

ety or marry faith and science, but it may include financial, expansionist, or status motivations widely at play in private (and public) institutions.

The contemporary surge of CHE is part of the broader ongoing PHE surge, but not of a generalized religious surge. Catholic higher education, in parts of the world the most important identity type in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has been more in descent than ascent. The Catholic wing of today's CHE surge is largely in new institutions and in regions (Africa looming large here), with only a small prior Catholic or other private presence. In Latin America, contrasts between traditional Catholic universities and new Protestant or Evangelical ones are striking.

The extent of the global CHE surge is difficult to quantify—in particular in enrollment. The phenomenon is exaggerated by the striking number of institutions, as many of them, especially Protestant ones, are small. Nonetheless, authors can point to more than a few large CHE institutions. The CHE surge is more potent in the developing than developed world, notwithstanding important exceptions in Japan and South Korea.

There is a strong promotional side, but also often a defensive side, as a secularizing society and higher education system threaten (intentionally or not) the religious presence in higher education.

CHALLENGES

Unfortunately for the CHE institutions, they are vulnerable to two major kinds of challenges. One kind is rather general to PHE institutions. The other is especially fundamental to identity institutions. Both threaten enrollment size, but the latter especially threatens dilution of core mission.

Just as CHE grows from some causes similar to those behind other PHE growth, so it is vulnerable to challenges that face most PHE institutions, with particulars sometimes involving religion. A national swing to the political left may bring increased regulation and even hostility, especially where the left sees religion as regressive or at least basically irrelevant to higher education. CHE legitimacy may be shaky on grounds of both academic quality, as is common for PHE, or isolation from unifying public national missions. Finance is a common threat for private institutions and, as is common with identity institutions, most CHE institutions get little or no public funding. Academic drift stemming from aspirations to meet quality and status expectations pushes against focused priority on original re-

ligious mission.

At the same time and in several ways, the very forces that lead to distinctive CHE growth hold seeds of potential challenges. A diminishing Christian population, but also one with diminished fealty to religion, is a direct threat. As CHE institutions then reach out to meet enrollment and faculty needs, they must expect an accelerated dilution of mission.

The general challenges to PHE and the particular challenges to identity institutions like CHE institutions are formidable. Nonetheless, CHE in recent decades has brought a surge of largely fresh identity institutions, providing some renewed energy to the private sector. ■

Growing on the Margins: Global Christian Higher Education

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For its first 600 years of existence, virtually all of Western higher education was faith-based. Over the past two centuries, however, nation-states moved faith-based higher education to the margin, as they became the most powerful secularizing force affecting higher education. As a result, faith-based higher education has faced challenges from governments, but it also continues to experience growth on the margins when certain conditions are available.

What are the particular challenges facing the over 1,100 Christian colleges and universities in the world today? I define as “Christian” those universities or colleges that currently acknowledge and embrace a Christian identity (Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, or Protestant) and purpose in their mission statements, and shape aspects of their governance, curriculum, staffing, student body, and campus life in the light of that identity. I also define university to mean degree-granting institution with more than ecclesiastical or technical majors, and not a specialty institution, such as a theological seminary.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The most obvious challenge to Christian universities comes from the nationalization of higher education systems. In

most countries, a central ministry of education or some other government entity controls the authorization of degree granting and determines the legal framework for higher education. In authoritarian countries, such as in communist countries or military dictatorships, the state often promotes a purely *secular* public education and outlaws private forms of higher education, or highly regulates it—which then includes religious universities.

Even in democracies, the nation-state also shapes faith-based higher education in important ways. For example, since most democracies do not have an established religion, they tend not to support religious institutions financially. According to our research, only 7 percent of Christian universities receive the majority of their funding from the state. These institutions are usually in Europe (e.g., Belgium, England, the Netherlands, Poland, and Slovakia) or have some association with the British Commonwealth (e.g.,

In countries where Christian universities are growing the most, it is largely due to new freedom for privately funded universities more generally.

Australia). Furthermore, only 15 percent of Christian universities receive partial direct funding from the state, again a phenomenon concentrated in Western and Central Europe (e.g., France, Germany, Hungary, Norway, and Portugal), with India an important developing country example. Overall, Christian institutions around the world are now overwhelmingly privately funded and will likely remain so in the near future.

In countries where Christian universities are growing the most, it is largely due to new freedom for privately-funded universities more generally. For example, of the 71 Christian colleges and universities we identified that started outside of North America since 1995 (47 of which began in Africa), only four received some sort of government funding. Even in countries such as India, where Christian colleges receive government support, an increasing number of the new institutions are privately funded institutions. As a consequence, Christian universities prosper in countries that allow a large degree of privatization, as in Brazil, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and the United States, while they are virtually nonexistent in countries with very little by way of private universities, such as Austria, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

REMARKABLE GROWTH

Despite these challenges of self-financing, Christian universities continue to be created. Outside of North America, the current center of Christian higher education, at least 130 new universities have been created since 1990. Not surprisingly, most of the growth has come from countries where private education overall has expanded. Here are some highlights of the current creativity:

- Africa has been a hot spot, with 58 new Christian colleges and universities (16 Catholic and 42 Protestant) founded between 1990 and today. The largest of these institutions, the Saint Augustine University of Tanzania, founded in 1998, already has over 12,500 students.

- In Latin America, 30 new Christian universities have arisen since 1990, 11 of them Protestant. The largest is the Catholic University of Honduras, founded in 1992, with over 17,000 students.

- In Asia, 22 institutions have been created since 1990 (eight Catholic, 14 Protestant). The largest number started in India (12). While most of the Indian colleges are small, some of the universities in other countries have grown quickly. For example, Baekseok University in South Korea, which started in 1994, has grown to over 15,000 students.

- In Europe, the main action has been in the formerly communist nations, where 14 of the 17 Christian universities have been established or resurrected since 1990 (six Catholic, three Orthodox, seven Protestant and one joint ecumenical partnership between Anglicans and Catholics). In contrast, there are only three recently founded Christian universities in Western Europe. The largest is the publicly funded Catholic University in Ružomberok (Slovakia) with 7,700 students.

- Oceania has seen the creation of only two new universities. Both of them, however, are the largest Christian universities in each country (Australia and Papua New Guinea). The state-funded Australian Catholic University, a product of the merger of four preexisting Catholic institutions, is now the largest Christian university in the area with an enrollment of almost 32,000 students.

A few other generalizations can be made about this new and ongoing growth. Virtually all of it comes from the Catholic (51) and Protestant (79) tradition, and not the Eastern Orthodox (three). Outside of Africa, most of the Protestant universities tend to be much smaller than the Catholic universities (e.g., the average size of the new Catholic institutions in South America is 2,902 students, while the average size for the Protestant is 1,305). Africa is the exception, where the average size for both Catholic and Protestant institutions is virtually the same (Catholic 2,395; Protestant 2,382). Not surprisingly, the largest universities are almost all state-funded to some degree and accept students regard-

less of religious identity, while the smaller institutions are privately funded and perhaps more selective with faculty hiring or even admissions. Overall, although Christian universities no longer lead higher education, where nation-states allow it, they still grow. In some senses, they grow on the margins, but then these margins are not so small or insignificant. ■

Christian Universities Grow in Africa

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Christian higher education is growing briskly in sub-Saharan Africa. It exists at the intersection of two of the most dynamic social trends on the continent: the rapid rise of Christian adherence and the volatile growth of higher education.

A century ago, only nine million Christians resided in all of Africa, and most were in Egypt's and Ethiopia's ancient churches. By 1950, this number had tripled, to about 30 million. By 1970, there were 114 million Christians in Africa. Today there are an estimated 555 million African Christians—Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal, and African-instituted.

African higher education's growth has also been rapid. In the early 1960s, there were only 41 higher education institutions and 16,500 students in all of Africa. As of 2010, sub-Saharan Africa enrolled 5.2 million students in 668 higher education institutions, and these enrollments were more than double those in 2000.

African universities today are emerging from a turbulent half-century. The immediate postcolonial era brought high hopes with supportive governments and massive international investments. But by the 1980s, African universities were suffering deep financial cuts as falling commodity prices and inflated energy prices crippled national budgets. World Bank and International Monetary Fund advisors pushed debtor nations to reallocate educational spending toward primary and secondary schools. Meanwhile, authoritarian regimes suspected flagship universities of subversion and slashed their budgets. By the 1990s, even the finest African universities were in crisis.

To compound these problems, the growth of secondary education drove a relentless demand for tertiary enrollments. Governments mandated their flagship universities to enroll far beyond their carrying capacities. New regional institutions were founded and tertiary technical colleges were granted university status. Nigeria, for example, had founded 86 federal and state universities by 2015. Even with increases in funding, African higher education budgets lagged behind enrollment gains. Thousands of African academics left to find work elsewhere.

So what was to be done? In 2001, the World Bank re-emphasized the universities' role in national development. After years of neglect, Western foreign aid programs retargeted higher education. Private funders returned; the "Partnership for Higher Education," for instance, which engaged eight American foundations with universities in nine African countries, invested \$440 million between 2000 and 2010. African governments began to charter more private universities and technical schools. In Ghana, for example, there were just two private universities in 1999, but now there are 28.

As Christian movements become strong national forces, their educational aims are broadening to engage larger social responsibilities.

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITIES

Christian higher education has played a salient role in this rapid private growth. Nigeria has chartered 61 private institutions since 1999. Of these, 31 are Christian. In Kenya, there are 17 chartered private universities and 13 more with interim authority. Of all these, 17 are Christian. This trend is quite dynamic across the continent. Indeed, sub-Saharan Africa is one of the "hot spots" in the growth of Christian higher education worldwide.

From a broad social and educational viewpoint, this Christian university movement seems driven by the massive demand for access to higher education and the liberalization of government chartering, both global trends. The religious scene in Africa, however, provides its own drivers of this movement. It is part of a larger effort to institutionalize, and thus conserve, the huge gains in Christian adherence. Christian groups in Africa often look first to the educational needs of their children, but they also move quickly to train clergy. In 1950, there were only perhaps 70 or 80 pastoral education programs or theological schools across