The University of the Western Cape

Faculty of Education

Understanding the Roles of Public Universities in Mozambique: The case of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Magister Educationis in the Department of Education

Studies, University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor Gerald Wangenge Ouma

August 2013

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Keywords

Academic oligarchy model

Eduardo Mondlane University

Market steering model

Mozambique

Public universities

State control model

Universities

University roles

Abstract

The debate around the roles of universities is not new. One of the debated issues relates to who defines the role and priorities of universities. A number of authors (Ashby, 1964; Yesufu, 1973; Court, 1980; Sherman, 1990; Saint, 1992; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Lulat, 2003; Van Wyk & Higgs, 2007) have taken into account the colonial legacy when approaching the topic of higher education establishment in post-colonial Africa.

What may seem clear is that universities have roles to play. Those roles are often stated in higher education legislation, policy and plans, by universities themselves or even by their stakeholders. Although studies on higher education in Mozambique (Chilundo *et al*., 2000; Mário *et al.*, 2003; Brito, 2003; Langa, 2006; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008; Cloete *et al.*, 2011) have attempted to address post-colonial higher education in Mozambique, none addresses, in depth, the purpose of establishment or the debates around the role of universities. That is the gap this study has identified and intends to address by investigating the way in which the roles of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) were defined.

Taking into account the relationship between state, university, society and market, the roles of the university are understood as both what universities are expected to do and what the university perceives it should do. The university's roles are located at both macro-level and institutional level. At the macro-level, university's roles are clearly outlined by state legislation and policy on higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10-12). At the institutional level, however, the university's roles are defined by the university itself and relevant stakeholders (Clark, 1983: 140-145).

Apart from having located university's roles at these two levels, a conceptual analytical framework was drawn from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006) to analyse role formation using three model types: state control, market steering and academic oligarchy.

The data collection, consisting of document collection and interviews, was undertaken from December 2010 to May 2011. Documents, archival records, universities' policies and government policies on higher education in Mozambique were collected. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with UEM and Ministry of Education staff.

Data discussion and analysis pointed to the state control model determining the roles of UEM from 1975, the year in which Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal. Despite changes from a socialist to a democratic and market-oriented economy in the 1985/6-2009 period, the state control model of defining the university's roles were also present remained prevalent. However, it can be argued that during this transition period, the market steering and academic oligarchy models also played a part in defining the role of university. The creation of steering bodies for the sector and societal demand for services, support or institution accountability highlight the important influence of both market and society (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 13) during this period.

This discussion highlights the fact that it has been within Mozambique's particular social, political and economic contexts that UEM's roles were defined.

Declaration

I declare that *Understanding the Roles of Public Universities in Mozambique: the Case of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Domingos Jaime Langa   Date: 12 November 2012

Signed: _Domingos J. Langa_

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Acknowledgements

Undertaking research is more or less like undertaking a journey; a number of people are invited to board a vehicle, plane or train, the final destination is made clear, but it is often hard and risky to predict the time of arrival.

I do not see myself as a "self-made man". On my academic journey, I have been accompanied by a number of people directly involved in the research and others, although not involved in the research process *per se*, who have been of relevance in providing moral support and helping us to believe that it was worthy to do we have been doing.

My first thank you goes to Dr. Gerald Wangenge-Ouma, my supervisor and guide. Even though he has been busy doing a variety of scientific and professional activities, he has always found time to orientate me since the conception of my research project through to the production of the dissertation. There are no words to describe how thankful I am.

Learning English as maybe fourth language has been a challenge. Speaking and writing in academic English has been even more challenging. I thank all those who have braced themselves not to laugh at my Portuguese accent while debating in English, and for having made a lot of effort to understand my messily-written English. I especially thank my friend Tânia Ferreira, and classmates Doreen Lwanga, Daniel Chiombori and Fabiana de Barros for having helped me to write this dissertation in basic English (if that exists at all). I am also immensely thankful to Stefanie Swanepoel for having tirelessly proofread the dissertation.

My mother, Glória Tembe, brothers and sisters Abel Tembe, Jorge Langa, Tomás Langa, Henrique Langa and Marta Langa, although staying in Mozambique, have always been present throughout my studies in Cape Town. Their phone calls and emails asking simple but comforting questions such as 'how are doing', 'how far have you gone with your research proposal' and later on 'how far have you gone with your dissertation', have encouraged me to work hard. Someone out there has cared about me. You have been the best family one could have had. I thank you all.

My girlfriend, who I fondly call Cle, has truly been a friend that I have counted on. She has managed (I think) to understand my lengthy physical and emotional absences during my studies. For her, my staying in Maputo during my fieldwork meant that I would not spend as

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CNES: National Council for Higher Education

CNESCT: National Council for Higher Education, Science and Technology

EGUM: Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique

FACOTRAV: Faculty for War Veterans and Vanguard Workers

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ISP: Higher Pedagogical Institute

MEC: Ministry of Education and Culture

MESCT: Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology

PARPA: Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta [Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction]

PRE: Programa de Reabilitação Económica (PRE) (Economic Recovery Programme)

SNE: National System of Education

UEM: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

ULM: Universidade de Lourenço Marques

UWC: University of the Western Cape

WB: World Bank

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the study

The role of universities has been one of the most debated issues both within and outside of universities (Smith, 1999; Trow, 1970; Ashby, 1964; Yesufu, 1973; Castells, 1991 and 2009). Trow (1970) and Castells (1991) suggest that the role of universities includes knowledge production and dissemination, manpower training and service provision to communities. Castells (1991) opined that throughout history, universities "(…) have performed basic functions that are implicit in the role that is assigned to them by society through political power or economic influence" (Castells, 1991: 206). The mission of a university is related to its "basic reason for existence, the reason or reasons why society supports it financially and morally" (Allen, 1988: 7). One of the issues in the debate revolves around who defines the role and priorities of universities.

The debate on the roles of universities in Africa is not new. The establishment of higher education institutions in colonial and post-colonial Africa is part of this debate. In post-colonial Africa the issue was what kind of universities were needed and for what purpose? A number of authors (Ashby, 1964; Yesufu, 1973; Court, 1980; Sherman, 1990; Saint, 1992; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Lulat, 2003; Van Wyk & Higgs, 2007) have approached the topic of the establishment of higher education institutions in Africa in the post-colonial period taking into account the colonial legacy.

As it shall be shown in this thesis, public universities in Africa, at least in the immediate post-colonial period, were closely linked to the state. Even though there were universities in Africa before and during European colonisation, in post-colonial Africa, the state was fundamental in establishing new universities and funding the existing ones (Mamdani, 2007: 209; Lulat, 2003: 15). Thus, universities became symbols of post-colonial independence (Mamdani, 2007; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Yesufu, 1973).

The general view was that whatever the position taken in the more developed countries, the African university occupied too critical a position to be left alone to determine its own

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priorities. The African university, as Yesufu (1973: 45) points out, was expected to 'accept' the hegemony of government.

An important point of departure in the discussion of the role of universities in Africa is an understanding of the kinds of universities that were created by the former European colonial masters. Colonial legacy in higher education was related to the kind of higher education institutions established by colonial rulers, their curricula, the qualifications of lecturers, access, and skilled personnel available in the immediate post-independence period. In the 1970s and 1980s, the debate centred on the role of universities within the context of a newly-independent Africa (Court, 1980: 660-670; Assié-Lumumba, 2006). How could universities and other higher education institutions contribute to the well-being of a nation? Were any reforms necessary in order to address those expectations?

It was thus argued that universities in Africa could not continue to be guided by a 'traditional' view, in which a university was regarded as a:

> Citadel of learning, an institution for the pursuit of knowledge, very often for its own sake, helping the initiated individual student to develop his intellect to the highest possible extent, and claiming the freedom to do research and teach, guided principally, if not entirely, by its own light and its own wisdom (Yesufu, 1973: 40).

Rather, an African university was expected to produce knowledge for the amelioration of the conditions of men and women in Africa (Ashby, 1964: 96-103; Yesufu, 1973: 41; Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 96).

More specifically, Ashby (1964: 42) argued that universities in post-colonial Africa - at least in Ghana and Nigeria - were considered distant from the environment in which they were located. Yesufu (1973) went further to highlight that this 'isolation' from their setting was considered unacceptable by the state. According to Yesufu, determining whose responsibility it was to define the priorities and roles of university was not an issue for the university alone; rather, the state should have a say in defining the roles of the university (Yesufu, 1973: 45).

Ajayi, Goma and Johnson (1996) argued, however, that even though the state is a key player in higher education, the roles of the university are not necessarily equal to the roles that are determined by the state. They argued that defining the role of the university is a challenge

that universities themselves are required to deal with (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996: 189). At the centre of this argument is the issue of the relationship between the state and university.

However, taking into account the relationship between the state, the university, society and the market, the roles of universities are understood to be a combination of what they are expected to do and what they perceive as their role (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10-14; Scott & Marshall, 2009: 659; Allen, 1988: 7). The university's roles are located both at the macro- and at the institutional level. At the macro-level, university's roles are informed by state legislation and policy on higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10-12). At the institutional level, however, the university's roles are defined by the university itself and relevant stakeholders (Clark, 1983: 140-145).

What may seem clear is that universities have roles to play. In addition, that those roles are often stated in state higher education legislation, policy and plans, by the university itself or its stakeholders. However, the debates explain neither the specific ways in which these roles come to be defined nor what these roles mean.

Thus, the debate on the role of universities is far from being concluded. Re-assessing this debate around the role of universities is still relevant for three main reasons. First, the process of defining the role of higher education institutions might have a certain logic that informs it. Second, it might have implications on the curricula and knowledge production as well as the type of students enrolled at the university. Finally, it might shed some light on the relationship between universities, the state and society and explain the role that universities are expected to play and how they are expected to operate (Cloete & Maassen, 2006; Van Vught, 1994; Clark, 1983; Ashby, 1964).

This study investigated the roles of public universities in Mozambique. The history of higher education in Mozambique is relatively short. The first higher education institution in Mozambique was the *Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique* (EGUM) [General University Studies of Mozambique] established under Portuguese colonial rule in 1962. Six year later, in 1968, EGUM, which had offered general training, was upgraded to a university, taking the name of *Universidade de Lourenço Marques* (ULM) [University of Lourenço Marques] (Universidade de Lourenço Marques, 1971/1972: 3).

In 1975, Mozambique gained political independence from Portugal, and a year later ULM was renamed Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) [Eduardo Mondlane University]. In

1985, two new public higher education institutions were created: the Higher Pedagogical Institute and the Higher Institute for International Relations. The enactment of the first law on higher education (Law number 1/93) opened up the possibility for the establishment of private higher education institutions. Since then, more public and private higher education institutions have been created. In addition, bodies to coordinate higher education in Mozambique were also established. The laws for higher education advocate greater autonomy for higher education institutions, particularly for self-determination around their roles, subsequent government policies and plans advocate for specific roles for universities (Comité de Conselheiros, 2003: 107-109; República de Moçambique, 2006: 102).

1.2 Statement of the problem

The debate on the roles of universities (Ashby 1964; Trow, 1970; Yesufu, 1973; Clark, 1983; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Smith 1999; Castells 1991 and 2009; Cloete and Maassen, 2006; Mamdani, 2007; Cloete *et al.,* 2011) in Africa and elsewhere can be anchored on the changes of thought around the broader conception of the university and its roles. The debate on the role of universities is neither new nor concluded. Despite mentioning a number of university roles - contribution to development, nation building, production of knowledge and manpower training - the reviewed literature, with some exceptions such as Ashby (1964), Court (1980) and Ajayi, Goma and Johnson (1996), does not seem to address the issue of how university roles came about.

Thus, the research problem is informed by both the on-going debate around the role of universities, which will be presented in the literature review, and an interest in understanding how different actors seek to impose, influence or even legitimise university roles. The key issue is who defines the roles of a university? There has been an increase in the number of actors and institutions involved and interested in higher education in general and the university in particular. However, among these actors and institutions, the state, the university and the market (Clark, 1983:137-139; Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10; Van Vught, 1994: 324-326) are of relevance to this study. Even though these authors have particularly focused on how higher education systems are coordinated and steered, their discussion of the relationship between the state and the university might also shed light on the roles that universities are expected to perform.

This study sought to understand the roles of public universities in Mozambique taking into account the relationship between the state, society and the university. More specifically, the

study discussed and analysed the relationship between the state and Eduardo Mondlane University (the oldest university in Mozambique) as well as how this relationship shaped the roles of the university. The study's guiding question was: How have the roles of Eduardo Mondlane University evolved from 1976 to 2009? The specific questions that guided the study are:

- How the roles of Eduardo Mondlane University have come about in the period between 1976 and 2009?

- How have these roles been shaped by the relationship between the state and Eduardo Mondlane University?

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

As mentioned, the study sought to understand how the roles of UEM came about, taking into account the relationship between university and the state and the market. In order to do so, the following specific objectives were set:

- To systematically collect and discuss the state policies and directives on higher education in Mozambique;

- To identify and analyse the state's conception of the roles of the public universities in Mozambique; and

- To describe and analyse the evolving roles of EUM from 1976 to 2009.

1.4 Rationale and significance of the study

The roles of a university can be expressed by the institutions themselves, stakeholders and society in general. However, such expressions may not tell how these roles came to be defined or what they mean. An analysis of which actors were involved in defining the roles of public universities, what is expected from public universities, and how public universities position themselves to address those expectations, are of relevance. This might lead to a greater understanding of the environment in which public universities operate in Mozambique as well as highlight the actors interested and involved in a university's business; identify the factors that are likely to promote change in a university; and give insight into how universities are run.

Understanding the environment in which universities operate in Mozambique is of relevance for it might explain how universities are perceived by the state, market and relevant stakeholders, such as donors and the large society. The importance of identifying actors that are involved in, interested in, or seeking to influence universities is that it might allow us to unveil what is expected from universities and the rationale behind those expectations. Finally, understanding factors with the potential to promote change and transformation in universities might make it possible to comprehend and characterise what drives an existing university to pursue certain roles and operate in the way it does.

1.5 Delimitation of the study

The study's unit of analysis is Eduardo Mondlane University. However, since an understanding of how university roles are defined and assessed takes into account the relationship with the state, the study looks at university roles at two levels: macro-/national and institutional levels. The macro-level refers to the way that university roles are defined by state higher education policies, legislation and national plans. The institutional level is related to the roles that the university defines for itself, embraces or is expected to embrace by the state, the market or relevant stakeholders, such as donors and civil society. The macro-level has been used to identify and discuss what the state, the ruling party *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*] (FRELIMO) [Mozambique Liberation Front] or the Ministry of Education conceived as the roles of higher education in general, and UEM in particular, whereas the institutional level highlights the roles that UEM embraced or was expected to embrace. A sole focus on UEM at the institutional level would not suffice for understanding how the university's roles came about.

While the study briefly discusses the roles of the university in the colonial period, the period of principal focus is from 1975 to 2009. A brief examination of the colonial period is necessary as it provides an understanding of which roles the university performed at its inception and the kind of university that existed immediately after the attainment of independence in 1975. The timeframe covers two of the three periods of higher education development in Mozambique (Mário *et al*., 2003; Brito, 2003; Chilundo *et al*., 2000; Chilundo, 2006; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008; Langa, 2010), namely the Socialist Period (1975 to 1984/85) and the Period of Transition to Democracy and a Market-oriented Economy (1985/6 to 2009). Looking at the socialist period, this study investigated how the roles of UEM were defined amid attempts by the ruling party to create a socialist

society. In the second period, transition to democracy and to a market-oriented economy (1985/6 to 2009), the study explores changes related to the abandonment of a strictly socialist ideology and the subsequent transition to a democratic society and a free market economy.

1.6 Organisation of the study

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Each chapter is then divided into sections and sub-sections.

The first chapter provides an introduction and a background to the study before introducing the research problem, aims, rationale, significance and, delimitation of the study.

The second chapter contains the literature review, including the conceptual and analytical framework. The discussion is divided into three sub-sections aimed at capturing the context to which the reviewed literature refers. Thus, the sub-sections address the debates on the roles of universities in the West, then in Africa, and finally studies on higher education in Mozambique.

The third chapter provides the conceptual and analytical framework deployed to analyse data. The conceptual and analytical framework is primarily drawn from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006).

The fourth chapter describes the methodology used in this study. As an exploratory case study, mainly qualitative research methods were used to understand how the roles of UEM came about. Data collection methods, data analysis and the ethical issues observed during the collection and analysis process are described.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters present and analyse the data. The fifth chapter – the contextual chapter - describes higher education in Mozambique from its establishment in 1962, under Portuguese colonial rule, up until the 2009 system. The sixth chapter first discusses the role of the colonial university in Mozambique before describing the relationship between the state and UEM and then how that relationship enabled the university to embrace and perform certain roles in the socialist period. The seventh chapter discusses the how the UEM roles came about in the period of transition to democracy and market-oriented economy. Then, we use the conceptual and analytical framework to analyse how the roles of UEM came about in each of the three identified periods.

The eighth chapter presents the main findings of the study and their relevance to attempts to comprehend the origins of the university's roles. The study's limitations and potential areas for further study are also presented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review section is divided into two parts. The first part addresses the different approaches to understanding the roles of higher education institutions in general and universities in particular, taking into account contributions from a number of authors.

The second part of the literature review provides the conceptual and analytical framework used in the study, drawing primarily from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006).

The debate on the roles and functions of universities has been on-going ever since the establishment of the modern universities in the 18th and 19th centuries (Wittrock, 1993; Scott 1998; Vitz, 1998). The term 'modern university' is used to distinguish two periods of establishment of universities: the period prior to the 18th century and the period from the 18th century up to the 21st century. The prevailing argument is that modern universities were established in the second part of the 18th century. Even though there were universities in medieval Europe, it has been argued that the constitution of the nation state is one of the factors that shaped modern universities (Scott, 1998: 110-113). Thus, the establishment of the modern university is related to the formation of the nation state.

2.2 University's roles: old and current debates

The literature review locates the debate on the roles of higher education in general, and universities in particular, at three levels. The first level is a literature review on a larger debate that relates to how the roles of universities have been discussed in the West (Habermas, 1971; Smith, 1999; Trow, 1970 and 2005; Scott, 1998; Castells 1991 and 2009). Secondly, the literature review describes and discusses the debate on the role of universities in Africa (Ashby, 1964; Yesufu, 1973; Court, 1980; Lulat, 2003; Sherman, 1990; Saint, 1992) with emphasis on the post-independence period. Finally, studies on higher education in Mozambique (Mário *et al*., 2003; Brito, 2003; Chilundo *et al*., 2000; Chilundo, 2006; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008) are described and discussed. The relevance of these studies is to highlight how higher education in Mozambique – the country in which the study's unit of analysis, UEM, is located – has been approached. Although the literature

review is divided into three levels, it does not claim to have provided an exhaustive historical description of universities throughout the world.

2.2.1 Debate on the roles of western universities

What follows is a debate on the roles of Western universities. Whether universities are located in the West is not of major concern in this study. Rather, the idea is to show how the debate on the roles of universities has been formulated in the West.

In this section, contributions by Habermas (1971), Smith (1999), Trow (1970) and Castells (1991 and 2009) on the functions and roles of universities are discussed. Although their approaches may not substantially differ, each adds a different perspective to the debate. As stated above, no attempts to provide a historical background of trends on the role of universities in the West over time will be made, nor will it be claimed that all Western countries are covered. In addition, "it is pointless to discuss the 'function of the university' in abstraction from concrete historical circumstances, as it would be a waste of effort to study any other social institution in this way" (Chomsky, 2003: 179). Considering this, the idea is to provide conceptions of the role of universities, then explore their complementarities and differences.

Habermas suggested that universities' roles are, among others, to produce and transmit knowledge, train graduates in "extrafunctional abilities", transmit, interpret, and develop the cultural tradition of the society, and form political consciousness of their students (Habermas, 1971: 1-3). The first two roles, as we will see, are often associated with the university function of teaching and learning, and have been emphasised in a number of scholarly works (Castells, 2009 and 1991; Trow, 2005 and 1970; Smith, 1999; Ajayi *et al.*, 1996; Saint, 1992; Yesufu, 1973; Ashby, 1964). The other roles are associated more with the contribution of universities to preserving the culture of a society and engendering citizens capable of participating in political affairs through functions such as teaching and learning and service to communities. 'Extrafunctional abilities' means "all those attributes and attitudes relevant to the pursuit of a professional career that are not contained *per se* in professional knowledge and skills" (Habermas, 1971: 2). Examples of these abilities may be characteristics such as leadership, the ability to act and perform well in adverse situations, working in a team, and so forth. Habermas's (1971) work was developed in the context of Germany in the 1960s when the country was divided into East and West Germany and both sides were being reconstructed. No wonder he stressed that one of the universities' roles is to encourage

political consciousness among their students, which would strengthen democratic values (Habermas, 1971: 2).

In a different context to that of Habermas's (1971) contribution to the debate on the role of universities, Smith (1999) summarised Robbins (1963) and Dearing's (1977) conceptions of the role of universities in the United Kingdom (UK). The summary is presented in the table below.

Table 2.1: **Conceptions of roles of universities in the UK**

Robbins, 1963	Dearing, 1977
Promoting the general power of the mind.	To inspire and enable individuals to develop their capabilities to the highest potential levels throughout life, so that they grow intellectually, are well equipped for work, can contribute effectively to society and achieve personal fulfilment.
The advancement of learning.	To increase knowledge and understanding for their own sake and to foster their application to the benefit of the economy and society.
Instruction in employment skills.	To serve the needs of an adaptable, sustainable knowledge-based economy at local, regional and national levels.
Transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship.	To play a major role in shaping a democratic, civilized, inclusive society.

Source: Smith (1999: 155) Table 8.4 Modern 'ideas' of the aims and purposes of a university.

It was pointed out that the major difference between these two conceptions of the role of universities is that Dearing (1977) states explicitly that universities should benefit the economy and society at local, regional and national levels (Smith, 1999: 156). However, by arguing that universities are providers of "instruction in employment skills", Robbins (1963) views them as also benefiting the economy and society at local, regional and national levels, or even at an international level.

Trow (1970) had argued that higher education institutions in the United States (US) had performed two main functions, namely, the autonomous function and the popular function. Autonomous functions are those that a university defines for itself. The three most important being the transmission of high culture; knowledge production; and the formation, selection, and certification of elites. The popular functions (of US universities) are those that

universities perform because of social demand namely, providing a place for students and providing useful knowledge and services to society (Trow, 1970: 2-4). It has to be stressed that unlike Smith (1999), Trow's (1970) analysis was made in a context characterised by, among other things, the struggles of minority groups such as Blacks and Hispanics in the US to gain access to higher education and the pressure put on universities to offer services to these minority communities.

Later, Trow (2000 and 2005) related his argument on how the increasing rates of participation in higher education systems [US] led to a shift from elite (rate of participation less than 15%) to mass (rate of participation around 40%) and then universal (rate of participation over 50%) higher education, with different higher education functions emerging at each stage. Thus, elite higher education prepares students for elite roles in government and the learned professions, while mass higher education trains a broader range of elite from technical and economic organisations and, finally, universal higher education trains the whole population to cope with rapid social and technological change in a society (Trow, 2005: 17-18).

It has to be acknowledged that Trow's argument on the transition from elite to mass higher education and then to universal higher education dates back to the 1970s. For instance, Trow made that argument when addressing, among other issues, access to higher education in the US (Trow, 1970); expansion; and elite and mass higher education (Trow, 1972; 1979). He further argued that information technologies (ITs) were both enabling and becoming drivers of universal access to higher education. IT, and specifically the internet, played a part in enabling the offering of courses of every kind and description within higher education institutions (Trow, 2000: 14).

Since Trow (2005) himself, recognised that these different forms of higher education – elite, mass and universal – were developed as models or ideal types in order to understand concrete systems, the main task that the model might impose is to provide empirical evidence to support it. In addition, the distinction between autonomous and popular functions might not capture the process through which the roles of universities are defined. What seems relevant is not only what roles a university performs, but also why they perform those specific roles and the background processes involved.

Manuel Castells (1991 and 2009) has argued that universities perform the following four functions: they provide ideological apparatuses to society; they select the dominant elite; they

generate knowledge; and they train the bureaucracy. Among these four functions, generating knowledge seems to be a more general function, as it is what universities have been tasked to do in different societies across different periods.

In further reflections, he adds three other functions namely, to elevate the level of education of a population at large; provide innovation to make it possible to link science, technology, and business; and to produce a quality labour force (Castells, 2009). Castells' understanding of the role of the universities is meant to capture different contexts. For instance, training of the bureaucracy is associated with Napoleonic universities, whose mission was to train the bureaucracy to serve territories under Napoleon rule.

Castells (1991 and 2009) takes as his point of departure the broad assumptions of the traditional roles of universities. Suffice to say, like Trow (2005), there is almost an absence of empirical evidence, which again justifies further research. Nonetheless, one could argue that the main difference between the approaches of Trow (1970 and 2005) and Castells (1991 and 2009) to the roles of universities is that the former can be characterised as a kind of an ideal type to be utilised to analyse concrete systems, whereas the latter is a normative explanation of the roles of universities. Thus, although Castells' (1991 and 2009) approach lacks empirical evidence, it seems to claim an explanatory dimension that cannot be sustained without empirical evidence. It is neither an ideal type nor a model of the roles of universities, but rather an explanation of it.

2.2.2 Universities in Africa: debates on roles of universities in the colonial and post-colonial periods

What follows is the debate on the roles of universities in Africa. Since modern universities in Africa were established during the colonial period, the discussion is divided into two periods: the colonial and post-colonial. Although a number of higher education institutions in Africa were established by Western colonial rulers, two observations have to be made. First, higher education in Africa is not entirely a Western colonial invention. During what has been called the pre-colonial period, there were a number of Islamic Mosque universities in Africa, such as:

> (...) the Ez-Zitouna madrassa in Tunis, founded in 732; the Quaraouiyine mosque university, founded in 859 in Fez by the Idrisids Muslim dynasty; the Al-Azhar mosque university in Cairo founded by the Abbasids Muslim dynasty in 969; and the Sankore mosque university founded by the Askia Muslim dynasty in

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Timbuktu in present-day Mali sometime in the twelfth century (Lulat, 2003: 15-16).

Among these four universities, Sankore is the only one that no longer exists. Although these institutions taught a number of courses such as mathematics, astronomy and medicine, the core role of these universities was (and perhaps still is) to disseminate Islamic religious teachings. However, it can be argued that the universities in the pre-colonial period might have been transformed during the colonial period. In fact, it is argued that the development of these universities was disrupted during the colonial period, the new context under which universities were operating – colonial – being the chief element of that disruption (Lulat, 2003: 16).

The second observation is that prior to the Berlin Conference, which paved the way for formal colonisation of Africa, there were already a number of higher education institutions established under different arrangements. Some examples are the Liberia College established in January 1862 and Cuttington College in 1889, both located in Liberia, and Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone established in 1827 (Sherman, 1990: 364-365; Girdwood, 1995: 95).

When it comes to the establishment of universities during the colonial period in Africa, again an observation has to be made: that not all African countries experienced Western colonial rule, Liberia and Ethiopia are two such examples. Nevertheless, the establishment of universities in Africa is very much related to their colonial experience and a distinction between colonial and post-colonial universities is likely to be useful in understanding what the expectations of them were.

The British, the French, the Portuguese and the Belgians were among the main Western colonial powers in Africa, and each one had a different style of colonial rule. A number of authors (Lulat, 2003: Girdwood, 1995; Ashby, 1964) have argued that following World War II, European colonial powers formally sketched out what would inform the establishment of universities and other higher education institutions, such as colleges and institutes, as well as their missions. For instance, the reason why higher education institutions were formally created following World War II in the British colonies in Africa was, among other things, that:

> (...) As the Second World War ended, the British colonial secretary, acting in the spirit of the generally accepted view in British ruling circles that independence in

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its colonies was simply a matter of time. (...) Many recognized that if the colonies were to achieve independence, then indigenization of the government civil service and establishment of more primary and secondary schools would create a demand for trained leadership and human capital resources (Lulat, 2003: 19).

This quotation suggests that the establishment of higher education institutions in the British colonies in Africa was meant to facilitate the training of civil servants and leaders for post-independence countries. Nonetheless, each colonial power had specific forms of administrating and ruling its colonies, which might have influenced the way universities were created, organised and run, thus making it difficult to generalise how universities operated in Africa.

However, when it came to higher education provision in the colonies, vocational training seemed to have been the focus (Lulat, 2003:18) with a sort of replication of the European metropolitan-style universities into African colonies. The British and French led the process of creating universities, while the Belgians and Portuguese were comparatively late in creating universities in their colonies, only starting in the 1950s and 1960s respectively. By that time, a number of African countries had already become politically independent (Lulat, 2003: 18-22).

2.2.2.1 University's roles in the post-colonial period in Africa

Throughout the post-colonial period, specifically in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, universities established by the former Western colonial rulers seemed to provide a point of departure for the discussion of the nature and role of universities within the newly-independent African countries. How could universities and other higher education intuitions contribute to the well-being of a nation? Were any reforms necessary in order to address those expectations?

Ashby's (1964) book *African Universities and the Western Tradition* is widely cited in debates about African universities in the 1960s. His main argument being that to understand African universities in the 1960s, the decade immediately after independence and especially in those countries that were under British colonial rule, such as Ghana and Nigeria, one has to take into account how nationalism exerted an influence on the affairs of universities. For instance, there were debates around whether the university's constitution, curricula, standard and social function should adapt to the new African post-independence scenario, or be left unchanged. Despite public opinion, it was the debate concerning the nature of the relationship between the state and the universities that put pressure the state in two ways:

(...) pressures to emphasise the utilitarian functions of the university, and pressures to incorporate into the undergraduate courses elements of indigenous African civilisation: its languages and history, social and political systems, music and mythology (Ashby, 1964: 97).

Universities were expected to adapt themselves according to these roles, become agents of change, and address national needs. Nonetheless, according to Ashby (1964), the crucial concern around enabling universities to perform their newly-defined role was neither the relevance of these roles nor how well equipped they were to address them, but rather how their graduates could make African nationalism creative. African nationalism, at least in Ghana and Nigeria, was characterised by a selective rejection of Western influence, meaning that universities were able to select and adapt Western elements that were considered relevant, such as the use of English as a teaching language and high academic standards (Ashby, 1964: 96).

However, Ashby (1964) further argues that, "a nation cannot be built on rejection alone; there must also be affirmation; there must be Africans who can put into words not only what African nationalism rejects, but what it affirms" (Ashby: 1964: 103). Thus, only when universities were able to make African nationalism more creative - constituted by both elements of rejection and affirmation - they would address their utilitarian role and integrate elements of African civilisation into their curricula. In other words, Ashby's (1964) argument was that African nationalism was one-sidedly defined; its emphasis was on what it rejected from Western influence. The task of identifying what would make nationalism more creative revolved around which elements from Western influence would be preserved, what would be improved, what else was needed, and how would it be provided.

The reason I present Ashby's (1964) argument in some length is not only as it is considered a reference point, but also as it shows that universities, since the 1960s, are no longer seen as 'ivory towers'. Although universities have been under pressure since their inception, one cannot assume that all African universities were required to perform similar roles or in the same ways. African universities were commonly associated with being a tool for nation building and development (Assié-Lumumba 2006; Girdwood 1995; Court 1980). Thus, some university's utilitarian functions in the 1970s and 1980s were emphasised as follows:

From its ivory-tower romance, the university has come to feel pressures of accountability that require it not only to produce an educated elite but also to

prepare people who can come down to earth and analyse and discuss several problems facing our nations as objectively as it is ever possible, and find ways and means of solving them (Mosha, 1986: 113).

However, whether universities were prepared to contribute to development and how they could do so was and still is a source of tension. For instance, Ashby (1964: 42) identified a dilemma that African universities faced in the early 1970s, whereby: "the universities and their graduates are isolated from the life of the common people in a way which has had no parallel in England since the middle ages". These dilemmas were, and still are, related to issues such as integration, adaptation and relevance of the curricula.

The fact that universities in Africa were considered to be isolated from the life of ordinary people was seen as politically unacceptable. Universities were (and still are) both asked and expected to contribute to the nation-building of the newly-independent African countries. To illustrate the urgency of this demand, Yesufu (1973) summarised a position defended in a workshop organised by the Association of African Universities, under the theme "Creating the African University: Emerging Issues of the 1970s" and held in Accra-Ghana in 1972:

The general view was that whatever the position in the more developed countries, the university in Africa occupied too critical a position of importance to be left alone to determine its own priorities (Yesufu, 1973: 45).

As a result, it was suggested that universities in Africa would have the following roles: (i) pursue, promote and disseminate knowledge; (ii) undertake fundamental and applied research; (iii) provide intellectual leadership; (iv) train manpower; (v) promote social and economic modernisation; and (vi) promote inter-continental unity and international understanding (Yesufu, 1973: 42-44).

These roles are not necessarily different from those suggested by Smith (1999), Trow (1970 and 2005) and Castells (1991 and 2009), but they also emphasise research and training of person power and the need to provide services to communities. However, one could argue that the roles that universities in Africa were asked to perform were different in two ways. First, they were formulated because of what was considered an almost absent connection between universities and the national needs of those newly-independent countries. Thus, these roles were meant to make the universities useful to the communities, regions and countries in which they were located. Second, these roles were also framed in a vision

according to which universities should contribute to the promotion of inter-continental and international relations. To do so, they had to position their thinking to go beyond borders and operate in a continental and international framework.

Thus, a number of African countries implemented structural reforms in their higher education institutions in order to make them diverse, flexible, and curricular relevant (Lulat 2003:20). In the words of Court (1980: 660), the 1970s were dominated by an instrumental view of the university's role in development.

Using Kenya and Tanzania as case studies, Court (1980) suggested that to discuss the role of African universities in development, three points had to be taken into account. First, in the 1960s and 1970s African universities were still young. Second, their developmental role had not historically been a priority. Finally, the universities were not always equipped to carry out certain tasks that were expected from them (Court, 1980: 667). One could add that it is also important to explore what was meant by development.

The question of whether African universities had contributed to development in the 1970s and 1980s might require further research. It would be important to find out what developmental roles were assigned to universities or that universities had assigned to themselves and determine what notions of development informed those roles, in order to develop analytical tools with which to measure their contributions.

Equally important is not to take for granted the idea of an "African university", as it might imply that these universities are similar with little or no differences and specificities among them. Noting however, that universities, among other things, were required to contribute to nation building and development, as per the priorities of a number of countries (Girdwood, 1995; Sherman, 1990; Yesufu, 1973; Ashby, 1964). In a way, the emphasis on the need to 'Africanise' both the curricula and staff, and strengthen the link between universities and their graduates and communities was meant to 'create' an "African university".

Van Wyk and Higgs (2007) also engaged with the debate around the notion of an African university in the beginning of the 21st century. Their main argument is that indigenous African worldviews and socio-cultural and epistemological frameworks should serve as the platform for critical and transformative education and national educational paradigms in Africa. Thus, to address indigenous African worldviews and to root African national education paradigms in an indigenous socio-cultural and epistemological framework might

create conditions for the African university to cope with a challenging demand: "to improve the quality of the lives of all those who inhabit this continent" (Van Wyk & Higgs, 2007: 63-70).

What all these authors (Girdwood, 1995; Sherman, 1990; Yesufu, 1973; Ashby, 1964; Van Wyk & Higgs, 2007) point out is that there are a number of requirements that a university needs to fulfil in order to attain the status of an 'African university'. Some of these requirements included contributing to nation building and development as well as making students aware of local realities and their challenges. Thus, it seems that being located in an African country is not sufficient for a university to be considered an African university.

2.2.2.2 The debate on the role of universities in the 1990s: a recurrent issue

What has been the focus of debate on the role of African universities since the 1990s? Ajayi, Goma and Johnson's (1996) contribution to the debate on the role of African universities in the 1990s is based on the argument that the role of African universities in the post-independence period was defined by the state, with the emphasis on development. However, in the 1990s it became important to redefine the roles of the universities:
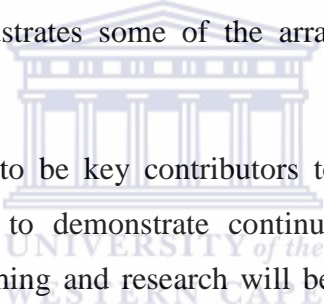
> What is required in the 1990s, in the move towards human resource development and capacity building, is that the universities themselves be challenged to redefine their missions. Such definitions should no longer be based on the assumption that the mission of the university is co-equal with that of the state. The functions of the university must be limited. Their area of specialisation is higher education (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson 1996: 189).

They suggested three criteria for redefining the role of the university: quality, creativity and relevance. By quality, they meant "the pursuit of excellence" in teaching, learning skills and university management. Creativity was associated with the identification of solutions for problems through research and training and relevance implied the ability to transform the life of the village or environments surrounding the universities or those environments where teachers and students lived (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996: 190).

The relationship between state and universities emphasised by Ajayi *et al.* (1996) has been discussed since the 1960s. In fact, it has been pointed out (Ashby, 1964; Mosha, 1986; Yesufu, 1973), as described above, that the state is among those institutions that have pressured universities to, among other things, address national needs. No wonder Ashby

(1964) emphasised the need to understand African universities in the 1960s within the context of nationalism.

Apart from the emphasis on redefining the relationship between the state and university as pertaining to the role of universities in the 1990s and even in the 2000s, some authors (Saint, 1992; Sherman, 1990; Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2005; Assié-Lumumba, 2006) also emphasised that a number of African countries face problems such as poverty, underdevelopment, illiteracy, unemployment and political instability. Thus, addressing these problems or contributing to overcoming each of these problems was seen as one of the roles of the university. On the other hand, universities themselves face problems. These can either emanate from those problems that a country is facing – poverty, political instability and underdevelopment – or problems internal to universities – relevance of the curricula, low quality of teaching and research – or both. Thus, to address, for instance "the needs of a nation for manpower", universities have to overcome their own problems and then address others. The quotation below illustrates some of the arrangements that universities could make:

> If African universities are to be key contributors to national capacity-building processes, they will have to demonstrate continuing relevance in a rapidly changing world. Their teaching and research will be called upon to support the efforts of the continent's emerging private sector, including non-governmental development organizations and business enterprise. To this end, course content may need to give greater emphasis to the development of critical thinking and problem-solving capacities, and to impart specific management and administrative skills. At the same time, greater flexibility in academic programs may be needed to incorporate interdisciplinary approaches and accommodate part-time or continuing education studies (Saint, 1992: 89).

The discussion above shows that universities in Africa have been called upon to perform certain roles, the core being that of contributing to the fulfilment of the needs of a country and to help "drive" it towards achieving development goals. It also highlights the fierce debate on the roles of universities in Africa that has been ongoing since the colonial period. However, this simply gives an idea of the nature of a debate where a number of issues might be explored. Thus the question why universities have to carry out certain tasks can be, even though sketchily, answered in that they needed to "help" countries address their needs and

problems. However, there are several other questions, which cannot be answered without conducting research: what kind of universities do African countries have? What did they mean by development? How have universities been expected to contribute to development? Which other things have universities been asked to address?

However, since the development role of universities referred in the works quoted above (Yesufu, 1973; Court, 1980; Ajayi *et al.*, 1996) is more related to the period between 1960 and 1980, it is worth mentioning a more recent study by Cloete *et al.* (2011). The study's main assumption is that higher education in general, and universities in particular, have a particular role to play in the knowledge economy: to contribute to economic development through knowledge production, application and dissemination. The study's departure point was three identified success cases (Pillay, 2010: 1) – Finland, South Korea and North Carolina, US. It has been argued that economic policies were deliberately used to link higher education in these three systems with economic development. The study, undertaken in eight African countries, including Mozambique, attempted to explore the link between higher education and economic development. In Mozambique, UEM was the university selected for the study's sample. Eight countries and a university in each were part of the sample: Botswana – University of Botswana; Ghana – University of Ghana; Kenya – University of Nairobi; Mauritius – University of Mauritius; South Africa – Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University; Tanzania – University of Dar es Salaam and Uganda – Makerere University (Cloete, Bailey and Maassen, 2011: 7). Cloete *et al.* (2011) termed as an academic core what Clark (1998) had termed as a heartland. In a higher education institution in general, and in a university in particular, the heartland is still considered the traditional academic departments, which are generally formed around disciplines as well as interdisciplinary fields. Academic core is defined as:

> (…) the basic handling of knowledge through teaching via academic degree programmes, research output, and the production of doctorates (those who, in the future, will be responsible for carrying out the core knowledge activities) (Cloete *et al.,* 2011: 26).

Cloete *et al.* (2011) purpose is to stress the relevance of a university's academic core to development. Thus, the authors argue that the contribution of the university to development is associated with the strength, production and reproduction of its academic core. However,

Clark (1998) and Cloete *et al.* (2011) seem to share the viewpoint that the role of universities is to produce, disseminate and apply knowledge.

Two observations related to the reviewed literature have to be made. First, despite mentioning a number of university roles – contribution to development, nation building, knowledge production, manpower training and so on - the reviewed literature, with some exceptions such as Ashby (1964), Court (1980) and Ajayi, Goma and Johnson (1996), does not seem to address the question of how these roles came about.

Secondly, it seems that these works point out that the state-university relationship regarding the roles of universities in Africa manifested mainly in the early years of independence, more specifically in the mid-1960s, the 1970s and mid-1980s. However, even though there has been a growing number of actors and institutions interested in higher education institutions in general, and in universities in particular, the state remains a key player in higher education (Clark, 1983: 137-139; Van Vught, 1994: 324-326; Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10). Thus, investigating how university roles came about implies, among other things, looking at the relationship between state and university. The assumption underpinning this study is that it has been the relationship between universities and state, mediated through policies and plans, that has shaped the roles of the university.

2.2.3 Research on higher education in Mozambique

What follows is a review of relevant literature on higher education in Mozambique. The works discussed herein mainly focus on the expansion of higher education in Mozambique. For instance, Chilundo (2003), Mário *et al.,* (2003) and Brito (2003) are among the authors who have delved into the issue of expansion of higher education in Mozambique. It should also be emphasised that, although a number of studies on higher education in Mozambique have been carried out, the field still needs a lot of research.

This part of the literature review does not explore debates on the role of higher education in Mozambique. Rather it is an extension of the previous debate on how higher education has been researched in Mozambique. To some extent, by reviewing some studies on higher education in Mozambique, an epistemological gap is highlighted that the study seeks to address: What are the roles of universities in Mozambique?

2.2.3.1 Brief outline of studies on higher education in Mozambique

The five studies reviewed below were selected because they address either policy on higher education in Mozambique or expansion of that sector. These studies provide an

understanding of how higher education in Mozambique has been previously researched and the focus area of that research. Even though the studies are focused on higher education in Mozambique, it has to be acknowledged that there have also been studies undertaken that focus on levels of education other than higher education, namely, primary and secondary education. Some of these studies are Gasperini (1986) and Zawangoni (2007) that address the provision of primary and secondary education during the immediate period following independence. Mazula (1993) and Castiano, Ngoenha and Berthoud (2005) also focused on the provision of education but over two periods: the colonial period and the period following independence.

Chilundo (2002) attempted to present the main features of higher education in Mozambique from the colonial period through to 2000. However, he does not explicitly locate his analysis in any debate on the role of universities. His discussion includes governance and management of public and private higher education institutions, their student bodies, teaching staff, higher education financing and UEM's strategic plan and reform (Chilundo, 2002: 1-10). Although many issues are debated, the main conclusion, rather than recommendation, is that equity and distance learning could be regarded as issues that need to be addressed. Thus, Chilundo goes on to suggest that not only should the provision of higher education be encouraged, but also that access should be widened. (Chilundo *et al.*, 2000: 36).

Mário *et al.* (2003) argue that the nature of higher education in post-1990 Mozambique is informed by the increasing number of private higher education institutions that have emerged following the enactment of a democratic constitution in 1990 and a Law of Higher Education in 1993 (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 2-3). There are two main positions. One position argues that the increase in the number of private higher education institutions promotes competition in higher education provision; the second that private higher education institutions offer programmes with lower quality. Nonetheless, Mário *et al.* (2003) do not associate themselves with any of these positions; they instead recommend that a diversified higher education institution should be recognised by both the government and donors (Mário *et al.*, 2003: 108).

Unlike the other studies, Brito (2003:1) focuses on reforms in higher education in Mozambique. The purpose of the study is to understand the challenges facing higher education due to the waves of reform that followed the 2000 enactment of the Strategic Plan on Higher Education in Mozambique 2000-2010.

Brito (2003) argues that, even though reforms that have been undertaken might have helped the government to cope with an increasing number of higher education institutions, two observations need to be taken into account. The first is that change is not easily detected. So one could ask, to what extent has the higher education system been reformed? The second is that the reform process might address more specific issues such as higher education management, performance, quality assurance and articulation among the institutions involved in higher education (Brito, 2003: 10).

Two observations can be made from the above discussion: first, there is an emphasis on both historic and holistic approaches to higher education. These studies have attempted to address higher education in Mozambique from the colonial period until 2003, by addressing a diversity of issues including access versus quality; teaching staff; relevance, quality and quantity; use of ICT; finance and governance of higher education institutions; rather than a more focused discussion, in which there is a delimitation of what is being studied.

The second observation is that the three studies mentioned above focus on describing a number of issues related to the field of higher education in Mozambique.

Unlike Brito (2003), Chilundo (2002) and Mário *et al.* (2003), Beverwijk, Goedegebuure and Huisman (2008) analysed policy development in Mozambique higher education over a 10-year period, from 1993 to 2003. However, the intention is not to compare these studies, but to rather describe and discuss studies on higher education in Mozambique to show how the sector has been researched. Beverwijk, Goedegebuure and Huisman's (2008) main argument is that policy change in Mozambican higher education system took place "in an unstable and turbulent context and in a nascent subsystem" (2008: 358). The context was characterised as unstable and turbulent because of three main reasons. First, there was a transition from a centrally-planned economy to a liberal, free-market economy with a democratic political system. Secondly, there was also a transition from 16 years of civil war to a period of peace starting in 1992. Finally, the first higher education legislation – Law number 1/93 – was enacted in 1993, or post the armed conflict period. The subsystem was termed nascent because they argue that it was only in the 1990s that higher education in Mozambique started to reflect the desires of a number of actors other than the government (Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008: 261).

Despite Beverwijk, Goedegebuure and Huisman's (2008) focus on policy change in the Mozambican higher education system, one would have to agree with Musselin (2005) that it

is a complex endeavour to determine firstly how much change has occurred and secondly what seems to not have changed. Musselin's approach highlights three aspects: firstly, policy change is a complex process due to the interaction of higher education institutions with different interests, structures, and a multiplicity of actors and logics.

Secondly, change occurs differently within a system, and, lastly, it is important to define the level where a change is to be researched (Musselin, 2005: 76-77). Thus, one would argue that, although Beverwijk Goedegebuure and Huisman (2008) focus their study on policy change in the Mozambique higher education system, the study did not highlight the level at which change was analysed. It is therefore unclear whether change refers to the national level (the Mozambican higher education system) or ministry level (the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology) or even at individual institutions (higher education institutions).

Langa (2006) adds to the debate on diversification and expansion of higher education in Mozambique since the 1990s. Using Bourdieu's theory of social field, the study sought to explore the extent to which a constellation of higher education institutions in Mozambique functions as a field. In such a field, higher education institutions, divided into public and private institutions, occupy certain positions according to the amount of cultural capital (qualifications of the academic staff), scientific capital (staff's participation in academic events), economic capital (sources and variety of income), and social capital (networks and membership in academic organisations) (Langa, 2006). The main conclusion is that, although each form of capital cannot be reduced to the others, capital attracts more capital, meaning that those higher education institutions with a certain amount of capitals, including diversified capitals, are likely to attract more capital (Langa, 2006: 102).

Langa (2006) did not intend to create a ranking tool. However, by positioning both public and private higher education institutions according to their volume of capital, the findings of the study sound like a ranking tool. At first glance, there is nothing problematic in doing so. Nonetheless, if one takes into account that one of the study's departure points is a presupposition that the previous studies did not address the relational dimension and the dynamics of the process of the expansion and diversification (Langa, 2006: 49), one could ask how the relational dimension and the dynamics of the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions can be assessed. A relational and dynamic process, and a field,

for instance, imply among other things, how higher education institutions interact among themselves.

Even though the studies reviewed generally address the debates on the role of higher education institutions in Mozambique, they also address some key issues related to the sector. Two of these issues are the expansion of the higher education sector in Mozambique and the policy formulated to coordinate the sector. Policy studies highlight that there has been enactment of legislation and national plans around higher education, while studies on the expansion of higher education in Mozambique point to an increase in the number of public and private higher education institutions.

These studies focus on either the national (Brito, 2003; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008), or the institutional level (Langa, 2006). (Brito, 2003; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008) address the dynamics of state regulation on higher education and the changes which have occurred through time. Chilundo *et al.* (2000) and Mário *et al.* (2003) describe the expansion of higher education institutions in Mozambique from the early years of independence to 2003. However, focusing at the macro-level or looking at the institutional level *per se* does not allow us to understand how the roles of the university came about. Rather, focusing at both levels might allow us to understand what the state expects from the university and what it does (or does not do) to address those expectations.

Although the reviewed works attempt to address higher education in Mozambique since the colonial period, none of them addresses, in depth, what universities were established for, or analyses the debates around the role of universities. That is the gap this study has identified and intends to address. Thus, taking into account that the relationship between the state and university might be fundamental to understanding how the roles of the university came about, this study looks at the university's roles at two levels: macro- and institutional. The macro-dimension refers to the way in which university roles are defined by state policy, legislation and plans on higher education, whereas the institutional level relates to those roles that a university defines for itself, embraces or is expected to embrace.

2.2.4 Restating the research problem

From the literature review on the roles of Western universities, one notices that Trow's (1970) argument that universities have performed autonomous functions (those ones that a university defines for itself) and popular functions (those that are defined by society at large)

may also capture a number of roles of universities cited by the authors above. However, rather than divide the process of defining roles of universities into separate and almost distinct mechanisms, it would be worthy to take into account that these two mechanisms may not be as clearly separated as Trow (1970) suggested. Equally, they may not capture the dynamics involved in the relationship between universities and their environments. The argument that universities are no longer seen as ivory towers (Ashby, 1964) is in part an attempt to acknowledge that the idea of autonomous functions of a university is being contested.

Nonetheless, it seems that over and above acknowledging the contestation of autonomous functions of the university, it is critical that the context under which certain roles of universities are developed and the processes involved are understood. For instance, from the literature review on the debate on the roles of African universities in the 1ate 1960s and in the 1970s, it was stressed that universities should contribute, among other things, to nation building and development of the newly independent African countries (Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2005; Girdwood, 1995; Sherman, 1990; Yesufu, 1973; Ashby, 1964).

What the literature review signals is that a number of roles have been assigned to universities. However, if one considers that universities operate in particular environments, it is equally important to describe and analyse why universities embrace certain roles through time and the rationales for doing so. Thus, it can be argued that to do so one could, among other things, look at a specific university to identify the roles that it has performed but also to analyse how these roles evolved and their rationales. Neither universities nor the environments in which they operate are 'actorless' institutions. In other words, it is argued that both universities and the environment in which they operate are made up by actors who seek to discuss not only the idea of university, but also its purposes and how it can be run (Wittrock, 1993: 308-309).

As far as the field of higher education in Mozambique is concerned, Langa (2006) has convincingly stated that a number of studies are still policy-oriented and somehow related to a development agenda. Deviating from the predominantly policy-oriented nature of studies on Mozambican higher education, Langa (2006) explored the patterns of expansion of higher education institutions and the dynamic of the process of diversification. That approach is undoubtedly important. However, since both expansion and diversification of higher education institutions involve actors that interact both among themselves, and with other institutions and society at large, it would be equally interesting to explore what roles a higher

education institution proposes or is expected to perform and why. Thus, using UEM as a case study, this study seeks to explore how the roles of that particular university came about.

The following section presents the analytical lenses used to determine how the roles of UEM came about. The conceptual and analytical framework will be used to make sense of the relationship between the state and the university and explore how that relationship helps us to understand how UEM's roles were created.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

What follows below is a presentation of an analytical framework developed from the theory through which we seek to understand how the roles of UEM came about. As signalled above, the conceptual and analytical framework draws from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006). Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006) highlight the involvement of actors such as the state, higher education institutions, and society at large, in coordinating and steering higher education. The conceptual and analytical framework, however, is focused on the relationship between the state and higher education institutions in general, and universities in particular taking into account how this relationship shapes the roles of a university.

Wittrock (1993) argues that the changes that the modern university has experienced since the 18th and 19th centuries are among the most important areas to be researched, as they are related both to the idea of the university and the shaping of existing universities. His central question revolves on an appropriate theory to make sense of these changes. Since he rejects a functionalist approach, as it cannot explain interactions where a number of actors are involved, he states that these changes can be understood by a theory able to capture and comprehend the interplay between cognitive claims and objective situation of a university (Wittrock, 1993: 361-309).

Clark (1983) developed an analytical framework to, among other reasons, understand how higher education systems are organised, coordinated and governed. Rather than focusing on a single national higher education system, his main aim was to develop an analytical framework that enabled cross-national comparisons between higher education systems. These comparisons concerned the way in which higher education systems are coordinated (Clark, 1983: 2).

As far as coordination is concerned, three mechanisms of coordinating higher education systems were identified: state coordination, market coordination and oligarchy coordination.

Each of these forms of coordinating higher education is placed in each corner of what Clark termed as a 'triangle of coordination' (Clark, 1983: 143).

He pointed out that:

> Higher education systems wary widely between dependence on authority and dependence on exchange: the more loosely joined the system the greater the dependence on exchange (Clark, 1983: 138).

These mechanisms of coordinating higher education are neither static nor finished. Rather, they are conceived as analytical tools to understand how higher education systems are coordinated and to identify the existence of hybrid forms of coordinating. In addition, the analytical tools were also meant to trace changes in coordinating higher education whenever they occur.

The state coordination or state authority consists of, amongst other things, developed planning capacity and the existence of central state machinery integrated in a small system (Clark, 1983: 139). The state provides funding and is central to enacting regulatory frameworks for the higher education system. Clark used two countries as examples of state coordination: the former Soviet Union and Sweden. He stated:

> The Soviet Union is the purest case of the triumph of the state over oligarchical and market interaction. Sweden remains relatively close to the extreme of state coordination, since that country developed strong capacity, during the last two decades, for state officials and allied interest groups to override the traditionally strong power and privileges of professors (Clark, 1983: 142).

Market coordination, however, as he points out, "works without benefit of a superstructure: unregulated exchanges link persons and parts together. 'Exchange' is a basic form of interaction that stands in contrast to authoritative command; it can be seen as a method of organizing cooperation among people" (Clark, 1983: 161-162). As an example of market coordination, he refers to the US, arguing that:

> The United States, inordinately varied, exhibits little coordination at state or national levels by senior academics. Lacking the power base of European and Japanese counterparts, American academics are poorly represented in the higher reaches of the superstructure control (Clark, 1983: 144).

Again, these analytical tools are ideal types. Thus, any attempt to relate them to an existing higher education system requires both caution and sound evidence. For instance, Cloete and Maassen (2006) caution against referring to the US as an example of market coordination in higher education, as:

> Even though the US state governments also have funding and regulatory responsibility with respect to public higher education, in most states the financial and regulatory instruments are not very restrictive and provide a lot of autonomy to the institutions. However, this does not mean that the USA overall has a market-driven higher education system. There is considerable diversity in state governance models and in a number of US states higher education is steered in a 'state-controlled' way, with line-item budgeting comparable to the traditional European government's way of steering higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 11).

The third form of coordinating higher education system is oligarchy coordination or academic oligarchy. Clark argues that, "a national system may be coordinated primarily by oligarchs (…) rather than political-bureaucratic [state coordination] or market-type interaction [market coordination]" (Clark, 1983: 139). The oligarchy coordination stresses the power and control exercised by professors over a higher education system. Clark elaborates:

> The power vested locally in chair-holding professors in [European] Continental systems was used to build control in bodies responsible nationally for finance, personnel, curriculum, and research. On some issues, such control has been exercised with the unity of a small oligarchy, as superbarons have come together in a central council or maintained informal contact. On other issues, particularly in those specialised along disciplinary lines, such as the allocation of research monies, the small-group control has been more polyarchical in nature. In either case, there have been '"authorities" in charge, not market mechanisms, but authorities are professors rather than bureaucrats (Clark, 1983: 140).

Italy was referred to as an example of oligarchy coordination. Clark argued that in that country, "state authority has functioned largely as a mock bureaucracy, a façade of public control behind which senior professors have had primary power" (Clark, 1983: 140).

He further argues that:

[The] triangular conception of types of integration, most of the overt action in most national systems is located to the left of the midpoint: the open battle is between state officials and professors. The market is either not perceived as a form of coordination or is seen as one that gives undependable and undesired results. On the part of responsible academics as well as state officials, political and administrative, there is the assumption that there should be an authority, someone in charge. However, the state officials are not automatic winners in this battle, easy victors in an unequal contest (Clark, 1983: 145).

State authority

Academic oligarchy   Market
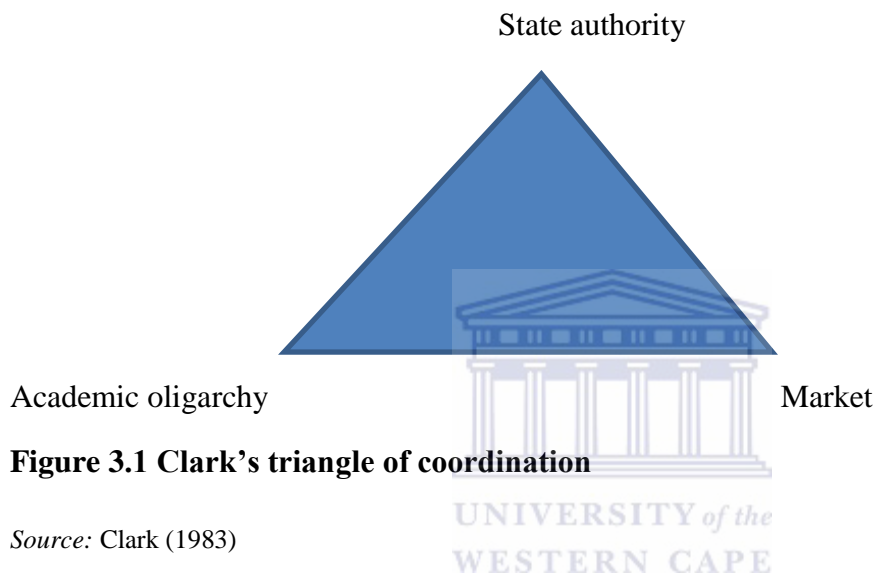
Figure 3.1 Clark's triangle of coordination

Source: Clark (1983)

Clark's (1983) triangle of coordination has been used to understand coordination of higher education systems. Cloete and Maassen (2006) have revised Clark's triangle of coordination to understand reforms in higher education focusing on post-Apartheid South Africa. Unlike Clark's (1983) coordination triangle made up of state coordination, market coordination and bureaucratic coordination, Cloete and Maassen's (2006) triangular analytical model comprises the following elements: the state, society and higher education institutions.

Cloete and Maassen (2006) also locate the relationship between these three constitutive elements of the triangle within a broader context of globalisation. Why globalisation? They argue that:

Even though globalisation is a far from uncontroversial concept, there is general agreement that most nation states are going through a transformation process that is strongly affected by global trends and pressures. These trends and pressures

form, for example, an important basis for national public sector reforms with respect to higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 7).

The state, as one of the elements of the triangle, is approached taking into account its role in steering higher education. Like Clark (1983), Cloete and Maassen (2006) observe that since the 19th century, states in continental Europe have assumed the responsibility of regulating and funding higher education. This model of steering higher education has been termed as "state control model". The state control model is one of the four models developed by Olsen (1988) for assessing the relationship between the state and higher education.

One of the implications of the state control model, Cloete and Maassen argue, was that:

> (…) the state took care of the public interest in higher education. It designed and regularly adapted the regulatory frameworks for higher education, and it was the main, if not sole, funder of higher education. Social expectations with respect to higher education were not addressed in direct links between social actors and higher education, but were taken up by the state (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10).

The state control model, however, has not been the sole mechanism of steering higher education. Rather, it was emphasised that there have been, at least in the US and the UK, a state-supervision model of steering higher education. Van Vught (1994) summarised key features of the state supervision model as follows:

> [In the state supervision model] the influence exercised by the state is weak. The state sees it only as its task to supervise the higher education system, in terms of assuring academic quality and maintaining a certain level of accountability. Government does not intrude into the higher education system by means of detailed regulation and strict control. It rather respects the autonomy of the higher education institutions and it stimulates the self-regulating capabilities of these institutions. The state sees itself as a supervisor, steering from a distance and using broad terms of regulations (Van Vught, 1994: 332).

In the state supervision model, it is emphasised that the state is not the only stakeholder nor does it represent all the social expectations related to higher education. Rather, a more direct relationship between other actors involved in higher education – higher education institutions and society – is emphasised (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10-12).

As pointed out, apart from the state model and state supervision models of coordination, there are two other models of addressing and understanding the relationship between the state and higher education. These are the corporative-pluralist state and state supermarket models. The corporate-pluralist state consists of several actors competing and influencing authority and control within a higher education institution, and change is driven by competing constellations organised by power, interests and alliances. Finally, the state supermarket model, in which the main role of higher education institutions is to deliver and provide services, and changes of institution follow changes on the market (Olsen, 1988 cited in Gornitzka, 1999: 24-27).

The second element of the triangle, society, was meant to emphasise that a number of internal and external social stakeholders, other than the state, were vested in higher education business (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 13). Demanding access, services, establishing partnerships, providing funding or even holding higher education accountable are among the reasons why internal and external stakeholders immerse themselves in higher education "business". The authors highlight that, there have been a growing number of stakeholders interested in higher education.

Higher education institutions are the third element of the triangle. They argue that these institutions "interact with many different actors in external and internal policy process" (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 14). However, when interacting with these institutions, they caution about the need to observe their 'uniqueness' and what makes them different from other organisations. As stated:

> What we are referring to here are differences such as higher education institutions lacking a single, clearly definable production function, and demonstrating low levels of internal integration. Another important difference is that the commitment of the academic staff to their discipline and profession is higher than the commitment to their institution. With respect to the nature of institutional management, important differences can be mentioned such as the low ability of institutional managers to hire and fire staff, or the fact that institutional managers are more accountable to stakeholders than to their counterparts in business (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 15).
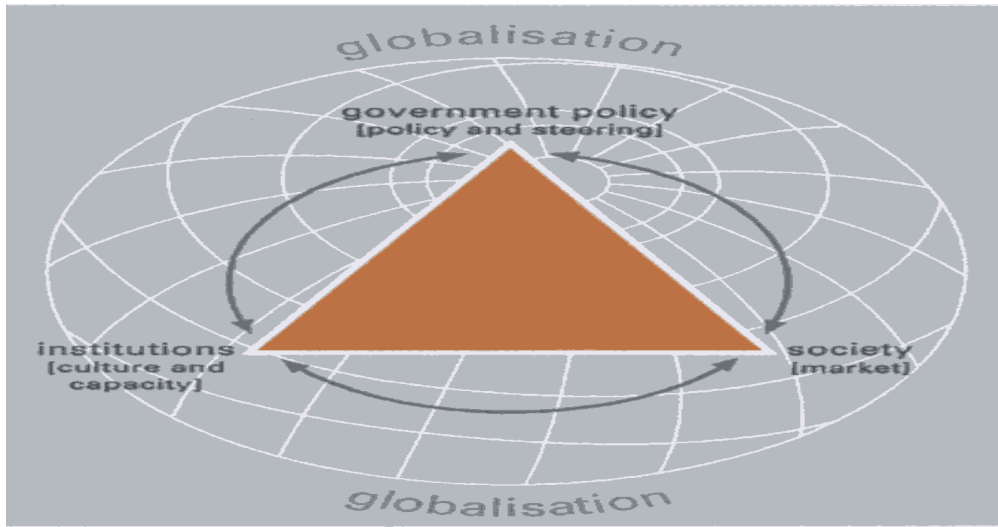
Figure 3.2 Cloete and Maassen's (2006) re-interpretation of Clark's triangle of coordination

Source: Cloete and Maassen (2006)

These characteristics however, as they argue, do not mean that higher education institutions cannot be influenced by external stakeholders. Rather, the issue here is that they pose challenges in attempting to assess the effects of these influences (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 15).
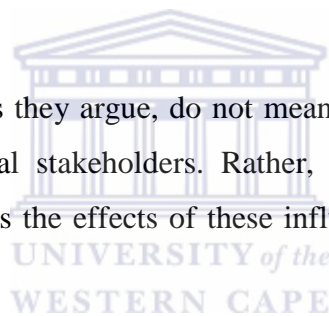
Clark's (1983) triangle of coordination and Cloete and Maassen's (2006) re-reading of Clark's triangle, emphasise not only how higher education systems are coordinated and steered but also the growing number of actors and institutions interested in or seeking to influence higher education institutions in general, and universities in particular. For instance, Cloete and Maassen's (2006: 13) second element of triangle – society - was meant to illustrate that society has increasingly been involved in university affairs requiring of them, among other things, access and services.

Drawing from Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006), this study's conceptual and analytical framework seeks to understand how roles of a university come about, specifically taking into account the relationship between the actors – the state, the university, society and the market. The conceptual and analytical framework is constituted by three forms of role definition – market steering, state control and academic oligarchy. However, unlike Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006), the emphasis is not on coordination as such, but

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rather on the relationship between the state and public universities taking into account how that relationship has led to the formation and shaping of the roles of public universities.

What then are the roles of universities? Often universities' missions have been considered as promoting teaching and undertaking research and extension and technology transfers in order to contribute to development (MESCT, 2000; Castells, 1991 and 2009; Smith, 1977). According to Scott and Marshall (2009), roles:

> (…) are clusters of social expectations attached to particular social positions. Accounts on roles are concerned with the dynamics of working at roles, where roles are considered as emergent outcomes and not as fixed expectations (2009: 659).

Accounts of roles are more focused on individuals and how they perceive and assume their roles in social positions and they construct social expectations on role-taking and playing rather on institutions. To define roles, a university, as an institution deals with a variety of actors such as the state, society at large, donors and other universities. Drawing from Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006), university roles are located both at macro-level and institutional level. At a macro-level, university roles are defined by state legislation and policy on higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10-12). At an institutional level, however, university roles are defined by the university itself and relevant stakeholders (Clark, 1983: 140-145).

University roles might include functions and a mission, but university roles and mission do not always coincide. Castells (1991) opined that through history, universities "(…) have performed basic functions that are implicit in the role that is assigned to them by society through political power or economic influence" (Castells, 1991: 206). A university mission has been referred to as the university's "basic reason for existence, the reason or reasons why society supports it financially and morally" (Allen, 1988: 7). However, taking into account the relationship between the state, the university, society and the market, university roles are understood as what universities are expected to do and what the university perceives as its roles. Despite the mission statement signalling what a university considers as its mission, it does not always abide by its mission. Underlying our understanding of university roles is the expectations of actors such as the state, society, stakeholders and donors, and what the university considers its roles; our understanding needs to take into account the demands and expectations from both these groups.

The determination of university roles and the process of defining the role of a university might involve, among other actors, the individual university, the state, civil society, relevant stakeholders, donors and the market. Even though the focus of the conceptual and analytical framework is on the relationship between the state and university, it has to be stressed that a university can also define its role; this involves actors, institutions, time and a context. That is what Clark referred to as academic oligarchy (Clark, 1983: 140-145). In a way, the university's roles are more internally defined. An academic oligarchy seeks to project a certain idea of university, and what it can achieve.

In the market steering model of defining the role of a university, actors seek to propose competing ideas around the roles of universities. The purpose of such a definition is to make it possible for adaptation in a context characterised by competition in which other universities are seen as competitors. The process of defining roles of universities is undertaken in such a way as to allow all participants involved to present and defend their point of view.

In the state control form of defining the role of a university, government seeks to align the role of the university with other major governmental policies and plans. So, the purpose of defining roles of the university is to impose roles that are seen as useful to solving socio-economic or political problems. The relevance of a university to society is therefore measured by the extent to which it enables individuals to solve problems.

State

[Macro-level]

University's roles

Academic Oligarchy
[Institutional level]
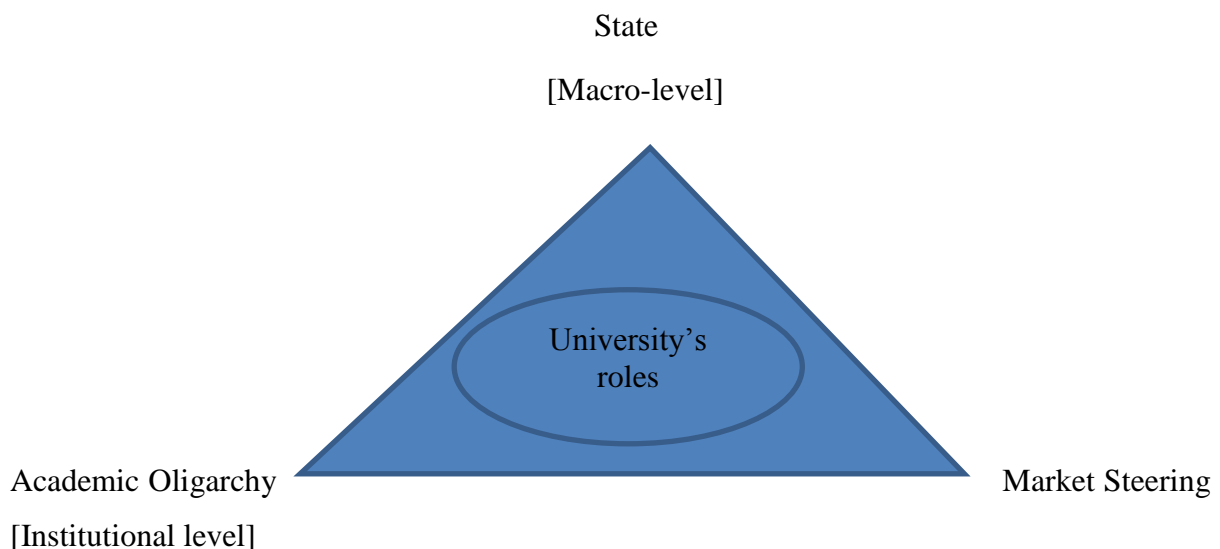
Market Steering

Figure 3.3 Actors, institutions and models of defining roles of universities

Source: Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006)

The three forms of defining the role of public universities – state control, market steering and academic oligarchy - are summarised in the table below. The summary takes into account three aspects: criteria for defining roles of public universities, ways of defining these roles, and their purposes.

Table 3.1: Ideal types of forms of defining roles of public universities

Forms of defining roles of universities	Criteria of defining roles	Ways of defining roles	Purposes
Market steering	Clarity and reciprocal expectations among the participants	Competition	Allow all actors involved to participate in the process
State control	Instrumental intervention	Imposition	Technical control and problem solving
Academic oligarchy	Roles are defined according to the way a university projects itself (vision)	Self-definition	Self-projection

Sources: Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006)

The conceptual and analytical framework is an ideal-type. As such, it is used as an analytical tool. The conceptual and analytical framework is used (methodologically) as a heuristic device. What we seek to do is to reconstruct discourses on roles of the university from interviews and available documents.

As already mentioned, Clark's (1983) triangle of coordination has been used to classify how higher education systems are coordinated in different countries. Thus, Clark's (1983) main concern was to explore the extent to which a higher education system is coordinated by the state, market or academic oligarchy, whether there are hybrid mechanisms of coordination and whether they have changed. In this study, as mentioned above, the framework is considered as an ideal-type, so as such it will be used as an analytical tool among other things, to ascertain whether there has been change in the roles of the university.

Cloete and Maassen (2006) explore not only how state, higher education institutions and society are involved and interested in coordinating and steering higher education but also

point out which mechanism of coordination and steering – state control, state supervision or market steering - has been in place in post-Apartheid South Africa.

In this study, we do not seek to explore whether there has been state control, state supervision, market supervision or even corporate pluralist state model of coordination. Rather, the focus is on how the roles of public universities came about through interactions with various actors both internally and externally. Thus, the study focuses on how the roles of UEM came about both at national level – national policies and other regulatory frameworks on higher education - and at institutional level - the university's strategic plans, functions and activities.

In seeking to understand how the roles of a university come about, each of these three ideal types might help us explore not only what roles universities perform but also why they embrace certain roles. It is relevant to point out that none of the four forms of defining roles of the university is considered as the most important or desirable.

Thus, it might be possible to identify hybrid forms of defining the roles of the university where elements of different forms are combined. Moreover, since each of these forms involves to some extent actors and interaction, it might also be possible to capture cases where there was more than one form involved, but also those where forms of defining roles are changed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design and methodology used to undertake this study. The chapter addresses the steps and strategies that were used to collect and analyse data. Ethical procedures are also described in detail.

4.2. Research approach

This study is qualitative in approach. Regardless of the way in which a qualitative approach might be defined, Leedy and Ormrod (2005:133) identified two aspects that all qualitative approaches have in common; they study phenomena in its natural setting, and assume that those phenomena are multifaceted and complex.

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 270) argued that, the primary goal of studies using a qualitative approach is to describe and understand rather than explain human behaviour. Qualitative studies provide in-depth descriptions and understanding of actions and events (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Distinguishing the qualitative from quantitative approach, Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), explain that:

> (…) in contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research seeks to preserve the integrity of narrative data and attempts to use the data to exemplify unusual or core themes embedded in context (Terre Blanche *et al.,* 2006: 562).

This study sought to understand how the roles of the Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique came about. Apart from this, the relevance of using the qualitative approach in this study was an attempt to reconstruct events through describing the actors and forces involved in defining the roles of UEM and the context in which these roles came about.

4.3 Research design

An exploratory case study was used that focuses on describing a phenomenon while taking into account the context in which it occurs (Yin, 2009: 1-21; Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

A number of authors (Stake, 2000; Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Yin, 2003 and 2009; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005) have engaged in defining, identifying types, and suggesting how to undertake a variety of case studies, including an exploratory case study. For instance, it was argued that

a case study, as a form of research, is defined by an interest in an individual case and not by the methods of inquiry used (Stake, 2000: 435).

Stake puts forward the point that a case study is not only a process of inquiry about the case but also the product of that inquiry (2000: 436). In contrast, Yin's (2009) definition of a case study highlights the context in which the study is carried out. Thus, a case study is an empirical enquiry that:

> (…) investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2009: 18).

This study seeks to understand how roles of UEM came about taking into account how the university's roles were conceived at national level and at institutional level. Thus, this is an exploratory case study for it attempts to describe and analyse how UEM roles came about taking into account actors such as the state and the university itself and the contexts under which the university has operated. In addition, the study also attempts to understand roles of the university rather than provide generalised explanations.

More than an attempt to show the extent to which UEM has performed any role, the study focuses on how those roles came about. It does this by examining the evolving roles of UEM through the key epochs of Mozambique's, social, political and economic history focusing on the relationship between the state and the university. However, as highlighted, exploratory case studies might lead to insight and comprehension of actions and events and so the research design needs to follow an open and flexible research strategy and use methods such as a literature review, interviews, case studies and informants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 84). This study has used different sources of data, including documents, interviews and time series, as well as an extensive literature review in order to understand the debate around the roles of universities and further, to discuss and analyse the relationship between the state and UEM.

A description of the context under which UEM has operated has been fundamental to not only identify and discuss its roles but also to analyse and make sense of the relationship between the state and the university. A description of the context of the establishment of higher education in Mozambique and the role of the colonial university; key features related

to the roles of higher education; and expansion of the sector in the post-independence period are provided in the Section 4.2.

4.4 Study timeframe

This study's timeframe was from 1975, the year in which Mozambique gained its independence, to 2009. In that timeframe, UEM has operated in two contexts: the socialist period and the transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. However, attempts were also made to profile the establishment of higher education in 1962 during the period of Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique. Thus, documents enacted prior to 1975 have also been reviewed. These documents are related to the creation of the General University Studies of Mozambique (EGUM) in 1962, which later became the University of Lourenço Marques (ULM) in 1968.

4.5 Unit of analysis and sampling

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 84) defined a unit of analysis as the focus area of the study. In this study, the unit of analysis is UEM and the formation of its roles. As such, the unit of analysis is constituted in two dimensions: national and institutional. The national dimension has been used to identify and discuss what the state, the ruling party *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) or the Ministry of Education conceived as roles of higher education in general, and UEM in particular. The institutional dimension highlights which roles UEM embraced, or was demanded to embrace, as an institution.

It has to be highlighted that the study has used what Johann Mouton (2010) termed 'logic of contextualisation' to map the context under which UEM has operated and identify its roles through time. Mouton argued that a study could be carried out for a number of purposes, for example:

> We tend to study a particular case or cases (such as individual human beings or institutions or interventions or cultural objects or collectives or events) either for their own sake or because they represent a larger collection or population of similar cases[1].

He further elaborates more by explaining what the logic of contextualisation mean:

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[1] Johann Mouton, Research designs in the social sciences, a lecture delivered on April 29, 2010 at the University of Western Cape.

(...) there are many instances where we focus on investigating a single (or small number of cases) in great depth: single case studies of organisations or institutions, individuals (as in life history studies) and the evaluation of an intervention (impact assessment of a specific programme). In all of these examples our primary interest is understanding or explaining or evaluating a single case (or small number) as such and not because they are representative of a larger set of similar cases.

The logic of contextualisation is related to research undertaken to understand, explain or evaluate single or small cases, but not to generalise it as a representative of an entire population. Out of the four public universities in Mozambique: Eduardo Mondlane University, the Pedagogical University (UP), University of Lúrio and University of Zambeze, this study focuses on the first university, UEM. Our aim is to understand the case of UEM taking into account the context in which its roles were formulated.

UEM was selected for this study mainly because it is the oldest higher education institution in Mozambique. Created under Portuguese colonial rule in 1962, as the General University Studies of Mozambique (EGUM), renamed *Universidade de Lourenço Marques* [Lourenço Marques University] in 1968, and later renamed *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* [Eduardo Mondlane University] (UEM) in 1976, it was the only higher education institution in Mozambique for almost a decade. It has operated under a context characterised by public and private providers of higher education. Thus, wanting to understand university roles from a historical perspective necessitates UEM as the choice for the case study. UEM was expected to perform a number of roles in different contexts. In addition, UEM's role has been (re)defined since the 1990s and the university has developed a strategic plan to rethink its roles.

4.5.1 Selection of respondents

A research question and research design might determine not only a study sample but also methods and techniques to collect data (Wengraf, 2001; Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Mertens, 2005; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). Taking into account this study's main question – how the roles of UEM came about – and the study design – exploratory case study -, the purposive sample technique was utilised.

Purposive sampling was used to select interviewees whose experience could enable us to reconstruct how UEM's roles came about. Within UEM, we purposively selected two former

rectors, the current rector, vice-dean for academic affairs, the dean for academic affairs, the university spokesperson and the research grant manager.

Each of these purposely-selected respondents from UEM played a role at the university during the study's time scope of 1975 through to 2009.

Although this study focused mainly on UEM, data was also collected from various relevant government institutions, especially the Ministry of Education, particularly the National Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education. This body has the responsibility of developing legal and regulatory mechanisms to guarantee the effective implementation of higher education policies and research in Mozambique.

Thus, the Deputy Minister Vice-Dean for academic affairs was chosen from the National Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education.

4.6 Data collection instruments

Among a number of instruments for data collection used in qualitative research, and particularly case studies, Yin (2003: 83) suggests instruments such as documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artefacts. As an exploratory case study seeking to reconstruct how UEM's roles came about, two instruments were used for data collection: document review and semi-structured interviews. Below is a description of how each of these tools was used.

4.6.1 Document review

In order to identify and understand how UEM roles came about, a number of documents were gathered and reviewed. Among these documents were legislation on higher education, policies and plans, speeches by members of the Mozambican government related to higher education, UEM's strategic plans and annual reports. The documents collected and reviewed were categorised as follows:

- Documents related to higher education during the Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique. Two documents were reviewed: Decree number 44 530 of August 21, 1962 and Decree number 48 790 of December 23, 1968. Decree number 44 530 created the first higher education institution in Mozambique - *EGUM* – in 1962. This decree states the reason why EGUM was created. Decree number 48 790 upgraded EGUM to a full university status - *Universidade de Lourenço Marques* (ULM)

[Lourenço Marques University] and prescribes the programmes that were to be taught at EGUM. These two decrees were collected from the Mozambican Historical Archives.

- The state and FRELIMO's policies on education and higher education sector related to the immediate period following independence in 1975 until 1985/6, the end of socialist experimentation (Machel, 1976a; FRELIMO, 1978; República Popular de Moçambique 1979; Voz da Revolução 1982; Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 1982). President Samora Machel's speech (Machel, 1976a) was assessed in order to understand what UEM was expected to address in terms of access and programmes. Policies on higher education were first stated in the party's 3rd Congress report (FRELIMO 1978). The policies on higher education, such as Decree number 19/76 of May 18, 1976, FRELIMO (1977) and *Resolução Sobre Educação* (1979), provided insights on issues such as access and the role of higher education within the context of bringing about a socialist society. Then, the enactment of the National System of Education in 1983 also highlighted the role of higher education. These documents and speeches were collected from the Mozambican Historical Archive, Mozambican National Gazette and Mozambican National Library in Maputo. Also collected from the Mozambican Historical Archive were UEM's annual reports providing information related to its activities, programmes, access and enrolment (UEM, 1985; UEM, 1987; UEM, 1991a).

- Legislation and policies on higher education enacted from 1990, the year in which the first democratic constitution was enacted, to 2010. During that period, three higher education laws were enacted. Law number 1/93 of June 1993 regulated the higher education sector. The Law also authorised the creation of private higher education institutions and described the roles of higher education in Mozambique. Two other laws were reviewed: Law number 5/2003 of January 2003 addressed what was considered the growing complexity of the higher education sector due to the increasing number (from three in 1993 to twelve in 2003) of public and private higher education institutions. Even though Law number 27/2009 was collected, it was not reviewed in depth, as it does not address issues relevant to the study. These documents were collected from the National Gazette in Maputo. Resolution number 8/95 concerning National Education Policy in Mozambique was also reviewed to assess how and why expansion of higher education was addressed. The policy was

collected from the Ministry of Education. The first Mozambican Higher Education Strategic Plan 2000-2010 was also assessed to identify and discuss the role/s of higher education in general and UEM in particular (Republic of Mozambique, 2000). These documents constitute a regulatory framework under which higher education institutions are supervised and run.

- The government's major strategies and policies for Mozambique were also reviewed. Those documents were reviewed to understand the roles, within the context of other important state strategies, of education in general and higher education. Two of the documents reviewed were Plano *Para Redução da Pobreza Absoluta* [PARPA] [Poverty Reduction Plan] I and II, and Agenda 2025. The content range of these documents was not specifically confined to education or higher education, but attempted to integrate them into a broader government policy.

- UEM strategic plans and annual reports. The first strategic plan – *Presente e Perspectivas* [Present and Perspectives] - prepared in 1991, was assessed to understand how the university framed its role in a new dispensation characterised by the transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. UEM's 1999-2003 and 2004-2008 strategic plans were reviewed to understand its role, the creation of *escolas superiors* [higher schools]. These plans were collected from UEM.

4.6.2 Semi-structured interviews

Apart from document review, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with UEM staff and at the National Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education at the Ministry of Education.

It has been argued that, in qualitative research, an interview is still the main source of data for a number of social sciences (Rouslston, de Marrais & Lewis, 2003: 643). However, the reason why semi-structured interviews were conducted in this study was to reconstruct how the roles of UEM have come about, followed by an analysis of origin of specific factors.

However, document reviews and interviews would not be enough as sources of data collection. For instance, interviews were also conducted because addressing how UEM roles came about required data triangulation. The triangulation involved a document review on roles of higher education in Mozambique, interview and time series to illustrate some trends.

4.6.3 Description of data collection process

The data collection, which consisted of documentation and interviews, was undertaken from December 2010 to May 2011. However, before starting to collect data, permission was obtained from the institutions involved in the study. A research clearance to start collecting data was obtained from the Research Committee of the Faculty of Education and the Senate Research Committee of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) upon submission and approval of the research proposal, the instruments for data collection and informed consent.

Once the research clearance was obtained, I requested permission to collect data at UEM and the Ministry of Education in Mozambique. The application to collect data from UEM was submitted to the vice-chancellor of the university. In the application, the aims and objectives of the study were stated. A letter from the thesis supervisor authorising data collection was attached to the application. Copies of the application as well as the supervisor's letter are attached as Appendix 5 and 4, respectively. A week after having submitted the application to collect data from UEM, the university authorised the data collection. A copy of a letter authorising data collection at UEM is attached as Appendix 6.

At the Ministry of Education, an application to collect data from the institution was submitted at the National Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education. The directorate has the mandate to coordinate and supervise higher education in Mozambique.

Documentary data were gathered from the Mozambican Historical Archive, the Mozambican National Library and the Mozambican National Gazette. The Mozambican Historical Archive is a valuable source of data on higher education in Mozambique. It contains documents related to the establishment of the General Universities Studies of Mozambique in 1962 under Portuguese colonial rule and the renaming of the university to Eduardo Mondlane University in 1976, the year after Mozambique became independent.

The Mozambican National Library and the Mozambican National Gazette are the two places where all legislation enacted from 1975 onwards, including those on higher education, is archived. Therefore, data on higher education legislation and higher education in general was collected from these two places.

Higher education institutions websites were also a valuable source of data. Even though this study is focused on UEM, in order to highlight some of key features of higher education institutions such as location and programmes that they run, I consulted other public and

private higher education websites. Some of these higher education institutions are listed in Appendix 8. UEM's website was also a valuable source for information such as their mission statement, the location of their *escolas superiores*, faculties as well as the programmes and courses that it has offered.

As was indicated above, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the staff of UEM. Within the Ministry of Education, the interviews were undertaken at the National Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education. Before conducting the interviews, a letter stating the objective of the study and a research clearance was requested. Generally, after a few days, appointments for the interviews were confirmed.

Although we had an interview guide and a notebook to capture the interviews, each interview was audio recorded. However, before commencing audio recording permission was sought from the interviewees. This was to minimise the loss of information not captured by the interviewer while taking notes.

4.7 Addressing rigour

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 18), precision and accuracy are an integral part of qualitative research. In order to secure both precision and accuracy, researchers pay attention to reliability and validity.

They further distinguish reliability from validity. Reliability is concerned with whether research would yield the same results if it were replicated, whereas validity refers to the extent to which "an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 18-122).

Instead of engaging in defining reliability and validity, de Wet and Erasmus (2005) argue that qualitative data analysis is not an arbitrary process, but rather systematic, procedural and rigorous process informed by a well-formulated and transparent analytical framework. Regarding data collection and, in particular, data analysis they remark:

> (…) Nuances arising from the research context require 'in the moment' creative responses on the part of researchers. In turn, these responses need to be suited to the context and research purpose. This creativity does not, however, imply a lack of systematic and rigorous practice (de Wet & Erasmus, 2005: 39).

Although Morse *et al.* (2002) would concur with de Wet and Erasmus (2005) that qualitative data analysis can assure both rigour and objectivity, they are more interested in exploring the question around where rigour lies. Is it internal or external to the research process? These authors are concerned with the role of peer review as a mechanism to secure rigour in research. In other words, is rigour assured by theoretical and methodologies procedures used in a study or does it have to be confirmed and legitimised by other researchers, for instance through a peer review process. They argue that a researcher must develop strategies for ensuring rigour in the qualitative research process *per se*.

Thus, the study has addressed rigour in two ways. Firstly, by describing how the roles of UEM came about in two different contexts: the socialist, and that of the transition period. To do so, documents related to the state's vision of roles of higher education in these two periods were collected and reviewed. Secondly, the roles UEM was expected to perform and the roles that UEM autonomously determined for itself, identified through document analysis, were reviewed and verified with interviews excerpts. It has to be highlighted that two of the several documents collected and reviewed were recommended by the interviewees. These documents are the report on expansion of higher education in Mozambique (República de Moçambique, 1998) and UEM's first strategic plan (UEM, 1991).

Finally, the data has been analysed using the conceptual and analytical framework developed in this study. The conceptual and analytical framework has been used to understand not only how UEM's roles came about but also how the university was expected to operate.

4.8 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis can be defined as "all forms of analysis of data that was gathered using qualitative techniques, regardless of the paradigm used to govern the research" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 490). This definition stresses a logical relation between qualitative techniques of data collection and qualitative analysis. Thus, data collected using qualitative techniques implies the use of qualitative data analysis methods.

Three steps were followed in the data analysis. A number of authors (de Wet & Erasmus 2005; Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Wengraf, 2001; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) have suggested that organising the data collected is one of the first steps of analysis. Thus, coding is thought of as a process of organising, categorising and retrieving data to be analysed. The data collected for this study was coded and then organised into themes.

Firstly, the data collected through documents and interviews was coded, including documents and interview transcripts related to UEM by looking at the creation of the university and the roles that it was assigned. In order to analyse data, excerpts of interviews that have been quoted in the dissertation were translated from Portuguese into English. However, to preserve confidentiality, no interview excerpt quoted in the study identified the real names of the interviewees. Real names were replaced by numbers.

Secondly, the analysis provided a description of some features of higher education in Mozambique from 1962, the year in which EGUM was created under the Portuguese colonial rule, though to 2009. Even though it can be argued that this section provides more description than analysis, a case study on how UEM roles came about would not suffice to capture and offer a concise understanding without a description of key developments in Mozambique's higher education. In addition, the description provided an understanding of the roles of the colonial university - *Universidade de Lourenço Marques* (ULM) – and the challenges faced in the period immediately after independence.

Thirdly, the analysis described how the roles of UEM came about using the analytical framework developed from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006). The analysis was also complemented with works reviewed in the literature review section.

4.9 Ethical considerations

As a qualitative research, this study involved human subjects. As such, ethics related to human subjects were observed both before and during data collection, and during the analysis of data.

Before commencing data collection, the research proposal was submitted to the Higher Degree Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape. After the approval of the research proposal, it was also submitted to the Faculty's Research Committee instruments for data collection, a consent form, and research clearance request stating all the ethical procedures to be observed during data collection and analysis. These documents are attached as Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

Once the instruments for data collection and consent forms had been approved and a research clearance obtained, I submitted an application for data collection to UEM through the Vice-Chancellor's office. The application included a letter stating the aims and objectives of the study, a copy of the letter of introduction from my supervisor (translated into Portuguese) and

the researcher's contact details. An authorisation to collect data was given after a week (Appendix 6). However, for each interviewee, we wrote a letter asking for an interview (Appendix 7). The letter stated the study's aims and objectives, why we wanted to interview them, the duration of the interview, how data would be used and that confidentiality would be assured. Attached to the letter were the letter from UEM authorising data collection and the letter of introduction given by my supervisor. These documents are attached as Appendices 4, 6 and 7.

All documents and policies reviewed in the study were collected from the institutions involved in the study – UEM and Ministry of Education, the Mozambican Historical Archive, Mozambican National Gazette and Mozambican National Library and online. No document or policy was collected through the coercion of any individual. The documents were provided in the full knowledge that they would be used for the study. However, most of the documents collected and reviewed were also available in the public domain.

Two ethical considerations were observed before the interviews, while conducting them and during data analysis. These were informed consent – acquired after a truthful explanation of the purpose of the interviews - anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees (Christians, 2005: 144-145; Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 520-527).

The authorisation letter for data collection from UEM did not make it mandatory for any university staff to participate in the study. Thus, we had to ask each key informant to participate in the study. Letters asking for an interview was sent to each participant.

Before each interview, interviewees were again briefed on the aims and objectives of the study, and were reminded that participation in the study was voluntary. Interviewees were informed that they were at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time.

Data analysis was done using the conceptual and analytical framework. No interviews excerpts quoted in the study use real names. Confidentiality was also assured by not referring to any interviewees by their position at the university or gender. While analysing the data, we have attempted to quote each interview while respecting the interviewee's own words and ideas as clearly as possible. To assure this, we sent these quotations and the entire interview transcripts to the interviewees for comments, observations and corrections.

The study avoids plagiarism (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 531). Thus, all ideas and works used in the literature review and data presentation and analysis to formulate the research problem,

build and support arguments, and provide evidence, are appropriately acknowledged and quoted in the thesis and, are also presented in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEXTUAL CHAPTER

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, is described the establishment of higher education in Mozambique and key features of the sector. Some of the key features addressed are the factors that led the establishment of the first higher education institutions during the Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique, the expected roles of the only university during the socialist period and issues related to enrolment, expansion of higher education sector and coordination of higher education sector. The main argument is that the provision of the social, economic, political and ideological context under which universities has operated in Mozambique is of relevance to understand how the UEM roles came about.

5.2 Higher education in Mozambique from 1962 to 2010

The objective of this section is to describe key features of Mozambique's higher education system. The section specifically focuses on the establishment and expansion of higher education in Mozambique, starting with the creation of EGUM in 1962 and ending in 2009. A number of authors (República de Moçambique, 1998; Chilundo *et al.*, 2000; Mário *et al.*, 2003; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008; Langa, 2010) the brief history of higher education in Mozambique into three periods: the colonial period, the socialist period and the period of the transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy.

A description of the context under which Eduardo Mondlane University has operated is fundamental to understanding the roles that UEM was assigned or assigned itself. However, before describing these contexts, we attempt to clarify what these three periods comprising the study's timeframe capture. The timeframe used for the colonial period is from 1962 to 1975. Even though Portugal occupied Mozambique in 1919 and began a more systematic exploitation of the territory, it was only in 1962 that the first higher education institution, EGUM, was created. In 1974, after almost a decade of armed struggle for the liberation of Mozambique (1964-1974), the Portuguese started transferring power to a transitional government. A year later, in 1975, Mozambique became (politically) independent. In this study, the socialist period is considered to be from 1975 to 1985/6, although it is debatable whether it is possible to demarcate exactly when the socialist period actually ended. Nonetheless, the study uses 1985/1986 as a reference point as Mozambique joined the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) in 1984 and started implementing an economic recovery programme. As far as the third period is concerned, a number of authors (Abrahamson & Nilsson, 1994; República de Moçambique, 1998; Chilundo *et al.*, 2000; Mário *et al.*, 2003; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008; Langa, 2010) have argued that Mozambique is still in transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. By implication then, to state exactly when this period started remains a challenge. It is debatable whether the period started with the implementation of structural adjustment programmes or with the enactment of the first democratic Constitution in 1990 and the holding of the first democratic elections in 1994. Structural adjustment programmes, however, were not only a package of economic reforms; they were also supposed to bring about political and legal reform (Hanlon, 1997: 23-42).

What follows is not a comprehensive historical background, but rather a brief tour of the key features of higher education in Mozambique.

5.2.1 Higher education in the colonial period

The main objective of this section is to describe the establishment of higher education and its role under Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique.

Mozambique was colonised by Portugal in 1919. From 1917 to 1927, Portugal's strategies for colonisation were assimilation, regulation and exportation of "native" labour to South Africa. Assimilation was a process by which the "natives" could move from "native" status to so-called *assimilado* [assimilated] status. Some of the requirements were the ability to speak, read and write Portuguese; be a Catholic Christian; have abandoned customs such as polygamy and witchcraft; and be able to eat at the table (Macamo, 2005:81). The regulation and exportation of native labour had been both a reason for the constitution of a colonial state in Mozambique, and a source of income. In the 1930s, António de Oliveira Salazar (who was appointed as Portugal's Finance Minister in 1928) implemented economic reforms aimed at facilitating economic exploitation of Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies in Africa, such as Angola and Guinea Bissau. One of Salazar's reform measures provided economic incentives and land for those Portuguese from the metropolis who volunteered to live and work in the colonies ('overseas provinces') during the period spanning 1945 to 1960 (Hedges & Rocha, 1988: 164-165).

As the number of Portuguese children with secondary education increased, pressure for the establishment of higher education also increased. Thus, the first higher education institution

in Mozambique, EGUM, was established by the Portuguese in 1962. In 1968, EGUM was upgraded to a fully-fledged university, taking the name of *Universidade de Lourenço Marques* [University of Lourenço Marques].

Notwithstanding the pressure from Mozambique's Portuguese settlers to create EGUM for the furtherance of their children's education, it has been argued by a number of authors (UEM, 1987; UEM, 1991a; Paulo, 1999; Mário *et al.*, 2003) that the establishment of higher education in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly in Mozambique and Angola was not an isolated development. Rather, it was deeply influenced by political phenomena, particularly the beginning of struggles for independence in the 1960s. As was argued in the literature review, Section 2.2, the Portuguese and the Belgians started to pay attention to higher education in their African colonies only in the 1960s, relatively later than the French and the British (Lulat, 2003: 18-22).

Until 1974, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonial territories in Africa – Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and the Islands of São Tomé and Principe – were considered Portuguese overseas provinces. Although Portugal's colonial policy did not discriminate between citizens (which included those in Portugal and its *provincias ultramarinhas* [overseas provinces]) with regard to race, there was an implicit differentiation between *de facto* Portuguese and *assimilados* (assimilated) (Macamo, 2005:79). This had an impact on access to ULM for there was discrimination against the assimilated and black African students. In fact, until 1974, Black African students constituted less than 0.1% of the student population (UEM, 1999, cited in Chilundo *et al.,* 2000: 2).

The discriminatory nature of ULM was aligned with the colonial ideology according to which higher education was meant to serve a very specific segment of the population: the children of the Portuguese settlers in Mozambique (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 7; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008: 367; Langa, 2010: 247). Nonetheless, in theory, those locals who managed to acquire the status of *assimilado* could also enter the university (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 7).

It has to be stressed that the discrimination against locals in the colonial period in Mozambique was not only perpetuated in higher education. In his book, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Eduardo Mondlane (1983) summarises the aims of the entire school system for Africans created by the Portuguese as follows:

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In the Portuguese territories, education for the African had two aims: to form an element of the population which would act as an intermediary between the colonial state and the masses; and to inculcate an attitude of servility in the educated African (Mondlane, 1983:59).

Thus, the only higher education facility in Mozambique during the colonial period had the training of skilled personnel to serve the colonial state as its main role thereby contributing to the perpetuation of Portuguese colonial rule. Since very few Mozambicans could make it into ULM, it had a negative effect on post-independence Mozambique. The immediate impact, as described below, was that, at the time of independence in 1975, the country had limited human capital to take over the social and economic sectors of the country.

5.2.2 Higher education in the socialist period (1975 - 1985)

Not only did our people shed their blood to free the land from foreign domination but also to reconquering our Mozambican personality to make our culture re-emerge to create a new mentality, a new society. (President Samora Machel, cited in Reis & Muiuane, 1975: 1)

Mozambique gained its independence in 1975. However, from 1974 to 1975 there was a mass departure of the Portuguese colonialists and settlers from Mozambique to either Portugal or South Africa. It was estimated that in these two years, 185 000 out of 200 000 Portuguese left Mozambique (Christie, 1996: 136; Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994:37). It has been argued that one of the reasons for this mass departure had been uncertainty on the kind of political system the independence of Mozambique would herald (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 8; Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994:37).

In 1977, FRELIMO, which had led the war for independence, adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology. Driven by revolutionary ideals, they were determined to build a new kind of society - a socialist society. This led to the creation of a political system made up of a single political party and a centrally-planned economy (Mário *et al.*, 2003: 8).

In accordance with the tenants of the centrally-planned economy, five key areas and sectors were nationalised: land, banks, buildings, health and education (Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994: 42). The education system was nationalised by the Ministers Council on 26 July, 1975. The reason for this decision was presented as follows:

The Ministers' Council decided that the government must exercise an immediate and direct control over the education sector in Mozambique. To do so, it was recommended the nationalisation of the education sector to ensure FRELIMO's political orientation in this vital sector (República Popular de Moçambique, 1975: 32).

As one of the centrally planned sectors, education in general and higher education in particular "was governed according to clear party and government prescriptions with respect to curriculum, staff, students and the entire infrastructure" (Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008: 367).

Education was seen as a tool for liberation. A socialist society needed what was termed *homem novo* [new man]. Thus, education was a means through which *homem novo* could be trained. *Homem novo* was defined as:

[A] man freed from ignorance, obscurantism, superstition, prejudice, and conscious of his cooperation and solidarity duties (Machel, 1975: 74).

On the 1st of May 1976 ULM became Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) named after the first president of FRELIMO. The mass departure of the Portuguese left very few trained and skilled personnel to build a socialist society (Matos, 1990: 2). As the only higher education institution, UEM was expected to train skilled personnel to take over almost all sectors.

A centrally-planned higher education system and the need for skilled personnel had at least two implications for the curricula during the socialist period. First, curricula were prepared to speed up training, so that skilled personnel could be trained in a short period. Second, general training was preferred to specialisation. This was summarised in UEM's first strategic plan as follows:

The courses taught at the University had as their objective to provide a more general training, aimed at training highly-skilled Mozambican technicians in a short time, capable to occupy leadership and management positions in a variety of social and economic sectors (UEM, 1991b:2).

However, there was a shortage of skilled indigenous lecturers at UEM. For instance, in 1979, out of the 240 UEM academic staff, consisting of senior and junior lecturers, 193 were

foreigners and only 47 were Mozambicans (UEM, 1987: 14). Of the 47 Mozambican academic staff, 42 were junior lecturers and only five were senior lecturers.

The shortage of lecturers in this period was provisionally addressed by recruiting foreign lecturers, so-called *cooperantes,* [all foreigners providing services in social and economic areas] from Eastern European countries. Among these countries were the former Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba. The recruitment of these lecturers was made possible through what was termed 'technical assistance' to UEM (Lopes, 1991:1). It has been argued that UEM could not have operated in this period (1976-1985) without the contribution of foreign lecturers (UEM, 1987:18).

Although there was a shortage of lecturers, UEM's full-time lecturers themselves were also allocated to other government ministries and institutions. By doing so, they stopped lecturing, hence aggravating the problem of staff shortages. The citation below illustrates the number of lecturers allocated to other sectors:

> […] about 29% (57) of the UEM's full time lecturers who have taught since 1975 left the university because they were allocated to other sectors. Those who left the country for undetermined time are also among them (UEM, 1991:16).

Since UEM was for almost ten years (1976-1985) the only higher education institution in Mozambique, a number of young people were sent to Eastern European countries to study. The former East Germany, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Cuba are among the countries where young people were sent for training (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 9).

Despite UEM's effort to train more students and train young people abroad, the demand for skilled personnel was far from resolved. To cope with this demand, two new higher education institutions were created in the mid-1980s: the Higher Pedagogical Institute (ISP) created in 1985 and the Higher Institute for International Relations (ISRI) created in 1986. In 1995, ISP was upgraded to a university and renamed the Pedagogical University (UP); it however kept teacher education as its niche focus area. The ISRI's mission was to train staff in the areas of diplomacy and international relations (Chilundo *et al.*, 2000: 5; Mário *et al.*, 2003: 9-10; Governo de Moçambique, 2009).

However, these higher education institutions were created with specific roles: teacher training and training of diplomats. Later it will be argued that by that time the Mozambican government had abandoned a strict socialist ideology (Mário *et al.*, 2003: 10; Beverwijk,

Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008: 367). UEM continued to be the higher education institution expected to train personnel that could not be trained at these two other institutions.

Despite arguments that skilled personnel were needed in Mozambique to, amongst other things, take over social and economic sectors and bring about a socialist society, enrolment at UEM did not increase correspondingly. For instance, enrolments decreased from 877 in 1976 to 764 in 1979 (UEM, 1991a: 18; UEM 1987: 8-10). Five years later, in 1984, there were 1 233 students enrolled at UEM. As it will be shown later, from 1990 onwards, policies on higher education such as *Política Nacional de Educação e Estratégias de Implementação Education* [National Policy of Education] (República de Moçambique, 1995) and the Strategic Plan for Higher Education (MESCT, 2000) emphasised among other things, the need to address expansion and access to higher education.

5.2.3 Higher education in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy (1985/6-2010)

5.2.3.1 The context of transition

Hanlon (1997) summarised the various contexts that Mozambique has experienced as follows:

> A generation of Mozambicans has been through traumatic and rapid changes; from oppression of colonialism to euphoria of independence, from a (civil) war which killed a million people to election which promised peace and prosperity. Simultaneously, they have been through a primitive capitalism based on cantinas to Marxism and, then to return again to the primitive capitalism (Hanlon, 1997: 1).

The above quotation is used to highlight the fact that there have been different dispositions in Mozambique as opposed to claiming that Mozambique is a special case or engaging in queries around how Marxist was Marxism in the country or whether there was what Hanlon (1997) termed 'primitive capitalism'.

However, unlike Hanlon (1997) who claims that 'primitive capitalism' returned in Mozambique to replace Marxism, we refer to the same period as the period of transition from socialism to a democratic and market-oriented economy. This period has been marked by the implementation of a structural adjustment regime that led to a drift, in terms of international relations, from the East to the West from 1985/6 onwards. The enactment of a democratic constitution in 1990 and the end of a devastating civil war in 1992 also shaped this period.

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Internationally two events were also of relevance. The first one was the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which signalled a kind of 'bankruptcy' of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology of state. This was an event of significance for a country like Mozambique that was moving towards a more democratic and market-oriented economy. The second one was that South Africa was experiencing the erosion of Apartheid. This event was also of relevance for southern Africa countries that saw it as a new opportunity for cooperation.

Mozambique experienced a devastating civil war that ended only in 1992[2]. In 1984, the Mozambican government joined the IMF and the WB (Bowen, 1991: 46). Meanwhile, the Mozambican government abandoned a strict centrally-planned economy and socialist programme (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 10; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008: 367).

In 1987, the government of Mozambique started implementing a structural adjustment regime termed *Programa de Reabilitação Económica* (PRE) (Economic Recovery Programme) conceived by the IMF. The PRE's objectives were to:

> (…) revert the decline of the production, guarantee a minimum level of consumption and income, especially to the rural people, reduce the finance instability, strengthen the position of the balance of payment and, create conditions for economic growth (Gobe, 1994: 6).

As a pre-condition to ending the civil war, a new constitution was enacted in 1990 and more changes were initiated. In 1994, the first democratic elections were held in Mozambique. Meanwhile for the first time, the possibility of creating a private sector opened up. The transition to democracy and to a market-oriented economy introduced changes in the governance of higher education in the country and allowed the emergence of private higher education:

> Up to the early 1990s the Ministry of Education supervised the higher education subsystem. In 1993 the Higher Education Law was enacted [Law number 1/93], establishing the autonomy of existing HEIs and setting up a mechanism for approvals of new HEIs (higher education institutions), including, for the first time, private institutions (Mário *et al.,* 2003:92).

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[2] The negotiations that led to the signing of *General Peace Agreement* between the Mozambican government and *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique* (RENAMO) [Mozambican National Resistance] and put an end to the civil war on October 4, 1992 in Rome, Italy were described in some detail in the book *Moçambique da Guerra à Paz: História de uma Mediação Insólita* by Roberto della Rocca (1998). The book was first published in Italian in 1994.

What Law number 1/93 outlined as the role of higher education in Mozambique can be divided into three functions: train skilled personnel; produce knowledge through research, disseminate and apply it; and construct and spread ethical values (República de Moçambique, 1993: 122:1&2). It seems that, these roles were in accordance with the fact that Law number 1/93 considered higher education institutions as autonomous.

5.2.3.2 Expansion of higher education in Mozambique

Apart from having opened up the possibility of creating private higher education institutions and defining the roles of higher education in Mozambique, Law number 1/93 also created the National Council for Higher Education (CNES), an advisory body made up of the rectors of all public and private higher education institutions. CNES's main role was advising the Council of Ministers on, amongst other things, the creation of higher education institutions and other issues related to the sector (República de Moçambique, 1993: 122:3).

Although Law number 1/93 constituted a specific legal framework for, *inter alia*, the higher education sub-system, a National Council for Higher Education and mechanisms for the establishment of private higher education institutions, it was only in 1995 that new higher education institutions were created. Four factors seemed to have contributed to the creation of new higher education institutions and the expansion of existing ones. The first was the enactment of the National Policy of Education in 1995; the second, a 1998 government report resulting from study on higher education in Mozambique carried out in 1995; the third was the enactment of the first plan for higher education in Mozambique in 2000; and the last, the creation of bodies to coordinate the higher education sector. However, government policies and strategies such as poverty alleviation plans and Agenda 2025 seemed to have been influential in prescribing the role of higher education institutions in Mozambique. What follows is a description of the extent to which these four factors contributed to the expansion of the higher education sector.

The *Política National de Educação e Estratégias de Implementação* (*Resolução* number 8/95) [National Policy of Education] was enacted in 1995, mainly to address expansion of higher education in Mozambique. The policy states that higher education policies and strategies in Mozambique "shall prioritise, at medium term, expansion of access and enhancement of quality" (República de Moçambique, 1995: 184). Expansion was defined as follows:

[...] expansion involves all actions meant to increase higher education's capacity to address social, political, economic and cultural demands for development of the country [Mozambique]. Those actions might consist of increasing number of student's enrolment and number of graduates, improving quality, creating news courses and, introducing new scientific areas and post graduate courses (República de Moçambique, 1995: 184).

More than define expansion, it also stated that expansion would be carried out taking into account the territorial location of the existing higher education institutions. First, the existing higher education institutions could increase enrolment, offer new courses and run post-graduate courses. This form of expansion did not involve territorial expansion to provinces other than Maputo. Rather, the existing higher education institutions were expected to increase enrolments. The second form of expansion, however, consisted of territorial expansion of the existing higher education institutions to provinces other than Maputo or creation of new higher education institutions (República de Moçambique, 1995: 185).

The report on expansion of higher education in Mozambique (República de Moçambique, 1998) recommended these two strategies of expansion. However, the report also recommended the creation, promotion and development of more private higher education institutions (República de Moçambique, 1998: 88-89).

The report on the expansion of higher education in Mozambique was prepared by a commission established by President Joaquim Alberto Chissano in 1995. Joaquim Chissano served as the President of the Republic of Mozambique from 1986 to 2005. The commission, made up of Mozambican government members, rectors, academic and administrative staff from public universities, was given the task of conducting a study on the expansion of higher education in Mozambique. The findings of this study would serve as a basis for a national policy on higher education in general, and the expansion of higher education in particular (República de Moçambique, 1998).

As strategies for the expansion of higher education, the Commission suggested, among other things, the following: increasing the number of enrolled students and graduates; addressing teaching quality; creating new courses or programmes and new scientific fields; offering post-graduate courses; establishing research centres; and introducing distance learning (República de Moçambique, 1998: 11).

According to the Commission, the expansion of higher education in Mozambique would be characterised by two directions (República de Moçambique, 1998: 87). The first is related to public higher education institutions. Their strategies of expansion would be characterised by stabilisation and geographical expansion. Stabilisation meant that all plans, activities and projects intended to strengthen the existing public institutions before attempting geographical expansion. The geographical expansion would be directed to provinces other than Maputo. The second direction of expansion of higher education has been the establishment of private higher education institutions. These institutions are also being geographically expanded.

Two years after the commission presented the report on expansion of higher education, the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology was created and given the mandate to coordinate the higher education sector. It was under the coordination of this ministry that the first Strategic Plan on Higher Education in Mozambique was prepared in 2000.

The main aim of the Higher Education Strategic Plan 2000-2010 was to guide the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions throughout Mozambique. The diversification of higher education institutions would be achieved by creating not only more universities, but also higher institutes, polytechnics and *escolas superiores*. This was not an entirely new direction. Law number 1/93, the first Law of Higher Education in Mozambique, had opened up the possibility for higher education institutions other than universities to be created. It was argued that the creation of higher education institutions, other than universities, could contribute to the development of Mozambique and reduce its regional asymmetries[3] (MESCT, 2000: 5). No wonder its mission was stated as follows:

> Higher Education in Mozambique shall guarantee equitable access and participation of all citizens; it shall respond to the needs of the Mozambican society to ensure its capacity of facing the great challenges of the country's social, economic and cultural development (MESCT, 2000: 2).

To accomplish that mission, the Plan advanced its higher education subsystem vision for the 2000-2010 period; this is outlined as follows:

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[3] There has been an on-going debate related to the development of Mozambique as a whole. Two positions can be identified. The first from those who have stressed that the governmental policies and strategy of development since the independence of Mozambique have benefited only the three provinces located to the south of the Mozambique: Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. According to this position, the central and north regions have been marginalised. The second position, which includes the government itself, has argued that the governmental policies and strategies for development have benefited the entire country. If there are still regional asymmetries, it is because of the uneven regional development inherited from the colonial period.

- To expand opportunities of access to higher education in accordance with the increasing needs of the labour market and society;

- To improve the quality and relevance of teaching and research;

- To respond to the changes in social and cultural needs and economic and technological transformation;

- To increase social, regional and gender equity;

- To ensure the sustainability of public and private higher education institutions; and

- To support the development of the competitiveness of Mozambique at regional and global levels (MESCT, 2000: 2).

Again, the Plan's vision stressed the need to expand and diversify higher education institutions in Mozambique. The Plan broadly defined the roles of higher education institutions as contributing to the economic, social and cultural development of Mozambique.

Although the Plan stressed the need for higher education institutions to be expanded and diversified, it also suggested a specific role for Eduardo Mondlane University:

(...) UEM, as the oldest and greatest university institution in the country [Mozambique], must continue to be a place where youngsters of all provinces and origins live together and grow in the university process of training, thus implementing the policy of consolidating the Nation, supporting other HEI's [higher education institutions] and, simultaneously, carrying out a number of university activities in the provinces, within the framework of higher education expansion (MESCT, 2000: 6-7).

Thus, the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions in Mozambique was also to include collaboration with Eduardo Mondlane University. However, it will be shown later on that UEM has itself expanded to provinces other than Maputo.

The report on expansion of higher education in Mozambique and the strategic plan for higher education provided guidelines according to which the higher education sector would be coordinated. Law number 5/2003, the second for higher education, incorporated some of these guidelines.

Law number 5/2003 replaced Law number 1/93, the first law of higher education in Mozambique, and was enacted because of the development of higher education in Mozambique and the establishment of new higher education institutions. For example, in 1993, the year in which Law number 1/93 was enacted, there was only one public university, UEM, and two public higher institutes, ISP and the ISRI. ISP was the only higher education institution with a delegation in Beira, a city located in central region of Mozambique. Pedagogical University uses the term delegation to refer all its branches located outside of their central campus in Maputo. These delegations are organised in faculties. It has to be stressed that until 1994 higher education in Mozambique was still confined to Maputo, the capital city.

Even though Law number 1/93 did set up legal mechanisms for the establishment of private higher education institutions, it was argued that the establishment of private higher education institutions and other public higher education institutions that started in 1995 needed a new higher education law. It was argued that only a new law would make possible the coordination and supervision of the higher education sub-system taking into account the existence of multiple higher education providers (República de Moçambique, 2003: 20 -77).

From 1995 to 2003, three new public higher education institutions and five private higher education institutions were created. Some of these institutions have *escolas superiores,* delegations or faculties in provinces other than Maputo. Thus, Maputo ceased to be the only place where higher education institutions were created.

However, not only did Law number 5/2003 identify and differentiate types of higher education institutions. It also added a new type of higher education institution that was not included in Law number 1/93; these were higher polytechnic institutes. Higher education institutions are classified according to their mission, and there are five main types: university, higher institutes, *escolas superiores*, high polytechnics institutes and academies. It seems that the criteria to distinguish these higher education institutions are the knowledge domains covered by a higher education institution and its capacity to undertake research.

Universities are characterised by their capacity for conducting teaching, research and extension in different knowledge domains. Higher institutions are specialised in training and research in scientific, technological and professional domains. *Escolas superiores*, like higher institutes, are specialised institutions in specific knowledge domains, but are only focused on teaching. High polytechnics institutes are also specialised institutions where professional

training is the core, but they cannot award doctorate degrees. Finally, academies are higher education institutions that, like *escolas superiores*, are focused on teaching in specific areas, but unlike *escolas superiores*, they can operate without being affiliated to any university.

By 2010, there were 38 higher education institutions in Mozambique. The number of public and private higher education institutions is presented in the table below.

Table 5.1: **Higher education institutions in Mozambique**

Institutional types	**Public**	**Private**	**Total**
Universities	4	7	11
Higher Institutes	5	13	18
Higher Polytechnic Institutes	4	0	4
Escolas Superiores	2	1	3
Academies	2	0	2
Total	17	21	**38**

Source: Ministério da Educação e Cultura (2009)

Until 1986, higher education in Mozambique consisted of three public institutions: UEM, ISP and ISRI. Thus, from 1995 to 2009, 35 higher education institutions were created comprising 14 public higher education institutions and 21 private higher education institutions.

5.2.3.3 Enrolment in higher education institutions

Between 2009 and 2010, an additional three public higher institutions were created. The table below presents the student enrolment figures for both public and private higher education institutions.

Table 5.2: Student enrolment in public and private higher education institutions (1999 and 2009)

Student enrolment in public and private higher education institutions			
Year	Public HEI's	Private HEI's	Total
1999	9 021	2 598	11 619
2009	60 949	20 301	81 250

Source: Ministério de Educação e Cultura (2009); Chilundo *et al* (2002; 2003)

Table 5.2 shows that public higher education institutions enrol more than half of the students. In 1999, the number of enrolment in public higher education institutions was 9 021, while enrolment in private higher education was 2 598. Almost ten years later, overall enrolment in higher education increased from 11 619 in 1999, to 81 250 in 2009. However, again, more than half of the enrolments - 60 949 - were in public higher education institutions. Private higher education institutions enrolled 20 301 students.

Even though the table does not disaggregate these enrolments, it has to be highlighted that among public and private higher education institutions, in 1999, UEM had the highest enrolment figure of 6 800. In the same year, enrolment at UP was 1 987. However, by 2009, UP had the highest enrolment figures – 31 695 (UP: 2007).

No wonder, in a speech at Mozambican National Parliament on 21st of April 2011, the Minister of Education, Zeferino Andrade de Alex Martins, affirmed that "85% of students enrolled in higher education are enrolled either at Pedagogical University or Eduardo Mondlane University" (Zambeze, April 21, 2011: 26-29).

5.2.4 Coordinating the higher education sector

Law number 5/2003 transferred responsibility for coordinating and supervising the higher education sector from the Ministry of Education to the newly-created Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology (MESCT). Thus, the Law set up the National Council for Higher Education. Nonetheless, in reality the MESCT had been coordinating and supervising the higher education sector since 2000. It was in that context that MESCT coordinated the preparation and implementation of the Strategic Plan for Higher Education 2000-2010. Since Law number 1/93 attributed the mandate of coordinating and supervising higher education to Minister of Education, Law number 5/2003 allocated that mandate to MESCT.

However, in 2005, MESCT was restructured to become the Ministry of Science and Technology, and the responsibility of regulating higher education was returned to the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). This occurred after the 2004 presidential and parliamentary elections in which President Armando Guebuza won his first term as elected president. One of the results of that was the return of responsibility of coordinating and supervising the higher education sector to MEC. Within this ministry, the specific body that has the mandate in the area of higher education is the National Directorate for Coordination of the Higher Education Area. The main objective of this body is to:

Coordinate the establishment and funding of higher education institutions and planning the development of the higher education sector (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 2006: 219).

In 2009, Law number 5/2003 was replaced by Law number 27/2009 that, among other things, set up the National Council for Higher Education to replace the National Council for Higher Education, Science and Technology (CNESCT). However, just like the CNESCT, the National Council for Higher Education was an advisory body with responsibility for articulating and planning higher education.

5.2.5 Summary of the section

As pointed out in this section, higher education in Mozambique was initiated in 1962 with the creation of EGUM under Portuguese colonial rule. EGUM was reserved for the children of the Portuguese settlers and colonialists, resulting in a lack of skilled local personnel during the early years of independence.

When Mozambique became independent in 1975, the government adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology and a centrally-planned economy. In the early years of independence in Mozambique, there was only one higher education institution, UEM.

In 1984, the government of Mozambique joined the IMF and WB. In 1987, the government of Mozambique started implementing an economic recovery programme that marked a transition from a centrally-planned economy to democracy and a market-oriented economy. In 1990, a new constitution was enacted and, in 1993, so was the first law of higher education - Law number 1/93. Law number 1/93 made possible the creation of private higher education institutions. Thus, the dominance of public higher education institutions lasted until 1995.

From 1975 to 2009, higher education in Mozambique expanded in terms of the number of institutions and enrolments. From only one public university in 1975, in the mid-1980s, two other public higher education institutions – ISP and ISRI – were created. The enactment of Law number 1/93 led to creation of private and other public higher education institutions.

Student enrolment increased from 1 233 in 1984, when UEM was still the only higher education institution in Mozambique, to 11 619 in 1999. Ten years later, in 2009, enrolments in both public and private higher education institutions was 81 250.

What follows is a presentation and a discussion of the relationship between UEM and the state, and how this relationship shaped the roles of the university. The presentation and discussion take into account the three periods identified in this section: the colonial period, the socialist period and the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. Since policies on education and higher education in the socialist period were prepared by FRELIMO, which had created a single party system, data presentation and discussion related to this period addressed the relationship between FRELIMO, the state and UEM.

CHAPTER SIX

ALIGNMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY WITH THE SOCIALIST PROJECT

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, data collected through document review and interviews is presented and analysed. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section presents the relationship between Mozambique's ruling party of FRELIMO, the state and UEM with relation to the university's roles. The second section, using the study's conceptual and analytical framework, discusses how UEM's roles came about.

6.2 The Eduardo Mondlane University

This section describes and discusses the relationship between UEM, FRELIMO and the state, in relation to UEM's roles in the period ranging from 1975 to 2009. Specifically, the section addresses how this relationship determined the roles of UEM. The roles were identified by analysing documents, interview transcripts and statistical data obtained during the data collection process.

As already indicated, the description and the discussion of how the roles of UEM came about takes into account the two of the three periods discussed in Section 4.2. These are the socialist period and the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy.

In that section, it was argued that the role of ULM under Portuguese colonial rule was to train children of the Portuguese settlers in Mozambique. These children would serve the colonial state and thereby contribute to the perpetuation of Portuguese colonial rule (Mário *et al.,* 2003: 7; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008: 367; Langa, 2010: 247). Thus, this section briefly addresses the role of the only university created under Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique.

6.3 The role of EGUM under Portuguese colonial rule (1962 - 1974)

As was argued in Section 4.2, *Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique* (EGUM) [General University Studies of Mozambique] was created to train the children of the Portuguese colonialists and settlers in Mozambique. These children were to take over various

social and economic sectors and sustain the colonial state and administration (UEM, 1987; UEM, 1991a; Mário *et al.*, 2003).

It has already been mentioned that one of the factors that contributed to the creation of EGUM in 1962 was the increase of the number of Portuguese children with secondary educational needs. According to Martins (1974: 101), in 1962, the year in which EGUM was created, there were 14 317 students enrolled in secondary schools in Mozambique. However, Martins (1974) argues that the number of students was inflated by the Portuguese to give an impression that they were committed to education in their overseas 'provinces'. Until 1974, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonial territories in Africa – Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and the Islands of São Tomé and Principe – were considered Portugal's overseas provinces.

Decree number 44 530, which created EGUM and the General University Studies of Angola, stressed that the creation of universities in Portugal's overseas provinces was associated with the idea of national unity. It was argued that, despite there being several universities in Portugal such as *Universidade de Coimbra, Universidade de Porto* and *Universidade de Lisboa,* there was, in reality, only one university: the Portuguese university.

Thus, within the concept of national unity that joined Portugal and its overseas provinces, there was one Portuguese university comprising existing universities in Portugal and in its overseas provinces. Therefore, degrees awarded at any universities – including in overseas provinces – would be accepted in Portugal and its overseas provinces as accredited degrees. To secure accreditation and quality of degrees awarded by universities in overseas provinces, it was stressed that these universities would be integrated in the existing universities in Portugal, particularly the *Universidade de Coimbra* [*Coimbra* University]. As stated:

> It is understood that higher education in the overseas provinces must be conducted in strict cooperation with existing universities, which will again prove their commitment to national interest (...) (Ministério do Ultramar, 1962: 1372).

Both the need to integrate EGUM with the existing universities in Portugal stressed by Decree-Law number 44 530 and the programmes prescribed by Decree number 45 180 were addressed by EGUM. EGUM effectively functioned as a branch of a Portuguese university – the University of Coimbra in Portugal. As for the programmes prescribed, initially EGUM offered nine programmes: Pedagogical Sciences, Medicine and Surgery, Civil Engineering,

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Mechanical Engineering, Electro-technical Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Agronomy and Forest and Veterinary Sciences.

However, EGUM provided basic training, meaning only a general part of these programmes was taught in Mozambique (UEM, 1987:1; UEM, 1991b:1). It was expected that, after having taken the basic training, students would complete their *Licenciatura* degree [Bachelor Honours] in any university in Portugal (Paulo, 1999: 324; Gasperini, 1986: 74). Thus, EGUM could not award a *Licenciatura* degree [Bachelor Honours].

The role of the university during the time of Portugal's colonial rule in Mozambique was described by Veigas Simão, the first rector of EGUM, in the inauguration ceremony of the institution in November 8, 1963, thus:

> This University [EGUM] cannot limit itself to training technicians whom the country [Portugal] lacks, and professionals capable of comprehending and solving economic and social problems of our time. It [EGUM] must develop and shape man and woman's character – in our case Portuguese man and woman – **to serve Portugal** [added emphasis]. With the strength of Portuguese culture, they [Portuguese man and woman] must cultivate justice and the pursuit of truth and, maintain a complete independence of spirit (Simão, 1963, cited in Paulo, 1999: 324).

The envisaged role of the university in Portuguese colonies is further emphasised in 1972 by Joaquim da Silva Cunha, the Minister of Overseas Provinces, thus:

> Education must not have as objective a mere knowledge dissemination, but rather to train citizens capable of understanding, interpreting and transforming the imperatives of Portuguese life into a constant reality in order to secure the continuity of the nation (Joaquim da Silva Cunha cited in Ferreira, 1974: 227).

From the two quotations, one can decipher two key roles of EGUM. First, EGUM was created to train "Portuguese man and woman". In this case, the Portuguese settled in Mozambique but they were expected to contribute to addressing Portugal's economic and social problems.

Second, but also related to the idea of serving Portugal, EGUM was meant to secure the continuity of Portugal as a nation. Portugal was a nation located geographically in Europe but

with "overseas provinces" in Africa, in this specific case in Mozambique. Mozambique, the overseas province in which EGUM was created, was considered part of Portugal and, so were EGUM and those who it was expected to admit: citizens and the *assimilado*. In 1968, EGUM was upgraded to a fully-fledged university, taking the name of *Universidade de Lourenço Marques* (ULM) [University of Lourenço Marques].

As far as student enrolments at EGUM/ULM were concerned, statistics on enrolment at EGUM/ULM suggest that there was an increase of enrolments between 1963 and 1974. Student enrolments at EGUM/ULM are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 6.1: Enrolment of students at EGUM/ULM (1963-1975)

Year	Number of Students Enrolled
1963/1964	287
1964/1965	328
1965/1966	493
1966/1967	629
1967/1968	835
1968/1969	1 053
1969/1970	1 362
1970/1971	1 841
1971/1972*	2 131
1974/1975*	2 433

*Please note there is no information available for the 1972/1973 and 1973/1974 periods.

Sources: ULM (1970-1971a and 1971-1972b); UEM (1985)

Even though, Table 6.1 does not disaggregate the composition of the student body, using Castells' (1991; 2009) terminology, it can be argued that higher education in Mozambique in the colonial period performed the role of elite formation and reproduction. Elite formation entails "socialisation of elites, formation of the networks for cohesion of elites, and the establishment of codes of distinction between elites and the rest of society" (Castells, 1991: 207). In theory, Mozambique as one of Portugal's overseas provinces would make all Mozambicans, Portuguese. However, EGUM was training Portuguese citizens settled in

Mozambique. It was more a Portuguese university based in Maputo than a Mozambican university meant to train Africans. However, EGUM could admit a few *assimilados*– those who had acquired the culture and mannerisms of the Portuguese.

What was conceived as the role of EGUM - serving Portugal and securing continuity of the Portuguese nation - had implications for access: the colonial university was an exclusive sphere meant firstly for white Portuguese persons, and secondly for *assimilados*. That stressed the role of cultural imperialism, meaning the university was used first to exclude the colonised. Thus, EGUM was a key apparatus serving the colonial project. In other levels of education (primary and secondary), it was made clear the intention of education for Africans. This was stated in the *Diploma Legislativo* number 238 of May 17, 1930 as follows:

> The indigenous education aims to conduct gradually the indigenous from a savage to a civilised way of life, shape her/his conscience as a Portuguese citizen and train her/him to cope with life by making her/him useful for the society and for herself/himself (Boletim Oficial, 1930: 225-240).

Thus the claim by Mondlane (1983: 59) that during Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique education for Africans was meant to create a class of intermediaries between the population and the colonial state and to inculcate a servile mentality through the entire African education system.

A number of authors (UEM, 1987; UEM, 1991a; Mário *et. al.*, 2003) have also argued that by training "Portuguese man and woman", the ultimate aim of EGUM was to maintain the continuity of the Portuguese colonial system. However, as we will show later, we also see a similar use of the university in the immediate post-colonial period where EUM was used to accomplish FRELIMO's and the state's project of bringing about a socialist society.

The role of EGUM had an impact on access to higher education for Africans. In 1974, a year before Mozambique gained independence, less than 0.1% of the student body were African (UEM 1999, cited in Chilundo *et al.,* 2000: 2). This was also stated by UEM (1985) thus:

> We inherited a colonial university which was created to train foreign students according to the Portuguese colonial objectives in Africa. In the last year of

Portuguese colonial rule [1974] out of 2 433 students only four were Africans (UEM, 1985: 4).

There are a number of critics of the Portuguese colonial legacy; they focus not only on higher education but the entire Mozambican education system. For instance, it has been argued that the first government formed immediately after independence inherited an obsolete education system from the colonialist powers. The government had to start organising the education sector from scratch (Castiano, Ngoenha & Berthoud, 2005: 36). Many of ULM's academic and administrative staff and students of Portuguese descent left Mozambique between 1975 and 1976 (Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994: 36; Mário *et al.,* 2003: 8). The implications of the mass departure of the Portuguese are fundamental to the understanding of the roles that UEM played, especially in the early years of independence.

Having briefly presented the role of the colonial university in Mozambique, we will describe the process of defining the roles of UEM in both the socialist period and transition to democracy and market-oriented economy period.

6.3.3 The UEM's roles in the socialist period (1975-1985/6)

Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal in 1975. From 1974 to 1975, there was a mass departure of the Portuguese from Mozambique to either Portugal or South Africa. It was estimated that in these two years, 185 000 out of 200 000 Portuguese left Mozambique (Christie, 1996: 136; Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994:37). It has been argued that one of the reasons for that mass departure had been the uncertainty about the kind of political system that the independence of Mozambique would bring (Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994:37; Mário *et al.,* 2003: 8). Because of the departures, there was a shortage of skilled personnel to take over almost all social and economic sectors. Thus, the university was expected to provide the country with skilled personnel.

As mentioned in Section 4.2, in 1977, FRELIMO, the ruling party created in 1962 that led an armed struggle against Portuguese colonial rule from 1964 to 1974, adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology. FRELIMO was determined to build a new socialist society. To do so, it adopted a centrally-planned economy and land, banks, buildings, health and education were nationalised (Machel, 1976: 14-30; Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994:42: Mário *et al.,* 2003: 8).

The role of education in general and universities in particular in post-colonial Mozambique was defined by FRELIMO. However, FRELIMO's policies on education in general were first sketched during the struggle against colonial rule. Thus, it was during the struggle when Samora Machel became president of FRELIMO in 1969, replacing Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's first president who was assassinated in that year, that the supreme task of education was stipulated as follows:

The main task of education is to inculcate in each of us a collective, objective, scientific and advanced ideology which enables us to progress in the revolutionary process. Education must train us to cope with a new society and its demands (Machel, cited in República Popular de Moçambique, 1978: 15).

To understand FRELIMO's policies on education it is worth mentioning how the movement viewed itself. This can be seen through events such as those that occurred at FRELIMO's 3rd Congress in 1977. In that congress, FRELIMO was transformed from a movement into a political party, guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology (FRELIMO, 1978: 07). At this Congress, FRELIMO presented its supreme objective for Mozambique and for its people. In a way, that objective provided some elements of what a socialist society would be:

FRELIMO, our vanguard party, has as its supreme objective the construction in Mozambique of a society completely free from the exploitation of man by man, where the material living conditions of the people are constantly improving, and where their social needs are increasingly satisfied (FRELIMO, 1978: 08)

As mentioned in Section 4.2, FRELIMO created a single party system where the party's directives were expected to inform the state's policies. The realm of the party and that of the state was stressed also in the 3rd Congress:

The Party is the supreme form of organising politically the working classes. The Popular State which we have built is the main instrument to materialise the Party's policy. The Party guides and orients all State's activities (Machel, 1977: 112-113).

The two quotations above highlight that FRELIMO intended to create a society where there would be no exploitation of a man by another man; in other words, a socialist society. The party regarded the state as the machinery with which to achieve that aim. Thus, the 3rd Congress resolutions go on to mention that:

> The Party utilises the State as an instrument to implement its revolutionary policy. Thus, the Party traces the fundamental development guidelines for all social spheres of life and controls its application. The State laws express the Party's directives and, demand its practical enforcement (Machel, 1977:113).

What follows is a description of the relationship between FRELIMO, the state and UEM regarding the role of the only university in the immediate post-independence period in Mozambique. More specifically, the description addresses how UEM attempted to 'fit' within what FRELIMO's socialist 'project' considered as the role of education in general and higher education in particular.

6.3.3.1 Education and higher education and the training of homem novo

During the socialist period (1975-1985/6), formal education facilities were considered as a place where *homem novo* would be trained. Since *homem novo* were formed and produced, *inter alia*, through education, schools were one of the places where they were trained. Teacher education was therefore considered fundamental to the training of *homem novo*. Learners and students from all levels of education – from primary schools to higher education – were to be turned into *homem novo* through school education. Thus, teacher training was geared to enable the training or production of *homem novo*. It was because of this logic that UEM ran teacher-training courses. These courses were to feed other levels of education such as secondary and primary education with teachers. It was at these levels that the training of *homem novo* would start.

H*omem novo* was defined as:

> A man freed from obscurantism, superstition and bourgeois mentality. Man who assumes new values such as national unity, love for the nation, equality of rights and responsibilities between man and woman and, working class internationalism (Machel, Graça, cited in Voz da Revolução 1982: 19).

As was signalled above, at the 3rd congress FRELIMO formulated, among other things, the policies for the education sector in general and higher education in particular. Education was considered fundamental for the development of *homem novo* and to bring about a "revolution":

> The triumph of the revolution depends fundamentally on the creation of the New Man and the creation and development of a new mentality. In this context, the party pays special attention to education and culture, since these two fields are the heart of training the New Man. [A man] freed from obscurantism and capable of assimilating critically the political, scientific, technical and cultural knowledge that is transmitted to him. A New Man who, above all, loves his country, who respects his work, particularly manual work and possesses the fundaments of a socialist consciousness (FRELIMO, 1978: 18).

It seems that the emphasis on the creation of a new mentality was meant to stress that *homem novo* had also a cultural dimension. Fernando Ganhão, UEM's first rector, while addressing FRELIMO's delegates in the 3rd congress, stated that:

> The triumph of the Socialist Revolution would fundamentally depend on the creation of *homem novo* who would transform the sector of culture [...]. It was [also] a process of creation of Cultural Revolution to bring about a new culture: a socialist culture (Ganhão, 1977: 1).

The importance of the education sector for both the envisaged revolution and creation of a new society was constantly stressed. For instance, in 1979, FRELIMO's Central Committee emphasised the importance of education as follows:

> The eradication of illiteracy, combat against obscurantism and elevation of political consciousness and scientific knowledge of the Mozambican people constitutes an essential condition for the triumph of the revolution, economic development of the country [**Mozambique**[4]] and the creation of our own society (República Popular de Moçambique 1979: 89).

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[4] Emphasis added.

As far as education in Mozambique was concerned, it has to be highlighted that the sector was framed according to FRELIMO's objectives (Machel, G. Cited in Voz da Revolução 1982: 20). FRELIMO's directives mentioned above, envisioned that the education system was to train the *homem novo*. Thus, in a context characterised by attempts to create a socialist society, UEM, as the only existing higher education institution for almost a decade, from 1976 to 1985, was engaged in the training of *homem novo*. It will be argued that by running teacher-training courses and producing manuals for primary and secondary education levels, UEM had indirectly contributed to the training of *homem novo*. However, UEM was also directly engaged to train *homem novo* by providing ideological inculcation and engaging student and lecturers in manual work.

6.3.3.1.1 UEM and the training of the homem novo: teacher-training courses

As has been shown in the preceding section, during the socialist period, education was geared toward producing what was termed as *homem novo*. Gasperini (1986) notes that in 1979, FRELIMO's Central Committee and People's Assembly defined education as a strategic sector for country development (Gasperini, 1986: 77). Thus, the Ministry of Education stressed that among the five top priorities for the higher education subsystem (made up of UEM), was to train teachers for secondary schools (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 1982: 7).

The mass departure of the Portuguese from 1974 to 1976 led to a shortage of teachers. The Ministry of Education assigned UEM the task of training 3 000 teachers for grades 7 to 11 until 1985 (Gasperini, 1986: 78). It was expected that teacher-training courses run at UEM would provide teachers for the basic education subsystem (Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1986: 34; UEM, 1987:3; UEM, 1991a: 3).

From 1976 to 1980 teacher-training programmes were offered in what was referred to as *Faculdade Preparatória* (UEM, 1987: 3). This Faculty first offered intensive teacher-training courses for grades 5 and 6 and later for grades 7, 8 and 9. Meanwhile, this Faculty also offered courses to students seeking to enrol in the university. However, in 1980 *Faculdade Preparatória* was replaced by the Faculty of Education. The mandate of the Faculty of Education is mentioned in the citation below:

> In 1980 the Faculty of Education was created which took over all teacher training courses from grade 7 to grade 11. The Faculty run teacher training courses such as Mathematics and Physics, Chemistry and Biology and Drawing for grades 7, 8

and 9, and History and Geography, Portuguese, and English for grades 10 and 11 (UEM, 1991a:3).

In 1979, UEM suspended 10 courses, Biology, Geographical Engineering, Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Mathematics, Geography, History, Modern Arts and Educational Sciences. This was followed by the closure of the Faculty of Law in 1983. The reasons behind this decision were that "few students successfully completed the basic education courses and there was an increased demand for teachers for grades 10 and 11" (UEM, 1987:3; UEM, 1991a: 3-4).

However, it seems that an urgent need to train teachers for grades 10 and 11 influenced the suspension of these programmes. This was stressed as follows:

> In that time [1980s] the Faculty of Education was created and it was the biggest faculty at the university. This Faculty trained teachers for all levels, and lecturers from other faculties were mobilised to concentrate all efforts on teacher training. As a result, other faculties were either closed or operated with very few students (Interview 4[5]).

As also stated:

> The emphasis was given to the Faculty of Education. Thus, courses such as Political Science, Anthropology and Sociology and other social sciences were not offered. Even courses such as History and Geography were closed so that the need to train teacher could be carried out (Interview 5[6]).

It was also pointed that all lecturers from Faculty of Art, as well as resources, were allocated to the new Faculty [Education] (Ganhão & Araújo, 1991: 3).

Thus, the quotations above stress that one of the reasons for the closure of 10 programmes between 1979 and 1983, was the need to support the Faculty of Education in teacher training. Since, the teacher-training courses offered by the Faculty of Education aimed to train teachers for grades 5 to 11, that faculty trained teachers to train the *homem novo* from the primary level: grades 5 to 11. Thus, by running teacher-training courses for these grades, UEM was directly contributing to train the *homem novo* by training the trainers of *homem novo*.

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[5] Interview conducted on 18th March, 2011.
[6] Interview conducted on 24th March, 2011

As it will be shown when discussing the creation of the Faculty of Marxism-Leninism, UEM also provided ideological training to support FRELIMO's socialist project. UEM contributed directly to the training of *homem novo* in two ways. Firstly, it contributed by running teacher education courses. The other key area in which UEM contributed to the training of *homem novo* was to provide ideological training for students through the Faculty of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, the Faculty of Education directly trained teachers who would train *homem novo* in other levels of education, whereas the Faculty of Marxism-Leninism focused on providing ideological training to UEM's students.

Again, what the National System of Education needed most, apart from infrastructure and students, were teachers able to cover the whole system from grade 1 to grade 11. Grades 7, 8, and 9 required teachers with at least what was termed as *nível médio* (medium level - grade 11) and grades 10 and 11 required teachers with at least a *Bacharelato* degree (Bachelor). In this period in Mozambique, UEM was the only place where individuals could gain these qualifications.

In 1989, the Faculty of Education was closed. However, the closure of that faculty was not an isolated event. By this time, there was a stabilisation of the Higher Pedagogical Institute, an institution created in 1985 specifically to train teachers and other educators.

UEM also contributed to the training of the *homem novo* by producing manuals for other levels of education in Mozambique, both at primary and secondary levels. However, equally important was the drafting of curricula for these levels.

Apart from running teacher-training courses, the production of manuals had also been a way through which UEM contributed to strengthening the Mozambican education system in general. UEM's (1987) report mentions this as one of its eight main extension activities:

> [UEM had] scientifically and pedagogically supported the production of school manuals for other subsystems of the National Education System, and in drafting curricula for other education' levels and institutions (UEM, 1987: 37).

UEM's contribution to the strengthening of the Mozambican education system was also reiterated as follows:

> Other intervention of the university in that period was to produce curricula and manuals for other teaching levels, and there are example of that in areas such as

sciences, social sciences and arts. The university's lecturers collaborated directly with the Ministry of Education and the National Institute for Education Development (INDE) to strengthen the teaching system (Interview 1[7]).

These quotes point out that UEM contributed to strengthening the education system in Mozambique by developing teaching manuals and curricula for the school system in Mozambique. The focus of these activities was on primary and secondary education. Thus, like teacher-training courses, the development of teaching manuals and curricula was meant to address the training of *homem novo* through primary and secondary education. By doing so, UEM contributed indirectly to the training of the *homem novo* in the school system. Teachers and school manuals were to train *homem novo* through primary and secondary schools. By so doing, UEM was addressing a problem: there was lack of teachers for all levels of education. It seems that it was more important to train teachers with the skills to train *homem novo*.

However, UEM was also directly engaged in 'turning' its own students into *homem novo*. This is described in the section below.

6.3.3.1.2 Faculty of Marxism-Leninism: addressing ideological indoctrination

In 1976, ULM became Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) (Eduardo Mondlane University) named after Eduardo Mondlane, the first president of FRELIMO. The renaming of ULM was announced in a speech delivered at the UEM on 1 May, 1976. In the speech, President Machel reminded academic and administrative staff and students that the entire colonial education system was created with two main objectives: to remove Africans from their cultural roots and to inculcate them in the bourgeois society's values (Machel, 1976: 10). Thus, according to Machel, the first thing to be done by UEM for it to become what was termed a 'new university' was to consciously and deliberately cut itself off from its bourgeois and colonial legacy (Machel, 1976: 10 - 13).

FRELIMO defended the importance of ideological training. That training was aligned with an ideology that the party identified with: Marxism-Leninism. One of the directives of the FRELIMO 3rd congress stated the following:

> Teachers and student's political and revolutionary ideology training must be
> intensified so that they will become active agents of scientific knowledge and

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[7] Interview conducted on 2nd March, 2011.

assume the interests and life of the People (República Popular de Moçambique, 1978: 61).

This was also stressed by Ministry of Education and Culture, which considered that higher education (UEM) should offer, among others:

> A political training which would guarantee students to consciously engage in the tasks of building socialism in the People's Republic of Mozambique (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 1982: 5).

At UEM, the Faculty of Marxism-Leninism was set up to train students on the political and ideological tenets of Marxism-Leninism (Fry & Uthúi, 1999: 03; Mário *et al.,* 2003: 09). The interview excerpt below stresses the seriousness of this role:

> In that period there was a huge ideological influence. There was a subject which was termed as Marxism-Leninism. Regardless of the programme in which students were enrolled, all students had to attend it. That shows that we wanted graduates, but graduates committed to nation building (Interview 1).

Since the overriding objective of the education system was to train *homem novo* informed by Marxism-Leninism, UEM was also assigned the key role of realising this objective: to produce *homem novo* infused with socialist ideals. UEM was effectively the party's and state's vehicle for realising the immediate post-independence objectives.

6.3.3.2 Expanding and diversifying access
FRELIMO and the state continuously stressed that access to university education was a key objective that to be addressed.

In a speech quoted in the preceding section, President Machel pointed specifically to where UEM needed to change. One area was related to access to university:

> The task of creating a new university has just started. The University seeks now to go down to the people, to the revolutionary reality in which it is rooted. However, it is still a school for the privileged, a school where the proletarian and peasantry class is not present, a school in which the children of the people do not enter (Machel, 1976:19).

The above quote not only mentions that UEM was still a school for the 'privileged' but also indicates those groups that were not enrolled. As such, UEM was not the university that the state wanted it to be. As stated: "The University is not of the people yet; therefore it is not yet a New University which we want to bring about" (Machel, 1976: 19).

Access was one of the things that needed to be addressed and one of the directives for the education sector formulated at FRELIMO's 3rd Congress reemphasised this issue. As was signalled above, FRELIMO's guidelines for education in general and higher education in particular formulated in its 3rd Congress in 1977, informed the National System of Education (SNE). In 1982, Graça Machel, then Minister of Education and Culture, elaborated on how the SNE was prepared to take into account the guidelines for education sector formulated in the 3rd Congress and the need to address access to higher education. As stated:

> The elaboration of the National Education System materialises one of 3rd Party FRELIMO Congress' directives, which drafted guidelines to create an education system which would be aligned with the demands of a Socialist Society. [An education system] which would guarantee access in all levels of education to factory workers and peasants and their children (Machel, G., cited in Voz da Revolução, 1982: 17).

At the institutional level, UEM attempted to address the issue of access by providing allowances to the children of workers, peasants and veterans of the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, and providing access to vanguard workers and war veterans.

The speech by President Samora Machel, presented above, stressed, among other things, the need for UEM to widen access to factory workers, peasants, veterans of the liberation struggle and their children. That would make the Eduardo Mondlane University a "popular university":

> I think that the President's speech made it clear that the government's intention towards the university; was to transform the university into a popular university, make it more inclusive so that its graduates could help in the process of nation building (Interview 5).

It was also stressed that the expansion of access to the university was accompanied by the provision of allowances:

> UEM was still a small university and confined to Maputo city even though there were students from all over the country attending[8]. In that period, effort was made to enrol students from all over the country and award them allowances. During these years [1976-1986] we made an enormous effort to expand students' residences and allowances (Interview 1).

Thus, during these years, UEM had the support of the government to provide allowances. There was a stated commitment on behalf of the government and UEM to guarantee what one of the interviewees termed as the "popularisation of the university":

> A commitment between the government and UEM in that period [1976- 1986] made it possible to guarantee access to university for disadvantaged groups such as children of workers and peasants (Interview 5).

As was stated above, that commitment was not only for opening up access for the children of vanguard workers, peasants and veterans of the freedom struggle but also to provide allowances and accommodation for them. Both, allowances and the provision of accommodation, were an incentive for the target groups of people such as factory workers, peasants, veterans of the liberation struggle and their children, to enrol at the university. This was clarified as follows:

> The majority of students in that period had no financial means. The majority of them were the first person in their families to go to a university. Thus, the effort of the state through the university to accommodate and give these students conditions for them to study had been one of the top priorities that we [the UEM] embraced (Interview 1).

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[8] Mozambique is administratively divided in three regions: south, centre and north. Each region has Provinces, Districts and Administrative posts. There are 11 Provinces in Mozambique: four on the south – Maputo-city, Maputo Province, Gaza and Inhambane; four in the central region – Sofala, Manica, Tete e Zambézia and three in the north - Nampula Cabo Delgado e Niassa. Each of these provinces is run by a governor appointed by the President of the country. Governors represent the top position of the state administration at provincial level. Even though Maputo city, the capital of Mozambique, is located in the Province of Maputo, it has the status of a Province. Since 2005, the city has had its own governor. Thus, there are 11 governors in Mozambique. Each province has a city capital and districts. There are about 128 districts in Mozambique. Again, each district has administrative posts.

How exactly allowances expanded and diversified access, is illustrated in the Table 4.4. The table highlights the number of students from outside Maputo enrolled at UEM. However, an observation has to be made. The sources (UEM, 1987: 10; 1991a: 18), from which these statistics on enrolment of students from outside Maputo were gathered, only provide data on students from rural areas.

Thus, these statistics do not capture all students from outside Maputo. Nonetheless, the table illustrates the extent to which UEM enrolled these students.

Table 6.2: Enrolment of students from outside Maputo

Year	Students Enrolled	
	Students from outside Maputo	Total of students enrolled
1984	486	1233
1985	574	1442
1986	672	1630

Sources: UEM (1991a; 1987)

As shown in Table 6.2, the number of students from outside Maputo enrolled at UEM from 1984 to 1986 increased from 486 to 672.

Allowances were provided to students from all over Mozambique to study at the university. In Trow's (1970: 2-4) terminology, UEM was performing a popular function, that of providing access to students from diverse backgrounds, such as the children of vanguard workers, peasants, and war veterans. The provision of allowances did not seem to have been a decision that the university took internally. Rather, the provision of allowances was in line with what was considered as the 'need' to provide access to these groups of students (Machel, 1976: 16-23; FRELIMO, 1978: 19; República de Moçambique, 1983: 24:20). Thus, the main issue was to widen access to university to these prescribed groups of students.

Allowances were also given to these prescribed groups of students from outside Maputo who had no financial means to study at the university. However, UEM considered that by widening access it was also contributing toward national unity (UEM, 1987: 25).

6.3.3.3 National unity
As signalled in the preceding sub-section, allowances were more around making access possible to communities that would otherwise not attend university.

After Mozambique gained political independence in 1975, FRELIMO defined its vision of national unity in contrast to tribalism, regionalism, racism and division according to ethnic origins and gender (Machel, 1979: 5). These were considered diversionist elements that were to be eliminated:

> Only by eliminating these problems we will be able to elevate the standard of living of our people, and scientific knowledge, and reinforce national unity, therefore count on commitment and capabilities of each and all of us (Machel, 1975: 5).

However, what follows below is not an explanation of how FRELIMO or the state expected UEM to engender national unity. Rather, it is how and why of UEM, in a context where there was a discourse on national unity, is considered to have contributed to engendering national unity.

As highlighted in Section 4.3.3.2, UEM (1987) argued that the provision of allowances was one of the means through which it contributed to national unity. It has already been mentioned that during the socialist period UEM made an effort to "enrol students from all over the country" (Interview 1).

Thus, to widen access to students from all the provinces of Mozambique, UEM made allowances available. The number of students awarded allowances from 1975 to 1985 is summarised in the Table 6.5.

Table 6.3: Number of students awarded allowances 1975 to 1986

Year	Students enrolled in higher education courses	
	Allowances holders	Total of students enrolled
1975	98	2 433
1976	77	877
1979	80	764
1984	671	1 233
1986	932	1 630

Sources: UEM (1987:8)

Table 6.3 shows that, the total number of students in 1975 was 2 433, more than double that of 1976, which stood at 877. This was because the number of students enrolled at the university in 1975 included the children of the Portuguese. Thus, the number of students declined in a year's period from 2 433 in 1975 to 877 in 1976 due to the mass departure of the Portuguese from Mozambique. It has to be acknowledged that the table above does not include students enrolled in non-higher education programmes.

As far as the numbers of students receiving allowances is concerned, Table 4.5 illustrates that, from 1975 to 1986 the number of students receiving allowances increased from 98 to 932. In 1986, more than half of the entire student body at UEM was given allowances. The university emphasised that by widening access to students from almost all provinces of Mozambique and granting them allowances and accommodation, it contributed to national unity:

> The university, by getting students from all provinces of the country, must also be
> an important tool to consolidate national unity (UEM, 1987: 25).

UEM appropriated one of FRELIMO's directives according to which the university would provide access for the children of factory workers, war veterans and peasants by arguing that by enrolling these groups of people the university was also contributing to strengthening national unity. Thus, allowances were means to allow particular groups to access higher education. As President Machel mentioned, UEM was not a 'new and people's university' and the children of the people could not gain access (Machel, 1976: 19). By providing allowances to children of workers, peasants and war veterans, UEM would be a 'new and people's university'.

However, in the beginning of the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, specifically from 1985 to 1990, the civil war influenced UEM and government capacity to award allowances. Even though allowances were not terminated, it seems that they became less available. Nonetheless, UEM reiterated to the Mozambican government the need to continue providing allowances and accommodation to students from provinces other than Maputo:

> The problem of accommodation is what now preoccupies the university the most.
> The university has students from all provinces in its different courses. The
> inability of the university to accommodate students from other provinces outside

Maputo in the near future, will generate social and politic problems with huge repercussions, since the university must constitute an important tool for consolidation of national unity (UEM, 1987: 28).

In fact, the university was warning the government to provide resources so that it could either build new residences to increase its capacity to accommodate students or rehabilitate the existing residences. Until 1987, UEM had four student residences that altogether could only accommodate 360 students (UEM, 1987: 23).

However, UEM did not argue for the need to provide allowances and accommodation to students only during the socialist period. From 1987 onwards, UEM (UEM, 1987; 1991) reiterated the need to increase its capacity to accommodate students from outside Maputo. This was emphasised in the early 1990s, in UEM's first strategic plan:

It is evident that if the UEM continues to rely on its existing capacity to accommodate students in residences that are being built, it will be impossible to continue accommodating annually a larger number of students coming from outside Maputo. If that happens, it will generate a conflict with huge social and political dimensions (UEM, 1991a: 16-17).

Although UEM's argument in the quotation above was constructed differently in comparison to those of previous years, it seems to rely on the same logic. The issue is how UEM can contribute to consolidating national unity. It seems that the criteria used by UEM to analyse the extent to which it contributed to national unity was the number of allowances and accommodation provided to students from outside Maputo. However, UEM's argument was not that its limited capacity to accommodate more students from outside Maputo could contribute to reducing its role in consolidating national unity, but that stopping the provision of allowances and accommodation for those students would create social and political conflicts that would endanger national unity.

The provision of allowances for students was one of the 10 objectives of the UEM's first strategic plan drafted in 1991, stated as follows:

Carry on a policy of awarding allowances which will ensure that the UEM will remain a national university, therefore contributing to strengthening national unity by promoting access to the university for students from all regions of the country (UEM, 1991a: 31-32).

However, if the provision of allowances and accommodation to students from provinces outside Maputo was, in part, allowing more children of vanguard workers, peasants and veterans of the liberation struggle to enrol at the UEM, it was not allowing vanguard workers, peasants and veterans of the liberation struggle to study at the university themselves. FRELIMO's directives and those of the SNE made it clear that the latter were to enter the university. What follows is a description of how UEM addressed the access of vanguard workers, peasants and war veterans.

6.3.3.4 The usage of state control to enrol appointed groups of students: vanguard workers and veterans of the freedom struggle

President Samora Machel's speech at UEM delivered on May 1, 1967 (Machel, 1976) and FRELIMO's 3rd congress education policies pointed out the need to open access to the university to the vanguard workers and war veterans.

FRELIMO and the state through the National System of Education prescribed that access to higher education, provided only by UEM, was to be extended to war veterans and vanguard workers (República de Moçambique, 1983: 24-20; Machel, G., cited in Voz da Revolução, 1982: 17). By vanguard workers, it was meant almost all groups of workers committed to building socialism. Thus, public servants such as teachers, doctors, nurses, and factory workers were considered as vanguard workers. The Ministry of Education referred to the access of these groups as one of UEM's priorities (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 1982: 7).

UEM had offered a management course for workers since 1976. However, to address access of veterans and vanguard workers to university, in 1983, UEM established *Faculdade para Antigos Combatentes e Trabalhadores da Vanguarda* (FACOTRAV) [Faculty for War Veterans and Vanguard Workers] (UEM, 1987:4).

The enrolment requirement at FACOTRAV for war veterans and vanguard workers was the completion of grade 6. Students undertook studies that would allow them to get a grade 11 certificate, which was needed for enrolment in a degree programme. Thus, the faculty was meant to train adults in a short period so that they could meet the necessary requirements for enrolment in a degree programme (Interview 4). FACOTRAV was also meant to continue offering management training for workers so that they could improve their performance in the workplace (Chilundo *et al.*, 2000: 5; UEM, 1991a: 4; UEM, 1987: 3).

A year after the creation of FACOTRAV, there were 138 students enrolled in non-degree programmes (UEM, 1987: 7). After having completed grade 11, FACOTRAV's students could enrol in either *Bacharelato* (Bachelor) or *Lincenciatura* (Bachelor Honours) courses. Concerning enrolments at FACOTRAV from 1984 to 1990, they decreased from 79 in 1984 to 58. In 1990, enrolment at FACOTRAV had dropped to 42 students, which was the lowest figure compared to the previous years.

Taking into account that none of the groups enrolled at FACOTRAV - war veterans, workers and militants - had the prerequisite qualifications to enrol in any degree programme, FRELIMO's and the state directive provided for them to enrol at the university. They would otherwise not have been able to enrol at UEM.

However, from 1990 onwards UEM stated that running non-degree programmes or enrolling students in those courses would not be a priority. FACOTRAV, a faculty created during the socialist period was about to be closed down. Its closure occurred during the period of the transition to democracy and to a market-oriented economy, in which UEM started preparing its first strategic plan. This was stated as follows:

> The FACOTRAV had accomplished, during the six years, the important mission of facilitating access into the UEM for the national liberation fighters and vanguard workers. Since the number of candidates for FACOTRAV has been low and the number of national liberation fighters is even lower, in the current situation of the country it is not necessary to have a faculty to teach pre-university level; therefore the FACOTRAV will gradually become extinct and, from 1991 on it will not enrol new students (UEM, 1991a: 39).

It seems that by enrolling vanguard workers and war veterans, UEM made it possible to open access to these groups that otherwise would not have been able to enter the university.

6.3.3.5 Activitdades de Julho [July's activities]

FRELIMO considered manual work to be part of the training. It was argued that FRELIMO gained experience on practices and respect for manual work during the struggle for independence, from 1964 to 1974 (Machel, 1976: 16).

FRELIMO considered what it termed as *zonas libertadas* [liberated zones] as fields of experiments where both practice and respect for manual work were forged and developed.

Zonas libertadas were considered as those zones FRELIMO controlled, as the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial rule advanced.

However, before the creation of the liberated zones in Mozambique during the armed struggle against the Portuguese, the movement was operating from Tanzania. It has been argued that the way in which *zonas libertadas* were organised, specifically the way schools were run, encouraged the practices and respect for manual work. For example, on 25 November 1970 a school, Escola de Bagamoyo, was created in Bagamoyo, Tanzania, the country were FRELIMO was created in 1962. In the school, students were engaged in what was termed *prácticas productivas* [productive practices]. The need to engage students in those activities was not only to make them respect manual work but also to avoid elitist thinking. As stated:

> One of FRELIMO's biggest worries is to avoid students developing elitism. [Students] an 'enlightened' minority might rely on the masses and despise non-intellectual activities. One of the methods adopted to discourage those reactionary attitudes is to introduce productive activities (Machel, S. (1975) cited in Ventura, 1975: 106).

Manual work was meant to create a 'socialist consciousness' and an egalitarian society where being an academic or peasant was less important than being a Mozambican engaged in the common cause of creating a socialist society. As such, since each of the Mozambicans was expected to contribute her or his bit to that project, it seems that they were considered workers pursuing the same cause. Work, however, was not only intellectual but also practical. It was that dimension of work that students and teachers were perceived as lacking. In addition, manual work was also meant to make these students and teachers identify themselves with factory workers and peasants.

In his speech at UEM in 1976, President Samora Machel referred to how academic endeavours and manual work [productive activities] were combined and interrelated:

> Our training system combines teaching and social productive activities. Thus, in our training system production integrates teaching and, academic activities also integrate social productive activities (Machel, 1976:16).

The need for UEM to carry out 'productive practices' was not only reiterated in the speech delivered by President Machel (Machel, 1976) at UEM in 1976. In 1977, *Decree* number 19/76 was enacted. This decree stressed that training at the university should be complemented by productive practices:

> (...) it is clear that training at university level cannot be considered complete by only taking classes. Students must be integrated in practices and engaged in productive processes (República Popular de Moçambique, 1976: 1)

These directives led the UEM to start undertaking what was called *Práticas de Produção* [Production Practices]. It was mandatory for students enrolled in all degree programmes at UEM as well as their lecturers to take part in activities that were undertaken in July, given the name *Actividades de Julho* [July's activities] instead of *Práticas de Produção* [Production Practices].

The reason why UEM took on this role is explained in the interview excerpt below:

> The university in that time was also asked to intervene politically, meaning it was asked to develop what was named *Actividades de Julho*, whose activities according to the government policy were aimed at providing students and lectures with some rural experience. That was to avoid mere theoretical teaching and learning (Interview 5).

Decree number 19/76 made it clear that both students and lecturers were to be engaged in practical activities. Attending classes was considered only part of the training. Thus, work, mainly manual work, was regarded as an integral part of the training of students (República Popular de Moçambique, 1976: 1). Again, the importance of students' engagement in manual work was among FRELIMO's directives formulated at its 3rd Congress:

> Effectively integrate students in the productive processes with factory workers and peasants to ensure student's identification with the working classes (Departamento do Trabalho Ideológico da FRELIMO, 1977: 99-101).

However, it seems that *Actividades de Julho* were not only about manual activities. Since these activities were also undertaken in rural areas, it was argued that they had also other purposes:

It [July's activities] made students and the university itself to get to know the country [Mozambique], and its real problems and challenges (Interview 1).

Nonetheless, from the interviews two observations have to be highlighted: first the July activities were not meant to include any research. Secondly, students and lecturers were sent to different areas to work so that they could acquire working experience. However, the distribution of students and lecturers in different sectors did not always coincide with the lecturers' expertise or the programmes in which students were enrolled. This was clarified as follows:

Although students were distributed in different economic units, and productive sectors such as agriculture, industry and others not always related to the courses they were undertaking, the aim was to socialise them with the social, economic and even political reality of rural areas (Interview 5).

FRELIMO had a certain conception of manual work. It was deemed a means to avoid elitism and enrich theory (Machel, 1976: 6). According to FRELIMO's directives, students and their lecturers were engaged in practice because manual work was considered as part of training. In addition, it was aligned with the aim of training *homem novo*, who were expected to respect and love manual work (FRELIMO, 1978: 18).

The preceding sections described how UEM roles were defined taking into account its relationship with the FRELIMO and the state in the socialist period. These sections highlight that FRELIMO's socialist 'project' regarded education as a sector where *homem novo* would be trained. The roles of UEM were defined by FRELIMO's and state directives on higher education. It was in a context characterised by FRELIMO's determination to build a socialist society in which UEM attempted to direct and indirectly train *homem novo*. This was done by providing ideological inculcation, engaging students and lecturers in manual work and running teacher-training courses. However, UEM was also demanded to address access for workers, peasants, war veterans and their children.

From the preceding descriptions, it can be argued that the relationship between UEM, FRELIMO and the state in the socialist period was characterised by attempts by the party and the state to conceive and implement a societal project to which other institutions were required to contribute. The major focus was to bring about a socialist society. Thus, as far as higher education was concerned, the party and the state prescribed what was to be addressed

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by UEM. No wonder at an institutional level, UEM aligned its roles with what was prescribed at the national level. For instance, UEM was required to address, among other things, access in determining who should enter the university. Equally important, was the fact that university lecturers and students were forced to engage in manual work.

Having described how FRELIMO and state's directives led UEM to embrace roles aligned to the FRELIMO's project of building a socialist society, I will address below how UEM's roles in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy were defined.

6.3.4 Transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy

As mentioned in Section 4.2, the period from 1985/6 to 2010 is considered by a number of authors (Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1994, República de Moçambique, 1998; Mário *et al.,* 2003; Langa, 2010) as the Period of Transition from Socialism to Democracy and a Market-oriented Economy. Two events marked the late 1980s: the civil war and the implementation of the economic recovery programme. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, after having joined the IMF and WB in 1984 (Bowen, 1991), the government of Mozambique started implementation of the Economic Recovery Programme. This marked a shift in terms of its economic policy and international relations from the Eastern to Western countries. One of the implications of that shift was the reduction of the number of lecturers coming from Eastern countries. Lopes (1991) illustrated this by giving examples on the reduction of numbers of lecturers from the former Soviet Union and East Germany:

> There has been a reduction in the number of lecturers because of the changes which have taken place in Eastern Europe. Until 1989, the number of Soviet lecturers with long-term contracts - from three to five years - was from 40 to 50. Their contracts could be renewed or replaced by substitute lecturers. Today [1991] there are 30 Soviet lecturers at UEM, and 15 of them have commercial contracts valid for two years. The number of lecturers from the former RDA has decreased immensely: from 20 in 1988 to 2 in 1990 (Lopes, 1991: 4).

In 1990, a new democratic constitution was enacted. Two years later, in 1992, the civil war ended.

As far as higher education is concerned, in 1993 the first law of higher education in Mozambique, Law number 1/93, was enacted. Law number 1/93 made possible the creation

of private higher education institutions for the first time in Mozambique (Mário *et al.*, 2003: 92). Thus, apart from two public higher education institutions created in the mid-1980s - ISP in 1985 and ISRI in 1986 - the new law led to the creation of private higher education institutions such as the Higher Polytechnic and University Institute, Catholic University of Mozambique and Higher Institute of Sciences and Technology of Mozambique.

Before describing the relationship between the state and UEM in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, it is necessary to highlight what government considered the roles of higher education institutions. Then the section further discusses how the government approach to the roles of higher education affected the formation of UEM's roles.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY UNDER THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND MARKET ORIENTED ECONOMY

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, first we present and analyse the relationship between Mozambique's ruling party of FRELIMO, the state and UEM with relation to the university's roles in the period of market oriented economy. In the second section of the chapter, we discuss the data gathered from interviews and document analysis. The discussion is developed by using the conceptual and analytical framework drawn from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006).

7.2 Government's approach to the roles of higher education institutions in Mozambique from 1990s onwards

In an interview with a staff member of the Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education focusing on what the government's conception of the role of higher education in Mozambique, particularly public universities, he replied:

> The role of higher education in general, of course, we want them to produce and disseminate knowledge and, train citizens. We would like to see all higher education institutions taking the lead in the process of transforming our economy into knowledge based economy. This is the great expectation we have (Interview 14[9]).

Although the enactment of legislation and creation of new public and private higher education institutions and bodies to coordinate the sector constituted an important development for the higher education sector, there was also the government policy, strategies and discourse on what should be the roles of higher education. This was incorporated in two other documents: Agenda 2025 and Action Plans for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA).

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[9] Interview conducted on 21st January, 2011.

Agenda 2025, a document comprising vision and development strategies for Mozambique, was prepared in 2001 by the *Comité de Conselheiros* [Committee of Directors] and led by President Joaquim Chissano. In fact, President Joaquim Chissano had launched the initiative back in 1998 (Comité de Conselheiros, 2003: v). The vision and development strategies contained in the Agenda 2025 would be a kind of guideline to inform government policies for the 2000-2025 period. The Agenda 2025's vision was stated as follows:

> It is a mobilising call which defines the Agenda 2025 as a lighthouse to illuminate Mozambique in achieving an effective national reconciliation and strengthening the country's cohesion and unity to secure prosperity for all Mozambicans. It emphasised the need for Mozambicans to change their mentality, and be firm, determined, persistent and tolerant. Having done so, they [Mozambicans] will be prepared to defeat poverty and secure the satisfaction of their growing needs (Comité de Conselheiros, 2003: 96).

The Agenda 2025 counts on the support of higher education to make, among other things, skills development possible and to undertake research. Thus, among other recommendations related to higher education, the Agenda 2025 mentions the following aims:

> - Contribute to teacher training by establishing partnerships with teacher training institutes and creating, at least, a higher pedagogical institute or UP delegation to train teacher for secondary schools in each region of [the regions in] Mozambique;
>
> - Create a higher polytechnic institute in each province of Mozambique; and
>
> - Develop a dynamic and integrated system of research, and create in each district centres for technological innovation and knowledge dissemination in areas such as agriculture, veterinary sciences, building materials and health
>
> (Comité de Conselheiros, 2003: 107-109).

Apart from the Agenda 2025 that mentions the need to "defeat" poverty in Mozambique, the government of Mozambique has since 2000 prepared and implemented what has been termed the *Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty* (PARPA). Three such action plans were prepared, the first in 2001, the second in 2006 and the third in 2010. I will address the first two, highlighting the suggested roles of higher education.

The main objective of PARPA I was to reduce the levels of absolute poverty in Mozambique. More specifically, the action plan intended to reduce absolute poverty from 70% in 1997 to less than 60% in 2005.

Education was one of the sectors expected to contribute to the reduction of absolute poverty. The concept of education in PARPA I was broadly used to address elements of formal and informal education. PARPA I considered higher education as a basic human right. To summarise, the conception behind PARPA I was that the key role of education in general and higher education in particular was to improve the condition of Man. However, to do so, PARPA I considered access to education to be fundamental. As stated:

> Access to education contributes directly to human development by improving capacities and opportunities for the poor, promoting greater social, regional and gender equity. Without a doubt, knowledge is an indispensable means of improving the living conditions of Man (Republic of Mozambique, 2001: 3).

Thus, as far as higher education is concerned, PARPA I states the need for addressing access as follows:

> [To] expand access to higher education; raise the standard of the courses given; extend higher education opportunities to citizens from regions outside Maputo; contribute to the viability of expanding the number and size of higher education institutions and the resultant increase in the number of places available (Republic of Mozambique, 2001: 48).

PARPA II was prepared in 2006 and implemented between 2006 and 2009. The central objective of PARPA II was similar to that of PARPA I: the reduction of absolute poverty. This was also stressed in the Mozambican government website: "the fight against absolute poverty constitutes one of the biggest priorities of the government from 2005 to 2009 period. In order to do so, a second phase of the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA II) was prepared" (Governo de Moçambique, 2011).

However, unlike PARPA I, which did not indicate whether it would be focused on urban or rural areas, PARPA II was focused on rural areas, the so-called districts (República de Moçambique, 2006: 1). Education, again, was seen as one of the sectors that would contribute to reducing absolute poverty in rural areas. However, higher education was specifically expected to address skills development:

- Train skilled personnel for public administration system and sectors such as education, health and agriculture;

- Contribute to innovation and self-employment through promotion of small business, and

- Undertake research that enhances the internal capacity of managing development (República de Moçambique, 2006: 102).

Equally important was the political and official discourse that championed these action plans. Even though this discourse was advocated throughout implementation of PARPA I, it was during the implementation of PARPA II - from 2005 to 2009 – that they became more articulated. Armando Guebuza, while serving his first term as the President of the Republic of Mozambique, championed this discourse. He ran the government from 2005 to 2009 and was re-elected in 2009 to serve his second term ending in 2014. All sectors were asked to engage in fighting against poverty, including the higher education sector in general and universities in particular.

Later it will be shown that UEM staff interviewed in this study mentioned that the university was required to either offer courses such as agriculture and veterinary sciences or develop activities relevant to the creation of productive agriculture in rural areas.

As far as the relationship between the state and higher education institutions in general and UEM in particular, is concerned, from 1990 onwards, this relationship was mediated though coordinating bodies, including the Ministry of Education. Law number 1/93 outlined the role of higher education as the training of skilled personnel, production of knowledge through research, and dissemination of ethical values (República de Moçambique, 1993: 122).

In 2003, the second law of higher education, Law number 5/2003, was enacted. Although, Law number 5/2003 did not mention any specific roles for higher education, it transferred the responsibility for coordinating and supervising the higher education system from the Ministry of Education to MESCT, created in 2000.

As was mentioned in Section 4.2, the first higher education strategic plan in Mozambique was prepared under the mandate of MESCT. The Plan considered the role of higher education institutions as being "to contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of Mozambique" (MESCT, 2000: 2).

However, in 2005, MESCT was restructured to become the Ministry of Science and Technology, and the responsibility of regulating higher education was returned to the Ministry of Education and Culture (República de Moçambique, 2009). Within this ministry, the specific body with the mandate for higher education is the National Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education.

From what has been discussed in this section, it can be stated that from 1990 to 2010 the role of higher education was defined by Law number 1/93 and the higher education strategic plan. However, equally important was a government vision for the role of higher education. As was mentioned in Section 4.2, two documents addressed the role of higher education: Agenda 2025 and the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA I and II). Agenda 2025 mentions the role of higher education as *inter alia* skills development and undertaking research (Comité de Conselheiros, 2003: 107-109). PARPA I mentioned that higher education was expected to train skilled personnel for sectors such as education, health and agriculture, contribute to innovation and self-employment and, undertake research (República de Moçambique, 2006: 30). However, unlike PARPA I where it was not stressed whether it would prioritise urban or rural areas, PARPA II was prepared to also address rural areas (República de Moçambique, 2006: 1).

As also mentioned in this section, there was a government discourse championing the need to engage all sectors, including higher education, in poverty alleviation. Even though data gathered for this study did not allow us to establish a direct link between this discourse and action plans for poverty alleviation with its implications for UEM roles, the UEM academic staff interviewed for this study mentioned that UEM was requested either to offer courses such as agriculture and veterinary sciences or develop activities relevant to productive agriculture in rural areas.

At an institutional level, to address these requests UEM created *escolas superiores*. However, UEM academic staff interviewed for this study also argued that by creating *escolas superiores* the university had contributed to economic development of Mozambique and to the process of democratising the country.

Two observations, however, have to be made. First, it will be argued that UEM contributed to economic development in both the socialist period and the period of transition to democracy

and market-oriented economy. Second, what is presented below is neither the extent to which UEM contributed to economic development nor to democratisation. Rather, what follows, is a description of how government policies and the discourse on the role of higher education institutions led UEM to embrace these two roles.

7.3 Contribution to economic development

As has just been highlighted in the preceding sub-section, the contribution of UEM to economic development cannot be limited only to the period of transition to democracy and market-oriented economy. During the socialist period, UEM was the only higher education institution where skills development was carried out. According to FRELIMO, higher education's contribution to development was through promoting "scientific and technological investigation, in accordance with the country's development needs" (FRELIMO, 1978: 19).

The National System of Education policy, the first major education policy addressing the schools system, professional and higher education, mentions that higher education was expected to provide scientific and technical training to enable people to participate in development and defence of Mozambique (República de Moçambique, 1983: 24:20).

It seems that lack of skilled personnel made UEM graduates indispensable. The need for graduates from 1976 to 1980s was referred to as follows:

> I think that, in that period the government just wanted graduates because there were no graduates. So, whatever was the area, in which people were trained, graduates were always needed in all domains (Interview 1).

Thus, UEM was contributing to development by training required manpower. From 1985 onwards, previously suspended programmes were reopened. Some of the reopened programmes were Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Mathematics, Geography, History and Law. As already mentioned, it has been argued that these programmes were suspended as priority was given to teacher-training (Gasperini, 1986: 78; Ganhão & Araújo, 1991: 3). In 1985, Biology and Geology were re-introduced. A year later, Law, Chemistry and Mathematics were also re-introduced, Architecture was initiated and social sciences were re-introduced in the mid-1990s (UEM, 1987: 3).

By reopening these programmes, UEM widened fields in which skills development could be undertaken. The international cooperation with Western countries and organisations

supported the reintroduction of these courses. Support was provided, *inter alia*, in the form of funding for lecturers to undertake post-graduate studies abroad. For instance, for the introduction of social sciences, UEM's academic staff were sent abroad for training, as reflected in the following interview:

> (...) the Ford Foundation provided a number of scholarships to study in Brazil and, those who were sent to Brazil became the first lecturers in social sciences [at the UEM] (Interview 5).

However, the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy represented a new scenario for UEM. Unlike the previous decades, there was hope that the 1990s would represent a decade of peace and progress and that constituted an opportunity for UEM. Narciso Matos, UEM's rector from 1990 to 1995, described this new scenario thus:

> [...] it will be up to UEM to perform an important role – train skilled personnel, support enterprises in a variety of social and economic sectors, develop research and disseminate scientific knowledge. In order to do so [...] UEM must adopt a radically new strategy adapted to the circumstances of the country and, directed to the future (Matos, 1990: 13).

In the same year, 1990, UEM started, for the first time, to prepare a strategic plan that was completed in 1991. The strategic plan highlighted the need for UEM to undertake more research using local resources or international cooperation with Western countries and institutions. Some of the objectives of research, extension activities and provision of services that UEM was to start addressing were:

> Promote research programmes, mainly applied research, related to the most significant problems of the country and conduct research, extension and technical support in order to contribute to the development of the country (UEM, 1991a: 49).

In 1998, UEM prepared its second strategic plan that would guide its activities from 1999 through to 2003 (UEM, 1998). Brazão Mazula, UEM's rector, highlighted the importance of that strategic plan not only for UEM's wish to contribute to development of Mozambique but also for the definition of the university mission. As stated:

> We want to participate actively in the development of our country and guarantee the integration of the country in the world that we live in […] It has been with this determination which we defined UEM's mission and prepared the institution's Strategic Plan 1999-2003 (UEM, 1998: 2).

The process that led to the preparation of this strategic plan was considered participatory, at least at UEM level (UEM, 1998: 6). UEMs academic and administrative staff, students, members of government, civil society and donors were consulted.

Thus, UEM's mission was stated as follows:

> Eduardo Mondlane University commits itself to be an institution which seeks excellence in education, science, culture and technology, training its students for life and assuming responsibilities in innovation, knowledge transfer and sustainable development (UEM, 1998: 12)

From 1985/6 to 2010, UEM developed a number of activities. Some that are of relevance were, for example, the introduction of postgraduate programmes, curricular reforms and strategic planning for 2004 to 2008. It has to be acknowledged that the World Bank was one of the triggers of those reforms. Wangenge-Ouma and Langa (2011) argued that, to provide credit facilities to UEM, the World Bank set conditions with which it attempted to steer UEM towards a specific end. According to the authors, some of them were to shorten the *Licenciatura* degree from five to four years, improvement of UEM's internal efficiency and reduction of the university's resource dependence on the state. Even though these reforms were imposed by the World Bank, UEM had to act as if these reforms were generated by the university itself (Wangenge-Ouma & Langa, 2011: 55-56). However, as far as UEM's roles were concerned, two things had been of relevance: the creation of *escolas superiores* and a rediscovery of its rural connection.

Thus, from 2003 to 2009, UEM created five *escolas superiores.* They were campuses created to provide training in specific areas such as agriculture, business, hotel, oceanography, journalism and others. Among those *escolas superiores*, the School of Coastal and Marine Sciences was the only one that was located in the centre of Mozambique, in Quelimane city. The School of Communication and Arts was located in Maputo city. The School of Tourism and Hotel [Studies] and the School of Rural Development were located in Inhambane city

and Vilanculos respectively, and the School of Management and Entrepreneurship was located in Chibuto, in Gaza Province.

UEM's roles in contributing to economic development and to democracy were stressed in the first decade of the 21st century. It has already been mentioned that, in that decade, UEM created *escolas superiores*. In a way, by creating those *escolas superiores*, UEM expanded itself. However, it was affirmed that UEM had to expand only in the south of Mozambique:

> [...] the government decided to regionalise the universities; as a result, UEM will be on the south, the University of Zambeze in the Centre and, the University of Lúrio in the north. Thus, UEM must expand itself as much as possible here in the south (Interview 5).

Due to the creation in 2008 of two universities - University of Zambeze in the centre of the country and University of Lúrio in the north - UEM had to limit its expansion to the south of Mozambique.

The reason why UEM's first *escolas superiores* outside Maputo city, the School of Tourism and Hotel [Studies], was created is elaborated on as follows:

> The first school which we opened outside Maputo was the School of Tourism and Hotel in Inhambane. It resulted from our vision of Inhambane as a place with an extremely high tourism potential. No one in the country [Mozambique] was doing this, if there was any; it was not with the same quality as we do (Interview 4).

The creation of the School of Tourism and Hotel [Studies] was further elaborated as follows:

> Discussions in the context of curricula reform covered on one hand the existing courses and, the need to identify with the government and society the tasks that the State was imposing to itself. However, the university could not wait for the government to define new courses; university is science and research. Thus, it has the capacity to predict and the experience. So, in that period the government was still engaged with economic recovery and, we proposed an important area which is tourism. With the end of the war, tourism would become an important source of

income for the economy. In order to do so, it was needed to provide attractive form of tourism (Interview 2[10]).

The reasoning was that UEM could contribute to economic development by providing graduates who would offer attractive services in the tourism market. Thus, the School of Tourism and Hotel [Studies] was created to serve that purpose.

However, the first decade of the 21st century has also been characterised by UEM's focus on contributing to two productive sectors in rural areas: agriculture and veterinary sciences. Thus, it seems that two of UEM's *escolas superiores* - School of Rural Development and School of Management and Entrepreneurship - were created to boost these activities in rural areas. It was stressed that the creation of these *escolas superiores* was in accordance with certain government policies:

> [...] from the government came a request that we pay more attention to development issues, meaning to encourage more development of faculties such as agriculture, sciences and, within these faculties for example Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Geology, then Engineering, Veterinary, Architecture and Medicine. Thus, there was a need to undertake reforms; it was said that there was a need to take our faculties and our university to society not only in urban areas but also in rural areas, the so-called districts (Interview 3[11]).

Since 2006, the Mozambique Government had considered the districts as development poles. This was also stressed by the *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta* II (PARPA) 2006-2009 (Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction II) (República de Moçambique, 2006:1). In that same interview, it was stated that, UEM had produced a number of graduates in areas such as law and teacher training. However, the government wanted to see UEM producing more graduates in other areas:

> Now the government wants to see more people who can work in mines, in rural areas, oil and gas fields, people who can truly work in productive agriculture. The government is worried about it. We have spent time saying that agriculture was a priority. That is why we are in Vilanculos with the School of Rural Development,

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[10] Interview conducted 27th January, 2011.
[11] Interview conducted 3rd March, 2011.

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Chibuto with the School of Management and Entrepreneurship and, there is a field of Agrarian Sciences in Sabié (Interview 3)

However, in addition to the argument that by creating *escolas superiores* UEM was addressing a government request, it was also pointed out that there was also a request from a group of entrepreneurs:

We created an *escola superior* in Chibuto [School of Management and Entrepreneurship]. It was requested by a group of entrepreneurs in that region who affirmed that Chibuto had a potential for commercial agriculture, so we should go there. Thus, we created the school (Interview 4).

The requests by the government and the group of entrepreneurs from Chibuto mentioned above, signals that UEM has to show its relevance not only in such sectors as agriculture and veterinary sciences, but also by developing these sectors in rural areas. In the previous era – the socialist period – the party seemed to determine everything related to UEM's roles. However, the creation of these *escolas superiors* shows, in part, that during the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, UEM started responding to what the market was demanding.

As signalled in the preceding analysis, it was argued that UEM also intended to contribute to democracy. Thus, one of the areas UEM decided to develop was journalism; the rationale behind this decision is described below.

UEM introduced a course in journalism because it was assumed that journalism had potential to contribute to democracy. As stated by one interviewee:

The other area we thought would be important was to discuss how the university could contribute to creating a democratic society. A democratic society is a society where information is important to enlarge citizens' choices. This led us to look to journalism. We used to say "the journalists we have are amateurs". Thus, we created the School of Communication and Arts (Interview 2).

To recap, in the socialist period UEM's roles were defined by FRELIMO's directives on education. Among those roles were to train *homem novo,* expand and diversify access, create an egalitarian society and engender national unity.

In the period of transition to democracy and the market-oriented economy, UEM engaged in preparing its strategic plans and expanded itself to provinces other than Maputo. However, there were government policies and plans - Agenda 2025 and PARPA I and II - and discourses related to the roles of higher education.

What follows, is a discussion on the relationship between UEM and the state and how it led to the defining and creation of roles of this public university. However, the discussion takes into account the two periods identified in Chapter 3: the Socialist Period and the Period of Transition to Democracy and a Market-oriented Economy. Since UEM was the only higher education institution in the socialist period, the first part of the discussion section focuses on the relationship between FRELIMO, the state and UEM. The second part of the discussion section is anchored in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. Thus, the discussion addresses the relationship between the state and UEM.

Analytically, the discussion is developed by using the conceptual and analytical framework drawn from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006). Before engaging in the discussion, the conceptual and analytical framework is summarised.

7.4 Discussion

The focus of this thesis, as already mentioned, is to examine the evolving roles of the Eduardo Mondlane University throughout the key epochs of Mozambique's, social, political and economic history.

From the preceding discussion, it can be highlighted that in the colonial period, the roles of EGUM were aligned with a Portuguese colonial project that was framed to serve, mainly, a few Portuguese nationals. As such, EGUM was an institution created to train these Portuguese. In the socialist period, however, UEM was also aligned to FRELIMO's and the state's project to create a socialist society. As a result, UEM's roles were geared toward achieving that purpose. Finally, in the last period, of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, market mechanisms and UEM itself also started influencing the definition of role of the university. To some extent, as the interviewees in the study pointed out UEM also aligned its roles with each government discourse.

As was mentioned in Section 4.2, the relationship between the state and UEM *inter alia* the roles of the university is analysed by using a conceptual and analytical framework developed from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006).

As was argued in the conceptual and analytical framework section, the process of defining the role of a university might involve a number of actors, including the state, universities themselves, civil society and other stakeholders. The state and higher education institutions in general and universities in particular, have been considered (Clark, 1983; Cloete & Maassen, 2006) as key actors in coordinating and steering higher education systems. However, the larger society has also been engaged and interested in higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 13).

Taking into account the relationship between the state, the university, society and the market, the roles of the university are understood as what universities are expected to do and what they perceive as their roles. Understanding whether the university defines roles for itself or whether they are prescribed or imposed by the state or larger society is of relevance for it might illuminate the nature of the relationship between the state and the university. University roles are located both at macro-level and institutional level. At macro-level, university roles are stated by state legislation and policy on higher education (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10-12). At institutional level, however, university roles are defined by the university itself and relevant stakeholders (Clark, 1983: 140-145). Analytically, apart from taking into account these two levels, three ideal-types are used to determine how university roles come about. These are market steering, state control/regulation and academic oligarchy.

In market steering, actors such as the university, the state, larger society and donors seek to propose competing ideas of roles of the universities. Here the issue of relevance of university roles are taken into account in defining the university. Therefore, the role of the university changes according to what stakeholders demand from it. State control seeks to align university roles with other major government policies and plans. The purpose here is to address the roles considered as useful to solving problems. Finally, academic oligarchy, the process of defining roles of public universities is more an internal process within a university. The purpose of academic oligarchy is to develop and pursue a certain idea of a university. A university's strategic plan might illustrate how a university views itself, states its roles, and how it plans to extend its roles. Each of these steering mechanisms might involve other actors and stakeholders.

In the colonial period, EGUM's roles were defined by a state control mode of steering. At the macro-level, there was the colonial state that created a colonial system meant to favour citizens and *assimilados.* At the institutional level, EGUM integrated within the colonial

project. EGUM was expected to "serve Portugal" by training Portuguese citizens and *assimilados* to secure the perpetuation of colonial rule and Portuguese dominance.

Considered as a Portuguese university, EGUM was to a large extent part of the colonial project to guarantee colonial rule. Being located in Maputo was meant mainly to accommodate the children of the Portuguese settlers and colonialists in Mozambique rather than to admit "locals". As mentioned in Section 4.2, Portuguese settlers were among the factors that triggered the establishment of higher education in Mozambique.

During the socialist period, the relationship was not limited to the state and the university, UEM, only. Rather, it was a relationship between the ruling party FRELIMO, the state and the university. The state's centrality (Clark, 1983: 139) in enacting regulatory frameworks for higher education system was in line with FRELIMO's primary project of building a new society – a socialist society. The state's centrality was felt at the national level where policy and plans relating to higher education were prepared and enacted. It was FRELIMO and the state that determined the university's roles. Therefore, there was predominance of the state control model regarding the definition of roles of the university.

The roles of education in general and higher education in particular, came about in the context of FRELIMO's supreme objective of bringing about a socialist society (FRELIMO, 1978: 08). Thus, society's expectations with respect to higher education were taken up not only by the state (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 10), but also by FRELIMO. It was FRELIMO's directives in education and higher education that informed policies on higher education.

As mentioned, FRELIMO and state policies and directives on higher education were the following: to train the *homem novo*, expand and diversify access and stress the importance of manual work that was meant to *create a 'socialist consciousness' and an egalitarian society.* UEM was seen by both as a vehicle to realising several goals among them: diversifying access to include workers, war veterans, peasants and their children, expediting person power formation, and ideological inculcation. The roles of UEM were therefore defined at national level by FRELIMO's and state policies and directives on education and higher education. As such, UEM was expected not only to support the socialist project but also to contribute to that task. It was more an instrumental relationship where the university was utilised to achieve goals considered relevant for the creation of a socialist project.

Not unlike EGUM (the 'colonial' university), UEM was integrated within a "project". This project was to create a socialist society. Unlike the colonial university that was conceived to serve Portuguese citizens and *assimilados* and excluded Black Africans, UEM during the socialist period was seen as a 'people's university'. Having trained the children of the Portuguese settled in Mozambique from 1962 to 1974, from 1975 onwards UEM was required to adapt itself to a new context. The context was that of independence and the attempts to build a socialist society.

Thus, as President Samora Machel (Machel, 1976) affirmed in his speech, which I have extensively quoted from in Section 4.3.3, the university was expected to remove its colonial legacy. In others words, in order to perform any role in a newly-independent country, UEM had to reform itself to serve a new purpose. As already mentioned, President Machel argued that the colonial university was created to inculcate bourgeois society's values on Africans (Machel, 1976: 10). Thus, in Machel's and FRELIMO's understanding, before 1976, UEM could not have been considered a people's university.

Despite specificities that might have been related to context, priorities and ideology, Mozambique was not the sole case in which the relationship between state and universities had implications for the roles of university. Focusing on the early years of independence in Africa, a number of authors (Court, 1980; Girdwood, 1995; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Assié-Lumumba, 2006) have stressed that the relationship between state and universities consisted of a state control model.

In the post-independence period in Africa, however, universities were, to a certain extent, state 'projects'. The state determined the roles of universities (Van Vught, 1994: 333). Therefore, there had been state control. However, a number of authors have argued (Asbhy, 1964: 96-103; Yesufu, 1973: 41; Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 96) that there was, among African countries, a need for a general standard that would make universities more relevant. The European-styled education, which universities in Africa were offering, was seen as irrelevant (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 96) to the African situation. It has been argued (Ashby, 1964; Assié-Lumumba, 2006) that the curricula and syllabi of universities, mainly those created by European colonial rulers, were replicas of those found in Europe.

A number of authors (Court, 1980; Girdwood, 1995; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Assié-Lumumba, 2006) stress that regardless of the political regime and ideology in place in post-colonial Africa, the state was somehow involved in defining the universities' priorities.

However, among African countries that adopted socialism, Tanzania constitutes a paradigmatic case because of its impact on education system in general and higher education in particular. The country became independent in 1961 and six years later, in 1967, adopted socialism *Ujamaa* – a Kiswahili word that means 'familyhood' (Kassam, 2000: 2, Mollel, 2005: 1). From 1967 to 1980, this socialism Ujamaa was the guiding ideology with which Tanzania was run. Julius Nyerere, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania from 1965 to 1985, mentioned three principles of that socialism:

> (...) equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none (Nyerere, 1967: 237).

Julius Nyerere (1967) also provided a philosophy according to which the education sector was run: self-reliance. In his paper, Education for Self Reliance, Nyerere (1967) elaborated on guidelines for the Tanzanian formal education sector. Among other things, a self-reliant education "should be oriented to rural communities; encourage people to live and work together for a common good; engage students and teachers in productive practices and; counteract what was termed intellectual arrogance, whereby well educated people despise the none educated" (Nyerere, 1976: 238-245).

Fed by the socialist Ujamaa ideology, the University of Dar es Salaam, led by the state, was expected to revolutionise itself. As President Julius Nyerere stated:

> Even if it were desirable, we are too poor in money and educated manpower to support ivory tower existence for an intellectual elite (...). We must, and do, demand that this university takes an active part in the social revolution we are engineering (Nyerere, cited in Hinchliffe, 1987: 36).

However, according to Mkude, Cooksey and Levey (2003), attempts were made to tie the university to the state development ideology. Units meant to address specific development issues were established at the university. Some of them were the Economic Research Bureau (ERB), Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning (the present Institute of Resource Assessment), the Institute of Kiswahili Research and the Institute of Adult Education. The authors further refer to attempts made also to control the University of Dar es Salaam by appointing ruling party (Tanganyika African National Union) members to

positions of leadership at university, including the vice-chancellor (Mkude, Cooksey & Levey, 2003: 2).

Post-independence, specifically in what we have referred to as the socialist period, directives on higher education were prepared at national/macro-level by FRELIMO and the state. At institutional level, UEM's roles were aligned with these directives. Thus, roles such as providing diversified access and the need to train *homem novo* were not endogenously defined by the university itself. The university was addressing what FRELIMO and the state considered as the university's roles within the context of building a socialist society.

Even though state control model has not been as predominant as it was in the socialist period, there have been manifestations of state control in Mozambique in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. In this period, the relationship was between the state (bodies supervising higher education) and UEM. Unlike the socialist period where FRELIMO and the state prescribed the roles of the university, in the transition period, several interviewees mentioned that UEM was "requested" to address areas such as agriculture and veterinary sciences. In response, UEM created *escolas superiores* to run programmes in these fields in rural areas. The development of areas such as agriculture and veterinary sciences in rural areas were some of the initiatives that Mozambique needed to, for instance, fight against poverty and boost economic development.

However, there were also elements of market steering and academic oligarchy. UEM started restructuring itself in a context characterised by establishment of both public and private higher education institutions. Unlike in the socialist period where UEM was required to adapt itself to the directives of FRELIMO and the state, during the transitional period, UEM started engaging in strategic planning. From 1991 to 2008, UEM prepared strategic plans attempting to rethink itself and its roles. The strategic plans led to the definition of the mission of the university, the opening up of new programmes and later the expansion of UEM by creating *escolas superiores*. UEM widened the courses it offered and its capacities to enrol more students. The role of contributing to democratisation of Mozambique and, to a certain extent to the economy, illustrated how the university perceived its roles and sought to expand itself by creating *escolas superiores*.

The preceding discussion shows that developments in higher education in Mozambique in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy was characterised by the creation of bodies to coordinate the sector (República de Moçambique, 1998; Chilundo *et al.*,

2000; Mário *et al.*, 2003; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008; Langa, 2010). The relationship was not between FRELIMO, the state and higher education institutions in general and UEM in particular, but between these bodies and the higher education institutions. However, as it has been the case since 1976, UEM also viewed itself as part of the solution to problems. Apart from government 'requests' to address agriculture and veterinary sciences in rural areas, e*scolas superiores* were expected to contribute to economic development and democracy.

It can be argued that UEM contributed to, for example, economic development in the socialist period. As one of the interviewees stated, Mozambique needed graduates, regardless of their field of expertise. As the only higher education institution, UEM was training these graduates. However, in this study, our main aim has not been to assess the extent to which UEM performed any of its roles. Rather, our main objective has been to understand how UEM roles came about.

Court's (1980) argument that universities in Africa in the post-independence period were not always prepared to perform the roles that they were tasked with remains relevant. However, rather than argue in favour or against the autonomous roles of university, the issue at hand is still about the primary roles of universities, that is, to produce, apply and disseminate knowledge.

However, UEM's *escolas superiors,* which interview respondents in this study claim have contributed to economic development, seem to have been more teaching institutions (undergraduate programme) than research institutions. They appear to be expected to provide services to community rather than provide innovation. Knowledge production and its application and dissemination are central to the university's role of contributing to development.

It would be worthy to consider the findings of a study by Cloete *et al.* (2011), which attempts to assess the link between higher education and development in eight African countries, Mozambique being one of them. As far as the findings are concerned, none of the eight universities comprising the sample group seemed to be moving away from their undergraduate teaching role to the creation of a strong academic core that could contribute to knowledge production, thus contributing also to development (Cloete *et al.*, 2011: 37).

However, what Cloete *et al.* (2011)'s findings do not seem to explain is why there was a perpetuation of undergraduate programmes at UEM and a 'timid' introduction of post-graduate programmes. In fact, going abroad to undertake post-graduate programmes was but part of the reason for the perpetuation of undergraduate programmes at UEM. It seems that what UEM was tasked with addressing in the socialist period, and to some extent, in the period of transition to democracy and the market-oriented economy required training at undergraduate level hence the creation of *escolas superiores*. This is but an example of programmes focused on teaching rather than on research. Development was viewed as addressing agriculture and veterinary sciences areas through teaching and training rather than undertaking research and applying knowledge.

As, I signalled in Section 7.3.4.1, the data collected only provided the rationale supporting the claim that contribution to economic development was one of UEM's roles in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. In addition, that rationale was, in part, to answer the question why UEM addressed the subjects of agriculture and veterinary sciences. Thus, showing how UEM contributed to economic development or measuring the extent to which UEM had effectively contributed to economic development were not the objective of this study.

UEM's role of contributing to democracy follows in the same logic as that of contribution to socialism: how can UEM contribute to building a democratic society? However, as it was shown above, unlike in the socialist period where UEM was assigned roles, in the transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy UEM assigned itself the role of contributing to democracy. The opening of the journalism course was justified as UEM's attempt to train journalists that would provide information to citizens. This information would in turn help citizens to make choices in their everyday life.

The discussion highlighted the role of both Mozambican history and political economy in shaping the roles of UEM. It has been within social, political and economic contexts that the universities roles were defined.

7.5 Summary of the chapter

In the colonial period, the role of EGUM was to train children of the Portuguese settlers in Mozambique to perpetuate colonial rule. While a few *assimilados* could gain access to the university, very few Black Africans did so. What has been referred to as the socialist period

covered the attempts by FRELIMO and the state to build a socialist society and explain how UEM was expected to 'fit' in that "project". The period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy was characterised by an abandonment of the socialist "project". There were major social, economic and political developments such as the shift in terms of international cooperation from East to West, implementation of economy recovery programs, enactment of a democratic constitution, and the end of a civil war.

As far as higher education was concerned, developments such as the enactment of laws of higher education and the creation of a body to coordinate this area, elaboration of the higher education strategic plan and the proliferation of public and private higher education institutions were of relevance. Unlike in the socialist period where UEM was the only existing higher education institution, during the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, the university was operating in a context characterised by multiple actors, not just FRELIMO and the state, but other universities and different social groups.

Exploring analytically how the roles of UEM were arrived at, taking into account the relationship between the state and university, seems to have clarified an understanding of why UEM embraced or was forced to embrace certain roles. The discussion in this section, is however, reassessed in the next chapter, which also addresses areas for further research and the study's limitations.
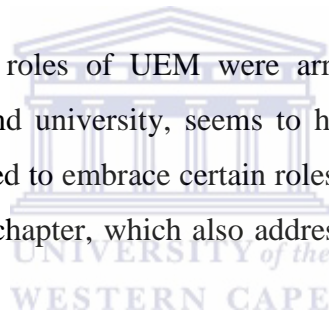
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND STUDY LIMITATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This study sought to understand how the roles of the Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique came about. More specifically, the focus of this thesis was to examine the evolving roles of the Eduardo Mondlane University through the key epochs of Mozambique's social, political and economic history. The main objective was to understand how the roles of UEM came about taking into account the relationship between the state and the university.

This was done through an exploratory case study that has attempted to reconstruct how UEM's roles came about taking into account its relationship with the state. The study's timeframe was from 1975, the year in which Mozambique gained its independence, to 2009. However, the study has also examined the roles of EGUM during the period of Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique.

Different sources of data such as documents, interviews and an extensive literature review were used to discuss and analyse the relationship between the state and UEM as well as how the university's roles came about. Apart from using the social, political and economic context in which UEM has operated, data analysis was also informed by the conceptual and analytical framework.

The reviewed literature (Ashby, 1964; Trow, 1970 and 2005; Habermas, 1971; Yesufu, 1973; Court, 1980; Sherman, 1990; Castells, 1991 and 2009; Saint, 1992; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Scott, 1998; Smith, 1999; Lulat, 2003; Van Wyk & Higgs, 2007; Cloete *et al.*, 2011) accounts for how debates on the roles of universities have been approached and also the relevance of those debates to understanding roles of the universities, especially in post-colonial Africa. Moreover, the reviewed works also illustrate that those debates are far from conclusive.

As far as higher education in Mozambique is concerned, a number of authors (Chilundo *et al.*, 2000; Mário *et al.,* 2003; Brito, 2003; Langa, 2006; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008) have mainly addressed the expansion of the higher education sector in Mozambique and policies formulated to coordinate the sector. However, none of these studies

examined, in depth, what universities were established for, nor analysed the debate around the role of universities taking into account the case of Mozambique. Thus, this study looked at how the roles of UEM came about taking into account the relationship between the state and the university.

The study has been placed in a conceptual and analytical framework that draws from the work of Clark (1983) and Cloete and Maassen (2006). Made up of three forms of defining roles of university – market steering, state control and academic oligarchy – the conceptual and analytical framework has been used to understand not only how the roles of UEM came about but also how university roles were viewed.

8.2 Summary of findings

From discussion and analysis in Chapter 4, it can be highlighted that in the colonial period, the roles of EGUM were aligned with a Portuguese colonial project that was framed to serve Portuguese nationals. As such, EGUM was an institution created to train the Portuguese. Thus, in the colonial period, the role of EGUM was to train children of the Portuguese settlers in Mozambique in order to perpetuate colonial rule.

In the socialist period, however, UEM was also aligned to FRELIMO's and the state's project of creating a socialist society. As a result, UEM's roles were also geared toward achieving that purpose.

Finally, in the last period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, market mechanisms and the UEM itself started also to influence the definition of its roles as a university. However, to some extent, as the interviewees stated, UEM also aligned its roles to the government discourses.

To what extent has the state control model determined UEM's roles? As argued in the preceding section during the socialist period, the roles of UEM were defined by FRELIMO and state policies and directives on higher education sector. FRELIMO directives on higher education were also transferred to the state machinery and then imposed onto the university. UEM was expected to 'fit' within FRELIMO's 'project' to bring about a socialist society. Thus, it was within a context characterised by attempts to build a socialist society that UEM roles came about.

UEM's roles such as teacher-training, training of technicians to take over social and economic sectors, widening access to enrol workers, peasants, veterans and their children, and consolidating national unity, were meant to solve the problems identified. Among what UEM was expected to address were shortage of teachers and technicians for a variety of social and economic sectors, ideological inculcation and engender national unity.

In the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, the definition of the roles of universities at a national/macro-level to some extent highlights the existence of the state control model and its influence on the roles of UEM. Despite changes from a socialist to a democratic and market-oriented economy, the state control model of defining the university's roles were also present. At national/macro-level, higher education institutions including UEM were asked to contribute toward the fight against poverty. UEM was asked to develop activities in areas such as agriculture and veterinary sciences in rural areas. UEM, at least in its *escolas superiores*, aligned its roles with the governmental request to address areas such as agriculture and veterinary medicine in rural areas. It was in these areas that UEM's *escolas superiores* attempted to contribute in two of what was termed the 'productive areas', such as agriculture and veterinary medicine.

Unlike in the socialist period where UEM was the only existing higher education institution, during the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy, the university was operating in a context characterised by multiple actors: not just the party - FRELIMO - and the state, but other universities and different social groups.

Thus, it can be argued that in this period there was also a market steering definition of the role of university. The creation of bodies to steer higher education and social groups interested in higher education to demand for services, support or hold higher education institutions accountable, highlight the importance of the market and society in defining the role of universities in Mozambique (Cloete & Maassen, 2006: 13).

There was also an academic oligarchy form of defining its roles. These elements informed UEM's attempts to elaborate a strategic plan with which the university would adapt itself in a context characterised by multiple higher education providers, to capitalise international cooperation to create research capacity and to identify other courses to be opened.

8.3 Conclusion

There is no doubt that a new world is being born. It seems to be a world that will have little place for disinterested pursuit of truth. A great deal of old fashioned scholarship survives – partly by "silence, cunning and exile" - in the universities of the present day, but little relationship remains between what we used to call "universities" and the things called by the name today (Minogue, 2005: xviii)

According to Castells (2001: 206), universities "have performed basic functions that are implicit in the role that is assigned to them by society through political power or economic influence". We have assumed that universities do have roles to perform. However, more than that, this study has looked at how universities roles came about.

Fry and Uthúi (1999: 3) and Mário *et al.* (2003: 9) referred to the socialist period as 'heady years'; our purpose has been rather to understand how Mozambique's social, political and economic context as well as the relationship between the state, society and higher education effected the defining of UEM"s roles. In addition, it is important to understand how UEM was viewed in different periods. Within the socialist 'project', FRELIMO and the state viewed the university as a means of producing *homem novo*. However, to some extent, what has just been discussed has shown that, in the period of transition to democracy and market-oriented economy there were still manifestations of the state control model regarding the definition of roles of universities. Thus, at national/macro-level, higher education institutions, including UEM, were viewed by government, among other things, as tools with which to address poverty alleviation.

However important it might be, the extent to which UEM performed or claimed to have performed certain roles is not the issue. In an interview on the Berkeley programme *Conversation with History*, hosted by Harry Kreisler, under the topic "The Changing Roles of Universities Presidents", Harold T. Shapiro, the former President of Princeton University and the University of Michigan affirmed that: "No university is as good as its own propaganda and no university is as good as it should be".

Why is it important to study how the roles of a university came about? Why is it of relevance to attempt to understand whether university roles were defined through market steering, state control or academic oligarchy? Why should we be interested in the ways universities roles are defined? These questions are related both to the conceptual and analytical framework that has

been used in this study and methodological approach for the framework. In attempting to address these questions, four reasons can be put forward:

- First, assessing how a university's roles came about might help in understanding why a university embraces or is forced to embrace certain roles. It also highlights what actors and institutions are involved or interested in the university 'business'. Furthermore, it might shed light on how roles of universities are perceived not only by authors external to universities – state, other universities, different social groups, donors and others – but also the university itself.

- Second, in seeking to explore how a university's roles came about, a researcher both methodologically and analytically might focus on understanding a university's existing roles, rather than judging them. More than suggesting or imposing what roles a university should perform and assessing how well it has performed, the analytical framework used in this study focuses on understanding how the roles a university performs or claims to have performed came about. However important as it might be, the extent to which a university performed or claimed to have performed certain roles becomes secondary.

- Third, it can provide insights on questions such as what a university is and what kind of university a city, country or a region has. Instead of making claims with a hint of nostalgia, the quotation from Minogue (2005: xviii) made in the beginning of this sub-section, investigating how roles of the university came about might shed light on what is meant when we refer to university roles. More than that, it might provide an understanding around how roles of a university are justified.

- Fourth, understanding whether university roles were defined through market steering, state control or academic oligarchy can shed a light on how the university is run. This might provide a deeper understanding beyond debates on whether universities should be autonomous or held accountable and to whom they should be held accountable. Rather, by exploring how the roles of the university came about the analytical framework not only seems to highlight that universities are held accountable but also why.

As this a sole case study, we wonder whether the form of state control experienced in Mozambique's higher education would be experienced in other countries that have had a state

control approach to higher education. That is not a yes or no question only. Rather, it implies addressing the extent to which the state control model affected and shaped higher education.

8.4 Areas for further research

Below are presented five potential areas for further research that have been identified while conducted this study.

- Mamdani (2006), criticising what he termed as a 'limited vision of history' argued that when attempting to rewrite the history of Africa, studies in political economy were focused on the colonial period. One of the implications of that 'limited vision of history' was not treating the pre-colonialism as object of study. Rather it was treated as a point of departure (Mamdani, 2006: 210). The object of study was colonialism. Borrowing Mamdani (2006) argument, it has to be acknowledged that this study treated higher education during the Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique as a departure point, rather than an object of study too. Therefore, further study could be conducted to describe and analyse in detail how *General Universities Studies of Mozambique* (EGUM) operated within the Portuguese colonial 'project'. That might highlight the nature of the colonial university as well as the way it was run

- The discussion on the socialist period provided the roles UEM was expected to perform resulting from demands from FRELIMO and the state. However, even though investigating the extent to which UEM performed these roles was beyond the scope of this study, a further research could focuses on performativity or results. For instance, to what extent did children of peasants, factory works and war veterans gain access to UEM? To what extent did the ideological training at Faculty of Marxism-Leninism lead to an increased in support for FRELIMO's socialist 'project'?

- Section 5.2 addressed, among other things, the creation of bodies to coordinate and supervise higher education in Mozambique from 1993 onwards as well as changes to the ministries that were charged with the mandate of higher education management, from the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, to the Ministry of Science and Technology and then the returning of the mandate of higher education management to the Ministry of Education and Culture. More than studying why that happened, it might be more interesting to study how higher education in Mozambique

has been coordinated and supervised. Have these bodies become institutionalised? To what extent? What roles have they played in steering higher education sector?

8.5 Limitations of the study

What follows are the study limitations.

- The study did not address any opposition to the roles that UEM was tasked with. As Clark cautioned, even when there is a state coordination in a higher education system, "the state officials are not automatic winners in this battle, easy victors in an unequal contest" (1983: 145). One has to take into account the context and the major actors within the state and the university. Thus, state control does not necessarily mean that the state or a ruling party always imposes roles of university without opposition. This study did not address challenges faced by the state when imposing roles onto the university as well as the tension triggered by those attempts.

- The study attempted to capture the relationship between the state and UEM mainly in two periods: the socialist period and the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy. Noting what has been discussed and analysed in this study, that there was in the first period state control and a top-down approach to the role of UEM, from FRELIMO and state, the second period remains a challenge. Thus, a study can be undertaken to access how UEM institutional development has been characterised. This would provide a deeper understanding of how UEM responded to the transition.

- Among the three elements of the conceptual framework used to analyse data, academic oligarchy and market steering seemed less present in defining the roles of the university. Related to academic oligarchy, apart from the university's mission statement, the documents reviewed and interviews conducted do not emphasise a long-term vision of the roles of university. We could not assess whether the creation of more higher education institutions, especially in the period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy encouraged UEM to develop a long-term vision of its roles. In addition, beyond the role of the state in shaping the UEM's roles, the study provides a little explanation about the role played by the oligarchies and the markets.

- Market steering points to reconstruction of a process highlighting actors involved as well as their level of their involvement and arguments they put forward. Reconstructing the process requires more than document review and interviews. The issue would be how discourses were built to reach an agreement on the university's roles. To obtain that kind of information, a researcher needs, amongst others methodological strategies, to observe and take part in an on-going process.

- The periodisation into colonial period, socialist period and period of transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy borrowed from a number of authors (Mário *et al.*, 2003; Brito, 2003; Chilundo *et al.*, 2000; Chilundo, 2006; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008, Langa, 2010) for analytical purposes. However, to assess whether there has been any change in the relationship between the state and the university might require more than that divide.

- As a methodological limitation, the study did not track an on-going process. I did not undertake participant observation to capture an on-going process with the involvement of different participants. An on-going process would be the processes that lead to the creation of roles of the university rather than the outcome. The presence of a researcher in the debates between the state and the university would be fundamental to reconstruct those processes. Thus, relying on documents review, conducting interviews and analysing speeches would not be sufficient to track the processes.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Ethics clearance request

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

UWC RESEARCH PROJECT REGISTRATION AND ETHICS CLEARANCE

This application will be considered by UWC Faculty Board Research and Ethics Committees, then by the UWC Senate Research Committee, which may also consult outsiders on ethics questions, or consult the UWC ethics subcommittees, before registration of the project and clearance of the ethics. No project should proceed before project registration and ethical clearance has been granted.

A. PARTICULARS OF INDIVIDUAL APPLICANT
NAME: Domingos Jaime Langa   TITLE: Mr.
DEPARTMENT: Education   FACULTY: Education
FIELD OF STUDY: Higher Education Studies

ARE YOU:	Yes		No	
A member of UWC academic staff?	Yes	☐	No	☐
A member of UWC support staff?	Yes	☐	No	☐
A registered UWC student?	Yes	x	No	☐
From outside UWC, wishing to research at or with UWC?	Yes	☐	No	☐

B. PARTICULARS OF PROJECT

PROJECT NUMBER: TO BE ALLOCATED BY SENATE RESEARCH COMMITTEE:

EXPECTED COMPLETION DATE: January 2012

PROJECT TITLE: **Understanding the Roles of Public Universities in Mozambique: the Case of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)**

THREE KEY WORDS DESCRIBING PROJECT: university; university roles; role of public universities; Eduardo Mondlane University; state control model; market steering model ; academic oligarchy model and Mozambique

PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT:

M-DEGREE: X   D-DEGREE:

POST GRADUATE RESEARCH:

C.   PARTICULARS REGARDING PARTICULAR RESEARCHERS

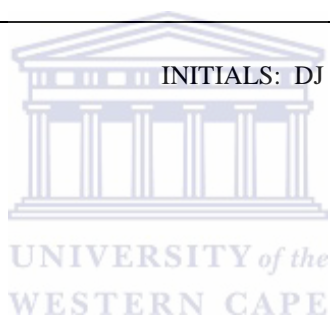FAMILY NAME: Langa   INITIALS: DJ   TITLE: Mr.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER:

OTHER PROJECT LEADERS:

OTHER CO-RESEARCHERS:

THESIS : STUDENT RESEARCHER: Domingos Jaime Langa

THESIS SUPERVISOR: Dr. Gerald Ouma

C. GENERAL INFORMATION

STUDY LEAVE TO BE TAKEN DURING PROECT (days): 90 days

COMMENTS: DEPARTMENTAL CHAIRPERSON:

IS IT INTENDED THAT THE OUTCOME WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATION? YES ☐ NO ☐
SIGNATURE OF THESIS STUDENT RESEARCHER – WHERE APPROPRIATE: SIGNATURE OF THESIS SUPERVISOR – WHERE APPROPRIATE: SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER – WHERE APPROPRIATE: DATE: SIGNATURE OF DEPARTMENTAL CHAIRPERSON: DATE:
NOTE: THESE SIGNATURES IMPLY AN UNDERTAKING *BY THE RESEARCHERS*, TO CONDUCT THE RESEARCH ETHICALLY, AND AN UNDERTAKING BY THE THESIS SUPERVISOR (WHERE APPROPRIATE), DEPARTMENTAL CHAIRPERSON TO MAINTAIN A RESPONSIBLE OVERSIGHT OVER THE ETHICAL CONDUCT OF THE RESEARCH.

E.   DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT AND RESEARCH ETHICS STATEMENT

This study intends to discuss and analyse how the roles of public universities have been defined in Mozambique. The study will focuses on Eduardo Mondlane University, the first higher education institution in Mozambique established under Portuguese colonial rule in 1962 then named was the Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique (EGUM) [General University Studies of Mozambique]. EGUM was renamed Eduardo Mondlane University in 1976, this public university has been engaged in redefining its roles. The debates on the role of universities are neither new nor concluded. What may seem clear is that universities have roles to play. Those roles are often stated in legislation, policy and plans of higher education, by universities themselves or even by their stakeholders. However, the debates explain neither the specific ways in which these roles came to be defined nor what these roles mean. Rather, they are constitutive of a university (Björn 1993). Thus, this study seeks to analyse the process through which the roles of public universities in Mozambique have been defined. Taking Eduardo Mondlane University as case of study the guiding question is: How have the roles of Eduardo Mondlane University evolved from 1976-2009?

As methods of data collection, the study will use document analysis and interviews. Document analysis will include data about the role of public universities, what is expected from them, when and how these roles were defined.

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with key informants at Eduardo Mondlane University and the Ministry of Education. I will not be doing a participant observation to capture an ongoing process with involvement of different participants. Rather, interviews will be undertaken as a tool to reconstruct how the roles of Eduardo Mondlane University have been defined. As a result, I will seek to find out and analyse how actors have participated in this process.

The open-ended interview guides will include a section on the socio-demographic information of interviewees, open-ended questions on the interviewee experience on defining the role of public universities, the institution – be it a university or a Ministry – position on the role of public university. Although I will have an interview guide and a notebook to write what the interviewee will be saying, each interview will be audio recorded. This technique would minimize the loss of information not captured by the interviewer while taking notes. The interview is understood here as a conversation between the interviewer and the interviewees, thus, I might raise questions on issues which might require clarification.

In addition to document analysis and interviews, websites of Eduardo Mondlane University and the Ministry of Education will be used as sources of collecting data. Useful resources will include organizational structures, mission statements, and regular reports.

Before starting data collection, this proposal will be submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education at the University of Western Cape to obtain formal clearance to conduct field research. Once research clearance is obtained, all interviews will be conducted in accordance with ethics of research on human subjects. I will present research clearance to each of the selected institutions, and also request a clearance from each participating institution. Since the clearance only tells that one is allowed to conduct a study, I will ask the participants who would have accepted to be interviewed to fill out/in a consent form, in which I will state the objectives of the study and their voluntary participation or declination. In addition the interviewees will be asked whether they would like to be quoted or prefer to be anonymous, and assure them that the interviews will be used only for the stated study purposes. During the data analysis each quotation from the interviews will respect the interviewees' expressed words ideas as clearly as possible. Finally, I will provide my contact details upon request.

All interviews will be transcribed, organized and systematized, using two complementary strategies.

Firstly, I will develop an analytical axis from each of the sub-questions of this research proposal. The first analytical axis will be the key players in the process of defining the role of public universities and the nature of their involvement; and the second will be the logic behind the prioritization of certain roles of public universities and their rationale. In the first analytical axis the idea will be to identify the key players first, describe how they are involved, and then explore the nature of their involvement. The second analytical axis will seek to understand and identify the roles of the Eduardo Mondlane University and their rationale.

The second strategy of analysing data will be by using the analytical framework. The idea is to think beyond what might be described by the analytical axis, and use the analytical framework to analyse how the roles of public universities are defined and justified. The analytical framework might not only capture different forms of defining the roles of public universities, but also cases of hybrid approaches where elements of different forms of defining the role of public universities can be found, and cases of changes of roles of public universities can be understood.

Following the analysis, I will discuss the extent to which the analytical axis and analytical framework enabled me to answer the research question, and whether the study points to any area or theme for further study and its justification.
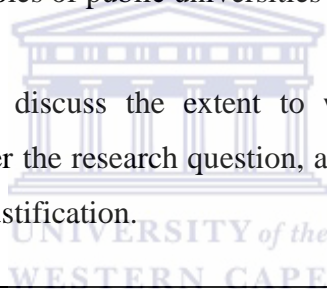
Form issued by: Professor Renfrew Christie, Dean of Research, February 2002.

Interview Guide with the Eduardo Mondlane University

Research title: **Understanding the process of defining the roles of public universities in Mozambique: the case of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM).** The main objective of the study is to understand how UEM's are defined in Mozambique. The study is undertaken as a requirement for accomplishment of the Masters in Education (Higher Education Studies) in the Faculty of Education of the University of Western Cape – Cape Town/South Africa. Thus, this interview will be only used for academic purposes.

I appreciate your willingness to be interviewed for this study. For that, I thank you in advance.

I.   Role of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)

0. What have been the roles of Eduardo Mondlane University? Can those roles be divided in periods, for example from 1975/1976 to 1980; and from the 1980s to 1990 and, from 1990 onwards?

1. How have these roles been defined?

2. Which roles were defined by the UEM itself? Which roles were defined by other actors and institutions?

3. Why has the UEM defined these roles?

4. Have these roles changed since the university was renamed Eduardo Mondlane University in 1976? Which roles? Why?

5. To what extent have the roles of UEM changed?

6. Which factors might have influenced to these roles to be changed?

7. Could the UEM decide not to change? To what extent?

II.   Actors and institutions involved in defining the role of the UEM

1. Which actors and institutions have participated in defining the roles of the UEM?

2. How have these actors and institutions participated?

III. The UEM, the Mozambican government and society

0. Have has the UEM interacted with the government?

1. What does the government expect from the UEM? How have the UEM dealt with those expectancies?

2. How have the UEM interact with the society?

3. Which sectors, institutions and actors does the UEM interact with most? Why?

4. How have the UEM dealt with the expectancies from those groups?

IV. Tackling the future

1. Are there other roles that the university intends to embrace in the future?

2. What are they? Why these roles?

3. Who suggested these specific roles?

Thank you

Domingos J. Langa

Guião de Entrevista: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

Tema da dissertação: **Entendendo o Processo de Negociação do Papel das Universidades Públicas em Moçambique: o caso da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane**

O principal objectivo do estudo é entender como é que são definidos os papéis da Universeidade Eduardo Mondlane. A pesquisa é conduzida como um dos requisitos para a conclusão do Mestrado em Educação (Estudos de Ensino Superior) na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de Western Cape – Cape Town/ África do Sul. Assim sendo, esta entrevista será usada apenas para fins académicos.

Agradeço antecipadamente, a Vossa colaboração.

I.   Papéis da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

8. Quais foram os papéis da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) até a data (2011)? É possível categorizar os papéis em, por exemplo períodos, 1975/1976 à 1980; 1980 à 1990 e, de 1990 em diante?

9. Como é que esses papéis foram definidos [o que levou a definição desse papéis]?

10. Que papéis foram definidos pela própria UEM? Que papéis foram definidas por outros actores e instituições que não os da Universidade?

11. Porque é que a UEM definiu para si mesma esses papéis?

12. Houve mudança de alguns dos papéis desde que a universidade passou a designar-se de Universidade Eduardo Mondlane em 1976? Quais? Porquê?

13. Em que medida os papéis da UEM mudaram?

14. Que factores terão influenciado a mudança desses papéis?

15. Podia a UEM decidir não mudar seus papéis? Como?

II. Instituições e actores involvidos na definição dos papéis da UEM

3. Que instituições e actores têm participado na definição dos papéis da UEM?

4. Como é que essas instituições e actores têm sido envolvidos?

III. UEM, o governo de Moçambique e a sociedade

5. Como é que a UEM interage com o governo?

6. O que o governo espera da UEM? Como é que a UEM lida com essas expectativas?

7. Como é que a UEM interage com a sociedade?

8. Com que sectores, instituições ou actores da sociedade a UEM mais interagia? Porquê?

9. Como é que a universidade tem lidado com as expectativas desses grupos?

IV. Perspectivando o futuro

0. Existem outros papéis que UEM almejava abraçar?

1. Quais? Porque esses papéis?

2. Quem sugeriu esses papéis?

Muito Obrigado

Domingos J. Langa

Interview Guide at the Ministry of Education

Research title: **Understanding the process of defining the roles of public universities in Mozambique: the case of the Eduardo Mondlane University**. The main objective of the study is to understand how UEM's roles in Mozambique. The study is undertaken as a requirement for accomplishment of the Masters in Education (Higher Education Studies) in the Faculty of Education of the University of Western Cape – Cape Town/South Africa. Thus, this interview will be only used for academic purposes.

I appreciate your willingness to be interviewed for this study. For that I thank you in advance.

16. **Role of the National Directorate for Coordination of the Higher Education Area**

1. What is the role of the National Directorate for Coordination of the Higher Education Area?

2. Explore whether these role has changed, and why.

17. **Definition of the roles of public universities**

10. What are the role public universities?

11. What is the role of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)?

12. What is the role of the Pedagogical University (UP)?

13. Find out whether it can be described and explained in terms of time, for instance the 1970/80s; 1990s; and 2000s; events; enactment of the Strategic Plan for Higher Education, 2000 - 2010; establishment of universities of public universities besides UEM and UP; or there are other ways?

14. Which actors and institutions have been involved in defining the roles of UEM? How would you describe their e involvement in the definition of the roles of UEM?

15. How have your institution dealt with UEM?

Thank you

Domingos J. Langa

Interview Guide at the Ministry of Education

Research title: **Understanding the process of defining the roles of public universities in Mozambique: the case of the Eduardo Mondlane University**. The main objective of the study is to understand how UEM's roles in Mozambique. The study is undertaken as a requirement for accomplishment of the Masters in Education (Higher Education Studies) in the Faculty of Education of the University of Western Cape – Cape Town/South Africa. Thus, this interview will be only used for academic purposes.

I appreciate your willingness to be interviewed for this study. For that I thank you in advance.

18. **Role of the National Directorate for Coordination of the Higher Education Area**

3. What is the role of the National Directorate for Coordination of the Higher Education Area?

4. Explore whether these role has changed, and why.

19. Definition of the roles of public universities

16. What are the role public universities?

17. What is the role of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)?

18. What is the role of the Pedagogical University (UP)?

19. Find out whether it can be described and explained in terms of time, for instance the 1970/80s; 1990s; and 2000s; events; enactment of the Strategic Plan for Higher Education, 2000 - 2010; establishment of universities of public universities besides UEM and UP; or there are other ways?

20. Which actors and institutions have been involved in defining the roles of UEM? How would you describe their e involvement in the definition of the roles of UEM?

21. How have your institution dealt with UEM?

Thank you

Domingos J. Langa

APPENDIX 3: Informed consent form for respondents

- Research title: Understanding the process of defining the roles of public universities in Mozambique: the case of Eduardo Mondlane University. The main objective of the study is to understand how UEM's are defined in Mozambique. The research is undertaken as a requirement for accomplishment of the Master in Education (Higher Education Studies) in the Faculty of Education of the University of Western Cape – Cape Town/South Africa. Thus, this interview will be only used for academic purposes.

Student name: Domingos J. Langa

Address: Unit 4, Quarteirão N° 05, Bairro da Bunhiça, Machava-Socimol, Matola

Mobile Phone: 84 23 50 240 (Mozambique) or 076 01 77 697 (Cape Town/South Africa)

E-mail address: 3002106@uwc.ca.za or domingos.langa@uem.mz

I appreciate your willingness to be interviewed for this study. For that I thank you in advance.

- Your involvement in this study is voluntary, you will not be obliged to divulge information you would prefer to remain private, and you may withdraw from the interview at any time.
- I will endeavour to capture all information you provide accurately and make references whenever necessary unless you prefer anonymity.
- The research findings will be made available to you should you request them.
- Should you have any queries about the research, before beginning the interview process please feel free to address them, or in the future, you are welcome to contact me at the above address.
- I appreciate your willingness to be involved in this research.

I understand the contents of this document and consent to participate in this research.

…………………………………………………………..
Signature   Date:

…………………………………………………………..
Name

Name of the Interviewer   Date:

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Termo de Consentimento

- Título do Projecto de Pesquisa: **Entendendo o Processo de Negociação do Papel das Universidades em Moçambique: o caso da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane**. O principal objectivo do estudo é entender como é que são definidos os papéis das universidades públicas em Moçambique. A pesquisa é conduzida como um dos requisitos para a conclusão do Mestrado em Educação (Estudos de Ensino Superior) na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de Western Cape – Cape Town/ África do Sul. Assim sendo, esta entrevista será usada apenas para fins académicos.

Nome do Estudante: Domingos J. Langa
Endereço: Casa número 34, Quarteirão N° 05, Bairro da Bunhiça, Machava-Socimol, Matola
Telefone Celular: 84 23 50 240
Endereço electrónico: domingos.langa@uem.mz ou 3002106@uwc.ca.za

Agradeço, antecipadamente, a Vossa colaboração neste levantamento de dados.

- A Vossa colaboração neste levantamento de dados é voluntária. Não é nem será forçado (a) a fornecer qualquer informação que comprometa sua privacidade. Pode interromper a entrevista sempre que achar conveniente.
- Comprometo-me a registar, acuradamente, toda informação que me for fornecida e citar-Vos devidamente. Caso prefira que seja citado (a) na condição de anonimato, assim o farei.
- Pode aceder aos dados compilados e ao relatório preliminar quando assim solicitar.
- Caso tenha quaisquer questões ou dúvidas acerca deste levantamento de dados, por favor coloque-as antes do início desta entrevista. Se mais tarde tiver outras questões, faça o favor de contactar o mestrando pelos contactos e endereço fornecidos acima.
- Uma vez mais, agradeço a Vossa colaboração neste levantamento de dados.

Eu entendo o conteúdo deste termo de consentimento e aceito colaborar neste levantamento de dados.

…………………………………………………..
(Assinatura)   Data:

…………………………………………………..
(Nome)

Nome do Entrevistador: Data:

APPENDIX 4: Request for permission to conduct research

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Private Bag X17
South Africa
Tel: +27 (0) 21 959 9...
Fax: +27 (0) 21 959 3943
Website: www.uwc.ac.za
Email: gouma@uwc.ac.za

14 December 2010

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Mr Domingos Jaime Langa, student number 3002106, is a fully registered student of the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He is enrolled in the NORAD-sponsored Master of Education (Higher Education Studies) programme, which is a collaborative programme involving the University of the Western Cape, University of Oslo (Norway), and Makerere University (Uganda).

Mr Langa's research proposal, entitled '**Understanding the Process of Negotiating the Role of Universities in Mozambique**', was recently approved by the Faculty of Education's Higher Degrees Committee. I am therefore writing to kindly request that you grant him permission and support to collect data for his dissertation research. I wish to assure you that the data to be collected shall be utilised strictly for the study and utmost confidentiality and other ethical considerations shall be adhered to as well.

Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me at the following email address: gouma@uwc.ac.za or telephone no. +27(0)21 959-9360

Thank you.

Gerald W. Ouma (PhD)
Co-ordinator, Master of Education (Higher Education Studies) programme and supervisor.

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

A place of quality, a place to grow, from hope to action through knowledge

APPENDIX 5: Request for appointment with UEM's Rector

FACULDADE DE EDUCAÇÃO

Private Bag X 17, Belville, 7535,
South Africa
Tel: + 27 (0) 21 959 9360
Fax: + 27 (0) 21 959 3943
Website: www.uwc.ac.za
E-mail: gouma@uwc.ac.za

Aos 14 de Dezembro de 2010

Excelentíssimo(a) Senhor (a)!

RE: PEDIDO DE PERMISSÃO PARA A RECOLHA DE DADOS

Sr. Domingos Jaime Langa, estudante número 3002106, é um estudante completamente inscrito na Universidade de Western Cape, África do Sul. Ele inscreveu-se para o Mestrado em Educação (Estudos do Ensino Superior), um programa colaborativo financiado pela NORAD, envolvendo a Universidade de Western Cape (África do Sul), a Universidade de Oslo (Noruega) e a Universidade de Makerere (Uganda).

O projecto de pesquisa do Sr. Langa, intitulado **'Entendendo o Processo de Negociação do Papel das Universidades em Moçambique'**, foi recentemente aprovado pelo Conselho Académico da Faculdade de Educação. Por isso, eu escrevo para, com gentileza, solicitar que a Vossa Excelência lhe conceda a permissão e apoio a fim de recolher dados para a sua dissertação. Gostaria de assegurar a V. Excia que os dados a serem recolhidos serão utilizados estritamente para o estudo e, tanto a confidencialidade e quanto outras considerações éticas serão respeitadas.
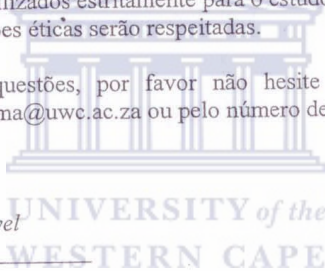
Caso tenha quaisquer questões, por favor não hesite contactar-me pelo endereço electrónico seguinte: gouma@uwc.ac.za ou pelo número de telefone +27(0)21 959-9360

Obrigado.

Assinatura Ilegível

Gerald W. Ouma(PhD)
Supervisor e Coordenador do Programa de Mestrado em Educação (Estudos de Ensino Superior).

UNIVERSIDADE DE WESTERN CAPE

Um lugar de qualidade, um lugar para crescer, da esperança para a acção através do conhecimento

Antônio Anita de Amélia Foguete Goba
Tradutor Oficial Ajuramentado
Sworn Translator
Inglês - Português e Vice-Versa
Cel: 825639521
E-mail:anitagoba@yahoo.com.br

António Anita De Amélia Foguete Goba
Maputo, aos 11 de janeiro de 2011.

APPENDIX 6: Permission letter to conduct research at UEM

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE
Gabinete do Reitor

Exmo Senhor
Domingos Jaime Langa

MAPUTO

N.Ref. 009/RT/2011   Data: 19 de Janeiro de 2011

Assunto: **Pedido de permissão para a recolha de dados**

Sobre o assunto em epígrafe, o Magnífico Reitor exarou o seguinte despacho:

"Autorizo!
Ass:) Filipe José Couto
Data: 19.01.2011"

Com melhores cumprimentos.

O Director do Gabinete

Afonso Vaz Vassoa
(Prof. Auxiliar)

Praça 25 de Junho C.P. 257 – Maputo República de Moçambique - Tel.: 21 427851, Telefax: 21 326426, E-mail: greitor@rei.uem.mz

APPENDIX 7: Example of a letter requesting an interview

Expo. Magnifico Reitor Prof. Doutor Filipe José Couto

Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

Gabinete do Reitor

Praça 25 de Junho

Maputo

Maputo, 21 de Fevereiro de 2011

Assunto: **Pedido de Entrevista**

Prezado Magnifico Reitor Prof. Doutor Filipe José Couto,

Eu, Domingos Jaime Langa frequento o curso de Mestrado em Estudos de Ensino Superior na Universidade de Western Cape – Cape Town/ África do Sul. A minha dissertação tem como tem o tema: **Entendendo o Processo de Negociação do Papel das Universidades em Moçambique**. O principal objectivo da disssertação é entender como é que são definidos os papéis das universidades públicas em Moçambique especificamente, a Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) e a Universidade Pedagógica (UP).

Encontro-me em Maputo para recolha de dados. Gostaria, com gentileza, pedir uma entevista com o Magnifico Reitor. A entrevista terá a duração de cerca de 35 minutos e será usada apenas para fins académicos.

Agradeço antecipadamente a Vossa colaboração.

Atenciosamente,

Domingos Jaime Langa

Celular: 84 23 50 240

Universidade de Western Cape

Exmo. Prof. Doutor Narciso Matos

Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade (FDC)

Director Executivo

Av. 25 de Setembro, Edifício Time Square, bloco 2

Maputo

Maputo, 21 de Fevereiro de 2011

Assunto: **Pedido de Entrevista**

Prezado Prof. Doutor Narciso Matos,

Acuso a recepção da Vossa resposta de 24 de Janeiro de 2011 ao meu pedido de permissão para a recolha de dados para dissertação de Mestrado em Educação na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de Western Cape – Cape Town/ África do Sul com o tema: **Entendendo o Processo de Negociação do Papel das Universidades em Moçambique**.

O referido pedido careceu de explicações tanto do objectivo quando da natureza de dados que gostaria de recolher. Assim, gostaria de clarificar o seguinte:

1. Estou ciente de que a FDC não é uma instituição de ensino superior.
2. O pedido foi entregue à FDC por ser um o local onde podia encontrar o Prof. Doutor Narciso Matos.
3. O principal objectivo da disssertação é entender como é que são definidos os papéis das universidades públicas em Moçambique especificamente, a Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) e a Universidade Pedagógica (UP).
4. O Prof. Doutor Narciso Matos foi docente e depois reitor da UEM. É um informante chave para e recolha de dados.
5. O que denominei pedido de permissão para a recolha de dados é efectivamente, um pedido de entrevista.

Encontro-me em Maputo para recolha de dados. Gostaria, com gentileza, pedir uma entevista com o Prof. Doutor Narciso Matos. A entrevista terá a duração de cerca de 35 minutos e será usada apenas para fins académicos.

Agradeço antecipamendamente, a Vossa colaboração.

Coordialmente

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Domingos Jaime Langa
Celular: 84 23 50 240
Universidade de Western Cape

Public Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique

| No	Institution	Date of creation
1	Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)	1962
2	Pedagogical University (UP)	1985
3	Higher Institute of International Relations	1986
4	Academy of Police Sciences (ACIPOL)	1999
5	Higher Institute for Health Sciences (ISCISA)	2003
6	Military Academy (AM)	2003
7	School of Nautical Sciences (ESCN)	2004
8	Mozambican High Institute of Accountancy and Auditory (ISCAM)	2005
9	Gaza High Polytechnic Institute (ISPG)	2005
10	Manica High Polytechnic Institute (ISPM)	2005
11	Tete High Polytechnic Institute (ISPT)	2005
12	Higher Institute for Public Administration (ISAP)	2005
13	University of Lúrio (UniLúrio)	2006
14	University of Zambeze (UniZambeze)	2006
15	Higher Institute of Culture and Arts (ISAC)	2008
16	School of Journalism	2008
17	Songo High Polytechnic Institute (ISPS)	2008

Source: Ministério da Educação e Cultura (2009)

Private Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique

No	Institution	Date of creation
1	Polytechnic University (A Politécnica)	1995
2	Catholic University of Mozambique (UCM)	1996
3	Higher Institute of Sciences and Technology of Mozambique (ISCTEM)	1996
4	Mussa Bin Bique University (UMBB)	1998
5	Higher Institute for Transportation and Communication (ISUTC)	1999
6	Technical University of Mozambique (UDM)	2002
7	São Tomás University of Mozambique (USTM)	2004

8	Jean Piaget University of Mozambique (UJPM)	2004
9	School of Economy and Management (ESEG)	2004
10	Higher Institute of Education and Technology (ISET)	2005
11	Higher Christian Institute (ISC)	2005
12	Higher Institute for Training, Research and Science (ISFIC)	2005
13	Dom Bosco Higher Institute (ISDB)	2006
14	Higher Institute Technology and Management (ISTEG)	2007
15	Monitor Higher Institute (ISM)	2008
16	Índico University	2008
17	Higher Institute of Communication and Image (ISCIM)	2008
18	Maria Mãe Africa Higher Institute (ISMMA)	2008
19	Higher Institute for Management, Commerce and Finances	2009
20	Alberto Chipande Higher Institute (ISTAC)	2009
21	Higher Institute of Science and Management (INSCIG)	2009

Source: Ministério da Educação e Cultura (2009)
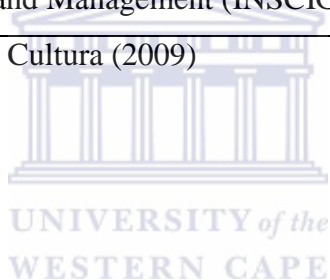
APPENDIX 9: Faculties of Eduardo Mondlane University

The Eduardo Mondlane University: Faculties

Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) 1962-2011 http://www.uem.mz			
Faculties	**Location**	**Courses**	**Degrees**
I. Faculty of Agronomy and Forest Engineering	Maputo City	Protection and Vegetal Production	B. Eng.
		Rural Engineering	BA and MA (Rural Development)
		Rural Extension	BA
II. Faculty of Architecture	Maputo City	Architecture and Physical Planning	B Eng.
III. Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences	Maputo City	Archaeology	BA
		Anthropology	BA
		Geography	BA
		History	BA and MA
		Languages	BA and MA (Linguistics) and PhD (Linguistics)
		Interpretation	BA
		Political Sciences	BA
		Public Administration	BA and MA
		Sociology	BA and MA (Rural and Development Sociology)
		Teaching	BA
IV. Faculty of Economy	Maputo City	Accountancy	B. Sc.
		Economy	B. Sc. and MA
		Management	B. Sc. and MA
V. Faculty of Education	Maputo City	Education	BA and MA
		Psychology	BA

Faculties	Location	Courses	Degrees
VI. Faculty of Engineering	Maputo City	Civil Engineering	B. Eng.
		Chemistry Engineering	B. Eng.
		Electronic Engineering	B. Eng.
		Electric Engineering	B. Eng.
		Environmental Sciences Engineering	B. Eng.
		Industrial Management Engineering	B. Eng.
		Informatics Engineering	B. Eng.
		Mechanic Engineering	B. Eng.
VII. Faculty of Philosophy	Maputo City	Philosophy	BA
VIII. Faculty of Law	Maputo City	Law	BA and MA
IX. Faculty of Medicine	Maputo City	Medicine	M.D. and MA
X. Faculty of Sciences	Maputo City	Chemistry	B.Sc.
		Ecology	B.Sc.
		Geology	B.Sc.
		Health Biology	B.Sc.
		Informatics	BA
		Mathematics	BA
		Physic	B.Sc.
		Statistics	BA
XI. Faculty of Veterinary	Maputo City	Veterinary Sciences	BA

Source: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane: Faculdades e Escolas. Online. Available: Retrieved July 12, 2012 from: http://www.uem.mz/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=15&id=60&Itemid=60.

The Eduardo Mondlane University: Higher Schools

Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) 1962-2011 http://www.uem.mz			
Higher Schools	**Location**	**Courses**	**Degrees**
I. Higher School of Tourism and Hotel **2003**	Inhambane City	Tourism Planning	BA
II. Higher School of Cost and Marine Sciences **2006**	Quelimane City (Zambézia Province)	Marine Biology	BA
		Marine Chemistry	BA
		Oceanography	BA
III. Higher School of Communication and Arts **2006**	Maputo City	Journalism	BA
		Music	BA
		Theater	BA
IV. Higher School of Rural Development	Vilanculos (Inhambane Province)	Rural Development	BA
VI. Higher School of Business and Entrepreneurialism **2009**	Chibuto (Gaza Province)	Agriculture Business	BA
		Business	BA
		Finances	BA
		Leadership and Management	BA

Source: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane: Faculdades e Escolas. Online. Available: Retrieved July 12, 2012 from: http://www.uem.mz/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=15&id=60&Itemid=60.

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