

Exploring the Concepts of Academic Freedom and Institutional Autonomy

**- A case study of the Faculty of Political Science at the
University of Suleimaniyah**

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Foreword

I am finally graduating from the University of Bergen! Though I have learned much during my time as a Master's student, I must admit that the writing of this thesis has not been an easy task. In the Autumn of 2008 I decided to take a break from my studies in order to become an intern within the field of human rights at a local NGO in Kurdistan. This was a difficult challenge, yet it gave me an insight into the problems NGO workers faces as they try to improve the situation. During the writing of this research I was often preoccupied with the concept of `academic freedom`, and whether the contents of my thesis could be offensive to particular groups. In order to mitigate against this it must be noted from the outset that I have sought only to produce a body of research, and not to criticise any groups or individual persons in Kurdistan. I am grateful to those workers who are trying to develop the country and I hope that one day I can also contribute.

During the production of this thesis I have been reliant on the kind help of others. I would firstly like to thank the informants who voluntarily shared their experiences with me; without them this thesis would not be possible! Secondly I must thank Dr. Khasraw Rashid, Ala Jabbarey and Dr. Albert Issa Safin for sharing their knowledge of the University of Suleimaniyah. I am grateful to my supervisor Thorvald Gran for his advice and dedication during the production of this thesis. Every time I turned to him for help he always stood up for me. I would also like to thank the PGI-research group (Politics, Governance and Innovation) for the scholarship which allowed me to conduct fieldwork in Kurdistan. I really appreciate the support from close friends, and I thank them for believing in me and cheering me up during hard times. Thanks are also due to those who have helped me with the language of this thesis.

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ChroBorhan, 5th of June 2009

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAUP – American Association of University Professors

DPS – Department of Political Science

FPS – Faculty of Political Science

HRW – Human Rights Watch

KDP – Kurdistan Democratic Party

KDPI – Kurdistan Democratic Party Iran

KNA – Kurdistan National Assembly

KRG – Kurdistan Regional Government

MHESR – Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

NGO – Non-governmental organisation

PKK – Kurdistan Workers Party

PUK – Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNSCOM – United Nations Special Commission

UoS – University of Suleimaniyah

US – United States of America

USA – United States of America

USIP – United States Institute of Peace

1.0 Introduction

Iraq and the northern region Kurdistan suffered for a long time under the dictatorship of the Baath regime led by Saddam Hussein. Beginning with the US invasion in March 2003 and continuing with its ongoing military operations, the Baath regime has been removed from power. Currently the country is going through a transitional period, with the end goal of establishing a stable democracy. While the global community attempts to establish security for the people, there is at the same time a great effort to build institutions which can oversee the transition to democracy. Although for the Iraqi and Kurdistan people the end point of this transition might seem a distant dream hiding behind the Zagros Mountain or drowning in the Tigris River, the dream is not unattainable.

I suggest that those institutions which promote learning are one of the most essential in the transitional process towards democracy. Learning is a fundamental human right, and as Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights points out;

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.”¹

Whilst I recognise that there are other important aspects to the transitional period in Iraq and Kurdistan, including oil politics, I have chosen to focus upon those institutions which promote learning, and especially universities. Indeed, whilst many researchers of the Middle-East explore its politics, domestic political mobilisation and oil resources, few have explored the situation at its universities and how this effects the transition to democracy. I became interested in the topic in 2003 when the media did little to cover the happenings at universities in Kurdistan and Iraq. Particularly, I became interested in a number of questions; Are the

¹ URL: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>, (23rd of May 2008, 15.22 pm).

universities influenced by politics and societal changes? How do they produce knowledge? What types of social interaction occur amongst university members?

The assumption behind these questions is that the possession of knowledge is important in order to succeed during the transition period in Iraq and Kurdistan. Indeed, in order to produce knowledge one must be free to pursue and distribute knowledge. ‘Academic freedom’ is therefore taken to be a necessary condition for the free pursuit of knowledge. Institutional autonomy is a condition where the university can govern itself with as little influence from political actors as is possible. Even though the Universal Declaration of human rights does not give the right to academic freedom, there is an important relationship between dictatorships and universities. As a dictatorship emerges the academic freedom and institutional autonomy of universities becomes threatened. As Connelly suggests; “*What seems to make the juxtaposition of dictatorship and university interesting is academic freedom: dictatorships destroy it, universities need it*” (Connelly in Connelly and Gruttner, 2005:2).

1.1 Delimitation and scope of the research

This thesis will explore the following research problem; “**how does the Faculty of Political Science cope with academic freedom and institutional autonomy?**” This will be investigated with reference to the literature surrounding ‘academic freedom’, institutional autonomy, expert organisation and natural system perspectives of organisations.

The word ‘cope’ has its origin in the old French ‘*coper*’ (to strike)². ‘To cope’, according to Webster’s Dictionary, is; “*1 to fight or contend (with) successfully or on equal terms. 2 to deal with problems, troubles, etc. 3 [Archaic] to meet, encounter, or have to do (with)...*” (Webster’s New World Dictionary page 306)³. A synonym of ‘cope’ is to ‘handle’, and whereas both can be done successfully or unsuccessfully. In this thesis I use ‘cope’ to refer to and explore how the Faculty of Political Science (FPS) at the University of Suleimaniyah (UoS) in Kurdistan manages academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

² This is found on page 216 in Soanes, Catherine and Hawker, Sara (edi.) (3rd edition 2005): “*Compact Oxford English Dictionary of Current English*”, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

³ This is found on page 306 in Neufeldt, Victoria and Guralnik, David B. (edi.) (3rd edition 1998): “*Webster’s New World Dictionary of American English*”, Webster’s New World Dictionaries (division of Simon & Schuster, Inc.), New York.

The research problem can be divided into three more specific parts;

1. How is the Faculty of Political Science organised? The data collected in order to answer this question will be categorised and analysed within the following theoretical framework; firstly the view of the organisation as an expert organisation and secondly the natural system perspective of organisations.
2. How and to what extent does this organisation secure academic freedom for its teachers and students? The data will be categorised according to the variables developed from the literature surrounding 'academic freedom', and shall be analysed within the theoretical framework outlined above.
3. What does the data indicate about the institutional autonomy of the Faculty of Political Science? Part of data will be categorised according to the variables selected from the literature surrounding institutional autonomy, and will be analysed within both a natural system and expert organisation perspective.

To be able to understand this organisation better, the three research questions each focus on different parts: 1.The organising of the Faculty of Political Science. 2. Academic freedom. 3. Institutional autonomy. The differentiation between academic freedom and institutional autonomy is as follows: 1. Academic freedom is embedded in teachers and students working conditions. 2. Institutional autonomy is embedded in the leadership`s working conditions and organisational governing patterns.

The variables selected are those which I consider to be the most important in researching academic freedom and institutional autonomy. My assumption is that in the way the FPS is organised impacts upon how the organisation manages 'academic freedom'. The extent to which academic freedom is secured for teachers and students will be used as secondary indicator. The third research question will allow a better understanding of how the FPS manages institutional autonomy. Together, these variables and indications shall enable this thesis to explore how the organisation in its entirety copes with academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 has introduced the scope of the research and has outlined the research questions.

Chapter two shall outline the theoretical framework by which the data shall be categorised and analysed. The variables selected reflect the most important aspects of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The discussion of organisation theory in this chapter provides a theoretical framework which will function as an analytical tool to analyse the FPS. In **chapter three** I discuss the methodology of the thesis, exploring the thesis as a case-study, the triangulation approach, research methods, and reliability and validity. Chapter **four** provides a historical overview of Iraq and Kurdistan which is to some extent used in the analysis of the FPS, and contributes to a better understanding of the FPS and the challenges it faces. Furthermore, the contemporary educational context and data about the UoS is also included in this chapter. The aim of chapter **five** is to answer the first research question; *How is the Faculty of Political Science organised?* The FPS is a part of the University of Suleimaniyah, which is a public sector university, and as such I have included data about the University. **Chapter six** shall explore the next two research questions; 1. *How and to what extent does this organisation secure academic freedom for its teachers and the students?* 2. *What does the data indicate about the institutional autonomy of the Faculty of Political Science?* The variables and the informants' answers to these are discussed in this part of the thesis. **Chapter seven** will focus on the main research problem; *How does the Faculty of Political Science cope with academic freedom and institutional autonomy?* In **Chapter eight** I shall summarise the major findings of the thesis.

2.0 Theoretical framework

To reconstruct the complex history of the university, academic freedom and institutional autonomy would be beyond the spatial constraints imposed on this thesis. Rather, the main focus and aim will be to establish what the concepts of academic freedom and institutional autonomy mean and upon which of their various aspects are the most important to focus. The variables are selected from the literature surrounding academic freedom and institutional autonomy and represent the most important aspects of these two concepts. The further analysis of the organisation, the FPS, its institutional autonomy and academic freedom will be analysed within the theoretical framework. The literature on organisation theory⁴ will function as analytical tool for analysing and categorising the data. The University of Suleimaniyah (UoS) is a public sector university, and demands from its environment can differ from those of private sector universities. The natural system perspective places emphasis upon the importance of the informal structure of an organisation. The interconnections among the organisational participants may form a pattern of informal structures which differ from the formal structure. This is a helpful analytical tool for understanding the inter-relational behaviour of the participants. Leadership, when seen in the context of an expert organisation, can be used to analyse the decisions to be taken by the leadership, its mobilisation of resources and the institutional autonomy of the Faculty.

2.1 Theory

Theory can be defined as *“as set of interrelated constructs (variables), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining natural phenomena”* (Kerlinger, 1979:64 quoted in Creswell, 2003: 120). According to this definition, theory is a set of interrelated constructs which will try to explain or predict phenomena by having a systematic view into what is under investigation (Creswell, 2003: 120). I shall use the discussion surrounding ‘theory’ in this chapter to select variables which shall not be used to predict phenomena but rather to describe them. Variables are *“a characteristic or attribute of an individual or an organization*

⁴ The field of organisation theory developed after 1945 but its roots can be traced to the work of Max Weber, F.W. Taylor and Henri Fayol. Organisation theory focuses on both private and public organisations and analyses the structures, cultures and processes of the organisation. It encompasses a broad set of subjects, including economics, political science, philosophy, sociology and, social anthropology (Fivelsdal in Østerud, 2007: 193-194).

that can be measured or observed and that varies among the people or organization being studied” (Cresswell, 2002 stated in Creswell, 2003: 93). In this thesis the variables are important aspects of the two concepts under study; academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Theory, in both quantitative and qualitative research, can be used to provide broad explanations of phenomena (Creswell, 2003: 131). As such, the remainder of this chapter shall be used to analyse and categorise the data.

2.2 The rise of the modern university

We can trace academic freedom’s early institutional roots to the rise of the new academics in Europe during the 17th and 18th century Enlightenment, but it is perhaps more associated with the rise of the universities in Prussia (Germany) in the 19th century (NIFU STEP 18/06: 8). At its most basic level ‘academic freedom’ has one core aspect to it. This basic principal springs from ‘*Freiheit der Wissenschaft*’ (freedom of science), the normative obligation and loyalty to science that shall be free to the pursuit of truth as its primary objective (NIFU STEP 18/06: 9-10). This idea of pursuing truth springs from the development of the modern university and is closely connected to the Humboldtian idea of the modern university at the beginning of the 19th century (Brandser, 2006: 27). It can therefore be argued that the idea of the university as research institution was a German contribution (Metzger, 1955: 95).

Wilhelm von Humboldt strongly opposed the utilitarian demand for ‘*Ausbildung*’; that is, the idea that education should benefit the whole of society and that the aim should be to train good, productive and obedient citizens. The Prussian state did not consider the growth of individuals, but rather put emphasis on making them obedient (Brandser, 2006: 27-33). Inspired partly by Rousseau but mostly by ancient Greek civilisation, Von Humboldt argued in favour of ‘*Bildung*’ (self-formation). His neo-humanistic approach focused on persons taking part in an educational and cultivation process, a situation in which a person, by “*striving for creative and intellectual profundity*” – could develop a relationship “*where the state and the person were not in conflict, but joined in civic responsibility*” (Brandser, 2006: 28). This meant that it was not necessary to try to educate the student in such a manner as to make them as obedient as soldiers should be in the military, but rather to make room for the process where the individual would develop himself fully and change the relationship with the state in a more harmonic way. Humboldt argued that it could even make it possible that “*both the state and the individual could expand and complement one another*” (Brandser, 2006: 28).

To obtain this, Humboldt firstly prescribed that there should be almost no state interference in both lower educational and university matters, and full freedom for the individual to pursue this self-formation. Secondly, it was important to lay a path that could secure “*the free interchange of individuals by forming new social bonds*” (Brandser, 2006: 29). The former gave full freedom to the individual whilst the latter made it possible to interact voluntarily with others. Yet whilst Humboldt did not want state interference, he also suggested that universities should be financed by the state (Brandser, 2006:29).

Although Humboldt argued for both minimum intervention in university matters and freedom from the state and religion, education was at last regarded as a utility for “*cultivating obedient servants*” (Brandser, 2006: 35). Some critics claim that the concept of ‘Bildung’ was misconduct when education became institutionalised. The institutionalisation of education “*was seen as providing a solid basis for creating a consolidated nation of moral men and good citizens*” (Brandser 2006: 35).

Related to the concept of ‘Freiheit der Wissenschaft’, academic freedom also gave room to two other types of freedoms which have come to be known as the classical understandings of academic freedom⁵. ‘Lernfreiheit’ (learning freedom) refers to the students’ freedom to choose the courses they want and the university at which they will study (NIFU STEP 18/06: 9). As such, ‘lernfreiheit’ refers to “*the absence of administrative coercion in the learning situation*” (Metzger, 1955: 112). In this approach the student is looked upon as both an individual and an adult able to make their own decisions. Still, the concept had a patriotic value in the sense that the student was entitled to ‘Lernfreiheit’ on the basis that they had finished “*Gymnasium*” (high-school) and arrived on the “*man’s estate*” (Metzger, 1955: 113).

‘Lehrfreiheit’ (teaching freedom) refers to the professor’s freedom to teach and do research without asking for permission or being afraid of punishment from the state (NIFU STEP 18/06: 9). This was to be applied strictly to professors inside the university. He, as the student, had the same right of non-administrative coercion or interference in the learning process. He could decide the syllabus, teaching style and the subjects on which he wanted to give lectures based on his own research or interests, and not as a duty based on decisions not made by him.

⁵ A direct translation of academic freedom to German language (“*akademische Freiheit*”), was not a part of the understanding of academic freedom during 19th century Germany, but as described as the classical “*Lernfreiheit*” and “*Lehrfreiheit*”.(Connelly in Connelly and Gruttner, 2005: 2-3).

The professor was entitled to conduct research and present findings the way he wanted to. This also represented a patriotic symbol, as the professor was distinguished “*from the ordinary civil servant*” (Metzger, 1955: 113).

Among many of the problems provided by this understanding of academic freedom was the limitation that academic freedom be held inside the university. Professors` political activities were not supported outside the university campus. Though there were debates about the freedom of expression as `Lernfreiheit` and `Lehrfreiheit` to some extent encompasses, it was strictly limited to activities inside the university and not activities in the civil sphere (Metzger, 1955: 114-116). Even though the German universities were state institutions relying on national budgets, the dean of the faculty and the rector of the university were elected by the internal professional unit, and “*the nomination of professors were powers enjoyed by the faculty*” (Metzger, 1955: 111-112).

Metzger argued that, due to the rise of the nation state in the 19th century, this freedom was a right strictly framed inside the university and one which balanced the lack of political freedom (Metzger, 1955: 113-114). The romantic era of national consciousness in Germany placed an emphasis upon academic freedom. Even before this era, the Prussian Constitution of 1850 declared that “*science and its teaching shall be free*” (Metzger, 1955: 111), laying a path for this autonomy within the university. Still, it was a fairly limited freedom. Metzger points out that the university was dependent upon the Ministry of Education, and that the institutions had many autocratic features. Though academic freedom blossomed in 19th century German universities, Metzger raises doubts over whether in any period before the Nazi regime the universities had “*ever truly been free*” (Metzger, 1955: 109).

2.3 Academic freedom in the USA

In describing the historical development of academic freedom in the US, Fuchs suggests there to be three foundational developments;

“(1) *the philosophy of intellectual freedom, which originated in Greece, arose again in Europe, especially under the impact of the Renaissance, and came to maturity in the Age of Reason.*

(2) *the idea of autonomy for communities of scholars, which arose in the universities of Europe.*

(3) the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the federal constitution as elaborated by the courts” (Fuchs in George, 1997: 136-137).

Even though the classical understanding can be traced back to the rise of the modern “Humboldtian” universities in Germany, this historical development continues in the US. The German influence on American universities and intellectuals was enormous, and according to Metzger, in the 19th century there were more than nine thousand Americans studying at German universities (Metzger, 1955: 93). At the beginning of the following century, with the establishment of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in 1915, the idea of academic freedom took a new form (Connelly in Connelly and Gruttner, 2005: 2-3). The AAUP was established because many academic scholars feared the many dismissals taking place in the US (Fuchs in George, 1997: 141).

Developments in America turned this understanding into the concept of professional academic freedom. This freedom grants the *“rights to professors to be free from the employer interference in research, teaching, and intramural and extramural utterance”* (Hamilton, 1995: 159). With pressure from the AAUP and other associations, this American tradition of academic freedom was to help achieve the main purposes of the university: the production of knowledge, the promotion of scientific inquiry and a professional advisorship role to wider society (Hamilton, 1995: 164). In the opening declaration of the AAUP three major elements were defined as the core of professional academic freedom; *“... (1) freedom of inquiry and research; (2) freedom of teaching within the university; and (3) freedom of extramural utterance and action.”* (Hamilton, 1995: 164) These were *“necessary for scholars to perform their functions within the larger purpose of the university”* (Hamilton, 1995: 164).

The universities were to serve the public interest by *“(1) promoting inquiry and advancing the sum of human knowledge; (2) providing general instruction for the students; and (3) developing experts to advise government and the community on the solution of problems”* (Hamilton, 1995: 163). The opening declaration did not distinguish between private and public institutions and was applied to higher education institutions in general. By ensuring that the professor was entitled to professional academic freedom, professors were granted the freedom of inquiry, research, teaching and extramural utterance and action without sanctions or interference from lay boards of trustees (Hamilton, 1995: 163). While the German tradition of academic freedom emphasised how to organise the special freedom of *‘Lernfreiheit’* and

‘Lehrfreiheit’ under the bureaucracy of the state, the American tradition emphasised the organisation of the freedom of professors without interference from trustees (NIFU STEP 18/06: 9). The individual professor was to serve the purpose of the university. Beyond the responsibility of the individual professor “*the faculty as a collegial body has correlative duties to defend academic freedom and to enforce the duties to be met by individual professors*” (Hamilton, 1995: 159).

The AAUP’s statement of 1940 on academic freedom and tenure defined academic freedom as;

Academic Freedom

1. Teachers are entitled to full freedom in research and in the publication of the results, subject to the adequate performance of their other academic duties; but research for pecuniary return should be based upon an understanding with the authorities of the institution.

2. Teachers are entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject, but they should be careful not to introduce into their teaching controversial matter which has no relation to their subject.[2] Limitations of academic freedom because of religious or other aims of the institution should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the appointment.[3]

3. College and university teachers are citizens, members of a learned profession, and officers of an educational institution. When they speak or write as citizens, they should be free from institutional censorship or discipline, but their special position in the community imposes special obligations. As scholars and educational officers, they should remember that the public may judge their profession and their institution by their utterances. Hence they should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others, and should make every effort to indicate that they are not speaking for the institution.[4]

(The AAUP: 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure with 1970 Interpretive Comments).

Importantly, this statement provides new limits on academic freedom, suggesting it to be a freedom based on ethical stands which instruct scholars to behave and act appropriately according to their status as scholars. Paragraph (3) gives teachers the right to speak and write as citizens outside the university, and in doing so suggests that they should not be punished by the educational institution of their profession. They are obliged to remember that they are professionals and therefore that they should always clearly note that they are speaking on their own behalf, and not on behalf of the higher educational institution. In contrast to the AAUP statement of 1915, the 1940 statement is much more limited in the sense that the right to academic freedom is clearly placed within limits. At that time, some critics have claimed that

these new limitations may have hindered the pursuit of knowledge and truth (Hamilton, 1995: 169).

Before 1968, a common standard for the Constitutional protection of the freedom of expression for professors employed in public higher education institutions was not in place.. The American courts eventually “*developed a constitutional doctrine to protect the university and individual professor from interference and coercion by federal, state, or local government*” (Hamilton, 1995: 159-160).

It is notable that in 1968 the academic freedom of the student had not yet been introduced into the American system. However, with the beginning of the student revolts at the University of Berkeley, the student became subject to inclusion into the concept of academic freedom. At the beginning of the Vietnam War students were not allowed to be involved in activities that were driven by critics of the US government. Freedom of speech was determined by political causes and even the faculty or the university did not defend free speech, nor had the universities the capacity to insure that freedom of speech was upheld (Downs, 2005: 3-8). Downs claims that the administration at Berkeley was not the real threat against academic freedom as there were few free speech code conflicts. The actual threats against free speech arose from “... *“progressive social censorship” in the public forum- meaning pressure from individual or groups outside of government or official institutions in the name of progressive causes, such as the shouting down of speakers, intimidation, threats, the thefts of publications, and even burglary*” (Downs, 2005: 107).

This is not to say, however, that free speech movements were not to be found before the 1960s. The University of Wisconsin at Madison has a long history of professors and students fighting for academic freedom dating from the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, the university as a institution has often resisted pressure from trustees to “*deny radical student groups` official standing...*” (Downs, 2005: 191).

In the late 1980s the controversy surrounding ‘academic freedom’ took a new form; it became an issue of equal academic rights for both genders and for the right to academic freedom regardless of race. Even though most agreed upon non- discriminatory policies, the fact was that there were several students and student organisations with ongoing activities implying racism and discrimination. In order to counter these groups Donna Shalala introduced “*The*

Madison Plan, which “was an effort to improve the campus climate through a variety of programs...”(Downs, 2005:195). The plan at a later time also suggested new policies regarding discrimination “on the basis of race, color, creed, sexual orientation, disability, national origin, and ancestry” (Shalala p.19 stated in Downs, 2005: 107).

The three major AAUP statements of 1915, 1940 and 1970 on academic freedom were all made in the context of US war participation. Whenever US national security has been seen to be under threat, new policies regarding academic freedom have been adopted, including from 2001 when the US began its “war on terrorism”.. “*The USA Patriotic Act policy*” placed several restrictions upon academic freedom within US universities. “*These official regulations are accompanied by campaign in society to monitor the patriotism of academic personnel and to press for the elimination of forms and practices of inquiry that are perceived to weaken national security*” (Report of the Task Force on Academic Freedom, 2004: 12). Among these new restrictions was the prevention of individuals from participating in laboratory experiments which involve items used in bio- terrorism. The regulations suggest that up to 25 different nationalities may participate in laboratory activities at the same time, but as the regulations are solely based on origin they threaten academic freedom. It has been noted that students from various origins have had problems entering the US after returning from fieldwork abroad. Some other regulations are directly connected to this thesis. The new policy on academic freedom had “ *support in the United States Congress against area studies programs and related forms of inquiry that are alleged to foster intellectual sympathy in the form of “understanding” for radical or terrorist activities*” (Report of the Task Force on Academic Freedom, 2004: 13).

2.4 John Searle on academic freedom

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the understanding of academic freedom and its definitions and conceptualisations are both complex and numerous. Searle has also pointed out that “*the literature tends to be polemical and historical rather than theoretical*” (Searle, 1972: 169). Searle’s contribution on academic freedom is based upon both his experience of the campus war at the University of California Berkeley in 1959, and his role as a chairman of the University Senate Academic Freedom Committee. Searle was also one of the first leaders of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley (Searle, 1972: 1 and 169).With his description of

both the special and general theory of academic freedom Searle attempts to capture the entire scope of academic freedom (Searle, 1972: 169).

The Special Theory

This theory derives from the classical understanding of academic freedom `Lehrfreiheit` and `Lernfreiheit`, “*and the heart of any theory of academic freedom, is that professors should have the right to teach, conduct research, and publish their research without interference, and that students should have the corresponding right to study and learn*” (Searle, 1972: 170). These rights are furthermore based on the theoretical basis of the university; where the aim is to serve the community by producing knowledge. As Searle puts this: “*the university is an institution designed for the advancement and dissemination of knowledge*” (Searle, 1972: 170). Searle also emphasises that these rights are not general human rights, “*they are special rights that derive from particular institutional structures, which are created by quite specific sets of constitutive rules*” (Searle, 1972: 170).

This institutional theory validates these rights based on a theory of knowledge. The epistemology which underlies these special rights “*requires an account of the methodological and rationalistic assumption behind the modern conception of science and scholarship*” (Searle, 1972: 171). Searle argues that the theory of the university is based upon the concept of rationality where “*knowledge is most likely to be advanced through free inquiry, and that claims to knowledge can only be validated as knowledge – as opposed to dogma or speculations – by being subjected to the tests of free inquiry*” (Searle, 1972: 171).

Derived from these special rights and the underlying epistemological theory, it gives the professor a special status within the university. He is in position to conduct research and to teach it and re-evaluate it with reference to his own knowledge and competence (Searle, 1972: 171).

It can be fruitful, in those countries where civil society is not free, to have the university as an institutional sanctuary for practising general civil rights (Altbach, 2001 referred to in NIFU STEP 18/06: 16). But as mentioned, this theory did not include general civil rights such as freedom of association and free speech. The professor and the student are not entitled to be politically active in their society for their main mission is to produce knowledge so that they

can benefit society in purely scientific matters. Searle gives the example of a physicist, who because of his participation in the opposite political party to the trustees of the university, is fired. Is this a violation of his academic freedom or are there special rights attributable to academic freedom? The challenge is that this wrongful dismissal cannot be argued to be a violation of his academic freedom based upon the special theory. Similarly, neither `Lernfreiheit` nor `Lehrfreiheit` included freedom of political involvement, activities and associations (Searle, 1972: 172-174).

The General Theory

When academic freedom came to be discussed in America it generated new understandings of the concept given the new societal and university context. The new context expanded the classical understanding to also include general civil rights. Searle defines the basic principle of this theory to be “*that professors and students have the same rights of free expression, freedom of inquiry, freedom of association, and freedom of publication in their roles as professors and students that they have as citizens in a free society, except in so far as the mode of exercise of these freedoms needs to be restricted to preserve the academic and subsidiary functions of the university*” (Searle, 1972: 175). The special theory justified these freedoms as desirable within the institutional domain. On the other hand, the general theory expands academic freedom to include general societal rights. In this sense, it is a theory that is more attuned to the relationship between man and society. The general theory justifies these rights according to the underlying assumption that “*intellectual freedoms [ought] to be desirable for society*” (Searle, 1972: 176).

When the general theory includes both the same rights afforded by the special theory and those outlined above, it gives professor and student the same rights as any other citizen in society both inside and outside university. This means that freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of inquiry and freedom of publications are rights which both professors and students may enjoy inside the university as well as outside. Moreover, when these rights are practiced academics should not be punished by either the university, state or other groups in society. The state should not interfere with the freedom of citizens in society, and therefore they should not interfere with the freedom of a professor, regardless of whether he is a political scientist or a physicist or indeed even if he is involved in a political party opposed to the ruling party. As such, neither professor nor student should be sanctioned in terms of legal

or informal sanctions (Searle, 1972: 176). This may include being fired from the university, salary adjustments, or informal internal sanctions from the leadership or other members of the faculty.

These rights, however, exist within a framework of restrictions which are embedded in the theory of the university. The professor is not allowed to either misuse his own rights or violate the academic rights of the student in the classroom for the advantage of his own political agenda. The same implies to students. The student cannot talk as much as the professor unless the professor gives permission, because the professor is entitled to be the leader of the classroom. They are both free to use the campus area to proclaim their political agenda, but not the classroom. Even if the general theory is extended to also take into consideration their rights as citizens, it is still under the idea of what a university is and what it can do. Therefore rights and freedoms, like those of other citizens, are only one among a number of aspects which make-up the general theory; the other aspect is that institutional embedding is for the purpose of free scientific inquiry and the role of scholars. When the activities of professors or students violate the main purpose of the university, the sanctions from the university will be acknowledged as lawful. These restrictions are also included to separate the university from other areas of society (Searle, 1972: 176-177). *“This gives us the sorts of regulation of the right of students and faculty that are necessary to keep the university from turning into Trafalgar Square...”* (Searle, 1972: 177).

Some classical authors on academic freedom claim that students do not even have the right of academic freedom in the sense that they are only students in a setting where the purpose is to achieve an education.. In the general theory the academic rights of the students are extended; *“... he has the rights of a citizen of a free society, except in so far as those rights are restricted and regulated by the educational objectives of the institution”* (Searle, 1972: 179-180).

Both theories emphasise rationality and knowledge, and they both place the right to free expression and free inquiry at the core of the concept of academic freedom, connecting them together *“to claims to truth in that both claim that free inquiry is necessary to validate claims to truth”* (Searle, 1972: 180).

2.5 Other theoretical reasoning for academic freedom

Searle's theory of academic freedom relies upon a particular epistemology, but there are other theoretical frameworks which deserve mention, specifically Robert Merton's theory of ethos. Within this normative-sociological frame, through which we distinguish scientific activity from other social activities, we see the norms and the conditions upon which they operate. While scientific activities are very regulative in the sense that they operate on established normative foundations, other societal and institutional activities do not have these same normative bases (NIFU STEP, 18/06: 16).

2.6 The Rights and Obligations of Academic Freedom

Edward Shils describes the existence of academic freedom as being "... *where academic persons (i.e., persons who are members of academic institutions) are free to perform their academic obligations (i.e., the actions to which they are committed to perform by virtue of their being members of academic bodies)* (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 2). In Shils's view academic freedom is a combination of freedoms and obligations. This means that academic freedom exists when the members of academic institutions are free to perform their academic obligations. We therefore have to investigate what kind of rights this freedom implies and which obligations are included as their academic tasks.

The individual academic is not entitled to decide his or her own distribution of time at the academic institution if he has not been given this decisional power by the university. He must make this decision through the collective body of his institution (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 2-8). For example: the number of teaching hours is dependent on the number of hours granted to the specific subject or on the number of subjects for which the teacher is responsible.

University academics are obligated to teach and conduct research. This means that academic freedom is not the freedom to do whatever one wishes. The academic has obligations and "*the freedom to do academic things: to teach the truth as they see it on the basis of prolonged and intensive study, to discuss their ideas freely with their colleagues, to publish the truth as they have arrived at it by systematic methodical research and assiduous analyses*" (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 3). A teacher whose specialism is biology cannot claim to have fulfilled his role if he gives lectures about the political system in Norway during his biology classes.

The university is obliged to appoint suitable candidates for teaching and to drive research according to candidate academic qualifications; not on the basis of interests, kinship or preferences (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 3). Different countries have different ways of appointing university staff. If a person is not appointed based on their gender, ethnicity, interests or other non-academic qualifications and orientations, when he or she is both qualified and of great necessity for the quality of the academic institution, this constitutes an infringement on academic freedom. Shils gives the example of the small number of socialist and Jewish professors in German universities before World-War 2 (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 8).

“A discovery is not complete until it is published and has entered into the body of collectively shared knowledge” (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 8). This suggests that publishing is an extension of research, and that research is not completed until it is published. This does not mean that academics have the right to publish anything they choose; there are strict criteria for pertaining to the intellectual quality of manuscripts. Violations against the freedom to publish occur when the publisher or the editor is given instructions, directly or indirectly and formally or informally, to not publish authors` manuscript on the grounds of political censorship, ethnicity, religion or gender (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 8-9).

Shils also categorises some infringements on academic freedom as pre-emptive and punitive. Prime examples of pre-emptive infringements are the loyalty oaths academics were required to sign under both the Fascist regime in Italy and the McCarthy presidency of the 1950s. Shils argues that loyalty oaths do not necessarily mean a direct infringement on academic freedom, but that many academics refused these oaths because *“They were offensive to the dignity of the academic profession because they intimidated it,...”*(Shils in Altbach, 1991: 10). Other examples of pre-emptive infringements are political policies which forbid some subjects to be admitted to universities, and those which specify themes that shall not be researched (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 9). Sanctions such as unfair dismissal, censure, imprisonment and violence against academics are more punitive infringements on academic freedom given that they are designed to create fear among academics (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 10).

Academic freedom also includes the political freedom of academics, both inside and outside the university. According to Shils, the political freedom within the campus is the freedom *“...of the teacher’s own political, economic, and social beliefs in teaching where these beliefs pertain to the subject matters that are to be properly expounded in classes within the*

university or in books, articles, and other forms of publications and where the teacher makes clear that his exposition of his political or ethical views is distinct from his analysis of the facts or his exposition of a theory about those facts” (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 4). Political freedoms outside of the university campus include freedom of association and political activities and also representation in political parties. Criminal activities or those activities prohibited by law do not fall under the protection of academic freedom (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 4).

2.7 Human rights and academic freedom

It is within the frame of universal human rights that the even greater expansion of academic freedom takes place. Human Rights Watch – Committee of academic freedom and UN entities such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) suggest that academic freedom acts as a bridge between knowledge and national development. The expansion encompasses other widely accepted human rights such as freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of opinion and the right to education. The diversity of universal human rights attends to all basic human needs.

Though human rights and their links to academic freedom are important for the development of society, the two are different in regard to who has access to these rights. *“The distinction being indicated here is one between the “freedoms from” and “freedoms to”. Where general human rights are upheld, all adults may be free from constraints on their academic freedom, but not all are free to exercise academic freedom, because many lack the support or the ability to do so”* (Tight in Tight, 1988: 125). Educational institutions can act like other institutions in that they reflect the societal context and can be influenced to include oppressive policies from other oppressive institutions. Tight suggests that how academic freedom is practiced may lead to the unfair distribution and under representation of some groups within the university, such as women, ethnic minorities and supporters of Marxism (Tight in Tight, 1988: 125).

The UNESCO recommendation (11th November 1997) concerning the status of higher education is solely aimed at teaching personnel. This recommendation defines what kind of rights are included, particularly recognising that teaching personnel *“...should enjoy those internationally recognized civil, political, social and cultural rights applicable to all citizen”*

(Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel, UNESCO, 11th November 1997). This means that teaching personnel should enjoy the same civil, political, social and cultural rights as ordinary citizens. As such, the recommendation is more extensive than even Searle's general theory of academic freedom. It is a normative statement, but is expanded so that teaching personnel are free to *"fulfil their functions without discrimination of any kind and without fear of repression by the state or any other source"* (Ibid).

UNESCO has conducted surveys about the current state of academic freedom in different countries, including Latin American countries such as Columbia, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Jamaica and Honduras. The researchers utilised three main variables within their study:

"1.- Teacher participation. The variable considered the level of participation of teachers in elections of university authorities.

2.- Teacher autonomy. This variable concerns the amount of freedom that teachers enjoy in the classroom and in research.

3.- Working conditions of teachers. This variable focuses on the degree of job stability of teachers" (Gòmez/UNESCO, 2005).

This survey is based not only on professors' academic freedom but also that of teachers'. As such, all staff members responsible for teaching are also deemed to have academic freedom. The first variable implies a democratic self-election of the leadership of the university and is meant to strengthen democracy within the university. The second variable is the teachers' freedom to conduct research without limitations. This is important because in some church-sponsored universities values, guidelines and restrictions have been imposed on academic research. The third variable relates to the degree of job stability in the teaching profession based on the current job-market situation, tenures, contracts and full-time or part-time appointments (Gòmez/UNESCO, 2005).

2.8 HRW- the Committee of Academic Freedom

Human Rights Watch (HRW) appointed a committee to examine academic freedom in different countries, with the specific aim of examining violations against such freedoms and to act against them. The main aims of the academic freedom committee are; *" to monitor, expose, and mobilize concerted action to challenge threats to academic freedom worldwide,*

and to foster greater scholarly and media attention to the critical role played by institutions of higher education in the promotion of human rights and the development and preservation of civil society.”⁶

A definition of academic freedom is to be found in the committee’s report on the repression of academic freedom in Egyptian universities. The HRW defines academic freedom as giving; *“... members of the academic community the right to conduct and participate in educational activities without arbitrary interference from state authorities or private individuals or groups, including popular political, religious, or other social movements. It is a broad principle that protects the professors and students and applies to the complete range of academic pursuits – formal and informal, inside and outside the classroom and beyond.”⁷* This wide definition is closely linked to universal human rights and freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and the right to education. It is important to note that this definition is framed so as to be useful Egyptian context, nevertheless it is wide enough that it can also be used in other countries.

2.9 The variables of academic freedom

The variables which are selected in this section are considered to be the most important aspects in regard to research on academic freedom. I have investigated what kind of rights this freedom implies and how these relate to their main academic obligations. This broad consideration of academic freedom is important given that it reduces the risk that we exclude important variables. If we examine a narrower understanding which is limited to only the academic freedom of the professor or student, the research will be unable to explore fully academic freedom within the FPS. Although in early theories of academic freedom civil rights were not included, I have found it necessary to do so in this study given that these are societal rights which ought to be guaranteed within universities.

1. Freedom of research	Are members free to conduct scientific inquiry?
2. Freedom of research topic	Are members free to choose research topics?
3. Freedom of methodology	Are members free to choose their methodology?
4. Freedom of teaching	Are teachers free to choose how they want to teach? (this variable is addressed only to those with teaching

⁶URL: <http://www.hrw.org/advocacy/academic/index.htm>, (23rd of May 2008).

⁷URL: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/egypt0605/4.htm>, (23rd of May 2008).

	responsibility)
5. Freedom of publishing within the university	Are faculty members free to publish within the university without influence or sanctions from authorities, the academic community or society?
Civil rights inside the university - 6.1 Freedom of expression 6.2 Freedom association	Do the members have the freedom of expression within the university campus? Do faculty members have freedom of association within the university campus?
Extramural utterance and activities- 7.1 Freedom of expression 7.2 Freedom of association 7.3 Freedom of publishing	Do the faculty members have freedom of expression outside the university? Do faculty members have freedom of association outside the university campus? Are they free to publish outside the university without influence or sanctions from authorities, the academic community or society?

Figure 2.1 The variables of academic freedom

2.10 Institutional autonomy and academic freedom

Institutional autonomy is sometimes claimed to be the same as academic freedom, yet Shils emphasises that it is not. Even though the two can occur independently, in modern times they have been closely linked together (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 5-6) and some contributors discuss them as if they were the same. Tight, however, differs between them; “*Academic freedom relates to academics, that is to individuals, whereas institutional autonomy relates to institutions, their employers*” (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123). Shils defines university autonomy as; “... *the freedom of the university as a corporate body from interference by the state or by a church or by the power of any other corporate body, private or public, or by any individual such as regular, a politician, government official, ecclesiastical official, publicist, or businessman. It is the freedom for members of the university, acting in a representative capacity and not as individuals, to make decisions about the affairs of the university*”(Shils in Altbach, 1991: 6). This definition refers to those members of the university in decision making positions, but suggests that these decisions must be made without interference from authorities or any other public or private individuals or groups. In this sense decisions must rather be made by a representative body for the academic institution.

Wolff suggests that the “real acts” of a university consist in the process of teaching and research; combining the two and putting them into reality (Wolff in Neave, 2000: 197-198). Academic autonomy is therefore related to these tasks. The right to perform these tasks freely and independently is a right the university body can claim. “*In the presence of academic*

autonomy, together with its scope, the university must be treated as an independent body, capable of action. Hence is it aware of its rights and thus deciding which courses of action may, can and must be undertaken. ... At the same time, university action seeks to preserve itself as a system, e.i. to ensure the perpetuation of its activity. The existence and survival of a university secured by a constant exchange of information, energy and resources between the university and the outside world” (Wolff in Neave, 2000: 198). The university must on the one hand understand the importance of performing its main tasks, whilst on the other it must also relate to the external environment and transfer important resources so that it can survive as an organisation.

Many infringements on individual academic freedoms are made by the collegial body, and not always by the authorities, interest groups, or individuals outside the university or the faculty. Therefore individual academic freedom can, strictly said, appear without institutional autonomy, but still “...it may be, as Rendel points out, a necessary but not a sufficient condition” (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123). The opposite position suggests that institutional autonomy may also appear without academic freedom, in the sense that the authorities can grant a great deal of autonomy to the leadership of the university and its faculties, even if individual academic freedom for teachers and students is not granted, legalised or practised as a consequence of academic freedom as a norm inside the university, or society (Tight in Tight, 1988: 122-124 and Shils in Altbach, 1991: 5-7). Changes in the university system over time have had different influences on their institutional autonomy. Historically, in the Western part of the world, the state or the church has granted universities the right to give degrees and diplomas to their students by showing their qualification in science. Sometimes the state or the church has determined which subjects should be available at the universities, the admission criteria for students and the recruitment of higher education staff members (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 5-7).

These practises differ from one country to the other and have changed over time. Tight gives the example of the British university system. In its early years universities were owned by private individuals or “*privately owned corporations of scholars*” (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123). They were granted support and power by the state or the church, and as a consequence the leadership was in position to grant individual academic freedom. In the 1960s and 1970s, when the universities became more and more dependent upon public financing, the caution on individual academic freedom became less and less important. The main stress was that

universities work as independently as possible and without interference from the state, though they were part of the state as the university became publicly financed (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123-124). “...where institutional autonomy is virtually non-existent, as in centrally planned economies, academic freedom is less likely to exist or be maintained. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that while it is possible to have academic freedom without institutional autonomy, and vice-versa, the two concepts tend to be mutually supporting and it is desirable that both should be encouraged if each is to flourish” (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123). Shils focuses on the internal affairs of the university as the core of university autonomy and divides internal affairs into two aspects: “one is the institutional pattern of university government and the other is the decisions made by those internal institutions” (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 7).

In this section, university autonomy and institutional autonomy are defined as being the same, and with the same content in the sense that both are focusing upon the governing patterns of universities and faculties, and the autonomy of the leaders of such organisations to decide freely upon internal affairs. Therefore, it should not be misunderstood that I consider the FPS to be an institution when researching on institutional autonomy. This study is divided between the individual academic freedom of teachers and students, and the institutional autonomy which is the leaders` working conditions and the organisational patterns of the FPS. The variable which I shall use is selected from the discussion from institutional autonomy. I consider this to be the most important aspect in regard to research on institutional autonomy. A discussion of how to define “internal affairs” is not necessary at this point, given that I shall discuss this in the analysis chapter on academic freedom and institutional autonomy, where I shall specify the internal affairs of the FPS.

1.Decision making about the internal affairs of the organisation	Is the leadership entitled to make decision about the internal affairs of the FPS? What influences the leadership’s autonomy? What are the most important internal affairs of the FPS?
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Figure 2.2 The variable on institutional autonomy

2.11 Public and private organisations

The UoS is a public sector university. In what follows I shall clarify the three major differences between private and public organisations: 1.Public organisations have to take into consideration a boarder range of interests than private organisations. The objectives and

values which need to be considered are numerous, .examples include legal aspects and the values of the community. 2. Leaders in public organisations are responsible for citizen welfare whilst those in private organisations have responsibility to a specific group. 3. There are more demands placed upon public organisations in terms of accountability, receptiveness, predictability and openness (Christensen et al, 2004: 14).

In the field of organisation theory there has been opposition to the view that there are major fundamental differences between private and public organisations. Some suggest that knowledge production should cut across both types of organisations and that objectives and size are much more influential than the formal differentiation between the organisations. The reform of New Public Management into the public sector in Norway during the last 20 years has tried to make the public sector learn from private organisation models and management forms, and to reduce the differences between them (Christensen et al, 2004: 15).

2.12 Power and politics

The concepts of ‘power’ and ‘politics’ can be related to a situation where disagreement among the organisational participants about what are or should be the settled goals and the means to reach them in the organisation (Hatch, 2001: 310). Robert Dahl defines power as in a situation where “*A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do*” (Dahl, 1957: 203 quoted in Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006: 254). This can be transferred to all levels of analysis; individual, organisational and societal. This definition suggests that power is something that exists not within a person but rather exists in the process of interaction between actors: power is therefore ‘relational’ (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006: 254). Universities are arenas for politics and this is highly evident at the FPS. The internal organising, decision making, the mobilisation of scarce resources and power distribution are amongst their many activities.

2.13 Natural system perspective

The definition provided by the natural system perspective suggests that; “*Organizations are collectivities whose participants are pursuing multiple interests, both disparate and common, but who recognize the value of perpetuating the organization as an important resource. The informal structure of relations that develops among the participants is more influential in*

guiding the behaviour of participants than is the formal structure” (Scott, 2003: 28). This perspective suggests that organisations are not different from other social collectivities and whilst not rejecting formal organisational attributes, suggests that *“characteristics shared with all social groups – are of greater significance”* (Scott, 2003: 56).

The rational system perspective emphasise that organisations are constructed to seek and achieve goals; *“...the rational system theorists conceive of organizations as collectivities deliberately constructed to seek specific goals...”* (Scott, 2003: 56). It outlines the relative high goal specificity and formalisations, and suggests that the combination of these is what distinguishes organisations from other social groups like families and communities (Scott and Davis, 2007: 29). The impact of formal structures on participants is limited from a natural system perspective, which rather suggests that these are *“...are greatly affected – supplemented, eroded, transformed – by the emergence of informal structures”* (Scott, 2003: 59). Though the natural system perspective recognises the formal structures of organisations, it does not necessarily mean that job descriptions, formal positions or rules guide the behaviour of organisational participants. On contrary, it emphasises that informal structures and interpersonal relations are those which guide the behaviour of participants (Scott, 2003: 27-28). Participants bring their own sets of values, norms and interests to organisations, and hence informal structures are formed as a consequence of the interactions between participants (Scott, 2003: 59). Social structure is one element of organisations, and from this perspective social structure is not purely a formal one visible through hierarchical formal structures, but is also informally structured by the interactions of participants (Scott, 2003: 59). This does not mean that the informal structure is not structured, but rather that *“Participants within formal organizations generate informal norms and behaviour patterns: status and power systems, communication networks, sociometric structures, and working arrangements”* (Scott, 2003 59).

When viewed from this perspective ‘goal complexity’ is also another important attribute to organisations. Goals are much more diffuse, and even multiple, because the informal structures are the actual behavioural structures of participants, rather than what they ought to do from a normative stand (Scott, 2003: 27-28). The *“... participants appear as motivated by their own interests and seek to impose these on the organization”* (Scott, 2003: 28). The natural system perspective pays more attention to the informal structures of the organisation and hence makes it difficult to characterise the organisational goals. This perspective outlines

two characteristics of organisational goals. The first is the discussion between the real and stated goals that organise the actions and behaviour of the participants. The second emphasises that the organisation must seek additional goals. This means that the support the organisation gains by pursuing these additional goals will help to maintain the organisation (Scott, 2003: 57). Still, when organisations are viewed as natural systems, that is, as social collectivities, the ultimate goal is survival (Scott, 2003: 57).

Within this perspective there are two differentiating views of what social order is based upon. The first suggests that social order is based on social consensus amongst participants. The second suggests, in a direct contrast to the first, that we should focus on social conflict (Scott, 2003: 28). The first view argues that “...organizational stability and continuity reflect the existence of cooperative behaviour and shared norms and values” (Scott, 2003: 28). By contrast, the second view suggests that social order is based on the “...suppression of some interests by others. Order results not from consensus, but from coercion, the dominance of weaker by more powerful groups” (Scott, 2003: 28).

2.14 Expert organisations

Leaders face challenges all the time, and the way they deal with these are important for the survival of the organisation. Torodd Strand (2001) has mapped out five different organisational types as a context for leadership. He presents many different factors that may influence the leaders of organisations. The leadership can be seen within a context because their actions and decision making within these organisations types differs from one another. These organisations can be separated with a view to exploring their construction, working process, coordination mechanisms, the type of assignments they work on and how they relate to the external environment (Strand, 2001: 28).

This classification draw lines on two basic dimensions; the horizontal dimension reflects the leaders and the organisations orientation within the system versus the orientation towards the external environment, whilst the vertical dimension reflects the grade of formalisation (formalisation of rules and procedures in the organisation) (Strand, 2001: 230). The orientation outwards to a heterogonous external environment and a relative highly internal formalisation of rules and procedures are often important working conditions for the members and the leadership of expert organisations (Strand, 2001: 231).

Expert organisations often encompass fewer hierarchical levels than bureaucracies. Staff are hired on the basis of working experience and field competence. Working processes and coordinations are characterised by expert knowledge and those values they have learned to accept. Leadership is based on this professional authority. Examples of expert organisations are universities, hospitals and consultancy firms (Strand, 2001: 28). The autonomy of the professionals, the importance of competition and productivity, are also other important expert organisational characteristics (Strand, 2001: 249).

Within the context of an organisational type Strand suggests that there is one important question regarding leadership; “*What do the leaders do for their organisations?*” (Strand, 2001: 32). In such organisations leaders (Strand, 2001: 241);

Expert organisations

- *Establish a measurement for presentation and standardisation of behaviour*
- *Make sure of problem solutions and results for the clients/customers*
- *“Do we manage to deliver the solutions?”*

Furthermore, another important leadership task is to “*protect professional freedom on the ground of clear norms, and arrange collegial cooperation*”, (Strand, 2001: 251).

Strand calls the leaders of such organisations ‘producers’. The producer wants to influence how to reach organisational objectives. This establishment of a standardised and appropriate behaviour can create controversies for the leadership. Employees often do not need guidance or training from leaders given their education or special knowledge in the field. The employees of expert organisations may possess professional titles: for example doctor, professor or lawyer. Some other professions are not entitled to the same prestige as those with professional titles, but ‘half- professionals’ such as teachers and nurses are important staff members. A strong steering leadership is therefore unnecessary as Strand points out; “*Many leader tasks becomes neutralised in expert organisations*”. Rather, “*The principal of organising and management are given through the qualified profession*” (Strand, 2001: 249-250). Meanwhile, the leader is the key person when it comes to the procurement of resources for the organisation, and therefore other members are very dependent on his ability to perform (Strand, 2001: 251).

Strict budgeting and steering according to objectives are frameworks which effect leaders in expert organisations. The challenges linked to financial markets and societies need to be steered creates two types of management; the first connected to the collegial body and their professional activities, the second connected to the administrative management of the organisation. Therefore many management tasks seem to be superfluous and undesirable (Strand, 2001: 251). The leadership strategy of bringing these two together means that the collegial body is involved in meetings and decisions concerning the organisation. This can make them feel like a part of the collegial fellowship, whilst the spreading of information (instead of keeping information within the leadership) will establish cooperation and replace competition among the members of the organisation (Strand, 2001: 252).

The fear of being unpopular among employees because of the lack of steering is also another controversy. *“One dilemma leaders in expert organisations experiences, is a question of collegial popularity versus organisational assignment solution”*, (Strand, 2001: 252). They have the responsibility to bring resources to the organisation and in times of conflict the organisation be in need of a controlling leader, even though overall a strong leadership is not wanted (Strand, 2001: 252).

Strand emphasises that it is also important to take into consideration the phase of the organisation. The establishment phase is one where the organisation is settling and trying to get a footing in reality. The second phase is one of maturation; where the organisation is takes forms and patterns. The third and last phase is the *“late phase”*; where being rigid is of great importance for the survival of the organisation (Strand, 2001: 226). The establishment phase of an expert organisation operates under uncertainty, and the fight to provide the organisation with more resources is the main task. The following phase is characterised with a stronger procedure, a more rooted structure and an overall stabilisation. In the last phase there are new demands from the environment and the organisation comes to a situation where it must re-evaluate the knowledge and expertise of the organisation. It can even come to the point where it must become more market oriented, and this re-orientation and transition phase can lead to crisis in the organisation (Strand, 2001: 254).

3.0 Methodology

The main research problem which this thesis explores is; “how does the Faculty of Political Science cope with academic freedom and institutional autonomy?” The term ‘research problem’ can be defined as “*the general or substantive area of focus for the research*” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 35). In order to explore this main research problem I have outlined several other research questions which focus on more specific aspects of the FPS. In doing so, I have operationalised two concepts to form the core of this study. As Porta and Keating argue; “*Operationalization is the act of taking a concept and converting it into something that can be studied empirically. This can involve a more concrete definition and the search for indicators of its presence and extent*” (2008: 353). In this thesis I have operationalised the concepts of ‘academic freedom’ and ‘institutional autonomy’. Whilst this operationalisation is important, it should also be recognised that “*the way in which one asks the research question is important because it determines, to a large extent, the research methods that are used to answer it*” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 39). The term ‘method’ can be defined as a “*set of procedures and techniques for gathering and analyzing data*” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 3). In this chapter I will describe and justify the methods I have used to both gather and analyse data. I shall explore the case study as a research method, and the actual research methods of interviewing and non-participatory observation. Finally, I will discuss how issues concerning reliability and validity of this thesis.

3.1 Case study

The word ‘case’ is “... *derived from the Latin casus, means an occurrence, something that happens, usually with an unfavourable connotation: an accident, a misfortune*”, (Vennesson in Porta and Keating, 2008: 226). McQueen and Knussen argue that in situations where the individual is the focus; for example an individual’s experience of coping with a sickness; case study approach is the only available option because of the limited access to subjects and the unusual nature of the research (2002: 12). The study of academic freedom and institutional autonomy for faculties are not unusual phenomenon, yet the study could have been carried out at another faculty, and it does not focus on one or a small number of individuals. In this sense, according to the criteria outlined by McQueen and Knussen above, this thesis does not fit into the description of a case study approach. Indeed, Hellevik defines case study research as the

“thorough investigation of one single unit”, (Hellevik, 2002: 463). Hellevik also outlines that in studies on organisations the researcher may collect data on subunits, but that the focus of the `case` will be the organisation in its entirety and not the smaller subunits (Hellevik, 2002: 96). The emphasis in case study research is therefore upon *“a single phenomenon or entity (the case), this approach seeks to describe the phenomenon in depth. The unit of analysis, not the topic of investigation, characterizes a case study”* (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 8). The unit of analysis here can be defined as the research object; *“the unit of analysis which is studied in an investigation (the individual, family, organisations, country)”* (Ringdal, 2007: 461). The unit of analysis in this study is the FPS. The topic of investigation in this study is academic freedom and institutional autonomy. In accordance with a definition of the single unit of analysis and given the collection of in-depth information involved, this thesis can be said to be a case study. There is, however a need to further clarify the unit of analysis. The FPS is a newly established college compared to the other colleges at the UoS. Data regarding the subunit; the Department of Political Science (DPS); was collected in order to fully explore the main unit of analysis. I explore the FPS as a single unit of analysis which also incorporates the DPS.

3.2 Triangulation of methods

Yin outlines that *“a continuing priority is to consider case studies as a method not implying any preferred form of data collection”* (Yin, 2003 : 4). Vennesson also suggests that case study research can be conducted in a number of ways; either through a qualitative or quantitative approach or a mixture of the two (Vennesson in Porta and Keating, 2008: 227). Nevertheless, Ringdal argues that a qualitative approach is most common to case study research (Ringdal, 2007: 94).

In this study I have taken a mixed methods approach, using a qualitative method to collect data whilst illustrating it in a quantitative form. Yet the quantitative approach of this study is inferior to the qualitative approach. This approach reflects the open-ended nature of the research problem and the goal of understanding both the interviewee’s own perception of social reality and how they cope with academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Given this it was necessary to use interviewing as the main research method, and non-participatory observation as a secondary method. Within the context of case study research this combination of research methods can be defined as methodological triangulation, which

involves “*using multiple investigators, sources of data, or data collection methods to confirm emerging findings*” (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 31).

3.3 Qualitative and Quantitative approach

Thagaard argues that the boundary between quantitative and qualitative research is not absolute and that the two influence each other. Qualitative research is based on a subject to subject relationship. The most common methods used are unstructured interviews, observation and focus groups. The informant may be influenced by the researcher and vice versa, which itself leads to concerns over the validity and reliability of the data produced. In quantitative research there is a distance between the researchers and the informants. The role of the researcher is as a spectator and therefore does not influence the research situation. An example is survey research, where the informants have to relate to the way the questions are formulated and the different categories, but not under the direct influence of the researcher (Thagaard, 2002: 17-18). Bryman (2000) also emphasises that in qualitative research interpretation and the attention to context is more important than in quantitative research.

This thesis provides research on one unit; the organisation of the FPS. Nevertheless, I have also taken into consideration the social, educational context and the history of Iraq and Kurdistan. I related to the informants during interviews through a subject to subject relationship, whilst my role as researcher during observations means that interpretation is an integral part of this study. I used a framework to collect the data which emerged from the discussion of academic freedom and institutional autonomy earlier in this thesis. Most of the questions asked were open-ended, allowing informants to respond in any manner they wished.

The data on institutional autonomy is not quantifiable given that I will not try to measure the degree of institutional autonomy. On the other hand, I have used a mixed qualitative-quantitative approach to capture the variable ‘academic freedom’. To illustrate this I will give one example.

Variable 6.1. Civil rights inside the university - Freedom of expression. In order to explore the question of how informants experienced civil rights and the freedom of expression within the university I used a quantitative and qualitative approach. Firstly, the question was formulated as follows: How freely do you utilise your civil rights within the university-more specifically

those rights connected to freedom of expression? The informants could rate according to these three categories:

Very Freely	Moderate	Very Restricted
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Variables within a quantitative approach can be measured using different scales, and these determine which kind of arithmetical operations should be performed in further analysis (Hellevik, 2002: 177). The three different scales provide information on what type of freedom is present at the FPS. This rating scale is defined as ordinal and provides information about “*internal distinctions*” (McQueen and Knussen, 2002: 87). It is important to be aware, however, that “*the relationships among the elements of an ordinal variable can only take the form greater than or less than. There is no implications of how much greater or less...*” (McQueen and Knussen, 2002: 43). Quantitative research is often much more standardised and involves close-ended questions (Bryman, 2000: 147). I have not operated with the variables in a strictly quantitative manner, in the sense that I should investigate the relations among the various variables. After the initial interview question I asked; Why are you very free/moderate/very restricted when you utilise your civil rights? Who/what secures your civil rights? What restricts your ability to use your civil rights inside the university? These questions are open-ended and reflect a qualitative approach. These questions provided data that could give important insights into what was restricting or securing their ability to utilise their right to freedom of expression within the FPS.

3.4 Advantages and disadvantages

A triangulated mixed-method approach is an efficient one, “*in which both types of data [quantitative and qualitative] are collected during one phase of the research at roughly the same time*” (Creswell and Clark: 2007: 66). The data, however, can be analysed separately from each other (Creswell and Clark: 2007: 66). Creswell and Clark argue that in this approach both data types have equal weight, and “*is used when a researcher wants to directly compare and contrast quantitative statistical results with qualitative findings or to validate or expand quantitative results with qualitative data*” (Creswell and Clark, 2007: 62). The weakness of a triangulation approach is that it is sometimes hard to keep an equal balance between both data types. Also, there may be situations where the quantitative and qualitative data is contradictory. In this thesis the quantitative data will be used to evaluate to what extent

the FPS secures academic freedom for teachers and students. The qualitative data is essential in order to explain and understand how the FPS copes with academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The data in this triangulated approach do not overlap, but rather complement each other.

3.5 Sources of data

Whilst there are different methods a researcher can use to collect data there are also two main sources of data; primary and secondary. The researcher's choice of data sources is dependent upon costs and most importantly the research question and the need to produce reliable data (Hellevik, 2002: 102). Data that would not have existed if it was not for original research is called primary data (Hellevik, 2002: 100 and Ringdal, 2007: 97). Such a data source would be necessary, for instance, when exploring the subjective experience of an individual's illness. A researcher can also use secondary data that has already collected been collected by others, including public documents, diaries, books and other media publications (Hellevik, 2002: 100). Secondary data is often free to collect and easy to find if the topic explored is historical (Ringdal, 2007: 97). The challenges connected to the researchers influence on the data and the informant presents themselves when interviewing as a method for collecting primary data is required. When there is little or no secondary or primary data available, the turn to the most available, relevant and reliable source is forced, and in worst case scenarios the researcher cannot conduct the research (Hellevik, 202: 103).

Empirical data in secondary documents

Some of the empirical data presented in this thesis is taken from secondary sources; one example is the UNESCO reports of 2003 and 2004. I anticipated at the beginning of this study that the collection of relevant data would be as difficult and this is how it transpired. I will illustrate this through some examples. The UNESCO report of 2003, used in the later chapters, stated that in 2001/2002 there were 20, 701 students at the university in the Kurdistan area, while based on information from the statistics given by the UoS; there were approximately 15, 200 students only at the University in September 2006. There may have been some explanation for this increase in the number of students and as such I consulted several other sources. I found that the number of internally displaced Iraqi refugees has increased by hundreds of thousands and this has increased the pressure to admit more students

to universities in Kurdistan. Secondly, the childbirth rate increased during the 1990's and even with the establishment of three new universities in Kurdistan; Kurdistan University in Hewler, University of Koye and the American University of Iraq- Suleimaniyah; there has not been enough capacity to accommodate the increasing number of students applying to higher educational institutions in Kurdistan.

Primary data sources

In the first phase of this research one of the most important considerations was access to the field. Initially I tried to search for similar research on the FPS, academic freedom in Kurdistan, and finally Iraq. I did not find any similar studies and therefore the collection of primary data and access to the field became especially important. I also had to gain permission to write my thesis on the topic of FPS. Bryman outlines that one of the biggest challenges researchers face is to gaining access to the field, especially when conducting research on and in an organisation (Bryman, 2000: 161). I contacted the Director responsible for International Relations at the University of Suleimaniyah, Dr Khasraw Rashid, and he informed me that they would try to provide all the help needed to collect empirical data for the thesis.

During the fieldwork I collected information about the UoS, the political system, the FPS, and statistics about higher education in Kurdistan and Iraq. The documents about the university were prepared by a female assistant of the vice President in charge of Administrative Affairs. The documents about the FPS were prepared by the Leader of Student Affairs at the Faculty. Other important documents were given by the Directorate of Foreign Relations. It is very important to note that these documents are neither available on the internet or in a book format as far as I was told. Rather, these documents and statistics were specially prepared for me, and along with the interviews, represent the primary data used in this thesis.

3.6 Field research in Kurdistan

I went to Kurdistan twice during 2007. The first time I spent almost two months there; from the beginning of March until the end of April⁸. My second trip was in November and lasted three weeks⁹. I contacted Dr. Rashid and we discussed my research and the help I needed. A female teacher; was asked to help me settle into the university campus. She also arranged meetings with the Dean of FPS and introduced me to both the teachers and students at the Faculty. It took me approximately three weeks to establish a general understanding of the University, after which I began the interviews. That was among one of the many reasons why I had to make a second trip to Suleimany at the end of 2007. Other reasons include the fact that I needed more interviews and to assess the collected data against written information about the University and the FPS.

3.7 Semi-structured interviewing

A researcher conducts interviews to gather data when he or she is interested in the informant and the experiences of the informant (Ringdal, 2007: 216). I have used semi-structured interviewing as the main method to gather empirical data for this thesis. Semi-structured interviews can be loosely structured in the sense that there are some themes which should be addressed to the interviewees rather than a list of specific questions. The questions posed are often open-ended and the themes categorised within the frame of the research questions (Bryman, 2000: 147).

Before I conducted the fieldwork I prepared an interview guide which was characterised by two main features. The first was that I formulated some standardised structured questions which needed to be answered by all informants. These questions were close-ended and the informants scaled their experiences regards the different variables. Three scales were operationalised; “very freely”, “moderate” and “very restricted”. It should be noted that interviewing is not normally used to measure such variables (Ringdal, 2007: 216) but was in

⁸ This first trip to Kurdistan was partly financed by the research group (Politics, Governance and Innovation) at Administration and Organisation Science at the University of Bergen. I am grateful for this financial support. The rest of the costs were covered by myself.

⁹ This second trip was financed by Norwegian Peace Centre. Two other Iraqis, a Kurdish boy, an Arab girl and our project manager spent 12 days in the Kurdistan region. We travelled from Suleimaniyah in the east to Duhok in the west. After they left Kurdistan I spent three more weeks alone there to finish my field research. I am very grateful for this amazing opportunity.

this case because I both wanted to maximise the time available and to be close to the informants so that they would understand the topic of the investigation.

The second feature of the interview guide was the inclusion of open topics which need to be discussed with the interviewees in an open and unstructured way. This gave informants the opportunity to express their opinions, experiences and feelings about the FPS in a more open manner.

3.8 In-depth interviewing

I gathered primary data using in-depth interviews with key informants. I carried out two in-depth interviews; one with the Leader Responsible for Student Affairs at the Faculty, and the second with the Director for International Relations at the University. The aim of these interviews was to get more information about the organisation of the Faculty and University. The three main differences between these interviews and the semi-structured were; 1. The information from these two leaders focused on the organisation of the Faculty and University. 2. The interview guide was more open than is the case with semi-structured interviews. 3. This was important because these two key informants had essential information and knowledge about the University which the other informants did not possess. They had the power to order statistics and documents with information about the FPS and the UoS, which in turn were given to me for use in this thesis.

3.9 Samples

Time and cost are important issues when selecting samples, as is how representative the research question requires the research population to be (McQueen and Knussen, 2002: 71-74). McQueen and Knussen define 'population' as "*the entire set or subset of entities that compromise the group we are interested in*" (2002: 71). The population important in my thesis can be divided into different groups; the leadership, the teachers, and the students. The last group can also be divided into younger and older students. The older students are those admitted to the Faculty based on the formal decision made by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MHESR). The younger students were admitted to the FPS based on their 6th year Baccalaureate (upper secondary school). The samples were initially selected based on the snowball method. This method is suitable in a situation where the

researcher has contact with few members, and these members “...*might be in a position to recommend others from their group*” (McQueen and Knussen, 2002: 74). The Director of International Relations at the University level, Dr. Khasraw Rashid along with others, presented me to the FPS and the Dean of the Faculty, and from this I was able to snowball to interview other informants. The first interviewees were the members of the leadership, and they had information about the other organisational participants. Based on this, the students were selected as samples taking into consideration their gender, age and which year of education they were in. The teachers were sampled based upon their age, gender and level of education (Bachelor, Master, PhD and Professor). I did not selected the samples randomly, which is “...*attempted so that each person in the population has an equal chance of being selected*” (Creswell and Clark, 2007:112-113). I approached the representatives for each group and asked if they would set up interviews with those I had chosen to be interviewed. I did not employ random sampling because the aim of this study was not to generalise statistically, but rather to understand on a qualitative level how participants at the FPS cope with academic freedom and institutional autonomy. I did enquire to see if I could source a list of all the students at the FPS from which I could randomly sample, but due to security issues in Kurdistan the list was unavailable to me. Nevertheless, I believe that the participants chosen for interview are representative of their respective groups. The students are divided between younger and older students. The characteristics of each of these student groups are so specific that I consider most of the members within these groups to have the same characteristics. We can evaluate these characteristics by exploring their positions, political involvement and status in society. Most importantly I aimed to explore the subjective experiences of participants’ social reality, and whilst the informants I interviewed may have had non-representative experiences, the triangulation of methods I employed; non-participating observations; was used to assess the validity and reliability of the interview data. Indeed, the interview data, both during my first and second fieldtrip, was similar to my own recorded observations. There were only 19 teachers at the Faculty; two female and, the rest male. I interviewed the leaders, one female teacher, one Professor of Arabic, the youngest teacher who also happened to have the lowest educational background, one older teacher with a higher educational degree (PHD), and two other older male teachers. I have tried to capture this sense of variety in the students as well.

Informant category	Female	Male	Total
Younger Students	5	4	9
Older Students	2	5	7
Teachers	1	5	6
Leadership	0	2	2
Organisations (teacher association and student organisation)	0	2	2
Key informants	0	2	2
Total	7	18	28

Least: 45 minutes

Most: 3 hours

Figure 3.1 Total number of interviews divided into different informant categories and gender.

3.10 Non-participatory observation

During the fieldwork I attended many different activities at the University and Faculty. There are two methods of observations available to the researcher; participatory observation and non-participatory observation. The aim of the former research method is to become an accepted member of the community. In this sense the observation is unstructured and tries to capture “*the native point of view*” (Brewerton and Millward, 2001: 96). In the latter method the researcher observes his subjects from a distance and tries to capture the situation through self observation. To observe and record data as objectively as possible is the main aim of this type of observation. The recording can be structured within an analytical framework or unstructured in the sense that observations are recorded as events take place (Brewerton and Millward, 2001: 96-97).

The data I collected as a non-participatory observer was recorded in an unstructured way. To illustrate I will give an example. I attended lectures in order to gain an insight into how they proceeded and how the discussions between students and teachers took place. I was not attending as a participator but as an observer. I did not have a special role at the FPS, either as a student or teacher, though I was often called “*mamosta*” (teacher) by the younger students. I did try to reassure them that I was student but it did not seem to make a difference. This, in part, was down to Kurdish culture, because ‘teacher’ is a term used to describe those conducting field research, and those who have actual teaching responsibility. The data gained through participatory observation will not be used to directly answer the research questions but will illustrate some of the issues which are discussed in the analysis. Some of the observations were so specific that I have chosen not to use them as they would reveal the identity of the informants.

3.11 Methodological weaknesses

I have selected the variables to be explored from the discussion of academic freedom and institutional autonomy earlier in this thesis. For other researchers, the most important aspects of these two concepts may differ. Though it is not usually done, I used the interview situation to measure the informants' experiences of various variables. The samples were collected in a non-probabilistic and therefore I recognise that I cannot generalise either the data or the findings made from the data. Still, I have argued that the informants can be considered representative of each informant group. However, it is not a aim of this thesis to generalise statistically, but rather to focus in a more in-depth way on the experience of each interviewee in order to investigate how the FPS copes with both academic freedom and institutional autonomy. One of the possible disadvantages of this qualitative research method is the closeness of the researcher to the informants. In this sense the data can be influenced by both the researcher and researched and conclusions made on the basis of unreliable data. In this thesis I have triangulated research methods in order to minimise the effect of researcher bias on the data.

3.12 Ethical considerations

Most of the interviews took place in the former College of Nursery, which was closed for activities. Within campus I did not find one room which was an appropriate interview setting, I did not consider this a problem for myself, but I did feel sorry for the informants, who deserved a safer environment for the interviews to take place in. Some of the data comes from my non-participatory observations, and during the production of this thesis I re-evaluated what should and should not be included. Some of the data was so specific that I chose not to use it in order not to reveal the identity of the informant. I have tried my very best to evaluate what kind of information could reveal an informants identity and acted accordingly. I gained permission from the Dean of the FPS, the Leader of the Department and Basira to use their identities openly, yet some of our conversations were off the record and they emphasised several times that this data should not be used in the thesis. I have not used any data from these off-record conversations. The topic of investigation; academic freedom and institutional authority; is a sensitive one throughout the world, and none more so than at the FPS. As was emphasised in the foreword, this study has not aimed to criticise specific groups within

Kurdistan or the FPS, but to investigate that what kind of challenges higher education institutions in Kurdistan face and explore them in the most scientific way possible.

3.13 Validity and reliability

Internal Validity

Within qualitative research, “... *the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis.*” (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 5). Merriam also suggests that it is important to identify and monitor the biases of the researcher (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 5). According to Merriam, internal validity is a question of; “*How congruent are one’s findings with reality?*” (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 25). One method of ensuring that findings match reality is, as was employed in this thesis, triangulation. Denzin (1970) suggests that four types of discussion occur which are linked to triangulation; “*multiple investigators, multiple theories, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm emerging findings*” (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 25). This research is solely produced by me; and therefore multiple investigators are not present, though I frequently got feedback from both my supervisor and other scholars at the Department of Administration and Organisation Theory at the University of Bergen. The theoretical framework of this thesis is rich in the sense that I have investigated how the concept of academic freedom emerged with the rise of the modern universities, how the German tradition and the American differ, and which other problematic issues are related to the concept in different contexts. From both this discussion and that surrounding institutional autonomy, I selected the variables which were considered to be the most important aspects of both academic freedom and institutional autonomy. I have also used different approaches within organisation theory to explore the research question. Most of the data used in this thesis is necessarily primary given the lack of previous research on the subject. It was important to get as close to the unit of analysis as possible; the FPS, teachers, older students, younger students, the leadership, and other informants. These in-depth interviews proved to be of great value, allowing me to investigate the research question from several different angles and perspectives. However, such a rich set of data lead to the difficulty of contradictory information. During the second fieldtrip I followed up these cases of contradictory data in order to understand what had actually occurred better. Triangulation was an important means of understanding these contradictory cases.

Within the qualitative approach member check is another strategy used to ensure internal validity. To member check is to discuss with informants interpretations of the research data (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 26). During the second fieldtrip I spoke with five of the informants whom I conducted interviews with in the spring of 2007; one teacher, two younger students, one older, and the Dean. I discussed with them the interpretations I had made and they said that they were similar to how they experienced the FPS.

Another strategy used to ensure the internal validity of qualitative studies is to collect data over a long period; when no new data is produced the collection phase can end (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 26). In this sense it is important that I conducted two fieldtrips, one during the spring of 2007 and the second during the autumn semester of 2007. When the data collected during the second fieldtrip began to repeat itself I began to end the data collection phase. In total, I conducted 28 interviews in order to ensure that the data collected was as rich as possible.

Another issue which is important to address is the use of language. Throughout this research I have operated with four languages; Kurdish, English, Norwegian and Arabic. Until the establishment of the No-Fly Zone in Kurdistan, Arabic was the language used in the public sector. Indeed, Kurdish in Iraqi Kurdistan has also been influenced by Arabic. My knowledge in Arabic language is poor but I do understand some of the terms which are frequently used in the public sector and at the FPS. My written Kurdish is relatively poor and therefore using a translator to translate a survey wrongly into Kurdish was not an option I wanted to consider. The quantitative data was therefore also gathered during the interviews. Most of the interviews were conducted in Kurdish, whilst two of them were conducted in English because the informants comprehended English fluently. The interview with the Arabic teacher was conducted in Arabic; and this was the only situation in which I needed translation assistance. Misinterpretation between languages was a danger, but my competence in Kurdish and my background as a Kurd was one of the main reasons why was able to carry out this kind research at the FPS.

Within quantitative research it is important to examine the validity of terms. This means to examine how well the operationalisation coincides with the theoretical concepts (Hellevik, 2002: 186). Hellevik suggest that this can be achieved through a subjective evaluation carried out by the researcher, as well as by measuring models and term validity (Hellevik, 2002: 186-

191). Creswell argues that one of the methods used to ensure the high quality of data is to “...construct validity (whether the scores are consistent or measure what they intend to measure.)” (Cresswell, 2007: 134). In terms of this thesis this requires that I investigate if the variables I have selected to focus upon actually measure academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The operationalisation of these concepts was done in an earlier chapter where I discussed both academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

The concept of academic freedom is complex, and as Searle points out, “*the literature tends to be polemical and historical rather than theoretical*” (Searle, 1972: 169). I recognise that the variables I have used to examine this concept may differ from other studies and definitions. Some of the academic freedom variables listed in figure 2.1 are linked to academic tasks, whilst others are linked to civil rights and address teachers and students working conditions at the FPS. Some of the literature surrounding the concept of academic freedom linked the concept to human rights, which I have not explicitly done, although some of these civil rights also are in part universal human rights. Academic freedom is understood not only as freedom to perform academic tasks, but also freedom from sanctions and restrictions from any other actors. Furthermore, Shils suggests that academic freedom exists in the combination of both obligations and rights, and this fits with the separation I have used between academic tasks and civil rights. I considered it important to focus upon a small number of variables and provide an in-depth analysis, rather than to produce a superficial exploration of a large number of variables.

The variable on institutional autonomy listed in figure 2.2 was not specified in the sense that it did not concretise which specific “internal affairs” the variable would focus upon. I wanted to investigate what the actual internal affairs of the FPS were. Shils argues that the internal affairs of the university form the core of university autonomy. Furthermore, in his discussion of the internal affairs of the university, he separates the institutional governing patterns from the decisions made by these institutions (Shils in Altbach, 1991: 7). In the analysis section of this thesis the internal affairs of the FPS will be specified in order to ensure that the internal affairs I explore coincide with the actual internal affairs of the FPS which the leadership of the FPS had to make decisions upon.

External validity and generalisation

Generalisation is difficult within qualitative approaches because typically fewer samples are purposefully selected and the aim is to develop an in-depth understanding of a single phenomenon (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 28). On the other hand “*Part of the problem lies with the common perception of generalizability derived from positivist-oriented research wherein one can generalize in a statistical sense from a random sample to a population*” (Merriam in Merriam, 2002: 28). As has been argued in this chapter, the two types of data (quantitative and qualitative) do not overlap but rather complement each other. It is therefore not an aim of this thesis to generalise statistics from the selected samples to the wider population.

Reliability

Reliability concerns random measuring errors (Ringdal, 2007: 221). Ringdal suggests that in order to examine the reliability of qualitative data the researcher should reflect on how the collection of data has proceeded; with the aim of being aware about possible measuring errors (Ringdal, 2007: 221). I have, in this chapter, given an overview of the methodology employed in this thesis with the aim of showing how I collected data and the advantages and restrictions this imposes on the rest of the research.

Within quantitative research, “...*reliability means that scores received from participants are consistent and stable over time.*” (Creswell, 2007: 133). There are several ways to examine the reliability of quantitative data, including the test-rest technique. This is done through the examination of the coefficients and their compliance with the variables and repeated measures. This can be difficult and typically means that the researcher needs to conduct a second round of questionnaires (Ringdal, 2007: 87). Regards interviews, as was conducted in this thesis, it can be an even bigger challenge to conduct a rest-retest. The second fieldtrip however, gave me the opportunity to conduct more interviews, and as such the data became richer.

4.0 Context: History, education and the University of Suleimaniyah

“... from existing under one of the world`s most oppressive regimes for nearly 30 years, the peoples of Iraq were liberated in little over a month, with the stated aims of the US being to democratize Iraq and to create a zone of `democratic peace` at the heart of the Middle East”
(Anderson and Stansfield, 2004: 186 quoted in Stansfield, 2007: 161).

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will focus on the history and politics of Iraq and Kurdistan, which will be frequently referred to throughout the thesis. In chapter two it was shown that national, political and social contexts were strong factors in the development of academic freedom, and how it impacted upon institutional autonomy.

The second part of this chapter will explore the contemporary educational context of Iraq and Kurdistan. I also include data about those aspects of the new Iraqi constitution which are concerned with education, and an overview of the University of Suleimaniyah. The data referred to in the discussion of the University was collected during fieldwork at the UoS, whilst other data referred to the educational context comes from reports provided by organisations such as UNESCO and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP).

4.1 Constructing Iraq

At the end of the 19th century the Ottoman Empire, led by the Sultan of Constantinople and the Shah in Tehran, came to an end. An informal agreement between Great Britain, Russia and France in 1916 decreed that the Ottoman Kingdom would be divided between these states, with Iraq to be placed under the control of Great Britain (Folkvord and Melå, 2002: 55). The Paris preparation conference of 1919, the Sèvres-negotiations; where the Sultan-regime signed a peace treaty, and the Lausanne-conference of 1923, made the partition of the Ottoman Empire a reality. The end result was similar to the informal agreement made in 1916; with the notion of self-governing nation states notably absent. The Kurds and Armenians, despite the fact that they were large groups in this region of the Ottoman Empire, were not given their own piece of land from which to form a country (Folkvord and Melå, 2002: 55- 57).

In 1914 British troops captured Basra in south of Iraq; though they did not possess a clear political idea for the future of Mesopotamia. This occupation process ended in 1918 and the three Ottoman provinces; Basra, Baghdad and Mosul; were successfully left under the control of Great Britain (Tripp, 2000: 31). The population of Iraq had different reactions to the rise of British control. A dualistic attitude was present, the first of which was positive to the removal of Ottoman control and the second of which believed British military occupation to be undesirable. In the latter sense, local inhabitants wanted to have administrative autonomy granted to them by the new authority (Tripp, 2000: 32-33). This led to the concept of the indirect rule of the Kurdish area, with Sheikh Mahmoud Barzinji administrating the area surrounding Suleimaniyah (Stansfield, 2007: 39-40).

The Cairo conference of May 1921 decreed that an Iraqi monarchy should be created, with the British arguing that King Faisal was the best candidate to be head of the new monarchy¹⁰. To legitimate this candidate a referendum was held in June, with 96% voting in favour of King Faisal despite the fact that neither the Kurds, the Mosul pro-Turkish area or the Shi`s supported this choice. With King Faisal in place the British hoped to withdraw troops from the area and maintain limited control of an ordered Iraq (Stansfield, 2007: 43-44). In October 1932 Iraq took its place in the League of Nations as the first mandated state to gain its independence (Stansfield, 2007: 49). Yet British experts continued to work in Iraq and were entitled to use Iraqi facilities. Iraq was also tied to Britain through military agreements, with the Iraqi military force under British command (Stansfield, 2000: 49).

4.2 Iraqi republic replaces the monarchy

Before 1958 the Hashemite kings cooperated with Britain, even during the Second World War. The support of Palestine was attractive to the Hashemite regimes, but at the same time it also strengthened the Anti-British attitude amongst the people. This period is defined by the many new prime ministers appointed by the Kings. These prime ministers were ordered to establish new governments, with various groups attempting coup d'états in response. The idea of a united Iraqi nation-state was not successfully implemented. At the end of the 1920`s and 1930`s oil was discovered in both Kirkuk and Mosul, the latter of which was a pro- Turkish area. Some of the prime ministers found it important to have a good regional relationship with

¹⁰ King Faisal`s name before entering the throne was Hashemite Amir Faisal (Tripp, 2000: 47).

neighbouring countries, whilst others were more preoccupied with quelling internal groups and holding onto power. The dominant Arabic Sunni-majority influenced other groups to take part in various smaller revolts. The Hashemite monarchy remained in power until it was replaced by a republic following the coup d'état of 1958, which ended with the deaths of most of the royal family. The first prime minister of the republic of Iraq was Abd al-Karim Qasim (Tripp, 2000: 77-149).

4.3 The new republic, socialism and Arab nationalism

The Qasim era lasted until 1963 (Marr, 2004: 81) and was defined by the ideological struggle for power between Qasim and the Arab nationalist Aref (Marr, 2004: 88). Aref's supporters wished for a stronger Arab union, particularly with Egypt, and also desired independence from the West in all political and social reforms. Within this struggle for power, those groups lacking a strong ideology and strong mobilisation remained weak and peripheral to Iraqi politics (Marr, 2004: 87-88). The pan-Arabic nationalists were, however, also divided between those in favour of union with Egypt and Nasser as leader, and those connected to Syria and in favour of the Baath party. The main divisive ideological issue between these groups was whether the restructuring of society should be based on socialist or liberal democratic principles (Marr, 88-89). Qasim implemented new social and economical reforms which were similar to other Middle-Eastern states; and Iraq in turn showed signs of embarking upon a modernisation process. The feudal structures were replaced and *"...provided a separate system of justice for tribesmen. Henceforth, all Iraqis would be judged according to common civil and criminal codes"* (Marr, 2004, 98).

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was initially led by Ibrahim Ahmed and his son-in-law Jalal Talabani. However, after a party congress in 1960, Mala Mustafa Barzani was elected as leader, heralding the beginning of a division between the Kurdish people. Barzani, as head of the Barzan tribe, supported the wealth of the `agha` (head of tribe), whilst Ibrahim and Talabani followed left-wing intellectuals. However, both groups fought for the acknowledgment of Kurdish autonomy (Marr, 2004: 105-106). The Kurds supported the "revolution" of 1958, but the fear of giving the Kurds too much autonomy proved too risky for Qasim. Barzani returned from exile and was initially welcomed, albeit for a short time, by Qasim. Qasim was known as the "Sole-Leader", yet Barzani's re-emergence posed a threat to Qasim's power given his also well-known military competence. Barzani's "army", in the

period from 1960 to 1961, grew from 600 to 5000 (Marr, 2004: 105-106). The armed battles between Barzani and Qasim ended in the destruction of the Barzan villages, and Qasim releasing Baath and Arab nationalist followers from imprisonment in order to gain support from them. Rather, the power struggle ended in an agreement between Barzani and the Ba`aths to fight against Qasim, whilst the latter group would also recognise Kurdish autonomy. The Kurdish problem resulted in Qasim losing more control in Baghdad, which was compounded by the reorganisation of the Ba`aths and Arab nationalists as Aref (Marr, 2004: 106-107).

The Baath party emerged in Syria during the 1940s and by 1951 the Iraqi branch was led by Fu`ad al-Rikabi. Many young students supported the party as it was more liberal than the Arab nationalist conservative elite. As Tripp argues; “*Arab nationalist and secular, but not atheistic and vaguely socialist in orientation, the party was critical of the more glaring inequalities of landownership in the Arab world*” (Tripp, 2000: 143). The Communists were also supported by Qasim, which in turn made the Arab nationalist opposition stronger. In July 1959 several Communist supporters were appointed as ministers (Marr, 2004: 90-93).

4.4 The Aref regime and the rule of the clan

Though Abd al-Salam Aref started as a pan-Arab nationalist, during his rule he changed his focus towards Iraq. One of the oil reforms which made the Nasser supporting ministers resign, and thereafter successfully putting an end to Aref's suggested oil reforms, was to increase the self-determination of the major oil companies' production level (Tripp, 2000: 181). This was somewhat “*Blocking the Nasserist plan to increase restrictions on foreign trade*” (Tripp, 2000: 181). Aref returned to a ruling structure similar to that which was in place under the monarchy; “*Tribal shaikhs in the countryside, propertied and entrepreneurial elements in the towns and religious dignitaries were all incorporated into a web of patron-client relations, eased by the venues available to the central government through the export of oil*” (Tripp, 2000: 181). Aref appointed many of his own clan members as officers, making the Republic Army much more loyal and involved them “... *becoming his clients and followers in an extensive network which `Arif showed great skill in constructing*” (Tripp, 2000, 183). His economic policies resulted in an end to the nationalisation of industry and tried to encourage stronger private business enterprises. At the same time, beginning in the late 1950s, the country went through an economic decline in the agricultural and rural areas.

Though some people saw Aref as a symbol for the re-implementation of the rule of law and hope, others saw him as a liberalist creating a hierarchy of wealth (Tripp, 2000: 184). The Kurdish struggle in the north provided a threat to Aref's rule, and many battles took place throughout his rule. The Sunnis, as the majority group in Iraq, attempted to gain power by adopting a pan-Arab nationalist approach (Tripp, 2000: 182). Aref died in a helicopter accident and the patrimonial loyal relations elected his brother, Abd al-Rahman Aref, as the new president. Abd tried to rule in a similar manner to his brother but did not have the same ability to maintaining the same patron-client relations (Tripp, 2000: 185-186).

4.5 One-party state and the Ba`ath Party

Abd held power until 1968, at which point he was replaced by the Ba`ath party following a coup d'état which included national wide trials and executions¹¹ (Marr, 2004: 139). The party refused to share power, resulting in all ministerial positions been taken by Ba`ath members.. This first Ba`ath decade was characterised by an ongoing military attempt to gain full control of Iraq. Both governmental and military positions were occupied by Arab Sunni Muslims from the Tikrit region, whom most of them were linked to the same family tree as that of Bakr and Hussein (Marr, 2004: 139-153). The two key figures during this regime were Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr and Saddam Hussein. The power balance between these two in the beginning was equal in the sense that Bakr was the senior politician. He did not like confrontations and thus Husain became "*the perfect counterpart*" (Marr, 2004: 144). The global oil price rises of 1973 helped national economical growth and stabilised the Ba`ath party's control of society. As Marr points out; "*The party not only established a command economy, under the rubric of socialism, but undertook an industrial program – including extensive weapons development – and provided widespread health, education, and social benefits that went well beyond those of any previous regime*" (2004: 139-140). The diplomatic relations developed in this period set the path for Iraq's future international relations. It was a turbulent period in Iraqi history given that it was pressured by both neighbouring and western states. As Marr points out; "*On the Western front, Iraq had to deal with the aftermath of the Arab defeat by Israel in the 1967*

¹¹ Saddam Hussein can be characterised as a harsh man. From early childhood he was abused by his step-father, and in his village, Auja, relations based on kin and clan were primary linking ties. Under the influence of his uncle he developed a strong pan-Arab and anti-British viewpoint .He was imprisoned for the assassination on Qasim, though this was not proved. After the first collapse of the Ba`ath government in 1963, Hussein went underground for many years. During this period he developed both a strong capacity to organize and the willingness to take risks at any costs; "... *his distrust of outsiders spring from years of being hunted – and hunting others – and from his own considerable talents in organizing conspiracy*" (Marr, 2004: 145).

war” (2004: 146). The fight over the Gulf, which both Iran and Iraq considered to be theirs, was still ongoing between the two countries. The relationship with United States was not restored after this war either. The Nixon doctrine offered help to those who could maintain security for weak states such as Qatar, Bahrain and the federated United Arab Emirates. Iran and Saudi Arabia were two of the states who gained most support from US, and in turn Iraq turned to Soviet Union in order to rebalance the fight against the west and Iran (Marr, 2004: 146-147).

Mala Mustafa Barzani had connections to both Iran and Israel, making him unpopular within the Ba`ath party. The Kurdish movement had also experienced fragmentation, with the KDP under the control of Barzani, and on the other side, Ahmed-Talabani faction. In 1975 the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) was established by Ahmed and was run by Talabani after his death (Stansfield, 2007: 103-106). Barzani attacked the Iraqi Oil Company`s oil resources in Kirkuk received aid from Iran in order to continue the fight against the central Ba`ath government in Baghdad (Marr, 2004: 152-154). In 1970 a new agreement was made, and *“provided for Kurdish autonomy... it guaranteed proportional representation of the Kurds within a future legislative body, the appointment of a Kurdish vice president at the national level, the expenditure of an equitable amount of oil revenue in the autonomous region, and the recognition of both Kurdish and Arabic as official languages in Kurdish territory”* (Marr, 2004: 154). Despite this agreement war broke out in 1974. The Arabisation of Kiruk and Mosul where 45, 000 shi`i Kurds were replaced by new Arab settlers was one of the triggers for the war. The Kurds, supported by Iran, Syria and Israel, forced the Ba`ath government to put an end to the war, yet Iran decided to end ties with the Kurds given the expense of the war. In 1975 a second agreement was made, but this time between Iran and the Ba`ath government, leaving the Kurds in a powerless situation. Barzani fled the country and died in exile. *“Under an amnesty plan about 70 percent of his peshmergas eventually gave themselves up to the Iraqis. Some remained in the hills of Kurdistan to fight again, and about 30, 000 went across the border to Iran to join the Kurdish civilian refugees settled there, then estimated at between 100, 000 and 200, 000”* (Marr, 2004: 157). The Arabisation program continued in North, destroying 1, 400 villages, and relocating about 600, 000 villagers. In the Kirkuk province, Khanaqin and Sinjar, the Kurdish majority were relocated and subsequently replaced with new Arab settlers (Marr, 2004: 158-59).

4.6 The totalitarian regime of Saddam Hussein

In the July of 1979 Saddam Hussein became the new president of Iraq, changing the state from being one-party to "... *a personal, autocratic regime, dependent for security – and increasingly for decisions – on Saddam Husain and his close family members and cohorts*" (Marr, 2004: 177). This made the party as an institution weaker, and located power in personal loyalty to Saddam. The establishment of the National Assembly changed the electoral structures, though in reality there had not been any elections in Iraq since the fall of the monarchy. The provinces, encompassing 250, 000 inhabitants, were allowed to have one single electoral list and everyone above 18 years of age could vote. This was a marked change as beforehand the electoral list had to be approved by the election commission, resulting in the approval of only pro- Ba`athist parties and eliminating any form of pluralism or power sharing (Marr, 2004: 181).

The impact on Iraq of the 1979 Iranian revolution was enormous. Ayatollah Khomeini was exiled in Najaf but subsequently thrown out of Iraq at the Sha`'s request to the Ba`ath government. Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr became the new leader of the Shi`i area in South-Iraq and support for the Iranian revolution saw Shi`i enthusiasm and demonstrations in Najaf and Karbala. In return, Saddam moved over 40,000 Shi`i Muslim from this area to gain control. (Marr, 2004: 174-176 and Tripp, 2000: 216-220). In 1979 Iran broke the 1975 treaty and allowed Kurdish KDP troops to cross the border over to Iraq. The disagreement over the Gulf and Khuzistani areas escalated into the Iran-Iraq war, which lasted from 1980 to 1988. Besides the cost to human life the war also left Iraq and Iran in a great deal of debt, and subsequently both regimes experienced domestic rebellions against their leaders. The Kurds, during their fight against both regimes, were used as a strategic military base from which both sides could attack the other. The Shi`i population in south-Iraq fled to Iran and subsequently became involved in the battle against Iraq. In the end, the participation of US forced Iran to end the war (Marr, 2004: 181- 190). The city of Helebce was attacked with chemical weapons killing 4, 000 and to this day remains a disaster area (Marr, 2004: 191). The 'Anfal' campaign, led by the defence minister Ali Hassan Majid¹² (Hussein`s cousin), aimed to punish the Kurdish support for Iran during the war and resulted in the execution of 180, 000 Kurds

¹² Ali Hassan Majid gained the nickname `chemical Ali`. The details surrounding this campaign are to be found in the thousand of public documents stored by the Ba`athists and later by the Kurds and the United States (Abduallah, 2006: 49).

and the destruction of 2, 000 -3, 000 villages¹³. This forced the Kurds to flee to other countries (Gunter, 2004: 7). Anfal refers to “*a chapter in the Qu`ran dealing with the spoils of war...Human Rights Watch later labelled it a genocide*” (Abdullah, 2006: 49).

At the end of the war Iraq was left with one million unemployed soldiers. From 1988 to 1990 there were five attempts to overthrow the Hussein regime, all of which were unsuccessful and resulted in the execution of 50 officers on charges of conspiracy. In 1988 declining oil prices badly affected the economy, producing an even more unstable domestic situation in Iraq. Hussein`s privatisation reforms did not help to increase production, whilst the decrease in agricultural revenues forced Hussein to focus upon oil income. According to Abdullah, Kuwait after accusations from Iraq, admitted that they produced and sold oil in quantities prohibited by OPEC rules, an act which affected the Iraqi economy (Abdullah, 2006: 52-60). In August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait with a 300, 000 large army. In the diplomatic arena both Arab countries and the UN aimed to convince Iraq to withdraw. The United State`s interest in Middle-East began with the creation of Israel in 1948 and became even stronger after 1967 when Israel won the war against Egypt and Syria. In this Cold War era several doctrines emerged which aimed to protect US interests in the Middle-East (Abdullah, 2006: 61-63). As Abdullah argues; “*The Truman Doctrine allowed for financial and military aid to countries with “communist aggression”*” (2006: 61). The US`s interest in Middle-Eastern oil began with a US-Saudi Arabic partnership before the Second World War. After the Iranian revolution the US issued a new doctrine which drew a path for future US actions in the region (Abdullah, 2006: 61-61). The “*...Carter doctrine which specifically noted that American interests in the Gulf were so vital that the US reserved for itself the right to defend them unilaterally by force if necessary*” (Abdullah, 2006: 63). A US led military coalition of 34 countries began to attack Iraq in January 1991. This massive bombardment left the country`s infrastructure ruined. George W. Bush, the US president, encouraged the Iraqi people to free themselves of Hussein`s regime. In March 1991 Kurds in the north and Shi`i Muslims in the south began to rebel against the regime, leaving Baghdad the only province to supportive Hussein. However, Hussein`s army, comprising of loyal and well-organised Sunni Muslims from the Baghdad and Tikrit area, soon had the rebel-groups under control. Half of the Kurdish population fled over the Turkish and Iranian border, whilst the international community pressured the United States and Britain to issue an Iraqi no-fly zone in order to

¹³ According to Abdullah the numbers of villages destroyed was 4, 000 (about 90% of the villages) (Abdullah, 2006: 50).

protect the Kurdish population from the central regime in Baghdad. From this time onwards the Duhok, Erbil and Suleimaniyah provinces have been under the control of the Kurdish population (Abdullah, 2006: 64-68). At the end of October 1991 the Iraqi government withdrew from these areas but kept control of the controversial Kirkuk province (Marr, 2004: 257). A second no-fly zone was established in 1992 in order to protect the Shi`i Muslims in the south (Marr, 2004: 265).

4.7 The United Nations and sanctions

The survival of the Hussein regime in the following decade became a fight against the cease-fire terms of the UN resolution in which “*Iraq kept up its efforts to end sanctions, weapons` inspections, and the No Fly zones*” (Marr, 2004: 261). The Sunni centre built a stronger tribal system and became the state’s governors, thereby ending the Ba`ath party’s power (Marr, 2004: 261-264). Still, from 1991 until 1995 the internal disaffection amongst Sunni Arabs was higher than ever, resulting in several unsuccessfully attempts to remove Hussein from power (Marr, 2004: 270-271). The Iraq-Kuwait border settlements and the implementation of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) were difficult for the Iraqi regime to accept. The new border line was based upon 1963 agreements and was rejected by the Iraqi Assembly. The destruction of Iraqi weapons by the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) also weakened Hussein’s power (Marr, 2004: 265-267). Further sanctions from 1991 to 1997 produced an 85% decline in Iraqi oil production. Indeed, Iraqi gross domestic fell from \$2, 000 in 1989 to \$609 in 1992. As Marr points out; “*The application of sanctions for over half a decade had by 1995 fundamentally changed Iraq’s social and economic structure and the welfare of the population for the worse*” (2004: 268). The declining availability of essential drugs almost destroyed the Iraqi health care system and resulted in a five-fold increase of the child mortality rate. The regime still had the ability to maintain power and smuggle oil (Marr, 2004: 268-269).

In May 1992 Kurdistan elections established the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), empowering both Kurds and other minority groups such as the Christians living in the three provinces under the control of the Kurds (Marr, 2004: 277-278). In order to maintain the balance of power between the main parties the KDP, led by Masoud Barzani (Mustafa Barzani`son), and the PUK, led by Jalal Talabani, established a system which “*for every minister of one party, there was a deputy of the other to check him*” (Marr, 2004: 278).

Nevertheless, the conflictual relationship between these parties and the central government in Baghdad, the latter of which stopped the supply of electricity and food, resulted in Kurdistan civil war and the breakdown of the KRG. As a consequence of economic pressures from the south Kurdistan became dependent on aid from international organisations. During the civil wars a third Kurdish party was established; the Islamic Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan; which took control of Hawraman and Halebce. The war resulted in a divided administration, with Talabani gaining control of deprived Anfal- affected areas and Suleimaniyah, and Barzani gaining control of the rich agricultural areas bordering Turkey (Marr, 2004: 279-280). Turkey's struggle against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI) influenced the situation of Iraqi Kurds. The PKK (based in the Kurdistan area of Turkey) and KDPI (based in the Iranian Kurdistan area) fought against their regimes in the Iraqi Kurdistan area; with positive consequence for the central Iraqi government. The Kurdish parties were changing coalitions between Iran, Turkey and the US, both strengthening their own administrative partition in Iraqi Kurdistan and producing a strong split between the KDP and PUK. It also resulted in an Iraqi army attack on the North in 1996, which gave Iraq a stronger hold on the Kurdistan capital city of Erbil¹⁴ (Marr, 2004: 285-288). From 1996 until 2003 Kurdistan was in much better economic and political condition compared to the centre and south of Iraq, though it was still divided between two administrations and possessed political parties unable to reach a consensus (Marr, 2004: 298-298).

At the end of 1996 the Oil-for-food program was implemented and oil production began to rise (Marr, 2004: 281-282). The inflation in value of the Iraqi dinar and the medicine and food shortage became more stable than before. The program also provided infrastructure improvement, both in terms of water purification and electricity. Though the Iraqi economy was never again under Hussein's control, the conditions for the Iraqi population improved and eased Iraqi discontent (Marr, 2004: 281-283).

At end of October 1998 Iraq ended its cooperation with UNSCOM after it accused it of cooperating with Israeli and US intelligence. UNSCOM was evacuated from Iraq and US forces, with support of Britain, began Operation Desert Fox. This operation was more politically aimed than the 1991 "Operation Desert Storm" which was more military aimed

¹⁴ In Kurdish, the name of the capital city is Hewler, but in most maps the Arabic name `Erbil` is used.

(Marr, 2004: 289). The domestic political situation was dire and Hussein was still in power. The untrustworthy kinship and clan based state system was brutal; Hussein changed the administration as it pleased him and favouritism could change from one day to another. In February 1998 Hussein showed his brutality by executing his son-in-law, nephew and several other family members because they had revealed information about the Iraqi weapon program (Tripp, 2000: 267).

4.8 The fall of Hussein`s regime

On the 20th of March 2003, the US, with the support of Britain, invaded Iraq. `Operation Iraqi Freedom` had two goals; removing Hussein`s regime permanently and replacing it with a new democratic regime. The arguments for going to war centred around Hussein`s supposed ongoing chemical weapon production (Stanfield, 2007: 159-165). Cleas argues that the US motivation for invading Iraq was not based on oil interests because the relationship between the economic outputs and political means were too uncertain. According to him, the US could use more effective political strategies to reach its economic objectives given that regime change would not automatically lead to US control of Iraq`s oil production or its increasing productivity. Cleas argues that regimes within oil countries try to produce and sell oil for profit regardless of their character of being democratic or not (Cleas in Rasch et al, 2003: 55). The `war on terror` provided another justification for the invasion of Iraq. Osama Bin Laden often referred to the Iraqi people as "... *“the Muslim people in Iraq” and “our Muslim brothers in Iraq”*, though over half of Iraq`s population is Shi`i Muslims (Hegghammer in Rasch, 2003: 253). On the 1st of May 2003 George W. Bush declared that major combats in Iraq were over and that Iraq was under the coalition`s control. In the fighting both of Hussein`s sons were killed in Mosul, whilst Hussein was captured in nearby Tikrit (Stansfield, 2007: 163-164).

Both the sectarian fighting which arose in 2003-2004 and the lack of essential emergency institutions made the initial post-Hussein period more difficult and complex than expected. The Kurdish demand for immediate autonomy was fought against by Shi`i Muslims and their leader Muqtada al-Sadr. As the conflict escalated into a civil war the US turned to the UN for assistance and in January 2004 the first UN mission was sent to Iraq by General Secretary Kofi Annan (Stansfield, 2007: 172-173). The idea of a transitional administrative law and an

Iraqi interim government was put into practice, yet as Ghazi al-Yawer¹⁵ became the president “... *the threat posed by Sunni Arab insurgents and rebellious Shi`i groups (and principally the Jaish al-Mahdi of Muqtada al-Sadr) now reached new levels of seriousness*” (Stansfield, 2007: 175). Stansfield emphasises both that al-Yawer’s power was more symbolic than real and that Iraq’s condition seemed comparable to that of a failed state (2007: 175).

The first election held after the fall of Hussein’s regime was in January 2005. The Sunni Muslims, with Zarqawi as a front figure, boycotted the election, leaving the previously marginalised groups, the Kurds and Shi`i, in power. In the Kurdistan area 90% of the votes were in favour of the Kurdish Alliance list, whilst in the Shi`I area 89% of the votes supported the United Iraqi Alliance. As Stansfield points out; “*The communalization of Iraqi political life was now codified by the results of the elections. Those who voted did so as Shi`is or as Kurds. Those who did not vote did so as Sunnis.*” (Stansfield, 2007:182). This temporary National Iraqi Assembly was to make a draft of the constitution without the cooperation of the Sunnis. The two main concerns the constitution sought to address were the influence of Islam and federalism (Stansfield, 2007: 184-185). The danger, as Sunni’s from oil poor central Iraq saw it, of leaving the north with more autonomy, was not a part of the constitutional discussions. The subsequent referendum resulted in a new Iraqi constitution and changed Iraq into a federal state (Stansfield, 2007: 186-187). The “final” election was not boycotted by the Sunnis, who won third place and 44 seats in the National Assembly. The winners were the Shi`i Muslims who now held 128 seats, whilst the Kurds held 53 seats (Stansfield, 2007: 187-188). PUK’s leader, Jalal Talabani, became president, whilst Nouri al-Maliki, Da`wa’s leader, became prime minister (Stansfield, 2007: 190).

4.9 Kurdistan region

The northern part of federal Iraq is called the Kurdistan region¹⁶. The capital, Hewler, is home to both the Kurdish parliament and government. Before the unification agreement on the 21st of January 2006 three of Kurdistan’s governorates were administrated by the two main political parties; the KDP and PUK. The governorate of Suleimaniyah was led by the PUK,

¹⁵ Ghazi al-Yawer was a Sunni Arab Muslim whom returned from exile in London (Stansfield, 2007: 175).

¹⁶ Kurdistan has never had independent country status, though the Kurds in Iran established a short-lived independent republic in 1946. The area which has traditionally been called Kurdistan is located between the four borders of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. South-Kurdistan is the Iraqi Kurdistan region <http://www.kurdistan.no/1006542005>, (30th of May 2009, 10.15 am).

whilst the governorates of Erbil and Duhok were led by KDP. The current coalition government of Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani assumed office on the 7th of May 2006 and is in charge of these three governorates. The government consists of the following political parties; the KDP and PUK, the Kurdistan Toilers Party, the Socialist Democratic Party, the Kurdistan Islamic Party, the Kurdistan Communist Party, the Islamic Group and the Turkman Brotherhood Party. The government is comprised of 36 ministries; nine of which are without portfolio. The president, Masoud Barzani, was elected by the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA) in June 2005. The KNA Law no.1 article 22 requires that women should have at least 25 % representation within the assembly. At the time of writing, women actually hold 27% of seats available (29 out of 111). The KNA consists of one elected chamber and has three main functions: *“to examine proposals for new laws; to scrutinise government policy and administration; to debate the major issues of the day... The founding principles of the KNA are liberty, pluralism, accountability, openness and the representation of all peoples in the Kurdistan Region.”*¹⁷

4.10 Understanding Iraq in retrospect

At the higher political state level, since the end of the 1950s, there have been uncountable coup d'états in Iraq, leaving one regime to replace another. Throughout the years this became a part of Iraqi political culture. The mentality of successor regimes was similar to the ones they replaces previous; the most important aim was to keep power as an end in itself. Such a political culture can be seen to inhibit the democratisation process in Iraq. To some extent social mobilisation¹⁸ during some periods has been possible, yet when regimes felt insecure they often reacted with repression. Alain Tourain (1997) considers opposition to be an important element of democracy, enabling the protection of individual liberties and protecting cultural diversity. In the case of Iraq, this kind of democratic approach has, to a large extent, not been practiced. The lack of will to share power or even to hold elections has destroyed any attempt to reform the country for the better. Various governments have not only used the Republican Army against external threats but also against Iraq's own population.

¹⁷ URL: <http://krg.org/articles/detail.asp?rnr=160&lngnr=12&smap=04070000&anr=15057>, (19th of June 2008, 17.10 pm).

¹⁸ Charles Tilly (1978) outlines that mobilisation is one of the five components of collective action, along with interests, organisations, opportunities, and collective action itself.

A key question facing the contemporary Iraq is whether there can be a “true” unification beyond the new constitution. Some claim that Iraq as a state was from the very start a British design and therefore an artificial one. This frame makes the historical mobilisation of different groups and both the fight for power and lack of cooperation easily understandable. Yet there are also other arguments which acknowledge the creation of Iraq under colonial rule but refuse to blame the Iraqi pre-historical design for the ongoing conflict. Fattah argues that “... it has `endured and developed` indigenous roots in fertile soil” (Stansfield, 2007: 29). Stansfield notes that “...the modern state of Iraq has existed for nearly a century and has created its own realities irrespective of its beginning” (Stansfield, 2007: 29). Marr emphasises that whilst we can speak of an Iraqi state, we cannot yet speak of an Iraqi nation (Marr, 2004: 12). The lack of will to unify beyond group identities (ethnicity, religion and clan) has made the democratisation process difficult. Most of these groups have supporters from within the same ethnic group, religion and clan, resulting in a strong patrimonial¹⁹ ruling structure. As a result, these competing identities have overshadowed an Iraqi national identity. The Arabisation campaign placed pressure on minority groups, especially the Kurds. The pan-Arabic nationalistic approach has also made it reductive to simply focus on internal Iraqi matters.

As such, domestic mobilisation was strongly influenced by external factors. The very creation of Iraq was a British one, the Shi`i Muslims are linked to Iran, the Kurds are divided amongst several countries, whilst there is also an ongoing struggle between socialism and liberalism. Britain, Iran, the US and Syria have constantly shifted their relationships with the central governments, whilst the minority groups also shifted allies and pushed the Baghdad governments into new diplomatic relations. The operation in Iraq was, according to Cortright and Lopez, one of the biggest in the UN`s history. The authors suggest that these sanctions acted as an “*effective pressure against the Baghdad regime*” (2000: 37), whilst at the same time suggesting that the ultimate failure of the sanctions resulted from “*the overall U.S./UN policy toward Iraq*” (Cortright and Lopez, 2000: 39).

The 2003 invasion, though still discussed as if it was based on the good will of the US to democratise Iraq, or for the sake of the oil, has for many people provided an important change

¹⁹ According to Mèdard (1996), patrimonialism and neo-patrimonialism have also occurred in countries in Africa. The concept of patrimonialism suggests that when clan-based authority develops into power over others it goes beyond the patriarchal power based on kinship. The confusion of the public and private sector becomes more visible and power is personalised instead of being institutionalised.

within Iraqi history. The election held in 2005 was boycotted by the Sunni Muslims and left the Shi`is and Kurds with an unbalanced share of power given that the Sunnis were not as proportionally represented in the National Assembly as the Kurds and Shi`is. The Kurds voted for their representatives and focused on the need to reconstruct Kurdistan and build a stronger infrastructure. The legacy of previous regimes, however, is not easily forgotten, and still influences political and socio-economic processes. Despite this, the national elections to be held in the summer of 2009 will decide the future path for Iraq.

4.11 Brief history of Iraqi higher education

The Provisional Constitution of 1970 stated both that education should be free at all levels and that it would be compulsory from the ages of six to eleven. Indeed, even after 13 years of sanctions education remained free at all levels (UNESCO, Final report “Oil for Food program” 1996-2003, 2003: 11). In general, education has been highly prioritised in Iraq. It had one of the best education systems in the Middle-East prior to the 1980s, with; *“High quality personnel that provided reputable quality of tuition comparable with standard worldwide, staffed education institutions, especially in the domain of science and technology in higher education.”*(UNESCO, Final report “Oil for Food program” 1996-2003, 2003: 12).

The establishment of modern higher education colleges dates back to the establishment of a college of law in Baghdad in 1908 but Iraqi intellectual history dates back to the Mesopotamian era. During the 1950s a number of colleges emerged and were eventually organised into the University of Baghdad. During the oil boom of the 1960s and 1970s higher education in Iraq gained a positive reputation within the Middle-East region, with many students coming from abroad to study at Iraqi higher education institutions (Harb/UISP, 2008: 3).

Year	Number of schools (higher education institutions) in central and south Iraq	Students	Teachers
1973	7	49, 194	1, 721
1994	11	175, 000	10, 592

(Data is based on TABLE A.4 in Marr, 2004: 312).

The higher education sector was not centralised until 1970 when it was re-structured under the MHESR. Various university resources, including human resources and the curriculum, were used to advance the political agenda of the Ba`ath regime. Indeed, *“the higher education*

sector quickly found itself obliged to dedicate its research and talents to the political agenda of the Baath party” (Harb/UISP, 2008: 3). Subsequently, Hussein and his son Uday established a parallel academic system. The establishment of the Mother of All Battles Research Center promoted the regime’s agenda, with Hussein characterised as a father figure in most curriculums. Those who were anti-Baathist were imprisoned and executed; resulting in several thousand scholars fleeing the country. Those scholars who stayed were denied travel abroad and experienced a lack of development in the academic sector. The UN sanctions following the Gulf War in 1991 also made further contact with the international academic community even more restrictive (Harb/UISP, 2008: 3) Under the Baath regime and particularly the leadership of Hussein “ *the higher education sector became a venue for political correctness, cronyism, corruption, and manipulation of resources to advance the regime’s ideology and policies.*” (Harb/UISP, 2008: 3). From 1980 to 2001 the literacy rate in central and southern Iraq fell from 67% to 57%, whilst school enrolment fell from 67% to 50% (Marr, 2004: 312).

With the removal of the Baath-regime the education sector faces new challenges, and given the high levels of violence in central and south Iraq security is perhaps the most important. This in turn has led to a lack of electricity and an exodus of scholars, leading one report to conclude that it is imperative to repair Iraq’s education infrastructure (Harb/UISP 2008). As the report further suggests; “*One of the worst problems facing higher education in Iraq is the continuing assassination and exodus of Iraqi intellectuals and professionals.*” (Harb/UISP, 2008: 5). “*One professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Baghdad complained in spring 2006 that it was impossible to hold classes because of the presence of militia members who monitor professors’ lectures, that professors are leaving the country as soon as they have a chance, and that their places are being filled by MA and PhD students. Since 2006, the government has been trying to recruit about five thousand Iraqi academics from abroad by raising basic salaries and promising more raises in the future.*” (Harb/UISP, 2008: 5). Within student organisations there are strict sectarian dividing lines which result in the politicisation of student groups, which in turn makes it difficult to provide academic freedom for all students (Harb/UISP 2008). The UISP report also outlines the many economic difficulties facing the higher education sector. For example, in 2004 the US congress granted only \$8 million out of the \$120 million requested for higher education (Harb/UISP, 2008: 6-7).

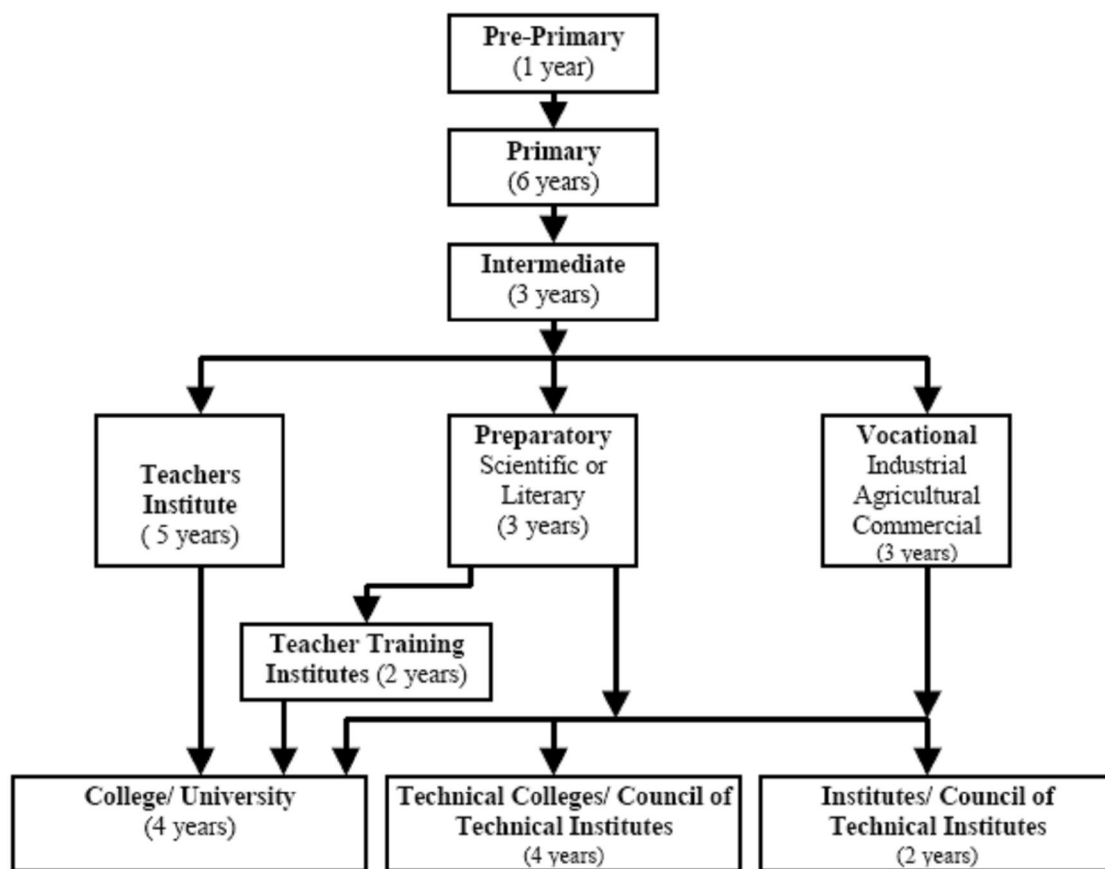
In the 1990s, after the establishment of the No-Fly zone, the Kurdistan academic sector took a different direction to those in academic institutions in central and southern Iraq. The central control of the MHESR did not affect Kurdistan higher education and as such the academic sector has developed and several universities have been established. The new universities in the public sector are the University of Koye and the University of Kurdistan – Hewler, whilst private universities such as the new American University of Iraq-Suleimaniyah have also been built²⁰ (Harb/UIISP 2008). From 1995/1996 to 2000/2001 Kurdistan universities showed more improvement than universities in the rest of Iraq. As the report argues; *“primary enrolments increased by 77%, secondary enrolments by 103% and higher education by 76%.”*²¹ *“Today, the Iraqi Kurdish region boasts a system of higher education that educates twenty-two thousand students and offers a modern education influenced by contacts with the West and conducted in a liberal, mostly apolitical atmosphere.”*²² (Harb/UIISP, 2008: 4).

²⁰ Notice that this University has both boards of Regents and Trustees, which is similar to the US university structure but not to the Iraqi. <http://www.auis.org/>

²¹ URL: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11216&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, (8th of July 2008, 14.49pm)

²² Whether the number of students, is accurate is not certain.

Figure 1 Structure of the Education System [ref 5]



(Figure from the UNESCO report of education analysis of Iraq, 2003: 8)

Based on UNESCO's 2004 analysis of education in Iraq a report outlined the basic challenges and recommendations (UNESCO report, 2004: 6-8)²³ ;

1. *Strengthening capacity for policy formulation, planning and management.*
2. *Improving quality: designing and implementing a faculty development and exchange programme.*
3. *Improving quality: renewal of curricula, teaching-learning materials and teaching methods.*
4. *Improving quality: ICTs in support of higher education.*
5. *Improving quality: provision of books, equipment and furniture.*
6. *Strengthening the culture of research.*
7. *Quality assurance.*
8. *Rehabilitation/reconstruction of infrastructure.*

²³ The UNESCO report is to be found at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001386/138665e.pdf>

4.12 Legal aspects

The current constitution of Iraq was approved by a national referendum held on the 15th of October 2005²⁴. Whilst neither Iraqi law nor the new constitution safeguard institutional autonomy for universities there is a statement on educational rights and freedoms within the latter;

“Article 34:

First: Education is a fundamental factor for the progress of society and is a right guaranteed by the state.

Primary education is mandatory and the state guarantees that it shall combat illiteracy.

Second: Free education in all its stages is a right for all Iraqis.

Third: The State shall encourage scientific research for peaceful purposes that serve humanity and shall support excellence, creativity, invention, and different aspects of ingenuity.

Fourth: Private and public education shall be guaranteed, and this shall be regulated by law.

Article 46:

*Restricting or limiting the practice of any of the rights or liberties stipulated in this Constitution is prohibited, except by a law or on the basis of a law, and insofar as that limitation or restriction does not violate the essence of the right or freedom”*²⁵

If the constitution had placed institutional autonomy and academic freedom into a legal framework then I could have used this as a frame for researching these concepts with the UoS. In this sense the research question would rather have focused on evaluating the violations of academic freedom and institutional autonomy within their prescribed legal context.

4.13 The University of Suleimaniyah

The UoS was first founded in 1968 but was removed from Suleimaniyah in 1982. This previous university which was re-located to Hewler is now called the University of Salahaddin. The present UoS²⁶ was established at Suleimaniyah in 1992. It encompasses 23 colleges²⁷ and has 64 departments. It has 15, 329 students; 7,426 female and 7, 903 male.

²⁴ URL: <http://krg.org/articles/detail.asp?lngnr=12&smap=04030000&rn=107&anr=12329>, (2nd of July 2008, 17.39pm).

²⁵ This translation is an unofficial English translation by the Associated Press of the final approved text of the constitution. URL: <http://www.krg.org/articles/detail.asp?lngnr=12&smap=04030000&rn=107&anr=12329>, (4th of July 2008, 21.34pm).

²⁶The name `the University of Suleimaniyah` refers to the `university established in 1992. Most of the data about the University of Suleimaniyah was prepared by Miss Sozy at the Statistics Directorate at the University of Suleimaniyah. The data is from the academic year of 2006/2007.

²⁷ The Faculty of Political Science is also a college. But what is special about this college is that they have themselves translated the name of the college to English (the Faculty of Political Science), though they operate with the name “college” in the other “faculties”. Therefore there should be no misunderstanding when I write

There are 180 female teachers and 608 male teachers. The student/teacher ratio is 19.44%. The international student/teacher ratio in 2003 was 16% according to the UNESCO report²⁸. The UoS is a public sector university and is structured under the auspices of the MHESR in the KRG. The central government in Baghdad also have a MHESR, but the UoS has to first and foremost respond to decisions from the MHESR in the KRG. Some of the decisions applied to the University may come from the central government and not the regional KRG. The UoS is financed by the national budget, ensuring that it is free for students other than those attending evening colleges. The University Council prepares the university budget each year and it must be approved by the education Minister in the KRG. The present minister is Idris Hadi Salih. The University is located in the Iskan district; with the present university campus neighbouring the central hospital of the city. The campus encompasses libraries, scientific centres, a sport centre and a canteen for students and employees. From 2000 most of the colleges offered master programs, whilst a few colleges also offer PHD programs. An academic year at the university is divided into autumn and spring semesters. The first starts in September and ends in January. Spring semester starts in January and ends in either May or June depending examinations within the different colleges and departments.

University structure

The UoS is led by a University Council which consists of the University President, the two Vice Presidents, the Dean of the Colleges and representatives from both the teachers` and students` associations. Dr. Ali Saeid is the President of the University of Suleimaniyah and has two Vice Presidents responsible for different areas of the organisation; one is responsible for Higher Education and Science, the other for Administrative Affairs. The colleges are led by a Dean, whilst the departments under each of the colleges are steered by a department leader. The University President and the two Vice-presidents are appointed by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, whilst the Deans and department leaders are appointed by the University Leadership.

college or faculty, because at this particular university they are one and the same. Departments are the subordinate units and divisions under each Faculty/College.

²⁸ The information about global student/teacher ratios was found in the UNESCO report (2003): "*Situation analysis of education in Iraq*", UNESCO, Paris.

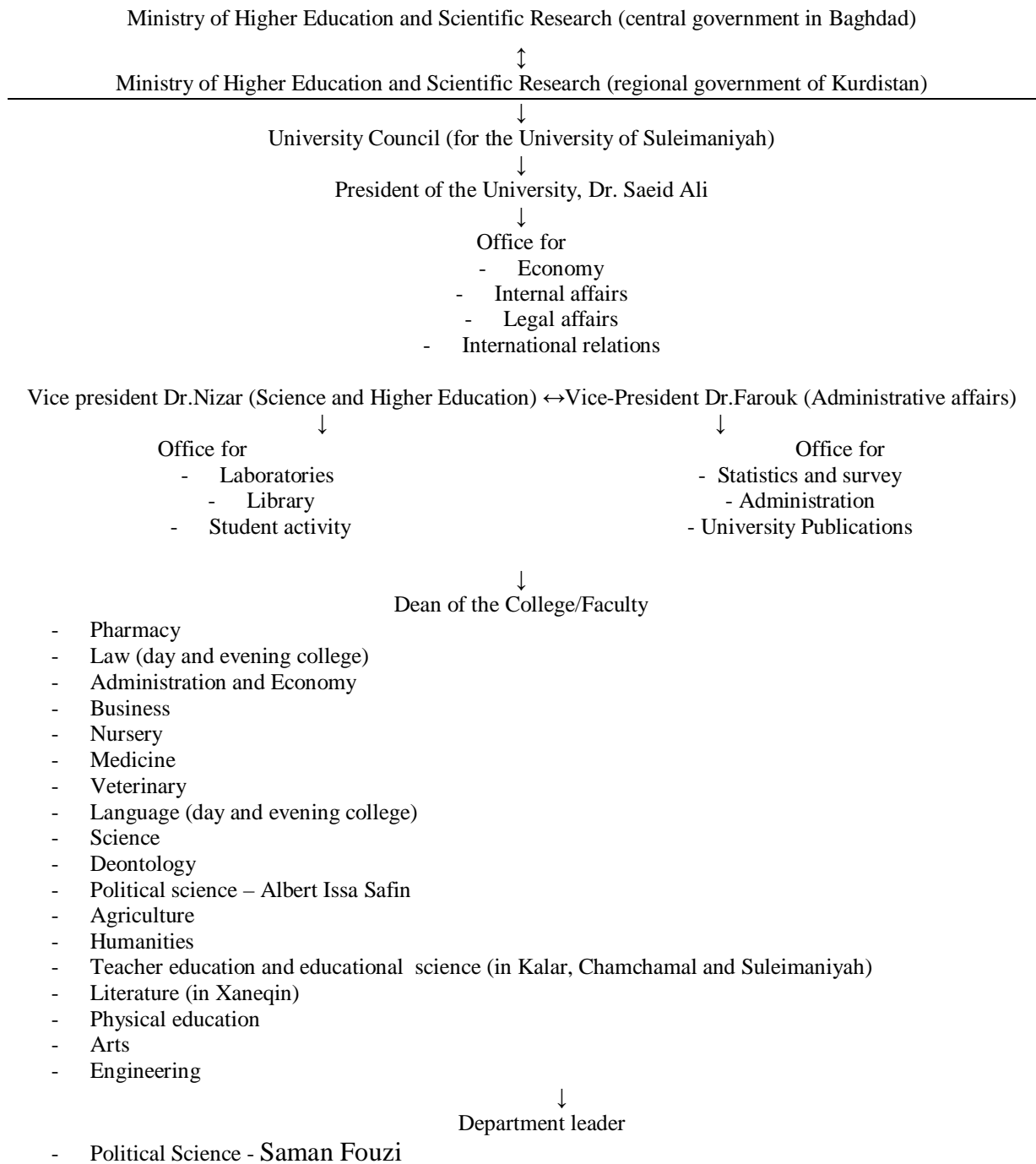


Figure 4.1 The formal organisational structure of the UoS

5.0 The Faculty of Political Science

The aim of this chapter is to explore the first research question; *How is the Faculty of Political Science organised?* I will use the theoretical framework developed in chapter two to categorise and analyse the data.

5.1 The establishment of the FPS

The FPS was formed in 2003 following a formal decision made by the KRG, the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research²⁹. Within different political parties at both local and regional level there was a widespread wish to educate members and politicians in political science. The politicians, many of them old `peshmerge`³⁰, found it necessary to gain knowledge in political science, though many of them had been practicing politics for decades. The UoS did not have a political science program while the other two public universities in Kurdistan in 2003; the University of Duhok and the University of Salahaddin, offered degrees in political science. Taking both the political and educational-administrative aspects into account, the FPS was established at the UoS and began to enrol students in September 2003.

5.2 New organising of political science

This decision resulted in the establishment of the FPS, and the Dean of the Faculty informed me that this was the first of its type in Kurdistan. Most political studies in Kurdistan are either organised as a subunit, a department under the faculty of Law, or as a shared department. The latter is the case at the University of Duhok, which has a College of Law and Politics. The FPS therefore represents a new way of organising political science in Kurdistan. This, however, is not to suggest that political science was not of great importance in Iraq before this time. The Dean informed me that during the Baath regime minority groups such as the Kurds

²⁹ I do not know who were the strongest pressure groups and initiative participants for the establishment for this Faculty.

³⁰ `Peshmerge` is the Kurdish name for the armed force fighters (maybe best translated into English `guerrilla soldier`). They belong to different Kurdish political parties and follow the political agenda of the particular party of interests, but at the same time, they have all been part of the Kurdish movement fighting for the Kurds rights. This term is widely used across Kurdistan, and not only Iraqi Kurdistan, but also at the other regions, such as by the PKK.

and Christians were not allowed to study political science at university. This policy was attempted to exclude these groups from scientific knowledge about politics so that they could not achieve progress within this field. The Baath regime considered this kind of knowledge as a threat to their power. This is similar to the overall politics of the Baath regime; which also excluded minority groups from parliament. After the UN established a no-fly zone, the universities in Kurdistan opened up for student admission to the field of political science based not on ethnic discrimination.

5.3 The formal structure

The rational system perspective emphasises that organisations are constructed to seek and achieve goals (Scott, 2003: 56). There are fewer hierarchical levels in expert organisations than in bureaucracies (Strand 2001). In the case of the FPS there was a low hierarchical level as well as the positions which were purposively divided to fit into the rest of the University structure. The formal structure was designed in such a way that it seemed to fit into the rest of the organisational structure, as being a faculty of the UoS. The leadership was not divided between administrative and academic hierarchy, the leaders were responsible for both the administrative and the academic affairs of the FPS.

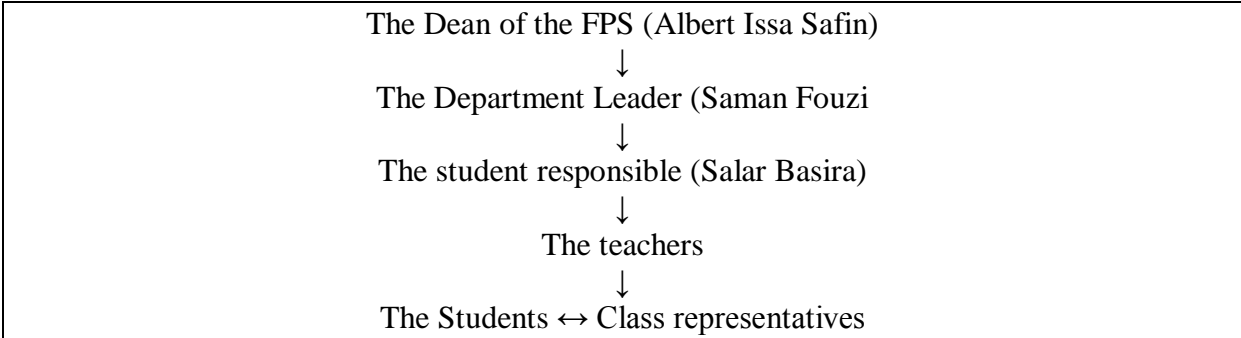


Figure 5.1 The formal organisation structure of the FPS

The Leadership

The FPS was led by the Dean of the Faculty, Albert Issa Safin, whilst Salar Basira was responsible for student affairs. The Department of Political Science (DPS) was the only subunit of the Faculty. The Department leader was Saman Fouzi. Though Basira was not entitled to decision making power as both the Dean and Leader, he had the role of representing the leadership in situations where the Dean and Department Leader were not

present. These three had personal assistants, but their role was solely to assist. Most of the administrative affairs, the organising of the Bachelor program and the everyday steering of the Faculty, were distributed between the Dean, the Department Leader and Basira. Safin and Basira both returned from Europe where they studied political science for many years. The Dean of the Faculty had an ass-Syrian Christian background, while the Department Leader and Basira both were Kurds. Fouzi gained his education in Law from the UoS.

The teachers

There were 19 teachers at the Faculty, two of whom were women³¹. The three leaders of the FPS were also teachers, each responsible for different subjects. All the teachers lived in Suleimaniyah, though some of them have received their masters or doctoral degree from abroad. Some studied at universities in Sudan and Egypt, others at universities located in the western part of the world. Most of them were Kurds, although recently a number of Arabs were appointed. The Arabic teachers were internal displaced refugees who moved from the central and southern part of Iraq because of the ongoing conflict. The security level is higher in Kurdistan than rest of Iraq. The one Arabic teacher interviewed for this thesis was the only employee at the Faculty with a professorship.

The students and student admission

Students were mainly admitted to the Faculty through a national admission program based on grades achieved in the 6th form Baccalaureate. But at the FPS there was also a special student group which had been admitted to the FPS on the grounds of the formal decision made by the MHESR. The Ministry allowed all those who were either members of political parties, were politicians, or former *`peshmerge`* to become students at the Faculty. They were individuals whom fought against the Baath regime and still play an active role in politics. Whether they worked in public administration offices or held political positions the one thing they had in common was membership in political parties. Two of the older students were ministers in the KRG, whilst others held leadership positions in the public administration offices. Most *“peshmerge”* were over 40 years of age, and some close to 60. Even from the first year the

³¹ It is important to notice that these statistics are all from the first fieldwork, the spring of 2007. If there are changes in numbers of teachers and students, I use the information from the spring of 2007, and do not take into consideration the changes of numbers of students or teachers.

FPS enrolled both younger students and politicians. Because some (very few) of the older students did not possess a 6th from Baccalaureate, the decision was opposed in 2005 by the younger students and other pressure groups inside the UoS. Therefore in the autumn 2006 the class of first year students were admitted to the program solely on the basis of national admission program, and not for their being members of political parties. Most of these students were 19 years old and had recently graduated from their 6th year of secondary schooling.

First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year	Total
77 (40m-33f) (all admitted on national requirement terms)	95 (73m-22f) (50% older students)	102 (64m-38f) (50% older students)	90 (72m-18f) (50% older students)	360 (249m- 111f)

m: male f: female

Figure 5.2 Numbers of students at the FPS (academic year 2006/2007)

Class representatives

At the beginning of each autumn semester, the students of each of the divided class groups (A and B) selected two class representatives; a male and female. These two students had the responsibility to attend at arranged meetings with the leadership of the Faculty. At all times they represented the students' opinions on different matters. They also had the responsibility to report conflicts between students and teachers³².

5.4 The informal structure

The three groups of organisational participants; the leadership, teachers and students; interacted with each other on daily basis. The natural system perspective acknowledges the formal organisational structures, but also emphasises that there are informal structures present in organisations. According to this perspective, organisations are like social communities, and as such the informal structures and interpersonal relations are those which guide the actual behaviour of the participants (Scott, 2003: 27-28). To be able to understand this informal structure, the organisational participants, divided into categories, will be described. The

³² At the university level they also have a unit which is responsible for dealing with cases where staff members of the university and the students are in conflict with each other or in conflict amongst the groups themselves. In Kurdish this unit is called 'bûnî başî komelayetî'.

informal structure at the FPS was different to that of the formal structure, and in the following chapters I will use this informal structure to analyse the data collected, and see what role it played on the organisation. In this informal structure the Dean and Department Leader, along with the older students, had most power. The teachers were at a middle level and the younger students and class representatives at the end. Basira was also placed here because he both lacked the title of “leader” and was not as empowered in this structure as in the formal structure.

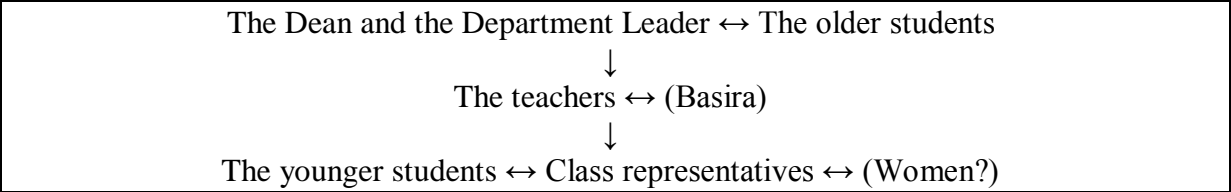


Figure 5.3 The informal organisation structure of the FPS

Gender

Gender was especially important to my female interviewees. Indeed, both younger and older female students compared themselves to male students. They said that they faced many more challenges than the male participants at the FPS. This does not necessarily mean that Kurdish women are weak and Kurdish men are strong, but rather that the societal norms which organised their social reality empowered the men and weakened the women. This division between the women and men was not to understand and place into a position in this informal structure, but still have an indication, though weak, that the women were situated in lower part of this informal structure. In the following chapters, the female interviewees, as well as some of the males, shall outline their concerns over gender.

The divided student group

The students were divided into two main groups; one older and one younger. The older students were, as mentioned earlier, persons with membership in various political parties, mostly in the KDP and PUK which have the majority of seats in the KRG parliament and form part of the coalition government of the KRG. The present president of Iraq, Jalal Tababani, is the leader of PUK. Disagreements between the two parties in the 1960s resulted in armed fighting during the 1990s. In 2005 they reconciled and formed a government

together. The older students were mostly men, but a few older women were enrolled as students too. They all had a position in the public sector, and either held political seats or were leaders in the public sector. Two of the students were even ministers in the KRG and had political power because of their positions in society. They had also been active in the fight for the rights of the Kurds in Iraq, which itself had a great influence on their ability to gain positions of power. Some of them had been `peshmerge`, which is a well respected occupation in Kurdistan.

The younger students were admitted to the Faculty based on their 6th grade Bacalaureate results. Most of these students were not members in political parties but belonged to the generation which grew up in the 1990s under the relative autonomous period of the no-fly decade. Their experiences of the Kurdish fight against various regimes were very different from former generations. They had not been involved in battles and neither experienced the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, where the Kurdistan region became a battle ground. However, the sanctions during the 1990s may have influenced the students during their childhood. After the removal in 2003 of the Hussein led Baath regime Kurdistan` economy has blossomed³³. These two different historical contexts create challenges for the interactions between members of both generations in the FPS.

Participants in organisations bring their own sets of values, norms and interests and. these form the informal structure as a consequence of interaction between the participants (Scott, 2003: 59). With reference to both the interviewees` own understanding of their social reality and my non-participatory observations, I will outline what guided their interaction and shall specifically focus on those based in Kurdish culture. These guiding elements were based in the environment but were also brought into the organisation through the participants. The conflict based version of social order in the natural system perspective is a means by which one can provide a greater understanding of this structure. "*Order results not from consensus, but from coercion, the dominance of weaker by more powerful groups*" (Scott, 2003: 28). The main elements were as follows;

1. Generational conflict. The ages ranged from 18 to 70 and although this did not necessarily cause conflict, it added to the fact that besides getting a degree in political

³³ I do not take into consideration the world finance crisis in autumn 2008. This crisis occurred later than the time limitation of this thesis.

science, there were few common interests between participants. Within Kurdish culture the norm of respecting older persons is very important. Indeed, even in situation where a young person has been unfairly treated, the older person will have more power to decide the outcome and consequences.

2. Power vs. Powerlessness. The relatively high degree of power which the older students guided their behaviour in such way that it made it very clear who was empowered in most situations. The older students` power, as based on their political and high-ranked positions in the society, was brought into the Faculty through their interactions with others and determined the informal structure of the organisation.

The older students did not consciously use their position of power to coerce the other organisational participants. The informal structure had a continual self-stabilising and self-maintaining mechanism built into it as seen through the support of the different participants, the leaders, the teachers and the divided student groups. One of the informants, a former `peshmerge` said; *“I am sometimes so afraid of this transitional period to establish democracy. Because the older generation has fought so hard to make a better life for their children, and the children, the younger generation, seem to look upon us as if we were Saddam. Now, we can enjoy good times in these mountains in Kurdistan, but my memories of the mountains are of times of frost, starvation, blood and death, but we were never alone. We were united, the peshmerge were supported by the local people, we had the whole society behind us. I wish we could be united again. And we are assumed to be more democratic now than ever.”* He, along with several of the other older students, expressed deep concerns regarding the somewhat unbalanced power distribution and “problematic” relationship with the younger students. These older informants also outlined norms and values in religion and Kurdish culture which influenced their interactions with the younger generation more than rather than their political positions.

The thinking patterns of the two generations showed in the way that they spoke. During the interviews the younger students compared the present situation to the future and “higher” aims. They emphasised often that “things can be better” and that “things should improve soon”. For example, one of the younger male informants emphasised the importance of the opportunity to study abroad. He said that he felt imprisoned in Iraq and that it was almost impossible to have any international stimuli. The older students often spoke in such a way that

they compared the present situation to what they considered “the terrible past”. One older informant said that he was happy about two things in his life; one, that Hussein was removed from power, and second that he had seen the liberation of Kurdistan. He also outlined that further improvement was required in order to establish a stable democracy.

The Leaders

Although the Leaders of the FPS, in many cases, had the legal right to make decisions on behalf of the organisation, the many layers of external organising of the Faculty, which result from it being structured as part of both the university and the MHESR, put limits on its decision making capacity. On the one side are those administrative regulative elements, such as legal aspects and a strict budget to follow, and on the other side are the informal elements, such as the power of the older students. In expert organisations leadership is based on professional authority (Strand 2001). Even though the older students were powerful participants, the authority of the leadership, Dean and Department Leader were also high. One of the teachers outlined that being teacher at the university was a highly respected occupation in Kurdistan, whilst the position of Dean would only give you more respect and power. Even so, there were situations where the older students had more power than the leadership of the FPS. During one lecture, when the teacher went out, I observed one discussion between two class representatives and some of the younger students. Two of the younger students said that three of the older students had cheated by getting hold of the examination questions before an exam. The class representatives and these students complained to the Dean, but he did not act on this complaint. One of the younger students commented; “...*he does not dare.*”

The teachers

This group of organisational participants provided the middle level between the leadership and students. This was not only because of the formal structure but also because of some informal elements. Some of the teachers were involved in politics, some were not. Some of them were younger than the older students and some of them were older than the older students. A few of them worked as journalists at local newspapers and were colleagues with some of the students who also worked as journalists. This group’s participants had similar characteristics to both of the other groups, but their formal positions as teachers, differentiated

them from both the leader and the students. Their occupation as being teachers at a university also placed them in the middle level of the informal structure.

5.5 Goal and visions

The natural system perspective views the goals of organisations as complex. They can be both stated and actual goals, and also additional goals which are essential for the survival of the organisation (Scott, 2003: 57). I asked the Dean of the FPS what his vision was as the main leader of the Faculty. He informed me about the current situation of the country and the transformation to try to implement democratic values into society with the main objective being to obtain a stable democracy: *“In Iraq we have so many different ethnicities, people with different religious background and many different political convictions. To be able to build a strong, united nation-state, we must leave our differences behind, and link the similarities. Liberty, equality and fraternity is important in the new Iraq. For us who offer an education in political science we have an important role to implement democratic values in the society, basically through our students, because they will one day contribute to the development of the society.”* It was important for him that the whole Faculty was imbued with this approach; which he called *“a democratic mentality”*. I shall evaluate this vision as an additional goal for the purpose of survival and maintenance of the organisation. The KRG adopted this “peaceful” approach after the conciliation of 2005. The KRG recently hosted a national Iraqi conference on the transition period and the establishment of democracy. Several of the main Kurdish politicians supported this kind of aim, and the participants of this conference also outlined that the *“Discussions were conducted in a spirit of acceptance and mutual respect, and were underpinned by a shared commitment to a coordinated, national, and truly comprehensive process of accountability and reconciliation in Iraq.”*³⁴

The Dean also informed me that the teachers had a responsibility to follow this approach in their education of the students. This establishment of a standardised appropriate behaviour is a way in which the leaders of expert organisations can influence the behaviour of employees (Strand, 2001: 241). The theme of one of the lectures I attended was about the Second World War and Nazism. Some the younger students said that the Nazi regime based their ideology on racism, and they compared it to the Baath regime led by Hussein. After the lecture, the

³⁴ URL: <http://www.krg.org/articles/detail.asp?lngnr=12&smap=02010100&rn=223&anr=29420>, (30th of June 2009, 20.25 pm).

discussion continued outside. One of the younger students said that this was an attempt to de-nationalise the students and make them forget their identity as Kurds. But he was also confused, and outlined that he did not even understand how he should think of the present and future of Kurdistan. His question focused on remaining a Kurd or becoming an Iraqi, because the reality is that Kurdistan remains formally under Iraq. The teacher replied that everybody should be proud of who they were, but that they did not need to commit the same mistakes as previous regimes. This lecture was an example of how the Dean's vision was gradually imposed from the top level and down to the students, through the efforts of the middle level, the teachers.

It may seem strange that they established a whole new faculty solely for the purpose of one department, but the Dean informed that this was only the beginning. The plans for the future were to develop the Faculty and establish several more departments. The Dean and Department Leader both wanted to create an additional degree in political science; a master degree starting from the autumn of 2007, but this was not implemented when I returned the second time. The Dean also wanted to examine other political science departments in the international academic community with the objective to institute new courses; *“The continuous bargaining, to achieve this development of the Faculty of Political Science, with the University and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research is hard”*.

5.6 Mobilisation of resources

One of the challenges the leaders of expert organisations face is the mobilisation of resources, and this is especially so in the establishment phase where uncertainty is relatively high (Strand 2001). Even though a strong leader in such organisations is not essential, the leader's ability to bring resources to the organisation in times of conflict and instability is important (2001). The Leadership of the FPS faced many difficulties and challenges in mobilising its organisational resources.

Economic restrictions

As part of a public organisation the Faculty's budget was strictly based on public financing; the national budget. Christensen et al outline that one of the differences between public and private organisations are the many demands placed upon public organisations; such as

accountability and openness (Christensen et al 2004: 14). I asked both the University and the Faculty if I could take a look at the budget, but I was not allowed to see these classified documents. As such, it was difficult to find out how much the budget was. Though the Iraqi constitution grants free education at all stages, one of the major financial sources of the FPS was the tuition fees students paid.

1. KRG was entitled to 17% of the national Iraqi budget. These are then distributed among the respective ministries of the KRG.
2. The students were charged with almost 350 000 Iraqi dinars (approximately 300\$) each year. During the academic year of 2006/2007 this totalled 108, 000\$. More than 95% of this budget covered the teachers` salary, while the rest covered the cost of curricula the FPS bought for lectures.
3. The operation of the office and the Leadership`s salary was covered by the University budget.

The University Council had to approve the budget of the Faculty before the beginning of each academic year in the autumn semester. In cases of unexpected expenditures during times of crisis, the University President was entitled to approve additional financing. If changes demand a very high amount of additional resources then the University Council has to approve this. In even more dramatic situations, for example during security concerns such as exploitations, the MHESR will be contacted. The Faculty was also an evening college, and all the evening colleges at the University charge student tuition fees. The Faculty`s budget covered the staffs` income, whilst the university paid the leaderships` salary. When asked which posts were earmarked and which posts were open in the budget, the Dean of the Faculty said that this was an internal administrative affair which the Dean and Department Leader, along with recommendations from Basir, were free to decide upon. The budget, however, was solely based on student tuition fees, and this covered teacher salaries only. As such, the FPS did not have further money to distribute on other activities.

Recruitment of experts

In expert organisations staff are hired on the basis of their competences and field of knowledge (Strand 2001), and this was similar to the recruitment of teachers in the FPS. The Dean and the Department Leader said that they were free to choose staff members; both

teachers and assistants. Staff were hired based on both their competences, and the needs of the Faculty. Yet it was not easy to recruit experts to the FPS. Most of the teachers have master's degrees, whilst only a few hold PhD's. Indeed, only one Arabic teacher at FPS holds a professorship. The Dean showed an interest in employing teachers from abroad and argued that those who study at Western universities had a different understanding of politics; "... *they are learned to become more analytical and better in criticising. Not the criticism the people express here, but constructive criticism*". "*It is very difficult to find good, qualified, competent, highly educated teachers within this field in Kurdistan, especially female teachers. But now it has improved, and it will become better for the next generation. Just take a look at the students we have today. Half of them women, and very intelligent young women*".. Three students also commented on this issue, suggesting that the competence of the teachers was low.

Time

Organisations depend on the participant's time, energy and efforts to survive. Most of the teachers had employment as teachers at other colleges too. This meant that few of the teachers possessed full-time employment at the Faculty. The Dean and Department Leader considered this a problem; "*The teachers are so busy, that sometimes they come too late for their classes...I face the same problem even. My day at the Faculty is a never-ending competition. I have to be focused to distribute my time carefully to be most effective*", the Department Leader said. All of the teachers agreed that this was a challenge that they faced. All of the teachers said that the income as a university teacher was low and that they therefore found it necessary to either work part-time at the other colleges or elsewhere.

Non-existent research

When I asked the Dean and the Department Leader how they carried out research they answered that they did not look upon the Faculty as a research institution; it was more similar to a teaching institution. The Faculty did not have master's or PhD programs and academic staff were employed as teachers rather than researchers. Even though they wanted to conduct research this was impossible due to time constraints, limited academic literature and the non-financing of research. Those teachers who conducted research did so on their own behalf and received financial support from places other than the Faculty. At the other colleges at the UoS

those who conducted research first gained permission from the department leader, then the dean of the college and finally from the University President. Each of the research designs had to be evaluated by all of these three levels in order to gain permission to carry out the research. One female teacher commented that; *“The time I use to educate the students at different colleges, is a time I would rather have used to conduct research”*.

Academic literature

The choice of the curriculum at the FPS was more independently decided upon when compared to the choice of courses. The teacher responsible for the course received guidelines on what kind of themes he or she should cover during the semester. Some of the courses had an already settled curriculum, but within the themes the teacher was to some extent free to change, add or remove some of the curriculum. However, access to academic literature was a major challenge. Both the teachers and the leaders considered this a problem for the development of political science at universities in Kurdistan and Iraq and the ability to produce knowledge. Reasons for this include the scarcity of domestic research and publications as well as the scarcity of academic literature imported from the international academic community.

FPS Buildings

The FPS did not have its own building to facilitate the activities of the organisation. All of the informants whom were interviewed said that this was one of the biggest problems the Faculty faced. All of the other colleges at the University had their own buildings, while the lectures of the FPS took place at the College of Engineering. The double-booking of the rooms at the College of Engineering caused confrontations and disagreements between students and teachers belonging to the two colleges. However, the College of Engineering had first entitlement to these facilities and the FPS only secondarily. The first year students had their lectures in the old buildings of the College of Nursery. The College of Nursery moved to the new university campus in Bakrajoo³⁵. This building was closed for activities but given the lack of lecture rooms for the FPS, the FPS had to reopen and reuse these old buildings. One of

³⁵ Bakrajoo is a suburb of the city of Suleimaniyah. The new university campus of the UoS and the American University of Iraq- Suleimaniyah are located in this area. They plan to move most of the Colleges to this campus, while the College of Medicine and College of Deontology would still be located in Iskan, neighbouring the regional hospital.

the younger students said; *“You cannot believe it. I was cold all winter, and now we cannot breathe because it is too warm. How can I concentrate to gain knowledge? This situation is a joke. Every day I wake up, and hope that we have our own building. They have promised us this, but now I do not believe in them anymore.”* The FPS complained about this, even to the University President, but without any action been taken. Though the older students showed a discontent with these facilities, they had a different attitude. One of the older male students said; *“Even if I had to sit on a barrel, and write with a stick in the sand, I would still attend the lectures. Of course the situation could have been better, but I have been given a chance of a lifetime, I will do my very best to learn more and more very day.”* Another older male student who lived in Kirkuk said; *“I have travelled from Kirkuk to Suleimaniyah five times a week for the last four years. It takes me about three hours to drive back and forth between home and the University, and this is besides having terrible road conditions and the danger of explosions. The aim of getting a degree in political science and to learn more about politics in a scientific way has to me been almost as important as my family.”* The office of the Leadership and Basira, although only a three minute walks away, was located outside of the University campus³⁶. It encompassed three offices for the leaders, one assistant office, a garage and a small Faculty library.

5.7 The Bachelor program

The Faculty ran a Bachelor degree program in political science. Like most of the Bachelor programs at the University of Suleimaniyah this program ran for four years. The Faculty was open Sunday to Thursday from 16.00 pm to 20.00 pm. The autumn semester lasted from September to December/January and the spring semester from January till May/June. The Faculty had a rule which obligated students to attend all of their courses, with a 10 % absence limit allowed before a student was deemed to have failed a class. The students were divided into A-group and B-group, and they belonged to the same group through all of the courses for the duration of the degree.

³⁶ This office building was originally built as a house, not for the purpose to facilitate offices.

Courses

In principal, the Dean and Department Leader, in cooperation with teachers, were free to choose the courses and curriculum. In practise, at the end of the spring semester they planned both the courses and curriculum. They organised a meeting with the other political science departments in Kurdistan to compare the next year's plan. Most of time, the political science departments at the public universities in Kurdistan choose to offer similar programs, the same courses, and, to some extent, the same curriculum. They did so for two reasons. Firstly because of security issues; students were normally admitted to a university close to their place of residence. Secondly, when students wished to continue their education at another university it was difficult for them to get approval if they had already taken courses whose content differed widely. There were some differences at each particular department, but in the main they were quite similar.

First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth Year
Human Rights	General International Law	International Organisation*	Contemporary Political ideology and theory
Kurdology	Political Sociology	Political Parties	Diplomacy
Political Science	History of Old Political Ideas	History of Religion	International (specific) Law
Political Economy	Political Systems	History of New Political Ideas	European Union
Statistics	International Relations*	Geographical Politics	European Nationalism
Computer (Theoretical)	Administration	Foreign Politics	The third world countries
Constitutional Law	History of International Relations	Economical International Relationships	International Politics*
Computer (Practical)			
Methodology			
Introduction course in Law			

The course with English language used as language is marked with *. The other courses are given in either Kurdish or Arabic language. Figure 5.4 The Bachelor courses of the FPS.

Examinations

At the end of each semester students took exams on all of their courses. In some of the courses the students went through small tests each week, every second week or once a month;

it depended on the teacher's choice. The top grade was 100% but to pass it was only necessary to score 50%. The grading system was as follows;

90-100: excellent; 80-89: very good; 70-79: good; 60-69 average; 50-59 pass; 0-49: fail.

The small tests were graded by the teacher responsible for the specific course, whilst the larger final examinations were graded by the teacher and another internal examiner at the Faculty. Students were entitled to complain about their grades but had to pay a fee in order to have their grades re-evaluated. The Faculty appointed a committee to evaluate these complaints consisting of the Dean of the Faculty, the Department Leader and three other teachers. The committee only counted the points already given by the examiners, and did not re-evaluate the former given points of the answers.

5.8 The challenge of language

Another important challenge which the organisation faced was communication difficulties. Most of the courses were taught in Kurdish and as of 2007 all students were Kurds. The official public language of Iraq under the Baath regime was Arabic, which the older generation could comprehend but the younger could not. In Kurdistan, after the No-Fly zone was ended, Kurdish was designated an official public language. The Dean and the Department Leader wanted to improve the English skills of the students and therefore two of the subjects the Faculty taught were in English. One of the teachers has studied at universities in Great Britain and had responsibility for these two courses. The Arab teacher from Baghdad lectured in Arabic. In some of the lectures I attended where the language was in Arabic I observed that most of the lecture was taken up with translation from one language to another, with the older students as translators. They translated from Arabic to Kurdish to the other students and from Kurdish to Arabic to the teacher.

5.9 The Future of the FPS

When I returned in November 2007 for my second visit to the FPS, Basira, who had been responsible for student affairs, had been removed from his position. The administrative work relating to students affairs was from then on distributed between the Dean and the Department Leader. There were rumours on the university campus that the FPS was going to be closed down, while the DPS was going to be formally placed under the Faculty of Law. Historically, this was the most common way of organising political science in Kurdistan. Though I did ask

the Dean of the FPS if these rumours were true, I did not receive any definite confirmation from him or anyone else. However, in the autumn of 2008 the FPS was closed and The Department of Political Science re-structured under the Faculty of Law. Saman Fouzi is still Department Leader, whilst Albert Issa Safin is now the present Dean of the College of Arts at the UoS. The phase which an organisation is situated in, the phase of establishment, stabilisation phase or “late phase”, is one important aspect to take into consideration (Strand 2001). The FPS seemed to be stuck in the first establishment phase. This phase was characterised by instability, the fight to mobilise more resources and also the formation of an informal structure which standardised what was considered as appropriate behaviour at the FPS.

6.0 Academic freedom and institutional autonomy

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will seek to answer the second research question; How and to what extent does this organisation secure academic freedom for its teachers and students? The data is presented according to the selected variables on academic freedom, the answers of the different informant groups, the leadership, the teachers and students. I will use the contributions from previous chapters on the history of Iraq, educational context and the organising of the Faculty to analyse this data. I will also use the theoretical framework to analyse and categorise some of the data.

The second part of the chapter will focus on the last of the research questions; What does the data indicate about the institutional autonomy of the Faculty of Political Science? I will use the theoretical framework and the previous discussion of the organising of the FPS to analyse its institutional autonomy. The variable which is focused on in is that which was selected on the basis of the discussion regarding institutional autonomy in chapter two. It is strictly addressed to the leaders, the Dean of the FPS and the leader of the DPS, but additional data are provided in order to capture the views of other participants regards the institutional autonomy of the organisation.

6.1 Academic freedom in a Kurdistan context

In chapter two we saw both how the term `academic freedom` developed in Germany and that it encompassed both `lernfreiheit` and `lehrfreiheit`. The first question addressed to the informants was; what does academic freedom mean to you? This was asked so as to develop an understanding on how the term was understood in Kurdistan. A direct translation of academic freedom in Kurdish is `azadiyê akadêmî`³⁷. Some of the students answered that it was the university's obligation to protect the student right to academic freedom within the university. One said that it meant having the same political and civil rights inside the university as those in society. One of the younger students who worked as journalist said that the most important aspect of academic freedom was the right to choose research questions freely, the freedom to publish academic articles and the freedom of expression. Another young female student said; *“For me, it is important to have the same rights as other citizens*

³⁷ University autonomy in Kurdish is `azadiyê zanko`.

in Kurdistan, on equal ground as everybody else. The citizens of a country are entitled to specific rights. Rights connected to academic freedom are rights for the academic community.” For some students this term included civil rights and political rights, whilst for four of them it even included human rights. One interviewee considered that the freedom to choose examination times was also the right of the student. The Leadership was more interested in the rights granted to the organisation and their right to make decisions which would affect the internal affairs of the FPS. Teachers had a common understanding that the main core of academic freedom was the right to conduct research freely, which is a similar idea to the German “*Freiheit der Wissenschaft*”.

6.2 Freedom of research, research topic and methodology

Scale-variables/Informant group	Younger Students	Older Students	Teachers	Leadership	Total
1.Freedom of research					
Very freely	5	7			12
Moderate					
Very restricted	4		6	2	12
2.Freedom of research topic					
Very freely	5	7	4	2	18
Moderate					
Very restricted	4		2		6
3.Freedom of methodology					
Very Freely	7	7	6	2	22
Moderate					
Very restricted	2				2

Figure 6.1 The responses of the informants on the variables, freedom of research, freedom of research topic and freedom of methodology.

Both the leaders of the FPS argued that they were very restricted and could not conduct research freely. The lack of essential resources and the “unfair” time distribution were some of the reasons given for this. Research was not a task they regarded as part of the Faculty’s activities, but rather they argued that implementing research at the Faculty was a goal they would work for to achieve. All of the teachers agreed with the leaders regards this. They could carry out research in their private time, but not during the time they spent at the Faculty. It was also hard to gain financial support for research projects. Furthermore, the lack of good libraries of available sources from which to collect information from were factors which limited the ability to conduct reliable research. 5 of the 9 younger students interviewed said

that the freedom to conduct research was high at the Faculty, whilst the 7 older student interviewees agreed on this. These students related their experience of high freedom to conduct research to their Bachelor assignments. They said that for them as students, at this first level of higher education they could not ask for permission to carry out research. They experienced this degree of freedom of research at a satisfactory level. The rest of their papers and assignments were based on oral discussions during lectures, either among teachers and students or solely based on the lectures given by teachers. The other 4 young students claimed that research at the Faculty and other universities did not reach the standard of reliable research. One student argued this was because; *“From early childhood we are taught to be careful and not to criticise the happenings in the society. Because of fear, we have become a shy people and a lying people. Our scientific research is even filled with such lies.”*

All of the older students said that they have been free to choose the research questions for their assignments and Bachelor papers, whilst 4 of the younger students disagreed with this. They said that there were many reasons why they could not choose research questions freely, the most important of which was the authorities, political parties, religion and Kurdish culture. They had to take into consideration which topics could damage politicians, religious actors and wider society. The other 5 younger students felt that they had been free to choose their research topics. One of them argued that the most important task of academics was to conduct true scientific research. 2 of the 6 teachers said that the choice of research topic was a sensitive decision. One of these teachers argued that; *“In general, those themes or research questions which are sensitive, we avoid choosing or do not choose at all. It is first and foremost the most secure way to avoid making it difficult for oneself. You always choose the simple way out. If you choose to write about sensitive subjects for example about the political parties, the authorities or political leaders, you have to write about them in a positive way, and not analyse them in a critical way. One twists the research and science in a positive direction that is not even necessarily true.”* The other 4 teachers emphasised that within the framework of their subjects they were free to choose research topics.

The students experienced a relatively high freedom of research compared to the Leadership and teachers. These last informant groups all agreed on the low level of research freedom. The natural system perspective outlines that organisational participants may have different interests and that they may try to impose these on the organisation (Scott, 2003: 28). At the FPS the interest of the students was to achieve an education in political science, whilst

teachers and the Leadership, because of their formal education and competence, wanted to conduct more research. Even though the leaders wished to secure the freedom to conduct research and choose research topics, the non-existence of research was an indication that these two variables were lacking and implied activities the informants could hardly relate to as part of their activities at the Faculty.

The lack of essential resources was an important factor in the non-existence of research. The leaders did not manage to mobilise essential resources which could expand the Faculty's activities, although the Dean stressed the importance of conducting research and his wish to do so.

1. Lack of resources- economy, literature and time

All informants agreed that the lack of essential resources was one of the most important factors contributing to the lack of research and publications. The FPS was a subunit within a larger public organisation, the UoS; and therefore had a strict budget to follow. The financing of the Faculty's activities came only from the national budget and student tuition fees. This funding was not enough to cover both organisation costs and the conduction of research at the Faculty. The lack of academic literature available was also a major limitation. This can be explained by the fact that the Baath regime made Iraq a closed society with a limited interaction and exchange of knowledge with academic world. This only became a possibility in 2003 following the fall of the Baath regime. The lack of research and literature was highlighted by both the teacher association and the student association as one of the main challenges higher education institutions in Iraq faced. The Faculty library encompassed only a few bookshelves with academic literature, most of which were in Arabic. During my first field trip, I observed a discussion between the Department leader and the Dean of the FPS regarding how much money they should grant to buy new books for the Faculty. The Department leader was travelling to the capital city of Kurdistan region, Hewler, to attend a national book conference. He asked me; "*Does the department leader at your department travel to other cities to buy academic literature?*" Some of the teachers and Leadership used the term "unfair time distribution". This referred to the many hours they spent on lectures and preparing lectures. Most of the teachers were employees at other colleges and therefore to change their employment to full-time at the FPS would cost too much. "*The teachers are appointed to teach, not to conduct research*", the Department Leader argued. Academic staff were appointed as teachers and obligated only to educate the students and mark their exams.

2. Lack of research culture

The 2004 UNESCO report on Iraqi education lists the lack of a research culture as one of the main challenges higher education institutions in Iraq face. The FPS, however, found no encouragement from other bodies to conduct research, though the Leadership wished to do so.

Almost all of the informants at the Faculty agreed on the high degree of freedom to choose methodology. Only 2 students said that the teachers choose the methods of research for the students. The Dean argued that; *“The choice of scientific method has to be the best choice for gathering empirical data taking into consideration the research questions. It should not be a separated choice”*. All of the teachers agreed with the FPS leaders. One of the teachers said: *“A teacher’s responsibility is to teach the students to become analytical and critical scholars, and therefore we help them to choose the best methodology to gather empirical data.”* Another teacher said: *“We follow international standards for methodology in the field of social science.”*

This high degree of freedom to choose methodology was not linked to the lack of resources at the FPS, nor was it linked to the organisation of the FPS. Rather, it was solely linked to the understanding of what academic research implied. Most of the informants argued that the choice of methodology was dependent on the research question. Based on the curriculum of the methodology course, the teacher responsible gave me a short introduction on what kind of methodological topics are raised at the FPS. This teacher also allowed me to observe one oral examination in methodology, which touched upon the variety of methods within both qualitative and quantitative research. The topics addressed were similar to those raised at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Bergen. 2 of the students said that their teachers had chosen the methodological approach of their papers, whilst all of the teachers said that they only guided students in choosing the best method based on the particular research design or research question.

6.3 Freedom of publishing

Variable-scale/informant group	Younger Students	Older Students	Teachers	Leadership	Total
5.Freedom of publishing within the UoS					
Very freely		2			2
Moderate	2				2
Very restricted	7	5	6	2	20
7.3Freedom of publishing outside the UoS					
Very freely	3	6			9
Moderate	2		3	2	7
Very restricted	4	1	3		8

Figure 6.2 The responses of the informants on the variables freedom of publishing inside the UoS, and freedom of publishing outside the UoS.

Both of the leaders at the FPS said that it was not possible to publish within the university because you must; *“afford it personally.”* and *“It has to be approved by the University Leadership.”* There were hardly any academic publications within the UoS. 12 of the 16 students said that they were very restricted and that they could not publish books, articles or academic research because the University both did not give any financial support for publications, and set out sensitive subjects that would not be published on. 2 of the 16 students, both younger students, said that this was something they experienced to a moderate level. The other 2 students, both older male students, said that it was possible to publish freely within the University. The UoS and the Faculty did not restrict the freedom to publish, but it could be difficult because of lack of financing.

The Dean of the Faculty claimed that it was much easier to publish outside the UoS. The Department Leader said that Kurdish society provided its own limits and that he had to follow these limits, but that it was much easier to publish academic research in newspapers within the local community than inside the UoS. He said that Kurdish society sets these limits because of security issues. 3 out of the 6 teachers experienced that they were very restricted in attempts to publish within Kurdish society. One said; *“You have to avoid writing about sensitive issues, criticise the political leaders, and it is important to show to empirical data in the statement one makes.”* Another argument was; *“Yes, it is easier to publish outside the University. But you have to pay attention not to be too negative and critical against important*

persons in the society.” One the teachers informed me how it was easier to publish outside the University; *“Many teachers work in different newspapers beside the job at the University. They can publish their writings, but few of publications are academic work.”*

The female teacher, the Arab teacher and one of the younger teachers were the 3 teachers who had experienced many limitations of publishing outside of the University. The female teacher said; *“If you are working in an international or national NGO it is easier to get protection if you want to publish something, but you cannot criticise the government, the authorities and the political parties.”* The Arabic teacher said; *“It is somehow very restricted what kind of subjects that one may publish about. Though there are so many different opinions in Iraq, I always try to avoid hurting others with my opinions.”* The younger teacher was very preoccupied with the role of the mass media in Kurdish society and publishing. *“After 2003, the media, instead of focusing on and publishing news about important happenings, they discuss issues so that the people give support to the actions of the authorities and political parties. Recently they have been occupied with the grave of Mala Mustafa Barzani and the sickness of Jalal Talabani. For one week ago, there was a little girl, only 17 years old, which got stoned to death by the whole population of her village, but this got very little media coverage. And that is very typical. Radio Nawa, and the newspapers Hewlati and Awena have much more publishing freedom in Suleimaniyah compared to the media in the other cities. The newspaper editor of Hewlati receives death threats constantly. It is because these newspapers are independent from political parties and religious interference, and therefore they represent a threat. In reality they are not a threat for anyone at all, they just give the listeners and the readers a critical insight into the actions of the authorities, the politicians and the political parties. If you dare to be a teacher and publish in the newspapers, you have to be brave.”*³⁸

4 out of the 9 younger students said that there were many restrictions regarding publishing in Kurdistan, all of these students worked as journalists in either public financed or privately owned newspapers. One of the students working in a newspaper owned by a political party said; *“When I write an article, I have to be very careful not to be negative or criticise the*

³⁸ During the first fieldtrip in March/April 2007, and after the teacher informed me of the killing of 17 year old Dua Khalil, I asked those whom I got in contact with if they knew what had happened to Khalil. Most of the time I received the answer: *“No”*. I did not get a full insight into the killing of Khalil before I returned to Norway. In the beginning media coverage was limited to the western world, but with the involvement of Amnesty International it finally became a major subject in Kurdistan as well.

political parties, the political leaders, the authorities and happenings in society. The editor checks and re-checks everything before publication.” 2 of the younger students answered that they experienced this to a moderate degree but only because they seldom tried to publish outside of the University. The 2 other younger students said that it was much easier to publish outside than within the University. Only 1 of the 7 older students interviewed experienced difficulties when trying to publish within Kurdish society. This was one of the older female, and she argued that; *“We can publish freely within the University; it is much more restricted in the society outside because of security issues. The security police are responsible for what can and cannot be published and all publications in general. But they gave up that fight. They could not stop the mouth of the people. Sometimes people even got beaten and tortured by the security police because they were criticising the authorities.”*

The freedom to publish outside the UoS was higher compared to within. 20 out of the 24 informants felt restricted in attempts to publish at UoS, whilst this figure was only 8 out of 24 regards publishing outside of the University. The UoS does have a University Publication office, yet most of the informants experienced that it was difficult to publish within the University. Even though for some of the informants it was easier to publish outside of the University, most of what they published did not constitute academic work. The factors the informants said restricted their right to publish freely were threefold. The first was connected to the lack of resources, with many interviewees expressing that publishing would cost too much. Secondly, publications within the University had to be approved by the various levels of the leaders, deans, department leaders and the University President. This limitation was embedded in the formal university pattern where the formal rights of the leaders were clear. The third factor is related to the society surrounding the UoS. Publications with a content of critics pointed to the authorities, culture and religion, could, according to their experiences, put them in danger. The female teacher and the older female student held this view. The female student also worked for women’s rights within the political party which she was member of. Other teachers and students who deemed their freedom to publish as low also worked as journalists. This suggests that they have experienced violations on their right to publish freely, albeit not in regard to academic publications.

6.4 Freedom of association

Variable-scale/informant group	Younger Students	Older Students	Teachers	Leadership	Total
6.2 Freedom of association within the UoS					
Very freely	9	7	6	2	24
Moderate					
Very restricted					
7.2 Freedom of association outside the UoS					
Very freely	9	7	6	2	24
Moderate					
Very restricted					

Figure 6.3 The responses of the informants on the variables freedom of association within the UoS, and freedom of association outside the UoS

All of the informants experienced the freedom to associate as high both within and outside of the UoS. Both the leaders said that this was because of the Kurdistan recognition of all Iraqis, but also because of the different associations in Iraq which through their existence allow everyone the freedom of association. The teachers also agreed on this. One of the male teachers said; *“I feel sorry for those who are politically active, those who have membership in political parties. They are very restricted to keep their activities and opinions according to the political agenda of their party.”* By contrast a female teacher argued; *“Yes, everyone, included I, have the freedom of associations and organisations, but life becomes automatically a bit easier when one has membership in the political parties.”* The students said that they were free to choose membership in different associations and that it did not matter if these associations were linked to religion, politics or interests. Most of the associations were acceptable as long they were not prohibited by law; for example terrorist organisations or organised criminal networks.

This was the only variable which was uniformly agreed upon by all of informants. None of the other variables had such a high total score. The variable on methodology was closest, with 22 informants experiencing a high level of freedom. The high score given to freedom of association was the only variable where the experience of freedom was alike both inside and outside the UoS. All of the teachers and students were members of student and teacher associations, whilst all of the older students had membership in various political parties. Some

of the informants claimed that it was easier to have association membership compared than to be an “independent”. The support of the association was for most of the informants important. From the early history of Iraq there has been mobilisation amongst different groups, even to some extent even among those divided along ethnic and religious lines. The Baath regime tried to put limitations on the freedom of association and to some extent an Arabification policy was inflicted upon the Kurdish people. The Dean’s vision was to implement a “*democratic mentality approach*” similar to that taken by the KRG since 2005. This may be a small indication that this regime is different from previous regimes. There is a room to both mobilise participation and to have membership in different associations. It was interesting how the informants outlined that it was forbidden to participate in terrorist organisations. The influence of the US invasion and the fight against dictatorship and terrorism may have influenced the participants in the FPS.

6.5 Freedom of expression

Variable-scale/informant group	Younger Students	Older Students	Teachers	Leadership	Total
6.1 Freedom of expression inside the UoS					
Very freely		4			4
Moderate			2		2
Very restricted	9	3	4	2	18
7.1 Freedom of expression - extramural utterance					
Very freely	4	4	6		14
Moderate					
Very restricted	5	3		2	10

Figure 6.4 The responses of the informants on the variables freedom of expression inside the UoS and extramural utterance.

The leaders emphasised that the freedom of expression was generally very low at the UoS. This view was based on how Kurdish society functioned; the Department Leader said that the University was driven by the people and their mentality. The Dean said; “*The mentality in Kurdistan is that you cannot talk about everything concerning the society, and therefore everybody has to be careful not to harm others in their statements, opinions, publications and research.*”

2 of the 6 teachers said that there was some degree of freedom of expression but that *“It is very dependent on the strength of the individual”*. Still, they were convinced that when one was able to leave behind cultural norms then one could express opinions freely. The other 4 teachers felt freedom of expression within the UoS to be very limited. The Arabic professor said; *“The Faculty is a special community. You always have to pay attention to everyone and to the different opinions of the others, just because you can hurt them and their feelings. You do not wish to hurt anyone at all.”* One of the older male teachers said; *“No, because almost half of my students are the authorities themselves, and it makes it much more difficult.”*

All of the 9 younger students felt that they could not freely express their opinions at the FPS as a result of the older students. One of the young male students argued that; *“They are old politicians... They have too much power.”* Whilst one of the younger female students said; *“If a girl points criticism against Islam, it is much worse for her than for a boy. I am afraid of the older students.”* Another young male student said many of their statements were misunderstood by the other members of the Faculty; *“If I criticise religion, I will immediately be looked upon as a non- believer, and will be told that I do not fear God and thereby am an infidel. If I criticise the political parties, I will be understood as or be looked upon as a fundamentalist, terrorist or Islamist, because those political parties do not have a religious agenda. I do believe in God, and I am not a terrorist either.”*

3 out of the 7 older students said that they could not freely express themselves at the Faculty. One of the older female students said; *“All women in Kurdistan have a sickness, it is called for shyness. When a woman says what is on her mind, many will laugh at her. Therefore many women choose to stay silent, and not to be humiliated. There are many female students whom do not attend the discussions in the classes.”* During my second fieldtrip at the end of 2007 I asked the older students if they thought that they restricted the younger students’ ability to express themselves freely. 3 of the older students answered; *“I can speak with, even joke with, some of the younger girls. Some of the others, I cannot even say hello to. It has something to do with the big separation between men and women in the society, it is not my fault... I am more restricted than the younger students. I have always to keep myself within the program of my political party, they do not need to do that. Sometimes I do not even understand how the younger students pass the exams, some of them are not as dedicated students as others. Some of the young students have used us, the older students, to get a job in the public administration, or to get their cases through the bureaucracy of the public sectors, just*

because they know us through the university. This is corruption. I do not like it. They are clever in and eager to criticise corruption in the society, but they do not mind to maintain the corruption.” Another older informant said; *“There is a clear division between the students, based on their age, but this is in many situations a good thing. We can learn from each other. Humans do not get older; we just find new ways to cope with the reality. The differences in ages show in the way of speaking. We speak differently. Some of the older students, we are old peshmerges, and this can be frightening for the younger students.”* The third informant said; *“Culture is something one gets raised up in from the home, through elementary school, secondary school, and even at the university. But the traditions in the upbringing is different from one family to the other, it is both personal and individual. The freedom in Kurdistan is limited, but it is up to the individual how strong it is to influence and change the old traditions. Now we are heading forwards, and this changing process is very strong and unstoppable. I can understand why the younger girls are a bit afraid of the older men, but it is just because women are raised up to become shy. To respect the elderly is an important and old tradition here. The teachers are very strict towards the younger students and do not respect them, they dare not to treat me the same way because I am older than some of the teachers even. The teachers treat us differently. But there is something I do not understand with the younger ones. They claim that there is a lot of censorship forced on them from the political parties, but even I discuss within my political party. Some of the questions and critics against the political parties are totally idiotic. The major problem is that we belong to different generations.”*

The Leaders said that freedom of expression was low everywhere in Iraq and that it was difficult to express opinions that included criticism of society or demanded its change. If these opinions were too radical and not approved by the majority it could affect their status and authority at the FPS. All of the teachers said that they were free to express their opinions outside of the university. A female teacher said; *“It is easier than inside the University, because then you can choose whom you want to express your views to.”* Another teacher said; *“The Kurdish society gives a lot of prestige and respect to university teachers. People listen to them.”* The Arabic teacher argued that; *“The Kurdish community in Suleimaniyah is much more open to radical and modern thinking than anywhere else in Iraq.”*

The variables which were not in need of financing to rank in a high or low degree, like freedom of expression³⁹, were affected by the informal structures. When the freedom of expression was enshrined as a civil right in the constitution of Iraq it should also have been made applicable to those at the Faculty⁴⁰. This freedom would give legal support and therefore make it easier for participants at the FPS to express their views more freely. However, the variables on freedom of expression seem not to be influenced by the law but rather by Kurdish society. The society influenced both the freedom of expression inside the Faculty as well as outside of it. Inside the University the degree of expression was lower than compared to outside, as informants said that they could chose whom they wanted to express their opinions to outside the FPS. 8 of the 16 students felt free in expressing their views outside the UoS. Only 4 of the 9 younger students and 4 out of the 7 older students agreed. 4 of the teachers felt very restricted, as did both the leaders when it came to expressing their views inside the University. The interactions among the FPS participants occurred on a daily basis and were very intense. The informal structure, which was described in chapter five, regulated the freedom of expression within the FPS. The fact that some participants belonged to political parties and in some cases even represented the authorities placed a regulating mechanism on the participants. The younger students all felt restricted and outlined that it was the older students who placed most limitations on their freedom of expression. The female informants compared their freedom of expression to that of male informants and felt more restricted than them. Two of the older informants, one male and one female, even diagnosed it as a “sickness”, which they felt made the women stay silent.

A further interesting finding is that the Leadership experienced being very restricted in the ability to express their views both inside and outside the FPS, whilst the teachers felt that they could express their views very freely outside of the University. One of the teachers emphasized that Kurdish society respects university teachers, whilst the Arab teacher compared his present situation to when he worked at a university in Baghdad under the Baath regime. He said that it was easier for him to express his views within the Kurdish community when compared to Baghdad. The occupation of “teacher” was an important factor in their ability to express their views freely outside of the UoS. In the case of expressing their views inside the FPS, 4 teachers experienced it as very restricted and the other 2 as moderately so.

³⁹ This is based on the assumption that it is actually free of fee to express views.

⁴⁰ This is based on the assumption that the status, privileges, rights and responsibilities of being a country’s citizen is also applicable to those becoming member of the University of Suleimaniyah, and hereunder, the Faculty of Political Science.

The latter two both outlined the presence of older students as an impact factor. The leadership said that they had to take into consideration the fact that they had other roles within the faculty than other participants. They were the representative body of the FPS, which for the Department Leader meant; *“I have to act and talk in a representative way, and have to pay attention to the surroundings. As a top leader, I cannot focus on my own interest, but rather the interest of the FPS. I will do my best for the FPS, and my private opinions are and must always come in second place.”* The Dean said he knew what it meant to be in the “minority” category and that if it was not for his education abroad he would not have got such a position.

6.6 Freedom of teaching

Variable-scale-/informant group	Teachers	Leadership	Total
4.Freedom of teaching			
Very freely	3	2	5
Moderate			
Very restricted	3		3

Figure 6.5 The responses of the informants on the variable freedom of teaching.

The fourth variable to be explored in this thesis is the freedom to teach. This question was only addressed to those with teaching responsibilities; the teachers and the Leadership; and as such it will not be calculated in the total sum of academic freedom. Both the Dean and the Department Leader said they were free to decide upon how to teach. As leaders they would not set out any criteria on how to teach as long as teachers fulfilled their teaching duties in the best possible way. Both of the leaders taught different courses within the FPS. The higher ranked leaders, including the University President, did not influence how teaching should be carried out.

3 out of the 6 teachers said that they were not free to teach as they wished and argued that the main reason was the students. The Arabic teacher said; *“The Faculty gives me full freedom and support in my way of teaching, but the students are the ones restricting me to the maximum. I have bad experience with students at the universities in the south, and therefore I fear the students here too.”* One of the other teachers said; *“The students are the ones setting limits and restrictions for the teachers in the teaching situation, especially the older students. I fear them because they are involved in politics and they have authority and power to harm me if I teach in a way, or in something, they do not like or disagree in.”* The female teacher,

when asked if she had freedom to teach as she like, argued; *“Yes, to some extent. I am not allowed to show films the whole semester; that would neither be suitable nor appropriate. But we do not always discuss things that should have been discussed, because it is a bit dangerous.”* The other 3 teachers said that they were free to chose the preferred teaching method but that they had to keep their lectures focussed upon the topic.

The leadership of the Faculty did not set any criteria as to how to teachers should perform their teaching duties. Yet half of the teachers did not feel they had the freedom to teach as they wished. It is important to emphasise that these three teachers were all in minority categories; one was Arabic, one was female, and the other the youngest teacher at the Faculty. They all expressed that it was the students that placed restrictions upon their teaching methods. 2 of these teachers focused on the role of the older students and argued that that they brought their authority into the classroom; *“They use their power in the classroom settings”*. Those teachers who felt free in their teaching methods linked it to the performance of their profession. They said that they had the professional authority to perform their tasks in the way they preferred.

6.7 Institutional autonomy

Decision making about the internal affairs

The internal affairs of the FPS may differ from both other faculties at the UoS and other faculties in other countries. A definition of the “internal affairs” of an organisation has not yet been done and I will use the chapter about the organising of the FPS to specify which tasks, activities, goals, and structures the Leadership of the FPS have to coordinate.

Resources and central planned economy

The Leaders were very limited in their ability to make decisions on internal affairs related to finances. The Leaders had to coordinate activities according to a restricted budget. The budget of the Faculty was approved by the University Council before the start of each academic year. The Leadership’s salary and the costs related to the operation of the office were covered by the money the University Leadership granted the FPS. The second source of money for the FPS budget was the tuition fees students paid. This covered teachers` salary and the curriculum which the teachers needed for their lectures. The organisation therefore functioned

solely as a teaching institution. The financial resources to hire fulltime teachers and give them the freedom to conduct research were not possible. The budget was made with little or no degree of freedom to make decision upon on how to distribute the resources among different activities. The relationship between academic freedom and institutional autonomy can, as in this case, be of mutual, though they can occur independently; “... *where institutional autonomy is virtually non-existent, as in centrally planned economies, academic freedom is less likely to exist or be maintained. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that while it is possible to have academic freedom without institutional autonomy, and vice-versa, the two concepts tend to be mutually supporting and it is desirable that both should be encouraged if each is to flourish*” (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123). This form of centralised budgeting at the university level influenced the freedom of teachers in the FPS to conduct research and also minimised the leaders’ ability to make decisions about the internal affairs of the FPS.

The survival of organisations depends upon resources; for example technical, financial and social. Leaders in expert organisations are the key actors in the mobilisation of resources (Strand, 2001: 251). The leaders of the FPS were entitled to mobilise financial support for research projects from bodies in the external environment, but not from the University itself. The Dean said; “*I have no idea where to get financial support for conducting research. The University should grant research money to the Faculty. Some of the other faculties do conduct research, but that is because they have the financial support from the University. And besides, we do not have Master and PHD programs at the FPS. They will not finance research for such a small Faculty; they prioritise the older and bigger faculties.*” At the FPS there were few other organised activities outside of lectures, which to some extent was because the faculty lacked its own building. The time distribution and the activity of the FPS were linked to the view that the FPS was considered as a teaching institution and not a research institution. The admission of students was based on a national admission program and until the autumn semester of 2006 the FPS enrolled students with a membership in political parties at the behest of the KRG.

Standardisation and formalisation

One of the tasks leaders in expert organisations have is to establish standardised procedures for behaviour and presentation (Strand, 2001: 241). From an academic freedom view the consequences of such standardisation, however, can result in infringements on the employees’

right to academic freedom, insofar as the teachers know their obligations and tasks. The employees are recruited to the organisation based on their formal education and their competence in the field; as such, a controlling leader is neither wanted or needed (Strand 2001). Whilst academic freedom grants professional autonomy, the leaders of such organisations can also establish measures which grant academic freedom to teachers. The vision of the Dean represents an attempt to establish a standardised behaviour. The “*democratic mentality approach*” is an approach which can be processed through teachers to the students. 3 of the 6 teachers who were interviewed did not outline the Dean’s approach as the factor which resulted in their low degree of teaching freedom. The informal structure of the organisation established, in this case, procedures of how to behave and this relatively more compared to the Dean’s ability to establish and control such mechanisms.

Recruitment of staff

Both of the leaders said that whilst they could freely appoint staff to the faculty there were few highly qualified academics in Iraq, which in turn influenced the quality of higher education institutions in Kurdistan. As such, the Leaders wanted to appoint academic staff from abroad, yet this was rejected by the University because of the costs involved. The Dean and the Department considered the present teachers at the FPS as highly qualified.

However, all of the students interviewed were not satisfied with the qualifications of their teachers. They claimed that some of them did not have enough knowledge from which they could learn. Some teachers were considered to be exceptionally good and others not useful at all. 4 out of the 6 teachers interviewed said that the recruitment of staff to the FPS was based on qualifications alone. The other 2 teachers said that if one did not have any acquaintances or personal relations with powerful persons at the University then it would be difficult to get appointed as teacher at the FPS. These teachers also claimed that appointments were firstly permitted by political parties.

Freedom of choice for courses and curriculum

The leaders said that, in principle, they had a high degree of freedom to choose both the courses and the curriculum, but that in reality it was a very difficult choice because it dependent on other factors which were not under their control. They therefore believed their

freedom to choose courses and the curriculum was very low. As chapter five suggested, in the choice of courses and the curriculum leaders had to take Kurdistan society into consideration. Indeed, because of security issues, students were normally admitted to educational institutions close to their residence. The coordination of similar political science programs across the various political science departments was another restrictive factor on leaders of the FPS at the UoS. The FPS leaders had to take into consideration both societal circumstances and the regional planning of political science when setting the political science program.

All of the teachers interviewed said that they did not have any influence on the choice of courses, whilst 4 teachers said that they could influence the choice of curriculum. This latter group said that they had the responsibility to decide topics and could omit parts from or add parts to the established curriculum. The other 2 teachers said that both the courses and the curriculum were not settled by the Leadership at the Faculty, but rather by the KRG, which itself received its orders from the central government in Baghdad.

7.0 Coping with academic freedom and institutional autonomy

The aim of this chapter is to answer the research problem; *how does the Faculty of Political science cope with academic freedom and institutional autonomy?* I will begin by summarising the data and findings in order to give an overall understanding of how the FPS copes with academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

7.1 Academic freedom

Informant group/Scale	Very Freely	Moderate	Very restricted	Total
Younger students (9)	42	4	35	81
Older students (7)	51		12	63
Teachers (6)	28	5	21	54
Leadership (2)	8	2	8	18
Total	129	11	76	216

Figure 7.1 Summary of the measurement of the variables on academic freedom.

From this table we see that the younger students graded their experience as “very free” 42 times and “very restricted” 35 times. The data displayed in chapter six shows that the variables the younger students felt most restricted on were freedom of expression within the university (9), freedom of publishing within the university (7) and freedom of expression within society (5). The variables on freedom of association inside and outside the university were experienced as “very free” by both (9, 9). The other variables varied among the three scaling levels.

The data from chapter six shows that the older students scaled their experiences as “very freely” on the variables freedom of research, research topic, methodology and freedom of association inside and outside the university. None of the variables were scaled by all of the older students as “very restricted”. Their experiences of freedom of expression inside the FPS and outside of UoS were similar, with (4) feeling “very restricted” and (3) “very free”. In total, the older students answered “very free” 51 times and “very restricted” 12 times.

The teachers answered “very free” 28 times, “moderate” 5 times and “very restricted” 21 times. The data from chapter 6 shows that freedom of research and freedom of publishing within the UoS were the variables all of the teachers felt “very restricted” on (6, 6). The

variables freedom of methodology, association inside the university, and freedom of association and expression within society were “very freely” experienced by all of the teachers. On the variable freedom of teaching 3 teachers felt “very free” and 3 “very restricted”.

The leadership was the only informant group which measured an equal number of “very free” and “very restricted” experiences (8,8). The data from chapter six shows that the leaders were the only informant group which ranked heterogeneously on all of the variables. The variables which they experienced as “very restricted” were freedom of research and publishing within the university, and freedom of expression and association both inside and outside of the UoS. The only variable which they experienced “moderately” was freedom of publishing outside the University. On the variable freedom of teaching both of the leaders answered that they felt themselves to be “very free”.

The total summary of how all of the informant groups measured on all of the variables (except freedom of teaching and decision making about internal affairs) shows that 129 answered that they were “very free”, 11 that they were “moderately free” and 76 that they were “very restricted”. Overall, the FPS secured a relatively high degree of academic freedom. The older students are those who experienced a relatively high degree of academic freedom when compared to the other informant groups.

7.2 Societal impact

The ongoing transition from dictatorship to stable democracy has had two main affects on the FPS. With regards to freedom of association it functioned as an “opening door”, and thus increased the degree of freedom of association. On the other hand, the structures already established from previous regimes have made people fear those in political positions. At the FPS many informants assumed the authorities to be negative, powerful and dangerous. Though all Kurds, there was a noticeable conflictual relationship between the younger and older students. Their generational experiences created a distance between them. The younger students compared their reality to a future prosperity, whilst the older students compared their situation to the “terrible past”. This does not mean that a conflict existed based on the oppression of the other, but rather that they experience reality differently and saw it from different perspectives. Still, to some extent, the FPS was a politicised organisation; its very

establishment was based on the desire to educate politicians in political science. In the academic year of 2006/2007 37, 5% of the students were older students, and only in the autumn of 2006 were student solely admitted to the FPS based on national recruitment requirements. This year also marked the point at which for the first time FPS had students within all 4 years of education. In other words, for the first three years the FPS operated 50 % of the students were those older persons with membership in political parties.

There were other factors outside of the UoS which were influential in the organisation of the FPS. Most of the informants were very concerned with the religious values and cultural norms of Kurdish society, and these had an influence on behaviour at the FPS. The natural system perceptive of organisations outlines that participants often bring their interests, values and norms into the organisation, and thereby through interaction form an informal structure (Scott 2003). Organised religion, however, did not place restrictions on the FPS. Religious institutions did not have direct power or legal right to determine the activities of the FPS. One of the male informants talked both about the fear of being associated with terrorism if he did not agree with the other participants' political views, and that he was considered an infidel if he criticised religion. Most of the older male informants, students, teachers and leadership often talked about how religion shaped their acts at the FPS and in Kurdish society.

7.3 Central planning vs. Decentralised autonomy

Expert organisations such as universities are characterised by the internal formalisation of rules and procedures, as well as the orientation towards a heterogonous external environment (Strand, 2001: 230). The leaders of the FPS had to deal with both everyday internal organising of the organisation and at the same time relate to the external environment in order to mobilise essential resources. The steering signals, both political from the MHESR and administrative from the University Leadership, regulated the leaders of the FPS and their ability to mobilise resources and coordinate the organisation independently. The Dean and Department Leader faced many challenges given their situating between the internal and external elements which influenced the organising of the FPS.

The respective departments of political science in Kurdistan (public university departments) coordinated their programs and settled similar programs across the region. This kind of regional planning also involved the FPS. The Leadership of the FPS created a Bachelor

program with similar courses to other political science departments in Kurdistan. The autonomy to decide upon these was, from a legal aspect, their right, but they chose to coordinate it with other departments for two reasons; security issues and the transference of students from one university to another. Though the FPS was the first in Kurdistan history to be organised as a separate faculty, the content of its program was, according to the Dean and Department Leaders, no different from other more traditionally organised political science departments.

Whilst the Leadership created the Bachelor program at the FPS, they chose not to involve the teachers in this decision. A leadership strategy within an expert organisation aims to create collegial fellowship by involving employees in decisions regarding the organisation and spread of information (Strand, 2001: 252). Though the Leadership was influenced by the regional planning of political science, they could have asked for the opinions of the teachers. This led to a situation where the teachers felt they were not entitled to participate in the development of the FPS. As one of the teachers said; *“I am hired to perform political science, not to develop it.”*. The institutional autonomy of the FPS was weak in this case, but could, to some extent, have increased the academic freedom of the teachers as the regional coordination of the program would have been the strongest control mechanism in the end. In this sense, to involve the teachers in the development of the Bachelor program would have been merely symbolic. Though the Leadership could have involved the teachers and thus increased the teachers` academic freedom, it would not have changed the weak institutional autonomy of the FPS. The Dean wished to develop the FPS and its activities, but from the establishment of the FPS in 2003, he has not been able to settle a Bachelor program independently from the regional planning of political science.

The central planning of the economy was also a point which influenced the organisation and to a large extent weakened the institutional autonomy of the FPS. The financing of the FPS was based on two different budgets. The first was the student`s tuition fee and this covered the teachers` salaries. The other budget was delegated from the University level and covered the Leadership`s salaries, the costs related to the maintenance of the office, and the expenses of the curriculum needed for lectures. Freedom of research was one of the variables which was highly influenced by the university`s central planning of the economy. The Leadership did outline that other colleges at the UoS had received money to conduct research, but that the FPS was not entitled to such resources. The lack of available resources to appoint full-time

teachers at the FPS made it difficult for teachers to conduct research. The FPS considered itself to be a teaching institution rather than a research institution, though the plan was to expand the FPS so that it produced research. The central planning of the economy weakened the Leadership's autonomy to decide freely upon the internal affairs of the FPS, and thereby also resulted in the low degree of freedom of research for the teachers and the Leadership. The students experienced a relatively higher degree of freedom to conduct research, but only because they said that at the first stage of their education they did not wish to conduct more research. The level of student research was considered to be at a satisfactory level. The "real acts" of a university, according to Wolff, involve the process of combining teaching and research and putting them into reality (Wolff in Neave, 2000: 197-198). In the case of the FPS, the research part of the "real acts" was not present.

The freedom of publishing within the UoS was also relatively low, with 20 of the 24 informants feeling very restricted. Though the University had a publication centre, they found it difficult to get permission from the University Leadership to publish research articles and books. It would in this matter be natural to ask what the FPS could publish when it did not carry out any research. The informants commented that there were hardly any academic publications achieved within the UoS. This was another steering signal from the University Leadership, and one which the FPS could not influence as it did not have the budget to publish outside of the University.

Tight discussed the appearance of academic freedom and institutional autonomy at universities and wondered if they could appear independently. In centrally planned economies institutional autonomy is non-existent and it is difficult for academic freedom to exist. Tight therefore suggests that though they can appear independently, it is desirable to have both present given that they are of mutual support to each other (Tight in Tight, 1988: 123-124). The freedom of research and publishing at the FPS depended upon the institutional autonomy of the FPS. The central planning of the economy and the regional planning of political science had several affects, one of which was the low degree of freedom of research and publishing teacher experienced at the FPS. This in turn influenced the low degree of institutional autonomy.

7.4 Formal and informal structures

The influence of the informal structure on teacher and student working conditions was high when compared to the affect of the formal structure of the organisation. The older students experienced a relatively higher degree of academic freedom compared to the younger students and teachers. The Leadership`s ability to increase the degree of academic freedom for the younger students and the teachers was low. To some extent, the Dean and the Department Leaders were restricted by Kurdish society, to the extent of which they became unable to take action to change the informal structure of the organisation. There were few signs that the Leadership had tried to change this structure. Some of the older students did emphasise that this informal structure was determined by factors other than their membership in political parties. They rather highlighted aspects of Kurdish culture such as the respect of older persons. Generational and historical context were also thought to be influential elements. Within the natural system perspective social order can either be based on consensus or conflict (Scott 2003), and in the case of the FPS both were present. The social order of the informal structure was based on conflict; the older students had more power to oppress other groups within the FPS and both younger students, and some teachers felt restricted because of their presence. Social order was also based on consensus in the sense that the normative elements which guided participant behaviour, such as the norms and values of the Kurdish culture, were the basic foundations of the consensus which sustained the informal structure.

The leaderships` autonomy in the case of the variable of freedom of teaching showed that they could choose how to perform their tasks as teachers, yet the informal structure was more influential as a standardisation of behaviour in the teaching situation than the Leadership`s ability to secure freedom of teaching. In the informal structure older students were hierarchically higher than the teachers in the hierarchical level and at the same level as the leadership. This therefore offers an explanation as to why both the Dean of the FPS and the Department leader experienced a higher degree of freedom of teaching while half of the teachers felt restricted in the teaching environment. Neither the FPS Leadership nor the University leaders settled a set of teaching criteria, rather, the students influenced the teaching environment. As such, the informal structure was more influential than the formal structure of the organisation.

7.5 Academic tasks and civil rights

Searle's special theory suggests that academic freedom is based on the position “, *that professors should have the right to teach, conduct research, and publish their research without interference, and that students should have the corresponding right to study and learn*” (Searle, 1972: 170). This theory outlines the professor's right to teach freely, conduct and publish research, as well as the students right to study and learn freely. This means that academic tasks is the main focus area and suggests the exclusion of civil rights. General theory, on the other hand, suggests that professors and students can enjoy the same rights as wider society inside the university. When academic freedom came to be discussed in the USA the emphasis was placed upon the freedom of expression. Searle outlines the basic principles of the general theory of academic freedom to be “*that professors and students have the same rights of free expression, freedom of inquiry, freedom of association, and freedom of publication in their roles as professors and students that they have as citizens in a free society, except in so far as the mode of exercise of these freedoms needs to be restricted to preserve the academic and subsidiary functions of the university*” (Searle, 1972: 175). International organisations such as UNESCO and HRW link academic freedom to universal human rights.

In this study, some of the variables on academic freedom are directly referred to academic tasks, while the rest are linked to civil rights. The first five variables on academic freedom, freedom of research, research topic, methodology, teaching and publishing within the UoS are linked to the academic tasks of the FPS. The rest; freedom of expression and association inside the UoS, and the freedoms linked to extramural utterance and activities, such as publishing, expression and associations; are civil rights.

Those rights linked to academic tasks were those which were most influenced by the centrally planned economy, the lack of resources and the centralised nature of university decision making. The relatively low degree of research, both for teachers and the Leadership, was first and foremost a result of the FPS not having economic resources available to it which could have made it possible to conduct research. For 20 of the 24 informants the limited opportunity to publish freely at the FPS and UoS was deemed to be because of both the lack of financial resources and the centralised university decision making. Methodology was the only variable

which was not under the control of this mechanism, as it was solely linked to how the participants understood scientific methodology and their expertise within this field.

Though the Iraqi constitution has not legalised institutional autonomy or academic freedom, some civil rights are legally enshrined for the benefit of the Iraqi population; freedom of expression is one of these. In the case of the FPS these legal aspects did not have a regulative mechanism on the participants. Rather, they experienced that the older students regulated their freedom of expression. The freedom of expression within the FPS was experienced as relatively lower compared to outside of the UoS. Whether this means that they were actually freer to express their views outside the UoS is not certain, but at the least it means that they could choose who they wanted to interact with and therefore experienced a relatively higher freedom of expression. Therefore one cannot be certain if the freedom of expression was actually lower within the UoS than in Kurdish society, but it can be suggested that within the UoS there was a limited set of actors that could be interacted with.

7.6 Gender

When the female informants responded to the variables which were measured quantitatively there were few differences between their responses and those of the male informants. On the other hand, on the open-ended questions female responses suggested that they felt more restricted when compared to the male informants. The FPS also functioned as an evening college, with the last lecture finishing at 20.00 pm. This was too late an hour for them to take public transportation home as they felt that it was not safe to be outside without a male escort when it became dark. The younger female students informed me that they had hired a private driver to drive them home from the FPS at a cost of 50, 000 Iraqi dinars (40\$) each month. The female teacher, along with the youngest teacher at the FPS and the Arab professor, often experienced the same level of freedom, and more often felt more restricted than the other older male teachers. All of the informants, both male and female, agreed that female participants at the FPS faced many more challenges than male participants. Though there were fewer female students and teachers than male participants at the FPS, the number of female and male students at the UoS is almost equal. Though there are some few very strong female political actors in Kurdistan, traditionally the field of political science has been dominated by men. The Dean also outlined these gender problems but was positive that there would be an increase in female students to the field of political science.

8.0 Final analysis: Summary and conclusions

The aim of this study has been to explore the concepts of academic freedom and institutional autonomy within the context of the FPS. Particularly I have sought to explore how the FPS coped with both concepts. In order to explore this research questions the thesis has been divided into different areas of focus. I firstly gave an overview of the FPS and how it was organised before investigating how and to what extent the FPS secured academic freedom for its teachers and students. Thereinafter I examined the data to see what it indicated about the institutional autonomy of the FPS. These areas of focus enabled an understanding of how the FPS coped with both concepts. Having collected data I then used expert organisation and natural system theories to categorise and analyse the data. Following this systematic approach I will now summarise the findings my study has made.

8.1 The Faculty of Political Science

This study focused solely upon one unit of analysis; the FPS; which was established as a consequence of new initiatives within the public sector. Firstly, across various political parties, there was a wish to educate party members in the field of political science. Secondly, the UoS did not originally offer a degree in political science, and therefore the FPS was established as the first faculty within this field and represented a new way of organising political science in Kurdistan. The formal structure of the FPS was designed in such a way that it coincided with the rest of the university structure; with the Leadership at the top, the teachers in the middle and the students at the bottom. The informal structure of the FPS, however, changed the hierarchical positions of the various participant groups. The older students, who were all members of political parties, along with the Dean and Department leader were at the top, with the teachers (and Basira who was responsible for student affairs) in the middle and the younger students and class representatives at the bottom. The older students outlined that Kurdish norms and values, such as respect to older persons and the impact of religion, rather than their formal positions as politicians, influenced the establishment of this informal structure. The data also indicated that women, to some extent, faced more challenges at the FPS than their male counterparts. As such, they could, in various situations, also be located at the bottom of the hierarchical level. Whilst the natural system perspective was a helpful analytical tool with which to understand these formal and informal

structures, the FPS was also organised as an expert organisation. The Leadership and teachers were appointed due to their formal education and expertise within the field of political science. The Dean defined his vision as a “democratic mentality” approach, and it was imbued through the teachers to the students. This could, in some situations, lead to discussion between the teachers and students. The FPS was understood to be an organisation where the main aim was to educate the students, and as such the emphasis was on teaching and not research. The Leadership was responsible for the budget, the everyday steering of the FPS and the establishment and development of the Bachelor program. The Leadership also faced many challenges in the attempt to mobilise resources to the FPS, and the FPS suffered because of lack of essential resources, such as academic literature and the financial resources to conduct research. The challenges related to language (Arabic, Kurdish and English) and translations between them in the teaching situations often occupied too much time. This led to dissatisfaction among the students when the lectures were given in other languages than Kurdish. One of the main problems outlined by all of the informants was that the FPS lacked its own building, which was in this thesis not considered as a variable through which to explore academic freedom and institutional autonomy. After my second fieldtrip the FPS closed and the DPS re-structured as a department under the Faculty of Law at the UoS. This represents a return to the traditional organisation of political science in Kurdistan.

8.2 Academic freedom

In this study academic freedom relates to those variables which were addressed to the students and those with teaching responsibility, the teachers (and the Leadership because they were also responsible of teaching), and thereby academic freedom embedded in the teachers and students working conditions.

The freedom of research for students was higher compared to that of the teachers and Leadership. This was because the students were content with their ‘research’ as students, whilst both teachers and the Leadership were very restricted in the research they could do. The freedom to choose a research topic was relatively high for all informant groups. However, given the lack of research produced this was perhaps a hollow freedom. The only research assignment students were entitled to produce were their Bachelor papers, which they said that they could choose the topic of freely provided that it was kept within the frame of the course. The high freedom of methodology allowed was not connected to the organisation of

the FPS, but rather was a sole result of the way in which methodology in the field of political science was understood at the FPS. In the case of the freedom of methodology the FPS was not steered by other actors; and as such the autonomy of political scientists was relatively high. There was a higher freedom to publish outside of the UoS than within, though it is important to note that what most informants published was seldom research or academic related publications. The UoS, as opposed to the FPS, did have its own publication centre, though informants said that it was difficult to get approval and financing from the UoS Leadership to publish academic research.

All of the informants experienced a relatively high freedom of association, both within the FPS and in Kurdish society. As long as the associations were not prohibited by law they were entitled to become active members. These two variables were the only variables which were “very freely” experienced by all of the informants. Only four of the older students experienced a high freedom of expression within the FPS, with 18 arguing that freedom of expression was “very restricted” level. These students highlighted the presence of an informal structure where older students were superior to both teachers and younger students. The Leadership felt “very restricted” when expressing their views outside of the FPS, whereas all of the teachers felt “very free” due to Kurdish society’s respect for the position of university teacher. By contrast, the Dean of the FPS and the Leader of the DPS felt that they had to be careful not to express their views in such a way that it could damage the reputation of the FPS, mostly because they considered themselves as the representative actors of the FPS. In some cases, the female participants of the FPS experienced more challenges to their ability to utilise their academic freedom than their male counterparts.

Questions relating to the variable “freedom of teaching” were addressed only to those with teaching responsibility. This variable explored if those with teaching responsibility felt that they could chose their preferred teaching method without restrictions. The Leadership did not set any criteria for how the teachers should perform their duty, yet half of the six teachers interviewed felt restricted in teaching situations because of the presence of the students. One of these teachers outlined the older students and their authority as members of political parties as being those who most restrictions on how to teach at the FPS. Though they had the legal right to freely decide upon their teaching method, the informal structures at the FPS placed restrictions on this freedom.

The total summary of how all of the informants measured on all of the variables (except freedom of teaching and decision making about internal affairs) as displayed in Figure 7.1, showed that the informants measured 129 times on “very freely”, 11 times on “moderately” and 76 times on “very restricted”. Overall, the FPS secured a relatively high degree of academic freedom.

8.3 Institutional autonomy

Questions relating to institutional autonomy were addressed to the Leadership, the Dean of the FPS and the Leader of the DPS, and focused on their working conditions and organisational governing patterns. The variable on institutional autonomy was “decision-making about the internal affairs”. The challenges related to deciding internal affairs were many, and the data indicated a somewhat weak institutional autonomy for the FPS. The internal affairs of the FPS and the challenges connected to these were;

1. Economy

The lack of economic resources was one of the main reasons why the FPS had difficulties in expanding its organisational activities. As such, the focus was mostly on issues surrounding the education of the students and not the development of political science at the faculty; for instance the production of research. The overall lack of a research culture at universities, and the UoS, also impacted on the FPS. The FPS’s budget came from two sources; student tuition fee’s, which covered teaching salaries, and the University budget, which covered the Leadership’s salaries and the expense of operating the office. The central planning of the economy and the strict allocation of resources, which were both a result of the lack of financial resources, lead to the faculty’s inability to both employ full-time teachers and finance research. Furthermore, the lack of publishing was, in part, due to central decision-making on publications. The Leadership did not have any resources available for the publication of academic work of the FPS; indeed, this had to be approved by the University’s leaders. This centrally planned economy led to a depowering of the Leadership, and therefore generated into a weak institutional autonomy of the FPS.

2. Standardisation and formalisation.

Though the Dean of the FPS established a vision which was to some extent imbued in the FPS, it did not restrict the behavior of the teachers or their ability to decide upon their method

of teaching. The informal structure, where teachers were located under the older students, placed more emphasis on the teachers as participants within the FPS and their ability to utilise their academic freedom, rather than vision of the Dean of the FPS. This was also applicable in most of the other variables, where the informal structure guided the participants' behavior rather than the formal structures of the FPS.

3. Recruitment of staff.

Staff were appointed based on their formal educational background and their expertise in the field of political science. However, the lack of `professionals` within this field restricted the Leadership's ability to appointed experts to the FPS. The Arab teacher from Baghdad was the only professor at the Faculty. Most teachers had Master degrees, some held PhD's, whilst others only had a Bachelor degree. Though the Dean wanted to appoint professionals from abroad, this was not possible because of lack of financial resources.

4. The choice of courses and curriculum.

In principle, the Dean and Department Leader were entitled to establish the Bachelor-program of the FPS freely. In practice, however, the program was established through the regional organising and coordination of political science. The insecure nature of security in Kurdistan forces all departments of political science (at public universities) to take into consideration that the students will, in most cases, have to be enrolled to a university close to their hometown. Also in this case, the central autonomy was more steering than the autonomy of the Leadership to decide upon the internal affairs of the FPS.

8.4 Conclusions

The total sum of variables shows that the FPS managed to secure academic freedom for the teachers (including the Leadership who had teaching responsibility) and the students. When considered in totality, the FPS managed to secure a relatively higher degree of academic freedom for older students than their younger counterparts. The Leadership was the only informant group which had the same ranking on all variables, resulting in a "moderate" level of academic freedom. The data on the variables which sought to explore academic freedom within the frame of the University indicated that the informants experienced a higher degree of academic freedom outside this frame, as in the case of to extramural utterance and publishing outside the UoS.

The data indicated that academic freedom variables related to academic tasks suffered because of the lack of institutional autonomy at the FPS. Those variables linked more to civic rights were more impacted upon by religion and Kurdish culture, whilst at the same time the presence of an informal structure guided participant behavior. The Leadership did not manage to establish a structure of standardisation and formalisation which could guide the behavior of participants at the FPS, which could be superior of the informal structures. The informal structures of the FPS were, in some cases, more influential than the formal structures; for instance, older students were at the top of the hierarchy due to both their age and their membership in political parties.

The data suggests a weak institutional autonomy, whilst the academic freedom of the teachers and students was relatively high. Still, the distinction between the two types of variables was important given that the impact of the informal structure and Kurdish culture was stronger on those variables linked to civic rights than those linked to academic tasks. For example the informal structure of the FPS, including Kurdish culture and history, influenced the freedom of expression negatively, whilst freedom of association was regarded as very high by all of the informants because of wider society's view on this. By contrast, those variables linked to academic tasks, except for the freedom to choose methodology, were influenced to a greater extent by the lack of institutional autonomy; for instance, the inability to mobilise the financial support needed to conduct research, appoint full-time teachers and resources to publish academic research.

8.5 Strong and weak points of the research

Throughout the production of this thesis many ethical dilemmas have presented themselves. In this respect, the triangulation of methods which I employed was helpful, allowing me to utilise data from different sources in order to avoid researcher bias. Though it is much more common to use the survey method, I have in this thesis utilised interviews in order to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. Whilst I selected the samples in a non-probabilistic manner, I have not aimed to generalise the findings in this study beyond the FPS at the UoS. However, one aspect to generalisation is how representative the findings are; Are the findings from the interviews representative of the population from which they came from? In the methodology chapter I argued that I consider, without recourse to statistics, the informants to be representative of their wider groups. The aim of this thesis was not to generalise through

statistics, but to use quantitative and qualitative data to explore fully how the FPS managed academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The conclusions I have made here are, at the very least, representative of the views expressed by the 24 participants interviewed at the FPS. In studies reliant upon primary data sources there is a danger that the researcher becomes biased and produces interpretations which lead to incorrect conclusions. As such, I used a mixed methods approach in order to minimise these issues. This study, to the best of my knowledge, represents the only piece of research conducted on the FPS at the UoS, and given the originality of the research it was necessary that I use primary data sources. The University Vice-President emphasised that this kind of research, which focused on a single unit of analysis; the FPS, was important as it could uncover important aspects which they had neglected or yet not discovered. Such in-depth analysis, he argued, was of great importance in understanding what was “really” going on at the faculties.

8.6 Recommendation for further research

This study could be used as the foundation for a comparative analysis of political science departments in universities across both Kurdistan and Iraq. A quantitative survey approach, when applied to other faculties at the UoS, would enable generalisations to be made about the status of academic freedom at the UoS. Furthermore, whilst this study has focused on the faculty level, future studies could explore how the top level of the organisation at UoS manages institutional autonomy. Recently, a number of private universities have been established in Kurdistan, including the American University in Suleimaniyah, and as such there is also scope for the comparison of private and public sector universities with regards to how they manage academic freedom and institutional autonomy. This future study might show differences in the access to resources, the informal structures, the freedom to publish and so on. It is important that further research is conducted on universities in order to both develop these higher education institutions and so that a more resourceful population can emerge which can contribute positively to the transition to democracy.

Appendix

Iraqi Kurdistan Region Council of Ministers Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research Presidency of Sulaimani University <u>Directorate of Foreign Relations</u>	به ناوی خواي به خشنده و میهره بان	هه ریهی کوردستانی عێراق سه روکایهتی نهجومهتی وهزیران وهزارهتی خویندنی بالاو توێژینه وهی زانستی سه روکایهتی زانکۆی سلیمانی به رێوه به رایهتی په یوه ندییه کانی دهره وه
No. 72 Date: 17.10.2006	 زانکۆی سلیمانی	ژماره: بهروار: / /
	www.univsul.net relations@univsul.net	

To: University of Bergen


Letter of Confirmation

Dear sir/madam,

Greetings

We would like to inform you that **Ms. Chro Borhan's** request for conducting part of her research at University of Sulaimani in Iraqi Kurdistan was approved and she is allowed to use the University facilities and resources, especially those of the Colleges of Political Sciences and Law for the period of 2-3 months.

Best wishes


Khasraw A. Rashid, Prof. Assist.
Director of Foreign Relations
University of Sulaimani
IRAQ



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