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Introductory essay. Crisis and creativity: opportunities and threats in the global study of religion’s

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ABSTRACT This article introduces the themes and articles of a special symposium on new directions in the organizational structures and pedagogical emphases of religious studies programs around the world. The thematic focus of this symposium is the range of ways that specific religious studies departments and programs have recently experienced dramatic changes, whether in response to financial, administrative, and other external pressures (‘crisis’) or as a proactive step, aiming at greater student success or manifesting an innovative vision of the nature and function of the discipline (‘creativity’). The authors begin by addressing the nature and status of the study of religion’s as an academic discipline. They then discuss some of challenges that it faces in light of economic and political pressures.

KEY WORDS religious studies; post-secondary education; religion and public education; Humanities; Social Sciences; pedagogy; universities

Journals such as Religion seek to publish novel research. Most of this research is produced by scholars working at universities, members of specific departments, often, but certainly not always, in departments of the study of religion’s. Typically, these departments are not solely focused on research: their duties include the administration of disciplinary or interdisciplinary educational programs. In this way, research, education, and their institutional setting (universities and departments) are interrelated aspects of academic work. As most academics have come to experience, developments regarding institutional parameters are not

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This symposium (except for the introduction and the article by Smith, the latter commissioned specifically for this issue) consists of revised versions of papers presented in two sessions (‘Crisis and creativity: the changing faces of religious studies programs’) at the Quinquennial World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) in Toronto, 15–20 August 2010. The sessions and symposium were organized by Steven Engler in consultation with Michael Stausberg, Tim Jensen, and Rosalind Hackett. For a variety of reasons, one of the scholars who agreed to present in Toronto was unable to do so and three of the papers presented there do not appear here.

We refer to the study of ‘religion’s’ (following Stausberg 2010) in part to recognize that departments and programs around the world vary in their choice to use the singular or the plural. More fundamentally, the idiosyncratic use of the backslash is meant to index a series of theoretical and meta-theoretical questions regarding the referents and framing of ‘religion’ and ‘religions.’
without effects on scholarly practice, both on the level of individual faculty members (in terms of working conditions) and on the level of the subject area (the field or discipline of the study of religion’s). Like many other subject areas, the study of religion’s advanced substantially in the decades following World War II. In the 1990s, however, it became clear that the decades of opportunity, growth, and unconditional state support of universities had come to an end (Gumport 1997: 113), and like other areas, the study of religion’s was faced with signs of crisis. Writing in 1994, Gary Lease complained: ‘Scarcely a month goes by that one does not hear of a department or programme in the study of religions closing or being mutilated’ (Lease 1995a: 299). The situation has remained fragile and unpredictable ever since, not in the sense that departments and programs face threats to their existence (a situation found in some countries but not others), but in the sense that changes to university systems have led to a greater degree of instability. Higher-education systems have undergone some fundamental changes in many countries, and these have altered the shape of universities and university education. In general, the institutional base of the field is increasingly volatile as it responds to market pressures and changes in post-secondary systems around the world. In the late 2000s, economic and political developments have, in several places, resulted in a renewed shared perception of crisis. As a result, we decided to take stock of some recent developments by looking at selected case studies with a view towards innovative new directions in organizational structures and pedagogical emphases. This symposium brings together scholars reflecting on a variety of the threats and opportunities that have led to such changes, ranging from pro-active innovation to responses to different kinds of changes in the educational systems.

In a sense, the present symposium updates a 1995 special issue of Method & Theory in the Study of Religion, guest-edited by Gary Lease, that aimed to provide ‘a description and analysis of the current state of religious studies in state and private universities throughout North America’ (Lease 1995a: 301). On the one hand, the present symposium was intended from the start as a sort of sequel to that historic special issue. On the other hand, our assessment of the issues – and hence our agenda in organizing this symposium – differs from Lease’s in four important ways. First, our focus is global, rather than North American. Second, we see the issues – both externally motivated crises and internally motivated creativity in program development – as now chronic rather than acute. Our sense is rather that programs and departments face a variety of threats and opportunities at different points in different contexts, against a background of some broad shifts to university systems worldwide and as a result of specific developments and situations. Our goal is to foster discussion of the complex range of issues and responses that are involved. Third, while that special issue solely focused on the fate of single departments – as obituaries or

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1. At the same time, this symposium reflects a longstanding concern in the pages of this journal. Religion has published, over the last four decades, a respectable series of articles on the international faces of the study of religion (Boespflug 2010; Chidester 1996; Cox and Sutcliffe 2006; Dickson 1975; Edwards 1972; Flasche 1996; Gardaz 2011; Hackett 1975; Moore 1975; Murray and Walls 1975; Parrinder 1975; Pye 1975; Ray 1975; Ricketts 2002; Secretariat of the Israel Society for the study of religions 1975; Sharpe 1975; Smart 1988; Stausberg 2007, 2008, 2009; Thrower 1983; Waardenburg 1975). This historical and institutional focus on regional and national manifestations of the academic study of religion differs from analyses of the nature and scope of the field in general, of approaches within certain sub-disciplines, or of the impact of specific thinkers or theories (though there is some overlap, e.g., Batunsky [1982]; Büttner [1980]; Prebisch [1994]).
success stories (Lease 1995: 301–302) – the present issue extends the view to include national and cross-national developments. Fourth, Lease saw the issue of institutional viability as inseparably linked to ‘the identity of religious studies as a legitimate discipline’: “What do we have here?”: a pastoral enterprise or an academic discipline? … Until we as practitioners face these questions head-on, I fear that there will be more death than life in the world of religious studies’ (Lease 1995a: 302–303). While Lease contrasts an academic discipline with a pastoral enterprise, i.e., a religious project, the question of whether the study of religion’s actually is an academic discipline might well require some further reflections.

The study of religion’s: an academic discipline?

The topic of this symposium – the state of programs and departments in the study of religion’s around the globe – presumes that such a field or discipline can be clearly distinguished from other academic departments and programs in countries around the world. Several factors complicate the claim that ‘religious studies’ refers to a discrete field with the requisite degree of coherence. In this section, we make a case that the study of religion’s is indeed a distinct academic discipline. Our purpose in doing so is not to contribute to that debate but to move past it. The positive answer is so obvious – once we take account of a broader and more realistic set of criteria – that disposing of this issue allows us to turn our attention to a more pressing one that is far too seldom addressed: the institutional status of the field in university systems around the world.

Religious studies or the academic study of religion’s is variously referred to as either a field or a discipline. The choice of words is important, and the question whether we are dealing with a loose field of study (which we here call religious studies) or an independent academic discipline (which we here call the study of religion’s) has been disputed since its beginnings in the later 19th century (Stausberg 2007: 303 n. 321). The question is important because the assertion and recognition of a disciplinary status carries along with it the legitimate demand for institutional independence and space, while fields of study are cross- or interdisciplinary and can work as umbrella structures in institutional terms. Mediterranean religions, for example, constitute a field of study that is performed by archaeologists, classicists, historians, philologists, and scholars of religion (among others). Or consider the currently blossoming field of ritual studies – a word initially used around 1977 (Grimes 1982: Preface [without page numbers]) – which involves at least a dozen academic disciplines and enterprises.5

Are there criteria for what constitutes an academic discipline? In a religious studies context, Robert Segal (2006: xiii–xvii) discusses three criteria that, in his view, are generally proposed: a distinctive method, religionist explanations of religion, and the alleged irreducibility of religion. Segal points out that these claims rest on shaky ground, yet at the same time he wishes to maintain the disciplinary status of religious studies. He appeals to Area Studies – ‘albeit one covering a

\[4\text{German equivalents would be} \text{Religionsforschung (field) vs. Religionswissenschaft (discipline); French and} \]
\[\text{Italian equivalents would be} \text{sciences des religions/scienze delle religioni (field) vs. histoire des religions/istoria delle religioni (discipline).} \]

\[5\text{Most scholars who work on (inter- or transdisciplinary) fields do so on the basis of specific disciplinary training and employment.}\]
worldwide area! (Segal 2006: xvii) – as a potential model, but he fails to recognize
that area studies are hardly ever seen as distinctive disciplines, so that his compari-
sion seems to challenge rather than boost the disciplinary status of religious studies.
In the end, then, we are left with the statement that ‘religious studies is a subject
matter, open to as many approaches as are prepared to study it’ (Segal 2006:
xvii), a state of affairs characteristic of a broad field of study (such as Hinduism
and ritual studies) rather than of a discipline.
Volkhard Krech addresses this issue in a different manner. Drawing on the
history of science and the sociology of knowledge, he characterizes a ‘discipline’
as having at least one of two, ideally cross-fertilizing, criteria: a genuine subject
of study and a distinctive methodology. Clearly, this is not the case with the
study of religion’s: it neither has an exclusive claim on a subject (with a range of
other disciplines sharing an interest in religion), nor does it have a distinctive meth-
ology. Given that it does not satisfy these criteria and therefore does not qualify
as a discipline, Krech suggests characterizing religious studies as an interdisciplin-
ary, integrative forum of research about religion taking the institutional form of
units of research and teaching that would cross the boundaries of different univer-
This is a very ambitious program, which Krech to some extent has succeeded in
implementing at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum (Germany). However, the question
remains whether the epistemic criteria set out by Krech and Segal are sufficient for
defining academic disciplines. Additional relevant epistemic criteria can include
shared theoretical frameworks including a mutually comprehensible vocabulary,
accepted bodies and domains of knowledge, paradigmatic examples (what
counts as X?), and negotiated but legitimate histories of research (including
model scholars/scholarship and no-longer model scholars/scholarship). In the
case of the academic study of religion’s there is also a negative epistemological cri-
terion: the distinction from theology (and sometimes from other sciences), which,
albeit a matter of constant dispute and negotiation, has contributed to the classi-
fication of the field of studies pertaining to religion into at least two perceived dist-
inct delineations.
A look at the higher education research literature and discussions in other fields,
however, reminds us that academic disciplines are not defined by epistemic prop-
erties alone. They also have distinct cultural and social (‘tribal’), as well as institu-
tional and organizational aspects (see Becher and Trowler [2001]; Chandler
2009; Lederman 2004; Post 2009). As cultural entities, disciplines have their specific
taken-for-granted preferences, attitudes, instrumentalities, legitimate practices,
moral orders (including visions of research ethics), modes of asking questions, stan-
dards and genres of writing, styles of thought, and tacit knowledge, which to some
extent determine professional language, terms of appraisal, notions of academic
credibility and credit, standards of excellence, intellectual substance, fashions
and classics, and recognized ways of achieving reputation and status and of assess-
ing the appropriateness of academic performance. As social (‘tribal’) entities, dis-
ciplines have their forms of cooperation and competition, heroes and foundational

6The only likely candidate is the so-called comparative method, but comparison as such is not a method
in a strict sense (Stausberg 2006; forthcoming). Moreover, comparative studies are the exception rather
than the rule in the study of religion’s.
figures, brokers, entrepreneurs, and gatekeepers, their rules and rituals of admission, their traditional wisdom, their pecking orders and elites, their performances of loyalty and rituals of rebellion, their fairs, festivals, and meeting places. As institutional entities, the sustainability of disciplines depends on their recognition by academic institutions such as academies, universities, and research funding agencies, which allow for the disciplines to be practiced on a daily basis. They are ‘institutions that demarcate areas of academic territory, allocate privileges and responsibilities of expertise, and structure claims on resources’ (Lenoir 1997: 58). As organizational entities, disciplines are represented by academic associations, typically both on a national and an international level. Susumu Shimazono’s article (2011) on the study of religion’s in Japan underlines the importance of the professional associations for the formation of professional identity as scholars of religion’s, even where there are very few departments in the discipline. Consider further the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) and its various affiliated national and regional associations. Practitioners of disciplines typically attend regular meetings (conferences) and publish in journals or with publishers that have an acknowledged disciplinary reputation (which brings the discussion back to the above-mentioned cultural and tribal aspects). Journal editors, series editors, and conference committees negotiate the intellectual territory of disciplines by safeguarding its professional standards and by excluding illegitimate immigrants from invading the tribe. While there are no hard criteria to establish scores for legitimate or illegitimate claims of disciplinary status with regard to these aspects, it seems to us that there is reason to believe that the social aspects of academic study of religion’s are sufficiently developed for its disciplinary status to be acknowledged.

Besides these epistemological and social (cultural, tribal, institutional, and organizational) elements, there is a third aspect to disciplines that often tends to be forgotten: their pedagogical dimension. A discipline is a subject that is taught at universities and that is transmitted and inscribed pedagogically (Fabiani 2006: 19). Recall that university education typically takes the form of disciplinary training (Post 2009: 754). As Gary Lease succinctly noted, ‘curriculum is the identity expression of a discipline’ (Lease 1995b: 322). Apart from learning the content of the subject, at least at the graduate level, students are socialized into a characteristic set of thoughts, behaviours, and sensibilities, where they ideally identify with a discipline and internalize its cultural and tribal characteristics. Unfortunately, in the academic study of religion’s this crucial aspect of our discipline is rarely discussed at conferences, meetings, or in publications. Research is generally considered to be the ‘core business’ of scholars (not only within our discipline) and often presented as the exciting part of our work. On the other hand, there has been a general

7In Britain, an additional association has been formed in order to represent the interests of the discipline in relation to governments and funding agencies: the Association of University Departments of Theology and religious studies (Hinnells 2004: 124).
8Exceptions include the AAR ‘Teaching religious studies Series’ (http://is.gd/hPUiG); Juergensmeyer (1990) on teaching the introductory course; and the Wabash Center and its journal Teaching Theology & Religion. The latter – a few exceptions notwithstanding (Berksen 2005; Berkowitz 2004; Burns 2006; Burr 2005; Carp 2007; Engler and Berger 2001; Engler and Naested 2002; Fort 2006; Patton, Robbins and Newby 2009; Ramey 2006; Samman 2005) – appears to cater mainly to theologians and other religionists who focus on teaching religion rather than teaching about religion’s. Of course, much attention is being paid to the very different issue of religious education in public schools.
tendency to sever the ties between teaching and research. Yet, research remains the premium activity, and academic credit is earned through the publication of one’s research output, while accomplishments in teaching are often appreciated in theory (and sometimes, on a local level, celebrated by awards), but clearly come second in practice; the higher education scholars Tony Becher and Paul Trowler claim that ‘there has been a steadily increasing stress on the primacy of research over the decades’ (Becher and Trowler 2001: 76). On the one hand, this neglect of the pedagogical aspect of the discipline may reflect the idea that good teaching is based on good research – an idea endorsed by most practitioners, including the present writers. On a more fundamental level, this points to the essential tension between tradition and innovation (Engler 2005; Kuhn 1977), between the stabilization of knowledge used in transmission (e.g., in textbooks) and the call for dynamic change in research (Fabiani 2006: 12–15). Once we take into account this broader spectrum of elements that make up the nature of academic disciplines, it seems clear that the study of religion’s qualifies to a large degree (which cannot be discussed here in detail), even if several of these elements appear to be more fully developed in other disciplines. Two separate questions remain. The first question is: how is the boundary of the discipline to be characterized, specifically in terms of its relation to theology as noted above? This is not the place to rehearse the relevant arguments. Our position is that such distinctions can, should, and will be made. In fact, dialogue and competition between disciplines is part of their ordinary way of functioning. Note that interdisciplinary work gains its potential strength from the combination of different perspectives; interdisciplinary work becomes relevant precisely where scholars from different disciplines (say, scholars of religion’s and anthropologists, economists, musicologists, philologists, sociologists, and others) do not say and see the same things. While interdisciplinary projects can appear as peaceful projects to achieve much needed larger pictures, ‘[a] lot of interdisciplinarity, or perhaps more accurately transdisciplinarity, is effectively mediated by intradisciplinary competition’ (Sahlins 2009: 1016). Sahlins also refers to what he dubs Veblen’s Law of Interdisciplinary Relations, which goes as follows: ‘To the extent that disciplines overlap in subject matter, they are unlikely to cooperate’ (Sahlins 2009: 1013).

The implications of this for the theology–study of religion’s relationship are evident. Sahlins’s amendment to this law, namely that ‘within rather broad limits of rationality, the possibility of collaboration between disciplines is inversely related to the quantity of their shared subject matter’ (Sahlins 2009: 1015) may be readily confirmed by available anecdotal evidence. In most cases, projects engaging disciplines traditionally dealing with subject matters apparently remote from religion like biology, economics, law, or music are likely to be judged as being more appealing and ‘innovative’ than collaboration with theology. Similarly, the apparent absence of competition for legitimate competence and responsibility (be it in terms of the curator or the critic) make these forms of collaboration appear less suspicious.

Figures from the mid 1990s seem to indicate that the U.S. professorate is somewhat exceptional in this respect: ‘When asked if their interests were primarily in teaching or in research, 63 percent of American academics respond that their commitments primarily lean toward teaching. This compares with 44 percent in England, 28 percent in Japan, and 33 percent in Sweden’ (Altbach 1997: 328).
In this journal, psychologist Lee A. Kirkpatrick has recently pointed to two ways of dealing with the subject matters in different disciplines, one being (to slightly alter his terminology here) the science of mode, the other being the of object mode. The science of mode can be exemplified by psychology (of religion): ‘Scholars within a field such as psychology share a variety of fundamental assumptions, organizing frameworks, theories, and research methodologies, such that psychological researchers can easily and fruitfully exchange ideas and data regarding very different topics’ (Kirkpatrick 2010: 300). The study of religion’s, on the other hand, is a typical discipline operating in the of object mode, i.e., a discipline ‘defined by its object of study rather than any shared conceptual approach or level of analysis; the diversity of often incommensurate background assumptions, intellectual agendas, and conceptual frameworks might easily lead one to wonder what all these people are doing under the same roof’ (Kirkpatrick 2010: 300). Where it is normal practice for psychologists and other participants in science of mode to explore (or to ‘invade’) all sorts of subject areas, scholars of religion’s are stuck in an awkward position: while the recent decades have demolished claims of a sui generis character of religion and emphasized the contextual and relational nature of religious facts, as a discipline the study of religion’s is not prepared to step over the threshold of its territory that continues to be bounded by a vague, or implicit, notion of religion. The resulting situation is paradoxical, because scholars of religion’s are exhorted to look beyond religion, but never to take the next step of transgressing the boundaries to an analysis of phenomena unrelated to religion.

It is worth making two quick additional points. First, distinguishing the study of religion’s from theology in terms of the insider/insider distinction is inadequate and arguably indefensible; a more fully developed discussion of this would draw upon the various elements set out above and would pay closer attention to current philosophical work on epistemology and semantics (Alles 2008: 5–6; Engler and Gardiner 2010; J.S. Jensen 2011). Moreover, as is clear in the Aims and Scope statement of Religion, the disciplinary boundary with theology is not the only relevant one.10

The second question that remains – once we grant the legitimacy of the study of religion’s as an academic discipline – is how widespread and well established that discipline is in university systems around the world.11 As Gregory Alles’ edited volume, Religious Studies: A Global View (2008), makes clear, the academic study of religion’s is indeed present in many countries around the world. At the same time, academic disciplines specifically dedicated to the study of religion’s are not found in all countries. That is, scholars who study religion are sometimes found only in sociology, psychology, history and other departments (reflecting on religion in the science of mode). In addition, according to Alles, ‘while the study of religions is a global enterprise, it largely lacks a global vision’ (2008: 2). This contrasts with the often-made claim about its cross- or intercultural nature.

10 RELIGION accepts papers on all religious studies topics, including the history, literature, thought, practice, material culture, and institutions of particular religious traditions and communities from a variety of perspectives such as social scientific, cultural, cognitive, ethnographic, economic, ecological, and geographic (but excluding theology or philosophy of religion).

Alles refers to the ‘decidedly parochial’ conceptions of the discipline ‘both explicitly in theoretical analysis and implicitly in scholarly practice’ (Alles 2008: 2). At the same time, Alles notes ‘distinct signs today that a global community of scholars of religions is emerging’ (Alles 2008: 2). The XXth Quinquennial World Congress arranged by the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR), where this symposium took place, is an impressive witness to this development.12

Crisis and creativity

The articles in this symposium, as a whole, suggest that the study of religion’s in various parts of the world – though it may lack a shared vision – does share a number of institutional and other constraints that provide much common ground, even where that common ground is too often a series of threats to the strength and existence of departments and programs in the discipline. At the same time, the nature of these threats generally has an important local dimension. Departments in many countries have faced different states of ‘crisis,’ and many have responded with a variety of creative and innovative programs for the study of religion’s, illustrating some common concerns with the value of the discipline in the education and training of students. For example, the articles by Smith (2011) and Stausberg (2011b) point to various developments that are spurred by political and economic realities in Europe. Some of these developments bear a disturbing resemblance to the economic pressures and the restructuring of religious studies that led to the loss of that department at the University of Alberta, as discussed by Willi Braun and Francis Landy (2011; Neumaier-Dargyay 1995). Yet, the end result has been the creation of an innovative interdisciplinary graduate program at that university. Other contributions to this symposium focus on different manifestations of this more proactive creative response to changing conditions. Michel Desjardins (2011) describes how the realities of the job market faced by graduating doctoral students (i.e., low chances of finding work and an emphasis on teaching rather than research for most who do find employment), led the Department of Religion and Culture at Wilfrid Laurier University to work toward incorporating teacher training in their program. Ulrich Berner (2011) describes the very original program in Kulturwissenschaft mit Schwerpunkt Religion (Cultural Studies with a Focus on Religion) that emerged as a result of institutional pressures toward interdisciplinarity at the University of Bayreuth. David Thurfjell (2011) addresses pedagogical responses to another important dimensions of change in the environment of the study of religion’s, the increasing pluralism among our student bodies. He describes a set of procedural rules that allow classes in the Department for the study of religions at Södertörn University to engage students in a productive examination not only of the religions that are studied, but also of the value stances implicit in Swedish society and the academic study of religion’s itself. Thurfjell’s paper implicitly reminds us of an often ignored but important force of change in higher education, namely the changing characteristics of students (Levine 1997). These changes relate to the importance that students assign to education in their lives, biographical patterns and student socialization, their

12See T. Jensen (2010) on the consistent and continued attempts by the leadership of the IAHR (since its early days) to turn this organization into an international and global one.
educational preparation and motivation, their learning styles, their behavior in the classroom, and their religious backgrounds and literacy.

The study of religion’s is generally located institutionally within an area of modern universities that has been increasingly threatened due to a number of factors. It straddles the humanities and the social sciences but is linked more closely to the former than the latter; and the humanities, in general, have not fared well over the course of the last century. As Frank Donoghue (2010) puts it, ‘the center of gravity at almost all universities has shifted so far away from the humanities that the most pertinent answer to the question “Will the humanities survive in the 21st century?” is not “yes” or “no,” but “Who cares?”’ David John Frank and Jay Gabler (2006), based on a study of 335 course catalogs in 89 countries between 1895 and 1994, note a significant global trend over the 20th century: the proportion of faculty members in the natural sciences declined slightly; that in the social sciences increased three-fold (sociology grew 20-fold, yet psychology hardly at all); and that in the humanities dropped by about 40 percent. It is important to note that this is a relative change, a change in the proportion and so a measure of the relative rates of growth of these different areas; the absolute number of scholars in the humanities, of course, increased over the period of their study.

Yet, the study of religion’s grew substantially precisely during this period of general relative decline. The dramatic growth of the field in both in North America and Western Europe (Stausberg 2008: 314), for example, occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. A number of related political, social, and intellectual factors, prominent in those countries contributed to the flowering of the field at just this historical juncture: increasing cultural pluralism due to liberalized immigration policies; the growth of area studies, due in part to both Cold War ideology and the increasing prominence of developing nations; a perception that processes of secularization were inevitable and desirable; and growing interest in eastern religions and new religious movements. Arguably, the growth of the academic study of religion’s not only reflected or analyzed, but contributed itself to these same developments (Porterfield 2001: 202–226). A key factor prompting this emergence of a distinct academic field in North America was a pair of U.S. Supreme Court rulings that pushed theology out of publically funded institutions in that country (Engler 2006: 452–454; McCutcheon 2003: 67; Martin 2001: 213; Remus, Lusby and Tober 1988: 1657; Smith 1995: 411). Many of these factors are particularly North American, underlining the need to address such issues in a contextualized manner. An important factor that may well have contributed to the growth of the study of religion’s during a period of declining fortunes for the humanities is precisely the fact that the study of religion’s placed increasing emphasis on social scientific approaches during its key period of growth, from the 1970s to the 1990s (see, e.g., Stausberg [2008: 310–313] on this trend in Western Europe). The crucial point here is that, whatever the reasons for the growth of the study of religion’s during the last half of the 20th century in various parts of the world, those factors have not protected departments

\[13\] On the influence of the Cold War see (McCutcheon 1997: 163, 187; Martin 2001; Neusner and Neusner 1995). Donald Wiebe (2001) critiques claims that there was a causal influence, and Russell McCutcheon replies that there was an influence on the growth of the field, if not on content (McCutcheon 2004). Whatever the status of this debate, it is clear that this factor is, at most, one of many and also that it is largely confined to the American higher-education system (Engler 2006; Stausberg 2008: 306).
and programs from threats to their vigor and very existence at the end of that century and the beginning of the new millennium.

Economic and political factors are clearly central in prompting the ‘crisis’ aspect of the developments that this symposium addresses. The language of accountability, funding formulas, market forces, ‘client satisfaction,’ and educational ‘products’ and ‘deliverables’ reflects a number of recent trends; other factors include, e.g., privatization of higher education; prioritization of funding for professional and vocational programs; emphasis on corporate partnerships and other ‘external’ funding sources; the increasing managerial impact of non-academic administrators and the decline of ideals of shared governance; a shift toward allocating resources on the basis of performance not prior regulation; and the emergence of for-profit universities. Obviously, the impact of these issues varies by country and is debated in more general terms. In addition, some of the basic assumptions regarding their desirability are called into question. For example, externally obtained resources (endowments aside) ‘are of questionable longevity’ and have hidden costs, and there are obvious and potentially counter-productive tensions between education and corporate agendas: e.g.,

- the seeking of outside support typically entails compromises between the institution’s own priorities and the priorities of the outside funding agency. The attempt to balance market forces with the need for institutional coherence remains in most instances imperfect. It is this imperfection that causes the problem of a ‘fragmentation of faculty allegiance’ ... between promising funding opportunities and institutional loyalties. (Weiler 2000: 335, 336)

To give another example, granted that university autonomy has significant value, arguments to the effect that cutting direct funding will prompt universities to stand more on their own feet are, at best, questionable because comparative research strongly suggests that there is no simple relation between diversifying the funding bases of universities and increasing autonomy (Chiang 2004).

The impacts of political and economic pressures on the study of religion’s have been especially dramatic in Europe in recent years, as discussed in two contributions to this symposium. Simon G. Smith (2011) looks at the situation in England (and to a lesser extent in Scotland and Wales). Drawing attention to such factors as changes in funding and the evaluation of research, he suggests that ‘the United Kingdom Higher Education system ... is likely to alter beyond all recognition in the next five years’. An important projected impact on the study of religion’s is the merging of department and programs into larger administrative units, with a resulting increased emphasis on interdisciplinary research (something that scholars of religion are relatively well positioned to undertake). Michael Stausberg (2011b) takes a close look at developments in Western Europe in light of the Bologna process, including the internationalization of higher-education policy, greater student mobility, attempts to rationalize degree structures and credit systems internationally, and consequences such as increased teaching loads and an emphasis on the assessment and external funding of research. Other contributors to the symposium, including Ulrich Berner (2011) and Oyeronke Olademo (2011), explicitly emphasize that a narrow emphasis on education as a means of acquiring marketable skills works counter to the strength and growth of the study of religion’s.

On the bright side, the value of the study of religion’s is increasingly recognized, at least in some context and in some quarters. A recent White Paper on
‘The Religion Major and Liberal Education’ by the American Academy of Religion finds distinct room for optimism regarding the status of the discipline in the U.S.:

By most indicators, the field is growing, perhaps significantly. The number of religious studies majors increased by 22 percent in the past decade (to an estimated 47,000 students), with like percentage increases in the number of total courses offered, course enrollments, and faculty positions in the field. The number of religious studies majors at public institutions has grown even more rapidly, by 40 percent during the same period, signifying a sea-change in the field. What was once a major situated largely within liberal arts colleges and denominationally-linked institutions is now establishing a widespread presence at state universities … In part shaped by this trend, the number of religion degree programs that are housed in free-standing religion departments also appears to be on the rise, with the total now topping 50 percent. (American Academy of Religion n.d.: 4–5)

There has been greater recognition that religion is not an independent sphere of private faith but rather an essential component of global political and economic developments, especially since 9/11.14 One important sign of the perceived value of the study of religion’s is new governmental mandates in several countries to offer education about religions in secondary schools. This has led to an increased demand for the study of religion’s as an essential component of higher education programs. For example, a provision for this in the 1988 Brazilian Constitution has led to the recent establishment of several new undergraduate programs in the study of religion’s in that country, all specifically aimed at providing this dimension of teacher training (Klautau 2010; Engler [2006: 462–467]). None of the ten Brazilian departments with undergraduate programs in ciências da religião – all focused on religious education – have graduate programs; and none of the country’s eight departments with graduate programs have undergraduate programs.15 This example illustrates the gap between critically informed research and instrumentally oriented pedagogy, a potential weak point in any academic field.

A more general development is an emphasis on the discipline’s value for providing students with skills useful for working in a multi-cultural society (for example, the Religione e mediazione culturale [Religion and Cultural Mediation] program founded in 2009 at Sapienza University of Rome, as mentioned in Stausberg’s contribution). A more theoretical argument along these lines is presented by Frank and Gabler’s (2006) unique explanation for profound structural alteration in universities around the world. On their view, the cause is a shift in fundamental cultural assumptions, above all a displacement of a religious-centered worldview, i.e., a shift in the basis of authority and agency from God to humanity. This reflects their premise that the university is not primarily a place for providing technical skills; rather, it plays a key role in the cultural constitution of global society. This perspective is valuable because it foregrounds the cultural dimensions of these issues. Certainly, the study of religion’s would benefit greatly if educational policy makers and university administrators were

14 At the same time, it is facile and somewhat disturbing to state: ‘In a sense, our job as scholars of religion became a lot easier on September 11, 2001’ (American Academy of Religion n.d.: 3).

15 This does not include the various Brazilian evangelical theological schools that have recently begun offering doctoral degrees in ciências da religião in addition to their undergraduate offering in theology. Most departments in the country use the plural, ciências da religião, with three preferring the singular.
to take this view seriously (whether it be true or not). Who could be better placed to assess the view that cultural and ideological aspects of secularization are the main driving force behind changes in post-secondary education worldwide?\(^{16}\)

Where a general emphasis on marketable skills (e.g., critical thinking, research and writing techniques) and on career-specific training (e.g., of religious education instructors) frames the study of religion’s narrowly in terms of marketable skills, an emphasis on the value of cross-cultural awareness potentially contributes to the formation of citizens in pluralistic societies. Yet, even this broader view conceives the value of the study of religion’s solely in narrow instrumental terms. This issue is worth exploring further. Greg Alles, in his response to the essays in this symposium, critiques the commodification and bureaucratization of higher education; and he makes a case that the correlated ‘narrowly economic instrumentality’ – above all an emphasis on employability – fails to recognize two broader values of the study of religion’s: ‘preparation for democratic citizenship’ and ‘the enrichment of life’ (Alles 2011). This is an important statement of two dimensions of the value of the study of religion’s – and of the humanities and social sciences more generally – that are all too easily obscured by some of the economically and politically motivated developments discussed above.

Yet, this does not go far enough, for four reasons. First, the goals of informed citizenship and the enrichment of life require substantial clarification, both in terms of what precisely the study of religion’s has to offer and in terms of how its substance, methods, and theoretical allegiances might best support this goal.

Second, the study of religion’s has instrumental values beyond employability, cross-cultural sensitivity, and personal enrichment. For example: (1) the discipline provides critical knowledge that is of great potential value in many contexts, e.g., regarding the ways religion in general and specific religions in particular are (mis-)represented in public discourse and other forms of empirically and theoretically informed ideological critique (Strenski 2004), regarding fundamental value orientations in different cultural contexts (Engler Forthcoming), e.g., the variety of ways that moral and religious thinking are interrelated; (2) it provides substantive knowledge regarding religious phenomena, which can be of value for the activities of, for example, government, business, and the media, above all in cross-cultural contexts;\(^{17}\) and (3) it offers conceptual clarifications, e.g., of types and implications of ‘pluralism,’ that can help policy makers (Engler 2006).\(^{18}\)

\(^{16}\)Frank and Gabler have been criticized for not adequately assessing the competing hypothesis that economic and political pressures are the main driving force of these changes: their empirical evidence is used descriptively rather than as a test for their main interpretive claim; they do not take adequate account of feedback effects, as professionals trained under changing university systems take up academic and administrative roles; they analyze only the humanities, social and natural sciences, leaving out professional programs – e.g., law, medicine, engineering, agriculture, and business – which are precisely the areas where market effects are most prominent; and their exclusive reliance on highly aggregated data omits important areas where their case would stand or fall (e.g., cross-country comparative data, national specificities and institutional cases) (Bradley 2007; Harwood 2008).

\(^{17}\)To give a concrete example, tourism is an increasingly important arena where knowledge about religion is traded, mediated, and popularized (Stausberg 2011b). The development of more substantial expertise on religion in tourism within the study of religion’s would have benefits not just by enriching the discipline per se but by potentially supporting those who study and work with tourism in a variety of contexts around the world.
In addition (4), applied, committed, and engaged scholarship in the study of religion’s has the potential to make real changes beyond the bounds of the university, in a wide variety of registers. Those with an interest in defending the role(s) of the study of religion’s in the world today would be well advised to think as broadly as possible regarding the range of potential benefits that the discipline might offer.

Third, though hardly fashionable, we should not lose sight of the claim that knowledge for knowledge’s sake has value in and of itself. It is possible to argue for the substantive – as opposed to instrumental – value of research in a discipline such as ours on the basis of certain conceptions of the nature of humanity, of reason, of society, of civilization, and so on. The distinction is best known in the tension between applied and pure research in the hard sciences. (Of course, the sciences, like the humanities, often find that appeals to the value of knowledge as an end in itself fall on deaf ears, especially where funding decisions are on the table.) At the very least, we should keep in mind that abandoning the high ground of a substantive or principled motivation for the study of religion’s doesn’t just force us to come up with instrumental arguments (i.e., championing goods that compete with economic goods or proposing indirect contributions to the latter). It grants a point that warrants vigorous critique, i.e., that the discipline can be motivated or justified only where it serves as the means to certain ends. Capitulating on this point takes for granted that any discussion of the value of the study of religion’s necessarily takes place within the framework of means/end, cost/benefit, instrumental thinking. It is important to distinguish the strategic value of playing that game from the basic premise that no other game exists.

Fourth, the sorts of regional and international variations in the study of religion’s that are illustrated by this symposium call into question the view that there can or should be just one answer to questions of the value of the discipline. The first section of this introductory essay made a case for the status of the study of religion’s as a discipline based on a much broader set of criteria than, for example, its having a unified object of study. This sort of nuanced, and therefore context-sensitive, conception is a prerequisite to any attempt to make sense of the study of religion’s as a global phenomenon. Once we embark on this task, we begin to see that a key threat of commodification, bureaucratization, internationalization, and other such developments is not simply that they undermine specific goods that are fostered by the study of religion’s; they undermine plurality in higher education per se. The study of religion’s has the potential to serve as an exemplary model for academic disciplines seen in a global context: its exemplars have a certain degree of coherence, sharing certain commonalities, while at the same time maintaining a rich spectrum of plurality. It is this plurality that allows the discipline, as a discipline, to be responsive to both local and global pressures and stakeholders.

18 As is traditional, and arguably constitutive, of the study of religion’s, we omit here the instrumental goal of assisting on the path or in the search for salvation, where ‘salvation’ is defined in terms of some sort of transcendent or super-human referent. This is proper to theology. At the same time, some arguably crypto-theological elements emerge when normative evaluations of religious and cultural pluralism – of the sort that often infuse classrooms in programs for the study of religion’s – move past instrumental views (e.g., getting along better would increase average wellbeing) to substantive views (e.g., a pluralistic society is a perfect, and so utopian, model) (Engler 2006: 457–462).
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References


