

POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH AND ITS INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION: THE MOZAMBIKAN EXPERIENCE¹

Lidia Brito²
Roland Brouwer³
Ana Ruth Menezes³
Gilead Mlay³

SUMMARY

The importance of higher education in knowledge-driven development and growth cannot be overemphasized. The north-south science and technology gap is large and growing. While developing countries are still clinging to competitive advantage based on natural resources and cheap labour, they find themselves uncompetitive in the globalised economy where knowledge is increasingly at the core of a country's competitive advantage. Often, short term or peace meal solutions have been sought, leading to an ad-hoc expansion of higher education, which is frequently under funded and not accompanied by mechanisms to promote relevance, quality and equity. The changing economic environment calls for a reflection on how to reform higher education to respond to the challenges of knowledge-led development in a sustainable way.

Key in this reform is the international framework in higher education that has to allow low-income countries, such as Mozambique, to continue to develop their national systems, so that they are able to respond to the increasing importance of knowledge in production and economic growth. In the case of Mozambique, this has implied a movement towards a consensus about Higher Education and its role in national development. This consensus has resulted in the approval of a National Strategic Plan for the Higher Education Sector (PEES 2000-2010) and the mobilization of resources for its implementation.

In this paper we describe the process, the results and the lessons learned. We argue that education, and particularly higher education, can and should play a central role in development and present some ideas on what should be the role of governments and the nature of South-South and North-South cooperation that will make this to happen. We describe and assess the role of strategic planning in a context of international partnership. Mozambique is used as a reference case.

INTRODUCTION

To talk about policy development in Higher Education (HE) is, for us, to address an important and difficult topic: The role of HE in the sustainable development of low-income countries. It is a difficult task because we will have to take into consideration the conditions in which HE institutions operate and the persistent problems of poverty, food and nutrition insecurity, illiteracy, diseases (particularly HIV/AIDS, malaria),

¹ Paper presented at NUFFIC's expert meeting "A Changing Landscape" in The Hague 24th-25th of May 2005.

² Assistant Professor in Wood Science at Eduardo Mindlane University, former Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology of Mozambique.

³ Senior Advisors at the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Mozambique.

degradation of the environment (e.g., the rapid loss of forest cover, land degradation and the loss of biodiversity) and gender inequality that are particularly pronounced in developing countries and that affect directly the HE sector. Moreover, the role of knowledge in the world economy is rapidly becoming more important. Traditional developing countries' export commodities are losing value against highly sophisticated products, underscoring the need of the transformation of these countries' economies. Indeed, many countries in Africa are reforming their HE systems in an attempt to respond to these persistent problems and new challenges, mostly with some form of international (donor) assistance.

For that reason, we have to share experiences, lessons and ideas for the future, so that together we can build a common vision, common goals about the role of tertiary education institutions in the development of our countries, regions and our world and design ways to achieve our goals and fulfil our vision.

PAST AND PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

When Mozambique became independent from Portugal in 1975, it inherited a strongly stratified society. That society consisted basically of two groups: the native population, and the Europeans and assimilated Blacks. The colonial state invested very little in the education of the native population. Skilled labour was imported from abroad (mainly Portugal), and education at almost all levels concentrated on the settlers and a small elite deemed to be apt to absorb the European civilisation. The Universidade de Lourenço Marques was the only institution, which provided higher education. Shortly after independence most skilled labour abandoned Mozambique and returned to Portugal. As a consequence, the university was stripped of its lecturers and students. Thus, in 1976, this university was left with only 10 Mozambican lecturers for 2433 students. The number of declined to 750 by 1978 (Lind & Igboemeka 2002, Mouzinho *et al.* 2001).

The following decades were basically geared towards the construction of the country's educational system. This effort implied a large-scale alphabetisation campaign, the expansion of primary and secondary schools and the reconstruction of the sole university, now renamed Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, after the first leader of the national independence movement. Because of this effort, the number of pupils attending primary schools increased from little more than 600,000 in 1974/5 to almost 1,400,000 in 1981; illiteracy went down from 93% in 1975 to 72% in 1980 (UNDP 2000: 34). The investments necessary for this effort were financed by foreign cooperation, which supported secondary and tertiary education by sending staff, financing equipment, and funding the training of Mozambican graduates overseas. The burden was also borne by many young Mozambicans who invested a large share of their lifetime in teaching in remote parts of the country under harsh conditions.

However, during the first two decades of independence Mozambique was unable to reap all benefits from this investment. A destabilization war broke out in 1976. At the end of the war, in 1992, most of the primary education infrastructure that had been built up during the first years of independence was destroyed. In 1983, the country had 5,886 primary schools and by 1992 the number had dropped to 3,384 (UNDP 1998:21). Secondary education suffered from assaults by the armed opposition, which destroyed the buildings and abducted students, teachers and staff. The loss of life and resources due to warfare together with the destruction of buildings and communication networks inflicted severe damage on the country's knowledge infrastructure.

The 1992 peace agreement changed conditions drastically. With peace restored, the government was able to resume the development effort it had been forced to abandon under the pressure of war. Moreover, the acceptance of private initiative as a prime mover of commodity production and the creation of capital also induced a new stance towards education. Private institutions at all levels of education emerged rapidly. The gradual diversification and expansion of the tertiary education system initiated by the government in 1985 through the opening of new institutions accelerated from 1995 onward when private tertiary education institutions entered into the market (MESCT 2003). As a result, over the last twelve years the student population in higher education has grown from 4,645 in 1992 to 17,320 in 2002/3. Table 1 shows the growth, per institution, in the period of 1999 to 2003. Higher education, which until 1990 was concentrated in the capital, is now offered in seven out of the ten provinces, and the three remaining provinces will open institutions within the next few years. The expansion of tertiary education has been in both the number of enrolments and fields of education as can be seen in table 1. The fields of education covered include education, arts and humanities, social sciences, Natural sciences, engineering and construction, agriculture, veterinary medicine, health and personal services.

Table 1: A summary of the changes in HE in Mozambique between 1999 and 2003.

Institution	Year of creation	Public/private	Number of fields of education	Enrollment ¹	Enrollment ²	Change
			2003	1999	2003	
ACIPOL	1999	Publ.	1	0	294	
ISCTEM	1996	Priv.	5	644	1327	106%
ISPU	1995	Priv.	6	919	1992	117%
ISRI	1986	Publ.	2	234	520	122%
ISUTC	1999	Priv.	3	0	230	
UCM	1995	Priv.	7	1035	1875	81%
UDM	2002	Priv.	3	0	180	
UEM	1962	Publ.	14	6800	7349	8%
UMBB	1998	Priv.	2	0	386	
UP	1985	Publ.	4	1987	3072	55%
Total public		Publ.		9021	11235	25%
Total private		Priv.		2598	5990	131%
Total				11619	17255	49%

¹MESCT (2000).

²MESCT (2004).

In Mozambique, this expansion of the education system has been one of the factors behind the success story of major investments such as the Mozal aluminium smelter. The implementation of this project, launched in 1998, has always been faster than planned. The same is true regarding the recruitment of national skilled labour. Both aspects indicate that the emerging knowledge infrastructure in Mozambique is helping the economy to take off and promoting economic growth.

It is not an overstatement to say that the country started from scratch and in less than 30 years it has been possible to construct a fully-fledged educational system. However, the investment in education was not made as a goal in itself. It was made within the context of a specific perspective on development. This perspective is best summarized by the government's plan for poverty alleviation (PARPA). This plan was elaborated within the context of the HIPC initiative and states that the Government's central objective is to reduce, substantially, the level of absolute poverty in the country through

measures that improve the capacities and opportunities of all Mozambicans and in particular of the poor ones. More specifically this implies that by 2010 the percentage of the population living in absolute poverty should be reduced to 50%. Key intervention areas are: (i) education; (ii) health; (iii) farming and rural development; (iv) basic infrastructures; (v) good governance; and (vi) macro-economic and financial management (GOM 2001). The results of the 5 years implementation of PARPA have been promising: the level of absolute poverty went down from 69% to 54%, indicating that the 50% target in 2010 will be surpassed (GOM 2004).

The country's mid-term vision on development Agenda 2025 (Comité dos Conselheiros 2003) and PARPA have highlighted the role of HE in development. Higher Education is needed to provide the quality teachers who teach quality subjects at secondary schools and teacher training institutions; medical doctors and other qualified health workers; agricultural engineers, researchers and extension workers who can carry the technological innovation that will enhance production and raise rural income and food security; civil engineers who are able to design the roads and bridges adapted to the specific characteristics of our climate and transport system as well as the water and sanitation systems capable of serving the poor. Indeed, HE has an important role in poverty reduction.

THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION FACED BY HE SYSTEMS:

Without any doubt, globalisation, in its many dimensions, is one of the main factors that shape our societies. Developing nations are in a particular position, as they are rather weak and have little influence on the agenda of global organizations such as the WTO. Globalisation is one of the main driving forces behind the rise of the knowledge economy mentioned above. If the HE systems are to contribute actively to the development of their nations and regions in a sustainable way, they need to respond to these globalisation processes and the ensuing changes that are rapidly occurring in their internal and external environments. In the case of Mozambique, the most important changes are:

- **Rapid changes in technology:** *curricula* have to be updated on a constant basis so that students are not already obsolete upon graduation;
- **Increasing demand for higher education:** over the last decade, demand for higher education has been increasing constantly, giving rise to a rapid increase in the number of institutions and campuses and their spread into provinces outside the provincial capitals. In Mozambique, for instance, the number of vacancies at the universities caters already for about 60% of all secondary school graduates. The demand for education is skewed in favour of degrees in law, economics and business administration. As a result, Mozambique will have an excess of graduates in these areas, whereas it still needs to import skilled labour for other fields such as medicine, engineering, and certain types of agriculture. The increasing and changing demand for higher education requires the adoption of new training models, which will serve both real development needs and the desire for further training. Life-long learning-models, developed in many parts of the world, probably constitute a more adequate strategic option than the expansion of traditional forms of higher education.
- **Changing labour markets:** new investments in countries such as Mozambique are hampered by a mismatch between skills and demand from the labour market. University graduates are often too academic. Expanding technical training and connecting it to the higher education level offer probably an adequate response the expansion of classical universities. In addition the training should prepare graduates for self-employment. It will be necessary to

- develop new teaching approaches capable of catalysing the relationship between HE and society and preparing graduates for their professional lives.
- **Integration in the national innovation system:** universities in Mozambique are still too isolated from the rest of society. They need to be connected to society through partnerships with the private sector and civil society so that they can provide an impulse to technical innovation. Universities should be preoccupied with the generation of new ideas and their transformation into concrete projects and enterprises, as well as respond to the needs to innovate existing economic activities.
 - **HE and WTO/GATS:** the distribution of the benefits of the current globalisation process is highly unequally (ILO 2004). Thanks to the increased mobility of lecturers and the advance of communication technologies transnational universities have emerged, which feel less the need to invest in domestic capacity building in the (developing) countries where they operate. National tertiary education systems have to adapt themselves in such a way that they can respond adequately to this challenge. They will have to engage in strategic alliances involving partners (in the South and the North), which will guarantee them access to the knowledge and excellence they need in order to improve their performance. These partnerships could assume the form of networks around centres of excellence, which are geared towards the building of capacity and quality of the partners rather than to the concentration of resources in centres of excellence at their expense, as frequently is the case. These are networks of excellence, which have an impact on the sustainable development of the institutions involved and their communities (Brito, 2005)
 - **The creation of system regulatory mechanisms:** globalisation is often associated with (economic) liberalization and in many sectors the invisible hand of the market is seen as the most adequate regulatory force. Although market mechanisms do penetrate higher education and cost effectiveness is increasingly important for individual institutions and for governments, it would be an error to leave the development of tertiary education to market mechanisms alone. This is even more important because of the expansion of transnational higher education. Political and administrative interventions are needed to safeguard international quality standards in the national system especially in countries with relatively young and weak national systems such as Mozambique.

These changes impose daunting challenges. Already by 1996, it was clear to most stakeholders and policy makers that the growth registered in the higher education sector in Mozambique was not enough to neither fulfil the expectations nor face the challenges.

The need for change was felt internally in HE institutions and externally by the society in general: the institutions were conscious of the high costs, lack of adequate funds. The lecturers were frustrated with the amount of paper work and bureaucracy, and with the outdated *curricula* they had to teach. The students were annoyed with the difficulties to enter any institution of higher education and with the fact that, once admitted, they would take much more than the planned five years to graduate or even never finish their course. Employers were dissatisfied with receiving graduates without the necessary skills and attitudes. Society felt uncomfortable with asymmetries in the system that seemed to privilege the southern part of the country over the other regions, and the rich over the poor (Brito, 2003).

This need for change compelled the Government to embark on a national consultation about the higher education sector. Those debates led to a national meeting in Manica

in 1997, which produced the recommendations that created the space for the strategic planning process that would transform the sector over the next five years.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS:

A. Strategic Planning

The main recommendations from the 1997 national meeting were a) to carry out a baseline study to analyse the higher education sector and propose a national vision for its development and b) to create a separate body within the central government responsible for higher education. A national commission was launched in 1999 to implement the first recommendation (Brito, 2003). The second recommendation, endorsed by the World Conference on Higher Education in 1998, resulted into the creation of the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology January 2000. The ministry assumed the leadership of the National Commission.

The National Commission produced a baseline study, which was used to prepare the first draft of the Strategic Plan for Higher Education in Mozambique (PEES). This strategic plan identified the following key areas for intervention:

- ❑ Equitable access in terms of gender and region
- ❑ Higher education should respond to the needs of the Mozambican Society
- ❑ Institutional autonomy accompanied with accountability to stakeholders
- ❑ Diversification and flexibility of institutions, degree programs, curricula and teaching methods for quick response to changing social, cultural and economic needs
- ❑ Equitable cost sharing and financing of tertiary education by relevant partners.
- ❑ Efficient use of resources
- ❑ Financial support to needy students
- ❑ Democracy, intellectual independence and academic freedom
- ❑ Cooperation with assistance to the other sub-sectors of the national education system
- ❑ Strengthening the links and cooperation with productive sector, national, regional and international communities.

The draft proposal was debated in all provinces and at all institutions of higher education between May and June 2000. The provincial debates involved representatives from education, students, civil society, parliamentarians, business community and the public sector. The contributions from each province and institution of higher education together with the draft proposal were presented at a national seminar in July 2000. Three hundred participants, including parliamentarians, ministers, provincial delegates, and representatives of higher education institutions attended this seminar, which was opened by the President of the Republic. The outputs of the seminar were used to produce the final draft of the PEES 2000-2010, which was subsequently approved by the Council of Ministers in August 2000.

This format has guaranteed that the final product of the process benefited from inputs of all stakeholders. The extensive consultation process has created a common vision among stakeholders and a sense of ownership, which is a necessary condition for cooperation in the implementation phase. It has also provided the recently created Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology⁴, with a solid knowledge of the

⁴ The Ministry was abolished in February 2005, during the organizational change of the new Government. The higher education component is now part of the newly created Ministry of

higher education sector and a network which includes partners and stakeholders throughout the country, which still supports the implementation of the different sector plans and policies.

Several lessons can be drawn from this process:

1. It is important to recognize the need for change and to use that *momentum* to involve all stakeholders in debates and consultations leading to a common vision and strategy for change;
2. It is important to assume a holistic approach, in which Higher Education is seen as part of the national education and innovation systems.
3. It is necessary to develop a long-term, national vision on higher education;
4. It is important that Government and society use all their knowledge and skills to define the path to follow. National experts should provide leadership in Baseline studies even if expatriate assistance is needed. This strengthens national ownership and gives the country-team a deep understanding of the situation and a full picture of alternative actions and their implications for the future.
5. It is fundamental that the highest quality is achieved in this process. High standards build trust and commitment;
6. The sense of ownership in the design phase is a fundamental step for a smooth implementation and monitoring of the program.
7. Finally, it is important to include from the beginning a capacity building component for the stakeholders, which allows them to attain the required quality standards and to understand the process in all its components.

B. The next step: the Operational Plan

The national vision and Strategic Plan for the HE sector (PEES 2000-2010) are the key instruments in building the HE system in Mozambique. They define six strategic objectives and activities to be implemented in a ten-years period in a country that is changing rapidly. Therefore, the next step was the design of an operational plan that defines the different actions to achieve these objectives and allows, at the same time, the monitoring and adjustment in response to those changes and their impacts on the Higher Education sector.

Again, the participation of the Higher Education Institutions (HEI) in the design process was crucial. It was the most difficult phase of the strategic planning because it required that all HEI committed themselves to the national plan and its objectives and furthermore, it required from the HEI that they would identify their roles in the implementation of the national plan (Brito, 2003). They had to define their individual plans and priorities and develop scenarios that would allow the Government to take the necessary decisions.

For this process it was necessary to identify champions in each institution and open the dialogue inside the institution by involving all of them in public debates. The Ministry and the new commission invited lecturers, student associations and members of civil society, the business community and multilateral and bilateral partners for informal debates on sector priorities, the mobilization of resources and so on. These groups were the supporters of change at the institutional and national levels.

Education and Culture and the science and technology components constitute the new Ministry of Science and Technology. These two ministries have access to the existing network.

The design process did meet resistance at the HEI level, even though individual staff and student would participate in it and support it. Obtaining support of some of the leaders and senior managers of the institutions was crucial to keep the process moving.

It was also vital to involve sectors such as the Ministries of Education and Planning and Finance so that proposals put forward had support at the central level of Government.

Finally, it was also important to start implementing some activities. In this way, the stakeholders could feel that progress was made as the more detailed operational plan was developed. The Ministry decided to take actions related to the PEES objective related to the role of the State in higher education.

The design of the Higher Education Operational Plan started in November 2000. As this activity required the involvement of the partners that had been created during the discussions of the PEES, it helped to consolidate the Ministry's nation-wide network.

The operational plan was approved in July 2001 by the Council of Ministers and resources were mobilized for its implementation. The operational plan includes all the HE institutions and the Ministry. It divides the implementation in three phases and defines indicators of success. The three major public HEI have their plans detailed in the national plan. Through the Operational Plan, the Government created, at last, a tool for strategic decisions about human resources development and the allocation of funding.

An important lesson learnt from this phase of the reform is the importance of the capacity building component as a means to dissipate the fears created by change. The debates, informal or formal, should always have a component of capacity building in order to create a common language, a shared vision and trust. This part of the process is quite difficult and requires openness in the dialogue, compromises as well as taking risks and expose oneself to criticism. It demands a strong, high quality team with the capacity to produce alternative solutions. It also requires commitment and decision-making capacity at highest level.

The identification of champions is another crucial point. These champions should be identified at all levels. Their involvement has to be constant and their suggestions should be taken into consideration. They need also space to act and interact with other stakeholders.

It has also been crucial to involve the financial partners in this phase of the process. The timing and the form of the involvement of these partners turned them into direct stakeholders, hardly different from the national members of the team. They brought with them their specific expertise, knowledge and international experience thus bringing the debate in Mozambique closer to the discussions abroad without creating shocks between international policies and the strategic visions and options of the Mozambican members of the team. In many respects, the view of the donors coincided with those of the national team. Their contribution as part of the national process created a sense of ownership of the plan to all. The interaction between national and foreign (donor) experts brought about new ideas such as competitive funds for the improvement of educational quality and research at HE (Quality and Innovation Fund - QIF), and a fund to support students from provinces with low higher student enrolment rates (the so-called provincial scholarships).

An additional impact of their involvement in an early stage has been that right from the start the entire team involved in the strategic planning process was aware of the

available funds. This has strengthened the plan's operational quality and has helped to smoothen subsequent negotiations.

IMPACT AND IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES:

The data in table 1 show that Higher Education in Mozambique is growing. However, there are still fundamental problems that need to be resolved. These problems are related to access, equity, quality and efficiency.

Unfortunately, the chance of being admitted to a Higher Education Institution is not equal for all. Women still represent the minority. The percentage of women has grown from 25% in 1999 to of 32% in 2003, but the figure still falls short of the equity target of the PEES. Moreover, there are typical "male" and "female" fields of study. Males dominate areas such as engineering (91% male), security services (84% male) and natural sciences (80% male), whereas women dominate health (57%) and are relatively numerous in social sciences (39%) and arts and humanities (35%). Indeed, of the girls who are admitted to a HEI, 55% end up in social sciences, such as law, economics and management and sociology (table 2).

Table 2: Women in higher education per field of science in 2003.

Scientific field (UNESCO classification)	Women as a percentage of the total number of students	Percentage of the total number of women enrolled	Field of science as percentage of the total number of students enrolled
Education	34.1%	9.0%	8.5%
Arts and Humanities	35.0%	9.3%	8.6%
Social sciences	38.6%	55.1%	45.9%
Natural sciences	20.4%	7.6%	12.0%
Engineering	8.6%	2.8%	10.5%
Agriculture and fisheries	27.0%	6.0%	7.2%
Health	56.8%	9.0%	5.1%
Services (security)	16.0%	1.1%	2.2%
Total	32.2%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: MESCT, unpublished data.

Despite for example the creation of provincial scholarships, regional variation in access remains another concern. As in many African countries, ethnicity is socially and politically an important variable with the potential to disrupt the country's stability. In the past, political actors have tried to capitalize on this factor, e.g., during the destabilization war, but fortunately with much less effect than in other states. Mozambique is divided into 11 major administrative units: Maputo City and 10 provinces. In 2003, 27% of the students originate from Maputo City, where only 5% of the population is living. At the other end of the spectre, Niassa, a province in the North with also about 5% of the population, provides 1.4% (MESCT 2004). This is an improvement compared to 1999 when Maputo City provided 46% of the HE students (MESCT 2000). It should be noted that the capacity to change this asymmetry at the HE level is restrained by the fact that it has its roots in preceding level of the educational system, the secondary school. Maputo City graduates the highest percentage of 12th graders.

Regional asymmetries as to the location of HEI have diminished, too. Until 1990, all higher education was concentrated in Maputo City. The opening of institutions and satellite campuses in the provinces over the last decade, particularly in the last few years, has changed this situation. Maputo City now hosts only about 74% of the

university students (MESCT 2004). In the future, the share of the other provinces is bound to increase further as new institutions will be opened there shortly and the existing ones will continue to grow.

A fourth concern is quality. Competition over students will probably force universities to invest in the quality of their product. In addition, under PEES, the Government has introduced financial incentives such as the provincial scholarship funds and the Quality and Innovation Fund (QIF) to promote quality. Special funds are also available for the training of lecturers at the graduate level. All the public institutions have specific funds for staff training and the private institutions have access to funds through QIF and through some bilateral agreements.

However, with rapid expansion of higher education through new public and private providers without having in place some mechanisms for quality assurance has been a reason for concern. For this reason, two other legal mechanisms are being put in place: When universities open, they have to present their management and education plans for the analysis and recommendation of the National Council of Higher Education, Science and Technology and for approval to the Council of Ministers. Moreover, similar to many countries in Europe and Africa, Mozambique is working on the creation of an accreditation and certification system, which will help to guarantee the quality of existing institutions. Finally the implementation of a system of academic credits accumulation and transfer is expected to stimulate student mobility and thus enhance competition between the universities.

Efficiency is also a major issue. Table 3 contains a summary of the costs of higher education. It shows that on the average a student costs approximately 3000USD per year. However, these costs vary strongly between the institutions. They also vary within institutions, between faculties and courses. Moreover, as there are no data as to student dropout and throughput and quality, they tell us little or nothing about the efficiency of the system.

Table 3: Funding of four public Higher Education Institutions in 2002 (1000USD).

	UEM	UP	ISRI	ACIPOL	Total
State budget	12,759.3	1,337.0	1,477.9	2,350.3	17,924.4
Student fees	2,558.7	41.7			2,600.3
Other sources	9,380.1	45.4	2,002.0		11,427.4
Total funds	24,698.0	1,424.0	3,479.9	2,350.3	31,952.2
Number of students	7,094	3,072	307	230	10,703
State budget/student	1.8	0.4	4.8	10.2	1.7
Total costs/student	3.5	0.5	11.3	10.2	3.0

Source: MESCT (2003)

Currently, several studies are being carried out in public institutions of higher learning on student costs and efficiency indicators. The results will help the Government in designing and implementing a Public Funding Policy that benefits the students and promotes the HE institutions that invest in quality, relevance and efficiency. Some institutions have started their administrative reforms and have improved their mobilization of funds.

There are lessons to be learnt, and it is our feeling that Governments can contribute in constructing and strengthening higher education systems by taking action in the following areas:

- a) Putting into place regulatory, legal instruments and funding mechanisms that promote the growth of innovative higher education institutions, quality and relevant programs, lifelong learning, increased private sector participation and equity in access to higher education. An academic credit transfer and accumulation system and quality assurance and accreditation should be considered as important milestones for the system.
- b) Fulfilling the minimum budgetary allocation to education in general and tertiary education in particular. World Bank recommends a minimum budget allocation to education equivalent to 4-6% of GDP of which 10-15% should go to higher education. Mozambique has achieved this percentage but due to the low GDP, in absolute terms, more resources are needed.

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN PARTNERS IN THE DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES:

Although table 3 does not provide a lot of information as to the efficiency of (public) HE in Mozambique, it does tell us something about the relation between government efforts, the efforts of institutions to raise funds through student fees and other activities, and the contribution of donors and creditors. The data show that the role of the latter is considerable: in 2002, donors provided more than one-third of the total budget of the public universities.

International donors and technical assistance have played a major role in the construction of higher education in Mozambique. Over the last thirty years, the various governments, and international organization have contributed in building the tertiary education system as it is today: from one university with less than 2 000 students to 12 operational institutions with over 20 000 students in 2004.

Foreign assistance has been provided primarily in two different forms: foreign teaching staff through technical assistance by governments and NGOs, and foreign financial support in the form of donations and loans. Support has by and large been concentrated in UEM; first the sole and today still the largest university in the country (table 3).

Prime donors and creditors of higher education in Mozambique have been the World Bank, the governments of Sweden (SIDA/SAREC), the Netherlands (NUFFIC) and Italy, and private organizations such as the Ford Foundation.

Table 4 highlights the importance of the World Bank for Mozambique. Over the last 10 years, the Bank's loans for Mozambican HE consisted in two major programmes: the Capacity Building Programme which ran until 2001 with a total amount of little less than 52 million USD, and the Higher Education Project 1, which took off in 2002 with a total value of 71 million USD. The first project was concentrated on UEM, whereas in the second, a special focus was given to UEM, UP and ISRI. This program starts from the perception of higher education as one integrated system and, for the first time, includes a system wide component that covers the new public institutions and the private institutions. The Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology plays a coordinating role of the overall implementation. This program also includes innovations such as the Provincial Scholarships, QIF and Distance Learning.

It is quite difficult to assess impact of donor support. The Ministry has had experiences with different forms of support from different type of donors (MESCT 2005). One form of support is that controlled by the donors themselves such as in the case of scholarships. The Ministry merely acts as an intermediary. It mobilizes candidates, but the donors decide about their selection. Although one might argue that this form

reduces national sovereignty as it leaves the decision power with the foreign donor, the Ministry believes that it is quite adequate at the moment as the country is still working on the creation of an independent and institution that can deal with this aspect of higher education. The provincial scholarship programme is being administered by the Ministry within the context of the PEES and has also a strong capacity building component as it involves the running of selection committees at the provincial level.

Another form has been technical assistance. As argued above, the involvement of technical assistance by donor agencies in the reform process has been quite successful, primarily because they became part of a broader, national team instead of running their own independent show. An assessment of the fact that through this form of aid a considerable portion of funds labelled as Foreign International Assistance in fact flow back to the donor countries and agencies goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Finally, in this particular case, differences between bilateral (NUFFIC) and multilateral (World Bank) aid have had little significance as both are part of the same reform process and have played similar roles in the design processes. Some countries, including the Netherlands, are moving towards budget support (basket funding). We do not want to enter into the arguments surrounding this step. However, we do want to stress that in such cases the negotiation about the budget allocation to Higher Education is shifted towards the national arena. In particular in the case of low-income countries, where governments have to deal with severe budget constraints, it is often more difficult to defend its relevance in the local arena where HE has to compete with other sectors which supposedly have a more direct impact on the living conditions of the poor, even when HE is a government priority. The adoption of Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks can be a means to reduce the impact of short-term demands on the budget and help to maintain consistency between the governments' annual budgets and their medium and long-term policies.

Table 4: Percentage of total amount of funds allocated to HE, by donors in the period of 1999-2003.

Donor	Percentage
World Bank	40.0%
Sweden	18.9%
Netherlands	14.5%
Italy	8.6%
Portugal	4.7%
Australia	4.5%
Germany	3.4%
Spain	2.0%
France	1.7%
Others (11)	1.6%
Total	100.0%

Source: Ministry of Planning and Finance, unpublished data.

The Mozambican experience shows that external support is important in terms of technical and financial assistance. However, the construction and strengthening of higher education system must be country driven and participatory if it is to be sustainable. If reforms are undertaken because of external pressure and funding, these are likely to be abandoned when the support is terminated.

The willingness to reform and to strengthen the higher education system must be buttressed by the commitment of additional resources and the creation of enabling conditions. External resources should be an aid to achieve a national goal and not a substitute for national commitment. Mozambique has been fortunate finding its bilateral and multilateral partners involved in the process of strategic planning and having them cooperating in a team with national experts and stakeholders, sharing goals and responsibilities. The donors for HE have been supporting the PEES, allowing for the strengthening of the national vision and strategic investments in the sector. The challenge ahead is to increase the level of donor funding to HE and research to compensate for the country's low GDP.

MODIFICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

In February 2005 the newly elected President decided to change the organizational structure of the Government. This change impacted the Higher Education sector since it became part of the Ministry of Education and Culture and not associated with the Ministry of Science and Technology as before. This decision is probably related to the following factors:

- Changes in political priorities as a result of the election of a new president: the current government is more concerned with the middle tier of the educational system and prioritises in particular technical and vocational training as a means to enhance learners' chances on the labour market and reduce the pressure on general secondary schools. Tertiary (university) education plays in this perspective a subordinated role in the national education system as a whole;
- The relatively small size of the HE sector; primary schools alone cater for over three million learners compared to the about 20,000 students in higher education;
- The relatively small amount of direct government interventions: as HEI are autonomous or private, the government's administrative effort is extremely small in comparison to the other sectors which are directly managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture;
- The desire for autonomy of HEI: most likely certain HE institutions were not at ease with the way in which the Ministry was steering the sector and feared the loss of autonomy in an integrated HE system under a specialized Ministry.

It is too early to assess the significance and impact of this important institutional modification. However, the needs to fulfil the goals defined in the strategic plan and to face the challenges of its implementation are still there.

CONCLUSIONS

In contrast with Europe, the USA and China, countries such as Mozambique have started to develop their higher education systems recently. These immature systems are under an additional strain, as they have to provide the qualified labour force necessary for innovation and for maintaining social and physical infrastructures, while at the same time they have to compete with other equally important and money-starved sectors. However, a country cannot afford not to invest in higher education if it is to compete successfully in the global economy in which knowledge is the engine for development.

Higher education will be able to help trigger innovation and economic growth if it is able to adapt itself to the high speed at which new knowledge is produced and new skills are demanded. Offering distance education and life-long learning programmes and participation in networks with partner institutions at home and abroad are strategies that will have to be adopted by higher education institutions, if they want to survive competition with foreign universities. National governments will have to instate mechanisms that guarantee quality education as well as the growth of domestic research and teaching capacities.

This conclusion raises several central questions that we should try to address in this meeting:

1. How can low income countries assume a leading role in the definition of their development paths and design accordingly their HE systems so that they reshape existing international partnerships and create new forms of collaboration that ensure the responsiveness of their national HE systems to their specific development needs? This requires an inclusive national process for the definition of development priorities and the strengthening of South-South cooperation in order to gain legitimacy and set the way to new terms of negotiation. It also requires that, in the context of globalisation and the relevance of local identity and serving of local community interests, education programs find equilibrium between local and global issues.

2. How can HE institutional leadership be prepared to meet the challenges the system is facing? Institutions and their leadership should have in depth knowledge of the country's needs and priorities. They have to be open to the society of which they are part and they need to participate in national, regional and international networks for sustainable development (Brito, 2005). HE institutional leadership needs to have innovative managerial skills. It also needs to understand the urgency of HE reform and share the values and common goals that are important for the process. University leadership has to be prepared to act as a role model in terms of respect for humanistic and scientific values and in terms of management style and quality towards their staff and students and towards society as a whole. HE leaders should be aware that their responsibility surpasses the level of their specific institutions and approach tertiary education as a system rather than as a set of individual organizations. In the particular case of Mozambique, the education system as a whole is still oriented towards the production of university students, whereas, in reality, only an extremely small proportion of the pupils that enter primary schools will graduate from universities. HE institutions have to realize that it is their duty to support efforts to transform primary, secondary and technical education in such a manner that these produce graduates with vocational skills for the labour market (including self employment) as well as candidates for HE.

3. How can cooperation between South and North HE institutions be designed in a way that both benefit from it? We believe that one way is to promote mobility of lecturers and students that will contribute largely to the dream of creating a common vision for development, by building bridges of friendship and knowledge between our youths and our cultures, by building a common understanding of the challenges we are facing, and by building a common language and approach to respond to those challenges. Today, we assist North-North and North-South mobility but very little South-South and South-North. It is easier today to have a visiting professor or a student from a European university to come and spend time at our universities than to have an African professor or one of our PhD students to do research or teach at a European university. It is even more difficult to find them in universities in other African countries. The exchange rarely is a true sharing of

knowledge and part of a common research program. In stead, frequently it serves primarily the interests of the party that has the resources, which normally is the northern institution. Two factors are behind this tendency. One is the interest of northern HE institutions which face declining domestic markets as a result of demographic changes and the necessity to maintain their scientific and technological superiority. As a result, they focus their research efforts on areas with larger scientific, technological and economical benefits, often at the expense of the needs of the developing world. The second factor is the interests of the elites of low-income countries, who prefer training their children in European or US HE institutions rather than at home or in other developing nations. This situation perpetuates the lack of graduate programs in our Universities and strengthens the programmes of the Northern universities that are facing the declining of student numbers in their countries. These two factors together imply the continuous reproduction of academic and scientific dependency in the South. True cooperation requires that this process does not weaken the national Higher Education systems in low-income countries, but to the contrary, should result into their strengthening, so that they can fully contribute to their countries' development and the building of global citizenship. A truly mutually balanced mobility is one way of ensuring that knowledge transfer is bi-directional, guaranteeing local returns and benefits for all involved parties.

4. How can leading bilateral and multilateral agencies be made to adapt their policies and practices to the development realities faced by low-income countries? It is important that our partners understand our needs and share our development vision. The development of our countries requires that all of us have a seat at the table, a round table, and discuss the way forward as peers. Not as developed and underdeveloped, not as rich and poor, but as people of good will and knowledge who share the same desire of a just world. We believe that fair trade is a – be it difficult – option in commodity trade. Similarly, we believe that it is possible to design a framework that will guarantee that liberalization of the trade in Higher Education remains fair to the interests of the developing nations. Increasing development aid for higher education and increasing the support for basic and applied research in our countries will benefit not only us but also the developed nations. Strengthening the national systems of knowledge and higher education will contribute to the consolidation of peace and prosperity, and to the elimination of terrorism and injustice.

Support should be directed to the building of a higher education *system* at the domestic level, which, internationally embedded in knowledge networks that build bridges between nations and people, prepares the critical mass necessary for low-income countries to participate on an equal footing in the international arena. The Mozambican experience shows the importance of the creation, at an early stage, of intensive interaction between the national and the international partners in cooperation, so that all understand the global, regional and domestic parameters that define the necessity and objectives of reform and the room of manoeuvre. It also shows the urgency of creating among HE leaders and at the government level an understanding about the true nature of higher education and the importance of its integration in one integrated system.

References

Brito, Lidia 2003: The Political Economy of Change in tertiary education: the reform process of higher education in Mozambique presented at World Bank Workshop: Improving Tertiary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Things that work. Accra, Ghana

Brito, Lidia 2005 Comments on “The assumptions and results of Research on the needs of ACP Higher Education Systems and their international networking” presented at Coimbra Group Workshop: Networking In Higher Education And Research In Acp Countries: Sharing Experiences, Louvaine March 2005.

GOM (2000) PROGRAMA QUINQUENAL 2000-2004,
www.govmoz.gov.mz/p2000/index.htm,

GOM (2001) PARPA www.govmoz.gov.mz/parpa

GOM (2004) Balanço do Plano Económico e Social de 2003. Council of Ministers. Unpublished.

ILO (2004) A fair globalization: Creating opportunities for all. World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, ILO, Geneva.
www.ilo.org/public/english/wcsdg/docs/contents.pdf,

Lind, Agneta & Igboemeka, Adeze (2002) Overview Study of the Higher Education Sub-System in Mozambique. Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency/SIDA- SAREC. Maputo (mimeo).

Mário, Mouzinho, Peter Fry, L. Levey & A. Chilundo (2001) “Higher Education in Mozambique: A case Study”. Maputo.

MESCT (2000) “Plano Estratégico do Ensino Superior em Moçambique para o Período 2000-2010. Vol.1: Ensino Superior em Moçambique: uma Análise da Situação Actual”. Ministério do Ensino Superior, Ciência e Tecnologia, Maputo.

MESCT (2003) Indicadores de Ciência e Tecnologia em Moçambique 2002-2003. Ministério do Ensino Superior, Ciência e Tecnologia, Maputo.
www.mct.gov.mz/docs/downloads/indc_t.pdf

MESCT (2004) Dados Estatísticos do Ensino Superior e das Instituições de Investigação. Ministério de Ensino Superior, Ciência e Tecnologia. Maputo.
www.mct.gov.mz/docs/Indica03.pdf

MESCT (2005) Balanço do Programa Quinquenal 2000-2004. Ministério do Ensino Superior, Ciência e Tecnologia. Maputo

UNDP (1998) Peace and economic growth: Opportunities for human development. National Human Development Report 1998. United Nations Development Programme, Maputo.

UNDP (2000) Education and human development: Trajectory, lessons and challenges for the 21st century. National Human Development Report 2000. United Nations Development Programme, Maputo.

ACRONYMS:

GATS Global Agreement on the Trade in Services

HE Higher Education

HEI Higher Education Institution

HIPC Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

PARPA *Plano Estratégico para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta* – Poverty Reduction Strategy

PEES *Plano Estratégico do Ensino Superior* – Higher Education Strategic Plan

QIF Quality and Innovation Fund

WTO World Trade Organization