversion.

There are many ways that Campus Crusade's synthesis with culture allowed it to grow and innovate in its environment on the college campus. The New Folk was a band created in harmony with the trends of youth culture but also a tool for the ministry of Campus Crusade.[141] Radio & television activities from Crusade's radio programs in the 1960s[142] to the *Jesus Film*[143] to the myriad of online resources and smartphone apps that the ministry develops not only shows Crusade's appreciation and use of technological advancements[144] but also the ministry's value of business-like efficiency in spreading the gospel. All the while, this synthesis with culture was never seen as antithetical to the charismatic evangelism that characterized Campus Crusade form the beginning but instead as something complementary to it, a path that allowed for ministry growth and significance to the college student and beyond.

Conclusion

It is remarkable that Campus Crusade grew from the vision of two young people into the largest evangelical parachurch organization and the 25th largest charity in the

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141. Claude Hall, "Youth Drive Through Youth Music," *Billboard*, October 12, 1968, https://books.google.com/books?id=wwoEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA56&lpg=PA56&dq=billboard+%22the+new+folk%22&source=bl&ots=cRAJmIxIgP&sig=lcw49xqkFdAqWJdtkZR_rV1Sb9Q&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHn8Kh8LXSAhUCy2MKHRabCD4Q6AEINjAF#v=onepage&q=billboard%20%22the%20new%20folk%22&f=false

142. Michael Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: Waterbook Press, 2000), 250.

143. S. Brent Plate, "Sticks and Stones: Watching the *Jesus Film* with Muslims," *CrossCurrents* 62, 2 (2015): 200.

144. "Apps and Tools," *Cru*, https://www.cru.org/digitalministry/apps-tools.html.

United States.[145] Crusade provides a picture of synthesis with culture and how this synthesis affects the outreach objective of conversion. The mission has remained firm although there have been events or behaviors that have distracted from the mission; it is unlikely that Campus Crusade will see secularization in its near future. Following this chapter, I will compare, contrast, and analyze the data collected from all three organizations.

145. "Cru on Forbes Lists," *Forbes*, https://www.forbes.com/forbes/welcome/?toURL=https://www.forbes.com/companies/cru.

CHAPTER FIVE

Innovation and Mission Drift: Analysis and Conclusion

Young Men's Christian Association, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, and Campus Crusade collectively have touched the lives of hundreds of thousands of university students and beyond. Although different in time, doctrine, and strategy, the three organizations were created in line with a similar purpose or mission. These organizations were designed to be of college students and for college students with the mission of sharing Christ and Christ's work.

This thesis attempts to provide an analytical look at how three parachurch organizations have attempted to fulfill the Great Commission in the college context. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the changes and shifts made within the Christian parachurch organization in order to determine whether these changes brought the purpose of the movement more closely to its Christian mission or pulled it away from its aim and mission. In a secular university context, it is important for the Christian student movement to be able to improvise and use strategies of faithful innovation in order to be an effective and thriving ministry. However, improvisation or changes that are taken too far or move the organization from its Christian mission might open up the parachurch organization to secularization, as this was a trend seen in American universities. With an analytical look at strategic or institutional changes made in three Christian parachurch organizations on the college campus, this thesis seeks to illuminate what makes the

difference between organizational responses to culture that reflect the Christian value of faithful innovation or lead to mission drift and possible secularization.

Summary

Table 1: Summary Table

	YMCA	Intervarsity	Campus Crusade
Founded in U.S.	1877	1941	1951
Mission/Purpose Statement	The object of the association shall be the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men.	The Purpose of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA is to establish and advance at colleges and universities witnessing communities of students and faculty who follow Jesus as Savior and Lord: growing in love for God, God's Word, God's people of every ethnicity and culture and God's purposes in the world.	Helping to fulfill the Great Commission in the power of the Holy Spirit by winning people to faith in Jesus Christ, building them in their faith and sending them to win and build others; and helping the Body of Christ do evangelism and discipleship. Win, build, and send Christ-centered multiplying disciples who launch spiritual movements.
Notable Leaders	John R. Mott, Dwight L. Moody,	C. Stacey Woods, Charles Troutman	Bill Bright, Vonette Bright
Number of U.S. chapters (in most successful year)	764 (1920)	1,011 (2016)	2,115 (2015)
Known for…	• Highly active • Quick growth • Ultimately secularized	• Intellectual • Focused on racial reconciliation • Urbana conference	• Concise Gospel presentations • Wide variety of other ministries • Largest
Faithful Innovation	• Providing student life programs • One of the first U.S. student parachurch organizations	• Firm theology • Redemptive race relations • Intellectual focus and Intervarsity Press	• Remaining relevant in culture shift • Readily adapting • Engaging with technology
Risks of Mission Drift	• Embracing the muscular Gospel • Focus on activity over discipleship • Social gospel • Engagement with politics	• Engagement with social justice, liberal politics	• Engagement with conservative politics • Institutionalization[1]

Sources: Data from Hopkins (1951); Setran (2001); MacLeod (2007); Hunt and Hunt (1991); Turner (2008); Douglass (2001).

Engagement with Pop Culture

While a mission statement provides direction and is both a motivating force and an objective for an organization, it does not always limit the strategies of an organization. These three organizations all show that the Christian faith and the mission of evangelism are not mutually exclusive with popular culture. Though the organizations are different, many adaptations that engaged students in popular cultural trends proved to be successful. Engaging with pop culture is not a sign of secularization but provides an avenue for organizations like these to faithfully innovate.

Campus Crusade's synthesis approach to culture provides an example for engaging with and utilizing the culture for the sake of the organization's effectiveness. For example, leaders in Campus Crusade understood that folk music was a popular and favored trend amongst college students in the 1960s. Instead of resisting these secular bands, the organization innovated. Campus Crusade introduced The New Folk, a band that gained popularity to bring students to hear about the Gospel. Campus Crusade used an avenue that was relevant and accessible to college students as an instrument for sharing the Gospel.[2]

Crusade continued to engage with people through the instrument of pop culture throughout the years. The Berkeley Blitz mirrored student political riots but instead rallied for the Gospel and transformation on the campus.[3] The Jesus Film was a project

2. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

3. Horner, Bob. "Berkeley Blitz – Bob Horner," *The Legacy Project*, http://legacyccc.com/2010/11/bob-horner-berkeley-blitz/.

based on the popularity and accessibility of film technology.[4] Explo '85 was broadcast across the world using satellite technology.[5] Today, Campus Crusade is dedicated to using social media to giving the Gospel a relevant and visible presence on the internet.[6] This synthesis approach to culture allowed many outreach activities that were approachable from secular culture to be directed toward Crusade's conversion objective.

While Campus Crusade has shown remarkable strategic adaptations according to the trends in popular culture, both Campus Crusade and Intervarsity continue to do this in ministry today. Intervarsity's Urbana brings students together and not only engages them with theological teaching and challenges for mission work, it also provides space for socially relevant discussions.[7] Intervarsity Press publishes books that are all in theological agreement with its doctrinal basis but exploring a wide array of topics relevant to a wide variety of audiences.[8]

Both Campus Crusade and Intervarsity have a variety of different social media and blog accounts. Again, this shows that these organizations are using the tools appreciated by the population they are serving to preach the Gospel. Instead of condemning these resources, which might be commonly used for secular pursuits, the

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4. S. Brent Plate, "Sticks and Stones: Watching the *Jesus Film* with Muslims," *CrossCurrents* 62, 2 (2015): 200.

5. Judy Douglass, editor, *Until Everyone Has Heard* (Orlando: Campus Crusade for Christ, Inc., 2001), 146.

6. "About Campus," *Cru*, 2015, https://www.cru.org/communities/campus/about-campus.html.

7. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 132.

8. "Core Values," *Intervarsity*, http://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-core-values.

organizations repurpose them as instruments for pursuing their mission. While Crusade's synthesis approach to culture allow the organization to engage with culture to bring more in to the ministry, Intervarsity's firm commitment to its doctrinal basis frees students to discuss controversial issues in light of the gospel for the sake of personal and eventually communal transformation.

The values of society are used as tools for both organizations, but Campus Crusade seeks to use them for the sake of growth and influence for the sake of furthering its mission. Urbana, on the other hand, engages with these cultural trends and achievements with a more distinctive character. While Campus Crusade, for example, avoided engaging in the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s because of the ways in which it might confuse or blur its mission, Intervarsity sought opportunities for racial reconciliation from the very beginning. Crusade was focused on the ways that its cultural engagement would affect the organization, while Intervarsity was focused on how its mission might affect the culture.

Politics

While the line between politics, religion, and morality are certainly blurry, it is clear that political engagement causes confusion, unrest, and at times secularization in these movements. The mutual relationships between an organization's approaches to culture, which sheds light on its view of God, outreach activities, and outreach objectives affect the organization's identity and animating purpose—its worship of God. While political involvement can be a part of the Christian's worship life, it can be a complicating and marginalizing activity in the Christian parachurch student realm. Campus Crusade's Bill Bright, after receiving backlash for his political involvement,

noted that he was confused by the line between politics and morality.[9] Surely this is a befuddling boundary, but politics seems to be a divisive or destructive force in the collegiate YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade.

The most obvious example of the detrimental effect of political engagement on one of these movements is the collegiate YMCA's liberal political leanings ultimately leading to the mission drift and decline of the organization. Because the political pursuits became more of a centering focus than Christian teaching, the organization spun away from its mission. Not only did these pursuits secularize the YMCA, it also caused a great decrease in its number of involved members due to the confusing and divisive nature of the topics.[10]

Bill Bright's successful ministry hit its most detrimental roadblock when his political involvements muddied the water for the organization as a whole and many individuals involved. Bright was motivated to be politically involved because of many issues that he personally believed to be of great moral importance. However, when his involvement was decidedly conservative and many of his ministries were perceived as thinly veiled political campaigns, he confronted trouble with his supporters and many of his staff.[11]

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9. Mary Rourke, "Honoring the Life's Work of a Soul Man," *Los Angeles Times*, (Los Angeles), March 7, 1996.

10. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 59.

11. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 167.

Bill Bright, while being known for his conservative political involvement that spurred the growth of other ministries under the umbrella of Campus Crusade, was wary for his staff members to participate in a political movement toward the start of Campus Crusade: the civil rights movement.[12] This was a rejection of culture in that it moved the ministry farther away from engaging with the world. However, from its very beginning as a ministry, Intervarsity saw racial reconciliation as an issue central to the Christian Gospel and many staff members were engaged with the civil rights movement in a transformative desire to see the redemptive work of God in American race relations.[13]

While Campus Crusade leadership saw this as a political and complicating venture for its staff to become involved in (even though Bright was involved with more decidedly partisan politics in later years), Intervarsity understood the issue to be of importance to the human soul and to student formation. This has proved of great benefit to Intervarsity, as today the organization engages more effectively with minority students than does Campus Crusade.[14] Intervarsity's activism, motivated by community and communication objectives and a transformative view of Christ and culture brought more people into the ministry, opening Intervarsity's mission to more people. In this way, the organization faithfully innovated in its interaction with the world.

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12. Ibid., 112.

13. Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 96.

14. "2015-2016 Annual Report," *Intervarsity*, 2016, https://pubhtml5.com/pihy/kskb.

Crusade's political interactions were characterized by cultural engagement accommodation or rejection, affirming in high involvement in conservative politics yet retreating from liberal or civil rights movements. While Intervarsity's transformative approach to cultureshed light on cultural failings and advocated for redemption motivated by trust in God's future promises.

However, Intervarsity today engages students in discussions about controversial race issues, issues of poverty, and social justice concerns. How is this political or social discussion different than the collegiate YMCA's political paradigm in later years of its ministry? Both the collegiate YMCA and Intervarsity displayed transformative approaches to culture, but the quality that makes them different is their outreach objectives and the character of their worship. While the YMCA was accommodating liberal political thought, Intervarsity instead uses these socially relevant topics to transform Christian cultural thought and promote their central mission.

Intervarsity's focus on race relations has benefitted its ministry to ethnic minority students.[15] Similarly, the organization brings in students passionate about poverty and social justice and allows them to engage these issues in a theological environment, guided always by the doctrinal basis. Furthermore, even though Intervarsity's stance is rather vague, Intervarsity, while seemingly liberal in social leanings, has remained firm in its definition of Christian sexuality in response to the legalization of gay marriage.[16] Thus, it

15. Ibid.

16. Elizabeth Dias, "Top Evangelical College Group to Dismiss Employees Who Support Gay Marriage," *Time*, last modified October 6, 2016, http://time.com/4521944/intervarsity-fellowship-gay-marriage/.

shows a nuanced approach to how it deals with moral and political issues in culture. It may reject some trends while seeking to transform others with its mission in mind.

Institutionalization

Social movements can be manifest in different stages: preliminary stage, in which people are made aware; coalescence stage, in which people are called together for the sake of an issue; institutionalization phase, in which the movement becomes an established organization; and decline stage, in which the issue is no longer of great importance.[17] Of course, institutionalization is necessary for many logistical needs of an organization the size of the YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade. Cru and Intervarsity run multimillion dollar budgets and thousands of staff members that necessitate a considerable amount of administration and management. However, ministry that becomes institutionalized is a different story.

Leadership in Campus Crusade, specifically Bill Bright, throughout the 1970s and 1980s became involved in a number of different ministry pursuits, many of which were politically informed if not politically motivated, characteristic of both cultural accommodation and cultural synthesis.[18] It is not clear that these pursuits grew out of the original intent of Campus Crusade's campus ministries but instead mandated by the central leadership of the organization. Campus Crusade today runs over sixty different

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17. Jonathan Christiansen, Four Stages of Social Movements, *EBSCO Research Starters*, 2009, https://www.ebscohost.com/uploads/imported/thisTopic-dbTopic-1248.pdf.

18. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 158.

parachurch ministries in different outreach activity sectors, many of which have nothing to do with college students or the college campus.[19]

Campus Crusade, then, moved beyond the intended served population and into other spheres of ministry. Many of Cru's actions in the 1970s and 1980s were not guided and directed by the population served but chosen and enacted by the institution's leadership on different populations – there is a subtle and yet significant difference here. Whether this is good or bad depends on the perspective of the argument, but for the college students involved in Campus Crusade, this ministry is something different. Instead of participating in a movement that takes cues from student leaders, students participating in Campus Crusade are deciding to become a part of an organization that makes institutional decisions for them.

Because Campus Crusade is such a large organization with so many different areas of ministry, it is natural that the campus ministry would be less cooperative and more institutionalized, balancing the leadership of the staff and the leadership of the students. This might be an attempt to serve college students better because staff is more educated and equipped to lead a discipleship movement. It also might be a pursuit of stability because of the transient nature of the college student population. However, Campus Crusade might be missing the subtle insights of the college student's leadership and direction on their specific campus that Intervarsity embraces.

Eschatology and Theology

19. "Communities," *Cru*, 2015, https://www.cru.org/communities.html.

Eschatology is the idea that describes one's view of death and judgment and "the final destiny of the soul and humankind."[20] While a biblical worldview embraces the brokenness of the world and redemption in the hands of Christ, many insidious tendencies can undermine this eschatology.

As the collegiate YMCA experienced mission drift, the social gospel was embraced and the chapters were in pursuit of an "ideal social order" in the world in the present day, as the transformative approaches to culture were being shaped by liberal political thought.[21] According to this institutionalized transformative perspective of culture, the kingdom was not a prize to be enjoyed after devotion to Christ and death; it was a pattern set for the purpose of achieving its qualities on earth. This social gospel was animated by a view of the Kingdom of God that was not valuable only for participation in the future but for its principles to be achieved on Earth with no compromise.

The cultural accommodation of the muscular gospel can also detract from a biblical worldview. Student leaders in the YMCA's prime were often chosen based on their perceived manliness or athletic ability. These leaders often characterized the "work" of the Christian life as active service, "perhaps the hallmark of the muscular Christian

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20. "Eschatology," *Merriam-Webster*, 2017, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/eschatology.

21. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 19.

vision and the clear path of the campus YMCA in these years."[22] This muscular faith, then, ushered in the way of living out the faith that was more focused on activity and manly service instead of contemplation on the truths of the Gospel. The need of clearly communicated true doctrine was subordinated to the need to live out the perceived manly service of a Christian. This softened the organization's stance on doctrinal lines, making it more susceptible to the following mission drift. It reflected a theological view of God's requirements for the Christian man that necessitated culture's view of manliness and activity of a Christian instead of trusting these things to God's work.

Campus Crusade and Intervarsity must reflect on how these tendencies communicate and form the way they view the world and the Christian Gospel. Campus Crusade's highly institutionalized organization with outreach in so many different sectors of activities that its outreach not only grows the organization but most importantly leads to more worship of God. Intervarsity and the collegiate YMCA both show tansformative approaches to culture Christian cultural interactions; Intervarsity must maintain firm commitment to its expressed Christian doctrine in order to avoid falling into a liberal political agenda. For Intervarsity to engage with social justice issues and remain true to its Christian mission, leaders and participants must thoughtfully reflect on how the discussion mirrors their view of God's redemption. For Campus Crusade to push students to be active in their ministry, leaders and participants must thoughtfully reflect that a muscular gospel does not taint their trust in God's work.

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22. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 65.

What Is at Stake: Insights

These three organizations draw a picture of these different phenomena, even if there are a wide variety of different factors at play. The YMCA, experiencing drift in mission, after years of innovating to the American college campus, to fit the pressures and desires of the times, secularized when the liberal social gospel seeped into the organization's theology. Campus Crusade, far from secularizing but stumbling through entrenched conservatism, institutionalized in a way while also faithfully innovating. Intervarsity dedicates itself to solid doctrinal commitments within its mission and yet engages with the world in a way that is led by the student population.

The YMCA and Intervarsity grew out of a similar culture in Great Britain, one that was devotedly seeking to grow missions across the world. Although the roots of Campus Crusade were not directly connected to these other organizations, the movement began with a similar desire for Christ to be known across the college campus. Three very different organizations were motivated by the same faith and the same commission:

> Then the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had told them to go. When they saw him, they worshiped him; but some doubted. Then Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age."[23]

There are many insights to be gleaned from this fact: the Christian mission of the Great Commission can be achieved in a variety of different ways; for mission strategies to remain relevant and relatable, they must be directed by the mission of the organization and guided by the needs of the population served; in the messy world of ministry, the

23. Matthew 28:16-20 NIV.

confinements of doctrinal clarity can be freeing; and mission drift is possible even in the midst of the most altruistic of intentions.

Christian Mission Manifest in Different Strategies

While the three organizations are all motivated by the same Christian faith and commitment, it is clear that they are distinctive and different in a variety of different ways. This truth holds for other organizations as well. This evidences the fact that the Christian mission can be put into action in a variety of different ways, engaging in different sectors of outreach activity for the sake of different outreach objectives. The key is that these activities and objectives have a healthy mutual relationship with the organization's relationship with God: they must fuel worship and similarly be animated by worship.

For example, International Justice Mission (associated with Intervarsity) is motivated and guided by Christian faith and commitment but exists primarily for the advocacy of victims of human trafficking.[24] To say that the outreach of International Justice Mission is less animated by Christian worship would be a misunderstanding. There are a variety of organizations or movements that are founded in Christian commitment, aimed at the mission of Christ but focused in different areas. What characterizes the YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusades is that they are focused on evangelism and discipleship and growing Christian movements on the college campus.

It is also clear that these organizations have attracted different student populations due to their differing strategies. Again, the all-male YMCA was focused on bringing in

24. "Who We Are," *International Justice Mission*, 2017 https://www.ijm.org/who-we-are.

male leaders and successful students.[25] Similarly, Campus Crusade, typical in synthesis approach to culture, has a history of seeking out campus leaders and influential students.[26] Of the three, Intervarsity has been the most focused on racial reconciliation, and its engagement with society in this way makes it vastly more ethnically diverse than the other two.[27]

Some outreach activities are similar among the three organizations. Even with different approaches to culture, the organizations share similar strategies. Of these, three stand out most clearly: Bible study, large group gatherings, and missions. These activities fall within the sectors of fellowship & enrichment, charismatic evangelism, and education & training for the sake of community and conversion objectives.

Bible study or prayer gatherings are central to each of these organizations. This shows the importance of community and centering doctrine. The message of the Christian faith is something that centers and gathers people together for the sake of connection, inspiration, and conviction in each of the different movements. Straying from this practice was not helpful for the collegiate YMCA. For example, in the later years of the movement, YMCA small groups began discussing books about liberal or

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25. David P. Setran, "Following the Broad-Shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal* 32, no.1 (2005): 64.

26. "Campus Crusade's Virtual Timeline," *Bill Bright*, http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/.

27. Stetzer, Ed, "InterVarsity, #BlackLivesMatter, Criticism, and Three Suggestions for the Future." *Christianity Today*, (2016),http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2016/ january/intervarsity-race-criticism-and-future.html.

socialist politics.[28] This was not animated by the original Christian mission of the organization. Bible study, then, provides an opportunity for people to come together to be study that which is the foundation of the organization.

Large group gatherings provided great opportunities for the YMCA, Intervarsity, and Campus Crusade. The YMCA grew out of large group conferences gathering to discuss evangelism and discipleship. Intervarsity's Urbana conference is one of the largest college mission-sending conferences to gather in the world.[29] Campus Crusade's Explo' events expanded the organizations reach in the 1970s and 1980s, and Cru continues to gather at Winter Conference yearly.[30] These charismativ evangelism gatherings have the capabilities to motivate students as they see the greater picture of the organization. Similarly, gathering students to hear the most gifted speakers and teachers while also challenging great numbers to prayer and worship have a powerful effect.

Finally, a commitment to missions & missionary activities for the objective of conversion is a focus shared by all three organizations. The YMCA's beginnings were tied with movements sending college students across the world to share the Christian faith. Intervarsity provides a variety of different missions opportunities, many of which are immersive experiences created for the sake of students learning about a particular

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28. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 24.

29. "Urbana 15," *Urbana*, https://urbana.org/past-urbanas/urbana-15.

30. John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 146.

culture.[31] Campus Crusade is dedicated to its Summer Missions and STINT internships in which graduates live abroad for one year or longer.[32] In this way, all of the organizations live out the Great Commission through evangelism, sharing Christ and the Christian faith across the world. Even with different Christian cultural relationships, the organizations share similar aims.

Doctrinal Clarity

The original "declared purpose" of the YMCA in North America was "the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men."[33] It is difficult to compare this purpose to the purpose of Intervarsity, which has a purpose statement that mentions the name of Christ many times and is supported by its doctrinal basis, which was expanded in 2000.[34]

One of the reasons that Intervarsity might be able to entertain social issues of the day in a way that is different than the discussions that caused mission drift in the YMCA is that it has the doctrinal basis to ensure its commitment to the Christian faith and open up space for critical and transformative thought toward the culture. Student leaders within Intervarsity are even required to sign a statement of faith, a practice that has even

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31. "Missions," *Intervarsity*, 2016, https://missions.intervarsity.org/.

32. "Summer Missions," *Cru*, 2015, https://www.cru.org/opportunities/mission-trips/summer.html.

33. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the YMCA in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 18.

34. "Our Doctrinal Basis," *Intervarsity*, 2017, https://intervarsity.org/about/our/our-doctrinal-basis.

caused legal issues for the organization across the country.[35] However, the doctrinal basis and the organization's commitment to it centers Intervarsity to remain true to the mission, pointing all participants back to a contemplation of truth, providing a clear and healthy relationship between outreach and worship.

While the doctrinal basis is decidedly Christ-centered, it draws no denominational boundaries. It does not explicitly exclude any groups of Christians from leading or participating in Intervarsity's missions. In fact, it does nothing to keep non-Christians from being a part of Intervarsity. However, it provides a mutual understanding for students and staff to reflect on and assent to in the case that they are discerning leadership opportunities in Intervarsity. In this way, those who are curious about what connects those leaders and staff who are a part of Intervarsity can see the doctrinal basis as a starting point. While the doctrinal basis might seem to be confining, it is in fact the opposite.

Because leadership has to continually ensure that their work and their teaching is in line with the Christ-centered doctrinal basis of Intervarsity, they are free and able to engage with social issues so far as they are tethered to their commitment to Intervarsity's doctrine. Clear, Christ-centered doctrine, then, is not a way of excluding relevant discussion provides a way to shape relevant discussion in line with the mission, pushing students to contemplate God's character in worship and allowing this to shape their outreach.

35. Ibid.

Mission Drift Despite Intentions

A final insight is that mission drift can occur despite the best intentions. The YMCA was considered to be wildly successful in its time. In its peak in the 1920s, the YMCA was one of the most popular student organizations on over 700 campuses across the country (at a time when there were many fewer campuses in the United States than there are today).[36] Even in the success of the organization, even with a beginning that was deeply rooted in the devotion of saints and a desire for the kingdom of God, even in the impact that the YMCA had on student life and the college campus, the YMCA was not too big to fail.

Mission drift by definition occurs gradually and over time, when small rejections, accommodations, or syntheses are made with culture. When an organization is so set on adapting to the needs of the college student, a transient and culturally embedded population, and yet less committed to its outreach objectives and how these things lead the organization back to worship of God, mission drift is more likely to occur.

Conclusion

How one views Christ's intention for the Christian's interaction with culture (Niebhur) shapes this person's view of Christ, which influences the character of their worship. If worship is the animating force of outreach (Scheitle) and outreach activities have the ability to bring a group closer to or farther from worship, these qualities and

36. David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization:' The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21, no. 1 (2001): 4.

their mutual effect on one another matter a great deal to the Christian parachurch organization, its mission, and its ability to faithfully innovate.

The stories of these three organizations contain truths and insights that have much to teach Christian organizations, secular organizations, Christian individuals, and non-Christian individuals about what it means to stay true to a mission. These organizations took on the great task of the Great Commission and have touched hundreds of thousands of lives. The Great Commission, a challenge from the words of Christ and a Christian command calls Christians to engage in some way with culture outside of the faith. An organization, then, must be aware of the way that it engages with culture and goes about doing outreach. This is a worthwhile effort in reimagining the world. To quote G.K. Chesterton again, "Progress should mean that we are always changing the world to suit the vision. Progress does mean (just now) that we are always changing the vision."[37]

37. Chesterton, G. K. 1959. *Orthodoxy*. Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books.

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