THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUSLY AFFILIATED UNIVERSITIES IN THE PROVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN UGANDA: A CASE STUDY OF UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY (UCU)

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ABSTRACT

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Since the inception of formal education provision in Uganda in the late 19th century, there has been a close relationship between religion and education. Many primary and secondary schools owe their existence to religious organizations that were initially concerned with proselytizing and training of religious leadership. However, in the last two decades, religious organizations have established nonprofit private universities that provide training to not only theologians but also other professionals in secular disciplines.

Notwithstanding their increasing growth in numbers and student enrolments, religiously affiliated universities remain less understood largely due to meager scholarly works. Research on religiously affiliated universities has been done especially in the U.S.A and Europe but little research exists in Uganda therefore, this study examines the role of these institutions in the provision of higher education in Uganda in order to make a scholarly contribution.

Data were collected from a single university using interviews, document analysis, and observations, and were analyzed and interpreted using the available literature on nonprofit organizations and private higher education. Findings from the study indicate that not only do religiously affiliated universities perform multiple rather than singularly defined roles, they also share some similarities with secular universities notwithstanding differences in their curricula. Findings also indicate that although Uganda Christian University and possibly other religiously affiliated universities emerged under excess demand conditions, complement public supply of higher education, and often function like demand-absorbing institutions; their primary goal is to facilitate the expansion of their founders’ social influences rather than to provide higher education for altruistic motives.
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHEIs</td>
<td>Private Higher Education Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCU</td>
<td>Uganda Christian University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPOs</td>
<td>Nonprofit Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCHE</td>
<td>National Council for Higher education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.U</td>
<td>Church of Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCU</td>
<td>Council for Christian Colleges and Universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UOIA</td>
<td>Universities and other Tertiary Institutions’ Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUIU</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a succinct preamble of the study and highlights its background, the state of higher education in Uganda, the research problem, aims, objectives, significance, and organization of the study.

1.1 Background of the study

Since the last part of the 20th century, demand for higher education has been growing at a high rate although public funding for universities has been limited due to either financial austerities or government’s unwillingness.\(^1\) However, growing demand for higher education amidst limited funding for public universities meant that the demand for higher education was growing at a higher rate than the expansion of public universities and consequently created excess demand for education. As a result, many changes have occurred but none has dominated the field of higher education and has been as unpredictable and widespread as the growth of private universities. Insufficient funding of public universities and their subsequent failures to satisfy quantitative and/or qualitative needs of students and other higher education stakeholders have resulted in the growth of private universities, which have been the fastest growing sector of higher education in Uganda since 1988.

However, of concern to this study is the growth of religiously affiliated universities that were established by different religious organizations. Organized religion has been involved in primary and secondary education in Uganda since the late 19th century but within the last two decades, religious organizations such as the Church of Uganda (C.O.U), Seventh day Adventist Church, Catholic Uganda Episcopal conference, and Organization of Islamic conference have established

\(^1\) Mostly emphasized by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund through Structural Adjustment Programs of the 1980s and 1990s, which were used as preconditions for donor funding most especially to developing countries.
six private universities that function according to these organizations’ respective principles. Despite the legendary involvement of religious organizations in education provision in Uganda, meager scholarly work exists about religiously affiliated universities therefore, these universities are by far among the most misunderstood institutions; often maligned and probably admired for wrong reasons. Policymakers and the public tend to hold simple views of what these universities do while participants tend to generalize from their own institutions (Cuninggim, 1994).

1.2 Higher education in Uganda

Higher education in Uganda refers to post-secondary studies, training, or/and training for research provided by universities and other tertiary institutions licensed and/or recognized by the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE). Higher education in Uganda dates back to 1922 when Makerere Technical College was established by the British colonial administration to train civil servants after revelations by the Phelps-Stokes Commission that educational policies of missions and the colonial government were inadequate (Nakanyike & Nansozi, 2003). However, in 1937, the colonial administration expanded the school into a higher college for East Africa to award diplomas and certificates and in 1949; the college became a university college of the University of London (ibid). In 1970, Makerere became the first national university and remained the sole university in Uganda until 1988 when the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) was established.

Higher education in Uganda is categorized into public and private institutions: universities and other tertiary institutions. Other tertiary institutions include the following: Technical colleges/institutions, Teachers’ colleges, Commerce/business colleges, Co-operative colleges, Management/social development colleges, Health/Medical institutions, Agricultural colleges, Theological colleges, Media institutions, Hotel/Tourism institutions, the Law development centre, Aviation school, Meteorological school, and study centers offering various programs (The NCHE, 2006, p.9). Public institutions fall into three categories: autonomous universities; technical, commercial, and teachers’ colleges, which are administered by the Ministry of
Education; and cooperatives, agricultural, and other colleges that are administered by the Public Service Commission. All public and private institutions function within the legal framework of the Universities and other Tertiary Institutions’ Act (UOIA), 2001, which established the NCHE to regulate and guide higher education institutions through registration and accreditation and to advise government on higher education matters.

Currently, there are 25 universities and 113 other tertiary institutions with enrolments of 92,605 students and 44,724 students respectively (The NCHE, 2006, p.9, & 2007, p.1). The increasing number of institutions is largely driven by growing demand for education that is reflected by growing student enrolments. For example, enrolments have grown rapidly from 5,000 students in the 1970s to 137,190 students in 2006.

**Table 1: Enrolment growth in Uganda since the 1970s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>% growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>85,836</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>108,295</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>124,313</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>137,190</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The NCHE, 2006, p.13*
Higher education in Uganda like in most countries was initially regarded as a public good, financed by government, and provided by public institutions but from the late 1980s and early 1990s, government funding for higher education started declining and instead more resources were devoted to primary and of recent, secondary education. For example, a study of Uganda’s higher education by Liang (2004, p.92) shows “despite the increased enrolment in higher education institutions, the share of education budget devoted to higher education declined from 24% in the early 1990s to about 11% in 2000/2001 for public universities [further diminishing their capacities to accommodate growing demand for education]”. Consequently, private universities have emerged to the fore of higher education in Uganda mainly providing education to those who cannot enroll in public universities.

1.2.1 Growth of private universities

The first private school in Uganda started in 1925 due to growing dissatisfaction with the curriculum offered by missionary schools, 2000, p.99) but private universities are a recent phenomenon that only emerged in 1988 although they have since grown rapidly in numbers and student enrolments. They are one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing segments of postsecondary education stimulated by unprecedented demand for access to higher education and inability or unwillingness of the government to provide the necessary support. Although private higher education is a global phenomenon, there is hardly any universal definition and often, it has shifting meanings in different contexts. According to UNESCO (1985; cited in Blomqvist & Jimenez, 1989, p.3), a private educational institution refers to “… a school not operated by a public authority, whether or not it receives financial support from such authorities”. However, this study uses the term private university to mean, “a university registered under the UOIA the proprietor of which is a person, firm, or organization other than government and basically maintained out of funds other than public funds” (The UOIA, 2001, p.9).

Private universities in Uganda have grown mainly out of increasing incapacity of public universities to accommodate growing demand for university education (Tumwesigye, 2006;
However, Teixeira and Amaral (2001, p.388) observe that shifts from purely public to a mix of public and private universities emanate from one factor or a combination of several factors for example, economic stringency, or neo-liberal ideology, and pressures from international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Liberalization of the economy and enactment of the UOIA, 2001 created favorable policy frameworks within for the growth of private universities. However, existence of such policies does not imply that government created private higher education or shaped it roles because a policy that allows private higher education growth does not necessarily initiate that growth or determine the type of institutions that emerge (Levy, 2006). Consequently, individual entrepreneurs and organizations have established universities, which have transformed the higher education system in Uganda from being homogenously public to a situation where private universities outnumber public universities and enroll significant\(^2\) proportion of students.

Notwithstanding differences in size, roles, geographical location, organizational pattern, and means of control, private universities share two common features: they rely heavily on private funds especially tuition fees and ordinarily remain under immediate control of their founders (religious or nonaffiliated) not of a government agency or board (Carper & Hunt, 1998, p.2). Nonetheless, private universities are not necessarily autonomous and seldom very private because they receive public subsidies (though not often) and function under public policies, which affect their roles.

### 1.2.2 Religiously affiliated universities

The participation of religious organizations in providing education in Uganda is well known because the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Roman Catholic Society (RCS) established the first primary and secondary schools in Uganda largely as tools for proselytizing activities (Hansen, 1984, p.225). By 1920, Christian missionaries were in charge of setting up,

\(^2\) In 2005/2006 academic year, student enrolments in private universities were 22,344 (28.6%) students out of 78,107 students in the university sector (NCHE, 2005:12).
administering, and financing of schools with little financial assistance from the colonial government. The colonial government had no commitment to establish and manage schools, a fact reflected in the 1901 statement by the then Secretary to the foreign office; “Education is certainly our business in the last resort, but if the missionaries will do it for us, it would be better to give them facilities in the form of tax rebate” (Ssekamwa, 2000, p.48).

However, the education provided by missionaries mostly emphasized three popular R’s (reading, writing, and arithmetic) and Bible knowledge because they regarded intellectualism as “worldly” (Van Der Walt, 2002, p.198). At first, religious organizations were not involved in secular higher education but rather in Seminaries and Theological colleges until 1988 when the Organization of Islamic Conference (Islam) established IUIU, the first private and religiously affiliated university in Uganda. Religiously affiliated universities refer to universities established by religious institutions such as the Church, Mosque, or any other organization with a religious background. In the book, The future of Christian higher education, Sloan (1999; cited in Johnston, 2006) suggests six commonly used, although inadequate, components of distinctive components Christian higher education:

A reference to the history and tradition of that institution .., a reference to the composition of the governing board .., relationship of the institution to an ecclesiastical body or denomination .., reference to the ‘atmosphere’, ‘ethos’ or the environment of the institution .., understood in terms of Christian or religious activities.., and has to do with the curriculum (p.2).

Although these institutions aim at achieving specifically defined educational goals based on their respective denominational principles, worthy discharge of their responsibilities as universities requires maintenance of consistently high standards of instruction and testing, intellectual alertness and thoroughness (Filson, 1945, p.8). Religiously affiliated universities in Uganda largely belong though not exclusively to Christian institutions: the C.O.U (Protestant), the Catholic Uganda Episcopal conference (Catholic), and the Seventh - day Adventist church, but
also the Organization of Islamic conference (Islam). Currently, there are six religiously founded universities: IUIU, Ndejje University, Uganda martyrs university, Bugema University, Busoga University, and Uganda Christian University (UCU) with a combined enrolment of 36.2% (13,252 students) of all students in private universities in Uganda in 2006/2007 (The NCHE, 2006, p.46; & 2007, p.1). Notwithstanding their growth, these universities remain less understood, their roles unclear, and their importance obscured by either their enrolments or religious backgrounds.

1.3 Research problem, objectives, and significance

Based on background information discussed above, the following research question was formulated with an aim of contributing to improved understanding of religiously affiliated universities in Uganda:

What role do religiously affiliated universities play in the provision of higher education in Uganda?

Religiously affiliated universities contribute enormously towards higher education in Uganda but without adequate information, our perceptions of these institutions will remain poor consequently, questions such as why religious organizations establish universities from which they do not derive pecuniary benefits, will remain unanswered. Therefore, this study will underscore the rationales for growth of religiously affiliated universities, role of religion in their curricula, and their challenges and opportunities and consequently analyze the role performed by these institutions in the provision of higher education.

The study is envisaged to generate data, which can support or engender future research on religiously affiliated universities and improve our understanding of these institutions. On a personal level, the study will strengthen and enhance my research abilities and provide grounding for future research undertakings.
1.4 Organization of the study

The study is organized into six chapters arranged in the following order: Chapter 1 provides background information to the study including higher education in Uganda and the growth of religiously affiliated universities. The chapter also discusses the research problem, aims, objectives, significance of the study. Chapter 2 discusses the methodology employed in data collection, challenges, and limitations of the study. Chapter 3 presents the study’s theoretical framework using theories of nonprofit organizations (NPOs). Chapter 4 presents the review of literature that surrounds and supports studies on growth, roles, and contributions of private higher education. Chapter 5 presents an overview of the case study university, findings to the study’s questions, and analysis of data using the theoretical framework and literature presented in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively. Chapter 6 presents conclusions and recommendations based on findings of the study.
2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research design

Research methodology is often classified into quantitative and qualitative methods, which can be used in tandem or separately. However, this study used qualitative research methods because they are flexible rather than tightly prefigured and they enable data presentation in detailed and descriptive ways. The study used case study\(^3\) approach because of its suitability for triangulation of research methods for example, interviews, document reviews, and observations, which were used in this study for data collection. As noted by Yin (1984, p.20), “the case study’s unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations”. However, due to time constraints, not all the six religiously affiliated universities could be studied therefore, a single case university was studied in a thorough and detailed way. The advantage of using a single case approach is that it generates data in a detailed way such that study reports take readers into the study setting with “vividness and detail that do not exist in formal analytic formats” (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.159) although the findings cannot be generalized to other situations.

The study used purposive sampling to select the case university assumed rich in information. Selection was based on premise that higher student enrolments often mean diversified student needs and institutional responses and therefore, UCU was selected because it has the biggest enrolment among religiously affiliated universities. As noted by Patton (1990, p.181), the fact that sample sizes studied by most qualitative evaluators are too small to permit generalizations does not imply that researchers should pick samples that are easy to access and inexpensive to study.

\(^3\) Empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context…and uses multiple sources of evidence (Yin 1981a, 1981b; cited in Yin 1984:23).
2.2 Data collection

The study used triangulation or combination of qualitative methods; interviews, document analysis, and casual observations to collect data to minimize weaknesses associated with the use of a single research method. The logic of triangulation, Denzin (1978b) notes, “Is based on the premise that no single method ever adequately solves the problem and because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods should be used in every investigation” (cited in Patton, 1990, p.187).

2.2.1 Qualitative interview

Rubin and Rubin (2005:4) define qualitative interviews as “conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion [elicits depth and detail about the research topic by following up on answers given by the interviewee during the discussion]”. This study used a semi-structured qualitative interview approach using an interview guide because of its relevance to studies that deal with specific and clearly defined topics. Its flexibility enabled this study to collect rich data through probes and record them in their authenticity.

Eight interviews in total were conducted with the following interviewees; the University Public Relations officer, the Coordinator of the Honors College, and Deans of the following faculties; Education and Arts, Social Sciences, Business and Administration, Law, Science and Technology, and Bishop Tucker School of Divinity and Theology. These interviewees were chosen on the premise that their academic and administrative positions would enable them to report on the history, current situation, and the future of the university from a well-informed viewpoint. As Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.37) argue, “because responsive interviewing is about learning what people think about their experiences and what rules they operate under, the model implies finding people who have had particular experiences or are members of specific groups whose rules, traditions, and values are of interest [to the study]”. However, to stimulate

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4 List of questions used to conduct interviews as presented in appendix 1, which ensures that vital topics are raised.
respondents to give more information without involving myself much in the interaction and data, two types of probes: *silent*\(^5\) and *phased-assertion*\(^6\) were used to collect detailed data and avoid shallowness and ambiguities that usually characterize poorly conducted interviews (Russell, 2000, p.196).

All interviews were recorded on tapes using a voice recorder to maintain interviewees’ verbatim responses, which help to make accurate data interpretation and conclusions. As noted by Patton (1990:347), “no matter the style of interviewing used and no matter how careful one words interview questions, it all comes to naught if the interview fails to capture the actual words of the interviewee”. Recorded data were transcribed word by word to maintain original wordings and meanings because slight changes might critically influence the study’s findings. A study by Marshall and Rossman (2006, p.110) shows, “we do not speak in paragraphs, nor do we signal punctuation as we speak [and therefore] the judgments involved in placing something as simple as a period or semicolon are complex and shape the meaning of the written word, and hence, of the interview itself”. In addition to a voice recorder, notes were made about important remarks, interviewees’ facial expressions, environment in which interviews took place, interruptions, and challenges, none of which could be tape-recorded.

### 2.2.2 Document review and observations

The study used the following documents to supplement and support data from interviews: the UCU prospectus 2006-2008, the UCU Charter Notice 2005, UCU strategic plan 2006-2015, the Higher Education annual reports by the NCHE, 2005 & 2006, and the UOIA, 2001. These documents enabled the study to widen its data scope and make informed conclusions. It also facilitated data collection without interfering with the day-to-day running of the university.

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\(^5\) Asking questions and allowing interviewees’ time to reflect and respond without interviewer’s interference. Silent probes produce more data but they can be discomforting because it is difficult to know whether the interviewee has finished answering the question (Russell, 200, p.199).

\(^6\) In Phased assertion probes (Kirk and Miller, 1986; cited in Russell, 2000, p.199), the researcher acts as if he already knows something to get people open up.
Through field visits, I observed and recorded relevant events, behaviors such as worship hours, and the following features libraries, lecture rooms and laboratories to get extra information and verify data acquired through other sources.

2.3 Ethical issues and challenges faced

“The biggest problem in conduct of a science of human behavior is not selecting the right sample size or making the right measurement – it is doing those things ethically” (Russell, 2000, p.22). Permission to conduct interviews was sought, first from the Director of the Postgraduate School and later from faculty Deans by explaining the purpose of the study and thus, the interviews. In addition, the researcher sought interviewees’ consent prior to using a voice recorder and gave them assurances of confidential treatment of interview materials such as recorded tapes and interview notes.

It was challenging to get permission from the School of Postgraduate Studies because of the tight schedule of the dean and as such, it took me close to two weeks to get permission and start the interviews because faculty Deans could not accept my request without a clearance letter. In addition, it was impossible to get documents such as concrete financial reports with detailed income sources, their contributions, and expenditure patterns possibly because the university never gives out such detailed documents. It was also impossible to get the institution’s founding documents containing the founders’ intentions and the institution’s early history because they were not available in the archive’s department. The study also faced literature-related challenges because previous works and information about religiously affiliated universities in Uganda hardly exist and therefore, few references were made to other universities.
2.4 Data analysis

Data analysis involves moving from raw data to evidence-based interpretations of interviewees’ responses in vivid ways that reveal patterns and meanings within data. Therefore, it helps to reduce volumes of information, identify significant patterns, make sense of massive amounts of data, and construct a framework for communicating the meaning of what the data reveal (Patton, 1990, p.371). Data were organized using concepts derived from literature on private higher education, NPOs, and notions that arose from interviews and documents because it would not be appropriate to rely entirely on theory.

In addition, the study used traditional microanalysis to scrutinize interviews line-by-line in order to discover meanings of responses. Prior to data analysis, the study presents a detailed description of findings to enable readers make their own judgments. According to Patton (1990, p.375), “the discipline and rigor of qualitative analysis depends on presenting solid descriptive data in such a way that others reading the results can understand and draw their own conclusions”.

2.5 Validity and reliability limitations

Discussion of limitations is vital because it enables researchers realize weaknesses of their studies because there are no perfectly designed research projects. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006, p.42), “a discussion of the study’s limitations demonstrates that the researcher understands … that she will make no overweening claims about generalizability or conclusiveness about what she has learned.” The major limitation of this study is that its findings cannot be generalized to other religiously affiliated universities. As noted by Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.193), “generalization of qualitative findings to other populations, settings, and treatment arrangements – that is, its external validity – is seen by traditional canons as a weakness in the approach.” The study focused on a single-case university yet there are six religiously affiliated universities in Uganda and as such, its findings cannot be representative.
enough of situations in other universities though these institutions share certain features. However, as noted by Yin (1984, p.21), case studies do not represent samples and should not be generalized to populations; instead, researchers should expand theories and generalize findings to theoretical propositions. Therefore, the study’s findings will not be generalized to other universities but to the theory of NPOs to gauge the university’s conformity.

Interviews have a reliability limitation in that responses are filtered through interviewees’ views and as such, interview data are subjective. Qualitative interviews also depend on interviewers’ interpersonal abilities and skills, which can influence results of the interview. However, triangulation of methods will help to reduce reliability limitations of interviews.
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Nonprofit organizations

Literature of NPOs provides a theoretical framework for analyzing the roles of religiously affiliated universities because higher education is, with a few exceptions, offered on a nonprofit basis therefore, most private universities qualify as NPOs (Geiger, 1985, p.386). Hall (1987) defines a nonprofit organization as a body of individuals who associate for any of the three purposes:

(i) To perform public tasks that have been delegated to them by the state,
(ii) perform public tasks for which there is a demand that neither the state nor for-profit organizations are willing to fulfill, or
(iii) to influence the direction of policy in the state, the for-profit sector, or other nonprofit organizations (p.3).

Boris & Steuerle (2006) define NPOs as, “those entities organized for public purposes, are self-governed, and do not distribute surplus revenues as profits. They are independent of government and business, although they may have close relationships with both” (p.67). Hansmann (1980, p.838) succinctly defines a nonprofit organization as, “an organization that is barred from distributing its net earnings, if any, to individuals who exercise control over it, such as members, officers, directors, or trustees.” NPOs are not prohibited from earning profits; rather, they must simply devote any surplus to financing future services or distribute it to non-controlling persons. The inability to distribute profits is the hallmark of NPOs and as such, “theories of nonprofit organizations are essentially theories of the way in which the nondistribution constraint⁷ affects the behavior and role of organizations” (Hansmann, 1987:28). Based on sources of finances and

⁷ Inability (due to implicit and explicit restrictions) of NPOs to distribute profits to those who exercise control over them (Hansmann, 1980, p.838).
control of organizations, Hansmann (1980, p.840) classified NPOs into four categories: Organizations that receive a substantial funding from donations he referred them as “donative” nonprofits especially organizations for the relief of the needy such as the Red Cross and CARE\(^8\). Organizations that derive much of their funding from sale of goods and/or services, for example, nursing homes, colleges, and universities are “commercial” NPOs. Organizations whose ultimate control, for example, the election of boards of directors/trustees is in the hands of the organization’s patrons are referred to as “mutual” nonprofits. Organizations with self-perpetuating boards and as such free from patron control are termed “entrepreneurial” nonprofits.

However, these are ideal rather than mutually exclusive categories because many private universities rely on both tuition and donations and as such, belong to both “commercial” and “donative” categories. For example, UCU charges tuition fees, receives donor funding, and has a self-perpetuating board of trustees, which qualify it as a “commercial”, “donative”, and “entrepreneurial” NPO. Consequently, the intersection of aforementioned classifications forms categories of nonprofits: (1) donative mutual; (2) donative entrepreneurial; (3) commercial mutual; and (4) commercial entrepreneurial (Hansmann, 1980, p.842).

**Table 2: A four-way categorization of nonprofit firms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donative</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
<th>Mutual</th>
<th>Entrepreneurial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common cause</td>
<td>American Automobile Association</td>
<td>National Audubon society</td>
<td>CARE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Audubon society</td>
<td>Consumers’ Union</td>
<td>Political clubs</td>
<td>March of Dimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political clubs</td>
<td>Country Clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Art Museums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>National Geographic society</td>
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<td>Hospitals and Nursing Homes</td>
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Source: Hansmann, 1980, p. 482

\(^8\) An international relief and humanitarian organization committed to fighting global poverty.


3.2 Theories of NPOs

Demand and supply theories developed to explain growth, behaviors, and roles of NPOs in market economies are based largely on concepts of government failure, market failure, and the existence of willing and committed entrepreneurs. The first group of theories (Weisbrod, 1977; James & Rose-Ackerman 1986) explores the relationship between nonprofit and government provision. Accordingly, nonprofit provision arises out of consumer dissatisfaction with the amount and variety of services provided by government entities. The second group of theories (Hansmann, 1980, 1987; Fama and Jensen, 1983a; Krashinsky, 1986; Nelson and Krashinsky, 1973) captures the relationship between nonprofits and for-profits and highlights the following concepts: information asymmetries, contract failure, and principal-agent relationship and their effect on organizational form (cited in James and Rose-Ackerman, 1986, pp.19-20). The third theory analyses nonprofit growth based government decisions to direct grants and subsidies and delegate production to NPOs instead of for-profit organizations.

Weisbrod (1977) developed the first general economic theory of the role of NPOs, the public goods theory, which suggests that NPOs serve as private producers of public goods. According to the theory, government agencies tend to provide public goods only at a level that satisfies the median voter and consequently, there will be some residual unsatisfied demand among those individuals whose taste for such goods is greater than the median (Hansmann, 1987, pp.28-29). The theory argues that in democratic systems, the public sector can adequately play the role of the public goods’ supplier only if majority of the population support production of particular. However, if major differences exist as to which goods the public sector should provide or not, many unmet needs and demands for public goods will prevail and as such, create conditions for the growth of NPOs

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9 Situations in which access to information by one party to a transaction is better than access by another party, for example, consumers often have less information compared to sellers about characteristics of goods/services. Information asymmetries enable sellers to exploit consumers’ relative ignorance by misrepresenting the product as something better and more useful than it actually is (Ben-Ner, 2006, p.43).

10 Inability of consumers to draw up contracts with suppliers and monitor them because of information asymmetries.
The argument presented by the public goods theory is that demand for public goods in modern societies is so extensive and heterogeneous that states cannot satisfy it fully without supplementary production by NPOs. In democracy, there are individuals who would prefer more production and would be willing to pay for its financing (Hölttä, 1990) and therefore, NPOs arise to satisfy excess demand by providing goods and services in amounts that supplement public production. There might be differences in tastes and preferences regarding a public or quasi-public good and therefore, NPOs might arise to satisfy citizens’ demands if public production does not cater for their preferences (Hölttä, 1990). Governments have tendencies to provide public goods to the extent demanded by the majority of citizens, or the median voter, and as a result, individuals having minority demands for more of these goods, for higher quality goods, or for goods of a different kind may pursue their preferences through nongovernmental means (Geiger, 1991, p.234). Theoretically, the public goods theory principally implies that a world with both governmental and voluntary sectors will have higher levels of public services than the one with only governmental sector (Rose-Ackerman, 1986).

James (1989a:5) observes that most services provided by NPOs are quasi-public goods, that is, goods with private and social benefits and as such, can be financed by private or public sectors. Demand for private services represents a market response to situations in which government does not produce enough quantity or the right kind of services demanded, therefore, people are willing to pay fees for such services from the private sector. Therefore, NPOs arise in situations of either excess or differentiated demand for quasi-public goods due to government failure. Excess demand occurs in situations where demand for quasi-public goods far exceeds government supply consequently; NPOs emerge to supplement public production. Excess demand situations account for growth of private higher education institutions (PHEIs) in developing countries where public sectors have remained small and selective or have expanded at much slower rates than growth in demand for education. Heterogeneous demand arises in situations where government production is too standardized and uniform to meet consumers’ diverse tastes and preferences for quality, cultural, or religious needs. Theoretically, private

11 Goods that yield both private and social benefits and can be funded by either private or public sectors (James, 1989a, p.5).
higher education sectors are larger in countries where people’s preferences with respect to product variety and quality are more homogeneous, intense, and hardly accommodated by government entities. Quality and taste heterogeneity possibly explains the growth of PHEIs in modern countries (James, 1989a:5). Therefore, it is imperative to note that qualitative and quantitative characteristics of public production greatly influence the growth of nonprofit universities and shape their sizes and roles in different national systems.

Despite the usefulness of public goods theory in explaining the growth and behaviors of NPOs, the theory leaves two questions unanswered. First, services such as education, child day-care, and nursing, which NPOs mostly provide, appear to be private goods and are rather difficult to characterize as public goods\(^\text{12}\) in the usual economic sense (Hansmann, 1987, p.29). Secondly, the theory does not explain why nonprofit, rather than for-profit organizations arise to fill an unsatisfied demand for public goods. Moreover, the theory does not explain what permits NPOs to act as private providers of public goods when proprietary firms cannot or will not (ibid).

However, some of these limitations are addressed by the contract failure theory, which explains NPOs based on their relationship with for-profit counterparts unlike the public goods theory, which focuses on the relationship between nonprofit and government firms. The contract failure theory has its beginnings in studies by Nelson and Krashinsky (1973) and Nelson (1977; cited in Hansmann, 1987, p.29) on day-care centers, which revealed that quality of services offered by these institutions, could be difficult for a parent to judge. Consequently, they suggested that parents might wish to patronize a service provider in which they can place more trust than they can in a proprietary firm, which they might reasonably fear could take advantage of them by providing services of inferior quality (ibid). Arrow (1963; cited in Hansmann, 1987, p.29) mentioned similar ideas when he suggested that hospitals might be nonprofit in part as a response to information asymmetry between patients and providers of health care. Based on these ideas, Hansmann (1980) developed the contract failure theory, which postulates that NPOs

\(^{12}\) They are nonrival (consumption by one person does not diminish any other person’s consumption of that good) and nonexcludable (keeping some individuals from consuming the good is costly or impossible once it has been produced) Samuelson (1954; cited in Steinberg 2006, p.119).
of all types typically arise in situations in which consumers feel unable to evaluate accurately the quantity or quality of services produced either due to the circumstances under which a service is purchased, consumed or to the nature of the service itself. Nelson (1973; cited in Ben-Ner & Van Hoomissen, 1991, p.526) and Hansmann (1980) note that asymmetric information arises to the disadvantage of consumers in three major situations:

(i) When there is a lag between the time of purchase and when the good can be evaluated,
(ii) when the stakeholder (payer) and the beneficiary (consumer) of the good are different entities (individuals or organizations), and
(iii) when the good is complex and its precise characteristics are difficult to evaluate by stakeholders.

When commodities are complex and costly for consumers to gauge performance, organizational form may provide a signal of quality of output because for-profit providers would exploit consumers by supplying services of lower quality and cost than what they expected and paid for. For example, people investing in human capital through the purchase of higher education do not know what they are buying – and will not and cannot know what they have bought until it is far too late to do anything about it. In such circumstances, consumers (students, parents, and donors) will patronize NPOs because their nondistribution constraint guarantees consumers of protection against suppliers’ exploitation (Winston, 1999, p.15). Theoretically, profit-seeking firms will supply goods and services that satisfy contractual requirements when consumers can, without undue cost or effort:

(i) make a reasonably accurate comparison of products and prices of different firms before any purchase is made,
(ii) reach a clear agreement with the chosen firm concerning the goods or services that the firm is to provide and the price to be paid, and
(iii) determine subsequently whether the firm complied with the resulting agreement and obtain redress if it did not” (Hansmann, 1980, p.843). In most cases, these conditions
pertain to markets for standardized industrial and farm produce where consumers observe quality and quantity and therefore, can monitor contracts easily.

However, markets do not fail to provide goods and services demanded by consumers but often, they fail to create appropriate market conditions for non-quantifiable services such as education, day-care, and nursing homes that frequently exist in “trust markets.” When consumers do not have enough information to evaluate the quality of goods and services for which they are paying but the supplier has the information, there should be a trustworthy relationship between the two parties to make transactions. However, when consumers do not have capacities to draw up contracts and monitor their contents, they often patronize NPOs because of the trust embedded in the nondistribution constraint. Consequently, Easley and O’Hara (1983) interpret a nonprofit firm as a contract that specifies:

(i) the amount of compensation to be received by the manager,
(ii) that the remainder of the purchase price is to be devoted to other costs of production, and
(iii) that the manager is to expend at least the minimal observable level of effort – all of which features of the contract are assumed to be verifiable by the customer (cited in Hansmann, 1986, p.32).

However, managers of NPOs sometimes violate the nondistribution constraint and enrich themselves through excessive salaries, low-interest loans from the organization, personal services paid for out of the organization’s funds, or generous contracts for services provided to the organization by business owned by managers (Hansmann, 1980, pp.874-875).

Although the contract failure theory has its roots in the work of authors (Arrow, 1963; Nelson & Krashinsky, 1973 as cited in Hansmann, 1986) who are primarily concerned with the role of commercial nonprofits, its most obvious application is, in fact, to donative NPOs, which derive

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13Where consumers cannot draw up and monitor contracts but rely on nonprofit structures of suppliers that encourage profit-sacrificing behaviors and justify trust (Winston, 1999, p.14).
substantial funding from donors. In an important sense, a donor is a purchaser of services only that the services he/she purchases are either delivery goods to a third party or collective consumption goods produced in such aggregate magnitude that the increment purchased by a single individual cannot be easily discerned (Hansmann, 1986, p.30). Therefore, in situations characterized by information asymmetries, unobservable output, and principal-agent problems, donors would be in poor positions to establish if they services they financed have been delivered at all, or confirm their qualities. Easley and O’Hara (1983, & 1986; cited in James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986) note that in situations where output and managerial effort are not observable but inputs are, “the PMO (sic) will not produce any output nor will the manager expend any effort; instead, he will simply capture for personal gain any fees paid by prospective consumers” (p.21). However, the nondistribution constraint of NPOs guarantees appropriate use of donors’ contributions and eliminates monitoring costs that donors would have incurred. As noted by Fama and Jensen (1983a, & 1983b; cited in James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986) “the donor is the principal, the organization’s manager is the agent, and the nondistribution constraint is a control mechanism designed to rule out gross misappropriation and increase the likelihood that the agent will act in accordance with the principal’s wishes” (p.24). The fact that NPOs have a nondistribution constraint that guarantees trust could possibly be the reason why donors contribute significantly to nonprofit higher education institutions. For example, UCU receives many scholarship-funding contributions from foreign donors who despite their lack of contact with potential beneficiaries continue to donate possibly because of trust engendered by the institution’s nonprofit status or religious background.

Contract failure theory could also explain the existence of commercial NPOs in fields such as education, day care, and health-care because of their complexity and difficulty for consumers to evaluate. More often, the actual purchasers of these services are not the individuals to whom the service is directly rendered and thus are at a disadvantage of judging the quality of performance. Services such as education are provided on a long-term basis and it would be costly if recipients were to switch from one provider to another in case of dissatisfaction. Consequently,
consumers\textsuperscript{14} in such a situation patronize NPOs with confidence that they will get what they are paying for, tending to offset the contract failure inherent in such asymmetric markets (Winston, 1999, p.15). Weisbrod and Schlesinger’s study (1986; cited in Hansmann, 1987, p.32) to determine the applicability of contract failure theory to commercial NPOs using consumer complaints as a measure of quality of services in nursing homes revealed that NPOs had significantly fewer complaints than their proprietary counterparts did. The authors interpreted the results as tentative support and concluded that nonprofit homes are less likely than proprietary homes to exploit information asymmetries that exist between them and their consumers.

Notwithstanding its usefulness in understanding growth and behaviors of NPOs, the contract failure theory represents consumer expectations more than their actual actions. Hypothetically, consumers would patronize NPOs under conditions of information asymmetries but more often, people do not pay attention to institutions’ legal status when making consumption decisions. Unsurprisingly, some people patronize for-profit organizations and develop trusting relationships despite their abilities to monitor whether the services paid for were delivered as expected. Evidence from a telephone survey by Permut (1981, cited in James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986:23) indicates that people often do not even know which organizations are nonprofit, which are for-profit and consequently, unclear to prove that the former are uniformly more trusted than the latter. In addition, the contract failure theory overlooks the role of government in markets where nonprofits operate because it focuses on relationships between nonprofit and for-profit organizations yet in most cases, NPOs coexist with public rather than for-profit organizations. For example, in Uganda the higher education system is mainly composed of public and nonprofit universities with no self-proclaimed for-profit universities.

Although public goods and contract failure theories use government failure and market failure explanation respectively to justify existence of NPOs, the two theories supplement each other and vividly show that NPOs satisfy consumer and/or donor demand better than pure profit

\textsuperscript{14} Donors, students, parents, guardians, and often governments.
maximizing or governmental forms (James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986). However, Hölttä (1990) observes that both theories leave two unexplained questions:

(i) why private sectors are large in certain countries whereas in others -at the corresponding developmental level –they do not exist or they are very small with quite different roles, and

(ii) why higher education is not provided on a for-profit basis, although its private component and private benefits (Psacharopoulos et al. 1986) are remarkable (p.479).

Explanations to these questions are central to this study because no organization comes into existence just because of existing demand. As noted by Hansmann (1980), “for one thing, it takes supply as well as demand to make a market; to understand the nonprofit sector in full, one must know not only the circumstances under which patrons will seek the services of nonprofits, but also the factors that determine whether and how nonprofit organizations will develop to meet that demand” (p.897).

In a series of detailed case studies of nonprofit entrepreneurs in the American social service industry, Young (1981, 1983, & 1984, cited in James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986, p.52) reveals a wide range of motivations and backgrounds for establishing NPOs. The author categorizes entrepreneurs as “artists, professionals, believers, searchers, independents, conservers, power seekers, controllers, and income seekers, and argues that people with different entrepreneurial traits are attracted to different types of firms or industries” (ibid). The underlying idea of Young’s studies is that “people care about many things besides money and may start nonprofit organizations” (ibid). Global studies on NPOs (James, 1982a, 1984a, & 1986b; cited in James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986) reveal, “Most founders of NPOs are not randomly drawn individuals seeking personal gain but, rather, are ideological organizations – political groups, socialist labor unions and, first and foremost, organized religion” (p.52) . In a regression analysis to explain regional differences in the size of private sector in education (James, 1984b, cited in James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986), an indicator of religious entrepreneurship emerged significant in many
modern and developing countries, which suggests that founders of such organizations choose nonprofit status because their aim of maximizing religious adherents cannot be achieved in for-profit organizations. Therefore, most religious NPOs are concentrated in industries such as education and health sectors because schools are among the most important institutions of taste formation and socialization. Equally, “Hospitals are a service for which people have an urgent periodic need and hence constitute an effective way for religious groups gain entree and good will in society” (James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986, p.53).

Therefore, though profit motives drive for-profit firms, religious NPOs provide education and other social services on a nonprofit basis to maximize followers, shape their tastes, and maintain group loyalty. These organizations survive easily and serve their constituencies on a nonprofit basis because they have comparative advantages over secular organizations, both nonprofit and for-profit. As highlighted by James (1989b), religious schools enjoy the following opportunities:

First, they have a semi-captive audience; …, parents may prefer to send their children to school with a particular religious orientation. Second, some people may trust such schools [universities] and hospitals because of precisely because they are run by religious groups (i.e., because of their religious label, not their nonprofit label). Third, they have in the past, had special access to low-cost volunteer labor (e.g., priests and nuns) and donated capital, which have allowed them to undercut their secular profit-maximizing rivals and compete with government schools, even for students who do not have religious motivations (p.65).

Most often, religiously affiliated institutions established to keep members within the fold and/or attract new believers keep their tuition fees below profit-maximizing levels or mobilize students’ scholarships to attract new entrants though most often covertly. Consequently, availability of religious and/or other ideological entrepreneurs can be viewed as a supply-side variable that supplements market failure and government failure approaches to explain NPOs (James & Rose-Ackerman, 1986, p5).
Using data of public funding to NPOs in the U.S, Holland, and Sweden, James and Rose-Ackerman (1986, p.29) hypothesized that public subsidies possibly contribute to the formation of NPOs because they derive substantial funding from donations and can hardly survive without extensive government funding (explicit or implicit). An empirical study (Hansmann, 1982 and 1985 cited in James & Ackerman, 1986, p.29) using state cross-sectional data for hospitals, nursing homes, secondary, and vocational education shows that favorable property and income tax treatment significantly enhances the market share of NPOs. Observation by James (1989, p.7) indicate that NPOs thrive in countries where governments accept some financing responsibility for quasi-public goods but choose to delegate production to NPOs because they have lower production costs and can produce differentiated goods and services, which government might not provide or charge fees for. More often, when policymakers face political pressure to provide services differentiated by religion or languages, the most convenient way to satisfy these pressures is to delegate responsibilities to the private sector. However, in situations where such goods and services are difficult to define and measure, theory predicts that government will delegate production to NPOs rather than for-profit organizations because the legal status of the former guarantees that government subsidies will be spent on intended purposes (James, 1989a).

Based on the theoretical framework derived from the literatures of NPOs, the following empirical questions have been developed:

(i) What are the rationales for the establishment of religiously affiliated universities?
(ii) What role does religion play in curricular offerings of religiously affiliated universities?
(iii) What challenges and opportunities do religiously affiliated universities experience?
4. LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Roles of private higher education

The demand and supply theories of NPOs discussed above provide relevant explanations for growth and behaviors of nonprofit private universities and consequently, offer a starting point to understand roles that these universities perform in different situations and/or countries (Hölttä, 1990). Therefore, this chapter will highlight studies previously carried out on growth and rationales for growth of private universities, roles performed by PHEIs in different situations, and pros and cons of private higher education. According to the public goods’ theory (Weisbrod, 1977), private provision of public goods arises in situations when some groups/individuals in society have preferences that differ from majority consensus that normally characterize public provision. Consequently, private provision of higher education or other services emerge when there is dissatisfaction with production by public institutions due to qualitative, quantitative, or ideological reasons.

In a study on Private higher education, Geiger (1985, p.386) found three situations in which private preferences for higher education differed from public provision: “cases in which more higher education was demanded than was provided by the state, cases in which groups desired different kinds of schools from those provided, and cases in which qualitatively better education was sought”. The author notes that although “more”, “different”, and “better” are general terms for the various rationales for private higher education, they have far-reaching consequences on the nature of higher education provided but also provide a framework for analyzing the roles of private universities in different countries. However, effective analysis of roles of religiously affiliated universities in Uganda necessitates deep understanding of the aforementioned rationales for growth and roles that consequent universities perform in different situations.
4.1.1 More higher education

The rationale of more higher education\textsuperscript{15} justifiably applies to education systems in which public universities are selective, elitist, and have size restrictions as witnessed in most developing countries, Brazil, and Japan (Geiger, 1991, p.234). Private universities in such situations emerge mostly to provide study places for students who cannot matriculate in public universities and as such, private universities play a demand-absorbing role. A study by Geiger (1991) shows “when educational modernization produces large numbers of secondary school graduates, as it has throughout much of the developing world since World War II, the excess demand for higher education has been absorbed through the rapid expansion of private institutions” (p.234). Such universities tend to be tuition-dependent, demand absorbing, market oriented, and often have novel programs, unorthodox scheduling, and they proliferate university campuses or extension centers to remain close to their customers (Geiger, 1991, p.235). Included here, are smaller and newer institutions, which, although regarded with disdain, by the academic communities, they clearly meet the test of the market and sometimes create creditable reputations in applied fields like accounting and business studies (Geiger, 1991).

Institutions that provide “more” higher education tend to have inadequate financial resources, largely rely on part-time teaching staffs, and more often, low academic standards, which attract extensive government regulations through registration and accreditation. Due to poor quality of their education, there is always a policy dilemma whether low quality education of these institutions is preferable to no education at all especially for large student numbers from poor economic backgrounds. The state reluctantly plays a role in the existence and creation of these institutions and therefore, their growth emanates from conscious policy decisions without public funding except in Japan where such institutions get public funding (Geiger, 1991, pp.235-236).

The growth of many demand-absorbing private universities results in a \textit{mass private sector} characterized by majority enrolments in private universities for example, more than 80\% in the

\textsuperscript{15} Applies to situations in which higher education institutions emerge to satisfy growing demand for higher education and consequently provide more education than the state is willing or able to offer (Geiger, 1986, p.215).
Philippines, above 75% in Japan and South Korea, 66% in Brazil, and about 60% in Colombia in the 1980s (Geiger, 1991, p.234). However, the author notes that it is not the size, but the character that matters because private universities in some countries possess characteristics of “mass private sectors” and accommodate large student numbers in low-cost, low-quality institutions although they accommodate large minorities of student enrollments. For example, studies by Geiger (1991, p.234) showed that Thailand’s rapidly growing private sector was of a “mass private” type even though it enrolled less than half of the country’s university students. An analysis of Uganda’s private higher education sector using the above description shows that private universities arose under excess demand situations, possess most of the features highlighted above, and therefore, most of them play a demand-absorbing role although the whole sector accommodates a minority share\textsuperscript{16} of student enrolments.

4.1.2 Different higher education

Institutions pursuing different\textsuperscript{17} higher education emerge in situations where there is growing dissatisfaction with the type of education provided by public institutions. Emergence of universities that provide differentiated higher education can “be stimulated by the need to guarantee a significant degree of cultural and linguistic pluralism within a non-hierarchical system” [for example, existence of many religious groups whose values and principles cannot fit within a single public system] (Hölttä, 1990, p.479). Existence of such functional constituencies, especially the Church, has stimulated the growth of religiously affiliated private universities that pursue a different type of education. For example, “Catholic private universities assumed great importance in countries like the Netherlands where Catholics [were] a minority or in France and Portugal where the church ... faced unsympathetic secular states” (Geiger, 1985, p.387). Such institutions assume the role of providing education that is ideologically different from that of public universities, often leading to creation of “parallel private and public sectors” in which

\textsuperscript{16} 28.6% of university enrolments in the 2005 academic year (The NCHE, 2005, p.12).

\textsuperscript{17} Education that is ideologically dissimilar especially in terms of curriculum from what the rest of the system provides. Although not completely different, it is based on a different set of missions and objectives and often emerges when social or religious groups feel marginalized by public universities.
public universities and ideologically inspired private universities coexist. However, existence of a parallel private and public sector would require three conditions: existence of “legitimate” cultural groups whose interests are represented in the polity, a single high national standard for university degrees, and extensive government subsidization of private institutions to equalize conditions in the public sector” (Geiger (1991, p.236).

Institutions providing different higher education are often supported by their cultural or religious groups, which ensure that their beliefs and missions are integrated in university curricula. These relationships define the value of differences that institutions serve and more often ensure survival of such institutions. As noted by Geiger (1985, p.388), “the hallmark of institutions providing different higher education is the tendency to preserve vital relationship with the groups they serve, which in turn tend to supply students, teachers, and vital supplemental forms of support”. However, what matters again, is not the size of the sector but; the role that institutions play. For example, by 1991, the Belgian private sector contained more than two-thirds of university students, that of the Netherlands less than one-quarter, and the private universities in Chile at the beginning of 1980s (before structural changes) enrolled three-eighths of the student population yet all of them qualified as parallel private and public sectors (Geiger, 1991, p.236). In some countries, institutions offering “different” education tend to receive extensive public support, for example, in the Netherlands and Belgium, governments financed higher education provision by religiously founded institutions to keep pace with the expansion of higher education and maintain high academic standards (Geiger, 1991, pp.236-237). However, there are concerns that such public financial support is associated with extensive state regulation to contain costs and assure legal compliance and therefore, often leads to loss of institutional autonomy and innovativeness (Geiger, 1991). Religiously affiliated universities in Uganda aim at providing ideologically different education and possess most of the characteristics highlighted above except, lack of public funding.
4.1.3 Better higher education

Private universities that pursue better education often emerge in situations where public institutions are designed to fulfill all recognized need for higher education. Public institutions in such situations are characterized by open access, massive enrolments, overcrowding, and consequent decline in academic standards, which stimulate growth of elite private universities. For example, Geiger (1991, p.238) noted that the chief, though not exclusive factor that drove the expansion of Mexican elite private universities since 1960 was the explicit reaction by the social and economic elites to conditions\(^\text{18}\) in public universities. Therefore, private universities with aspirations to provide better education tend to be characterized by qualitatively superior faculty, students, program offerings, high level of research, and selective student admissions. However, private institutions also emerge to provide a different sort of quality in situations where students face severe competitive hurdles. For example, private institutions providing specialized short-term courses emerged and became permanent features in France and especially Japan to train students and improve their performance on college entrance examinations (Geiger, 1986, p.216). Although private universities with aspirations for better higher education might arise out of different circumstances, their role is to offer qualitatively superior education than what is available in public institutions.

A common factor in Geiger’s three rationales for private universities’ is the role of government in higher education provision and the consequent impact on the growth of private higher education. As observed by Geiger (1991), “the amount and kind of higher education provided by government (presumably at the behest of the median voter) is the single most important determinant of the size and character of private higher education in each national system” (p.234).

However, in an evaluative study of Latin America’s private higher education, Levy (1989) developed a three-wave categorization of private universities’ growth based on perceptible

\(^{18}\) Rapid and uncontrolled growth of student numbers, wider social recruitment, and a prevailing leftist political orientation (Geiger, 1991, p.238).
failures of public universities: Catholic universities, secular elite universities, and excess demand-driven universities. Although these waves offer different explanations for private universities’ growth, they all underscore the fact that these institutions emerged due to perceived failures of public universities by different groups.

1. The first wave of growth, the growth of religious universities occurred in countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Panama largely as a reaction by the Catholic Church to secularization of public universities and the Church’s loss of control over these universities especially after the colonial era (Levy, 1989, pp.87-88). In addition, the church was opposed to some political thoughts and wanted to maintain social conservatism and class privileges, roles that the Church could not achieve in public universities. As Levy (1989) notes, “religious goals were not the only ones that the founders of catholic universities had in mind; the universities’ conservative bent suggested a rejection of the leftist political thought and action often found in the public sector” (p.88). This wave of growth represented the Catholic Church’s desire to uphold its religious beliefs in a secular state and consequently, religious and other socially related roles dominated this wave. Notwithstanding the fact that the growth of religiously affiliated universities in Uganda never constituted a distinctive wave of growth, Levy’s explanation highlights certain circumstances that pertain to the growth of these institutions and their consequent roles.

2. The second wave, the growth of secular elite universities occurred in countries such as Mexico, Ecuador, and Venezuela due to demand for class privileges, conservatism, academic tranquility, and prestige especially by the elite because public universities could not meet these demands (Levy, 1989, pp.88-89). Public universities had become large, non-selective in admissions and hotbeds for conflicts in some cases, which reduced the quality of education offered by these institutions. Therefore, elite universities emerged to serve the elites, the privileged class, and industrialists’ need for prestigious universities that would offer quality education and equip graduates with credentials relevant to the job market. Amidst the aforementioned social and economic failures, there were political failures too because the “elites
were unhappy with the increasing leftist activism of professors and even administrators, but mostly of students in public universities” (Levy, 1989, p.89). In addition, elite universities were also a reaction to failures of Catholic universities in cases where they had become too “traditional and unbusinesslike” as in Argentina or increasingly liberal and permissive (Levy, 1989). Although elite universities emerged to serve the interests of the privileged classes, employers, and the conservatives and emerged due to failures of public universities and in some cases, Catholic universities, they are comparable to institutions with aspirations for “better education” (Geiger, 1985) because both underscore the importance of qualitatively superior education.

3. The third wave of growth comprised of non-elite secular universities, which arose in reaction to excess demand for education created by failure of public universities to provide enough study places to match the increasing demand for education. Unlike the first and the second waves of growth, “the third wave represented a reaction to a different perceived public-sector inadequacy: less to the excesses of social democratization than to its limits” (Levy, 1989, p.90). This wave mostly captured the rising demand for higher education and mainly provided education to students who could not matriculate in free public universities because of their size and admission restrictions. Although public sector institutions expanded in most countries, more often, that growth was insufficient to match dramatic increases in student demand for higher education consequently; many private universities emerged purposely to absorb that excess demand. Such demand-driven universities were characterized by majority enrolments, preoccupation with vocational training, less prestige, absence of admission restrictions, and rare claims for elitist roles complete with doctoral education, basic research, large laboratories, or fulltime academic staff (Levy, 2002, p.6).

This wave of growth has a lot of relevance to many developing countries, for example, in Uganda where. Therefore, this wave of growth is comparable to the “more” higher education rationale (Geiger, 1985) and excess demand (Weisbrod, 1977; James 1989a) and possibly explains the growth of private universities in most developing countries. For example, despite
the growing demand for higher education in Uganda, government expenditure on public universities has dwindled since the late 1980s consequently; promoting the growth of private universities most of which lack adequate funding, teaching and learning facilities, and largely admit students that cannot enroll in public universities. Despite the usefulness of these as frameworks for understanding the raisons d'être for private universities and their roles in different situations, growth of private universities does not necessarily follow this pattern because the waves “are neither fully self-contained nor internally uniform (Levy, 1989, p.90).

In a study of Thai higher education, Praphamontripong (2005, p.152) used Levy’s three-waves-typology to analyze the roles of private universities based on institutions’ mission, size, programs offered, faculty qualifications, and their socioeconomic clientele. The author observed that some universities blend aspects of the three waves and perform multiple roles, for example, religiously affiliated universities that pursue both demand-absorbing and elite roles. However, the author notes “… the three main categories [waves of growth] are analytical constructs, and their purpose is to guide empirical investigation and then to understand findings and facilitate international comparison” (Praphamontripong, 2005, p.153).

In a study on private higher education in Africa, Thaver (2004, p.71) hypothesizes that one of the reasons for the rise of private universities is linked to the needs of specific social groups that demand different higher education. The author notes, “the social function of religious based PHEIs is to provide training for clerics from respective religions… and thus, higher education is a function for either Christianity (with its various denominations) or Islam” (Thaver, 2004, p.71). The study further shows that although both Christian and Islamic universities affirm their respective cultural heritages, “the religious discourse in these institutions is gradually being challenged by a market economy discourse that undergirds the business-studies courses prevalent in the “for-profit” institutional types” (Thaver, 2004, p.76). Consequently, religiously affiliated universities offer business-related courses in addition to theological programs, Islamic, and Arabic studies, and “emphasize production of graduates that are substantively different from their secular counterparts” (ibid).
4.2 Pros and cons of private higher education

Although private higher education is considerably not a new phenomenon in Uganda, it is not devoid of excessive claims and conflicting views as regards its contributions. However, extravagant claims are common in all discussions of private higher education and as Geiger (1985) succinctly observes,

"Proponents [of higher education] have foreseen far-reaching benefits resulting from the virtues of competition and independence; proponents have predicted dire consequences stemming from the abasement of standards and the flooding of the graduate labour markets [and] perhaps worse, the latter charge that private institutions would provide privileged access to the wealth (p.385)."

The major contribution of private higher education is its ability to provide higher education at no extra public cost especially in countries such as Uganda, where PHEIs do not have access to public funding but provide education. Through mobilization of financial resources from private sources, these institutions help to provide education to growing student numbers without increases in public expenditures on higher education. As noted by Levy (2006), “a major private higher education benefit to the state, linking finance and access, has been [the ability of PHEIs to absorb] …enrolment growth without having state expenditures expand further” (p.288).

In addition, PHEIs supplement public supply of higher education and provide access especially to students who would not have enrolled in public institutions due to their admission restrictions. Increasing enrolments at primary and secondary school levels coupled with rapid population growths have exacerbated the growing demand for higher education consequently; private universities especially in developing countries enroll significant numbers of students and “play a central role by providing access to students who would otherwise be unable to obtain academic degrees” (Altbach, 2005, p.86). Nonetheless, it should not be construed that private higher education provides access to the masses alone; it assumes different roles in different situations.
and offers education that meets the needs of different groups. In a study of private higher education in India, Gupta (2005) succinctly observes,

...the private sector can cater to diversified needs on a smaller or more select basis more easily than the public sector. In fact, [it deserves] credit for the expansion of higher education in most countries in the last three decades. It can provide quality education to the elite, vocational education to the needy, and low quality education to those who neither merit nor can afford a better education (p.7).

Private higher education tends to increase flexibility, innovativeness, and responsiveness of institutions because unlike public higher education institutions, they are devoid of bureaucratic tendencies. Reliance of PHEIs on privately mobilized income enhances competition and market responsiveness, strengthens the autonomy, efficiency, and client responsibility of private universities. Consequently, Zumeta (1996) observes, “…private colleges and universities are a very diverse lot, and their autonomy permits them to offer a range of choices to students and other clients, such as government and corporate research sponsors that would be hard to imagine being duplicated in the public sector” (p.371). Not only do PHEIs widen access, they also widen clients’ choice “in the face of a relatively uniform government product” by offering broad range of services such as new study programs,19 courses, and study schedules (James and Rose-Ackerman, 1986, p.54). In addition, diverse backgrounds and missions of PHEIs enable them to offer heterogeneous product mixes, which cater for diverse cultural, religious, and professional needs of their customers. Consequently, “private sectors play an important role in complementing the cultural pluralism of many societies by providing channels for the expression and perpetuation of private collective interests [which] is most evident in the case of religious minorities” (Geiger, 1991, p.242).

However, private higher education is not free of criticisms because it is associated with some weaknesses although their magnitudes vary among higher education systems and institutions.

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19 For example, Child Development and Children’s Ministry at UCU (UCU Prospectus, 2006-2008, p.2), Ethics and Entrepreneurship at Uganda Martyrs University (NCHE, 2005, p.19), and Islamic Studies and Arabic Languages at Islamic University in Uganda (NCHE, 2005, p.59).
PHEIs especially in excess demand situations tend to lack sufficient financing, adequate educational facilities, have open admission policies, and consequently, offer low quality education. As observed by Okurut (2001) observed, “there is a still a weak private sector in LDC’s which cannot adequately support the education system [and as such], private educational institutions are frequently equipped with low quality resources resulting in low quality education especially in excess demand driven situations” (p.84). In addition, most PHEIs usually concentrate on relatively cheaper and market-oriented programs mainly; Law, Business Administration, and Social Sciences and ignore research and some expensive but critically important programs, for example, Medicine and Engineering. Consequently, “private higher education risks being dominated by the market and the need to serve immediate goals to such an extent that it can no longer share the traditional commitment of higher education to the pursuit of knowledge and truth and to the values of academic freedom of inquiry” (Altbach (1999, p.322).

Private higher education tends to exacerbate class disparities through high tuition fees, which reduce opportunities for students from low social economic backgrounds to access higher education especially in countries without students’ assistance schemes. As noted by Okurut (2001), “unless precautionary measures are taken, poor sections of the society will end enrolling in low quality private institutions while the privileged ones end up in few high quality private institutions charging exorbitant fees …. [which] may actually increase rather than reduce inequality of access to education service” (p.84). In addition, PHEIs that emphasize differentiated tastes along religious or cultural divides tend to create divisiveness rather than cohesion in society, which might lead to social fragmentation at the expense of forging unity of separate ethnic, tribal, religious, political, and regional groups (Okurut 2001).

Although the pros and cons of private higher education discussed above pertain to most higher education systems, their strength vary among countries depending on how developed their education systems are, government policies towards education, and roles performed by private universities.
5. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

5.1 Overview of Uganda Christian University

UCU is a private nonprofit university started in 1997 by the C.O.U to provide quality education to meet the growing demand in Uganda and the whole of East Africa.\textsuperscript{20} The University emerged out of a former Theological College, Bishop Tucker, established by the C.O.U in 1913 to provide professional-clerical training. UCU is a registered and chartered university by the NCHE and government, affiliated to the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU),\textsuperscript{21} and is a member of the colleges and universities of the Anglican Communion. Although the church was already active in education, “by the late 1990s, it sought to have a broader impact on society through the education not only of the Clergy but of other professionals as well” [achieved only through a Christian private university] (UCU strategic plan, 2006-2015, p.4).

From its inception, the university was designed to function as a federal institution with the main campus in Mukono, a branch campus in Kampala, and branches in the Northern, Eastern, and Western regions of Uganda. Accordingly, the university has a constituent college; Bishop Barham in Kabale, two study centers in Arua and Buwalasi/Mbale, and three theological colleges; Uganda martyrs’ seminary, Janani Luwum theological college, and Bishop McAllister College (UCU prospectus, 2006-2008, p.3). The university offers fifteen Masters’ degree programs, twenty-four Bachelors’ degree programs, twelve Diploma courses, and two Certificate

\textsuperscript{20}Loosely refers to DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, and southern Sudan, which form the institution’s main catchment area
\textsuperscript{21}An international association of intentionally Christian colleges and Universities with a mission of advancing the cause of Christ-centered higher education and help institutions to transform lives by faithfully relating scholarship and service to biblical truth (http://www.cccu.org/).

Table 3: UCU enrolments for the last three academic years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Business &amp; Administration</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Social Sciences</th>
<th>Science &amp; Technology</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Theology &amp; Divinity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005/6</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/7</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>5,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007/8</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>1414</td>
<td>2207</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>7,118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from UCU academic register, 2008

5.1.1 Mission, functions, and objectives

Every organization’s direction starts with a mission, the core of its aspirations that captures the essence of what the organization does, why - its raison d'être as well as defining the significance and meaning of the organization’s work (Phills, 2005). The mission of UCU underscores a dedication “to through teaching, scholarship, service, spiritual formation, student development and social involvement to the preparation of students for thoughtful, productive lives of Christian faith and service in their respective professions and places” (UCU Charter Notice, 2005, p.9). The universities undertakes to conduct research, encourage the conduct of research to expand human knowledge and increase the effectiveness of the Church, support the preservation, transmission, and dissemination of knowledge, and stimulate intellectual, cultural, and holistic development of students (UCU prospectus, 2006-2008).
In accordance with its mission and Christian background, the objectives of UCU include the following:

(i) To provide resources for higher education, excellence in teaching, and promotion of research and advancement of learning within the context of Christian truth, practice, and spirituality,

(ii) to provide students with a balanced educational program that helps them to develop professional skills and broaden their perceptions so as to develop a holistic approach to life,

(iii) to provide, with other Christian institutions, academic leadership to the church in Uganda and Africa to address through research, education, and consultation, the economic, social, and political problems of the Ugandan and African society, and those challenges unique to the Church of Christ,

(iv) to guide students to understand and accept themselves, their individual needs and talents, and develop their potential for productive life and service,

(v) to play an effective role in the development and expansion of university education in Uganda and Africa,

(vi) to offer students the opportunity to commit their lives to Jesus Christ and to equip students to live out Christ’s Great Commission (Matthew, 28:18-20),

(vii) to provide adequate resources for quality university education, training, and research based on biblical concepts and values that reflect the Ugandan and African cultural heritage (UCU Charter Notice, 2005, p.10).

The mission and objectives of UCU are a clear manifestation that “objectives of nonprofit organizations are determined by the objectives of their entrepreneurs who establish the organizational culture, and/or write the articles of incorporation and bylaws [to promote their explicit and implicit goals]” (Young, 1981; & 1983, cited in Steinberg, 2006, p.130).
5.2 Relationship between religion and the university

The relationship between religion and the university can be understood better through an analysis of the role of the C.O.U in administrative and academic matters of the university because some institutions have strong relationships with their founders while others do not. Cuninggim (1994) notes that relationship between universities and Church organizations that founded them exist in three phases:

(i) Church as senior partner, college as junior partner, recognizing the College’s need for the Church’s direct support
(ii) a time of equality, when neither college nor Church has an upper hand over the other in normal situations
(iii) the College as senior partner, more in control of its own destiny (cited in Noseworthy, 2001, p.5).

5.2.1 Administration

UCU is a legally independent institution with clearly defined management structures, separate budget, and does not rely on the church for funding. However, the Church largely influences the university through the university Council and management boards\(^\text{22}\) which are heavily composed of C.O.U members many of who rank high in the Church’s leadership hierarchy (UCU prospectus, 2006-2008:189). Moreover, the Archbishop of the C.O.U is by law the Chancellor of the university, responsible for overall supervision and appointment of the Vice Chancellor and the deputies on recommendation of the university council and senate respectively. The registered Trustees of the C.O.U through the provincial assembly are the proprietors of UCU, responsible for overseeing its mission, approval, maintenance of the institution’s Instruments of Identity\(^\text{23}\), election of university council members, and monitoring of the university’s operations.

\(^{22}\) Planning and development board, financial board, and appointments and welfare board.

\(^{23}\) Rule of Faith; seeking to love God with all our heart, Rule of Life; seeking to love our neighbors as ourselves, and Rule of Prayer; seeking to love God with all our soul and spirit (http://www.ucu.ac.ug/content/view/217/56/).
Consequently, religion strongly influences administrative affairs of the university because the C.O.U is legally embedded in its administration.

In addition, the religious background of the university influences its staff recruitment policies to ensure that the institution maintains a critical mass of staff that embody Christian principles and can integrate faith and teaching. As noted by Filson (1945), the key to successful functioning of a Christian College “is an effective Christian faculty [whose] members must be technically competent in their respective fields …must possess not only skill in teaching methods but also wholesome personality” (pp.10-11). Despite the university’s non-discriminative recruitment policy, all “officers of the university and full-time academic staff are expected to affirm the University’s Instruments of Identity” (UCU Charter Notice, 2005:30), which might favor Anglicans whose principles and religious traditions blend well with those of the university. The same applies to top administrative staffs, some of which are not just Anglican Christians but Reverends, for example, the Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellors for academic affairs, and Finance and Administration. Therefore, even though the C.O.U does not participate in the day-to-day running of the university, it ensures appointment of teaching and administrative staffs and board members whose interests and values correspond to those espoused by the university and therefore safeguard the church’s present and future interests.

5.2.2 Academics

The religious influence reflected in the administration of the university is manifested further in academics where the role of religion is paramount in defining the focus and the role of the institution. Functions, mission, and objectives of UCU are Christian in nature and as such, can be achieved only if the institution’s academic practices conform to Christian expectations and principles. Nothing reflects the influence of religion on the university more than its curriculum, which combines academic, Christian, and general courses. Not only does UCU reflect its Christian heritage in its Motto, “God the beginning, and the end”, but also in its undergraduate programs, which integrate religion and academics. As noted by Filson, (1945), an institution with
religious affiliation will “put in its curriculum features which would not have a place, or at least so important a place, in other schools …it must offer basic courses, which enable the student to understand the Christian Scriptures, the church’s history, and the role of the Christian faith in modern life” (p.10).

The university offers Christian Foundational Courses: understanding the Old Testament, understanding the New Testament, understanding Christian Worldviews, understanding Ethics, and Health and Wholeness, which are compulsory to all undergraduate students irrespective of their professional specialization. It also offers Life Skills Courses: writing and study skills, basic computing, and elements of mathematics, which supplement professional and Christian courses to offer students a holistic education. The essence of a profoundly holistic curriculum is to ensure that students acquire not only academic knowledge, but also Christian values and general skills, which undergird professional formation. One Dean’s remarks underscore the importance of teaching Christian-related courses,

We do not just aim at producing professionals; we want to use university education as a way of producing professionals who are brought up in the context of responsible Christian traditions so that when they go out, they are not just graduates, but professionals who can make a difference (Interviewee 4, personal communication, February 12, 2008).

In addition, undergraduate student admissions are religious in character because all applicants must get letters of recommendation from ordained pastors, priests, or other prominent religious leaders and admissions are open to students of all religious backgrounds. Nonetheless, the practice shows that much as students are not required to be Anglican Christians, they must recognize and respect the institution’s Christian values, and principles embedded in its curriculum rather expect to do/be whatever they want to.
Notwithstanding the influence of Christian principles on the university’s curriculum, it is imperative to acknowledge the fact that market forces also play a vital role in the university’s curricular offer as reflected by the institution’s study programs. UCU, just like other PHEIs competes for students and other resources, conforms to national policies on education, and is responsive to social needs consequently, its study programs are relatively similar to what other universities offer. The university is concerned with not only its Christian identity but also the social and market relevance of its curricula because it cannot survive exclusively on its founders’ ideological beliefs. Therefore, UCU does not offer exclusively religious programs except Theology and Divinity but programs that are largely similar in name to those offered by secular universities (The NCHE, 2006, pp.50-75). A study of Christian higher education in Asia (Vikner, 2003) shows,

In fact, it now frequently appears that Christian institutions in our day are no longer unique. They have come to resemble secular institutions in terms of the education they offer… Were it not for their Christian heritage, it might be virtually impossible to identify these institutions as Christian colleges and universities (p.3).

Although this is an exaggeration of the situation in universities that offer “ideologically different education,” it highlights the challenge that religiously affiliated universities face and our misconceptions of what these institutions ought to be and/or do. The fact that academic programs are largely similar to those offered in secular universities does not imply that the two types of institutions are the same because “for the most part, it is what happens inside the classroom, the discussions, books, and examples [environment and course contents] that make…..education different” (Di Meglio (2007, p.1).

5.3 Rationale for the growth of religiously affiliated universities

Although religious organizations in Uganda have long participated in the provision of primary and secondary school education, their involvement in higher education by establishing and
running nonprofit universities that do not generate them monetary benefits, raises concern especially about their goals. Nonetheless, “individuals [and possibly, religious organizations] derive satisfaction not only from consumption-like activities but also from setting up meaningful goals and achieving them” (Hirschman, 1985; & Aaron 1994:14; cited in Ben-Ner & Gui, 2003, p.23) consequently, it is unsurprising that the rationale for the growth of religiously affiliated universities continues to intrigue us.

The broad rationale for the establishment of UCU was the desire to provide Christian-based higher education, training, and research for the expansion of God’s kingdom and the betterment of society (UCU Charter Notice, 2004, p.7). The C.O.U was interested in the provision of university education not for the sake of it but use it as a means to expand its social influence. A study of NPOs (James and Rose-Ackerman, 1986) shows that in countries where strong and independent religious organizations exist and compete for clients, they establish NPOs especially in education and health sectors to maximize religious faith and adherents through taste formation and socialization (pp.52-53). The fact that the four major religions in Uganda: Islam, Seventh Day Adventist, Catholicism, and Anglican have each established at least one university each demonstrates the desire by each of them to increase their influence on society and “expand God’s kingdom” through higher education. As intimated by one Dean, “by the time UCU was started, the Islamic University in Uganda [Islam], Uganda Martyrs University [Catholic], and Bugema University [Seventh Day Adventist] had already been established and the only concern for the C.O.U was where, but not whether to establish a university”. Therefore, it is imperative to note that the Church’s decision to establish UCU was not necessarily for altruistic reasons but to expand its social influence through university education that is heavily Christian.

The C.O.U, just like other big religious denominations in Uganda, was already a stakeholder in primary and secondary education but the university was established as part of the Church’s desire to expand service delivery to humanity and transform society. One Dean succinctly remarked, “The whole mission of the church is to transform people’s lives, transform society; and higher education, is one vehicle that the church had”. Such a Christian university would act
as a stepping-stone for the church offer education to not only theologians but also other professionals thus enabling the University to reach out to many students that would not have enrolled in an exclusively religious university. A study of NPOs in developing countries (Anheier and Salamon, 1998) shows that when students are enticed by their desperate need for education, they join religiously affiliated universities and come to accept the creed that sponsors education provision in each university consequently, such universities enable their founders to transform society through their influences on students’ education and ultimately, their lives. Starting and shaping UCU was a unique opportunity for the C.O.U to gain gratitude and public esteem and realize its own goals and visions of how to provide education, what curriculum to offer, or educational aspects that deserve priority (Ben-Ner & Gui, 2003, p.23).

However, it is worth noting that religiously affiliated universities and other PHEIs in Uganda emerged and expand under excess demand conditions created by failure of public universities to accommodate all the demand for higher education. For example, the New Vision (March 8, 2004 cited in Tumwesigye, 2006, p.204) reported that in 2004, more than 12,000 (37% of) qualified students from advanced secondary schools did not gain admission to universities due to limited study places. Such excess demand for education coupled with favorable market policies provided the Church and other entrepreneurs with appropriate conditions to establish private universities. Nonetheless, it would be misleading to conclude that excess demand for higher education was the rationale for the growth of religiously affiliated universities although they emerged under excess demand situations. Truly, religiously affiliated universities often behave like demand-absorbing institutions and largely enroll students that do matriculate in public universities however, excess demand only created ideal conditions and a window opportunity for the C.O.U and possibly, other religious organizations to establish universities that would enable them achieve their religious goals. The creation of UCU and possibly other religiously affiliated universities was not “wholly altruistic in motivation, it had the instrumental function” (Anheier and Salamon, 1998, p.366), implicitly if not explicitly, to enable the Church expand its influence and transformation of society.
The fact that UCU emerged out of an excess demand situation vindicates theoretical predictions (James, 1989b) that universities in developing countries emerge from excess rather than differentiated demand. However, existence of demand for education does not guarantee supply; moreover, on a nonprofit basis but in situations characterized by excess demand and marginal differentiated demand, religious organizations establish universities not for sheer educational motives but principally, to serve their ideological needs that can best be achieved through universities because of their strong taste formation qualities. Therefore, Adam Smith’s statement, “It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest” (Ben-Ner, 2006, p.41) is a central tenet in understanding why religious organizations establish private universities.

5.4 Challenges

UCU faces many challenges, some of which are relate to its religious background while others are general and therefore, possibly face other universities, both private and public. However, this study does not discuss all the challenges but those considered more pertinent to the theory and theme of the study.

Financing is perhaps the most challenging feature of UCU because it receives neither public nor Church funding and it does not generate enough money from other sources, and as such, it is constrained to meet its financial needs and support expensive study programs. Although the university derives funding from donations, student scholarships, loans, and tuition fees, funds from these sources however, poorly match its capital needs thus compelling the university to rely on tuition charges. For example, in the 2005/2006 academic year, UCU derived 76% of its income from tuition fees, 6% from scholarships and official sponsorships, 6% from donations/gifts, and 12% from other sources (UCU Strategic Plan 2006-2015, p.19). However, such tuition charges tend to be lower than the costs of education and as such, most universities, including public ones enroll more students than their capacities can accommodate to raise more funds.
Table 4: Average unit costs for three religiously affiliated universities in Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the institution</th>
<th>Current average unit ($)</th>
<th>Preferred/realistic unit ($)</th>
<th>Current average fees paid ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uganda Martyrs University</td>
<td>3,237</td>
<td>2,111</td>
<td>2,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUIU</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCU</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>1,794</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, there are concerns that the increasing costs of education will impel the university to increase tuition fees and consequently, exclude some students especially those from low socio-economic backgrounds. One interviewee thus remarked,

> I think the future [of UCU] is bright despite the challenges; the only worry is that of course, eventually, the university might end up being an institution for the elite. Sustaining programs in a university like this, needs money … it is most likely to be for those who can pay; which is the only downside for a service meant for all God’s people (Interviewee 3, personal communication, February 5, 2008).

Meager financial resources cause insufficient educational facilities and as such, it is unsurprising that the university lacks adequate computer laboratories, lecture rooms, residence halls, books, library, and office spaces. According to a survey by the NCHE (2006, pp.87-96), the university had a student/book ratio of 1:20, library space/student ratio of 0.31sqm, laboratory, and workshop space/student ratio of 0.11sqm, and lecture space/student ratio of 0.63sqm compared to ideal ratios of 1:40, 1sqm, 1sqm, and 2-2.5sqm respectively. Similar scenarios are found in other religiously affiliated universities, for example, IUIU, Uganda Martyrs University, Ndejje
University, and Busoga University have student book ratios of 1:20, 1:8, 1:12, and 1:17 respectively, which are far below the ideal ratios (The NCHE, 2006, p.96).

The university’s academic programs also attest to its financial difficulties because most of the programs, except probably those offered by the faculty of science and technology, are less costly and do not require heavy capital investments. Indeed, the university reflects Levy (1989)’s observation that: universities largely financed by student fees are mainly teaching institutions, with little research activity, and concentrate on subjects such as social science and business administration rather than natural science, engineering, or medicine (pp.98-99). Although some universities specialize in certain programs and do not participate in research by choice, for UCU, it is a matter of financial inability because the pursuit of research is one of the university’s objectives as well as the desire to increase the number of science-related programs (UCU Strategic Plan, 2006-2015, p.7).

Although the fist private university in Uganda emerged two decades ago, private universities still face acceptance difficulties because some people regard them as secondary to public universities. There is a strong public perception that public universities are academically better than private institutions possibly because private universities primarily enroll students who cannot enroll in public universities (Teferra and Altbach, 2004, p.34) although there are also concerns about study conditions as well as the quality of education offered by public universities. However, religiously affiliated universities face far more resistance due to their religious beliefs because more often, there are doubts about the relevance of religion to university education and the commitment of these institutions towards academic development both of which discourage some potential students. In addition, there is pressure and resistance from university students who cannot fathom the relevance of religion24 to professional development and therefore, would like the university to function like its secular counterparts. One Dean thus intimated, “of course, we tend to miss students who would have wanted to join us but, because of the heavily Christian identity, they look for places where they have freedom and liberty to do whatever they would

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24 Christian Foundational Courses, which are compulsory to all university students
want to do” (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 5, 2008). Therefore, it is incumbent on religiously affiliated universities to communicate not only to the university, but also to the wider communities to reduce misconceptions and negativities.

The university faces competition for students from other universities, especially public ones because though they all recruit from the same group of students, public universities tend to have a competitive edge because annually, they admit the best 4,000 students in the Uganda Advanced Certificate of education examination on government scholarships. Therefore, universities like UCU find it difficult to compete for the top brains and as such, it is not surprising that the university has student scholarship programs that target some of the best students that would have enrolled in public universities on either government sponsorship or self-financing schemes. In addition, the university faces shortage of highly qualified academic staff to match growing student enrolments due to financial difficulties. Consequently, the university does not attract and retain enough good teaching staff rather; it relies on part-time lecturers because they are less expensive to and easy to attract.

**Table 5: Full time and part-time teaching staff at UCU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Full-time</th>
<th>Part-time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senior lecturers: Lecturers</td>
<td>Senior lecturers: Lecturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Arts</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and administration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divinity &amp; Theology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Compiled from UCU prospectus, 2006-2008, pp.190-195
The university needs a manpower development strategy to upgrade its academic staffs to Masters and Doctoral levels if it wants to progress from 10 PhDs, 81 Masters, 19 Bachelors, and 8 Postgraduate diplomas in 2006 (NCHE, 2006, p.77) to the targeted level where 50% of the academic staff are expected to have PhDs by 2015 (UCU Strategic Plan, 2006-2015, p.18). One interviewee succinctly noted,

> We lack the capacity to attract and retain highly qualified academics and pay them well. Even though we are able to get people for teaching, we must be aware that the employment market dictates the available pay so staff retention becomes very difficult (Interviewee 4, personal communication, February 12, 2008).

### 5.5 Opportunities

Notwithstanding the challenges, there are opportunities that accrue to religiously affiliated universities although for some, it is difficult to ascertain whether they are associated with the institutions’ nonprofit status or their religious backgrounds since most religiously founded organizations are inherently nonprofit.

Although religiously affiliated universities might miss some potential students because of religious backgrounds, nonetheless, they attract students especially those that attach importance to Christian values. Some parents and guardians entrust their children to religiously affiliated universities because of the institutions’ religious environments, which are conducive for not only spiritual development but academic and professional development as well. In addition, other students possibly enroll because of the institutions’ curriculum, which is relevant to the current Ugandan society characterized by endemic corruption and general moral decay. Therefore, religiously affiliated universities often provide services that their secular counterparts do not offer and as such, create loyal customers that value the importance of these institutions and therefore, ensure them of constant supply of students and teaching staff. For example, some parents disillusioned with secular institutions often send their children to Christian institutions
because they ensure maintenance of academic standards, students’ development of Christian values of integrity and moral uprightness, have less disruption, and teach secular disciplines from a Christian perspective (Van der Valt, 2002, p.206).

In addition, these universities often enjoy accessibility to committed and relatively cheaper employees that are motivated more by nonpecuniary benefits such as working in Christian environments than by potential monetary rewards. As noted by (James and Rose-Ackerman 1986), NPOs often engage in activities, which enable them to provide employees with pleasant work environments but lower equilibrium wages because they get other nonpecuniary benefits that might be tied to philosophical or religious orientations of the organizations. As if to confirm theoretical predictions, one interviewee intimated,

> We have commitment and trust in God; people are on strike at Makerere [over salaries] but here, we are not, and it does not mean that we have a better pay than they do. When we are called to serve, we do our jobs perfectly (Interviewee 6, personal communication, February 18, 2008).

UCU also benefits from grants and donations from religious and other philanthropic organizations such as USAID’s American schools and hospitals abroad program, DFID, UCU Partners,\textsuperscript{25} and other charities (UCU Strategic Plan, 2006-2015, p.20) because of its religious background or nonprofit status. Other organizations provide training opportunities for university staff and develop study programs in collaboration with UCU, for example, International Christian Medical Institute (ICMI) financed the construction of the institute of Health Sciences and runs programs in Health Administration in partnership with the university (ibid).

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\textsuperscript{25} A nonprofit organization that raises public awareness about UCU in the United States, procures funds for buildings and other projects, and mobilizes students’ scholarships (http://www.ugandapartners.org/who/).
5.6 Data analysis

Analyzing the role of religiously affiliated universities is as difficult as any qualitative data analysis because it involves linking the empirical data and interpreting them using the theoretical framework discussed in chapter three and the literature discussed in chapter four of this study. Although analysis of the role performed by UCU in the provision of education requires examination of its mission, objectives, and goals that reflect the institution’s character as well as its education, it is also crucial to focus on what the university does, rather than what it aspires to do because more often realities differ from aspirations. As Geiger (1985) succinctly observes, “while individual institutions may proclaim many, often incompatible, missions, certain goals are likely to be fundamental to their institutional existence, and thus exert preponderant influence in the consideration of important institutional decisions” (p.394). Analysis will consider features central to the university; mission and objectives, financing, students’ quality, research and publications, teaching and learning facilities, curriculum, challenges, and opportunities and correlate them with the theory and literature.

5.6.1 More education

The rationale of more higher education was thoroughly discussed in the literature therefore, it is vital to compare the prevailing situation at UCU to the characteristic features of this category to understand the roles that the university performs. As highlighted in the findings, UCU possesses characteristics of institutions that emerge in excess demand situations nonetheless; it would be erroneous to conclude that the university exclusively plays a demand-absorbing role. UCU, like other religiously affiliated universities is characterized by tuition dependency, lack of adequate facilities such as libraries, lecture rooms, and laboratories, reliance on part-time teaching staff, and, a focus on teaching rather than research even though it aims at promoting research among other goals. As one interviewee noted, “we do not do research in any possible area but in terms of our strategic plan, there are study areas where we would like to involve faculties in disciplinary research” (Interviewee 1, personal communication, February 2, 2008). The
university offers programs in Business and Administration, Social Sciences, Law, Education and Arts, and Science and Technology, which demonstrate a strong role of markets because they are highly competitive, appeal to many potential clients, are relatively cheaper, and their teaching staff can be found with relative ease. However, as Levy (1989) observes, “…private institutions do not always pursue roles very distinctive from public ones, especially in established private sectors. When the market for more of the same is strong, private places do not have to undertake novel roles with disputed legitimacy” (p.16) instead, they perform roles prevalent in other universities. The descriptive features discussed above are consistent with those of more education (Geiger, 1985); excess demand (Weisbrod, 1977; and James, 1989b); and the third wave of growth (Levy, 1989) and therefore, define the university as a demand-absorbing institution, existing largely to offer education mostly to those who do not join public universities.

5.6.2 Different education

UCU owes its existence and much of its guidance to the C.O.U and therefore, values and objectives of the latter heavily influence the character of education offered by the university. Although the Church does not fund the university, it provides it with leadership and spiritual guidance, which influence teaching and learning, curricular, and co-curricular activities and consequently, the education offered by the university.

Although programs offered by UCU are closely similar to those of secular universities, the distinguishing feature of UCU is the dominant emphasis on holistic education that conforms to Christian principles and values, academic standards and general skills. The peculiarity of the university’s education lies in its curriculum, which contains Christian Foundational Courses and Life Skills Courses, which are the core of every program and therefore, compulsory to all undergraduate students. For example, the Bachelor of science in education (Mathematics and Computer science) program offers the following compulsory courses; Christian Ethics and Law for information technology professionals, Christian Marketing in a digital world, Writing and

26 Thoroughly discussed on page 44 of this study.
Study skills, Understanding the Old Testament, Understanding the New Testament, Understanding Worldviews, and Community Health in addition to professional courses (UCU Prospectus, 2006-2008, p.54). However, this is not an exception but a norm for all programs, which enables the university to provide holistic education and “produce students who possess the depth of character and strength of mind and spirit for the roles they will play” (UCU Strategic Plan, 2006-2015, p.3). Other religiously affiliated universities also offer courses and programs such as Theology and Islamic studies, which focus on religious epistemologies of their founders. For example, “the courses offered by the Islamic University of Uganda incorporate Islamic perspectives, with the political science curriculum offering a module on Islamic political thought…” (Thaver, 2003, cited in Varghese, 2006, p.39).

Based on study courses, teaching and learning environment, university mission, and objectives, it is prudent to note that notwithstanding the excess demand features and roles performed by UCU, the institution aims at offering an ideologically different education within in a system characterized by excess demand. Consequently, the university serves both excess demand and differentiated demand markets, which makes it difficult to specify the exact role of the university. Nevertheless, offering ideologically different education does not imply maintaining exclusively dissimilar curricular from what other universities offer otherwise, the university would jeopardize its survival, which largely depends on accurate interpretations and responses to market forces and social needs. A study of three NPOs in Germany (Seibel, 1989) shows “....even if it is true that the behavior of NPOs relies on alternatives to markets and hierarchies, they cannot escape totally from the market nor [sic] from public responsibility (p.177). Consequently, it is unsurprising that religiously affiliated universities often behave as “part Church and part Car dealer – devoted partly… to ideology and rationality” (Winston, 1999, p.31).

5.6.3 Better education

Although better education is associated with elitist universities, more often, many universities including demand absorbing ones claim this role. For example, although UCU describes itself as
“a centre of excellence in the heart of Africa”, findings indicate that this is an aspiration rather than a statement of fact because the university exhibits certain features that do not match those of centers of excellence. Institutions that offer better education strive for academic excellence and employ high quality teachers who are respected by their professional peers, grant them opportunities to continue their professional activities, and maintain up-to-date laboratory facilities and library collections to avoid being labeled as second rate (Geiger, 1985, p.394).

Although it is impossible to gauge the quality of university education using data collected by this study, one can infer from the features of the university in comparison with those that characterize institutions that offer better education. For example, UCU largely enrolls students that do not join public universities, which implies that the university possibly offers reasonably low quality education because:

To a significant degree, students educate both themselves and each other, and [theoretically] the quality of the education any student gets from college depends in good measure on the quality of that student’s peers (Winston, 1999, p.141).

Notwithstanding these challenges, UCU recruits some of the best students and lecturers (local and international), undertakes program accreditation by national and international bodies (for example, the NCHE, the Law Council, the Nurses and Midwives Council, and CCCU), and has student exchange programs, all of which aim at improving the quality of education. In addition, the university plans to manage enrolments and limit class sizes to 100 students, phase out diploma programs from the main campus, implement a comprehensive academic quality initiative, and develop targeted research interests (UCU Strategic Plan, 2006-2015, p.2); measures that will transform the university and enable it to serve elite roles. The university also has a scholarship scheme, the Global South Leadership Development/Honors College, which attracts some of the best students that would have enrolled in public universities. The program aims at attracting students with strong academic abilities, leadership potentials, and Christian morals in order to produce professionals with strong Christian conviction and high sense of integrity. However, as one interviewee noted,
There are students outside the Honors College who are extremely bright probably even brighter than the ones in the honors but could not join because the institution does not pursue academic excellence per se, but academic excellence in a Christian perspective (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 15, 2008).

Therefore, inasmuch as the university aspires for academic excellence, genuine commitment might not please its founders, which could be the reason why it combines religious roles with academic roles although it is not clear whether the former impedes successful pursuit of the latter. However, as Mixon; Lyon; & Beaty (2004) note, “if religious universities aspire to be prestigious….., then [their] religious identities... diminish [but] if they remain faithful to those religious convictions that called them into being, then they must accept academic mediocrity and dwell in the backwaters of academic culture”. Nonetheless, it is imperative to note that whether religiously affiliated universities serve excess demand markets or elite markets, they always emphasize their religious backgrounds and as such, they perform an amalgam of roles.
6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

At its onset, this study proposed the following question:

What role do religiously affiliated universities play in the provision of higher education in Uganda?

The following sub questions were formulated to guide the study:

(i) What are the rationales for the establishment of religiously affiliated universities?
(ii) What role does religion play in curricular offerings of religiously affiliated universities?
(iii) What challenges and opportunities do religiously affiliated universities experience?

Evaluation of the roles of religiously affiliated or other private universities should always consider what these institutions do and what they ought to do rather than what we expect of them because occasionally, some private universities restrict themselves to certain roles and exclude others not by circumstances but by design. Therefore, the role performed by UCU in the provision of education in Uganda is representative of the institution’s Christian background, market influences, and existing social realities in Uganda. The university responds to all these forces to provide an education that accommodates the need for more higher education, Christian aspects espoused by the C.O.U, and professional requirements of accrediting agencies and professional bodies. However, even though religiously affiliated and secular universities experience quite similar challenges, offer largely similar programs, and function under similar public policies and market conditions, their missions, objectives, ethos, and principles differ and so do certain aspects of their education and roles.
The growth of UCU vindicates theoretical predictions (James, 1989b) that private universities in developing countries emerge due to excess demand created by failures of public universities because findings of the study indicate that the university arose under excess demand situations and bears features of demand absorbing institutions. Nonetheless, the study vividly indicates that excess demand for education only provided the Church and possibly, other religiously affiliated organizations opportunities to universities not necessarily for the sake of education but as means to “transform” society and increase their influence. The desire for increased influence and could possibly explain why all the four major religious denominations have each established at least a university that reflects the respective founder’s values and ethos in both name and curriculum. Therefore, it is imperative to note that in situations of excess demand for education, religious organizations possibly establish universities principally not for altruistic but religious motives that can be achieved better through education due to its abilities to attract and influence students’ tastes and beliefs.

Although the university is a legal entity independent of the Church’s control, the Church nevertheless legally controls the university through the Archbishop [the University Chancellor], the Board of Trustees, the University Council, Management Boards, and the top administrative staffs many of whom are Reverends. The influence is reflected further through staff recruitment policies that give preference to those who conform to Christian values and polices championed by the university. In terms of curriculum, Christian Foundational courses form the core of all university programs, are compulsory to all undergraduate students, and consequently define the type of education offered by the university. Therefore, even though the church [religion] does not directly influence the curriculum of the university nonetheless, it indirectly shapes the configuration and composition of courses, influences the type of teaching staff, teaching and learning environment, objectives, and mission of the university all of which influence its curriculum.

Although the study did not find out the importance of the nonprofit status to the university’s activities because no interviewees seemed to know that the university is nonprofit. Nonetheless,
they concurred that the university is a service provider therefore; the fact that the nondistribution constraint is an inherent feature of most religiously founded institutions could possibly explain why UCU receives grants, donations, and student scholarships. The fact that all interviewees underscored the importance of the university’s religious background possibly shows that when students or donors do not know a university’s nonprofit status but are aware of organizational characteristics related to nonprofits (Permut, 1981; Mauser, 1993, cited in Steinberg, 2006, p.126), they might enroll in religiously affiliated universities because they serve as signals of trustworthiness. Therefore, this study hypothesizes that because of high levels of ignorance embedded in the purchase and monitoring of university education, students and donors patronize religiously affiliated universities possibly due to their religious backgrounds rather than their nonprofit status. Nevertheless, in excess demand situations, some students join institutions not necessarily because of their religious backgrounds or nonprofit status but due to their ability to offer university degrees. For example, one interviewee noted that some students complain about the relevance of Christian courses to their professional development, a fact that shows that they enrolled solely to get professional training rather than Christian-based education.

Study findings reveal that UCU possesses features of three waves of growth reviewed in the literature (Levy, 1989) and performs roles associated with the three rationales of private higher education (Geiger, 1985) although at varying levels of emphasis. The most outstanding feature of the university is its ability to provide for excess demand, differentiated demand, and qualitatively better education through a curriculum that combines secular courses and Christian foundational courses. However, this diversity of roles is largely consistent with the university’s mission and objectives even though some of its features reflect the institutions’ survival mechanisms. Role diversity also shows an element of strategy by the university to serve a broader social purpose instead of restricting itself to one special role that might be difficult to fund or are incompatible with the goals of the Church. Therefore, the behavior of the university is consistent with that of many NPOs that coexist and compete for resources with for-profit organizations. The university faces financing challenges that largely affect many of its aspects, for example, its programs are largely market-oriented, and similar to those offered in secular universities, it lacks adequate
educational facilities and teaching staff, employs a high proportion of part-time lecturers, derives much of its funding from tuition charges, and focuses on teaching. Notwithstanding these challenges, the university benefits from its religious background through donations, grants, committed staff, and constant supply of students. Therefore, the role of the university can be described succinctly as that of offering ideologically different education but provides access mostly to those who would not have enrolled in public universities due to admission restrictions.

6.2 Recommendations

Successful improvement of education quality in higher education especially in private universities requires an improvement of the whole policy environment within which institutions operate. There is need for public funding of students even in religiously affiliated universities through a loans’ scheme or other means to increase higher education access and its associated externalities. Government should also provide capital development funding to these universities to ensure the availability of adequate teaching and learning facilities if the quality of and access to education are to improve.

There is need for the university to ensure that its religious practices and principles do not overshadow its academic roles or impede the achievement of academic excellence it aspires for. The university needs to be mindful of the fact that its education is not necessarily for the clergy but other professionals as well and as such, there should be a deliberate effort to create a balance between academics and indoctrination. It is not clear whether students in religiously affiliated universities base their enrolment decisions on the institutions’ nonprofit status or their religious background therefore; there is need for research to establish the relationship between institution’s nonprofit status and students’ matriculation decisions.

There is need for comparative research study on how graduates from religiously affiliated universities and secular universities behave in the labor market to establish if there are significant differences in academic competence and ethics between graduates from religiously affiliated and
secular universities. There is also a need for comparative studies between different religiously affiliated universities to ascertain whether the type of education they offer reflects their founders’ religious convictions. For example, the similarities and differences between Seventh Day Adventist University and a Catholic university or between an Anglican Church founded university and an Islamic University. Further research should focus on cross-country comparisons between religiously affiliated universities and secular universities to understand the differences and similarities across countries and higher education systems.

Although information gathered from interviewees indicates a harmonious relationship between faith and academics, there are aspects through which religion possibly infringes on students’ freedom therefore; future studies should examine the impact of religion on lecturers’ academic freedom in religiously affiliated universities. In addition, there is need to establish the nonprofit nature of some religiously affiliated universities because there are concerns that their founders derive some private benefits although the education they offer is of a public character as required by law.

Although the existence of little research on religiously affiliated universities possibly emanates from lack of interest by some scholars in these institutions nonetheless, more often some of these institutions express negative\textsuperscript{27} attitudes towards those interested in their study. Therefore, religiously affiliated universities should be helpful to researchers to enable creation of more data that can improve our understanding of these institutions.

\textsuperscript{27} For example, when I sought permission to conduct interviews for this study in one university, a top administrative staff asked me my religion lest I was a spy and later told me that he could not grant it without approval of the university senate.
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Appendix 1. Interview Guide

1. **Presentation of the researcher**
2. **Background information of the interviewee (respondent)**
   - Faculty/school/college
   - Position
   - Disciplinary background
   - Duration (time spent at the university)
   - Employment status (fulltime vs. part-time)
3. **Description of the institution**
   - Ownership
   - Mission, functions, and objectives of the university
   - Reasons for its establishment
   - Structure and composition of academic and administrative organs of the university
   - Instruments of identity
4. **Funding and administration**
   - Sources of funding (figures, percentages)
   - Legal status of the university (nonprofit/for-profit)
   - Role of the C.O.U in the management and funding of the university
5. **Academics**
   - Religion and student admissions
   - Academic programs provided and why
   - Factors affecting development of new study programs
   - Role of religion in curriculum design
   - Religion and faculty recruitment and integration of religion and academics
   - Part-time and full-time teaching staffs
6. **Opportunities and challenges**
   - Challenges, opportunities, and future plans
## Appendix 2. Characteristics of interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Faculty/School/College/Department</th>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Duration (years)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>4 Dean</td>
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<td>Fulltime</td>
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<td>Male</td>
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