

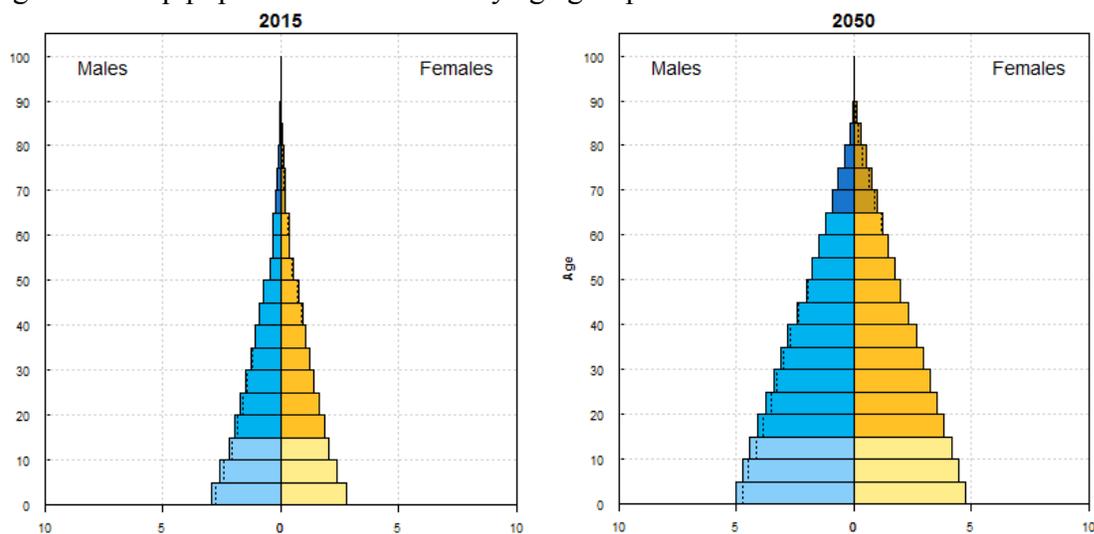
Neoliberalism, Academic Capitalism and Higher Education in Developing Countries:  
The Case of Iraqi Kurdistan

Copyright Permissions and Fair Use Statements

Donald Ray Back

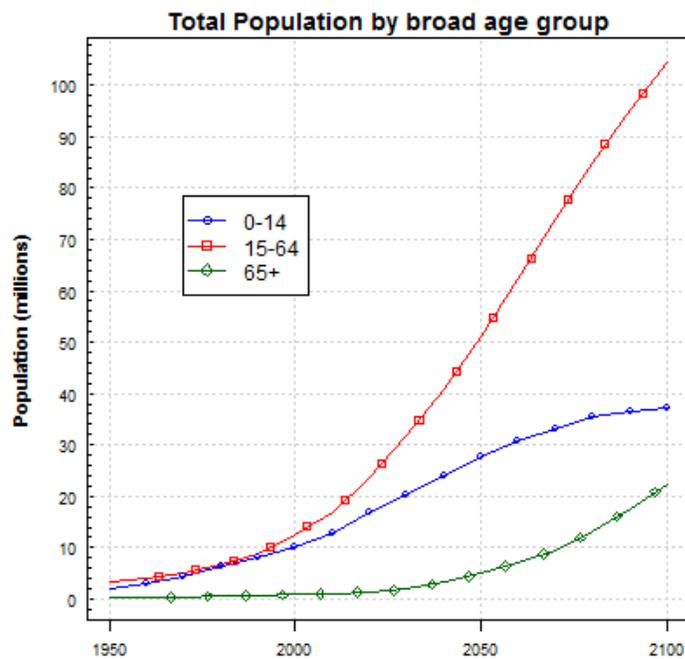
Figure 1

Figure 1: Iraq: population in millions by age group



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision.<sup>2</sup>

Figure 2: Iraq: total population by major age groups



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision (2015, 389).<sup>3</sup>

**Draft 09/01/2009**

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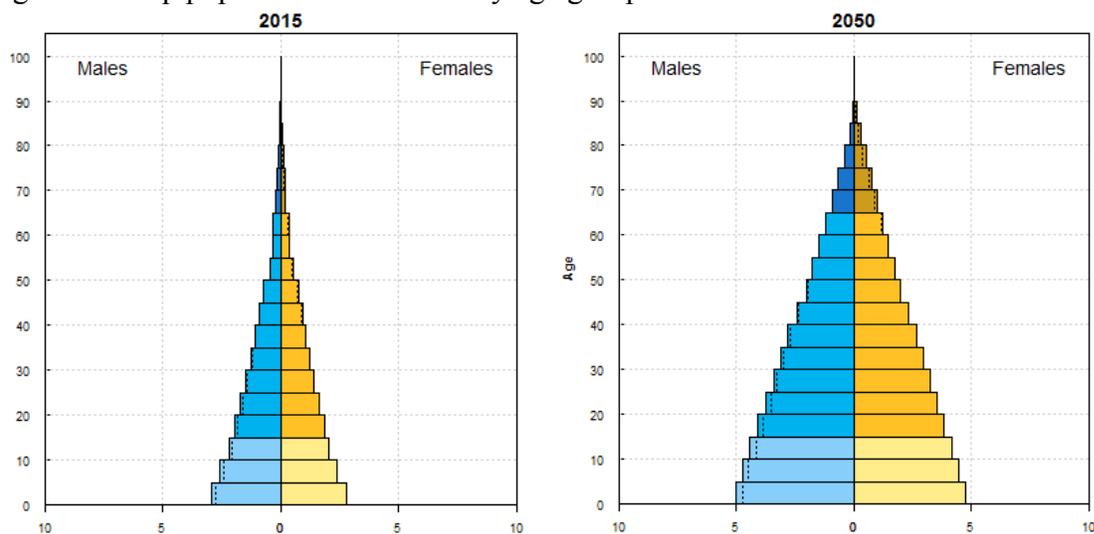
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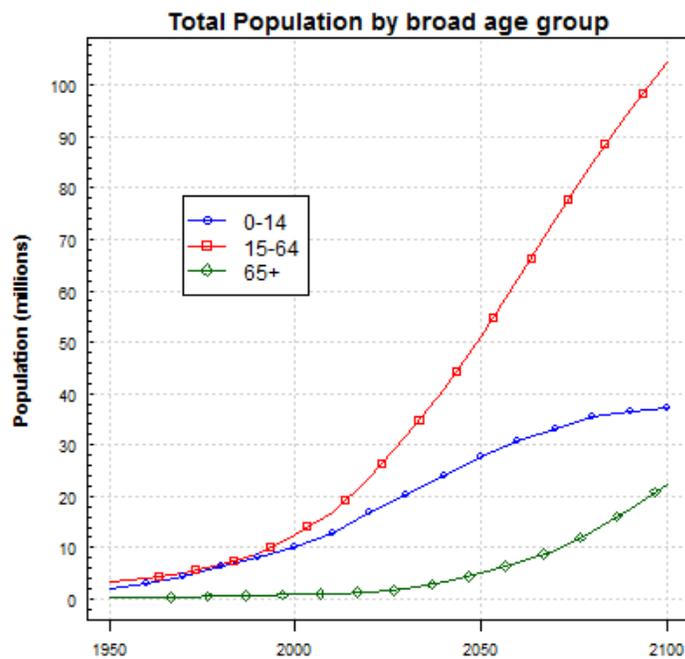
Figure 2

Figure 1: Iraq: population in millions by age group



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision.<sup>2</sup>

Figure 2: Iraq: total population by major age groups



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision (2015, 389).<sup>3</sup>

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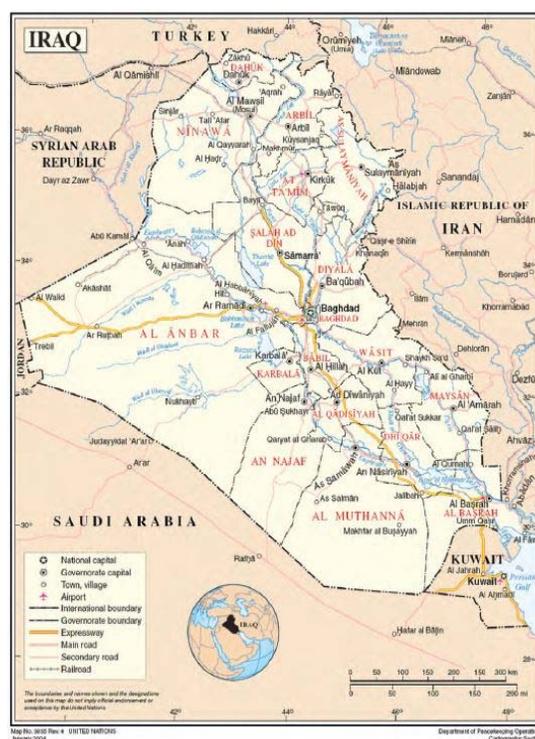
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Figure 3

As Figure 3 depicts the IKR is located in the northern part of the country and is roughly bordered by the Tigris River to the south, Iran to the east, Turkey to the north and Syria to the west. Three of 18 Iraqi governorates, or provinces, comprise the region: Erbil, in which the regional capital of the same name is located, Duhok and Sulaimania. The IKR is predominantly populated by Kurds, an ethnically distinct group also found as minorities in adjacent countries, including, especially, Turkey (McDowall 2004, 2).

Figure 3: Map of Iraq



Source: UNESCO National Education Support Strategy Republic of Iraq 2010-2014 (2011, 14)

The Kurds have looked to the U.S. as a patron and protector for more than 25 years (McDowall 2004, 369). The IKR gained a measure of autonomy from the Iraqi government as a result of the Gulf War (also called the First Gulf War or Persian Gulf War) in the early 1990s.

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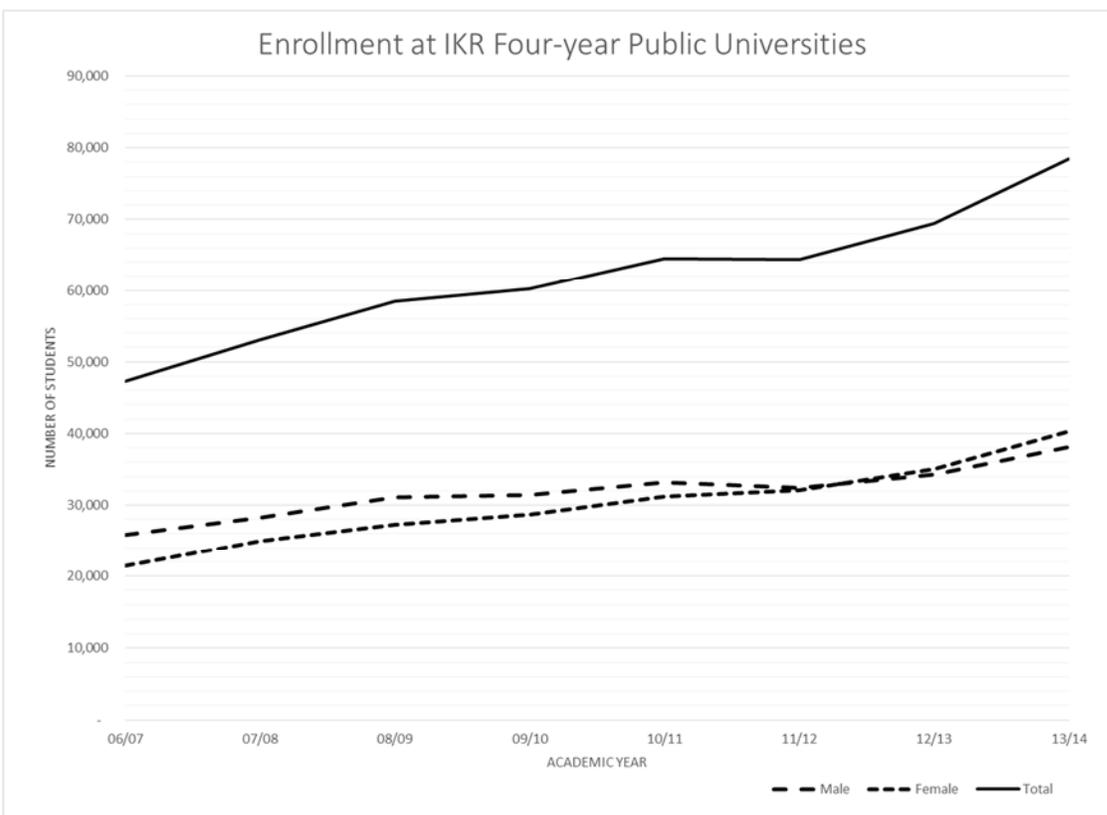
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Figure 4

NOTE: I developed this figure based upon data supplied by the Iraqi Kurdistan Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Affairs. It is not from a published work.

Figure 4: IKR four-year public university enrollment



Source: Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (2015)

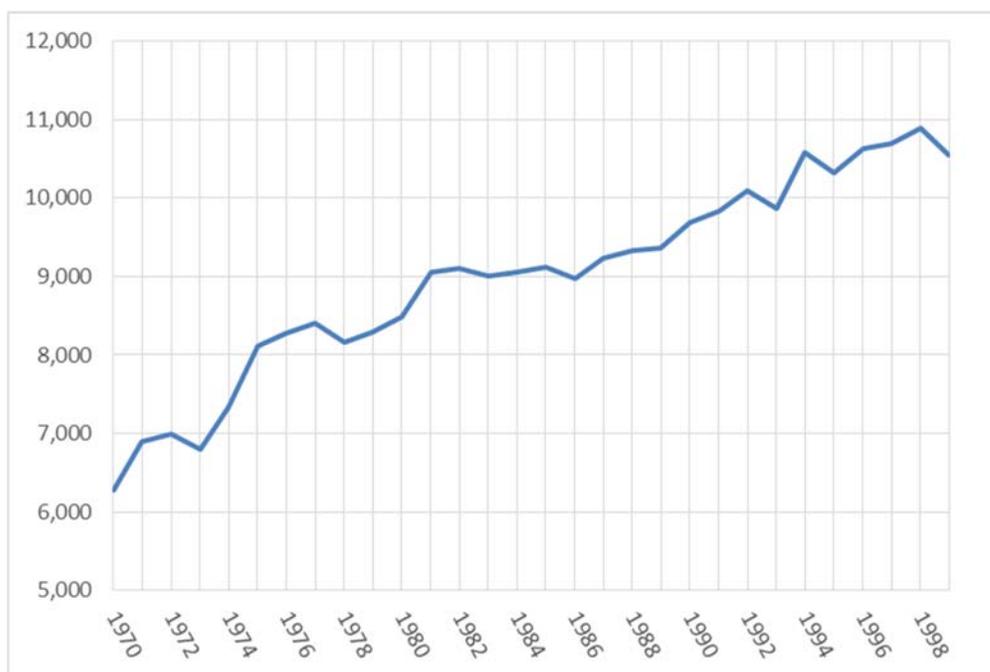
The KRG opened seven public four-year universities in the region during this period, while investors created eight private universities.

Al-Hadithi et al., writing on the youth bulge in Iraqi Kurdistan, has warned of “...serious challenges in terms of accommodating the growing generation in schools and universities” (Al-Hadithi et al. 2010, 1101). Palander (2013), in arguing for the need for greater quality control in Kurdish universities, has described the KRG’s acquiescence in 2005 to student protests demanding access to public higher education. Following those demonstrations, the government

Figure 5

purposes, when these were used for college expenses. Further, contributions to college savings funds of up to \$500 per year per child could be sheltered in a similar way. Available for families earning up to \$150,000 to \$160,000 per year (approximately \$222,000 to \$237,000 in 2015 dollars), these tax relief benefits extended well into the middle class (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, 43).<sup>33</sup> Median household income in 1997 was \$37,005 in 1997 dollars (\$55,000 in 2015 dollars) (U.S. Census Bureau 1998).<sup>34</sup>

Figure 5: U.S. college enrollment of all undergraduate students 14 - 34 years old (in thousands, non-institutionalized population)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>35</sup>

The new grant and loan programs under the HEA acted as a subsidy to private universities particularly (Geiger and Heller 2011, 8). Jellema has conducted studies on the financial state of U.S. private colleges and universities from 1969-1971 and has reported alarming increases in debt levels at these institutions during that relatively short period (Jellema 1970,

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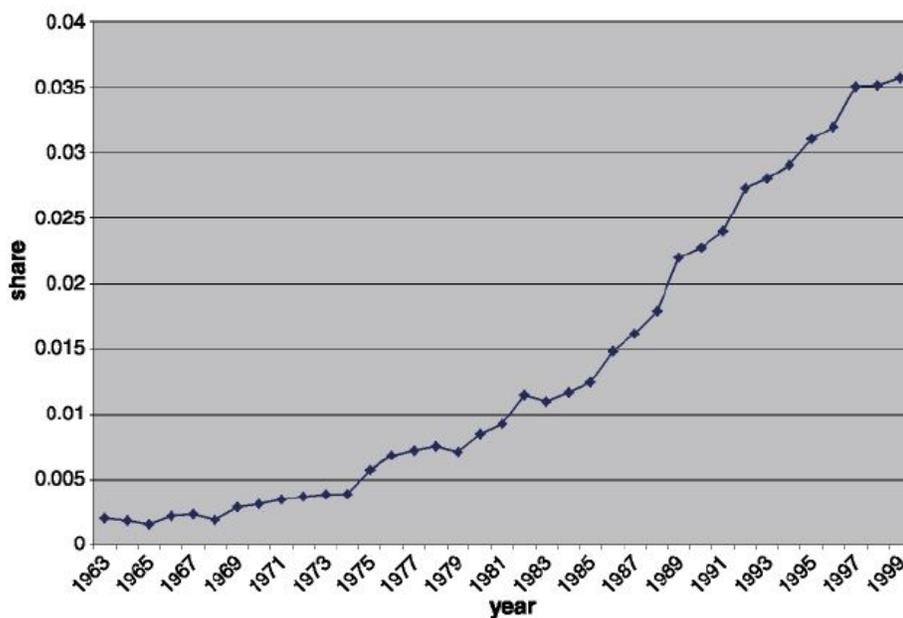
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Figure 6

... increased competition in global markets, a drop in U.S. productivity, a disagreement among U.S. industrial leaders over the nature of R&D funding, the restructuring of defense industries, the rise of an information economy, and the end of the Cold War (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, 48).

While Reagan-era research policies did not directly target them, as discussed above, universities nevertheless benefitted greatly from strengthened intellectual property protection and the ability to transfer inventions more readily that were enacted during this period (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, 48). Spurred by Bayh-Dole and subsequent related legislation,<sup>36</sup> university-originated patents increased fourfold between 1974 and 1989 (see Figure 6), and doubled again by 1997. The share of the total number of patents granted to universities or their researchers rose from 1 percent in 1976 to 2.5 percent in 1990 (Mowery et al. 2001, 104).

Figure 6: U.S. research university patents as a percentage of all domestic assignee U.S. patents, 1963-1999



Source: Reproduced from Mowery and Sampat (2005, 120)

This growth in patents accruing to university researchers notwithstanding, the degree to which Bayh-Dole actually increased income generation activities at higher education institutions

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Figure 7

institutional types was important to help me gauge the independent effects of KMHESR oversight, if any, on academic capitalism activities.

In addition to public universities, I chose representatives from two other institutional types for my sample of interviewees: KMHESR and the American and British foreign ministries. My view was that the effects of KMHESR oversight were likely to be best described by university officials working under the ministry's supervision and by the responsible administrators themselves. I chose individual officials working in the foreign missions of the U.S. and the U.K. for interviews to gain their perspectives as informed independent observers of public higher education issues in the region. Both nations have been active to some degree in development activities in this sector in Iraqi Kurdistan during the period in which I was interested, 2006 through 2014.

Figure 7: Map of Kurdistan governorates



The map at left shows the three governorates that make up Iraqi Kurdistan. Those universities selected for inclusion in the sample are Salahaddin University in the city of Erbil (Arbil on this map), the University of Sulaimani in Sulaimani (Sulaimaniyya on this map) and the University of Kurdistan-Hawler in Erbil.

Source: Wikimedia Commons<sup>58</sup>

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Table 1

in the early 1980s (Reiter 2002, 141). Reiter has argued that Jordanian public universities did not accept most returning Palestinians who applied; these students instead went to Palestinian-owned private universities (Reiter 2002, 143).

Table 1: Enrollments in Jordanian universities and community colleges

Academic Year	Public Universities Undergraduate	Public Universities Graduate	Private Universities	Community Colleges	TOTAL
1989-1990	28,098	3,659	-	37,632	69,389
1990-1991	31,517	4,292	1,324	40,774	77,907
1991-1992	35,915	4,949	4,072	38,185	83,121
1992-1993	44,026	5,501	7,003	31,976	88,506
1993-1994	44,511	4,812	11,319	25,292	85,934
1994-1995	48,922	5,225	15,908	22,471	92,526

Source: Adapted from World Bank (1996), “Jordan: Higher Education Development Study,” p. 2

In 1995, the Jordanian government sought assistance from the World Bank to assess a deteriorating higher education system (World Bank 1996, i). The Bank’s report, a *Jordan Higher Education Development Study*, found several shortcomings: higher education was not meeting the needs of the labor market; quality of instruction was diminishing as enrollment outpaced physical capacity<sup>47</sup> and research was declining as increased emphasis was necessarily placed on instruction (World Bank 1996, i). The World Bank based its 1998 intervention in Jordan, the Higher Education Development Program, on this study’s findings and reform elements recommended in its 1994 policy paper *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience*. Derived by the Bank from analysis of policy changes in other parts of the world, including Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, ‘Best practices’ cited in *The Lessons of Experience* included:

... university autonomy; accountability; quality assurance and accreditation; transparent financing, usually under a finance council; competition for research

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Table 2

Table 2: Per credit hour tuition and other fees at public Jordanian universities for the 2008-2009 academic year (in U.S. dollars)

	Enrollee Nationalities/Program Type		
	Jordanian/ Regular	Jordanian/ Parallel	Non-Jordanian/ Parallel
<b>Undergraduate</b>			
<b>Humanities</b>			
Credit-hour fee	14-85	35-85	56-130
Other fees - normal course	146-401	318-401	303-537
Other fees - summer course	132-401	190-401	303-537
<b>Scientific</b>			
Credit-hour fee	17-113	42-211	85-296
Other fees - normal course	154-401	190-401	303-580
Other fees - summer course	139-401	368-401	303=555
<b>Graduate-Master's Degree</b>			
<b>Humanities</b>			
Credit-hour fee	113-141	113-141	375
Other fees - normal course	430	430	1,725
Other fees - summer course	430	430	1,725
<b>Scientific</b>			
Credit-hour fee	113-211	113-211	375
Other fees - normal course	430	430	1,725-4.925
Other fees - summer course	430	430	1,725-4.925
<b>Graduate-Doctoral Degree</b>			
Humanities	113-211	113-211	375-450
Credit-hour fee	430	430	1,725
Other fees - normal course	430	430	1,725
Other fees - summer course			
<b>Scientific</b>			
Credit-hour fee	113	113	375
Other fees - normal course	486-2.458	486-2.458	2,175-4.925
Other fees - summer course	486-2.458	486-2.458	2,175-4.925

Source: Reproduced from Istaiteyeh 2011, p. 135<sup>50</sup>

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Table 3

university students became eligible for loans with the inauguration of HELB, (Oanda and Chege 2008, 36).

Despite these attempted UIP reforms, the privatization of Kenyan higher education between 1991 and 1999 largely failed. Government subsidies during the course of the initiative failed to keep up with the rising costs of education, particularly in the sciences, as well as of services (Mwiria et al. 2007, 67). Inflation in Kenya was an important factor in the demise of privatization efforts, averaging 22 percent annually between 1991 and 1996, and peaking at 46 percent in 1993.<sup>52</sup> The World Bank indicated in its final report that the financial solvency of universities turned out to be a major issue during the project. The following chart, reproduced from Mwiria (2007), indicates the extent of the accumulated debt of Kenya's universities during the 1991-1996 period.

Table 3: Cumulative recurrent deficits for all public universities

Year	Deficit in KShs.	Deficits in US\$
1991	22,705,554	315,335
1992	310,858,544	4,317,480
1993	216,326,145	3,004,530
1994	147,715,640	2,051,606
1995	135,313,271	1,877,963
1996	503,280,783	6,990,011
Total	1,336,199,937	18,556,925

Source: Mwiria (2007, 67)<sup>53</sup>

As of 1990-91 the MOE expended 26 percent of its budget on higher education (Wadinga 1997, 33). This share had declined to 12 percent by the end of the UIP in 1999, even as enrollment in public universities was growing at an unprecedented rate (World Bank 1999, ii, Oanda and Chege 2008, 25).

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Table 4

NOTE: I developed this table personally based upon groups I intended to interview. This table is not from a published work.

I reviewed several studies to determine an appropriate number of interviewees for my sample (Dooley 1998, Natali 2007, Johnson 2009, Silverman and Thomas 2012). According to the literature, the number of interviews undertaken for a study depends on the question being addressed. The prevailing norm is to sample to theoretical saturation, however the definition of ‘theoretical saturation’ is vague (Beitin 2012, 244). Kvale has argued that 5 to 25 respondents is sufficient for “common interview studies” (Kvale 2008, 43). I resolved to conduct up to 18 interviews with individuals in three constituent groups: university officials and faculty members; Kurdistan Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research staff members and experts on higher education in the region from the U.S. and U.K. foreign missions. The planned target interviews are summarized in Table 4, below. The actual interviews conducted appear in Table 7 in chapter 6.

Table 4: Planned interviews

Institution	Location	Targeted Interviewees
Public Universities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Salahaddin University</li> <li>- University of Sulaimani</li> <li>- University of Kurdistan-Hawler</li> </ul>	Current or recently-serving officials in the following capacities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- President</li> <li>- Chief Financial Officer</li> <li>- Chief Academic Officer</li> <li>- Director, International Relations</li> </ul>
Kurdistan Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research		Current or recently serving officials familiar with public higher education
U.S. Department of State British Foreign Service or British Council		Current or recently-serving cultural affairs officers familiar with higher education in the IKR

Table 5

Table 5: Axial coding model elements

Relationship	Description
Causal conditions	What influences the central phenomenon, events, incidences, happenings
Phenomenon	The central idea, event, happening, incident about which a set of actions or interactions are directed at managing or handling or to which the set of actions is related
Strategies	For addressing the phenomenon: purposeful, goal-related
Context	Location of events
Intervening conditions	Conditions that shape, facilitate or constrain the strategies that take place within a specific context
Action/interaction	Strategies devised to manage, handle, carry out, respond to a phenomenon under a set of perceived conditions
Consequences	Outcomes or results of action or interaction that result from the strategies

Source: Reproduced from Gibbs (2007, 87)

**Draft 09/01/2009**

(Questions? Concerns? Contact Gail McMillan, Director of the Digital Library and Archives at Virginia Tech's University Libraries: [gailmac@vt.edu](mailto:gailmac@vt.edu))

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## Virginia Tech ETD Fair Use Analysis Results

*This is not a replacement for professional legal advice but an effort to assist you in making a sound decision.*

Name: Donald Back

Description of item under review for fair use: Gibbs, Graham. 2007. Analyzing Qualitative Data. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications. P. 87.

Report generated on: 05-11-2016 at : 16:38:01

### **Based on the information you provided:**

#### **Factor 1**

Your consideration of the purpose and character of your use of the copyright work weighs: *in favor of fair use*

#### **Factor 2**

Your consideration of the nature of the copyrighted work you used weighs: *in favor of fair use*

#### **Factor 3**

Your consideration of the amount and substantiality of your use of the copyrighted work weighs: *in favor of fair use*

#### **Factor 4**

Your consideration of the effect or potential effect on the market after your use of the copyrighted work weighs: *in favor of fair use*

**Based on the information you provided, your use of the copyrighted work weighs: *in favor of fair use***

Table 6

NOTE: I developed this table personally based upon data gathered in interviews. This table is not from a published work.

Action/interaction	Strategies devised to manage, handle, carry out, respond to a phenomenon under a set of perceived conditions
Consequences	Outcomes or results of action or interaction that result from the strategies

Source: Reproduced from Gibbs (2007, 87)

Following is an example of axial coding for evening classes relative to one of my research questions:

Example 3: Axial coding example using hypothetical observations

Research Question 1: *If present, how and why have new circuits of knowledge emerged in the public universities examined in the IKR?*

Table 6: Axial coding examples

Initial Code	Example instances	Axial codes
New Knowledge Circuits	Plans for enrollment increase	Growth strategy (strategies)
	Use of student fees collected	Financial incentives (consequences)
	Funds removed from department	Potential mismanagement (intervening conditions)
	Reasons people take classes	Need for program (context)
	Why evening students pay fees	Rationale for fees (causation)
	Differences from day program	Implementation (action/interaction)

When using this method, the researcher documents the emergent coding hierarchy (Gibbs 2007, 75). I recorded field notes to document the reasons for my decisions during the axial coding process.

I followed these same steps with a re-parsing of data into categories for memo writing—wherein data are thematically reassembled, noting apparent relationships and potential reasons for those connections. I mapped those memos, or primitive typologies and models (Gibbs 2007,

Table 7

NOTE: I developed this table personally based upon the characteristics of the participants interviewed.

This table is not from a published work.

to obtain the location where one of the interviewees studied. All of the university interviewees were currently employed at the time of the interviews.

Table 7: Summary table of interviewees

	Pseudonym	Classification	Where Educated	Education Level	Interview Type	Status	Gender
1	Haydar, Salahaddin	University Official	Iraq Proper	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
2	Arîman, Sulaimani	Faculty	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Female
3	Çekan, Sulaimani	University Official	Europe	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
4	Behoş, Sulaimani	University Official	U.K.	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
5	Rojen, Sulamania	Academic Admin	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	Telephone	Currently in posn	Male
6	Parêz, KMHESR	Ministry Official	U.K.	Doctorate	Telephone	Formerly in posn	Male
7	Baho, KMHESR	Ministry Official	Kurdish Region	Master	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
8	Arhat, KMHESR	Ministry Official	U.K.	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
9	Ardelan, Salahaddin	Faculty	Iraq Proper	Doctorate	In Person	Formerly in posn	Male
10	Berkar, Salahaddin	Academic Admin	Iraq Proper	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
11	Serbilind, Salahaddin	Faculty	Europe	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
12	Ceger, Sulaimani	Academic Admin	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	Telephone	Currently in posn	Male
13	Zerdeşt, Salahaddin	Academic Admin	Iraq Proper	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
14	Gazîn, KMHESR	Ministry Official	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
15	Rojdar, UKH	University Official	Europe	Doctorate	Telephone	Currently in posn	Male
16	Diyako, UKH	University Official	U.K.	Doctorate	Telephone	Currently in posn	Male
17	Narî, Sulaimani	Faculty	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
18	Bêkes, Salahaddin	Faculty	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	Skype	Currently in posn	Male
19	Bêdad, Salahaddin	University Official	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	Skype	Currently in posn	Male
20	Erdem, Sulaimani	University Official	Kurdish Region	Doctorate	In Person	Currently in posn	Male
21	Cindy, Foreign Service	Foreign Service	U.S.	Master	In Person	Formerly in posn	Female

I undertook several interviews at the University of Kurdistan Hawler (UKH).

Unfortunately, I did not have sufficient time in the allotted period for the study to conduct the desired number of interviews there. I therefore elected not to use the interviews I did conduct. I do not believe that not completing all of the interviews I had intended affected my findings. I hope that the discussion below will make that apparent.

All but one of my interviewees at the KMHESR and my target universities were male. The male bias was unavoidable, as an overwhelming majority of individuals in positions of authority in IKR universities are men. Without exception, those to whom I was referred at each university were male. The same was true at the KMHESR.