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A disjointed multi-campus system: the neo-liberal expansion and fragmentation of Mozambican higher education

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This paper tries to accomplish two tasks. First, it uses a critical review of the concept of differentiation to shed light on the expansion of the Mozambican higher education system, a consequence of the global neoliberal dynamics of higher education. Second, the neoliberal framework is applied to account for the development of multi-campus systems in the country. The paper argues that, on the one hand, the dispersion of multi-campuses resulted from an early stage of loosely regulated expansion and differentiation of higher education in the context of the liberalisation of higher education. On the other hand, the competition for students, in a market driven economy dominated by the existence of two main public institutions absorbing two-thirds of the students, prompted the establishment of satellite campuses by both private and public institutions, with serious and adverse implications for quality.

Keywords: expansion; differentiation; fragmentation; Mozambique; multi-campus systems

Introduction

Globally, higher education has been powerfully affected by the rise of a neoliberal political, economic and cultural agenda (Cornell, 2013; Mamdani, 2007; Molesworth, Nixon, & Scullion, 2009; Naidoo, 2010). This paper addresses the emergence of multi-campus systems in Mozambique, particularly as a consequence of an increasing demand for higher education in the country and the emergence of private providers. Until 1974, a year before the country became independent from colonial Portugal, Mozambican native students, in the sole existing university, constituted less than 0.1% of the population (Langa, 2013). The higher education system has since grown rapidly, particularly after the country embarked on a neoliberal transformation of the economy in the 1990s, shifting from more than 10 years of 'failed' socialist attempts (Langa, 2006, 2013; Mário, Fry, & Chilundo, 2003).

In terms of student numbers, with about 3,750 students in 1989, almost 40,000 in 2006, and more than 150,000 in 2015, the higher education system is still characterised by low participation rates of about 5.3%. Two-thirds of these students are enrolled in public institutions and one-third in private institutions (Langa, 2013). The neoliberal marketisation of higher education led to growing competition for students amongst both public and private providers, notwithstanding the relatively small scale of the system, and the students in public institutions currently paying a low tuition fee, around $100

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per year. In 2001, total education expenditure comprised 6.5% of GDP and higher education expenditure only 0.8% (Bailey, Cloete, & Pillay, 2011; Langa, 2006; Wangenge-Ouma & Langa, 2010).

The competition in higher education is based on a twofold set of driving forces: political and economic. The political driving force derives from the pressure public institutions face to be responsive to the nation building agenda, positioning themselves as national institutions rather than regional or provincial. As stated in the higher education Strategic Plan (2000–2010), 'expansion to other regions of the country, thus contributing to its development, [aims] to reduce regional asymmetries and progress the country'(Republic of Mozambique, 2000).

By and large, public institutions seek social-political legitimation and recognition, in different ways, but particularly through their physical presence in some if not all eleven provinces. The ambition to be a national university is interpreted differently by different higher education leaders. These ambitions are met by severe public budget restrictions, particularly considering that the public institutions rely on more than 70% government subsidies and charge only small student fees. This is aggravated by the absence of a system differentiation policy that is related to budget allocation.

Therefore, to implement their national expansionist agenda, public universities resort to fee-paying students, enrolled in night shift programmes, to increase their revenue and investment capacity. Furthermore, functioning with a residual operating state budget, which mostly pays staff salaries and other operating costs, public universities become private by night charging monthly fees that amount to $200 to $300 (Langa, 2013; Mário et al., 2003).

On the economic side, newly established private institutions seek new markets outside the capital Maputo (Langa & Zavale, 2015). The presence of multiple suppliers of educational services in a limited space, since most institutions have their main campuses in Maputo, intensifies the competition for students and other scarce resources such as academic staff and prestige (Langa, 2006; Wangenge-Ouma & Langa, 2010). Despite the various challenges the education system faces in Mozambique, there has been a surge in primary and secondary school enrolments from 3.6 million in 2003 to around 6.7 million by 2014. That surge provides opportunities for universities to seek school graduates in the various provinces, before the perspective students venture to Maputo in search of better educational opportunities.

These developments are interpreted as part of the global trends of expansion, differentiation and diversification of higher education in a new neoliberal market oriented context (Langa, 2006; Ng'ethe, Subotzky, & Afeti, 2008; van Vught, 2007, 2008). The transition from a centralised socialist to a loosely regulated emerging neoliberal market-oriented sub-sector of higher education led to the disjointed expansion of institutions countrywide. In the early 1990s there was a belief that, once liberalised, the emerging higher education market would work perfectly and that the behaviour of providers would be regulated by competition in the market (Langa, 2012; Molesworth, Scullion, & Nixon, 2011).

However, the process of a loosely regulated expansion of higher education produced several unintended consequences, including the uncontrolled mushrooming of scattered campuses countrywide. In this context, there has been expansion without massification (Langa, 2014), i.e. an increasing diffusion of 'small' and 'medium' size institutions with scattered campuses or premises nationwide. For some of these institutions the word campus does not entirely describe the actual features of a typical university campus. University campuses usually refer to certain kinds of physical development that imply

the use of a landscaped setting reminiscent of higher education (Dober, 2000). In some cases, rented private houses, warehouses, offices in store buildings and apartments have been used as premises to deliver higher education and training in Mozambique.

This paper explores the ways in which individual institutions in Mozambique developed a multi-campus system in the context of expansion of higher education. In so doing, the following questions are addressed: (i) what reasons and forces drove the process and emergence of multi-campuses in Mozambican higher education? (ii) how has mounting pressure for increased access to higher education influenced particular trends of expansion? (iii) how have conflicting institutional logics – both governmental and market oriented – contributed to the development of multi-campuses?

The paper is divided in two main parts and various subsections. In the first part, an overview of the theoretical and empirical studies on differentiation and diversity is presented, with a particular focus on the African context. Based on this, a conceptual framework is identified, which intends to account for the processes of differentiation and isomorphism in the Mozambican higher education system (Langa, 2006). The emergence of multi-campus systems is regarded as one of the consequences of the process of expansion, differentiation and fragmentation of higher education (Kyvik, 2009).

The second part of the paper focuses on Mozambique as a case study. The higher education regulatory framework (laws and policies) (Langa, Cumaio, & Rafael, 2014) are examined to account for the current trends of expansion, differentiation and isomorphism in the country. In conclusion, the paper argues that the incipient and loose regulatory framework, combined with market driven policies, led to an arbitrary expansion of higher education institutions. For this reason, the Mozambican higher education system experienced a trend of expansion characterised by dispersion and fragmentation of institutions countrywide.

Literature review and conceptual framework

Multi-campuses in the context of neoliberal higher education

The idea of the campus is almost old as the university itself (Chapman, 2006). Generally, a campus is the site on which a college or university is located. Academic activities usually take place on the campus, including teaching and learning, research and leisure activities. The 'university campus can also include a location with student accommodation, libraries, lecture halls, food courts and so forth' (Chapman, 2006, pp. 24, 25). Etymologically, the term campus is derived from the Latin *campus*, meaning a flat expanse of land, a plain or a field.

Globally, the phenomenon of increasing access is translated into expansion of higher education institutions and establishment of multi-campus systems. Higher education institutions in the United States, Europe, Australia and Asia, and more recently in Africa, have seen their premises and activities disperse across two or more geographic locations (Charles, 2003, 2007, 2009; Creswell, Roskens, & Henry, 1985).

The demand for massification of higher education (Trow, 1979) has made it inevitable that metropolitan-based universities move beyond their original location and spread more campuses in the sprawling suburbs, but has also led to the development of regional universities. Often campuses are located in smaller cities, towns, provinces or districts, depending on the administrative divisions and the legislative framework that regulates the establishment of higher education institutions in a particular country.

As Munene (2015) argues, increasing social demands and cutbacks in state budgetary support are to blame for universities in Africa turning towards a multi-campus

survival strategy. The neoliberal education approach that most African governments have adopted placed a premium on entrepreneurship, profit seeking, privatisation and the market as the main driver and regulator of higher education development (Langa, 2012; Mamdani, 2007, 2008). In that process, a reconfiguration of the higher education institutional landscape, a reshaping of academic work and curriculum, and the organisational structures and culture, took place.

The idea of a unitary campus started to be challenged with the emergence and mushrooming of scattered sites of the various higher education institutions. In Mozambique, for instance, the phenomena of multi-campuses started in the mid-1990s, following the liberalisation of the higher education sector which led to the emergence of private providers (Langa, 2006; Langa & Zavale, 2015). Both private and public higher education institutions, mainly the ones based in Maputo, established branch campuses in different cities, provinces and districts countrywide. The most prominent case of multi-campus expansion is that of the Pedagogic University (UP). Established in 1985, as a sort of teacher training college, gaining full university status ten years later, it gradually established branch campuses in ten of the eleven provinces in Mozambique.

The processes of fragmentation of institutions that used to have a unitary campus raises both theoretical and empirical questions that have not yet been addressed particularly in the African context. Little has been researched and disseminated about the consequences and impact of the neoliberal shift in most African higher education systems. Issues of institutional integration and identity, quality, management and governance remain unexamined. While in the USA and Europe, multi-campus systems are not a new reality (Lee & Bowen, 1971, 1975; Munene, 2015); in sub-Saharan Africa multi-campus systems have become more visible in the last two decades. In the last two decades, both the superstructure and the infra-structure of higher education have gone through a silent revolution. Higher education has been gaining considerable political, social and economic weight on the continent. In the 1960s, Sub Saharan Africa had fewer than 20 institutions. In the last two or three decades, the number rose to 650 in 2013, with the enrolment of students rising to 5.2 million in 2010, with the highest growth rate between 2000 and 2010 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012).

Expansion, differentiation and diversity

Drawing on the classical social theory, van Vught (2007) distinguished between the notions of differentiation and diversity. He defines differentiation as ‘a process in which new entities emerge from the system’ (p. 3), and argues that the concept should be distinguished from that of diversity, as the latter indicates the variety of entities within a system. For van Vught, ‘differentiation is the process in which the diversity of a system increases’ (p. 3). The focus is at systemic level rather than the micro and meso levels of the universities or their programmes. Consequently, he is concerned with ‘external diversity’, inter-institutional differences, rather than intra-institutional or ‘internal diversity’, i.e. differences within institutions.

A distinction can also be drawn between horizontal differentiation across institutional types and vertical differentiation within an institution, with the latter referring to diversity of programmes (Ng’ethe et al., 2008). In Africa, in most cases, expansion of higher education involves the replication of the same type of institutions and programmes. For Ng’ethe et al. (2008, p. 21) ‘expansion of systems in terms of establishing more institutions does not necessarily mean differentiation, unless programme offerings are sufficiently dissimilar’. This observation leads to the questioning of the

applicability of the notions of (de)differentiation and fragmentation in the African context.

A rapid review of terms such as expansion, differentiation, de-differentiation, diversity and fragmentation, in the context of higher education, lives the impression that we are talking about the same thing. Expansion, differentiation, dedifferentiation, diversity and fragmentation have become common notions in the study of change in higher education. Globally, there is a large stock of knowledge and research about the sources, growth and internal dynamics of institutional and systemic differentiation in higher education (Huisman, 1995; Huisman, Meek, & Wood, 2007; Langa, 2006; Meek, Goedegebuure, Kivinen, & Rinne, 1996; Ng'ethe et al., 2008; Teichler, 1988a, 1988b). According to Teichler (2008), debates and policies in Europe concerning the diversity of higher education institutions and programmes have changed substantially over the years. Globally, differentiation (and diversity) is a recurrent theme in debates on the expansion of higher education systems (Guri-Rosenblit & Sebkova, 2004; Guri-Rosenblit, Sebkova, & Teichler, 2007; Marginson, 1999; Meek & Wood, 1998; Neave, 2000; Reimer & Jacobs, 2011; Teichler, 2004; van Vught, 2007).

In South Africa, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) published a long-anticipated Policy Framework on Differentiation in the South African Post-school System (DHET, 2014). As Muller (2014a, 2014b) notes, diversification – or differentiation, as it is called in the national debate in South Africa – is simply no longer optional. These worldwide events show how attractive and current the topic of differentiation is in higher education. However, less attention has been placed on the different meanings this term may bear. It is not strange that we find this and other terms in policy documents, academic writings and public debates bearing different meanings, yet used interchangeably without clear distinction between them.

Expansion without massification

The expansion of higher education in Africa, as in the rest of the world, has been fuelled by a combination of factors, among them the call for massification (Scott, 1995; Trow, 2000) and the need to promote socio-economic development. As systems of higher education expand, public discourse regarding quantitative and structural aspects tend to focus their attention on the desirable shape or pattern of the higher education system. There is a general consensus that a quantitative expansion of any higher education system gives rise to a heterogeneous student body with diverse needs, with regard to their motivations and labour market expectations as well as academic abilities (Clark, 1983; Trow, 1974).

In most African countries, there has been expansion of higher education without necessarily leading to massification, with gross participation rates still continuing below 15%. According to Trow (1974, 2000), higher education systems can only be regarded as mass systems when they have surpassed the 15% gross participation rate. With very few exceptions (South Africa, Mauritius and Cape Verde with rates above 20%), most African countries are still below 7% of gross participation in higher education. In 2013, the gross enrolment in Mozambican tertiary institutions was 5.2%, which means that there are still many school leavers who do not have access to higher education (UNESCO, 2014).

According to Scott (1995) the growth of national systems of higher education is a by-product of the development of the modern nation-state, which has acted as a sponsor of new institutions, predominantly as founder, planner or coordinator. Scott asserts that

massification is neither linear nor regular. The links between the growth of mass higher education systems and the radical processes of globalisation include not only constant fluxes in the global markets and new information technologies, but changing conceptions of time and space. Scott's (1998) conceptualisation of the globalisation of higher education makes the connection between expansion and diversification and the development of global politics, markets and culture.

The global expansion of higher education involved a transition from an elite to a mass higher education, from a system catering for less than 3% of the students to more than 15%, and as much as 30 to 50% in the most advanced countries (Perkin, 1997; Trow, 2000). Higher education institutions in Africa were established in the run-up to, or directly after, independence (Assié-Lumumba, 2006; Langa, 2006, 2014; Lulat, 2003, 2005). Higher education institutions, particularly the universities, were thus given the task to produce the 'manpower' (Langa, 2013; Mário et al., 2003) that was going to operate the state apparatus left by the departing colonial authorities, therefore producing what Mamdani (2000) has called 'mimic' men and women. Lacking in the reform process of many African higher education systems was a serious and thoughtful engagement with what constitutes the vision, mission, and function of the university in Africa as a whole, and for individual African countries (Aina, 2010; Mamdani, 2007).

In Africa, the majority of colonial universities were established in the 1950s, a decade before independence. Consequently, the growth in numbers of higher education institutions is a post-independence phenomenon. In the 1960s African countries that attained independence looked to higher education as means to deliver support for the national efforts to raise standards of living and alleviate poverty (Mamdani, 2008; Task Force on Higher Education and Society [TFHE], 2000). However, no country in the Sub-Saharan region can claim complete success in achieving these traditional 'nation-building' goals. According to the TFHE report commissioned by the World Bank, since 1960 higher education has been forced to confront what they named as the 'new realities': expansion, differentiation and the knowledge revolution (TFHE, 2000).

Multi-campuses in Africa are part of these developments. They represent the downside of the mounting pressure to respond to societal needs and demands vis-à-vis increasing access, and the limited capacity of the State to provide quality higher education. The TFHE (2000) acknowledges that expansion has produced a variety of consequences, including differentiation and diversification, a process whereby new types of institutions are born and new providers enter the sector. However, the loosely regulated government steering through the market logic engendered an expanded, differentiated, diversified and fragmented African higher education system, not necessarily a *mass* and coordinated system. This ambivalence led to the emergence of scattered campuses or disjointed premises in most cases, under very unfavourable conditions for quality higher education.

Fragmented expansion and isomorphism

The reasons for expanding higher education are multiple, in terms of differentiation and diversification programmes, geographical decentralisation and institutional resources (Kyvik, 2009). These processes intertwine, they reinforce each other and increase the level of fragmentation. Ng'ethe et al. (2008) argue that expansion does not necessarily lead to more differentiation, although some higher education systems show a drive towards differentiation and increasing levels of diversity. De-differentiation and decreasing levels of diversity are also possible (Birnbaum, 1983; Cloete et al., 2006; Rhoades,

1990; Riesman, 1956; van Vught, 2008). When analysing the scattered multi-campuses in Mozambique one sees signs of both differentiation and isomorphism, showing contradictory forces of higher education development (Castells, 1993; Cloete, Maassen, & Bailey, 2015).

The advent of new institutional types formally fulfilling new functions (universities, polytechnics, higher institutes and higher schools) indicates a growing complexity and differentiation. On the other hand, there is also a visible isomorphism, with institutions mimicking each other's syllabus, for instance. The isomorphic processes of de-differentiation and imitative behaviour by lower status institutions (Riesman, 1956) take place in a context marked by loose, centralised and uniform governmental policies (Birnbaum, 1983). When establishing new premises in different locations, institutions tend to replicate the same programmes that are offered on the main campuses.

A case study of scattered multi-campuses in the Mozambican higher education system

There is no explicit Mozambican higher education differentiation policy. New types of public and private institutions were established under the policy to increase access and participation in a neo-liberalisation context, leading to a differentiated system (Langa, 2006). Apart from the government strategic plans (Plano Estratégico do Ensino Superior 2000–2010 and Plano Estratégico do Ensino Superior 2012–2020) to set up at least one higher polytechnic institute in each of the eleven provinces, no policy was established to regulate or steer a particular direction for the expansion endeavour. The government acknowledged its inability to meet the demands of school leavers and needed the helping hand of private providers and civil society to increase the provision of higher education.

The decision to establish a new university or a higher polytechnic institute in a particular site in the country was mostly left to the individual institutions. These decisions were based on institutional internal dynamics and perceived market opportunities (Langa & Zavale, 2015). For the public universities a perceived market opportunity, particularly expressed by the leadership, would include political connections with the local communities, provincial governments and political forces with interest in a particular region or province. In the case of private institutions, the perceived economic gains would be the driving force behind the move to establish a new institution, campus branch or delegation (Langa & Zavale, 2015).

The expansion and differentiation of higher education in Mozambique (Langa, 2006, 2013; Langa & Zavale, 2015) continues, with the number of institutions and students growing. In 2014, the country had 48 higher education institutions, of which 18 were public and 30 private (Langa, 2014). Among the public institutions four are universities, six higher institutes, four higher polytechnic institutes, two higher schools and two academies (Langa, 2014; Langa & Zavale, 2015). In terms of private higher education, there are ten universities, 18 higher institutes and two higher schools (Langa & Zavale, 2015). Despite the differentiation of the higher education system, most institutions focus is on teaching undergraduate students.

In other words, there is differentiation at system level and de-differentiation or isomorphism at programme level. Of the total number of students enrolled in public higher education institutions in 2013, 90.9% were bachelors, 8.9% masters and 0.2% doctoral students (Langa, 2013). The higher education system is dominated by undergraduate education. In terms of programmes offered there is a considerable similarity, particularly

amongst the private institutions (Langa, 2013; Langa & Zavale, 2015), driving the system towards an isomorphic trend.

In 2013, in the private higher education sub-system, about 97% were bachelor students, 2.9% masters and 0.05% doctoral students. In the public higher education sub-system the predominant areas of training, according to the UNESCO classification, in descending order, were: (i) social sciences, management and law; (ii) education; (iii) engineering, manufacturing and construction; (iv) natural sciences; (v) agriculture, forestry and veterinary medicine; (vi) health and well-being; (vii) services. By 2013, of the total number of students in the system, 75.8% were in the public sector and only 24.2% in the private sector (Langa, 2013). The scattered multi-campuses emerge in the context of the neoliberal expansion marked by a threefold tendency of differentiation, fragmentation and isomorphism. All these three tendencies take place in a context of a loosely regulated system.

A loosely regulated system

The decision to establish a new branch or delegation is made by higher education institutions according to their own plans. Following the neo-liberalisation of higher education in the mid-1990s, the country did not produce laws and norms to regulate and monitor the implications of the rapid expansion. Only when things appeared to be taking a shape that was regarded as undesirable would the government establish decrees to curb the unintended phenomena. In some cases, the government had to cancel the licencing of new higher education institutions until legal procedures were drawn up that would assurance minimum quality standards.

As acknowledged by the former deputy minister of education, Arlindo Chilundo:

> Private universities have sprung up at a surprising rate over the past few years, leading to questions as to whether they can really supply the teaching staff, the libraries and the laboratories that genuine universities should possess. It's important that we should have some instruments that can speed up quality control … and so one of the measures taken was to suspend temporarily approval of new institutions, until a set of regulations on the licensing and functioning of higher education bodies can be passed. (cited in Agencia de Informação de Moçambique [AIM], 2010)

The existing regulation does not provide the conditions under which higher education institutions should establish a new branch campus, delegation or programmes. The decree 48/2010, about the process of licencing of higher education institutions, only refers to the need to inform the ministry that oversees higher education about the intention to establish a new branch, delegation or programme (Langa et al., 2014). Higher education institutions have taken into their own hands the initiative to establish branches, delegations or programmes in any site within the country. This issue has caused tensions between the higher education institutions and the National Directorate for Higher Education (NDHE), the government entity coordinating the higher education system. While the institutions claim that it is their right to decide when and where to establish new branch campuses, delegations or programmes, the government, through NDHE, has called for the review of the higher education law 27/2009 and the decree 48/2010 (National Higher Education Directorate, 2016).

Although the quote from the former deputy minister refers mostly to curbing the licencing of private institutions, one of the major concerns with quality derives from the public institutions. New sites, whether they are called branch or satellite campuses or

delegations (*delegação*), constitute a new structure with their own administrative board and director, and a different environment compared to the main campus.

Two scattered multi-campus public universities

There are two higher education institutions with the most branches and sites in Mozambique. These are *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* (UEM) and *Universidade Pedagógica* (UP), both public institutions. UP was established in 1985, as a teacher training college (Instituto Superior Pedagógico) and was given full university status in 1995. Currently, following a neoliberal mission drift and curricula reform, it offers all kinds of academic programmes that are market oriented, including business management, secretarial, accounting and so forth. UP is a typical example of a single unitary campus that has become a fragmented multi-site campus institution. The main UP campus in Maputo had about 11,430 registered students in 2014. The smallest delegation/branch in Massinga, Inhambane province, had 1,651 students. This dispersion of 'medium' and 'small' size units, in different locations, generates issues concerning quality, student-to-staff ratio and institutional identity (see Table 1). For instance, students from UP-Massinga or Gaza might never experience the learning environment of the Maputo main campus. However, when UP registers a course, for instance, history, it is regarded as a single course with the same curricula in all eleven delegations, if the course is taught on all sites. The students in the Nampula delegation are likely to complete the degree without the opportunity to attend a lecture by the most qualified history professor teaching in the main campus in Maputo. Main campuses, usually located in the capital city, have more access to the Internet, libraries and other learning facilities, and more qualified academic staff than the delegations. However, if one of the delegations has a bad reputation related to the learning conditions, it affects the entire UP brand.

UP has an administrative structure that resembles that of a ministry, with provincial and district departments. There has not been a study of the costs involved in maintaining and replicating fragmented institutional administrative and managerial structures. Their real costs should be the subject of further studies.

Table 1. UP enrolments and registered students in 2014 in all 11 scattered premises.

UP- branches/ delegations	Enrolments			Registered students		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
UP-headquarters/ Maputo	1670	1417	*3087*	5714	5716	*11,430*
UP-Gaza	368	468	*836*	1311	1509	*2820*
UP-Maxixe	417	395	*812*	1664	1561	*3225*
UP-Massinga	113	135	*248*	657	994	*1651*
UP-Beira	697	866	*1563*	2819	3180	*5999*
UP-Manica	272	540	*812*	1219	1526	*2745*
UP-Tete	214	337	*551*	828	1196	*2024*
UP-Quelimane	643	851	*1314*	1725	2774	*4499*
UP-Nampula	767	1571	*2338*	2555	4792	*7347*
UP-Montepuez	353	376	*720*	1106	758	*1864*
UP-Niassa	356	588	*944*	1090	2010	*3100*
Total	*5690*	*7535*	*13,225*	*20,688*	*26,016*	*46,704*

Source: Estatística da UP, 2014.

UEM was the first institution to be established in the country (1962), but also the one that traditionally offers the largest variety of courses and programmes. In 2014, UEM had 138 courses, of which 84 were bachelor honours (also called *Licenciatura*), 51 masters and 3 doctoral degree programmes (UEM, 2015). UEM was amongst the first institutions to expand its premises beyond the capital city of Maputo, when it established a Law faculty in Beira in the central province of Sofala. This faculty was then closed and re-opened in the newly public university of Zambeze, also in central province of Sofala. UEM, however, maintains other campuses outside Maputo (see Table 2). In Gaza UEM has a Higher School of Business and Entrepreneurship; in the Inhambane Province, there is the Higher School of Tourism and Hotel Management, and in Zambeze, the Higher School of Marine Sciences (See Table 2 and Figure 1).

Overcrowding is perceived as one of the causes for unsuccessful higher education, as well as academic staff discontent. Developing countries with higher education systems that are at critical development phases have experienced higher rates of expansion and increase in student enrolment than foreseen. Of all students in the Mozambican higher education system, 60% were enrolled in just two institutions, namely UP and UEM. The remaining 40% were distributed amongst the other 39 higher education institutions, both public and private (Langa, 2013). This pattern shows that the system is characterised by the overcrowding of two universities. UP and UEM can be regarded as comprehensive universities offering degrees in almost all types and sub-types of programmes and academic units, including faculties, research centres, schools, branch campuses and delegations (Johnstone, 1999).

Table 2. UEM enrolments and registered students in 2014 in all 11 scattered premises.

	Enrolments			Registered		
UEM-faculties in Maputo city	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
FAEF-main campus	123	62	185	1079	407	1486
FAPF-main campus	30	6	36	342	85	427
FC-main campus	488	181	669	3847	1135	4982
FD-external premises	144	70	214	1449	724	2173
FE-main campus	288	151	439	2767	1341	4108
FACED-main campus	192	255	447	952	1287	2239
FENG-external campus	423	88	511	4317	574	4891
FF-main campus	143	59	202	443	230	673
FLCS-main campus	684	543	1227	5128	3709	8837
FM	107	100	207	788	805	1593
FAVET-external campus	26	24	50	226	220	446
Sub-Total	*2648*	*1539*	*4187*	*21,338*	*10,517*	*31,855*
UEM higher schools						
ECA-Maputo city	103	87	190	599	390	989
ESCIDE-main campus	26	7	33	143	74	217
ESCMC-Quelimane	85	17	102	289	147	436
ESUDER-Inhambane	34	28	62	788	405	1193
ESHTI-Inhambane province	134	117	251	713	512	1225
ESNEC-Gaza province	97	67	164	568	381	949
Sub-total	479	323	802	3100	1909	5009
Grande total	*3127*	*1862*	*4989*	*24,438*	*12,426*	*36,864*

Source: Research data.

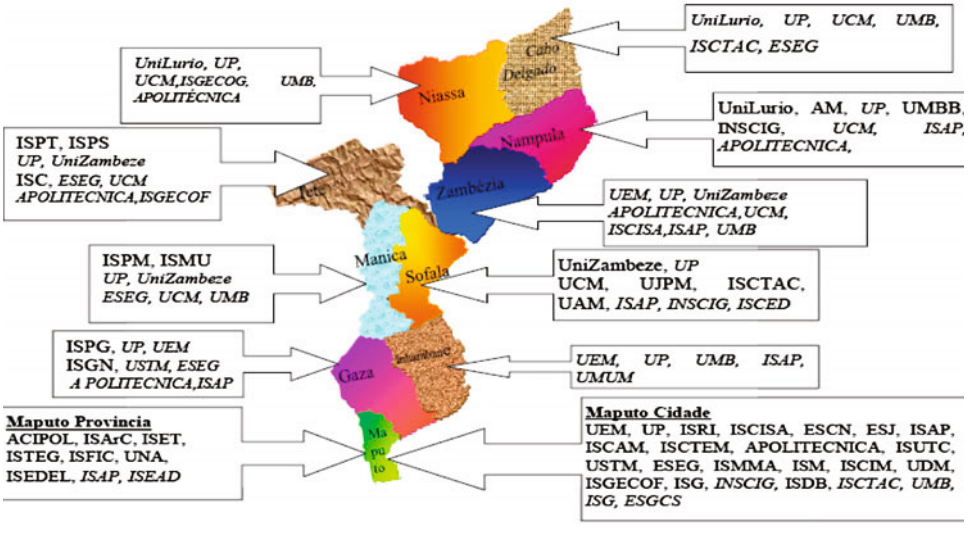

Figure 1. Mozambican higher education institutions and their multiple sites. Source: DICES (2014).

Unlike, UEM, UP has units (*called delegação*) in almost every provincial capital city. The move by both institutions to establish campuses outside Maputo was due to the following reasons: (i) the need to meet societal demand for increased equitable access, (ii) to promote national unity, and (iii) to reduce regional inequalities. All these reasons are articulated in the National Strategic Plan for Higher Education (2012–2020) (Republic of Mozambique, 2012). However, the manner in which every institution implements the plan is determined by two major factors: (i) the absence of a differentiation policy, and a loose regulatory framework to coordinate the process of expansion and differentiation, and (ii) the market competition that drives the institutions to adopt survival mechanisms under increasingly severe budget constraints. Establishing branch campuses or scattered premises becomes one of the strategies used by both public and private institutions to attract new students.

One of the strategies adopted by the emerging institutions is to open satellite campuses in the provinces and districts where most of the candidates apply for UEM or UP. The public institutions usually offer scholarships to students coming from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, and also from other provinces than Maputo. Once these candidates fail to be admitted they immediately find an institution close by to offer them a degree without having to relocate to another city. Most students have UEM and UP as their first choice; when they fail to be admitted to one of these institutions, they may weigh other options, including attending night shift programmes (i.e. fee paying programmes) in these public institutions or pay higher fees in a private institution.

The expansion is fragmented and presents a challenge for system management and quality. Table 3 shows the higher education institutions in the country according to their names, types, year of establishment, location of the main multi-campus and branches. Table 3 includes 46 institutions, but two more have been established recently. More than 60% of the institutions have their headquarters in the capital city of Maputo. However, some institutions like UEM, UP, UCM and A-Politécnica have the main administrative

Table 3. Scattered multi-campus Mozambican higher education institutions.

Públic insitutions				
Type 1	Universities	Year	Main campus	Provincial branch campuses
1	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM)	1962	Maputo*	Gaza, Inhambane, Zambézia
2	Universidade Pedagógica (UP)	1985	Maputo*	All provinces with the exception of Maputo
3	Universidade Lúrio (Uni-Lúrio)	2006	Nampula	Cabo Delgado, Niassa
4	Universidade Zambeze (Uni-Zambeze)	2006	Sofala	Tete, Manica, Zambézia
Type 2	*Higher insitutes*			
1	Instituto Internacional de Relações Internacionais (ISRI)	1986	Maputo*	None
2	Instituto Superior de Ciências da Saúde (ISCISA)	2003	Maputo	Zambézia
3	Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Auditória de Moçambique (ISCAM)	2005	Maputo	None
4	Instituto Superior de Administração Pública (ISAP)	2005	Maputo	Nampula, Sofala, Inhambabe, Gaza
5	Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura (ISArC)	2008	Maputo-province	None
6	Instituto Superior de Estudos de Defesa (ISEDEF)	2011	Maputo-province	None
Type 3	*Polytechnics*			
1	Instituto Superior Politécnico de Songo (ISPS)	2008	Songo-Tete	None
2	Instituto Superior Politécnico de Tete (ISPT)	2005	Tete	None
3	Instituto Superior Politécnico de Manica (ISPM)	2005	Manica	None
4	Instituto Superior Politécnico de Gaza (ISPG)	2005	Gaza	None
Type 4	*Higher schools*			
1	Escola Superior de Ciências Náuticas (ESCN)	2004	Maputo	None
2	Escola Superior de Jornalismo (ESJ)	2008	Maputo	None
Type 5	*Academy*			
1	Academia de Ciências Policiais (ACIPOL)	1999	Maputo	Manica
2	Academia Militar Samora Machel (AM)	2003	Nampula	None

(*Continued*)

Table 3. (*Continued*).

Públic insitutions				
Type 1	Universities	Year	Main campus	Provincial branch campuses
Sub-total Private insitutions	18 Public			
Type 1	*Universities*			
1	Universidade Católica de Moçambique (UCM)	1995	Sofala province	Inhambane, Manica, Tete, Zambézia, Nampula, Niassa & Cabo-Delgado
2	Universidade - A- politécnica	1995	Maputo	Gaza, Tete, Niassa, Nampula, & Zambézia,
3	Universidade Mussa Bin-Bique (UMBB)	1998	Nampula	Inhambane, Zambézia, Cabo-Delgado, Niassa & Maputo
4	Universidade Jean Piaget (UJPM)	2004	Sofala province	None
5	Universidade São Tomas de Moçambique (USTM)	2004	Maputo	Gaza,
6	Universidade Técnica de Moçambique (UDM)	2002	Maputo	None
7	Universidade Adventista de Moçambiue (UAM)	2011	Sofala province	None
8	Universidade Nachinguwea (UNA)	2011	Sofala province	None
9	Universidade Índico (Ind)	2008	Maputo	None
Type 2	*Higher institutes*			
1	Instituto Superior de Ciências e Tecnologia de Moçambique (ISCTEM)	1996	Maputo	None
2	Instituto Superior de Transportes e Comunicação (ISUTC)	1999	Maputo	None
3	Instituto Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão (ISTEG)	2008	Maputo province	None
4	Instituto Superior Dom Bosco (ISDB)	2006	Maputo	None
5	Instituto Superior Maria Mãe de África (ISMMA)	2008	Maputo	None
6	Instituto Superior Monitor (ISM)	2008	Maputo	None
7	Instituto Superior de Educação e Tecnologia (ISET)	2005	Maputo province	None
8	Instituto Superior de Comunicação e Imagem (ISCIM)	2008	Maputo	None
9	Instituto Superior de Formação, Investigação e Ciência (ISFIC)	2005	Maputo province	None
10	Instituto Superior de Gestão, Comércio e Finanças (ISGECOF)	2009	Maputo	Niassa, Tete,
11	Instituto Superior Cristão (ISC)	2004	Tete	None
12	Instituto Superior de Ciência e Tecnologia Alberto Chipande (ISCTAC)	2009	Sofala	Maputo, Cabo-Delgado

(*Continued*)

Table 3. (*Continued*).

Públic insitutions				
Type 1	Universities	Year	Main campus	Provincial branch campuses
13	Instituto Superior de Ciência e Gestão (INSCIG)	2009	Nampula-Nacala-Porto	Maputo
14	Instituto Superior de Negócio e Gestão (ISGN)	2011	Manjakaze/ Gaza	None
15	Instituto Superior para Estudo do Desenvolvimento Local (ISEDEL)	2012	Maputo province	None
16	Instituto Superior Matuassa (ISMU)	2012	Manica	None
17	Instituto Superior de Gestão da Educação e Administração (ISGEA)	2013	Maputo	None
Type 3	*Higher school*			
1	Escola Superior de Economia e Gestão (ESEG)	2004	Maputo	Tete, Cabo-Delgado, Manica, Gaza
2	Escola Superior, Corporativa Social (ESCS)	2013	Maputo province	None
Subtotal	28 private			
Total				

premises (rectorate) on one site, with multiple premises on different sites both in Maputo and some of the eleven provinces in the country.

There is dearth of reliable national statistical data on prospective candidates to higher education in Mozambique. Institutions report figures related to the candidates based on national admission examinations. These are entry examinations that both public and private institutions are obliged to implement as a selection criterion, but which are not strictly observed, particularly by private institutions that are short of students. For instance, in 2014, the UEM registered 26.481 candidates for BA degree courses, of which 13,770 (52%) were men and 12,711 women. These data indicate an increase of 2.8% since 2013, when the institution registered 25,755 candidates. These figures do not include international students (UEM, 2015).

Implications for quality

A potential exists for conflicting interests between national and institutional agendas. In most cases, the absence of the basic material conditions for the provision of education by some higher education institutions represents a threat to the quality of higher education. Deceiving the students, some higher education institutions are operating from store-buildings or the terraces of old buildings in conditions that impinge on the dignity of students. The pattern of two overcrowded public universities puts pressure on their capacity to absorb more students and assure quality of training. The 39 private institutions in the system compete for the remaining one quarter of the students, prompting them to be flexible in their forms of course/programme delivery. The private institutions,

particularly, rent premises in commercial builds and offer academic programmes in inappropriate conditions. Although the higher education system has developed considerably in terms of size, starting from the 1990s, the studying conditions in most institutions do not match with the increasing number of students. Lecture halls became congested, while laboratories and library facilities are inadequate and the studying conditions precarious. Universities that were built for less than 1000 students in the 1960s saw student numbers rising to 40,000 or more without the corresponding infra-structure and human resources development (Mohamedbhai, 2003).

Conclusion

Multi-campuses are a reality in Mozambican higher education. Like in most higher education systems, this has involved the interplay of behavioural and institutional complexity. The expansion of higher education in the country played a key role in shaping the development of scattered premises. It has been characterised by an increasing number of institutions and institutional types (differentiation), and also lack of programme diversity and considerable levels of isomorphism, with institutions replicating each other's course and programmes.

The dispersion of multi-campuses in Mozambican higher education resulted from an early stage of loosely regulated expansion and differentiation, which the Government is now trying to curb. The competition for students, on the other hand, in a context marked by the existence of two somewhat overcrowded public institutions absorbing most of the higher education students, prompted the establishment of satellite campus by both private and public institutions, with serious implications for quality. Demand for access in a context of limited public resources and capacity, coupled with mounting pressure to accelerate the liberalisation of higher education in a context of loose regulation, and increasing competition amongst both public and private providers, led to fragmentation and spread of small premises countrywide, which cannot be called campuses in the traditional sense of the word.

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