RESEARCH

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University Governance in (Post-)Conflict Southern Sudan 2005–2011

The Nexus of Islamism, New Public Management and Neopatrimonialism

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With a foreword by Prof. Dr. Georg Krücken

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Foreword

The book by Ms. Babyesiza fills an important gap in research in that it deals with changes of higher education governance in a post-colonial country ravaged by civil war. Babyesiza's focus on Southern Sudan is unusual in interdisciplinary higher education research, since changes in university governance – also in this book series – are mostly studied with regard to Western nations. The book provides interesting and important insights that go beyond the current state of research on university governance. Of note here is particularly the concept of the Islamist Public Management Regime developed by Ms. Babyesiza in this case, which combines elements of political Islam and New Public Management (NPM). This concept as well as its development provide a new and highly interesting look at the governance debate which opens comparative perspectives beyond Southern Sudan. These highly interesting perspectives are not only apparent for higher education research but also for African Studies and research on governance in places of limited statehood.

The book consists of seven parts. The first part, a brief introduction, describes the structure and objective of the analysis. The second part explains the theoretical-conceptual frame of reference and methodology. The frame of reference is the governance theory in political science which since the 1990s moves away from traditional models of governance theory. Furthermore, concepts such as good governance and New Public Management, which in the examined country are foremost disseminated by international organisations, also play a role. The research design consists of a case study. However, not the examined universities are understood as case studies, but the case is the university-governance-regime in Southern Sudan. This approach seems very plausible and well chosen since Babyesiza can thus focus on the particularities of higher education governance in Southern Sudan. Furthermore, this approach allows her towards the end of the book to provide comparative perspectives that go beyond the university level. The collection of data, which follows a discussion of the state of research, represents the basis for the later analysis. In this context, Babyesiza distinguishes between three sources of data. The first consist of written documents and archive material which mainly refer to the governments of Sudan and Southern Sudan as well as the three examined universities. Second, interviews were conducted, partly according to guidelines and partly open. Third, Babyesiza made direct

observations in the field. The data base is rich and well documented, as is the explanation for the choice of methodology. Here, the extremely difficult context of the data collection should be taken into account – in contrast to field research in an African nation torn by civil wars, field research in Germany or other Western nations seems to be a piece of cake.

Parts 3 – 5 represent the heart of the book in which three central and mutually connected aspects of the case study are described and discussed. First, the history of the Sudanese higher education system from colonialism until 2011, when Southern Sudan became an independent state, is traced. Of particular significance here is the peace agreement of 2005, which ended the civil war between the government troops of the North and the South Sudanese SPLM and introduced a phase of increasing autonomy of the South where Babyesiza's field research took place. The changing and partly overlapping influences she reconstructs in this part are of high importance for the understanding of the results of her field phase presented in the following two parts. The fourth part deals with the three universities examined in Southern Sudan. It reveals interesting similarities as well as differences. Thus, despite their different founding histories, all three universities are oriented to the nation state and the direct economic and social development of the nation. The teaching programmes are socially embedded and application-oriented. Particularly with regard to financial issues, but also by way of direct judicial regulation as well as issues of personnel, the state plays a central role in higher education governance.

In the fifth part of the book, the field of examined actors is expanded. Whereas the previous focus was on the individual university organisations, now the relevant environments with respect to governance issues as well as the internal governance actors are described in more detail. This entails an expansion and differentiation of the field of actors in which now also different governmental actors, the local community, international actors, as well as the university council, the vice-chancellor and collegial bodies play a role. Here, too, the aforementioned historical influences as well as new developments are of importance. This becomes apparent both in the description of functions and roles – the vice-chancellor is, on the one hand, the result of the British colonial history but, on the other hand, has much more decision-making power than his British counterpart and is much more strongly involved in the external political-administrative structure – as in the analysis of the governance regime. The latter is characterised by clear structures of hierarchy and instructions which lead to strict interconnections of the levels and courses of action within the university. Here, state governance actors, particularly in the North of the country, are of central importance. In contrast, Babyesiza does not consider the newly founded South Sudanese Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, societal stakeholders and internation-

al actors as belonging to the actors relevant for the governance of universities as they are not involved in the intentional coordination of higher education.

The description of the case has a clear structure, is well treated and easy to follow. Thus, the reader gets a clear and dense description of a highly interesting case. In the sixth part of the book, the results of the previous chapters are further sharpened. Higher education governance in Sudan is characterised by governmental steering, random intervention and obstruction by the state, forming of coalitions based on ethnicity framed by elements of New Public Management and political Islam. Universities in Southern Sudan focus on teaching profession- and profit-oriented programmes with a strong application orientation. Babyesiza summarises these results in the three topical areas of Islamist Public Management, Neopatrimonialism and Teaching for Development.

The final chapter of the book reveals the special analytical contribution which goes beyond the case analysed by Babyesiza. In the first part of the chapter, she uses the Travel of Ideas perspective to conceptually explain the development of the Islamist Public Management Regime. Subsequently, she applies the governance concepts of higher education research to her case. In particular the so-called governance equalizer serves as a heuristic in order to classify and extend the particularities of higher education governance in Southern Sudan. These extensions consist of deriving patrimonial steering and cultural self-governance, i.e. in particular ethnic identity, as additional steering factors from her case and to introduce them as further dimensions in the governance equalizer.

In the epilogue, Babyesiza discusses the developments in Southern Sudan since the time of her research. The republic of South Sudan has meanwhile become an independent state with a ministry of higher education that continues to pursue the republic of Sudan's policy of expanding higher education. Babyesiza focusses particularly on the problems that Southern Sudanese universities face due to the state's financial crisis, but also deals with the more recent violent conflicts in South Sudan, which brought the nation on the brink of a civil war.

Babyesiza's book is highly inspiring and there are three reasons for hoping that it reaches a broad readership, not only in academia, but also among those who deal with practical questions of development cooperation.

First, the case itself is highly interesting and enriches higher education research and education, African Studies and the failed-state discussion. These fields of research are addressed individually as well as in their interaction by Babyesiza's careful and methodologically diverse case study. In particular with regard to higher education research, which serves as the main intellectual system of reference, the chosen case requires a high degree of disciplinary transfers as

well as the academically competent and creative deviation from common re-
search routines.

Second, Babyesiza succeeds in applying concepts of higher education gov-
ernance, which often entail a Western or ethno-centric bias, to a case that, at first
glance, seems to be maximally distant from these concepts (and the Western
democracies on which they are empirically based). On the basis of the analysis
the governance debate is extended by further dimensions, namely patrimonial
steering and cultural self-governance, i.e. in particular ethnic identity. Building
on these extensions, Babyesiza develops the concept of "Islamist Public Man-
agement" and it is to be hoped that she and others can test the range and fruitful-
ness of this concept in future works on other cases.

Third, Babyesiza is able to put common lines of thinking into question by
not presenting her case as an exotic counterpart but by also pointing out the fa-
miliar in what appears to be foreign. Many lines of conflict, e.g. between state
intervention and autonomy of universities or between the embeddedness in glob-
al contexts and the strong contextual dependence of university structures and
processes, seem familiar. Moreover, is the steering dimension Babyesiza terms
neopatrimonialism not also an aspect of higher education governance that is too
easily neglected in idealised concepts of increasing autonomy of universities?

Georg Krücken

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During my stay in Sudan I heavily relied on the support of informants and the academic and administrative staff of the universities. I especially want to

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
EBSWG	Education Budget Sector Working Group
ERDF	Education Reconstruction and Development Forum
GoNU	Government of National Unity
GoSS	Government of Southern Sudan
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MoHESR	Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
NCP	National Congress Party
NIF	National Islamic Front
NPM	New Public Management
NUCOOP	Norwegian University Cooperation Programme for Capacity Development in Sudan
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
UBG	University of Bahr el Ghazal
UJ	University of Juba
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNU	University of Upper Nile
WGHE	Working Group on Higher Education

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1 Introduction

The trend towards governance research in higher education research has been triggered by New Public Management reforms of higher education systems since the 1980s. The relationship between higher education, state and society has changed tremendously from the early days of the old university to the current higher education systems in the Western world. Universities were established before the first nation states existed. They were independent institutions, that owned their buildings with their own funding, partly provided by students. Then in 19th-century-Europe, a concordat between state and university developed. The institution gained the exclusive right to award degrees for qualifications for the public service, while the state received legal ownership of the university. It was now one of the duties of the university to serve the national interest (Neave 2002:23). This was the basis for what was later called the state control model. Universities were publicly financed, their employees were public servants and had an obligation to serve the nation (de Groof, Neave, Švec 1998:17). This development can be seen as a result of the bureaucratic revolution, characterised by the establishment of the nation state and a meritocratic and professional public service (de Groof, Neave, Švec 1998:23). The state control system was widespread in continental Europe after the Second World War and the expansion of the welfare state. It changed with mounting criticism of state control and state intervention in the 1980s. During this time, a change in the belief system surrounding higher education occurred from "public service to service to the public" (de Groof, Neave, Švec 1998:156). This change was imbedded in the general shift in the belief system of government. During the period of state control, the university was perceived as a cultural institution with no concrete purpose that indirectly contributes to social cohesion and economic development. During this shift a more utilitarian perception became accepted. The university was seen as a public service institution subject to social, political and economic goals. In the old belief system that was more prevalent in continental Europe, the university was more or less autonomous from political interference in spite of legal and administrative regulations and its performance was not measured (Scott 2001:130). In the 1980s, universities – after the massification of higher education and growing national debts in most countries – came under scrutiny as being sheltered from competition and change, unaccountable to societal and economic demands and generally inefficient and low performing due to incoherent man-

agement structures (Braun & Merrien 1999:10-13). Thus, the era of state control was ended by a managerial revolution of New Public Management inspired reforms in higher education. The result was the current model of university governance with streamlined decision-making processes, a strengthened university leadership and stakeholder bodies at the top and weakened collegial bodies (de Boer, Enders & Schimank 2007, Hüther 2010, Amaral, Meek & Larsen 2003, Lange 2008, Lanzendorf & Kehm 2006). These changes can to a certain extent also be found in other parts of the world, e.g., Asia (Biyun 2008, Marginson 2011, Mok 2010, Shin 2012, Sirat 2010, Yokoyama 2006, Zha 2009), Latin America (Bernasconi 2005, Brunner 1993) and Africa (e.g., Neave & van Vught 1994, Cloete & Kulati 2003, Cloete et al. 2006, Mamdani 2007, 2008, Bisaso 2010). Within this context, Amaral et al. (2003) diagnosed a higher education managerial revolution that led to the application and translation of New Public Management (NPM) inspired reform elements in different countries with different outcomes. Studies focus on the role of the government, changes in governance (e.g., Bleiklie & Kogan 2007), governance reforms and their impact on higher education institutions and especially on the role of New Public Management in higher education (de Boer, Enders & Schimank 2007, Ferlie, Musselin & Andresani 2008). While several studies also discuss higher education governance in developing countries (e.g., Neave & van Vught 1994, Saint 2009, Mazawi 2005, Mamdani 2007, Cloete et al. 2006), the majority of research focusses on Western and/or industrial countries. Although the trend of public sector reforms partly coincides with the end of the Cold War and an increase in high intensity intra-state conflicts in the developing world, this has not become a focus of higher education research yet. I therefore sought to close that gap by focussing on higher education organisations and their governance in countries affected by or rehabilitating from armed conflict.

In this study, I use the term post-conflict which stems from the division of stages of conflict in peace and conflict studies into the pre-conflict, the escalation and the post-conflict phase (Seitz 2004:6). The term post-conflict implies that imminent fighting has (temporarily) stopped (Junne & Verkoren 2005:1). Post-conflict states are states characterised by the militarisation and politicisation of ethnicity, privatised violence and a shadow economy (trafficking of humans, drugs, weapons and natural resources) (Seitz 2004:4).

1.1   Education and (Post-)Conflict Societies

Since the 2000s, there has been a research trend with respect to (school) education in countries affected by violent conflict. There are several scholarly studies

and reports on education in (post-)conflict countries, many of them commissioned by multilateral organisations and international non-governmental organisations[1] since the connection between basic education and conflict has entered their funding and work focus. But the majority of those reports and studies are descriptive, written for policy-makers and focusing on recommendations for practitioners. These studies usually focus on practical issues of education – as it is often called – in emergencies and crisis states. The most prominent actors and publishers with respect to "education in emergencies" are the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Bank whose publications in the field I will briefly discuss. UNESCO has published two reports on "Education under Attack" (O'Malley 2007, 2010)[2] which documents physical attacks on scholars, students and education infrastructure. Furthermore UNESCO has commissioned several studies within its Education for All initiative: In the UNESCO report of 2000, for example, the only mention of higher education is connected to the need of higher education access for refugees (UNESCO 2000). The 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report discusses the challenges to achieve the Education for All goals in developing countries and especially those affected by armed conflict (UNESCO 2011:12) while higher education is only mentioned in connection to foreign aid provided for scholarships for students from developing countries in the industrialised world and discussing global trends (UNESCO 2011:54). Due to UNESCO's intensified engagement in conflict situations and reconstruction efforts,[3] which encompass practitioner conferences and workshops, the proceedings of those events are also an important source. One such report is the workshop proceedings from the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO which contains descriptive case studies from practitioners on education and post-conflict reconstruction in countries like Sierra Leone, Colombia, Cambodia and Palestine (UNESCO 1997) and also includes an analysis about higher education and will therefore be discussed below. In addition, UNESCO has published case study reports on the situation of education systems in Iraq, Afghanistan, Rwanda etc. The World Bank also published several country case studies on education after violent conflict that focus particularly on the role of the education system for post-conflict economic development. In 2005, the World Bank published a first report on the state of edu-

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[1] The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (see http://www.ineesite.org/en/) is a network of several multilateral and non-governmental organisations active in the field.
[2] Current report "Education under Attack 2014" is published by the Global Coalition to Protect Education From Attack (GCPEA)
[3] Support in post-conflict reconstruction and disaster relief is part of UNESCO's mission (see http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/themes/pcpd/mission/)

cation during post-conflict reconstruction, based on data from several countries.[4] The report mainly focused on the role of education in post-conflict development, poverty reduction and reconstruction. The main focus of all the mentioned publications lies on the connection between education and conflict: the possible benefits of education in conflict transformation as well as education as a source of conflict. Several studies by independent researchers describe the problems of education in post-conflict situations or the role of education during the recovery effort in specific countries. Studies on education and conflict show that education systems can be sources of conflict in developing countries. Schools are spaces where political propaganda is spread, ethnic or religious minorities are marginalised through the language of instruction or politicised content in teaching, in summary, a place where social inequalities that might be at the heart of the conflict are reproduced (Seitz 2004:10). Bacevic (2011:88) points out that the same holds true for higher education organisations in post-conflict societies. The trend in education in conflict research has so far not reached the field of higher education. A field that is "under-studied and under-theorised".[5]

1.2 Universities in (Post-)Conflict Societies

Studies on higher education systems in post-conflict countries focus on different aspects: the impact of violence on academics and students (see Paanakker 2009)[6], transfer of policies and ideas from Western industrialised countries during post-conflict reconstruction (Bache & Taylor 2003, Trnavcevic 2010, Miklavic 2012)[7] and the role of higher education in peace-building and conflict transformation like Mannan & Nukuitu (n.d.) for Papua New Guinea, Pacheco & Johnson (2014) for Colombia and Kenya and Tahirsylaj (2008) for Kosovo and Bacevic (2011) for several states of the former Yugoslavia. Höhne (2010) looks at the role the diaspora plays in establishing a private higher education sector in Somaliland while Bernardo & Baranovich (2012) address the role of student

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[4] The World Bank (2005a): Reshaping the future. Education and postconflict reconstruction. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
[5] http://www.universitiesireland.ie/2013/12/sar-call-research/
[6] Paanakker (2009) researched the academics' perspective on political violence by militias and political parties against academics and higher education institutions and its impact on universities in post-2003 Iraq. The Scholars at Risk Network at NYU is engaged in supporting and protecting scholars working affected by authoritarian rule or political conflict (http://scholarsatrisk.nyu.edu/)
[7] Trnavcevic (2010) discusses tremendous changes in higher education policy in post-socialist post-conflict countries in the Balkans affected by discourses of marketization and standardization of international donors. Miklavic (2012) who focuses on the introduction of quality assurance measures in higher education in Kosovo inspired by the Bologna Process.

affairs at a public university in the Philippines during armed conflict. Based on his experience as a consultant for the United Nations for higher education in Kosovo and Afghanistan Daxner (2006, 2010) has published articles about the general role of higher education in building a civil society. Likewise, Seyon (1997) has published a practitioner's report – as a former president of the university – about the situation of the University of Liberia during the war. Furthermore, a special volume of AIU Horizons – the magazine of the international association of universities – discusses a broad range of higher education reconstruction efforts in transition countries. The higher education systems discussed are not only impacted by conflict, but also by natural disasters and political transition. Cases are South Africa, the Russian Federation, Uganda, Iraq, Kosovo, Indonesia, East Timor, Thailand and Mozambique (AIU 2005). The majority of listed articles are descriptions of higher education systems in post-conflict societies. As Bacevic (2011:90) points out "there is a relative lack of theoretical perspectives addressing the role of higher education in post-conflict societies". There are therefore no studies focussing on university governance in postcolonial post-conflict states that use governance as an analytical instead of a normative concept.

1.3   The Sudan

As a case I chose the Republic of Sudan after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with a focus on the post-war region in the southern part of the country. Since its independence in 1956 from Egypt and Great Britain, the Republic of Sudan has endured constant armed conflicts between the central government and different peripheral regions of the Sudan. The longest conflict in Sudan was the one between the central government and rebel groups in Southern Sudan. The first civil war started on the eve of independence in 1956 and ended in 1972 with the Addis Ababa Peace agreement. But only eleven years later a new civil war erupted between the central government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) due to the introduction of shari'a law. This second civil war ended in January 2005 with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the ruling National Congress Party and Sudan People's Liberation Movement. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) is the result of several negotiations since 2002 between the two parties that took place in Kenya and were facilitated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and its donor partners. The CPA regulated the sharing of wealth and power, a transitional democratisation period and the definition of borders. Based on the CPA, the two parties shared the oil revenue (51%-49%), they formed a coalition government in Khar-

toum called the Government of National Unity, a coalition government of Southern Sudan which was semi-autonomous and could negotiate with international actors and a Southern Sudanese parliament. Apart from the roadmap to the referendum, the CPA also supervised the responsibilities and reforms in the public sector concerning security, welfare and the rule of law. This also affected the education sector. According to the CPA, the responsibilities of the sector were to be decentralised. While the Government of National Unity ceded its powers in all of the sectors in Southern Sudan, the higher education sector and scientific research were an exception. Tertiary education and scientific research with the exception of student admission was a sector that is part of the concurrent powers of the Government of National Unity, the Government of Southern Sudan and the government of the ten states in Southern Sudan (CPA 2005:29). This provision – keeping in mind the prominent role of private and public international actors in post-conflict states – seemed to outline the establishment of a multilevel governance system in Southern Sudan (cf. Risse 2005) and formed the starting point for my investigation.[8]

A country like Sudan is usually classified in scholarly literature and public discourse[9] as a crisis, failed or fragile state (Schneckener 2004, 2005, Debiel 2005) or an area of limited statehood (Risse & Lehmkuhl 2007, Risse 2005). This classification is based on normative assumptions of the Weberian state (Betz 2007, Englebert & Tull 2008) and describes the lack of institutional capacity, the lack of the state's monopoly on violence over the national territory and deficient provision of public services like education, health and environment (Risse 2005). The main assumption is that states like Sudan cannot sufficiently fulfil the tasks that a modern nation state – as it developed in Europe – has to fulfil. The research of governance of higher education institutions in post-colonial post-conflict countries can offer a different perspective on the role of statehood and governance based on empirical data of actor constellations in higher education. In order to evade a Eurocentric confirmation bias, this study will not test the university governance typologies, but start with an intrinsic case study of a higher education system.

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[8]The findings of this study are based on data collected during the interim period after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2008. Since then Southern Sudan has gained independence as the Republic of South Sudan with its own higher education policy. The newest developments since the conclusion of data collection and analysis are discussed in the epilogue.

[9] Draude (2012) shows how this classification is shaped more by normative ideas and values rather than analysis, p. 37.

1.4 Methodological Approach

The thesis seeks to research a social phenomenon in its social and political context. That is why the case study research strategy was used. In order to answer the research question "How are the three universities in Southern Sudan regulated?", a single case study design with multiple embedded units of analysis was used. I used multiple sources of evidence: 34 semi-structured interviews and 29 informal interviews with stakeholders in higher education were conducted during a five-month-stay in Sudan, i.e. with representatives of the local, regional and national government level, institutional leadership of the universities, international actors as well as experts in higher education and societal stakeholders. Every group was interviewed with a different guideline, though every guideline comprised questions on four subject areas: historical background of the respective universities/the role of actors in higher education/institutional decision making/the relocation. In order to answer the research, questions I started with a case description and then used integrative hermeneutic text analysis to elaborate the relationships between the actors in state, society and universities, and subsequently developed inductive categories. Furthermore, I used direct observation during visits of the universities and government agencies. I also collected documents and archival records, i.e. higher education studies on Sudan, newspaper articles, organisational documents and records on policy, governance, staff and students etc. The findings of the study are based on the triangulation of the collected data.

1.5 Organisation of the Study

Chapter 2 outlines the conceptual framework and the research design of the study. After a discussion of the governance concept which forms the conceptual framework for the research question, the interview guideline, the selection of interviewees and the collection and analysis of data, I outline why the case study research strategy is the suitable approach for this study and elaborate on the methods of data collection and analysis. The chapter also offers short a reflection of the methods used in an intercultural multilingual context and a preview of the following chapters. In the empirical chapters that focus on the history (chapter 3), the examined organisations (chapter 4) and the actors (chapter 5) in higher education in Sudan – with special reference to the South – the results of the case study are based on the triangulation of data, i.e. documents, organisational records, formal and informal interviews, and direct observations are discussed.

Chapter 3 offers a historical analysis of the nexus between education, identity and conflict in Sudan which is mostly neglected in higher education studies on Sudan. The history of higher education developments in North and South Sudan from the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium to the transitional period after the CPA in 2005 is discussed in five sections: From the role of the colonial powers in invigorating the conflict between North and South by administrating the two parts of the country separately, through the first military regime and its attempt to Islamise and Arabise the education system, the second military regime that was responsible for institutionalising higher education and bringing the first civil war to an end, to the latest military regime and its goal to Islamise and Arabise the higher education system. The goal of the chapter is to show the intersection of the role of military regimes, the civil wars and the ideological conflict in the education system. The chapter also counters the segregation of the education system in Sudan along regional lines which is also reflected in the scholarly publications. The chapter therefore offers an account of the commonalities and differences of education in the North and South and the role of subsequent military regimes in (higher) education policy.

After discussing the political context of higher education, chapter 4 shifts the perspective to the individual higher education institutions. The chapter offers an in-depth description of the Universities of Juba, Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile, which were all established during the reign of military regimes with the specific goal to promote the economic development in the South. The impact of these origins on the universities is discussed through the prism of the universities' organisational goals, study programmes, administration & funding, staff and students. A utilitarian and development-oriented world view pervades all these aspects, be it the disciplinary make up of universities and the study programmes, the number of staff and students at specific faculties or colleges, evaluation criteria for academic staff or modes of income generation. The chapter also provides a first insight into the role of identity within universities. In summary, the chapter shows the role local and global ideas play in the three universities.

In chapter 5, the perspective turns to actors in the political context, which was discussed in chapter 3, and actors within the universities, which were discussed in chapter 4. It offers a description and analysis of the different actors and their role in higher education, i.e. whether it is based on influence or can be defined as governance. According to the interview analysis, the most important external actors are the state and its different agencies on the national and regional level, society, and, in a post-conflict country of course, the international community. Internal actors are the University Council, the vice-chancellor and collegial bodies. My analysis reinforces the findings of chapters 3 and 4. Universities are embedded in their social environment – the state, society and the international

community – which is shaped by a conflict on nationhood and diversity. The experiences of marginalisation and exclusion of the Southern Sudanese population informs decision-making of actors in the universities. At the same time, society, the state, and the international community are influenced by global ideas which shape their problem perception and policies.

In chapter 6, I discuss the results of the case study and outline four main themes: Islamist Public Management as the overall governing philosophy of the current military regime, teaching for development which characterises the development-oriented academic profile and philosophy of the three universities in Southern Sudan, and the role of neopatrimonialism in university governance.

Based on the case study results, chapter 7 offers a theoretical explanation for the findings outlined in the previous chapter. The conclusion focusses on an empirical explanation for the governance regime of Islamist Public Management and how to conceptualise neopatrimonial governance. First, through discussing the applicability of new institutional theories and second, through a detailed discussion of the applicability of higher education governance typologies from the application of Clark's Triangle of Coordination to Uwe Schimank's governance equalizer with the five dimensions: state regulation, external steering, managerial self-governance, academic self-governance, and competition. My analysis shows that concepts of new institutionalism and governance research are applicable. Since the focus of this study is university governance the concluding chapter focusses more on conceptualising neopatrimonial governance in higher education and offers an amended university governance typology based on the governance equalizer. In order to better describe the case, the two dimensions of patrimonial steering and cultural self-governance are added to the typology. In order to describe the governance regime of universities in Southern Sudan, I then followed Schimank's (2007a) operationalisation of the governance equalizer and defined two indicators for each of the two additional dimensions.

Since the conclusion of the study, the Republic of South Sudan gained independence and became the African continent's newest nation. Hence, current developments and their impact on higher education are discussed in an epilogue.

2 Concepts – Methodology – Data Collection and Analysis

The governance concept forms the guiding framework of this study. This chapter only offers a broad introduction to aspects that are important for the discussion of university governance in (post-)conflict states. Since the approach of the dissertation was inductive and the theoretical background only functioned as a broad framework in order not to bias the data collection, it is in the concluding chapter that theoretical concepts will be discussed against the background of the empirical results.[10]

2.1 Concepts

Governance has become a popular concept in the social sciences since the 2000s. The term can be traced back to different roots: The term governance was first used by Williamson. He used it for describing steering and coordination mechanisms of economic processes in his transaction theory (Benz & Dose 2010, Brunnengräber, Dietz, Hirschl & Walk 2004, Schuppert 2006). In the field of international relations the term governance was first used to describe governing without government. Another source is the use of the term good governance by international development agencies, especially the World Bank (Benz & Dose 2010:20, Schuppert 2006, van Kersbergen & van Waarden 2004:145).

In political science, one has to differentiate the term governance from steering theory. In German the two terms were translated synonymously although they offer different perspectives on political decision-making (Mayntz 2005:11, Mayntz 2009:14) The attribute of the theory of political steering is a central steering authority, a strict division between the object and the subject of steering and a Eurocentric democratic concept of the state (Mayntz 2005:12). In the 1970s and 1980s, the steering responsibility of the state was redefined striving to small government, more emphasis on market forces as a tool of more efficient regulatory structures and the outsourcing of thitherto government provided ser-

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[10] For an in-depth discussion see Benz & Dose (2010:13-36), Mayntz (2010:37-48) for a general introduction and Hüther (2010:85-106), Leisyte (2007:27-34) for higher education.

vices (New Public Management). This redefinition was accompanied by a widening of the perspective on steering towards the concept of the cooperative state which also included non-state actors. In contrast, the term governance describes the process as well as the structure of societal regulation (Benz & Dose 2010). Compared with the actor-centred theory of political steering, the governance concept is institutionalist and focusses on the way a things are steered or governed. The two perspectives do not rule each other out, but can be seen as complementary (Mayntz 2005:17).

There are three definitions of governance (Mayntz 1998, Draude 2007). In political science, the term governance, on the one hand, stands for non-state non-hierarchical decision-making, i.e. societal self-regulation and public-private cooperation, and, on the other hand, for all forms of collective regulation of societal circumstances, therefore, governance of, with and without government (Mayntz 2004:66). In sociology, governance stands for the handling of interdependencies and is a superordinate concept for basic forms of social order/modes of coordinating individual actions (Lange & Schimank 2004, Schimank 2007b). Hence the governance perspective encompasses, in addition to the role of the state, the role of societal actors like representatives of the private sector, civil society, churches and non-governmental organisations that are institutionalised and part of the political process (Brunnengräber, Dietz, Hirschl & Walk 2004:7). The governance concept is used in different ways. The first area of application are different sectors, i.e. economic governance, security governance or, in the case of this study, higher education governance. The second area of application is the political arena or level where governance takes place (Brunnengräber, Dietz, Hirschl & Walk 2004:7), i.e. local governance, national governance, global governance and if transgressing all these political boundaries, multi-level governance.

Van Kersbergen & van Waarden (2004) define nine different uses of the term governance: governing without government in international relations and as a form of local self-organisation, economic governance, network governance and as subsectors private networks and multi-level governance and three normative uses of the term, i.e. good governance in international development, good governance in the private sector (corporate governance) and good governance in the public sector (New Public Management). Taking into account these definitions and the focus of the thesis, the following concepts are of relevance for this study: multi-level governance due to the devolution of powers prescribed in the peace agreement, normative definitions of governance due to the influence of international organisations, i.e. good governance in international development and the public sector (New Public Management), and of course higher education governance.

The term multi-level governance describes regulations and processes, which was also called joint decision-making. The term was first outlined and elaborated in the study of political processes in the European and the international arena. As Benz said: "international politics is per se multilevel politics" (Benz 2005:97; translated by author). Multi-level governance is defined as "political regulation of societal problems or processes including public and private actors and the integration of local, regional, national and international levels" (Ziai 2006:2; translated by author). In (post-)conflict situations decisions are made by a combination of local and national public and private actors as wells as international donor countries, non-governmental organisations and multilateral organisations. One could therefore say that multi-level governance is as prevalent in the European Union as in so-called failed states and can thus be a useful tool for researching post-conflict governance (Risse 2005:11). There are thus three reasons why the concept of multi-level governance might be useful for the current study. First, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement names the tertiary education sector as an area of concurrent powers between the national, regional and local governments (CPA 2005). Second, due to the civil war, education has for the last decades been a service provided by civil society, churches and international non-governmental and governmental organisations. Third, new public institutions, like ministries of education, finance etc., were established in the aftermath of the peace agreement. Based on these three elements, I concluded that universities in Southern Sudan might be regulated in a multi-level governance system.

Mayntz (2004:66) points out that governance as an opposite to hierarchical steering is often used by the World Bank and other development agencies as the normative term good governance. The term has become central to international development policy (König 2001) and is defined "as transparent, accountable and legitimate public actions within a stable legal order" (Stockmayer 2005:252). The rise of the term good governance was a reaction to the failure of neoliberal-inspired structural adjustment programmes and state failure in developing countries. The reform of the public sector by structural adjustment programmes originated not only from a firm belief in the free market, but also from a misconception of the constitution of the state. Fukuyama (2004) differentiates the scope of the state's activities, i.e. the functioning and the goals of a government, on the one hand, and the strength of state power, i.e. the capacity to plan and execute policy and to enforce laws transparently and correctly. Through structural adjustment programmes, the state's capacity as wells as its scope were sharply reduced which did not lead to the expected results (Fukuyama 2004:21). The failure of these World Bank funded programmes was followed by the awareness that the state did have a role to play in development. The evaluation of structural adjustment programmes showed a clear relation between good governance and

efficient institutions, on the one hand, and economic growth and development on the other (Stockmayer 2005:254-5). Good governance is a highly normative term that stands for good polity, policy and politics in order to ensure economic growth. Thus while in the 1970s in the development cooperation arena the state was seen as the problem that had to be minimised, the end of the 1990s and 2000s were characterised by a utilitarian view on the state as a tool to achieve economic growth (Theobald 2002).[11]

Good governance in the public sector – New Public Management – is a philosophy usually associated with reforms that entail the deregulation, the privatisation of public services and the introduction of management methods from the private sector to public sector organisations. The policy prescriptions of New Public Management can be divided into two dimensions: a macro dimension with respect to regulatory policy and a micro dimension with respect to the internal structure of public institutions. The macro dimensional reforms are the reduction of the scope of public service provision by delegating service provision to private actors through deregulation, privatisation and outsourcing. The application of management methods of private business organisations to public sector organisations with respect to more hierarchical management and management by objectives and the introduction of competition to the public sector are reforms with respect to the internal structure of public sector organisation (Hüther 2010:70, Schröter 2011:79).

The broad governance concept in its meaning as the handling of interdependencies forms the conceptual framework of the study. While this study is based on the sociological definition of governance, the two normative concepts good governance and New Public Management, as well as multi-level governance as a form of network governance also play a role.

2.2 Methodology

The aim of the study is to analyse the role of actors in state, society and universities, their constellation and the mechanisms they use. My research questions are:

- How are the three universities in Southern Sudan regulated?
- Which actors are involved in higher education governance?
- Which governance mechanisms can be observed and how do they relate to each other?

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[11] Cf. Babyesiza (2007)

▪ To what extent are the established university governance typologies useful for describing university governance in post-conflict situations?
▪ Is higher education in Southern Sudan regulated in a multi-level governance system?

The case study research strategy will be used as a methodology, because the research questions do not focus on the "incidence or prevalence of a phenomenon" (Yin 2009:9), but on explanations; because I had no control over the behavioural events and it was not required and because the focus of the study is a phenomenon in its real life context. Those are the three aspects outlined by Yin (2009:8) that favour the use of the case study methodology. According to Putney (2010:117), "a series of decisions must be made concerning, the rationale, the design, the purpose and type of case study". Stake classifies case studies according to three rationales: intrinsic, instrumental and collective case studies (Stake 1995, 2000). An intrinsic case study "is undertaken because, first and last, the researcher wants better understanding of this particular case", and with an instrumental case study "a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization". When a researcher chooses a "number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition", it is called a collective case study (Stake 2000:437). Since I focus on the Sudan to get a deep understanding of this particular case as opposed to a general phenomenon, my study can be classified as an intrinsic case study. The case was therefore identified beforehand and its context and embedded units of analysis will be presented below. Yin divides case study designs based on research questions and their purpose: exploratory (what can be learned), explanatory (how and why - questions) and descriptive (thick description) case studies (Yin 2009:8). Therefore, my study is an explanatory case study. The decision about the design of the case study is based on extensive literature research for scholarly publications, dissertations and development reports on higher education in Sudan. The result was that most literature (e.g., Ibrahim 2007, Ramadan 2007, Ismail 1991, Kardaman 1982) focusses on Northern Sudan, or specifically on the University of Khartoum as the largest and oldest university in the country, while the South is omitted. Some articles and development reports (e.g., Sommers 2005, Blunt 2002) exclusively deal with education in Southern Sudan.[12] The role of universities was usually omitted in these reports which focused exclusively on the challenges of education in emergencies. Therefore an in-depth analysis is needed that takes into account the general higher education system and the universities in

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[12] There are some old scholarly studies that also include educational development in Sudan like Beshir (1969) or that include the issue of education in general studies about historical developments in the South like Collins (1983).

Southern Sudan. I therefore used a single case study design with embedded units of analysis. The focus of my research was the emerging higher education system in Southern Sudan and its governance during the transitional period and post-conflict reconstruction. I therefore chose all three Southern Sudanese universities existing at the time as embedded units of analysis.

This means that the Republic of Sudan is the context of my study, the higher education system in Sudan is my case and the University of Juba (UJ), the University of Upper Nile (UNU) and the University of Bahr el Ghazal (UBG) are the embedded units of analysis.

2.3 Data Collection

An important aspect of the case study strategy is the use of multiple sources of evidence (Hartley 2004, Yin 2009, Lamnek 2010). The six sources of evidence for case studies according to Yin are documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts (Yin 2009:99).

I first started to gather information and literature on higher education in Sudan through internet research on online archives with respect to Sudan, websites of Sudanese embassies, dissertations provided online, online publications by international organisations engaged in education in conflict societies like the UNESCO and World Bank, and publications of non-governmental organisations active in education in crisis states. Based on this first research, I found out that there is a dearth of research on higher education in Sudan. The reference handbook for higher education in Africa (Teferra & Altbach 2003) lists ten scholarly articles and eight dissertations on higher education in Sudan. Since the Sudanese government only irregularly reports data on education to international organisations, reports on higher education in Sudan are mostly based on insufficient data. Due to the scarcity of the literature and the conflicting information concerning the status and the location of the universities, I therefore decided in line with the case study research strategy to use multiple sources of data. In addition to documents and archival records, I decided to conduct interviews and direct observation. In the following, I will discuss the methods of data collection used and how the heuristic framework helped to narrow down the type of data needed.

Since an in-depth study of organisations is not possible exclusively through text analysis and telephone interviews, part of the research process was a five-month-stay in Sudan with regular visits to the universities. All three universities had relocated to the capital of the country, Khartoum, in the North. The administrations and deans of the universities stayed in Khartoum, while part of the

faculties and colleges of the universities were still situated on campuses in the South or were about to be transferred back to their original location. I therefore spent the first two months (12.01.-17.03.2008) of my stay in Khartoum and then embarked on a two-month-trip to the South where I visited the campuses of the University of Upper Nile in Malakal (18.03.-07.04.2008), of the University of Juba in Juba (08.04.-01.05.2008) and finally the campus of the University of Bahr el Ghazal in Wau (01.05.-14.05.2008) in order to complement the data collection that had taken place thus far. [13] The remaining month (15.05.-23.06.2008) in Khartoum was used to revisit former interviewees and to gather additional data based on the information received during my trip to the South.

I gained access to the field through German Sudan experts and their local contacts. Furthermore, I attended a conference on governance in South Sudan after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Bremen, Germany.[14] Through this conference I got in contact with academic staff of two universities and already received important information through informal interviews, the results of which stood in stark contrast to parts of the document material gathered on the internet, which confirmed my doubts about a long-distance study.

As mentioned above, the governance concept forms the heuristic framework for the study. Governance is the intentional coordination of societal problems and the coordination system. In order to analyse the constellation of actors and the governance mechanisms used, I collected data with respect to the state, society and the individual universities.

2.3.1   Documentation and Archival Records

The documentation used in the case study were scholarly studies on higher education in Sudan, Sudanese newspaper articles and ads focussing on higher education in Southern Sudan as well as administrative documents and organisational records of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the three universities. Studies on higher education in Sudan were collected in Germany before and after field re-

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[13] Since foreigners were not allowed to travel to most of the parts of Sudan outside Khartoum, an additional travel permit had to be obtained from the Aliens Registration Control Central Office of the Sudan Police Headquarters for traveling to the South. I am indebted to the administrator of the local office of the former German Development Service, which is now part of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH for guiding me through that process.

[14] The attendance of the conference was made possible by Elke Grawert who was the coordinator of the project "Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 2005: local, national, and regional dimensions" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation at the University of Bremen (http://www.iwim.uni-bremen.de/africa/Sudan.Drittmittel/Governance.htm).

search and during field research at several Sudanese libraries: Sudan Library, which stores all final theses of the University of Khartoum, the library of Ahfad University for Women, the library of the faculty of education of the University of Khartoum and the library of the Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research. The document search had only limited success due to the "intricacy" of local libraries. They are not well stocked and not properly ordered. Customers are sometimes not allowed to search for themselves and have to rely on the staff to find interesting studies. Copying is frowned upon and borrowing is not allowed. Thus, the document search only brought to light studies on school education in Southern Sudan and selected topics of higher education in Northern Sudan. During my interviews with stakeholders in state, society and universities, I asked for additional documents and archival records, i.e. public policy documents, higher education statistics and laws, information of admission of students, curriculum, the organisational structure of universities and organisational records on the number of staff, students, staff salaries and financial resources among others. The number and usefulness of documents I received from interviewees and staff vary from institution to institution depending on the respondents' ability or willingness to assist in my research.[15] Therefore, there is a lack of equivalence of the data collected in each institution.

2.3.2   Interviews

I conducted 34 formal and tape recorded interviews with members of the top management of universities and ministries of the national, regional and local level. I used different interview manuals for each group, i.e. public actors, University Council members, administrators, deans, international actors.[16] The selection of interviewees was based on their function and position in universities, the state and society. Since I interviewed representatives in high-ranking positions, i.e. government officials, vice-chancellors and deans, the overwhelming majority of interviewees were male (cf. Littig 2009).

   I gained access to the field in Germany via telephone through one of the vice-chancellors. In Sudan, it was his secretary who introduced me to some staff members at the University of Juba and to the leadership of the University of Upper Nile where she had worked before. Access to the University of Bahr el Ghazal had to be secured through a formal letter by my supervisor. Interviews at the universities were conducted after an appointment was made prior to the interview or spontaneously. Interviews took place in the offices of the universities

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[15] The same holds true for the number of interviews I conducted.
[16] The interview guidelines can be found in appendix 3

which I visited daily. Sometimes appointments for interviews were not kept and had to be rescheduled. In a few cases, appointments had to be rescheduled several times until it became apparent that the interviewee did not want to participate in my research project. Concerning the external members of the University Council, it turned out that tracing these members was difficult, since university administrators had doubts about facilitating the contact. Owing to the good relationship I forged with some of the interviewees, I was able to talk to the chairman and a member of the council of the University of Upper Nile and the chairman of the council of the University of Juba. Furthermore, I talked to two academic staff of the University of Juba who were or had been members of the council of the University of Upper Nile and the University of Bahr el Ghazal respectively. The latter being the university where I conducted the least interviews and received the smallest amount of data due to the apparent suspicion of the vice-chancellor. He was reluctant to grant access to members of staff and to provide organisational records in order to control the information I received and did not want his interviews to be taped. That is why most of the data collected at the University of Bahr el Ghazal was obtained during my trip to the campus in the South, where the vice-chancellor was not present and the academic staff were therefore more forthcoming. I conducted 24 interviews with representatives of the three universities.

I gained access to employees of the ministry through interviewees at the three universities who provided contact information. Interviews were made after prior appointments via telephone or conducted spontaneously during an office visit. Interviewees were most forthcoming if I was accompanied by university staff who personally knew the interviewee. It turned out that for some interviewees my background as someone who is connected to someone they know was crucial information.[17] I had also received a letter from the University of Juba stating the reason of my stay in Sudan and the topic of my research which was also helpful in accessing public servants at the local government level.[18] In summary, my interview request had to be legitimised through personal contacts or official documents. Five interviews were conducted with representatives of the public sector.

External stakeholders in higher education are defined as representatives of organisations who are neither part of the science nor the education system

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[17]Radsch (2009:95/96) uses the concept of wasta, translated as personal connections, and a modified or secularised concept of isnad, i.e. an unbroken chain of acquaintances known to the potential informants, in explaining the role of trust and gaining access in Egypt and Lebanon through personal relations.

[18] At the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Government of Southern Sudan in Juba, however, a new research permit had to be acquired in the department of research and innovation.

(Schimank 2007a).[19] Since the access to external stakeholders in the University Council was limited by university staff, I decided to look for certain groups based on the academic calendar of the University of Juba, which lists all members of the University Council, and based on a general definition of higher education stakeholders and their role in decision-making. Therefore, I tried to get in contact with trade unions, chambers of commerce, women's organisations and political parties. It became increasingly evident during the research process that the named groups were – although partly mentioned in the academic calendar – not members of the council or in any other way involved in higher education governance. This also holds true for the involvement of international actors, which based on my hypothesis would in a post-conflict situation form a multi-level governance system with the different levels of government and external stakeholders. I gained access to these groups through local facilitators, i.e. staff of the university and drivers. Furthermore, through university staff I gained access to two higher education experts who were not members of the three universities. I conducted five interviews with representatives of society and the international community.

2.3.3   Direct Observation and Informal Interviews

Direct observation was also a tool used during the research process. I visited the universities daily and spent time in hallways and offices waiting for an interview or the opportunity to discuss open questions and make an appointment for an interview. Sometimes I would wait for hours talking to the secretaries, observing the visitors to the vice-chancellor's office or follow up on former interviewees with additional questions or spontaneous questions based on the observations I just made. While the administration and the leadership of the universities resided in Khartoum, some of the colleges and faculties were located in the South. During a two-month-trip to the three locations. I stayed in the staff quarters opposite the campus and visited the offices of the universities daily. I took tours of the campus, talked to employees and students and took photographs of the campus, the billboards with information for students and the organisational charts in the offices. One problem during observations was the language barrier. During conversations staff would use colloquial Arabic or their mother tongue, of which I have no in-depth knowledge. Therefore, I mostly observed behaviour followed

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[19] Some members of the University Council could also be defined as external stakeholders, but are subsumed under academic and administrative staff of universities (see Appendix 1: List of interviews).

up with questions. Informal interviews therefore developed from direct observation.

I conducted 10 informal interviews with academic and administrative staff of the three universities, 6 informal interviews with government officials, 3 informal interviews with representatives of international organisations, a discussion with 10 students of the University of Juba and 5 informal interviews with representatives of civil society. Some informal interviews were conducted, because interviewees did not want their interviews to be taped or were too busy for a prolonged formal interview.

2.4 Data Analysis

The analysis of data already started during the period of data collection. Interviews form the major part of my empirical data. The interviews were recorded and I started with the transcription and reading during field research in order to get a grasp of the main issues while conducting further interviews. I took notes during informal interviews and then wrote down interview minutes afterwards. During the whole period of data collection I took notes of the interviews, informal encounters and my observations surrounding my research.

For data analysis of formal interviews I used the data analysis software MAXQDA. Yin (2009:130) proposes to develop a general analytic strategy before conducting the data collection. My general analytic strategy was a case description (Hartley 2004, Yin 2009). I started with descriptive coding according to general topics such as institutional history, actors and topics such as funding, student affairs etc.

After the division of the texts into different descriptive categories, I used the hermeneutic approach to integrated text analysis developed by Helfferich & Kruse (2007) and Kruse (2008) in order to develop inductive categories. The authors define four levels of attention (Aufmerksamkeitsebenen), i.e. the interaction between interviewer and interviewee (interaction), the linguistic and grammatical characteristics of the text (syntactic), characteristics of word choice (semantic), and recurring images and the organisation of speech (metaphors).

This approach was especially helpful for interviews that were not fully based on the interview guideline. Littig (2009) points out that gender roles are not reflected in interview situations, but constructed, referring to the concept of doing-gender developed by West & Zimmerman (1987). I thus analysed interviews as information and interaction (Silverman 1993). Elderly interviewees, for example, often took charge of the interview and launched into a lengthy speech before I could ask the first question. They objected to interjections and follow up

questions and assumed the interview to be finished after they ended their speech. In these settings I could not ask every question prepared in the guideline. The integrative micro-linguistic approach of Helfferich & Kruse (2007) helped to still find answers to my questions based on the four levels of attention. Not all of the levels could be used, however, since the interviews were conducted in English between an interviewer and interviewees who both learned English as a second language. Since colloquial Arabic is the language used daily by academic staff, pauses and the reformulation of speech (syntactic) could therefore not be exclusively linked to the content of the speech, but to the lack of practice when answering questions in English. Furthermore, all Southern Sudanese interviewees were multilingual, i.e. they were speakers of their African mother tongue and possibly another local African lingua franca, in addition to English and standard Arabic, which they learned in school, and colloquial Arabic, which is used as a national lingua franca. I therefore mainly used the levels of interaction, syntactic and semantic for the analysis of data. The micro-linguistic approach was useful when triangulated with other data.

As an example, I will briefly demonstrate the development of inductive categories and the analysis and interpretation of data with respect to the role of the state in higher education. I developed the descriptive category: "actors in higher education" with the subcategories "public actors" and "GoNU" which stands for Government of National Unity.

> Text: interview 230108-1unu
> Code: 2 actors in higher education\2.2 public actors\2.2.1 GoNU
> P: Er in practice (3) we we we cooperate with national (2) and public institutions [mm-hmm] that are dealing with issues of higher education (2) er we are not allowed by LAW (4) to to seek any or to cooperate with others who (2) who are not (6) who are not allowed by the government [mm-hmm] only when an institution is allowed by the government (3) to cooperate with=institutions of higher education [mm-hmm] that's when they come in [mm-hmm] to cooperate with us, but otherwise we are bound by law (3) to deal only with government institutions [mm-hmm] yah.[20]

In this interview excerpt the interviewee uses the passive form when discussing the relationship between universities and government. His word choice "not allowed" and "bound by" points to a hierarchical relationship.

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[20] I used a naturalist approach to interview transcription for data analysis. The interview excerpts in the following chapters, however, were partly edited to ensure readability.

> Text: interview 230108-1unu
> Code: 2 actors in higher education\2.2 public actors\2.2.1 GoNU
> P: {oooh ooh harrumph of course} of course ye nobody (.) nobody has influence
> [mh] (3) if I go (.) I go as a government (.) employee (2) ok and you know what I
> mean [mh] as a government employee of sometimes you are bound to obey (.) the
> minister (.) hm? [hm] (4) er as a government employee (.) we can discuss issues here
> and we pass a resolution (.) that resolution in the end (.) may not come up (.) may
> not be implemented cause the government does not like it (.) ok? you you you you
> know what it means to be a employee of the government [hm]

Again, in this excerpt, the interviewee uses words such as "obey" and "bound" together with the term "government employee". Thus, according to the interviewee – an academic staff member appointed as principal of the university – government employees "are bound to obey the minister" of higher education.

> Text: interview 290108-2unu
> Code: 2 actors in higher education\2.2 public actors\2.2.1 GoNU
> SA: Yes the university is a government university, which is under the ministry of
> higher education and scientific research and was in that ministry, the ministry is be-
> ing governened/ governed by governened I mean directorates with the committees.

This interview excerpt shows the limits of syntactical and semantic analysis in a multi-lingual setting. I interpreted the use of the word "government university" as another element that proves that universities are perceived as government agencies. It turned out that the Arabic adjective hukumi in this case means governmental and public[21]. Thus, the use of the words government university could be linked to the daily use of the Arabic language by interviewees who were translating their thoughts from Arabic to English while answering the questions. Based on coded interview data, I developed the inductive category "universities as government agencies". By triangulating the coded interview data with documents such as the organisational chart of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, which shows the universities as branch of the ministry, and direct observation, I could draw the conclusion that 1) the state is the most important actor in higher education, 2) the boundaries between universities and the state are blurred, and 3) universities are perceived as part of the state (see chapter 5).

Kruse (2008:163) uses the rule of consistency as an equivalent of validity and reliability in quantitative research, which I also relied on for data analysis.

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[21] One could, of course, draw inferences from this fact with respect to political thought in the Arab world, but that was outside the scope of this thesis.

The rule of consistency means that 1) the interpretation of the text is reliable, if it is consistent with the whole body of interviews, and 2) the patterns I described are consistent and not random in all sources of evidence.

In the following chapters, I will present the results of the case study based on the triangulation of the analysed data. In the first empirical chapter, a historical discussion of the development of higher education in Sudan against the backdrop of a long term conflict on identity and resources will offer an explanation and contextualisation of the higher education system during the transitional period. The second empirical chapter offers a description and analysis of the embedded cases – the universities in Southern Sudan – from the perspective of the institution. The third empirical chapter focusses on the constellation of internal and external actors in the governance of the three universities. The next chapter summarises the empirical findings and in the last chapter, the findings of the case study results will be used to discuss the applicability of current higher education typologies and to present a more suitable typology that might apply to higher education systems worldwide irrespective of their political system and social context.

3 Higher Education, Identity and Conflict in Sudan

> 120608-2uc: "There are problems for the universities all over Sudan, but specifically in the Southern Sudan for the following reasons. First of all, the policies of the higher education have something to do with Arabisation and Islamisation. […] So the curriculum goes like that until we get to higher education. We get into, you know, universities, by the time you graduate from the university, you're somebody else. You are reproduced to be somebody else, 'cause you'll be losing your values, your cultural aspects a bit by bit. Ok? But the idea – why was that? – because the curriculum had been based on Islamisation and Arabisation."

This excerpt of an interview with a former Southern Sudanese politician encapsulates the view point of many Southerners regarding education. The interviewee views education in Sudan as an attempt to change or assimilate his identity, his language and culture. It is therefore important to outline the historical developments, that lead to the present higher education system that according to the interviewee, is based on Islamisation and Arabisation of religious and ethnic minorities.[22]

The case study approach offers the opportunity to research a phenomenon in its social and political context. In Sudan, this context is marred by a failure of nationhood and emanating from it decades of long civil wars and short democratic periods disrupted by military coups (Beck 2002:610). These developments have shaped Sudanese history from its independence in 1956 until the independence of South Sudan in 2011. And they have also shaped the development and reform of higher education in Sudan. This chapter is based on higher education studies, articles, reports and presentations on Sudan, mostly authored by Northern Sudanese scholars and on formal and informal interviews with Northern and Southern Sudanese respondents to cover the blind spots of existing studies on Sudanese higher education, which I outlined in the previous chapter. By triangu-

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[22] This chapter offers an outline of Sudanese history through the prism of higher education. For general accounts of Southern Sudanese history see Collins (1983): Shadows in the Grass. Britain in the Southern Sudan, 1918-1956, New Haven and London: Yale University Press and more recently Collins, Robert O. (2008): A history of modern Sudan, Cambridge University Press; Breidlid, A. with A.K Breidlid and Avelino Androga Said (eds.) (2010): A Concise History of South Sudan. Fountain Publishers. Kampala. For an overview from the educational perspective see Beshir, Mohamed Omer (1969): Educational Development in the Sudan 1898-1956, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

lating different sorts of documentation and interviews, I am offering a more complete picture of Sudanese higher education, a picture that sheds light on the Southern periphery which is usually left in the shadow. This chapter and the study as a whole therefore offer a historic, descriptive and analytic account of Sudanese higher education from a Southern perspective. This chapter lays the foundation for the following chapters in that it attempts to explain the origin of higher education, its philosophical underpinnings and the role of the government in an attempt to show the historical path dependency of higher education in Sudan.

The development of higher education in Southern Sudan started with the establishment of the University of Juba in 1978. Many features of universities in the South predate their existence. They are related to the beginning of Western higher education in Northern Sudan during the colonial era and therefore to British models of university governance. Education in Sudan has been shaped by the decades-long conflict of national identity on and off the battlefield, the influence of military regimes and different global higher education reform trends prior and during the establishment of universities in the South. When researching post-colonial bureaucracies in West Africa and the influence of international development interventions on them, Bierschenk (2010) concluded, "The effects of a certain reform do not usually displace the results of the previous one – at least not completely. Instead, each institutional reform and each round of development policy intervention leaves behind an institutional legacy which slots into the group of existing institutional arrangements" (Bierschenk 2010:7). I therefore want to present the different sediments of higher education development in Sudan from inception during colonialism until the transitional period after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, which form the basis for higher education governance in Sudan today.

(Higher) education development in Sudan can be divided into five stages: the colonial era 1899 to 1956, the first period after independence 1956 to 1969, the phase of expansion and institutionalisation 1970 to 1989, the period of Islamisation and Privatisation 1989 to 2005 and the transitional period from 2005 until the secession of South Sudan.[23] The first university in Sudan was established during colonialism and modelled after the British civic university (Ibrahim 2007). Every new globally and locally-inspired reform and every phase of higher education development after independence added new sediments to that foundation and inform the current higher education system (cf. Bierschenk 2010). In the following, I will discuss the different stages with a focus on the colonial era and

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[23] This periodisation is based on an outline by El Tom (2003:564) and a suggestion made by one of the interviewees (interview 070508-4ubg), a deputy vice-chancellor of one of the universities who began our conversation with a talk on issues and the history of higher education in Sudan.

the period since the 1990s, since reforms of that time period had the biggest impact on higher education in general and in the South in particular.

3.1 Westernisation and Modernisation (1899-1956)

Formal Western education in Sudan began during the colonial era (Kardaman 1982:24). The time of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from 1899 to 1956 was not only the beginning of higher education development, but also the era in which the foundation for post-colonial civil wars was laid. Questions of inequality, national integration, education and education policy are inextricably linked with each other and with the colonial past.

The relationship between Northern and Southern Sudan in the second half of the nineteenth century was characterised by hostility and racism especially due to slave raids of Arabic merchants (Sconyers 1978:2). This legacy influenced the perceptions of British colonialists who saw Southern Sudanese as victims of the North. Their anti-slavery stance developed into an anti-Islam stance and led to the belief that isolating the South from the North would hinder Islamisation and therefore exploitation by the North (Sconyers 1978:40). Thus, they decided to administer the two regions of Northern and Southern Sudan separately. From the 1920s onwards the South became a closed district. Muslim traders from the North or other countries needed a permission to settle in the South, Muslim government clerks were expelled and substituted by Middle Eastern Christians, and English was introduced as the language of the government (Abdel Rahim 1966). The provision of education in the South was left to Christian missionaries (Johnson 2011, Sconyers 1978, Sanderson & Sanderson 1981).[24] British colonialists in Sudan saw themselves as secular missionaries whose task was to civilise the Southern Sudanese (Sconyers 1978). British policy in the North followed a different paradigm. Mazrui (2006) described the two paradigms as "modernization" and "westernization": Northern Sudan was modernised through programmes for economic and political development and state building efforts, whilst Southern Sudan was Westernised through proselytisation and education in Western languages and thought (Mazrui 2006:32). While the Northern policy was based on advancing education, administration and the economy by introducing agricultural schemes, the Southern policy was based on the idea of a safe haven that guaranteed development on their own terms and undisturbed by Northern interventions. This Southern Policy was only halted in 1946 when the British decided not to merge Southern Sudan with its other East Afri-

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[24] British Colonialists were at first wary of the prosyletisation efforts of Christian missionaries, but gradually changed their position with respect to missionary education (Sconyers 1978).

can territories but to unite it with the northern part of the country and to press ahead with the country's independence in order to undermine Egyptian influence in the region (Johnson 2011). By that time the South had a significant disadvantage. On the eve of independence, the disparities between Northern and Southern Sudan were greater than at the beginning of the condominium era (Kameir 2007:5). Due to the lack of any long-term strategies in the field of education and agricultural development, Southern Sudanese were marginalised in all fields of the public sector and therefore disadvantaged when it came to political and economic participation in post-colonial Sudan (Johnson 2011:15). The segregationist policies of the British Empire laid the foundation for decades of inequality in post-colonial Sudan. As soon as the colonial clerks left, their positions were filled in by Northern Sudanese, since Southerners could not compete. The root cause in the then ensuing conflict was a failure of national integration. British colonialism enforced already existing conflicts and animosities between Northern and Southern Sudan, which were induced by the separate administration and isolation of the two regions and the different policies implemented – modernising administration, economy and education in the North and proselytisation and Westernisation in the South.

This divide is also shown in the education sector. As mentioned above, education in the South was provided privately by missionaries (Beny 1999:21, Sid-Ahmed 2007:7) – as in other British colonies (Bierschenk 2010:11) with a focus on male children of sedentary peasants – especially sons of chiefs - (Sommers 2005:57); while Sudan's oldest higher education institution, Gordon Memorial College, established in the North in 1902 (Gasim 2010:50, Ibrahim 2007, Kardaman 1975:28, El Tom 2003:564), started offering post-secondary courses in 1939 and was affiliated with the University of London from 1945 onwards. At the same time, the only educational institutions in the South were primary schools. The teaching materials used in those primary schools were geared to the East African Curriculum used in the Protectorate of Uganda. As Sommers (2005:51) points out, to British colonialists, "Education was thought unnecessary, with minimal exceptions, for most of southern Sudan. Limiting the spread of education would limit threats to local customs and so, in the view of British colonial administrators, make governance easier" Still missionaries were allowed to set up primary schools. Promising students were sent to Uganda for secondary and higher education (Ibrahim 2007, Sconyers 1978). By the time of independence in 1956, there were two separate and unequal education systems in Sudan. It would take another 20 years for a university to be established in the South. And its establishment is inextricably linked to the conflict between North and South.

The bi-cameral governance system of the University of Khartoum was modelled after the British civic university and has since then been adopted for every new university established in Sudan (Ibrahim 2007). The civic university is governed by a council consisting of academics and lay-members representing society at large and by an academic senate of university professors (Scott 2001, Shattock 2006)[25]. But during the colonial period the majority of members in the University Council were colonial administrators. Only after independence was the civic university model adopted fully in the letter and in spirit. This was partly based on the report published in 1945 of the Colonial Higher Education Commission – also Asquith Commission – that was tasked with developing guidelines for the development of higher education in the colonies, which suggested the full adaptation of the civic university model (Ibrahim 2007).

3.2 Consolidation and Arabisation (1956-1969)

In 1956 the University College of Khartoum was upgraded to a university by a parliamentary act (El Tom 2003:564). Therefore, at independence, there were two universities (including the Khartoum branch of the University of Cairo), five specialised colleges, and three higher institutes in Sudan (Ismail 1991:15). Still, the majority of the staff were British. Thus, during this immediate post-independence period the staff at the University of Khartoum was "Sudanised", i.e. British staff was step by step substituted with local staff. During this time only 1% of the eligible cohort attended a university (El Tom 2003:565). The period of institutional autonomy and academic freedom only lasted for two years until the coup of General Abboud in 1958 (Ibrahim 2007). Since then, the president of the republic is the chancellor of all Sudanese universities (El Tom 2003:565).

At the same time, on the eve of independence, the first civil war between Southern rebels and the national government started with a mutiny of Southern soldiers in 1955 (Johnson 2011:21, 27-29). Beginning with the retreat of British and Egyptian colonial administrators, and the transition to independence, the North pursued a policy of civilising and proselytising the South itself. Since then, subsequent governments beginning with General Abboud used the education system to forcibly spread a normative Islamic value universe (Breidlid 2005) through Arabisation and Islamisation in the South in a failed attempt to further national integration (Beny 1999:22, Kameir 2007:8, Sid-Ahmed 2007:12). In 1957, the curriculum at public schools in Southern Sudan was Islamised and

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[25] For information on the civic university see (Jones 1985).

Arabic was introduced as language of instruction. At the same time, all private Christian schools were nationalised or closed. Education in Southern Sudan was hampered by violent conflict and the education system itself turned into a battlefield. In 1964, foreign missionaries were expelled from Southern Sudan and Christian proselytisation was banned (Sommers 2005). Many Southerners therefore perceived Sudanese independence as the advent of domestic colonialism. While the staff at the University of Khartoum was "Sudanised", the staff at primary and secondary schools in the South were – in the eyes of Southerners – "Northernised". The northernisation of the public and economic sectors in Southern Sudan and the spread of a hegemonic Islamic discourse led to the development of a counter-hegemonic discourse and the construction of an inverse identity in the South, which invigorated the conflict (Breidlid 2005). [26]

3.3 Expansion and Institutionalisation (1970-1989)

In 1969, Colonel Jafaar Nimeiri staged a coup and ended Sudan's second democratic period. He led a socialist military regime which also left its marks in higher education. The University of Khartoum act was changed to include socialist references to workers and the role of the people, further on worker's associations and unions were now included in the University Council (Ibrahim 2007). In 1973 there were three universities, 18 specialised institutes and colleges and 17 post-secondary institutes under ministerial supervision, e.g., prisons' officer college and police officer's college (Ismail 1991:16). During Colonel Nimeiri's reign from 1969 to 1985, the Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research was established in 1970 and the first higher education law was passed. Based on the first higher education act, the National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research was founded.[27] Furthermore, two new universities – the University of Juba and the University of Gezira – were established outside of Khartoum. Both universities were established with a specific mission, i.e. the advancement and development of the South for the former and the orientation towards the labour market in the latter case (El Tom 2003:565).

It was Colonel Nimeiri who ended the first civil war (Anya Nya-War) in 1972 with the Addis Ababa Agreement (Kameir 2007:6). It was within this con-

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[26] For an in-depth discussion of the role of general education in the conflict see Breidlid (2005, 2010) and Guta (2009).

[27] There are different sources with varying dates. A factsheet of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research obtained during field research sets the date for the ministry at 1970 and for the higher education act at 1972. Beshir (1992) sets the establishment of the ministry at 1972 and El Tom (2003) sets the date for the passage of the higher education act at 1975.

text that due to demands from Southern politicians and academics, the University of Juba was established in 1978 which marked the beginning of higher education in Southern Sudan (Bakheit 2004: 1). As part of the agreement a regional government and a high executive council were established.[28] The period between the wars saw an expansion of secondary schools in the South from two institutions in 1960 to 25 institutions in 1983, the number of primary schools rose to 650 institutions in an area the size of France. Still, according to estimates, 90% of South Sudanese in 1976 never attended school (Sommers 2005). After a failed communist coup attempt, however, Nimeiri changed course. He sought new allies in order to form a government of National Reconciliation which included Islamists from the National Islamic Front (Kameir 2007:7). The consequences of this new alliance were the introduction of Shar'ia Law in 1983, the so-called September Laws, which alienated Southern politicians, and legislation that introduced Islamic banking. These changes facilitated the Islamists' rise to power. They took advantage of Islamic banking and started to excel in the private sector and as Gallab (2008) pointed out, "turned into a corporation", they infiltrated the military and with Hassan Turabi's - the long-time leader of the Islamist movement in Sudan - appointment as attorney general Islamists shaped the legal philosophy of the country. This all furthered the rift between Nimeiri and Southern politicians. In addition, he abolished the high executive council, introduced in June 1983 administrative reforms which divided the three Southern regions into ten states, which was widely understood as an attempt to disempower the South, and finally in 1983 abrogated the peace agreement that he himself had negotiated (Biel 2004:43). This marked the beginning of the second civil war between North and South and the establishment of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army under John Garang de Mabior (Kameir 2007). The second civil war undermined the educational progress made during the time of peace. Nimeiri's reign ended in 1985 with a popular uprising and was followed by a democratic coalition government.

At that time there were only five public Sudanese universities: University of Khartoum, Omdurman Islamic University, University of Cairo – Khartoum Branch, University of Juba, University of Gezira, and one private university – Ahfad University for Women – (El Tom 2003:565), and a few public colleges with about 5,000 enrolled students (Gasim 2010:51). Three fifths of all students were studying abroad – partly with government scholarships – since not all eligible school leavers could attend university. The number of students enrolled at the University of Cairo in Egypt and the Khartoum branch made the University of Cairo the largest "Sudanese university" (Bowles 1980:684). The students that

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[28] For this period see also Wakoson (1993).

remained in the country received full financial support for housing and food as well as free healthcare and some pocket money for personal use (Gasim 2010:51). Student support was a responsibility of each university and amounted to about 25% of the institutions' budget (Ismail 1991).[29] During the 1970s and 1980s Sudan was in an economic crisis. The state defaulted on its credits of the International Monetary Fund and was technically bankrupt (de Waal 2010, El Tom 2006). The scholarships for studying abroad, which had to be paid in foreign currency, as well as student support at home, became a burden for the state's treasury.

3.4 Islamisation and Privatisation (1989-2005)

In June 1989, members of the military staged a coup and toppled the coalition government. Political parties were abandoned and the government was substituted by the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation and its chairman, Omar Hassan al-Bashir, who was the prime minister, defence minister and commander-in-chief of the armed forces simultaneously. As it turned out later, the coup was staged by the Islamist party National Islamic Front (NIF) and their supporters within the military (Gallab 2008). After the coup, party members dominated the private sector, and began dominating all branches of government and the bureaucracy. The austerity and privatisation policies of the early nineties were used to strengthen the party members' influence in the private sector (Schmidinger 2009). The party's reach particularly benefited from the oil economy. Furthermore, the new party established parallel structures like a militia called the popular defence forces in addition to the army (de Waal 2010:16).[30]

The first policy move of the new government was the introduction of a comprehensive higher education reform – called the higher education revolution (Ismail 1991, Forojalla 1992, El Tom 2003, Gasim 2010). The higher education revolution was part of a government programme called Economic Salvation (El Tom 2006) – a domestic structural adjustment programme that was modelled after similar programmes that were implemented all over the African continent by the World Bank (Musa n.d.:2). Within that framework, the higher education

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[29] According to the government brochure "The National Fund for Students Support" GoS (2005), expenditures for student support amounted to 60% of the budget.

[30] This could be considered as a form of private indirect government as defined by Mbembe: "[…] functions supposed to be public, and obligations that flow from sovereignty, are increasingly performed by private operators for private ends. Soldiers and policemen live off the inhabitants; officials supposed to perform administrative tasks sell the public service required and pocket what they get". (Mbembe 2001:80) Further on, the state's monopoly on violence is substituted by private militias employed by government officials and violent extraction of resources by militias and taxation merge.

reform was aimed at expanding the higher education system in order to enhance economic development and productivity and to widen access for rural students, to drastically reduce public funding, securing the connection of students with their heritage and Islamising knowledge (Forojalla 1992, Hawi 2006, Ramadan 2007). The elements of the higher education revolution were:

New legislation: The Organisation of Higher Education and Scientific Research Act which enhanced the influence of the president's role in decision-making processes was passed in 1990 (El Tom 2006:28, Gasim 2010:50) and amended in 1993 and 1995 (El Tom 2006). Furthermore, the university acts of the five existing institutions were repealed and revised in 1990 and in 1995 accordingly. Within the reform, Arabic was introduced as the language of instruction in all sectors of education with the exception of engineering, medicine and natural sciences; courses in religion (Christian/Islamic), English and Arabic are mandatory in all faculties and all study programmes. In general, the curriculum had to conform to Islamic thought.

Expansion: An expansion of the higher education system through the establishment of new universities, the upgrading of colleges, the merger of former institutes and the expansion of the private higher education sector from 5 to 27 public universities – among them two additional universities in war-torn Southern Sudan - and from 2 – Ahfad University for Women (est. 1974) and Omdurman Ahlia University (est. 1986) – to 24 private higher education institutions.

Access: The student intake at the existing institutions was doubled[31] and the new government introduced special admission procedures favouring children of university employees and mujahideen, i.e. students who fought in one of the government-led wars.

Funding: Universities stopped receiving a budget according to chapters, i.e. line item budgets, but were given a public grant that is based on the number of employed staff. Current costs, research and maintenance costs are not covered by the grant. Universities receive a public grant which they are free to allocate as they please. The sharp decline in funding forced universities to diversify their funding base. Higher education institutions henceforth charged moderate tuition fees.

Student Affairs: The responsibility for student housing and lodging was shifted from the individual institution to a semi-governmental body – the national students' welfare fund (NSWF). The fund's objective is to support the higher education revolution through providing housing, food, healthcare and financial support for more students and to reduce public funding at the same time. The funding is partially provided by the national government and local governments,

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[31] According to Hawi (2006), student enrolment rose from 5000 in 1990 to 150,000 students in 2004, p.8

and is complemented with private contributions. These contributions consist of an obligatory toll of one pound from each member of the workers' association, zakat (Islamic charity tax) for poor students and donations from private companies. An additional objective of the fund is "to supervise the social life and cultural activities of students" (GoS 2005:11), to "cement good values" (GoS 2005:21) and to "connect students with the values of Islam" (GoS 2005:50). This leads to the second prong of the higher education reform besides cost-reduction, diversifying universities' funding and public-private partnerships – the goal to connect students with their Islamic heritage.

Personnel: In the course of the higher education revolution, about 84 academic staff were dismissed and/or detained (Africa Watch 1992:4) because of their involvement in political parties or trade unions (Ramadan 2007:10). Faculty members were stopped from travelling abroad. Female academic staff were not allowed to attend international conferences without the chaperonage of their husbands or fathers (Africa Watch 1992:7).

A closer look at the most important policy changes shows that they are based on underlying assumptions and principles of the government philosophy – New Public Management: a shift to multi-source supply as opposed to single-source supply, competition between public universities, monetary incentives and a focus on cost-cutting and efficiency (Boston 2011:20-21). These elements of public sector reform were merged with an Islamist world view and the postcolonial tradition of Sudanese governments to equate nationhood with homogeneity. In summary, during the higher education revolution, public funding of higher education was substantially decreased in order to sustain more institutions with the same amount of funds. The lack of funds was compensated by public private partnerships, the generation of additional income through tuition fees, fundraising and for-profit courses. In addition, the government closely monitored the content of teaching and research to ensure its compliance with the government's philosophy which is based on the belief that Islam should be the sole source of social development and governance (cf. Turabi 1987).

At the same time that the higher education system in Northern Sudan was expanded and two new universities were established in garrison towns of the South, the educational situation in Southern Sudan as a whole deteriorated. In 1998/1999, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) then decided to establish a Secretariat of Education in Nairobi, Kenya run by male soldiers. Its role was the establishment, planning and administration of an education system in the SPLA-held areas in Southern Sudan and to form the basis for a future ministry of education. The Secretariat consisted of six departments: planning, administration and finance, quality promotion and innovation, gender and social change, general and higher education. The Secretariat, which faced several chal-

lenges, succeeded in drafting a new curriculum called the New Sudan Curriculum which was geared towards the curricula in Kenya and Uganda. Due to the war and the problem of transportation, only 48% of primary schools used the curriculum or knew about it (Sommers 2005:86). During my own field research in 2008 the curriculum was still not fully implemented. The secretariat was only one of many non-state actors involved in education provision in Southern Sudan. While some schools used the New Sudan Curriculum in the SPLA-held areas, schools in government-held areas used the national curriculum and schools run by non-governmental organisations used the Kenyan or Ugandan Curriculum (Sommers 2005). Thus, on the eve of the peace agreement, education in Southern Sudan was provided by a patchwork of donors, churches and civil society groups with different standards concerning teacher quality and remuneration, different languages of instruction and curricula, while the universities of the South had moved to the capital Khartoum in the North.

During the 1990s the grip of the military government became looser. The Revolutionary Command Council was abolished in 1993, followed by elections in 1996. Only in 1998 were political parties allowed to form again. At the same time, the ruling National Islamic Front renamed itself to the National Congress Party. The first Islamist republic in Sudan ended in 1999 with a schism between different groups of the ruling Islamists among followers of the military wing under Omar al Bashir and the followers of Hassan al Turabi, the philosophical leader of the Islamist revolution. The conflict ended with the ouster of Hassan al Turabi and the consolidation of Omar al Bashir's power. In this political environment, the peace process between the central government under Omar Hassan al Bashir and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) gained traction in 2002 after a first ceasefire.

3.5 The Transitional Period (2005-2011)

The civil war ended in January 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).[32] The objective of the CPA was to facilitate the transition of Sudan on three levels: from war to peace, from authoritarianism to democracy, and from a unitary system to federalism (de Waal 2010, Kameir 2007). Instead of political transition, the CPA facilitated the legitimisation of the National Congress Party (NCP) government and the development of two systems in one country. The NCP and the SPLM formed a Government of National Unity and a semi-autonomous Government of Southern Sudan. While the Government

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[32] For developments after the CPA see Grawert (2010).

of National Unity ceded its powers in most sectors in Southern Sudan, the higher education sector and scientific research are an exception. Tertiary education and scientific research are part of the concurrent powers of the Government of National Unity, the Government of Southern Sudan and the governments of the ten states in Southern Sudan (CPA 2005:29). At the same time, the CPA confirms the central government's prerogative concerning student admission and the South's right to include English and vernacular languages as languages of instruction (CPA 2005:16). Therefore, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Government of Southern Sudan took up the task of the Secretariat of Education and introduced the New Sudan Curriculum at the primary and secondary education levels. Along with its international partners it established a working group on higher education, which was a kind of think tank of international and national public and private actors that advised the ministry in policy development. Its main focus was to relieve the Government of National Unity of its remaining responsibilities in higher education policy. While international actors supported the establishment of a secular multi-level governance system of education in the South, a hierarchic Islamic governance system prevails in the North. The Government of National Unity was formally a coalition of both parties, but in reality the SPLM acted as a part of the government and of the opposition at the same time (de Waal 2010). While the physical confrontation between North and South has by and large stopped since 2005, the battle in the higher education system continues. Two fundamentally different discourses with respect to governance, power structures and education still prevail and perpetuate a hierarchic Islamic governance system establishment in the North and a secular governance system in the South. In practice, the two governments in the North and South formed a confederation with the universities caught in the middle.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

Organisations are embedded in their social environment (Meyer & Rowan 1977). This chapter has shown the challenges this poses if the environment is characterised by a failure of nationhood, violent conflict and inequality. The conflict over identity and national integration in Sudan was fought out in the education system, with the Islamisation and Arabisation of language and curriculum in schools since the transition to self-rule. The Addis Ababa Agreement in 1973, which was negotiated after the military coup of Colonel Nimeiri, led to a first expansion of educational institution in South Sudan and the establishment of the University of Juba. After the abrogation of the peace agreement and the to date last military coup by al Bashir, the Islamisation and Arabisation as well as the expansion

were extended to the higher education system through the higher education revolution. Since then, ethnic and religious minorities have, at the same time, more access to higher education and are more marginalised at every level of the education system.

A utilitarian view of higher education, i.e. higher education as a means to an end, is not related to a change in government philosophy as Braun & Merrien (1999) point out for the industrialised world, but pervades higher education development in Sudan from colonialism to the present. The objective of higher education changed from supporting the colony, to developing the independent nation, to uniting the nation.

During colonialism two education systems developed with education in Southern Sudan at a disadvantage. Due to the long term violent conflicts, the two education systems were never fully merged. The decentralisation policy of the CPA has now formalised the division of the two systems and legalised the use of a different language of instruction and curriculum. Since the two governments *de facto* formed a confederation and the universities are located in the South, but were under the supervision of the North, they were caught in the middle and on a certain level connected the two education systems with each other. An education system in Southern Sudan has yet to be developed. During the civil war educational institutions in the South were physically and ideologically under attack. All three universities were established by military regimes. The University of Juba was founded after the first peace agreement, while the two new universities were established in the midst of war in government-held towns. The attempts of military regimes to shape higher education is related to the prominent role that academic staff and student unions played in successful popular uprisings against military regimes (Hawi 2006:5, Ramadan 2007:9).

The higher education revolution of the 1990s had a tremendous impact on the higher education system. Several Sudanese authors criticise the reform in strong terms. Hawi (2006:11) calls the reform the "commercialization and liberalisation of education" and goes on to say that the Arabisation led to the "deterioration, alienation and isolation of Sudanese universities". Ramadan (2007:9) calls the higher education revolution "the most catastrophic in the history of higher education in the country". Beny (1999:19) calls it "ruination of Sudan's higher education". These accounts exemplify how controversial the reform was perceived by Sudanese academics. From an analytical standpoint the example of the higher education revolution shows the impact of global ideas on local policies. The "revolution" was shaped by the new regime's ideological viewpoint and at the same time sought to tackle the fiscal challenges Sudan was encountering at the time. Although international organisations were not directly involved in higher education policy and Sudan was even more internationally isolated

after the Islamist coup; their ideas are clearly visible in elements of the higher education reform. That is first and foremost the idea of human capital theory, that education is an important factor for economic growth which was underlying the attempt to massively expand the higher education system and second elements of New Public Management, i.e. the reduction of public funding, the diversification of funding sources for higher education institutions and the privatisation of higher education. Polidano (1999:1) states, "while many developing countries have taken up elements of the NPM agenda, they have not adopted anything remotely near the entire package. Moreover, plenty of reform initiatives are going on that are unrelated or even contrary to the agenda"- This is also the case in Sudan. The higher education reform in Sudan was part of a larger global trend, at the same time different countries in the developing and industrial world implemented different localised forms of New Public Management (Amaral, Fulton & Larsen 2003).

In this chapter I offered background information for higher education in Sudan and analysed its development against the backdrop of changing military regimes, the conflict of nationhood and the civil war between subsequent governments and rebel movements in the South. In the following chapter, I will turn to the transitional period and offer a description of the embedded units of analysis – the University of Juba, the University of Upper Nile and the University of Bahr el Ghazal.

4 The Universities

This chapter is based on organisational documents and records, direct observation and formal and informal interviews. After a short summary of the educational changes in Sudan and general information about the education sector, a comprehensive picture of the three universities will be provided with respect to their history, teaching and research, administration and funding and students and staff. This chapter will show how elements presented in the previous chapter, i.e. the impact of the social environment which is shaped by conflict, a utilitarian world view and global ideas that affect the universities, influence individual university organisations.

The structure of the Sudanese education system has been changed several times over the years, usually coinciding with military coups. Until the 1970s, the twelve years of schooling were divided into three four-year levels: four years of basic education, four years of middle school and four years of secondary school. During the reign of Nimeiri this system was changed to six years of basic education, three years of middle school and three years of secondary education.

Table 1: School Education in Sudan in Historical Perspective

	Basic School	Middle School	Secondary School
- 1970	4 years	4 years	4 years
1970-1989	6 years	3 years	3 years
Since 1989	8 years	--	3 years

After the Islamist coup, the structure of the education system was changed anew. There are now four levels of education in Sudan: preschool, basic education,

secondary education and higher education. General school education encompasses 13 years. The eight years of basic education are compulsory and free.
The preschool level is aimed at children from four to five years of age and is offered by kindergarten schools and khalwas (Islamic schools).

Children aged six to thirteen attend basic schools and receive a Basic Education Certificate Examination after successful completion. Students are not taught in specific subjects, but general core themes, which are: religion, mathematics, man and universe (science, history, geography, religion), and applied arts. Basic school graduates can then choose between vocational training centres, general secondary schools and technical and vocational schools (World Bank 2012).

Children from age 14 to 16 then attend secondary schools (general & academic). The general secondary schools start with a general curriculum in the first two years and then conclude with a specialisation in the humanities or the sciences. The core subjects in secondary education are: Arabic, Islamic Studies, English, Mathematics, Physics, History, Chemistry, Biology and Geography. Optional subjects are Computers, Agricultural and Animal Protection, Commercial Science, Family Studies, Military Studies and Engineering Studies. The vocational schools are divided into schools for industry, trade and agriculture for boys and home economics for girls. Both conclude the Sudan School Certificate Examination after three years (UNESCO-IBE 2006, World Bank 2012).

Since the CPA, the National Center for Curriculum and Education Research is tasked with developing a new curriculum that more clearly reflects the multicultural and multi-religious character of the country (World Bank 2012:26) Furthermore, the education system has to be decentralised. Henceforth, the Federal Ministry of General Education is responsible for planning, coordination, monitoring and sets the date for the Sudan School Certificate, while the states are responsible for service provision. As mentioned in chapter 3, higher education institutions, however, are not part of the decentralisation plan (ibd.:27).

The top two professed goals of education in Sudan since 1990 are: "Strengthening religious faith among the youngsters" and "Building an independent, pious and self-reliant society" (Government of Sudan 2006).[33]

4.1 Vocational and Technical Training

Different ministries are responsible for the monitoring of vocational and technical training:

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[33] http://www.sudani.co.za/people_education_policies.htm

The Federal and State Ministries of General Education are responsible for 52 vocational schools and 115 technical schools. Their curriculum consists of 50% theory based courses and 50% practical courses.

The Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research is responsible for 19 public technical colleges that offer degree courses in technical education.

The Ministry for Labour, Public Service and Human Resource Development organises five types of apprenticeships and training programmes together with private enterprises, non-governmental organisations and the public sector. The programmes consist of 30% theoretical and 70% practical courses.

The National Council for Technical and Technological Education exists since December 2005. It has 38 members, among them a representative of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, and is chaired by the vice-president of the republic (World Bank 2012).

In 2004, 242,000 students attended primary school in Southern Sudan with only 27% of girls among the enrolled students. In total, only 25% of children are enrolled at school. According to the Global Survey on Education, there are less than 20 secondary schools in Southern Sudan and no post-secondary education.[34] Only 7% of teachers are trained and multiple curricula are used. Until the end of the civil war education was mainly coordinated and organised by civil society without any involvement of the government or the private sector. It was funded through international non-governmental organisations, churches and the local communities (Blunt 2002:10-11).

4.2 Higher Education

The last level is higher education provided at universities, higher institutes and colleges. As of 2006/2007, there are 27 public universities, 7 public technical colleges, 7 private universities, and 40 private institutes and colleges in Sudan. Concerning the student population, there are 77,482 students in diploma programmes, 384,338 Bachelor students and 24,623 postgraduate students; the intake in the year 2006/2007 was 44,675 students in diploma programmes and 94,722 students in Bachelor programmes. There are 5,114 faculty with PhD degrees and 4,696 with Master's degrees (MoHESR 2008). The types of higher education institutions in Sudan include universities, institutes and technical and

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[34] Since at least the University of Upper Nile operated in Southern Sudan from 1994 to the present, it is unclear whether post-secondary education is defined as non-university higher education or the authors of the report were unaware of the presence of higher education in Southern Sudan. A situation I encountered several times during my field research during discussions with expatriate representatives of international organisations.

professional colleges. Access to higher education is granted based on the Sudan School Certificate Examination that is taken nationwide. The results of the students who pass are ranked by the central admission board. Students are then allocated to universities and faculties according to their examination results and the ranking of universities. There are also post-secondary specialised vocational training institutes, e.g., for Music, Hygiene, Nursing and Mechanical Engineering[35]. At the time of data collection only three public universities and no private university were located in Southern Sudan (El Tom 2006). After having discussed the political context that surrounds higher education in Sudan from independence to the transitional period after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, I will now offer a description of the examined universities, their establishment, their teaching and research profile, funding and administration and the role of staff and students.

4.3   History

All three universities were established during the reign of military regimes. The University of Juba was established after the first civil war under Nimeiri's rule, while the Universities of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal were established during the second civil war shortly after the Islamist coup of June 1989.

4.3.1   University of Juba

The University of Juba – the oldest higher education institution in South Sudan – was established in 1978 within the context of the Arkaweit Roundtable Discussion of 1971. Southern members of the conference and civil society demanded the establishment of a university in the South in order to socially and economically advance the region by training manpower to exploit natural resources, to modernise agriculture, to train teachers and medical doctors. After the peace agreement, the regional government of the South started the University of Juba project and in 1975, the university was established by a presidential decree of Jafaar Nimeiri, at the time the president of the republic, and a university act (University of Juba Calendar 2000-2002:15, 2006-2008, University of Juba Student Guide 2006-2008: 4). As one interviewee points out:

> 030308-7uj: Yes, you know, we, the University of Juba opened in 1977. And it was opened because of the demand of the Southerners for a high institution of learning.

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[35] http://www.sudani.co.za/people_education_policies.htm

> We did not have any institution of learning except the University of Khartoum here and in the 1964, 65 there was a conference here during the first Anyanya-movement. Then the Southerners in the conference demanded higher, demanded for a higher education institution in the South. Now let alone when the regional government actually was established after the ending of the Anyanya-war in 1974 the regional government actually asked for establishment of a higher institution of learning with the objective of training manpower to devote the natural resources of the South.

Thus, the university became operational in 1977 in Juba, the capital of the state of Central Equatoria, 1200 km south of Khartoum. According to the census of 2008, 1,103,557 people live in Central Equatoria State, of which 368,436 live in Juba (SSCCSE 2010:14). The founding colleges in 1975 were the colleges of Social and Economic Studies and of Natural Resources. Later on the University Council established the colleges of Education (1977), Adult Education (1977) and Medicine (1978). Thus, the University of Juba started operations with five colleges and 800 students during a time of peace. In 1983, the second civil war erupted and intense fighting in Juba led to the relocation of the university to Khartoum in 1989. Upon arrival in Khartoum the university did not possess buildings. Lectures were subsequently held in tents in the desert Soba. Later on the university started to rent offices, schools and other buildings for its lectures as well as laboratories from other universities to train students in the sciences. During its residence in Khartoum, five new centres were established in order to generate additional income: The Centers for Distance Education, Human Resource Development and Continual Education, Languages and Translation and Peace and Development. Thus, the expenses for renting class rooms and laboratories were paid by income generated through the intermediate diploma programmes offered by the centres. Since the expenses amounted to about two million Sudanese pounds and used a substantial amount of the generated income, it was decided to buy land and build a campus in Alkadaro, 35 km north of Khartoum. The campus was opened in 2003 and has around 80 lecture halls in addition to administrative buildings and laboratories. [36]

Until independence, the University of Juba was a multi-campus university. Besides the campus in Al-Kadaro and in Juba, the university rented houses in Khartoum for the administration of the university, the college of medicine, the centres for peace and development and languages and translation, all in different locations. In addition, the university owns land in Juba that was allocated before the civil war and was used by squatters during the transitional period. Since 1994, there had been several efforts to move the university back to its original

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[36] After independence of South Sudan the property in Alkadaro was impounded by the Government of Sudan (see epilogue).

compound in Juba. Stumbling blocks were the on-going civil war, the lack of financial resources and the massive expansion of the university during its stay in Khartoum. The university expanded from five colleges to eleven colleges and five centres catering about 13,000 students. The old campus does not have enough facilities to house all the faculties and campus has been maintained and rehabilitated through support by the Government of Southern Sudan. There is also a shortage of student hostels and staff houses. There is no real estate market in Southern Sudan. Therefore, the partial privatisation of student housing was reversed and the University of Juba – as the two other universities in the South – is now responsible for providing housing for its staff and students in cooperation with the local chapter of the National Students' Welfare Fund. The students and staff are housed in the old staff und student houses built in the 1970s without indoor plumbing and electricity. Many students were not satisfied with the arrangement (Discussion with Students April 2008).

In 2003, the then vice-president of Sudan, Moses Macar,[37] initiated a high level committee to facilitate the return of universities to Southern Sudan. The University of Juba since then gradually shifted groups of colleges back to the South. According to the government directive,, all universities were to relocate to the South by 2009. After consultations with the community in Equatoria, the college of education, college of community studies and the college of arts, music and drama were the first to relocate. The science based colleges followed in 2008: college of medicine, college of natural resources, college of engineering and college of applied sciences. The last colleges to relocate were the college of social economic studies, the college of arts, the college of law and the school of management sciences. During the transition, academic staff was rotated in three months shifts between Juba and Khartoum. Local administrators represent the leadership in the fields of administration and finance, academic affairs and student affairs.

In 1990, pursuant to presidential decree number 72, 26 new higher education institutions were established, among them two new universities in South Sudan, the University of Upper Nile and the University of Bahr el Ghazal. Both universities were established in the midst of the civil war in garrison towns in the South.

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[37] Moses Macar started his career in higher education. First as the principal for the University of Juba for 1978 to 1992, then as the founding vice-chancellor of the University of Bahr el Ghazal and then as the vice-chancellor of Upper Nile University.

4.3.2   University of Upper Nile

The University of Upper Nile was established during the higher education revolution in 1991 by presidential decree in the town Malakal, the capital of Upper Nile state, 679 km south of Khartoum. Upper Nile state is located in the northern part of Southern Sudan with 964,353 inhabitants, 126,483 of which live in Malakal town (SSCCSE 2010:13). At that time, the civil war was escalating and it took three years to start operations and admit the first students in Malakal (1994). Due to instability and the state of the local hospital, the college of medicine and its school were moved to Khartoum in 1997. Therefore, the University of Upper Nile was the only university operating throughout South Sudan – except for the college of medicine – up to 2003 when the government started to facilitate the return of the southern universities back to their original location. The university was established with three colleges: natural resources and environmental studies with the school of agriculture, the school of animal production and the school of forestry and range sciences; the college of medicine and health sciences with the school of medicine, the school of public health and the school of nursing and the college of education with the two branches for science and arts. Due to pressure from the National Council for Higher Education and its specialised committee of Agricultural, Veterinary and Natural Resources in 2001, the college of natural resources was dissolved and its schools upgraded to colleges.

The colleges and the administration in Malakal were allotted a senior secondary school that, at the time, was used by the Sudanese Armed Forces as barracks. During the transitional period, every college had one office and all colleges share a limited number of lecture halls. Heads of department and regular teaching staff did not have any office on their own. In 2008, there were several half-built structures that the university lacked the funds to complete. There were neither enough student hostels nor staff houses. Due to the shortage in space, lectures took place in shifts from eight in the morning to eight in the evening. The lecture plan was organised in blocks so that academic staff was only present for a few months a year. A representative of the vice-chancellor, a deputy principal and a deputy secretary of academic affairs were in Malakal permanently. The top leadership of the university and the majority of the deans were based in Khartoum permanently.

As part of the relocation of the college of medicine, the school of public health and environmental studies was moved to Malakal. Due to the state of the local hospital the move of the whole college posed a problem. The university had therefore two locations in Khartoum where it was hiring buildings for the administration and the college of medicine, a campus in Renk, a town 282 km north of

Malakal with 137,751 inhabitants (SSCCSE 2010:13), for the college of agriculture and the original campus in Malakal. Furthermore, the university intends to pursue a regionalisation strategy:

> 290108-2unu: This paper contains the background, the mission, the objective, the colleges plus the new colleges and then redistribution of colleges within Upper Nile state because the policy of the university was to spread the colleges, the campus, throughout the greater Upper Nile not Upper Nile the state but greater Upper Nile state that is including the three states: Upper Nile, Bentiu that is Unity and then Jonglei state. So we try to put at least one or two colleges to one of the within these other states. That is Jonglei and Unity.

4.3.3   University of Bahr el Ghazal

The establishment of the University of Bahr el Ghazal was decreed by the president in 1991. The official intake began during the fall of 1992 in the town of Wau, capital of Western Bahr el Ghazal state, 1,010 km south of Khartoum. According to the latest census, 333,431 people live in Western Bahr el Ghazal state, of which 151,320 live in the capital Wau (SSCCSE 2010:14). The first colleges established in 1993 were: the college of education in Wau, the college of medicine and the college of veterinary sciences in Khartoum. The University of Bahr el Ghazal was originally drafted as a regional multi-campus university with campuses all over four states of the region, i.e. Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap, Lakes with the headquarter in Western Bahr el Ghazal. The college of agriculture was planned in Aweil town, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, the college of economic and social studies in Raga, the college of education in Tong, colleges of medicine and engineering in Wau, college of veterinary sciences in Gogrial, Warrap state, college of law in Rumbek, Lakes state. The colleges of engineering, human resources, computer science, agriculture and forestry were planned, but their establishment was not approved by the National Council for Higher Education due to the lack of facilities and financial resources. The regional expansion was hampered by the civil war. When the town of Wau came under siege during the civil war in 1998, the college of education relocated to Khartoum. When the security situation in the South changed in 2003 and the committee under Moses Macar took up its work, the college of economic and social studies was established in Wau, the college of education was relocated back and the institute for health and environmental studies was established. At the same time, the colleges of medicine and health sciences, veterinary science, graduate studies, centre for strategic studies and computer centre kept operating in Khartoum. The buildings of the university in Wau belong to the ministry of education

and were formerly used as intermediate schools for girls and boys, Wau senior secondary schools for girls and Wau Day secondary school.

4.4 Mission

The university colleges in the colonies as in Sudan had two tasks to fulfil: first, to educate and train locals to assist in the administration of the colonies and second, to prepare a new elite that could lead the nation in case of independence. After independence, universities were seen as symbols of sovereignty (Omari 1994:58) and vehicles of modernisation. Sudan is no exception to the case. While the first ordinance for the establishment of the University College of Khartoum cites the provision and promotion of "university education, learning and research in Sudan" (The University College of Khartoum Ordinance 1951 in Ibrahim 2007:217), the University Act of 1970 names an elaborate list of objectives the university should serve: its activities are to be of direct relevance to the need of the people and to the solution of the economic, social, scientific problems of the country (ibd.: 230-1). The establishment of a university in the South was explicitly demanded by Southern politicians in order to serve the development of the South (Calendar 2000-2002, 2006-2008, Student Guide 2006-2008) and to aid in its post-conflict reconstruction. The University of Juba Act from 1975 states among the objectives of the university "the search for natural resources", "to graduate qualified cadres" and to "inculcate national unity and diversified culture through sociological studies", etc. All of the six objectives of the University of Juba named in the Student Guide 2006-2008 are either related to furthering national unity, the training of specific professionals or the general "upgrade" of the population (Student Guide 2006-2008:7). The remaining two Southern universities were established during the higher education revolution, a reform intended to expand the higher education system in order to "increase the number of higher educational institutions" and to "encourage scientific research related to the solution of the country's development, economic and social problems and linking the higher education with the environment and society"[38]. The University of Upper Nile – established in 1991 – states as its mission to serve the country through supporting the governments in the Upper Nile region with its expertise and to train qualified cadres (Akoy 2008), while the University of Bahr el Ghazal states as its foremost goal the "service to the fatherland and the development of natural resources to further the intellectual, scientific, economic, societal and cultural renewal of the country" (Gami'a Bahr el Ghazal, Dalil al-

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[38] http://www.sudani.co.za/people_education_higher.htm, retrieved May 5th, 2006

Gami'a 1999/2000:8). In summary, none of the universities exclusively cite teaching and research as their mission, and academic activities are always connected to utilitarian motives like the support of national unity and economic development. This is also shown in their mottos: **Relevance** and Excellence for the University of Juba; Excellence, Knowledge, **Peace**, **Development** for the University of Upper Nile; Knowledge is **Prosperity** for the University of Bahr el Ghazal. This is no surprise since all three universities were established for utilitarian reasons.

4.5 Profile

All of the universities were established as a tool for local development which is apparent in the colleges and the courses offered. The belief in the direct societal benefit of higher education also shows in the institutions' profile and their individual expansion strategies. All three universities have colleges of medicine for training doctors, of education for training teachers and colleges dealing with animal health and agriculture. Southern Sudan is a region that lacks a proper education and health care system and the necessary professionals to run it, while the overwhelming majority of the population are either sedentary peasants or nomadic cattle herders. In addition, universities offer more practically-oriented vocational education. As of 2008, the University of Juba had colleges of Education, of Law, Social and Economic Studies, Natural Resources & Environmental Studies, Arts and Humanities, Arts, Music and Drama, Medicine, Community Studies & Rural Development, Engineering, Applied & Industrial Sciences, Computer Science & Information Technology and the School of Management Sciences, and Centres for Distance Education, Human Resource Development and Continual Education (Continuing Education, Development Studies), Languages and Translation (Modern Languages, Translation and Interpretation) and Peace and Development (Development Studies, Peace and Disarmament). The University of Upper Nile has a College of Medicine (School of Nursing, School of Public & Environmental Health), College of Agriculture, College of Animal Production, College of Veterinary Medicine, College of Forestry and Range Science, College of Education, and a Centre for Woman & Child Development. A new College of Human Development started operations and admitting new students, the College of Vocational Education was planned together with international partners in Norway and Uganda, and the university planned the establishment of a College of Graduate Studies. The colleges of the University of Bahr el Ghazal are: College of Education, College of Veterinary Science, College of Medicine and Health Science, College of Graduate Studies, College of Social

and Economic Studies, Institute for Health and Environmental Studies, Centre for Strategic Studies, and a Computer Centre. In 2008, a working group was planning the establishment of an Institute for African Languages.

Table 2: Departments, Study Programmes and Degrees at UJ

Colleges	Applied & Industrial Sciences	Arts & Humanities	Art, Music & Drama	Community Studies and Rural Development	Education	Engineering and Architecture	Law
Departments	Biology	Arabic Language	Fine Arts	Rural Development	Education	Agricultural Engineering	Public Law
	Chemistry	Archaeology	Drama	Community Studies	Arabic Language	Architecture	Civil Law
	Mathematics	English Language	Music	Library Science	English Language and Literature	Mechanical Engineering	Shari'a Law
	Nutrition & Leather Technology	French Language		Development Communication	Geography	Civil Engineering	
		Russian Language			History	Electrical Engineering	
	Physics	Geography			Biology		
		History			Chemistry		

Degrees	**BSc, MSc, PhD in:**	**BA Honours in all subjects**	**BA Honours in:**	**Diploma**	**BEd in Arts or Science**	**BSc**	**LL.B, LL.M.**
	Biochemistry	Mass Communication	Music	Rural Development	Arabic & English Language	Agricultural Engineering	
	Biotechnology	Philosophy	Fine Arts	Library & Information	English Language and Literature	Civil Engineering	
	Chemistry	Psychology	Drama (Acting and Production)	Development Communication	Geography and History	Electrical Engineering	
	Electronics	Religious Studies		**BSc Honours**	Biology and Chemistry	Mechanical Engineering	
	Mathematics						
	Physics						

Architecture										
Mathematics and Physics	**BEd Honours in all subjects**									
Rural & Community Development	Libraries & Information Sciences	Development Communication								
Food & Sugar Technology	Industrial Chemistry	Leather Processing	Material Processing	Mathematics	Meteorology	Microbiology	Paper Processing	Physics	Textile Processing	

Medicine	Natural Resources & Environmental Studies	Social & Economic Studies	School of Management Studies	Centre for Language & Translation	Centre for Peace & Development Studies	Centre for Distance Education
Anatomy	Agricultural Science	Economics	Accounting	Nilotic Languages	Peace & Diplomatic Studies	**B.A., B.Sc., B.Ed.:**
Biochemistry	Animal Production	Political Science	Business Administration	Non-Nilotic Languages in Southern Sudan	Strategic Studies	Educational Sciences
Community Medicine	Basic Sciences	Sociology & Social Anthropology	Public Administration	Nuba Mountain Languages	Humanitarian & Conflict Studies	Geography
Dermatology & Sexually Transmitted Diseases	Environmental Studies	Statistics, Mathematics & Demography		Arabic Language		English Language
Medicine	Fisheries			English Language		Arabic
Microbiology	Forestry					Library Science
Obst. & Gynaecology	Geology & Mining					Development Communication

Ophthalmology	Wildlife						Public Administration
Pathology							Business Administration
Paediatrics							Accounting
Physiology							Economics
Surgery							Political Science
MBBS (six years)		**B.Sc. Honors, M.Sc. An PhD in:**	**B.Sc., PGD, M.Sc. And PhD in:**	**Diploma, BSc., MSc.**	**B.A., M.A., Ph.D. in:**	**PGD, M.A., Ph.D. in:**	Law
M.Sc in Public and Tropical Health		Agricultural Science	Economics	Accounting	Translation	Peace & Development Studies	**Postgraduate Diploma:**
		Animal Production	Political Science	Business Administration			Development Communication
		Basic Sciences	Sociology & Social Anthropology	Public Administration			Public Administration
		Environmental Studies	Statistics, Mathematics & Demography				Business Administration

M.A., M.Sc., M.Ed.:					Fisheries
Accounting & Finance					Forestry
Public Administration					Geology & Mining
Business Administration					Wildlife
Accounting					
Library Science					
History					
Educational Sciences					
Arabic Language					
Geography					
Public Law					

Table 3: Departments, Study Programmes and Degrees at UNU

Faculty	Agriculture	Animal Production & Fisheries	Forestry & Range Science	Education	Medicine and Health Science	School of Public and Environmental Health	School of Nursing	Veterinary Medicine	Human Development
Departments	Agricultural Economics	Animal Nutrition	Forestry	Arabic Language	Anatomy	Environmental Health	Medical Nursing	Physiology	Rural Development
	Agronomy	Dairy Production	Range Sciences	English Language	Biochemistry	Food Hygiene & Safety	Surgical Nursing	Anatomy	Family Science (Hygiene & Nutrition)
	Soil Science	Meat Production	Wildlife	Geography	Physiology	Health Education	Obstetrics & Gynaecology	Microbiology and Parasitology	Computer & Information Technology
	Horticulture	Poultry Production	Ecology and Environmental Sciences	History	Microbiology	Public Health	Paediatrics Nursing	Pathology	Fine Arts (Colouring & Sculpture)
	Food Technology	Fisheries Production		Religion	Pathology		Fundamentals of Nursing	Veterinary Medicine, Pharmacology & Toxicology	Public Administration & Leadership

Agricultural Engineering	Animal Breeding and Husbandry	Biology & Chemistry	Pharmacology	Community Nursing Medicine	Surgery, Obstetrics & Gynecology
Crop Protection		Mathematics & Physics	Community Medicine		Public Health & Preventive Medicine
Agricultural Extension and Rural Development		Education	Ophthalmology		
			Forensic Medicine		
			Medicine		
			Surgery		
			Paediatrics		
			Obstetrics & Gynaecology		

Degrees:	BA Honours in:	BA Honours in:	Diploma	MBBS (six years)	Bachelor (your years)	B.A. (four years) and Diploma (three years) in:	BVSc	Diploma (three years) in:
	Animal Nutrition			Medicine	Hygiene	Nursing		*Rural Development*
	Dairy Production			Surgery				*Family Science (Hygiene & Nutrition)*
	Meat Production							*Computer & Information Technology*
	Poultry Production							*Fine Arts (Colouring & Sculpture)*
	Fisheries Production							*Public Administration & Leadership*

Table 4: Departments, Study Programmes and Degrees at UBG

College	Education	Medicine and Health Sciences	Veterinary Sciences	Computer Centre	Engineering
Departments	Arabic Language	Anatomy	Anatomy	Training	*Civil Engineering*
	English Language	Physiology	Biochemistry	Statistics& Information	*Mechanical Engineering*
	Educational Sciences	Biochemistry	Physiology	Internet & E-Mail Unit	*Electrical Engineering*
	Geography	Pathology	Pathology	Production Unit	
	History	Microbiology	Microbiology		
	Mathematics	Pharmacology			
	Sciences (Chemistry, Physics & Biology)	Community Medicine	Animal Production		
	Religious Studies	Child Health &Paediatrics			
		Obstetrics &Gynaecology	Internal Medicine		
	Literature	General Surgery	Obstetrics & Gynaecology		

	Intermediate Diploma, B.Ed. in:	MBBS (six years)			
	Biology	Internal Medicine			
	Mathematics				

Degrees	Intermediate Diploma, B.Ed. in:	MBBS (six years)	BVSc (five years)	General Computer Training	Diploma, Bachelor
	Arabic Language	Intermediate Diploma in Public health and environmental studies (DPPEH)		Information Technology Professional Course	
	Geography			B.Sc. in Computer Science	
	Sciences (Chemistry/Biology)				
	History				
	Bachelor of Arts/Sciences				
	Diploma in Educational Sciences				

The universities offer – to varying degrees – short-term programmes (diploma) undergraduate and graduate degrees:

Diploma:	three years
Bachelor's Degree in Arts (B.A.) & Science (B.Sc.):	four years
Bachelor's Degree in Education (B.Ed.):	four years
Bachelor Honour's Degree:	five years
Bachelor of Veterinary Science (B.VSc.)	five years
Bachelor of Law (LL.B.)	five years
Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery (M.B.B.S.):	six years
Master's Degree in Arts (M.A.) & Science (M.Sc.):	one to two years
Master's Degree in Law (LL.M.):	one to two years
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.):	two to three years
Doctor of Laws (LL.D.):	two to three years

The University of Juba offers Master's and PhD programmes at all of its colleges. The University of Bahr el Ghazal also offers graduate degrees at the college of graduate studies. However, since the university lacks the capacity to supervise Master and PhD students, it is the role of the college to review and accept applications and to match students with professors from other universities in Khartoum. At the time of research in 2008, the Upper Nile University similarly planned the establishment of a college of graduate studies. Graduate studies are the majority of research conducted at universities, since individual professors mostly neither have the time nor the resources for their own research.

With its eleven colleges and five centres the University of Juba goes well beyond offering programmes that might directly influence development in the South. Its profile from the college of law, arts and humanities to applied and natural sciences and its range of undergraduate as well as postgraduate programmes characterise it as a fully-fledged research university with additional short cycle programmes, a publishing house and its own journals. In comparison, the three remaining colleges of the University of Upper Nile besides the colleges of medicine, veterinary medicine and education are related to agriculture, i.e. animal production, agriculture and forestry and range science. Furthermore, the University of Upper Nile also offers non-academic programmes at the Centre for Woman and Child Development in order to educate the local community and has established new colleges for vocational education and human development which offer short cycle degrees. The contrast between the University of Juba and the University of Bahr el Ghazal is even starker. Besides the three areas that all three universities share, the University of Bahr el Ghazal offers programmes at the College of Social and Economic Studies with a focus on rural development,

the Institute for Health and Environmental Studies, a Centre for Strategic Studies and a Computer Centre, which serves income-generating activities.

Given their academic profile and the makeshift nature of postgraduate programmes, the Universities of Bahr el Ghazal and of Upper Nile resemble non-university higher education in other parts of the world with a focus on vocational education, applied knowledge and teaching, while research is neglected. The University of Juba offers a broad range of programmes – undergraduate and postgraduate – in basic and applied fields and might be considered a comprehensive or poly-contextual university.

While the three universities share a similar historic and regional heritage, there are – as shown above – stark differences between the University of Juba, which was established at the end of the seventies, and the Universities of Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile. The two new universities were established during the higher education revolution in the midst of war in garrison towns in the South and were provided with provisional buildings and equipment. Both institutions still struggle to evolve as universities both physically and intellectually. They are both chronically underfunded, but still strive to expand their profile by establishing ever new colleges and new degree programmes irrespective of their capacity to maintain them. The profiles and programmes of the universities are based on local needs with a heavy focus on teaching from non-academic to short cycle- and bachelor programmes. The two institutions' expansion strategies show that universities in least developed countries affected by conflict are also subject to academic drift (cf. Teichler 2007:105). This is clearly shown in the following quote of a dean, who speaks in favour of establishing a centre of research at the University of Upper Nile:

> 290308-5unu: And if the centre for research is not established, then this research will be lacking behind for there must be a centre which plans for research and, and which will also look for the funding for research. For university is nothing if there, if there is no research. Research is the cream of the, the, the academic activity, if there is no research, then there is no, let's say, I'm sorry, there is no academic contribution. The university is supposed to contribute to the development of the country and the state. And it's not through teaching. Yes, we are teaching, this is the normal role, but the, the, the, the vital role is that people have to address eh, the topics, problems of the, which are facing the society.

This quote shows that academics at the universities do have an idea of a university that they compare their home institutions with, and they support measures to close the gap between their universities and the role models irrespective of funding. At the same time, the excerpt also shows that academic staff do not perceive

their university as an ivory tower, where knowledge is produced for the sake of knowledge production.

> 030308-7uj: Actually, you know, the university cannot do, the objective of the university is teaching and research. Now if you doesn't have the research component then it loses its identity as a university. Especially when we go to the South (??), we don't have any data of anything in the South. So with research in the university becomes the first priority in the South. We have to generate data, information about the South, which is, which is not there.[…] And that's why research should be on the ground, with the teaching staff who can even help in the development of the South. And that is the importance of us, importance of the priority of the university.

According to its members, universities in Southern Sudan are to combine teaching and research in order to advance the local communities.

> 070508-4ubg: It is one of the objectives that the university will have to help the community within the area in terms of employment in terms of services like education training, like eh, the students of medicine who will be working in the hospitals here.

4.6 Administration & Funding

The administrative structure of universities in Sudan is the same for every university. Universities are organised in four divisions: the supervisory board, the institutional leadership, the administration and the colleges/faculties.

The supervisory board, the University Council, is headed by a chairman who is appointed by the president of the republic, and who is not a member of the university. The members of the University Council are partly external, i.e. not members of the university or the education and science system, and partly internal, i.e. members of the leadership and the administrative and academic staff.

The leadership of the university is formed by the vice-chancellor,[39] the deputy vice-chancellor and the principal. The vice-chancellor at the University of Upper Nile has three advisors for engineering, academic affairs and administration.

The administration is led by the principal. Departments of the administration are the directorate/secretariat for personnel, finance, and the chief engineer. The executive director of the vice-chancellor's office, the director for investments and the head of department for translation and Arabisation directly report

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[39]The chancellor is the president of the republic.

to the vice-chancellor. The deanship of students is headed by a dean who reports directly to the vice-chancellor, a deputy dean and the heads of the departments for administration & finance, welfare, the statistics unit, the departments for counselling and sports (see section 4.6 on students). In addition, the University of Juba has a directorate of scientific and cultural external relations headed by a director, his deputy and a registrar and with departments of international relations, national relations, alumni affairs, publication & public relations.

The colleges, the secretariat and the deanship of libraries are formally under the supervision of the deputy vice-chancellor. Each college/faculty is headed by a dean and a deputy dean and assisted by a registrar in administrative issues and an examination secretary. At the University of Juba the colleges also have librarians for the college library. The colleges are organised into departments which are supervised by the head of department and his/her deputy. Administrative and academic affairs are discussed in the college/faculty board. Members of that board at the two new universities are all heads and deputy heads of departments, professors and academic staff. At the University of Juba the composition of the college/faculty board varies from college to college, i.e. in some colleges only a select number of non-professorial academic staff are members, in some colleges non-academic staff are also part of the college board.[40] The Secretariat of Academic Affairs is headed by the secretary for academic affairs and his deputy. The secretariat is divided into five departments: the departments of Senate Affairs, Training, Admission & Registration, Examinations and Statistics & Information. Since the University of Juba also offers postgraduate degrees, it also entertains a Secretariat for Graduate Studies and Scientific Research, which is headed by a secretary, his deputy and a registrar. As in the University of Bahr el Ghazal, the secretariat used to be a college of graduate studies. At the time of field research the University of Upper Nile was also planning to establish a graduate college. The deanship of library is headed by a dean and his deputy. In the case of the University of Juba the senior librarians for the branch libraries of the colleges are also staff of the deanship.

The four divisions – the University Council, the university leadership, the administration and the colleges, interpenetrate each other, since academics and administrative staff are members of the council, academic staff of the colleges are appointed to the leadership of the university and the administration and are at the same time members of the colleges.

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[40]At the University of Khartoum, the oldest and largest university in Sudan, the Dean has several deputies for various fields and the faculty board is complemented by a faculty research board, where societal stakeholders are also members.

Universities receive funding from five different sources: a public operational grant from the government, student contributions, private donations, generated income and international contributions.

The public operational grant covers staff salaries, funds for staff development and sometimes services. While there are still descriptions of line items for different budget items in use, universities are not bound by line items and can allocate the funds awarded to them and the funds they generate as they wish. They are, however, bound by the rules of annuality concerning the public operational grant. Each academic unit draws up the necessary budget for the following year, the University Council debates and approves the university budget and sends it to the ministry of education. It is, however, the ministry of finance that decides – based on the number of staff and not on the budget proposal – on the grant all Sudanese universities receive in a given year (see section 5.1.1.3). The University of Bahr el Ghazal was the only university to receive regular funding from the state governments in the South, i.e. the states of Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap and Lakes which form the region Bahr el Ghazal. In addition, the state of Warrap donated a building on the university campus. In the meantime, however, all the state governments except for Western Bahr el Ghazal, where the university is located, seized their funding.

The government provides financial incentives in form of air tickets and additional income for academic staff who work at university campuses in the South. The campuses in the South are located in a post-conflict area with increased cost of living as well as unsteady supply of electricity and flowing water. The staff quarters lack indoor plumbing and sufficient space. During and after the civil war these locations could not be safely reached overland, due to a lack of infrastructure or because of the armed conflict. The government therefore decided to incentivise academic staff and students to work and study in the South by funding their transportation by plane.

Since the 1990s, all universities in Sudan charge tuition fees. The fees differ from college to college with medicine at the top. At the University of Juba, tuition fees range from 300 Sudanese pounds[41] per year for the college of arts and humanities up to 500 Sudanese pounds per year at the college of medicine. The university implemented a policy of decentralisation. The colleges therefore receive 70% of the tuition fees and can allocate the funds freely, while the administration keeps 30% of the tuition fees. While the colleges at the University of Juba have their own budget and financial responsibility, the colleges at the University of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal have to file a request for the funds they need in addition to staff salaries. Therefore, the deans at the two latter universi-

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[41] During field research in 2008 $ 1 equalled SDG 2.

ties do not have any financial powers. At the University of Upper Nile, the tuition fees amount to 250 Sudanese pounds per year for general acceptance and 500 Sudanese pounds at the college of medicine. The tuition fees are received by the principal's office and are allocated mostly evenly between the colleges based on need. At the University of Bahr el Ghazal, tuition fees range from 500 Sudanese pounds at the college of medicine, 400 Sudanese pounds at the college of social and economic studies, 300 Sudanese pounds at the college of education and 350 Sudanese pounds at the school of public health. In summary, the range of tuition fees at the three universities is very similar, with the highest tuition fees being charged at the colleges of medicine. In addition, the universities generate income through private admission, i.e. students who scored lower results than required in their secondary school exam and pay higher fees. At the University of Juba, the tuition fees for private students amount to up to 1,000 Sudanese pounds per year at the college of medicine.

Since universities do not receive a full budget from the government, they are competing for external funds. Representatives of the private sector are members in the University Council and are expected to offer donations or their expertise in fundraising. The University of Bahr el Ghazal, e.g., received a building as a donation by the state of Warrap. Likewise, at the time of field research, the University of Upper Nile had just received a donation – a plot of land to build a university campus – from the Amak, the traditional leader of the Shilluk[42]. Furthermore, the Government of Southern Sudan donated four million Sudanese pounds to the three universities.

All of the universities employ investment officers. According to the statutes of the University of Juba, the university can establish companies which are then headed by the investment officer on the vice-chancellor's behalf. Since its relocation to Khartoum the University of Juba has established five centres, mainly offering diploma courses, to generate additional income. They furthermore own a publishing house where they publish the university's journals and books authored by the academic staff. The revenue of these additional funds was used to buy land in Alkadaro to establish a permanent campus in Khartoum. The Universities of Juba and of Upper Nile invest – to varying degrees and success – in agriculture and employ farmers to produce and sell agricultural products. All three universities run computer study centres that offer short courses to generate income.[43]

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[42]The Shilluk are the dominant ethnic group in Malakal.

[43]Ramadan (2007:8) calls this strategy of income generation "partial privatization of some public institutions". Similar developments have taken place, for example, in Kenya (Wangenge-Ouma 2011, 2012, Johnson & Hirt 2011) and Uganda (Mamdani 2007, Bisaso 2010), albeit based on direct involvement of international actors.

Funding from international sources is usually connected to collaborative research projects, cooperative academic programmes and staff exchange with partner universities in Europe, contributions to the library and staff development, i.e. targeted funding only.

Research funding is scarce for all three universities, since the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research terminated the public funding for research save for the competitive central fund for research. Professors at the University of Juba, though, are involved in several research projects that are either funded by their own resources, the central fund for research or international partners. They furthermore conduct contract research for international development actors.

4.7 Staff & Career Development

Each university employs workers, classified staff, administrative and academic staff. Workers and classified staff are paid according to different grades from grade 17, where no educational credentials are needed and the salary corresponds to the minimum wage, to grade 1 where a bachelor's degree is a precondition. Workers are mainly drivers, janitors, and public health workers. Classified staff work as guards, accountants, clerks, typists, laboratory assistants, library assistants and public health officials. The third group are administrators and academic staff. Academic staff are divided into lecturers, assistant professors, associate professors, and full professors. Teaching assistants do not belong to the group of academic staff. Administrators are divided into the categories assistant registrar A, B and C. As an example, I will discuss matters of staff salaries, appointments and promotions at the University of Juba in detail.

Table 5: Salaries according to Work Profile

Employed Staff	Salary Category	Salary
Workers		SDG 240
Classified Staff		SDG 400
Administrative Staff	Assistant Registrar C	SDG 1,250
	Assistant Registrar B	
	Assistant Registrar A	SDG 1,800
Academic Staff	Lecturer	SDG 1,250
	Assistant Professor	
	Associate Professor	SDG 1,800
	Full Professor	SDG 2,000

The minimum salary for workers, classified staff, administrative and academic staff is SDG 300, SDG 400 and SDG 1,250 respectively. The salary structure for employees of the university is set by the government in negotiations between the Ministry of Labour, Public Service and Human Resources and the Ministry of Finance for all public servants in Sudan. The ministries decide regularly on salary increases or additional benefits for public servants. The Ministry of Labour, Public Service and Human Resources is also in charge of setting promotion regulations. Since the public operational grant only covers salaries, universities cannot recruit additional personnel if they cannot attract additional funding from the government or other sources.

4.7.1 Appointment

According to statute no. 9 of the University of Juba, "every appointment to the academic and senior administrative posts shall be made on behalf of the Council by the Vice-Chancellor after consulting with a Committee constituted by him for that purpose" (University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008:241). This appointment committee is also responsible for the appointment of teaching assistants after they graduate and after the completion of their postgraduate studies (University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008:242). Members of the committee are the vice-chancellor as a chairman, the deputy vice-chancellor, the principal, the secretary for academic affairs, the dean and the head of department of the discipline in question, any other person chosen by the vice-chancellor who then does not have a vote and the personnel secretary as secretary of the committee (University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008:241-242). According to the same statute, "holders of Master Degree or equivalent may be appointed in the status of lecturer" and "holders of Ph.D. or its equivalent may be appointed in the Status of Assistant Professor" (University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008:242). Universities are free to recruit academic and non-academic staff from within Sudan and abroad. Leadership positions are not appointed by the committee. The vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor and the principal are appointed by the head of state, recommended by the minister of higher education and scientific research. The chairman of the University Council then appoints the deans, the dean of students and the secretary for academic affairs, recommended by the vice-chancellor and the vice-chancellor appoints the heads of departments, recommended by the dean. All these positions, including the administrative positions, are held by academic staff that is seconded from the faculties as it is prescribed in the university statutes. All of the interviewees in the administration held positions as deans, professors or lecturers in faculties prior to their assignment to the administration and are

expected to return to their academic posts after the conclusion of their appointment as the following quote by a dean shows.

> 110208-4unu: [...], first I was the first director of the agricultural school or school of agriculture, the first director. And from there I was shifted to, to academic affairs, as a secretary for academic affairs. And from there I was shifted to principal of the university and from the principal I am back to agriculture as a dean.

This quote also shows that leadership career paths do not depend on personal decisions or applications by candidates. The interviewee was, in his own words, "shifted" from position to position.

4.7.2 Promotion

According to statute no. 10, a different committee is responsible for the promotion of academic staff. Members of the committee are the vice-chancellor as the chairman, the deputy vice-chancellor, the principal, the secretary for academic affairs as secretary of the committee, deans of colleges who have at least the same status as the candidate in question and two professors who are appointed to the committee by the vice-chancellor (University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008:243). According to the conditions for promotion, "Teaching shall be one of the top priorities of the university; being most important criteria for promotion which should depend on the quality of teaching and the competence of the staff member". Other criteria are the linkage between teaching and research that serves societal needs, involvement in curriculum development and service to society and the local community. Candidates receive points according to six areas.

Table 6: Promotion Criteria for Academic Staff at UJ

Criteria	Points
Excellence in Teaching	20
Scientific Research	30
Supervision of Graduate Students	10
Participation in Development of Departments, Colleges and the University	15
Participation in Development of the Country	15
University extra-curricular Activities	10

From the University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008:244

30 points are given for scientific research. Performance in this area is measured in publications. Candidates receive 7.5 points for every peer reviewed article and 10 points for every book "authored, compiled or translated". The excellence of teaching is the next most important area with 20 achievable points. This is operationalised by the candidate's ability to prepare teaching materials, to apply innovative teaching techniques and an in-depth knowledge of his field and his ability to transfer this to students. The statute does not mention how these aspects are measured. 15 points each are available for the candidate's participation in the development of the university and the country, and finally, a maximum of 10 points each can be awarded for the supervision of graduate students and the candidate's involvement of university extra-curricular and social activities. In order to be eligible for promotion, a minimum of 25 points have to be obtained in the fields of teaching and research. For a promotion from lecturer to assistant professor 65 points are needed. Further requirements are a Ph.D. degree in the field of specialisation, seven years of job experience as lecturer at the university, recommendations from the dean and the head of department, and a minimum of two peer reviewed journal articles. For promotion from assistant professor to associate professor also 65 points are needed. The promotion is possible in three ways, i.e. a promotion based on performance in scientific research and teaching, a promotion based on performance in teaching, scientific research, administration and service to society, and a promotion based on meritorious service. For the promotion based on scientific research and teaching, a minimum of four peer reviewed articles (two as a first author) and three years as assistant professor at the University of Juba during which he/she has contributed significantly to the teaching load are required. For a promotion based on teaching, scientific research, administration and service to society, five years as assistant professor, two of which at the University of Juba, and a minimum of two peer reviewed journal articles are required. Requirements for a promotion based on meritorious service are ten years or more as assistant professor, five of which at the University of Juba, a Ph.D. degree, involvement in teaching, administration, training and extra-curricular activities, excellence in teaching, supervision of students, participation in curriculum development and university development, presentations at conferences and good working relationships with other colleagues. For promotion from associate to full professor, 75 points are needed, and promotion can be granted exclusively based on research or on teaching, research, and community service. In the former case, a minimum of five peer reviewed journal articles are needed, four years as associate professor at the university and an "outstanding contribution to the promotion of teaching". In the latter case, the candidate has taught for five years as associate professor, three of which at the University of Juba, a minimum of three peer reviewed articles, one of them as a first author. (UJC 2006-

2008:245-246). After their first degree the best graduates are appointed as teaching assistants. They teach in diploma and bachelor courses and receive funding for pursuing their Master's and subsequently their Ph.D. degree after which they can again be appointed by the committee. Candidates can then go on to be promoted from lecturer to assistant and associate professor to full professor within one institution. A change of employer is not necessary for academic careers in Sudan.

   The teaching hours for academic staff vary according to rank, i.e. 14 hours for a lecturer, 12 hours for an Assistant Professor, 10 hours for an Associate Professor and 8 hours for a Full Professor.

4.7.3 Number of Academic Staff

Table 7: Number of Academic Staff in 2006 – UJ

Colleges & Centres	Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Ass. Prof.	Lecturers	T.A.	Total
Applied & Industrial Sciences	3	4	11	40	11	69
Art, Music& Drama	2	2	1	2	11	18
Arts & Humanities	2	1	5	27	6	41
Community Studies& Rural Development	1	3	5	20	6	35
Computer Science & Information Technology	--	--	1	6	5	12
Education	5	6	19	55	9	94
Engineering & Architecture	1	2	7	13	18	41
Law	1	5	6	6	--	18
Medicine	7	6	47	6	6	72
Natural Resources & Environmental Studies	6	10	29	39	20	104
Social and Economic Studies	2	5	14	28	11	60

School of Management Studies	1	1	6	13	5	26
Centre for Distance Education						0
Centre for Human Resource Development & Continual Education						0
Centre of Languages & Translation					12	12
Centre for Peace & Development	1		3	1	--	5
Total	32	45	154	256	120	607

The colleges with the most staff at the University of Juba are the college of natural resources with 104 staff followed by the college of education with 94 staff. The smallest colleges with respect to number of staff are the college of art, music and drama, which was established in 2003 in Southern Sudan, the college of law and the college of computer science and information technology, which was recently upgraded from the computer studies centre. Within the colleges a majority of staff are lecturers, apart from two cases, the college of art, music and drama and the college of engineering and architecture where the majority are teaching assistants. The staff composition of the college of medicine differs significantly from the other colleges as the largest group of staff are assistant professors. Overall, by far the largest group of staff within the university are lecturers.

Table 8: Number of Academic Staff in 2008 – UNU

Colleges & Institutes	Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Ass. Prof.	Lecturers	T. A.	Total
Agriculture	7	9	11	31	28	86
Animal Production	8	7	11	20	23	69
Education	8	9	14	37	37	105
Forestry	6	8	11	22	21	68

Health	1	3	5	7	11	27
Medicine	8	12	13	15	33	81
School of Nursing	1	3	6	6	18	34
Veterinary Medicine	3	4	3	6	8	24
Total	42	55	74	144	179	494

Among the colleges of Upper Nile University the majority of staff are employed at the college of education with 105 staff followed by the faculty of agriculture. The smallest colleges are the college of veterinary medicine with 24 staff, established in 2006, and the institute of public and environmental health which is a school of the faculty of medicine. At the faculties of agriculture, animal production, education and forestry, lecturers and teaching assistants form two equally large groups. Teaching assistants form the majority of staff at the faculty of medicine and its schools for nursing and public health and at the faculty of veterinary medicine. At the University of Upper Nile, the largest group of employees are teaching assistants with 179 staff followed by lecturers with 144 staff.

Table 9: Number of Academic Staff in 2008 – UBG

Colleges & Institutes	Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Ass. Prof.	Lecturer	T.A.	Technicians	Total
Economic & Social Studies	0	1	6	10	10	-	27
Education	7	3	13	47	21	-	91
Health Institute	0	0	0	5	12	3	20
Medicine	2	12	23	9	10	16	72
Veterinary Science	4	10	10	28	27	3	82
Total	13	26	52	99	80	22	292

Within the University of Bahr el Ghazal the college of education has the highest number of academic staff with 91mployees followed by the college of veterinary science. The institute of health has the lowest number of staff with 20 employ-

ees. Within the colleges, lecturers and teaching assistants form the largest group. Again like at the University of Juba, the college of medicine is an exception, with the largest group of staff being assistant professors. The largest group of staff within the University of Bahr el Ghazal are lecturers with 99 and teaching assistants with 80 staff.

Concerning status and academic degree, one can make the following distinctions. Teaching assistants are Bachelor graduates, lecturers are Master graduates and professors beginning as assistant professor are Ph.D. holders. The table of the number of staff at the examined universities shows that within colleges a majority of staff are teaching assistants, who are officially not members of the academic staff, and lecturers. This means that Ph.D. holders are a minority among academic staff. As El Tom (2007:56) points out: "higher education institutions are largely dependent on non-PhD and part-time faculty in discharging their teaching responsibilities".

As mentioned above, the leadership positions within universities are appointed with academic staff who remain members of their respective faculties or colleges. No clear data about the ethnic background of academic staff could be obtained but the academic calendars of the University of Juba and the University of Bahr el Ghazal indicate that an overwhelming majority of academic staff are Northern Sudanese. According to the interview data, about 90% of academic staff are Northerners. At the University of Juba 18% of academic staff are from the South, while 82% of staff are from the North. Among administrative and support staff, 58% are from the North and 42%, of which 90% are labourers, are from the South (UJ 2007:11). However, from the 19 interviewees in leadership roles at universities, i.e. vice-chancellor, principal, academic secretary etc., 17 were from the South. At the time of research, all vice-chancellors, academic secretaries and principals were Southerners. Thus, while Southern Sudanese form a small minority among academic staff, they form the majority in the university leadership which is recruited from academic staff. According to the statutes, there are no equal opportunity programmes for academic staff. There are two explanations for this discrepancy. One hypothesis is that academic staff from the South benefit from promotion based on meritorious service more than other groups. Another explanation is that the appointment process is not transparent and issues of identity and ideas of ethnic representation are part of the decision-making process. As one interviewee said:

> 110208-4unu: […] But all in all like me now, I am appointed I am not elected by my colleagues, but I am appointed by the vice-chancellor. The reasons why I am appointed may be only known to the vice-chancellor. I may be satisfying the vice-chancellor and not cohesively working with the, with my colleagues in the, in the college.

4.8 Student Affairs

Student affairs are regulated by the government, the National Students' Welfare Fund and the individual universities. In this subsection, I will focus on administrative, financial and social aspects of student affairs, i.e. admission regulations, tuition and registration fees and student support.

4.8.1 Admission

The general admission of students in the whole of Sudan, whether at private or public universities, is coordinated by the National Admissions Board. The admission board evaluates the certificates of all applicants to Sudanese higher education institutions, also for those who received their degrees abroad. The admission of students is highly selective. It is based on students' performance in the core subjects and in the subjects that match the college they apply for. Students apply to the National Admissions Board and name seven choices. University places are distributed on a competitive basis based on the grades of the Sudan School Certificate Examination. Students have to apply within one year of their high school graduation. Male students need to have completed their military training with the Popular Defence Forces[44] before they are admitted. After the CPA, students who spent their childhood and youth in refugee camps in the neighbouring countries and their parents returned to Sudan. In order to ensure access of these "returnee students" to higher education, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Government of Southern Sudan administrated the admission of those students who did not graduate in Sudan and have no proficiency in Arabic. As one interviewee from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology pointed out:

> I: Hm, concerning the returnees. Do they, do they apply to your office when they want....
> 110408-5gov: Yeah, they apply to our office and then at the deadline we took, we take all the certificate and we take them to Khartoum for admission, yeah. In the, in Khartoum in the admission office, the minister for higher education usually forms a high level committee where I am always a member with some two to three other members of the department here and then again, within that high level committee, a technical committee is formed out of that to go and evaluate and process the admission. And they usually (meet?) every other week, then they report to the high level committee and we find out and finalise the admission. Yeah, this is how we do it.

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[44] This is a semi-private militia established by the ruling party after the coup (Burr & Collins 2010).

Yeah, so they bring their certificate to our office and we take them to Khartoum for admission. [Ok.] This has gone well 2006/2007 and we are hoping to do the same this year.

The admission of postgraduate, mature and diploma students is coordinated by the individual universities. Within the general admission framework there is a special quota for students from least developed states. This means that with respect to universities in the South and other marginalised regions, 50% of places at universities in least developed states are reserved for students from that state and that "the applicant may moreover have to comply with further conditions decided by his or her state pertaining to a period of service in that state after the completion of the university career" (University of Juba Student Guide 2006/2008:31). This quota was first introduced at the University of Juba to ensure access for Southern Sudanese students and was then adopted by the National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research after the Islamist coup in 1990 for all regions except for Central Sudan. In addition, there are also opportunities for "mature students", i.e. students who have not graduated within a year of their application to a university and who have work experiences. Applicants for mature intake have professional experience of at least ten years and are at least 30 years old and do not qualify for the general intake. Their admission is supervised by the secretariat of academic affairs. Students who qualify for mature intake have, e.g., worked in the public sector and seek to gain additional qualifications. A precondition for their successful application is a workplace that they later return to where their new qualifications will be applied. In January 1997, the National Council for Higher Education decided that universities can admit up to 25% of study places to private students who score up to 7% less than necessary for general admission. This was later upgraded to a score of 12 % less. Universities can decide on the level of tuition fees for private students (El Tom 2006:55).

4.8.2   Tuition fees

Tuition fees are charged at all of the universities. The level of tuition fees is set by collegial bodies within the universities and varies from college to college (see subsection 4.4). According to government regulations, the following groups are eligible for waivers of tuition fees: dababeen and mujahideen[45], i.e. students who fought in one of the government-led wars and qualify for private admission;

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[45] According to Hawi (2006:8), universities were also obliged to consider these students' service when grading them or setting the terms for examinations.

children and spouses of employees and pensioners of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research and children of university employees who study in undergraduate courses as well as furthermore "Students with special needs" and "Students versed in the Holy Quran" (University of Juba Student Guide 2006/2008:36).

Upon registration students have to pay a registration fee of 70 to 100 SDG, of which SDG 50 are deposited for the library and repaid after graduation.

4.8.3   Student Unions

Student unions in Sudan have been engaged in the general political battles of the country, often in opposition to the government. Furthermore, student organisations are affiliated with all major parties of the country. Likewise the rise of the current regime was accompanied by the activities of Islamist student organisations within universities who sought to enforce their political world view and to sideline and marginalise unions of opposition parties after the coup (Khalafalla 2004). Therefore, political battles are also fought among the student body and its representatives. At the time of research, not all of the three universities had functioning student unions, but some had student associations for every location that were based on disciplinary, ethnic, religious or regional affiliations. All of the universities had problems with student riots that arose, e.g., from delayed examination results and other administrative problems that affected students. In these cases, the campuses were closed and sometimes the union disbanded. At the time of research, the Universities of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal did not have a student union. The role of the student union is to represent the interests of students and to assist in academic, administrative or social problems. Representatives of the student union are members of the University Council, the dean of students' council and in the case of the University of Juba also in the senate. There are furthermore specialised student associations for each college, for students from specific states and a certain religious heritage at each university (Gami'a Bahr el Ghazal, Dalil al-Gami'a 1999/2000).

4.8.4   Student Support

After the higher education revolution, the responsibility for student housing and lodging was shifted from the individual institution to a semi-governmental body – the National Students' Welfare Fund. The fund's objective is to support the higher education revolution by providing housing, food, healthcare and financial

support for more students and to reduce public funding at the same time. The funding is partially provided by the national government and local governments, and is complemented with private contributions. These contributions consist of an obligatory toll of one pound from each member of the workers' association, zakat (Islamic charity tax) for poor students and donations by private companies. An additional objective of the fund is "to supervise the social life and cultural activities of students" (GoS 2005:11), to "cement good values" (GoS 2005:21) and to "connect students with the values of Islam" (GoS 2005:50). According to interviewees from the universities, it is also the objective of the fund to ensure political allegiance among students and to monitor their behaviour. As it concerns the support of students in Southern Sudan after the CPA, the National Student Welfare Fund does not seem to accomplish its task. This has led to the involvement of the Government of Southern Sudan and its working group on higher education comprised of academic staff and the leadership of the universities as well as representatives of international non-governmental and governmental organisations. As one member of the working group pointed out:

> 180408-1ngo: [...] There is an increasing amount of money being found by GoSS ministry of education and therefore the department of higher education for such aspects of, the accommodation and subsistence for the students in Juba and some money for Wau and Malakal. One of the meetings that we held was with the, of the sunduq, the organisation which looks after students' accommodation and feeding and we had the representative meet everybody as part of a thematic working group to try and explain exactly what was happening and they did agree to increase the amount of money that they would provide. But it was insufficient for the number of students were to be educated last year and this year as first and secondary students in Southern Sudan. In the past there has been quite a reasonable amount of money available for Southern Sudanese students in the campuses in Khartoum. As it comes to Southern Sudan sunduq [The National Students' Welfare Fund] seems to be only really interested in supporting people who are in Khartoum even though they are on the campuses of the University of Juba, Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile.

Since the CPA, the Government of Southern Sudan also became involved in the support of returnee students. In this area it cooperates with the dean of students of the respective universities and the local offices of the National Students' Welfare Fund.

> 290308-5unu: Yeah yeah, GoSS is supposed to/ first of all er when I was the dean of student affairs, we went to Juba last er last er February. We had a meeting er the three vice vice-chancellors of the southern universities, the minister of higher education and scientific research was supposed to come who was Dr. Peter then. He didn't come and even the the minister of education was there, science and technology, was

there and the presentatives of the student unions were there and principals of the three universities together with the er with the deans of student affairs. So we discussed this question of concurrent er policies er powers. Er they say that they were going to provide er services for the students together with the national fund. So they are giving half, they they really estimated the amount for each student to be one hundred for each student in the three er locations: Malakal, Wau and Juba la two two, yeah. In Wau and Malakal each students was to be given one hundred and in er in Juba each student was to be given one and a ha/ one and a one and a half or one hundred fifty. In in in er in Khartoum each students, the ret/ the returnees and the and the displaced were supposed to be given two hundred. And even they were trying to establish a cafeteria here. Er and also they are giving some assistance to the returnee students, some money to the returnee students and they're supposed to provide money for er for food and pocket money for the returnee students yeah. And I think they the the they are contributing in this.

At the institutional level, the deanship of students is responsible for student support. The dean of students works with the student union and the National Student Welfare Fund. His role is to enforce the students' code of behaviour, organise social activities for students and to supervise the student unions. The students' code of behaviour is a very strict code that regulates the social behaviour of students. The code of 2000 of the University of Juba deals with issues like the general conduct, religion, violence, decent appearance, weapons, alcohol and drugs, smoking, university property, vehicles, identity cards and cooperation with university officials, hostels and the powers of the dean of students and the vice-chancellor. The students' code of conduct of 2006 covers roughly the same topics. Students can be suspended for noncompliance with the code by the dean of students or a Board of Discipline appointed by the vice-chancellor. In the following is a small excerpt of relevant paragraphs of the students' code of behaviour:

9) Fighting between two or among students is prohibited.

11a) A student, whenever attending a University function, shall observe a decent and an acceptable appearance.

16b) A student shall register his/her bicycle motorcycle or other vehicle with the Deanship of Students.

17a) A student at all times carry his/her university identity cards and shall produce or surrender it whenever asked by a university official or any other authority inside the university.

19) Residence in the University hostel is not a right but a privilege. To enjoy this privilege a student shall comply with all rules and regulations prescribed by the university.

24b) The playing of any game for money or any other consideration is strictly forbidden.

25) A student shall be in the hostel by eleven p.m. unless he has been granted leave of absence or late leave by the official in charge of the hostel.
27b) Female guests shall not be allowed in the male hostels and rooms.
28c) A female student shall not stand with her visitor in front of the female hostel or around. It is prohibited.
28d) Pregnant and married females are not allowed to stay in the hostel.[46]

This excerpt shows that the behaviour of students on campus and in hostels is closely monitored, not only in relation to academic issues but also concerning social and moral values.

4.8.5 Number of Students

The number of students varies at the three universities. The University of Juba is the largest university with about 12,000 students (Table 10 shows the number of students for one cohort), followed by the University of Upper Nile with 3,843 students and the University of Bahr el Ghazal with 2,277 students.

Table 10: Number of Students in 2006 - UJ[47]

Colleges & Institutes	No. of Students
Medicine	180
Natural Resources & Environmental Studies	342
Applied & Industrial Sciences	277
Engineering and Architecture	234
Education	155
Social & Economic Studies	539
School of Management Sciences	206
Community Studies	225
Law	241
Arts & Humanities	353
Arts, Music and Drama	90
Total	**2,842**

The college with the most students at the University of Juba is the college of social and economic studies. According to respondents, a substantial number of graduates is working for non-governmental organisations, the United Nations,

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[46] University of Juba: Calendar 2000-2002, p.147-150
[47] Ony one cohort.

international organisations, local government, the ministry of foreign affairs, the ministry of social welfare and in banks. Academic staff of the college are members of specialised governmental committees like those of the National Council for Higher Education, and the census committee. The college also has an alumni association.

Table 11: Number of Students in 2008 - UNU

Colleges & Institutes		No. of Students[48]
Medicine		720
	Nursing	454
	Health	426
Forestry & Range Science		167
Agriculture		319
Animal Production		274
Veterinary Medicine		158[49]
Education		1,105
Human Development		220
Total		**3,843**

The majority of students at the University of Upper Nile study medicine and health-related subjects.

Table 12: Number of Students in 2008 - UBG

Colleges & Institutes		No. of Students
Medicine		505
	Institute for Public & Environmental Health	119
Education		731
Veterinary Sciences		300
Economic & Social Studies		622
Total		**2,277**

This table shows that the majority of students at the University of Bahr el Ghazal are enrolled in the college of education. As one interviewee of the university pointed out:

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[48] without the 1st year
[49] up to 2nd year, started 2006 in Malakal

020508-3ubg: College of education [...] is the backbone of this university in order to produce teachers to teach in the schools of the state and other places. The first, second year, third years, they get the methods, in fourth year they go for teaching practice. [...]But eh, this is the mother college as I said from our on which the university depended or started. They are now even in Khartoum, they, they have been taken to the schools of the capital of Khartoum. They are found to be the best teachers, cause we give them very strong, eh, methods. And how to overcome certain difficulties, so after they graduate they are caught even before they graduate. The, they, they are booked by the state eh, there. But initially these were equally to teach, to teach in the schools of Bahr el Ghazal, yeah. Ah, of course many of these students come from other states. They don't get into the University from Bahr el Ghazal only. And they come from different areas, but whomever who graduates here and wishes to teach in the state of Bahr el Ghazal is welcome. Yeah. But they also give, they go, make teaching practice in the schools of Western Bahr el Ghazal. Yes.

4.9 Chapter Conclusion

As discussed in the previous chapter, all three universities were established during the reign of military regimes. Although the two military regimes differed decidedly in their ideological underpinnings, i.e. Socialist in the beginning of Nimeiri's reign and Islamist during Al-Bashir's reign, what united them was a utilitarian view of higher education. The new universities were to foster economic and social development and to bring about national unity. In this chapter, I have shown how this world view has also shaped the mission and the organisational goals and therefore the disciplinary profile of the universities. While the University of Juba – which had 30 years to evolve as a university – has developed the profile of a research university, the Universities of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal have a clear focus on teaching and applied study programmes. While research performance plays a role in staff promotion at the University of Juba, the statutes for staff appointment and promotion still point out the primacy of teaching and the relevance of service to the public for staff evaluation. Universities offer undergraduate and postgraduate courses, diplomas, vocational courses and programmes focussed on knowledge transfer for the local population, e.g., family hygiene. The University of Juba resembles the equivalent of a comprehensive university, while the two new universities resemble universities of applied sciences or specialised polytechnics.

Academic staff can get appointed as teaching assistants and from there on pursue institutional careers. A change of the university is not necessary to become a full professor. The leadership positions in the university, i.e. deans and the heads of academic and administrative departments, are appointed and all of these positions are occupied by academic staff. Therefore, the career path of the

individual academics is determined by the vice-chancellor and the chairman of the University Council. The appointment process is the most convincing reason for the dominance of Southern Sudanese academics in the university leadership although they form a minority among academic staff. This shows the impact the cultural identity of the local community has on the universities.

The majority of students are enrolled in study programmes of the colleges of education, social and economic studies and medicine, which seek to train teachers, experts in rural and community affairs and medical doctors. The idea of higher education as a tool for development is therefore not only embraced by the military regime and its policy-makers, but also by the institutional leadership of the university, staff and students. This shows that global concepts – in this case the concepts of development and progress – are embraced and appropriated on every level of society.

I have furthermore outlined in this chapter the impact of the higher education revolution on the funding of universities in the South. Universities had to diversify their funding base, but are still heavily dependent on the public operational grant. In order to generate additional income, they – as in the case of the University of Juba – either establish income-generating centres that offer more labour market oriented three-year diploma study programmes and further education programmes or – as in the case of the Universities of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal – offer individual diploma programmes within the faculties and computer courses. Furthermore, the Universities of Juba and Upper Nile established – with varying success – agricultural business in order to generate income with the sale of agricultural produce in the marketplace. At the same time, universities are free to allocate the scarce funding they receive and the additional income as they wish. This chapter has therefore shown that the higher education revolution has forced the universities in the South to become more entrepreneurial. This also has an impact on roles and functions in the administration with all of the universities employing investment officers.

Lastly, public actors and laws and regulations have a strong impact on the organisational goals, structure, study programmes, the salary of staff and the admission of students in the universities. The role of the government and other actors – especially with respect to teaching and research – will be discussed in a more detailed manner in the next chapter.

5 The Actors

After having discussed how the civil war and the long-term ideological conflict shaped the higher education system, and following an in-depth description of the three universities in Southern Sudan, I will now focus on the role different actors play with respect to higher education governance. The analysis in this chapter is largely based on formal and informal interviews with representatives of the actors in question and on documents collected during field research. I differentiated actors inside and outside the universities, i.e. external actors like the state, society and international actors who influence and/or regulate the higher education system and internal actors like the University Council, the university leadership and the collegial decision-making bodies in the individual institutions. The goal of this chapter is to present these groups of actors and to outline the mechanisms they use to influence or regulate the individual universities and the higher education system at large.

5.1 Internal

Every university in Sudan has the same organisational structures and governing boards. Their members and their roles are specified in the university act, which is drafted for each new university prior to its establishment, has to be approved by the president and passed by the legislature. The act furthermore specifies the objectives of the university and the founding colleges. The university acts can only be changed by legislative action. This has happened several times in Sudanese history corresponding to changes in government, especially from a democracy to a military regime (Ibrahim 2007). According to their university acts, each university in Sudan is "a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal" (UJ 1975).

Figure 1: Organisational Structure of Universities
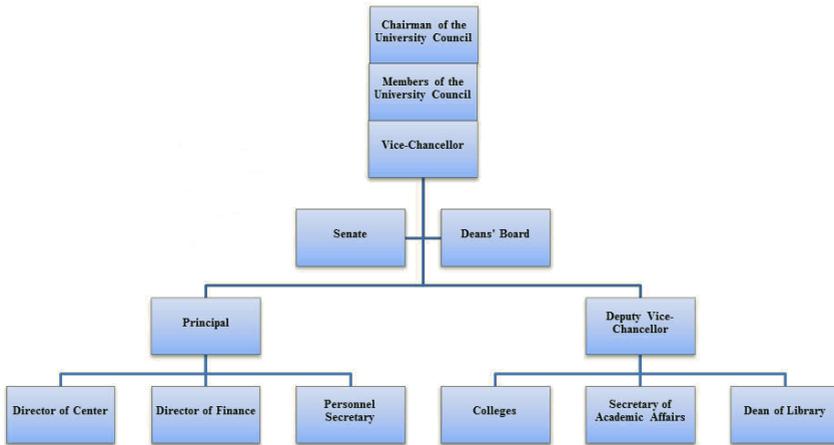
a generic chart designed by the author based on the empirical data

According to organisational charts, the visualisation of rank in the academic calendars of the University of Juba and Bahr el Ghazal and the university acts, the highest authority in the university is the chairman of the University Council. He is appointed by the head of state, recommended by the minister of higher education and scientific research. The chairman – by recommendation of the vice-chancellor – appoints the deans. The council members are the next highest authority within the university. The function of the University Council as a whole is to set the policy of the university, to debate its budget and to decide on the establishment of new schools, colleges or centres. Internal members of the University Council are the vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, and principal, deans of colleges and directors of centres delegated by the Deans' Board, representatives of the academic and non-academic staff, and representatives of the students unions. External members are representatives of the states the universities are located in, i.e. the three/four governors and ministers of education, a representative of the ministry of finance, representatives of the business community and the civil society. Next in line is the vice-chancellor. He is the chief executive officer of the university appointed by the head of state and accountable to the University Council.

The highest body concerning academic issues is the university senate. Its members are: vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, principal, all professors of

the university, dean of libraries, dean of students, deans of all colleges, directors of institutes and centres of the university, deputy deans of all colleges, heads of departments and centres, secretary for academic affairs.

The Deans' Board is mainly an administrative body although it also deals with academic issues before they are referred to the university senate. As I was told by one vice-chancellor the Deans' Board was originally not intended to be a governing body. It was only supposed to be convened in emergencies. Due to the dire funding situation, the Deans' Board has in times of crisis management become the body that is responsible for the daily running of the university. Its members are: vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, principal, dean of students, academic secretary, and all the deans of colleges and directors of centres and the executive director of the vice-chancellor's office. The Deans' Board is followed by faculty/college boards, in which all the heads of departments and professors are members, and the department boards.

5.1.1   The University Council

The Composition of the Council

At two of the universities the chairmen are active and widely known politicians: Alison Manani Magaya, a retired general and the chairman of the University Council of Juba University, was at the time a Minister of Labour, Public Service and Development of Human Resources. His background did not indicate any connection to higher education. Lawrence Lual Lual Akuey is a veteran politician of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and its former Secretary of Education during the civil war. During his tenure as chairman of the University Council of Bahr el Ghazal University, he was the Deputy of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly. Only Professor Abdallah Ahmad Abdallah, the Chairman of the University Council of Upper Nile University, a professor and former vice-chancellor and chairman of the Council of the University of Khartoum – Sudan's most prestigious university – and a former minister of agriculture, is a practitioner and expert in higher education. All three chairmen are politically well connected. The list of former chairmen of the University of Juba since inception is a who is who of Southern politicians: Angelo Beda, Hilary Paul Logali and Abel Alier all had high ranking positions either within the central government or the Southern regional government after the Addis Ababa Agreement. The former chairman of the University of Bahr el Ghazal Council, Dr. Lam Akol Ajawin, is the chairman of Sudan People's Liberation Movement for Democratic Change (SPLM-DC).

A look at the university acts of the University of Khartoum since independence shows that subsequent governments changed the objectives of the university but also the composition of the University Council and the Senate. For example, in the beginning of Nimeiri's reign, when he cooperated with the Communist Party, the University of Khartoum act was changed to include workers and trade unions in the Council (Ibrahim 2007). With respect to universities in the South, according to the first university act of Juba University (University of Juba Act 1975), the Council consisted of 26 members of which eleven had to be experts in higher education and of five of these should represent the South. The amended university act (University of Juba Act 1995) and the university calendar (UJ Calendar 2006-2008) show that the University Council was expanded after the higher education revolution. These days, the Council consists of 40 members. Half of those members have to be chosen from within the university, i.e. representatives of the student union, non-academic staff, and eight members are selected by the senate and the university leadership. External members are academics, politicians and laymen from the region or with an interest in higher education. The membership list of the University Council of the University of Juba shows the expansion of membership starting in 1990 and a shift from higher education experts towards a dominance of politicians and military commanders (UJ Calendar 2006-2008). The University Council of 2006 – one year after the peace agreement – counted among its members the Commander in Chief of the Equatoria Military Area and the Commissioner of Police, Central Equatoria state. This development is similar in the other two institutions. Since they were established during the revolution, they started with politicised and militarised Councils of 40 members. Members of the Council of the University of Upper Nile were prominent politicians and researchers like Luigi Adwok, a former President of Sudan, Farouk Gatkuoth Kam, a former politician, Professor Mamum Humeida, the vice-chancellor of the Academy of Medical Sciences. In addition, three advisors of the vice-chancellor for engineering, academic affairs and administration as well as the director of finance and the director of personnel are members. The membership list of the University of Bahr el-Ghazal Council shows five representatives of the academic staff union and two representatives of the student union in addition to representatives of the states of Bahr el Ghazal and a representative of the ministry for higher education and scientific research (Gami'a Bahr el-Ghazal, Dalil Al-Gami'a 1999/2000). Apart from these deviations, the Councils of all three universities are very similar. One similarity is the lack of participation by women. Only one woman is listed as a member of the University of Bahr el-Ghazal Council. The chairwoman of the Women's Union of Central Equatoria is listed in the University of Juba Council, a fact the chairwoman was

not aware of. Asked if any women were members in the Council of Upper Nile University, one interviewee said:

> 120608-2uc: I've not seen any women. And that, yeah, I've seen women but I thought they are just simple administrators who were taking notes and things like that, but not, not in the membership, not in the membership.

It is therefore safe to say that with respect to external members, the councils are dominated by businessmen and elder statesmen, while women are not represented.

The recruitment of internal and external members is based on the university act, the capacity of external candidates to donate to or fundraise for the university, regional heritage, and political or academic specialisations. Researchers of the University of Juba are members of the Council of the Universities of Upper Nile University or Bahr el Ghazal if their family originated from Upper Nile or Bahr el Ghazal, respectively. Then there are professors who are members of the council if their specialisation fits the profile of the university. E.g., Mamum Humaida is a member of the Council of Upper Nile University because of its faculty of medicine. Thus, the definition of internal or external members is not only based on dichotomies of insiders and outsiders with respect to the individual institution and academia in general, but also with respect to ethnicity and regional heritage. This is shown by the following excerpt of an interview with a University Council member who takes issue with the chairman's heritage:

> 120608-2uc: These councils don't solve any problem unless the chairperson it's not necessary that he is a professor or he's that and that. No, it's not, it's not necessary. Who said that? But he should be a dignified person and it must be from the region, because this guy, if he is from the region and he knows the region, he will have good relationship with the, with the state governments of the Upper Nile regions or Upper Nile states. He can also work hard to raise fund for the university and make people feel that this university is theirs. Ok. Muhammad Ahmed or who the hell he is here, if he goes to Malakal he cannot do it, because he doesn't know anybody there. He wouldn't even know how to start, you see.

In this case the chairman who is a Northerner is viewed as an outsider. He is a person who in spite of his expertise in higher education – according to the interviewee – does not belong in a leadership position in the Council. This paragraph also points to a general sentiment among staff at the three universities that the university belongs to the people of the region and that they as academics have to serve the community to develop economically and socially through university teaching and research.

The Role and Impact of the Council

The function of the University Council is to set the policy of the university, to debate its budget and to decide on the establishment of new schools, colleges or centres. According to the university acts, the Council is the most important governing body of the university (University of Juba Act 1995). This was confirmed in interviews when respondents were directly asked about the role of the Council or the general questions about the governing bodies of the university were posed. This stands in strong contrast to information received during informal meetings and direct observation and interviews with seasoned and retired senior researchers. The University Council *de facto* lost influence over the last 20 years. The most important role of the Council was the passing of the budget. Since the higher education revolution, the government distributes a grant based on input criteria like the number of employees, students and programmes. The Council is left disempowered and with no actual influence. The remaining tasks of approving new programmes and colleges are tied to sufficient funding. Therefore, many decisions of the University Council do not lead to their implementation. This is one of the reasons why the Council of Upper Nile University had not met within a year at the time of research. Another problem mentioned by respondents was the disinterest of ex-officio members, such as state commissioners and ministers who would send representatives or do not attend meetings at all. The meetings themselves were very costly because members expected their travel and lodging to be reimbursed by the university. At the University of Bahr el Ghazal, the University Council had not been convened for three years. When asked why, one member of the university leadership answered: "Oh, the Council is so redundant!" It turned out that due to tensions between the leadership of the university and the University Council, no meetings had been convened. Thus, for three years all the Council's tasks were fulfilled by the senate and administrative departments. While the Council of the University of Juba meets regularly, its directives seem to be ignored by the administration of the university. In one case, the council issued a directive to stop the construction of new buildings on the campus in Alkadaro in the suburbs of Khartoum in order to speed up the relocation process to the South. The university administration and the Deans' Board, however, ignored this directive and continued planning and constructing new buildings on the compound.

   In conclusion, universities in Sudan are modelled after the civic university – what Scott called balanced institutions – where laymen and academic staff are both represented in the governing bodies, specifically in the University Council (Scott 2001:136), which is responsible for the institutional policy, the approval of new faculties and programmes, and the approval of the yearly budget. During

colonialism, politicians and representatives of the colonial government were members of the council. In the course of the higher education revolution, the membership of the University Council was expanded to 40 people. The 20 internal members consist of the executive team, a selection of deans, members of academic and non-academic staff and the student union. The 20 external members in the aftermath of the revolution were national and local politicians as well as police officers and representatives of the military. With the beginning of the peace process the composition of the external members partly changed. These days external members are national and local government ministers, private businessmen connected to the regime and regional academics. The chairman of the council is usually a politician. Due to the significant decrease in public funding, the role of the University Council has been diminished. Since the higher education revolution, one of the roles of external actors in University Councils is to raise funds from the private sector and to attract donors. The chairmen of all three University Councils are politically well connected and nationally known individuals. But the institution of the Council in Sudan was rendered powerless by the funding reforms of 1990. While all members of staff – academic, administrative, menial – and students are represented in a Council, the group of external members that are to represent societal stakeholders is dominated by politicians, elder statesmen and businessmen. Women are underrepresented. The case of the University of Bahr el Ghazal shows that the Council is easily replaceable.

5.1.2   The Vice-Chancellor

The vice-chancellor has a very powerful position in Sudanese higher education. He is a member of the National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research and a member of all of his university's governing bodies from the University Council to the Deans' Board. In the Council, the vice-chancellor can take advantage of the external members' lack of insight into the inner workings of a university, and bolster his power within the Council. This may lead to situations where the Council only rubber stamps decisions made by the vice-chancellor and his executive team. The vice-chancellor can also dominate the decision-making process within the university. He is not perceived as a *primus inter pares* by deans and professors:

> 110208-4unu: So I always ask the vice-chancellor, this is just the I (??), as a dean. I come to the, the vice-chancellor, I fall under the vice-chancellor's order, If I want anything then I will write to the vice-chancellor and then he will pass it down to the relevant departments, where this thing can be pursued.

The vice-chancellor is perceived to be a problem-solver who will either engage the administration or convene a committee, which he then chairs, to solve problems. He advises the chairman of the University Council with respect to the appointment of deans and high ranking administrative staff.

> 110208-4unu: Well, it is the vice-chancellor; it is the vice-chancellor that assigns. The whole administration is under the authority of the vice-chancellor. He assigns or he selects the team that will work with him. So it is his, it is not elected within the colleges. I don't know, it used somewhere, sometimes, but it is not existing now.

In 2008, all of the vice-chancellors of the Southern universities originated from the respective Southern regions, i.e. the vice-chancellor of the University of Juba belongs to an ethnic group settling in Greater Equatoria, the vice-chancellor of the University of Upper Nile originates from the Upper Nile region and the vice-chancellor of the University of Bahr el Ghazal originates from Bahr el Ghazal. This ethnically-based recruitment can also be seen in other high ranking positions within the universities. The majority of deans and administrators are connected to the original location of the university by tribe. In the case of the University of Juba, the vice-chancellor was the first Southerner in that position. Due to the nature of the conflict between North and South, which is partly based on religion and ethnicity, the appointment of the new vice-chancellor was seen as a triumph within the community of Southern scholars. The vice-chancellor himself acknowledges the politicisation and ethnicisation of the appointment process since the higher education revolution.

> 090408-9uj: There is a national body called the council for higher education […], but because then the appointment of VCs became much more political, you know, it became political so that these institutions were controlled by people who were of the party line and they told the party lines and so on. So the position of the VC was very much politicised then, you see, it was only those who, who were of the right, who got in. Like for instance, this maybe, may have been my third or fourth competition of wanting, of competing for the VC's position. I would be nominated from various levels and so on and then I would be eliminated at the level somewhere because of political considerations, you see.

This quote also shows that especially after the higher education revolution, the vice-chancellor was a political appointee who implemented the new government policy. To this day the vice-chancellor can act with discretion.

> 040608-1uc: […], the vice-chancellor has got, ya'ni, what you can call, many powers. He is, his powers are very many and very very strong in the university, the vice-chancellor, by virtue of the act. He heads all committees. If he comes to the faculty

of agriculture, he heads the faculty board, if he comes, if he doesn't, so it is headed by the dean, […] He chairs the senate, he chairs the promotions committee, he chairs the appointment committee for staff, for the academic staff, not for the administrative, that is done by the principal basically. But he's, I can say he is a very powerful individual by virtue of the powers invested in him by the act. He can even, he can even dismiss a staff member on what we call grave misconduct. If the vice-chancellor, some staff member has committed a grave misconduct, grave, then he can fire him immediately, but he has to report to the council, […].

The three vice-chancellors use their power to varying degrees. The vice-chancellor of the University of Juba is very active in networking and establishing new contacts and international collaborations for his university within the African continent and with Western partners. He also forged contacts with the Chinese government as a partner in the rehabilitation of the university's campus in the South. While the university was still residing in Khartoum, he had established his office in Juba and received governmental delegations to draw attention to the university's plight. New projects were mainly developed between two long-time senior researchers of the university assisted by the executive director of the vice-chancellor's office. Respondents at the University of Juba pointed out the contrasts between the general governance of the country and governance patterns of the institution:

> 270508-11uj: a vice-chancellor is like a supervisor of all the colleges and academic departments and so on, […].

Respondents at Upper Nile University pointed out their hierarchical relationship with the vice-chancellor and his role as a government appointee.

> 230108-1unu: The VC in the Sudan is a politician. He is appointed by the president of the state. So sometimes the decisions have some political eer connotation. And and and that may not rhyme with regulations.

The vice-chancellor himself was rather elusive, agreed to participate in an interview several times, but cancelled each time.

The vice-chancellor of the University of Bahr el Ghazal, however, ran the university like a chief executive officer. This conclusion is based on his self-presentation, the perspective of his colleagues within the university and direct observation. During my research, it became evident that he believed in the absolute control and planning of an organisation. Information was closely guarded and interviews with academic staff were only possible after a short discussion with the vice-chancellor and justification for each interview. He often concluded

that he could answer all questions and that there was no need to talk to anyone else. At the same time, interviewees tended to enquire whether I had the vice-chancellor's permission to be on the premises or talk to staff. During five months of direct observation, I found out that even minor personnel issues like the recruitment or secondment of staff to the campus in Wau required a personal interview with the vice-chancellor and his approval. Comments of academic staff on the role and the power of the vice-chancellor were varied. One respondent appeared to change the subject of the discussion and elaborated on dictatorial regimes in Africa in general while another credited the vice-chancellor with veto powers in collegial bodies. In conclusion, based on the perspectives of academic staff, personal interaction and direct observation, the vice-chancellor of the University of Bahr el Ghazal is personally micro-managing administrative and academic affairs.

In summary, all the vice-chancellors dispose of the same power, but use it differently. While the vice-chancellor of the University of Juba is internally viewed as a supervisor who uses his position to connect the university with external actors like national and international private and public research partners and donors, the vice-chancellor of Upper Nile University is viewed as a politician connected to the government. The vice-chancellor of the University of Bahr el Ghazal is a personal ruler who exclusively focuses on internal matters. Due to the lack of financial resources, the main task of all three vice-chancellors' is problem-solving. They meet regularly and join forces to advocate for their institutions.

5.1.3 Collegial Bodies

The Deans' Board is mainly an administrative body beneath the University Council, although it also deals with academic issues before they are referred to the Senate. This body is not named in the university acts, but in the statutes of the university that are issued by the Council. According to one interviewee, the board was originally intended to convene in emergencies only. Due to the financial crisis of the universities, the Deans' Board has become the body responsible for the daily running of the university. Its members are: vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, principal, dean of students, academic secretary, and all the deans of colleges and directors of centres and the executive director of the vice-chancellor's office.

The highest body concerning academic issues is the University Senate. It meets at least four times per year, discusses new developments in the colleges and passes the results of final examinations of all the colleges. The members are:

vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellor, principal, all professors of the university, dean of libraries, dean of students, deans of all colleges, directors of institutes and centres of the university, deputy deans of all colleges, heads of departments and centres and the secretary for academic affairs. The remaining levels of authority are faculty/college boards, in which all the heads of departments and professors are members, and department boards. The College Board meets monthly or bi-monthly. They decide on the calendar and the examinations.

Academics dominate or are represented in every decision-making body within the university. All teaching staff are members of the college board, all professors are members of the senate, which then delegates members to the University Council. Academic staff also form the leadership of the administration, i.e. besides the vice-chancellor and the deputy vice-chancellor, the principal, the secretary for academic affairs, the dean of students and the dean of the library are faculty members temporarily appointed to their positions. Outside the university, professors are members of the specialised committees of the National Council for Higher Education. These committees are tasked with evaluating and approving new academic programmes and faculties at universities. The wider council, however, is dominated by politicians. While academics are autonomous in their decision-making, they may not question the overall philosophy and value system of the government and its grip on teaching and research. When asked about the academics' role in the National Council for Higher Education, one principal answered:

> 230108-1unu: Of course ye nobody, nobody has influence. If I go, I go as a government employee, ok and you know what I mean [mh] as a government employee of sometimes you are bound to obey the minister, hm? [hm] As a government employee, we can discuss issues here and we pass a resolution. That resolution in the end may not come up, may not be implemented cause the government does not like it, ok? You know what it means to be a employee of the government. [hm] Here if I go as a member of committee, unless I lobby to push an idea, otherwise you are one, you have no effect at all, [hm] you have no Effect at all. So it depends on the weight of the individual, huh, but not the weight of the institution, yeah. If I am a person of influence, especially in the party of the government [hm] uh, maybe things can go well with me. But if I'm not, completely er you just cry very far away at nobody. [ha] You have no influence at all yea.

This quote shows that the bodies of academic self-organisation are intact and capable of decision-making, but their influence is contained by the minister of higher education. Since the governance of teaching and research is thereby restricted, the main field of academic self-governance is therefore the regulation of examinations. Academics are also represented in the newly developed working

group on higher education by the Government of Southern Sudan. In conjunction with international actors and bureaucrats they advise the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology on higher education policy.

5.2 External

The examined universities are located in an area affected by poverty and the aftermath of a long civil war in a country governed by an authoritarian regime. The outside actors I focus on are therefore the state, its multiple agencies, representatives of the society impacted by the civil war, and international actors like organisations and partner universities whose involvement in the country is connected to post-conflict reconstruction efforts in Sudan. In the following, I will present each of the actors, their relationship with and influence on higher education institutions.

5.2.1 The State

Since 1989, Sudan is governed by a military Islamist regime under one party rule. The republic of Sudan is *de iure* a federal state with decentralised responsibilities. *De facto* the country is governed in an authoritarian fashion: governors in the 26 provinces are appointed and the state parliaments are powerless (Rittgerott 2005). This situation shortly changed after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, when the ruling National Congress Party formed a coalition government with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement to establish the Government of National Unity (GoNU) and the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS). The interim period turned into a political transition without a change of power (cf. Öhm 2006, Kameir 2007). The majority of mid- and high level politicians and bureaucrats are still affiliated with the National Congress Party. As mentioned in chapter 3, during the reign of the National Congress Party under the leadership of Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir, the relationship between the state and universities changed dramatically. First of all, the higher education revolution started an era of expansion and politicisation of higher education: universities – as prior to them primary and secondary schools – were used as a tool to homogenise the multi-ethnic and multi-religious society according to the values of Arabism and Islamism. Then in the peace agreement of 2005, higher education was defined as a concurrent power of the national, regional and state governments. But the national government and its agencies are still the most important stakeholders for universities in Southern Sudan.

The Presidency

According to the law, the president of the republic is the chancellor of all Suda-
nese universities (El Tom 2003:565). He appoints the chairman of the University
Council and the vice-chancellor, the candidates are recommended by the minister
of higher education and scientific research. The first vice-president, who since
the peace agreement is at the same time the president of Southern Sudan, is the
chancellor of higher education in Sudan. All universities are established by a
presidential decree. The president of the republic can intervene with decrees
concerning the establishment of a university, its location, tuition fees and other
issues, but not all presidential decrees are always implemented. For example, the
president issued a number of decrees that seemed to favour students from mar-
ginalised communities. It was decreed that the relocation of Southern universities
to their original locations must be completed by 2009, but it remained unclear
which sanctions were to be expected in case of non-execution. Furthermore, the
provision of sufficient funds for the relocation was decreed. It then turned out
that additional funds could not be provided at that stage of the year. In another
case, tuition fees for students from war-torn areas, namely Dar Fur and Southern
Sudan, were to be financed by the government. While universities did not charge
tuition fees from the two groups, the government never made good on its prom-
ise to pay the fees. This created a financial crisis for the institutions frequented
most by students from marginalised regions.

The role of the presidency in higher education is also visualised in universi-
ties' spaces and publications. The academic calendar of 1999/2000 of the Uni-
versity of Bahr el Ghazal (Gami'a Bahr el Ghazal, Dalil al-Gami'a 1999/2000)
shows on its third page, after the arms and motto of the university and the uni-
versity addresses, a portrait of the president, followed on the next page by a por-
trait of the first vice-president. After pages with general information about the
university administration and the members of the University Council follows a
portrait of the minister for higher education, followed by a portrait of the chair-
man of the University Council. The University of Juba Calendar 2000-2002 has
on the inside page of the cover a portrait of the president of the republic, fol-
lowed after the table of contents by a portrait of the minister for higher education
and scientific research, a portrait and a resume of the vice-chancellor and an
image of the chancellor and the vice-chancellor during a graduation ceremony.
The University of Juba Calendar 2006-2007 has on the inside page of the cover a
portrait of the president which is followed, after some introductory information
about the university administration, the members of the council and an explana-
tion of the arms and motto, by a photo of the historic signing of the peace agree-
ment in Naivasha, Kenya with the first vice-president, the president of the Re-

public of Kenya, John Garang, the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and other dignitaries. Portraits of the president also adorn the offices of the vice-chancellors. But the prominent role of the president in higher education is not only visual and ceremonial. This can be clearly shown using the example of the establishment of the University of Rumbek in the Southern state of Lakes. This state belongs to the region of Bahr el Ghazal. According to the mission and the organisational goals of the University of Bahr el Ghazal, one of its objectives is to support the development of the Sudan in general and the region of Bahr el Ghazal in particular. As mentioned in section 4.1.3, the university was originally planned as a multi-campus institution in order to cater to the whole region. This regional strategy was hampered by the lack of funding and proper facilities and pre-empted by the president's decision to establish a new university in Rumbek. When asked about the establishment of the new university, respondents from the University of Bahr el Ghazal had this to say:

> 070508-4ubg: You know in other, in other countries in the world there is a clear division between politics and academic line. We have not yet fully established the three given universities in terms of staff, terms of staff training, in terms of staff eh, salaries. So the University of Rumbek came out as a donation from his Excellency field Marshall Omar al-Bashir. When he visited Rumbek he was eh, welcomed in Rumbek and on his own he declared that that state must be given a university. And things come in a political line normally do not have any resistance, because the president eh, decreed the establishment of the university.

This response shows one of the aspects of state-university relationships in Sudan, i.e. the blurring of the line between bureaucratic and political coordination and the politicisation of decision-making in higher education. Furthermore, the establishment of the university is not presented as based on a strategic or policy decision, but as a "donation", a gift to express gratitude for the hospitality received. The respondent also emphasises the independent decision-making of the president: "and on his own he declared that that state must have a university". Another respondent from the University of Bahr el Ghazal said:

> 060208-2ubg: That is a political university. Hahahah. I remember a year ago or more, the president, president Bashir visited Rumbek. He went to Rumbek, he was received very warmly, he promised people of Rumbek that he was going to open a University of Rumbek, a University of Rumbek. This was not something planned here in the ministry of higher education. There was no plan for this, for a university.

Again, the respondent refers to the political nature of the decision, the independence of the president – "this was not something planned here in the ministry" – and the story of hospitality and reciprocity.

According to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), higher education is a concurrent power of the national, the regional and the state governments. Since the establishment of the university was decreed after the CPA, cooperation among representatives from the Government of National Unity, the Government of Southern Sudan and the state government of Lakes could be expected. But as the response from an official of the Government of Southern Sudan shows, the decentralisation of powers in the education sector did not influence the decision:

> 110408-5gov: Well, we are not involved in any way. It is Government of National Unity. I remember it was in 2006 or 2007, I am not sure. When the president went to Rumbek on an official visit, it was 2006. Then he decided to give, when he was given a warm reception by the citizens of Rumbek, he decided to give them a university. So anything done by the president is considered to be national, so we assume that it is the office of the president of the republic to release the budget for the establishment of the University of Rumbek.

Again, the respondent refers to the story of the president's visit to Rumbek. This passage also shows that despite the CPA, which was to facilitate the decentralisation of power, the president could still – according to the respondent's perception – single-handedly and spontaneously decide on the establishment of a university in the semi-autonomous region of Southern Sudan without consulting the local governments.

What all of these responses have in common is the story of the president's visit to Rumbek, which, taking into account the minutes of informal discussions with other staff members, was the following: the president for the first time visited Rumbek, which was a stronghold of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement.[50] He was received "very warmly", which he did not expect and – according to the interviewees – moved by this positive reception he spontaneously decided to decree a university.

The same three elements appear in all of the stories told about the establishment of the University of Rumbek: the hospitality of the local population although they had suffered under the war led by the president, the university as a "thank you" gift and, overall, the spontaneous and autonomous nature of the president's decision-making, or as another respondent from one of the other two universities remarked on the same topic:

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[50] According to another story, he had visited the town of Juba first that same day and was booed.

0904089uj: Well, well, you know, unfortunately in this country politicians have this tendency of when they, of getting excited and making verbal declarations which have no substance. Eh, in the case of Rumbek, it was the president who made this declaration that he was going to, he was creating a university for Rumbek. And he was creating a university called Rumbek University of Rumbek or Rumbek University and then maybe equally the vice-president felt that he would not be outdone. So he went to Aweil and also declared one there.

In the case of the establishment of Rumbek University, the spontaneous declaration during the visit to Rumbek had consequences[51] as presented by a government official in charge of the committee to establish it:

250208-3gov: After the decree, the president directed the minister to initiate the process of establishing. So the minister was empowered by the president to do all what it needed to set up the, the university. So the minister in his capacity and based on the powers given to him by the president appointed the, the committee of which I am the secretary for it. So, and that committee was given the responsibility to do all the process.

In summary, as a chancellor of all universities in Sudan, the president of the republic has more than a ceremonial role. As in the case of the University of Rumbek, his actions are widely perceived as spontaneous and driven by emotions instead of policy beliefs. In the case at hand, he declared intentions and then enlisted the minister of higher education to implement his promise. While academics, bureaucrats and politicians have a role in determining the profile, the curriculum and the structure of the university, the decision to establish a university was already made and not negotiable. At the same time, this example shows that universities are viewed as prestigious institutions that are either used to reward or persuade part of the population.

The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

The Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research is divided into three branches. The National Council for Higher Education chaired by the minister, the general administration and the units affiliated to the minister.

National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research: The national council is a policy body comprising the vice-chancellors of all Sudanese

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[51] During field research, the preparation of the university was underway, colleges and the curriculum were developed and a vice-chancellor was appointed. The university was opened in 2010 as a joint effort of GoNU and GoSS.

universities, whether public or private, politicians and individuals well versed in Sudanese higher education. The organisational chart shows that it is part of the ministry. The chairman of the national council is the minister of higher education and scientific research. The authority and the membership of the council, which was a mere coordinating body before the higher education revolution, were expanded (Africa Watch 1992:3). There are two members from each of the 34 universities, nine cabinet ministers, five national experts of higher education and three representatives of private colleges. The Council has seven permanent committees mirroring the departments of the general administration, i.e. committees for private and foreign higher education, admission and foreign relations, financing higher education, foreign relations, distance education[52], ta'sil and scientific research and ten specialised committees for the different disciplinary groups of engineering and technical studies, educational studies, agricultural, veterinary and natural resource studies, economic studies, humanitarian studies, medical and health studies, basic sciences, legal studies and computer studies. The specialised committees are responsible for evaluating proposals for new colleges and academic programmes, for evaluating proposals for the establishment of universities and for evaluating and accrediting their academic programmes. The committees are also responsible for reviewing proposals for the national fund for research. Members of the specialised committees are professors of all Sudanese universities. The specialised committees are central in regulating and reviewing teaching and research content in already existing and new higher education institutions. The interviews with staff of the Southern universities showed that the specialised committees are involved in the accreditation and approval of colleges.

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[52] A short description of the ministry obtained during field research omits the committee for distance education, but names the planning committee among the seven permanent committees. A stylised organisational chart of the ministry in El Tom (2006) also includes the National Students' Welfare Fund as part of the affiliated units.

Figure 2: Organisational Chart – MoHESR
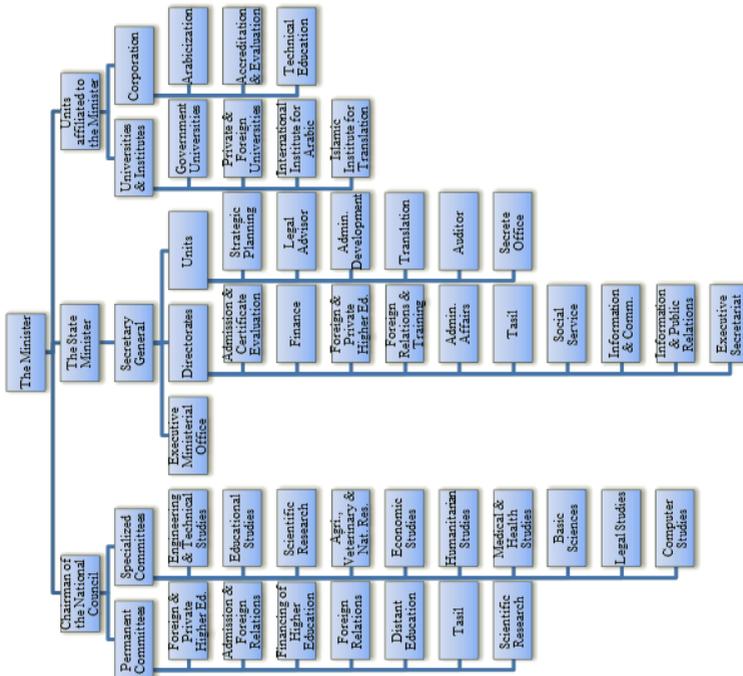
290108-2unu: Now when the university started functioning (mobile ringing) there was a recommendation in 2002, I mean 2001, that nothing called college of natural resources, according to the committee, scientific committee met by the higher education er minister of higher education. They said either you name yourself as college of agriculture or give the name, or give other inputs to make it as natural resources, because you have not taken geology into consideration, you were not taking environment into consideration and all this. [...] For example, there is a committee for agriculture and veterinary, scientific committee for agriculture science and veterinary, scientific committee for engineering, scientific committee for arts and and so forth. So that scientific committ/ I mean the committee is the one responsible about its branches of the univers/ er of the faculties (mobile ringing) within the university. And they are the one to advise whether people are going on well or not. If you are not going well then they interfere and er try to advise you (mobile ringing) to go in the path which the policy and the government wants people to go with. And therefore we were advised that you either break down or else change the name.

This passage shows that the national council can influence the profile of a college in a university. In the case at hand, the university was forced to change the disciplinary make-up of the college, because it did not conform to certain formal or informal rules about the subjects summarised under the term "natural resources". While the respondent talks about advice and recommendations that were given, it becomes clear that the implementation of the suggestions of the scientific committee was not optional[53]. In the case of Bahr el Ghazal University, not all the colleges that were planned during the establishment process received approval from the specialised committees.

070508-4ubg: It was our intention to bring eh, the colleges which have been benefited by the objectives of the university, of course, agriculture in the south is a backbone of everything. So we proposed as a university administration we proposed these colleges. And we presented them to the minister, ministry of higher education science, science and technology. Eh, we proposed these colleges and they approved engineering for establishment, they approved agriculture for establishment and the computer science information and technology. Eh, we present them the request and then they have to approve in the ministry. There is a committee in the ministry of higher education and scientific research which looks and studies eh, the requirements submitted by the various universities in the Sudan. So if they found the objectives of your request that can fulfil the establishment then they have to approve. And the committee itself has to visit the site. The college of agriculture was withheld because of lack of laboratories. So we are now looking forward to establish laboratories before we start the college of agriculture and forestry.

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[53] Concerning recommendations by the chancellor and other political representatives in Kenya, Omari (1994) states: "During graduations, they gave advice and instructions to the University on how to behave, bearing in mind that in African elder traditions, an advice is an order."

Here, the establishment of one college was "withheld" due to the lack of facilities. In this passage, as in other interviews, it becomes evident that during the approval process, the members of the committee do not only review the curriculum, but also visit the campus of each university and their lecture halls, laboratories and other facilities and either approve or disapprove the establishment or the further operation of colleges and study programmes. This stands in stark contrast to the position held by representatives of the ministry for higher education and scientific research:

> 190208-1gov: We have a problem here, because each university is established according to its act. And they have their own councils, their own governing bodies, they have the council of the university, they have their senate, they have the council of the, faculty council, they have the. So, so, the universities they act according to their own governing bodies. So you cannot force anything upon them unless it is adopted by the council. We have a problem here with the universities, we cannot impose anything on them. The only thing that we impose on the universities is admission. They cannot admit any student, unless through the admission committee or the directorate of students admission committee. This is the... And they cannot open a faculty or a new programme without the approval of the.. Before, before two or three years they have the right to establish new faculties without turning to the national council. This is written in the act, university act, there is a clause that the university has the right to. So the national council say that, ok if you have the right to establish any faculty or new programme, we have the right to admit students. So if you not get our approval, we will not admit students to these new programmes.

This response does not only contradict the information provided by interviews, but also by higher education studies on Sudan and specifically the higher education revolution as well as university acts. The academic freedom of universities is confined by the general goals of the country and must not stand in conflict with Islamic values (see the interview excerpts below).

The general administration of the ministry under the authority of the state minister and the secretary general is an executive body to the national council for higher education. It has eleven general directorates, e.g., for admission and certificates evaluation, finance, foreign and private higher education, foreign relations and training, administrative affairs, ta'sil, social services, information and communication, information and public relations, and an executive secretariat. The directorates partly correspond to the permanent committees of the national council. In addition, there are six units for administrative and legal affairs under the direct authority of the secretary general of the ministry, i.e. strategic planning unit, legal advisor, administrative development unit, translation unit, auditor and secretary office.

The units affiliated to the minister are universities and institutes, i.e. government (sic) universities, private and foreign universities and colleges, Khartoum International Institute and the Islamic Institute for Translation, and corporations, i.e. High Corporation for Arabicization, High Corporation of Accreditation and Evaluation and the Technical Education Corporation.[54] Thus, according to the organisational chart, universities are part of the ministry and under the direct authority of the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research. The three branches of the ministry are only connected through the minister and they all have sections for the implementation of the programme "Authentication of Knowledge" ta'sil. This still had an impact on universities in the South after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. In the excerpt below, a respondent explains why the Government of Southern Sudan needs to establish an independent council for higher education in the South:

> 070508-4ubg: I would like to give you some example of, eh, why we, we in the South, we need the curriculum to be revised and why we need the higher education to be established in the South. We find in the college of veterinary eh, the studies for piggery production, the pigs or the swine, are not included in the curriculum of veterinary, because pigs in the real sense are against eh, Islam is against rearing of pigs. So, we need them, we are Africans, we are Africans, we need pigs, we have wild pigs and if the system is going to be corrected then we'll have to come in, we'll have to introduce in the teaching of piggery, eh, breeding of pigs which we need in the South. And people in the South, they, they, they like pigs. These are some of the things that are differing and there are many things.

So the committees and directorates for Ta'sil – Authentication of Knowledge – ensure that the content of the courses offered in all universities conforms to Islamic values. But since ethnic groups in the South are in their majority not Muslim and do not identify with the values associated with the programme "Authentication of Knowledge", its enforcement has a particular impact on universities in the South.

> I: Because you mentioned that the curriculum in some subjects is, it's not negotiable. Is it a general problem?
> 290308-5unu: It is a general problem. All universities, which, which fall under the ministry of higher education and and scientific research. I, I only understand that the dean of, of faculty of law in Juba who happened to amend, amend some curriculum

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[54] An information leaflet of the ministry of higher education and scientific research obtained during field research and a stylised organisational chart of el Tom (2007) also shows the National Student Welfare Fund (see section 4.6) as part of the affiliated units. This does not correspond to the organisational chart I received during field work.

in his faculty. He omitted shari'a. So I think now he is not in a good eh, atmosphere, yeah, but he did it, yeah.

The Ministry of Finance

While there is a permanent committee of Financing Higher Education and a General Directorate of Finance in the ministry of higher education, funding decisions are only made in negotiations with the Ministry of Finance as pointed out in the following excerpt of an interview with an official of the Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research:

> 190208-1gov: We, we get a grant from the ministry of finance and in the finance committee they distribute this grant between the universities, so as to cover all the, we have in the finance we have three chapters, one for salaries, one for current expenditure, one for capital expenditure. We give the grant, we distribute this grant to the universities and they are free to use this grant. The only restrictions for that we we determine the salaries, how much according to the number of staff in this universities, they work it out from this ground we have say this amount for salaries, in total, this in total for salaries, and this amount for the current expenditure and for capital expenditure and it is up to them to, to use this. To this, they make their own revenue, they add their own resources to this grant and they, and they have their own budget.

Universities receive funding according to three chapters: salaries, recurrent expenditure and capital expenditure. The different departments and colleges in the university report on their budget needs, the total budget is then discussed and decided on by the University Council. Each university submits its budget to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. The ministry then negotiates with the ministry of finance which decides on the amount granted. After the decision is made, the ministry of higher education receives a grant and the Committee of Financing Higher Education allocates the grant according to the number of posts and the residual amount according to the number of faculties and students. This funding mechanism incentivises the proliferation of faculties at universities. When the specialised committee of Agricultural, Veterinary and Natural Resources recommended that the make-up of the University's of Upper Nile faculty of natural resources had to be changed, the university opted for dividing the faculty into three.

> 290108-2unu: So they told us that, either you break down or (mobile ringing) amalgamate all this and change the name into agriculture, because it was it was s er a college of natural resources, but having three schools, that is the school of agriculture,

school of animal production and school of forestry. Now when we came here, as you know Sudan, situation of Sudan is a little bit difficult, people were hunting for money, we opt for getting more money, more finance rather than amalgamating it, because if we put it as one college we will not benefit from the grant given to us. We break them into three colleges and they were upgraded into three colleges.

The scarcity of funding affects the entire higher education system as the following table by El Tom (2006) on the public share of education expenditure since independence shows.

Table 13: Share of Public Expenditure (%), MoE 1956 - 2002

Year	Share of the Ministry of Education of public current expenditure (%)
1956/57	13.3
1958/59	15.2
1960/61	15.7
1962/63	17.9
1964/65	15.4
1967/68	17.4
1970/71	14.3
1985/86	15.0
1987/88	12.4
1988/89	6.7
1989/90	4.5
1991/92	1.7
1998/99	7.7
2000/01	6.4
2001/2002	6.9*

From El Tom (2006:51, table 3.15)

The table shows that public expenditure rose from 1956 to 1962 from 13.3% to 17.9%. During Sudan's financial crisis in the eighties, it declined to 4.5% in 1989 and continued to decline after the Islamist coup of June 1989 to 1.7% in 1991/1992. Since then, public expenditure fluctuates between 6 and 7%.[55]

Public funding for higher education institutions is scarce and its provision unreliable. The ministry of higher education points out in its own report that "Funding of chapters II and III was 29% and 6.1% of the approved budget, respectively" (cited in El Tom 2006:49). This means that universities cannot rely on receiving a full public grant that covers their staff salaries.

In addition to unreliable and scarce provision of funding, universities in the South are vulnerable to political conflict. In the past years, universities in Southern Sudan were not part of the budget of the nation and received their public grant with a three-month delay. The reason for the delay, which exclusively affected universities in the South, was explained with a liberal interpretation of the peace agreement by the national government. As one official of the Southern Sudanese ministry of education pointed out:

> 110408-5gov: The Government of National Unity, eh, what they used to do from 2005 up to 2007, they used to take money from the budget of the South before it is delivered to us here and pay the three universities. This continued up to last year in July, when we discovered it and we read the (??), and why was it like that. The Government of National Unity is for all of us and it should continue supporting these national universities until we sit down and divide the roles and responsibility, but that one has not taken place.

In order to cope with the arbitrariness of the national government and the perception of deliberate neglect, institutional leadership approached Southern Sudanese bureaucrats.

> 290308-5unu: Yeah, yeah, yeah, the, the , the budget that is chapter one comes from the ministry of finance central GoNU and eh, right away when the three, when the other universities received their money and the three universities, Southern universities, they went, their representatives went to the ministry of higher education. They said there is no budget for that. It was not even, it was not approved, eh, with the budget, with the, with the, with the annual budget of the country. So they went to the ministry. I think they met the minister of state minister of finance. That is Dr. Lual Deng who is a Southerner. So he will be with the new minister they work together so they're broing, eh, borro, sorry they are borrowing eh, ya'ni, some money just to,

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[55] According to Hawi (2006:8) funding declined from 12.6% of public expenditure in 1989/1990 to 4.3% in 2003/2004. Ramadan (2007:7) cites the World Bank CEM-Sudan report from 2003 with a percentage share of education of the public budget of 10% and the percentage of higher education in the education budget of 29%.

to, to, to provide salaries. Maybe during this they are trying to see how possible, or where they can pay for these universities.

Another problem that universities in the South faced were transportation costs to and from the campuses in the South. Universities in the South received additional funding for transporting staff and students and financial incentives for academic staff to ensure their operation in the midst of civil war. This informal agreement was based on negotiations with individual bureaucrats and became obsolete once there was a change of personnel as the following excerpt shows.

> 070508-4ubg: Of recent when we wanted to transport back the students to their localities ehm, we failed to get m, funding from the ministry of higher, ministry of finance, the Government of National Unity. Eh, the newly appointed minister who was the minister of mining and energy eh, Dr. Awad al-Gast eh, he told the minister of higher education that: How is it possible that you people are transporting students only of Bahr el Ghazal University meanwhile the rest of the universities in the Sudan, their students, their students are not being transported.

The particular funding situation of Southern universities means that aside from the general process, institutional leaders of the universities approached either the minister of higher education, the vice-president of the republic or other Southern politicians in order to receive additional funding.

> 190208-1gov: He [the Vice-Chancellor] submits to the minister a proposal for asking for more money. Only the minister will decide. He decides to give them more money or we can, the minister will take this proposal to the minister of finance. Sometimes they [universities] go to the, to the president or vice-president to get approval for extra money, so as to get it from the minister of finance. Especially for this transferring the university to the South, they, they, they submit because of, for cost to transfer this, they submit it to the president or vice-president, who will then approve it to and submit it to the ministry of finance so that you can get money from the ministry of finance or extra???. Because here in the ministry, we have no resources.

Again, this excerpt shows the level of involvement of the top leadership of the state in higher education. Universities receive insufficient funding and as a result have to approach the office of the presidency in order to ensure their liquidity. The perception of academic staff of the universities' funding relationship with the government is apparent and best summed up in the following quote.

> 130308-expert: And I know most of the universities in Sudan here get all their money for salaries and development from the government. Because they are government

supported, they are not private. They are not privatised actually, they are not inde-
pendent. They are just like any ministry, any ministry in the country.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Government of
Southern Sudan has directorates for administration & finance, planning & budg-
eting, general education, science, technology & research, quality promotion &
innovation, gender equity & social change, an examination council and finally a
directorate for higher and tertiary education (GoSS/MoEST 2008:3). Within this
directorate are departments for higher education, science and technology and
research and innovation, each with a director and deputy director but no addi-
tional staff. The directorate is responsible for managing the admission of return-
ee students to the universities. Furthermore, they raise financial means for schol-
arships and organise the meetings for the working group of higher education.
According to the ministry's policy framework, its vision is "to provide education
for all" which apparently is based on the global "Education for All" movement
initiated by UNESCO.[56] The ministry's mission statement also mentions "educa-
tion that is relevant and based on the needs of the people, to enable them to be
responsible and productive citizens". Among its strategies of implementation, the
ministry lists the revitalisation of tertiary education. Later on in the document a
longer section is dedicated to the topic of tertiary and higher education, where
the current state of affairs and the challenges with respect to the relocation and
rehabilitation of the universities and future higher education policy and the min-
istry's role is discussed (GoSS/MoEST 2008). In general, the language used in
the framework points to the norms and values espoused and disseminated by
international organisations and shows their influence during the reconstruction
and state-building process in Southern Sudan (see section 5.2.3). During field
research, I observed that on any given day numbers of representatives of interna-
tional organisations moved through the hallways of the ministry, sometimes even
sharing offices with government officials as permanent advisors. The ministry
cooperates with three types of partners to implement the policies made by the
government: UN-agencies and the World Bank, international non-governmental
organisations and churches. UNICEF whose main focus is children until the age
of 18 and therefore primary and secondary education is the lead partner of the
Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

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[56]   http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-
all/

The framework also makes mention of the close working relationship between the federal ministry and the ministry in Southern Sudan, which contradicts the information obtained in interviews with officials from both ministries as shown in the following passages.

> I: Does this ministry then work together with the, with the other education ministries? [What?] With the ministry of education, science and technology of the Southern Sudan? Do you communicate?
> 200208-2gov: Almost we, the higher education is something, what I can say, is not regional. The higher education is something national.
> I: So it's only the ...
> G: It's a national power, the, we are responsible for the ministry, for the, for the education, higher education for whole the Sudan. For, it is a national, but the interest of the region also is considered, in this higher education.

In the interviewee's viewpoint, "national" universities are the responsibility of the national ministry. The issue of coordination seems therefore out of the question. A government official of MoEST, on the other hand, has a different perspective on the same issue.

> 110408-5gov: We hope in the future we'll sit down and, and streamline who is doing what, eh, incidentally two ministers are in the government of national unity, run the ministry of education, eh, of higher education and scientific research: one was Dr. Peter Nyok, who was not able to do anything until he was taken out of the office, recently or currently we have Professor George Bureng is the current minister for higher education and scientific research. Again since he took over in December up to now, nothing (??) is surfacing the way of supporting the three universities or how we operate, but I understand that in the next two hours he will be arriving to, to Juba. I don't know what are his plans of coming to Juba, either he is coming for census or he is coming for duty to meet with the officials of the ministry of education, science and technology.

Although tertiary education was defined as a concurrent power in the peace agreement, there had been no institutionalised coordination between the two ministries three years later. The only field where ad-hoc cooperation takes place is the admission of returnee students to Southern universities (see section 4.6.4). Thus, the goals with respect to higher education outlined in the framework are offset by the fact that the ministry has no jurisdiction concerning the existing universities in the South. Academic staff frequently deplored the lack of implementation of the CPA. According to their view, the political situation after the peace agreement is a root cause for increased arbitrariness and financial instability. Interviewees used words like vacuum, no man's powers and dilemma to

describe the situation of the universities which in their point of view was related to the peace agreement. As one interviewee pointed out:

> 290208-2unu: After the CPA, the three universities were put in a dilemma, because in the CPA the CPA is talking about the sharing of powers [...]. Now after the agreement, these things were not again further being translated into by-laws whereby the Government of National Unity to gets its role, government of the South to get its role and government of the states to gets its role. It is a still a frame in the constitution. It has not been translated or further action has not been taken so as to put it whereby everybody to gets its own responsibility for the three stakeholders. This make the transfer of the university very difficult, because who is to do what. It's not defined and that made it very difficult.

Laws

Important laws with respect to higher education are the respective university acts, the Organisation of Higher Education and Scientific Research Act of 1990 and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

The University of Khartoum and each university since were established by an act that defines the role and objectives of the university, its executive personnel, its governing bodies and their members and functions (University of Juba Act 1975, 1995). From independence until today, the University of Khartoum act was amended seven times (Ibrahim 2007). This reflects Sudan's post-colonial history of instability. Democratically elected governments were toppled by military coups in the years 1958, 1969 and 1989. After the coup of 1989, the university acts of all existing universities were amended in 1990 and 1995.

With the new Organisation of Higher Education and Scientific Research Act, the role of the government – and specifically of the presidency of the Republic – was enhanced. The higher education act lists eight goals, the second of them being to "prepare intellectual leaders ... capable of contributing to the renewal (elnihoud) of society and meeting national needs by training (ta'heel) generations believing in their God, adhering to their doctrine (ageeda) and their civilizational heritage and committed to it in their behaviour and service to the country" (cited in El Tom 2006:21). The new Islamist government considered higher education to be Westernised and imperialist (GoS 2005), therefore the revised higher education act prescribed that the content of teaching and research had to be in accordance with Arabic and Islamic values and responsive to social and economic development (El Tom 2006). The subjects: religion (Christian or Muslim), Arabic and English are therefore compulsory in every year and in eve-

ry field of study from the sciences to humanities (cf. University of Juba Calendar 2006-2008).

The *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* led to competing legislations with consequences for personnel and teaching. Academic, administrative staff and workers are public employees and are paid according to the public salary structure with clear regulations concerning minimum requirement and promotions. The new Government of Southern Sudan has, however, developed its own salary structure for public employees. According to several interviewees, this has led to a brain drain of Southern Sudanese academic staff from universities to the Government of Southern Sudan due to better salaries. A comparison of the two salary rosters, however, shows no difference in salaries in North and South. One possible explanation is that former academic staff are offered higher ranking positions and higher benefits in their new working environment. According to the CPA, English and local languages can be used as languages of instruction in the education system and the public sector in general. Southern universities with campuses in Khartoum and Southern Sudan therefore had to comply with both regulations, while English was the language of instruction at the campuses in the South; Arabic continued to be the language of instruction in the North. The competing legislations even affected public holidays. While campuses in the North closed on Fridays and other Islamic holidays, the campuses in the South closed on Sundays and Christian holidays, which made communication between employees in the North and South difficult.

5.2.2 The Local Community

The society in Sudan is multi-ethnic and multi-religious with a population of 39 million. The largest ethnic groups in the North are Arabs (39%) and Nubians (8%), in the East Rasheida und Beja, in the West Beggara (20%) and in the South Dinka (30%). 65% of the population are Muslims, ca. 25% worship local African religions and ca. 10% are Christians[57]. The total population in Southern Sudan is 8.26 million people. 83% percent of the population is rural. 78% of households live from crop farming or animal husbandry (SSCCSE 2009). As mentioned in previous chapters, the universities were established to serve society, and academic and administrative staff are invested in supporting society through teaching and research in order to legitimise their institutions (cf. Meyer & Rowan 1977). As one respondent said:

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[57] http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/diplo/de/Laender/Sudan.html

> 290108-2unu: We are there to work and to serve the local community. And if our curriculum is not confining or conforming the needs of the locals, then we will just be like a fly within the in the in the milk, having nothing.

Furthermore, Southern Sudanese staff at the university identify themselves with the society they are to serve.

> 290108-2unu: [...] We used to get ourselves here as displaced people, as you are seeing now we are hiring, whatever we do here we hire, we hire it. We are not here [Khartoum] as at our own reasons. We are here because of certain reasons which made us not to be there [the South]. And therefore we are here as any other displaced who is in the suburbs of Khartoum. And therefore we are still operating with the mind that we are operating down there we are not operating here in Khartoum. We are just putting ourselves here in safety, the region of safety during the war. That is what we are here and therefore I think there was, there was and there will be no change in our statement, because the still, the environment is that environment. We are still working in Upper Nile.

This excerpt shows that academic staff equate their fate and the fate of the university with the experiences of the general population. Both had to leave the South because of the long civil war and the deterioration of security.

One of the roles of the University Council is to connect the university to the community it is to serve. According to the membership of the council, former and current male politicians as well as businessmen are considered to represent society. The role of direct decision-making in the University Council is negligible due to its disempowerment after the higher education revolution. Since then, the University Council is both a politicised and a powerless body. Since only 27% of adults in Southern Sudan are literate, their involvement in other forms of decision-making is rather limited. But it is the university leadership and academic staff who look for ways to involve the local community as in the relocation of colleges back to the South as the following excerpt shows.

> 190208-5uj: [This is] a decision not only from the college. A decision of the council and also on the demand actually in the South. So when the process started there was general consultation with the staff to see our position and also with the Government of Southern Sudan and the community of Central Equatoria, of Equatoria State. So their first priority was that they wanted college of education to come, college of education and college of community studies.

Here, the respondent explains why the two colleges of education and of community studies and rural development were relocated first. The university admin-

istration chose to consult representatives of the local community and to consider their wishes with respect to the relocation effort.

Members of the universities identify with the local community they originated from and which they are to serve. As mentioned in section 4.5.3, the leadership of the universities is dominated by Southern Sudanese although they form a minority among the staff. This shows that there is a connection based on cultural identity between universities and society, but also between the universities and the state. As mentioned in the previous section, if problems arise due to unpredictable decisions by the government, the university leadership looks for allies of Southern Sudanese background within the government bureaucracy. Cultural identity pervades different sections of society and informs decision-making, but members of society itself are not involved in higher education governance.

5.2.3   The International Community

As international actors in higher education I define multilateral and non-governmental organisations which – due to the civil war – pursued different strategies in North and South and European[58] partner universities that started partnering with universities in the South after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

Multilateral Organisations

International organisations have gained influence in higher education policy due to the lack of resources, infrastructure and capacity in developing countries. The role of development actors in African higher education changed over the last 40 years. After decolonisation from the 1960s to the 1980s national governments and international agencies supported the proliferation of higher education institutions across Africa. This period ended with the fiscal crisis of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa due to financial stagnation caused by a debt crisis, inflation and corruption. This crisis was answered by the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes. The state budgets were cut and the scope of government sharply reduced. At the same time, the World Bank argued with its social rates of return theory (Mingat & Tan 1996, Wright & Rabo 2010) according to which state funding of higher education in low income countries did not harvest enough

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[58] In 2008 the examined universities did not have any partnerships with universities outside of Europe.

social rates of return in contrast to investments in primary education. This approach also triggered a change in ideology among other donors. The structural adjustment programmes and new donor policies led to a sharp decline in government funding for higher education and a shift towards primary education while the number of students still increased. In the 2000s, the World Bank revoked its social rates of return analysis and has since then asserted that higher education in developing countries is indispensable for so-called pro poor economic growth and success in the global knowledge economy (cf. World Bank 2000). Currently, governments are urged to facilitate the development of private higher education, diversify the funding base for institutions, take the labour market into account, alleviate university-enterprise partnerships, and focus on income-generating activities and to introduce more competition in higher education (World Bank 2003). This shows that international development actors are carriers that transmit and spread reform ideas of industrial countries as best practice to developing countries. Therefore, policies in higher education in industrial and developing countries are becoming more and more similar. One example is the already mentioned higher education revolution (see section 3.4), which partly conformed to the abovementioned prescriptions.

In the case of Sudan, the University of Juba's establishment and early development was supported by the Commission of European Communities and benefited from international expertise through staff exchange programmes with industrial countries (University of Juba Calendar 2000-2002:15, 2006-2008).

> 200208-2gov: The finances almost [all] from the government, part of it from the student fees, for example, some of it from the investments of universities, this all constitutes the source of the finance of higher education in Sudan. We have nothing to do with, for example, from long time we don't have any kind of help from outside, because of some kind of boycotting, I don't know, what can I say, but really, there is no help from, from, from foreign countries.

As this excerpt from an interview with an official of the central government shows, international organisations are not involved in supporting higher education institutions anymore. This is clearly connected to the Islamist coup in 1989 which led international governmental organisations to halt their involvement in Sudan (Hawi 2006:10). The situation was different in the rebel-held areas of the South during the civil war where international actors provided humanitarian aid for the civilian population and later on offered health and education services. The hiatus of Western development cooperation only came to an end in 2005 after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. By that time international donors had changed their higher education policies. Since the peace agreement, international, bilateral

and multilateral organisations maintain offices in North Sudan and in South Sudan.

In the present, multilateral organisations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) offer to fund chairs in UNESCO's fields of competence all over the world. In 2006, UNESCO sponsored a chair on peace at the University of Juba. According to the Academic Secretary of the University of Upper Nile, UNESCO also planned to fund a chair on religious coexistence at a future centre for peace studies at the university although this could not be verified. By offering funding for specific fields, UNESCO can influence academic programming at universities in financial crisis, while it offers additional specialisations in sufficiently funded universities in industrial countries.

The World Health Organisation along with the federal ministry of health supported the establishment of a three-year diploma programme in nursing at the University of Upper Nile in order to meet the shortages in medical personnel.

During the transitional period, the majority of development organisations in the South were focussed on infrastructure development, primary education and capacity building (SSCCSE 2009:90). The World Bank was mainly administrating the two Multi-Donor Trust Funds for the North and South. In addition, two education sector projects were approved in 2006, funded by the World Bank and were to be implemented by the local Ministry of Education. The project "Multidonor Trust Fund for Education in Southern Sudan" focussed on primary (50%), secondary (30%) and tertiary education (20%). The programme areas of the project were: expanded access to basic education, improved gender equity, capacity of education managers and secondary and higher education. For the latter, the project document cites the importance of tertiary education for cultural identity and economic development and names as its goal "the repatriation of [these] campuses to their respective locations in the Southern Sudan and reorientation of the curriculum" (World Bank 2005b, Report No. AB2063). The Southern Sudan Multi-Donor Rehabilitation Project focussed mainly on general education and was centred on four components: the delivery of education services, the provision of alternative education, capacity building for the ministry of education and the rehabilitation of school infrastructure. An additional goal of the project was the "re-development of the higher education system including repatriation of the three Southern Sudan universities from Khartoum, reorientation of curriculum, recruitment of faculty, and creating readiness for student enrolment" (World Bank 2006, Report No. AB2065). There is no specific plan concerning the repatriation of the universities in either project document, and an informal interview with the senior operations officer of the Multi-Donor Trust Fund for Southern Sudan showed that the two projects had been delayed and that each project had

not yet reached the phase of higher education rehabilitation. Since the country at the time was governed like a confederation, each with its own World Bank run Multi-Donor Trust Fund, the three universities which were located in both parts of the country were at a disadvantage. When asked about the support offered by the Multi Donor Trust Fund, the principal of one university said:

> 230108-1unu: I mentioned before, that we have no legal link with the GoSS [ok]. Er the multi-donor fund is going to the government of the South. [...] The government of the South has no direct link with the universities, although they have a good will towards these universities, the way of funding the universities through this fund has not been formulated.

As mentioned in section 5.2, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology does not have any jurisdiction with respect to higher education, while at the same time the concurrent powers discussed in the CPA are not implemented. The universities are therefore again caught in the middle. While the goal of the national Multi-Donor Trust Fund is to support marginalised regions in Northern Sudan and the Southern Multi-Donor Trust Fund supports the South, the universities which are national, but partly located in the South, do not seem to qualify for funding from either source.

Joint Coordinating Mechanisms

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is the lead partner of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST) in Southern Sudan. It facilitates a government-sponsored coordinating mechanism called the Education Reconstruction and Development Forum (ERDF), which takes place twice a year. Participants are all the ministers of education of the ten Southern states, representatives from the Government of Southern Sudan, international donors and non-governmental organisations. The function of the ERDF is to be a forum for discussion and to enhance coordination. The two working groups of interest in this case are the thematic Working Group on Higher Education (WGHE) and the Education Budget Sector Working Group (EBSWG). The WGHE started its work in June 2006 and had met three times by April 2008. The group is chaired by the UK-based charity Windle Trust International.[59] The group is a think tank that meets twice a year to advise the ministry in policy development. It issues

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[59]WTI offers primary and secondary education for Southern Sudanese refugees in Kenyan und Ugandan refugee camps and now organises English language courses for teachers and academic staff of universities.

resolutions which are to be implemented by the ministry and which are closely monitored. Its members are representatives of the directorate general for higher and tertiary education of the ministry, experts from the neighbouring countries Kenya and Uganda, representatives of international donors and lecturers and administrators of the three universities. The function and objectives of the working group are to raise awareness concerning the transfer of the three universities, to help establish a council for higher education in Southern Sudan and to assist intellectually in developing an institutional and policy framework for higher education in the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. The EBSWG is discusses the government's budget proposal for two-year periods. The group negotiates the level of funding to be allocated to the sector, among them the higher education sector which does not have its own budget in Southern Sudan.

Partner Universities

Partner universities fund international teaching and research programmes, establish development-oriented teaching programmes and faculties, and initiate collaborative research projects. In the case at hand, universities in the South partner with Norwegian universities funded by the Norwegian Development Agency through the Norwegian University Cooperation Programme for Capacity Development in Sudan (NUCOOP). The programme was initiated by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, conceptualised by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and administered by the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU). Its goal is to support the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement through research, knowledge production and capacity building (NUCOOP 2007:2). The following projects started at the universities during the time of field research.

Table 14: List of NUCOOP Projects in 2008

Project	Norwegian University	Sudanese University
Juba University Library Automation Project	University of Bergen	University of Juba
Post-war Livelihood and Environment Studies	Norwegian Life Sciences	University of Juba
Bachelor programmes in Vocational and Technical Teacher Education South-	Akershus University College	Upper Nile University

ern Sudan-Uganda-Norway		
Education and Sustainable Development in a Post-Conflict Southern Sudan	Oslo University College	Upper Nile University
Capacity Building in the Field of Mental Health in South Sudan	University of Oslo	University of Bahr El Ghazal
Teaching basic sciences in laboratories and by field studies	University of Bergen	University of Juba
Capacity Building in Southern Sudan: Educating librarians for the future	University of Bergen	University of Juba

from Scanteam (2011:8, table 1)

The list of approved projects shows the programme's emphasis on development orientation and capacity building. When asked who initiated the project, the project coordinator at the University of Upper Nile answered:

> 010408-6unu: In fact, as we have learned through the documents, mainly the application by the Norwegian authorities, it is clear that it is one way of supporting the Southern Sudanese government. You know, during the negotiations in Nairobi in Kenya, Norway was one of the main partners supporting the conference encouraging the negotiators to continue. So they feel after the signing of the CPA, the comprehensive peace agreement, they feel the Norwegian government feels that it is high time the South should be helped to develop. So this is given as a continuation for the development of Southern Sudan. Instead of just pouring money into the Southern treasury, it is given this kind of education. We will help individuals to depend on themselves unlike the traditional education which created in an amount of (?) jobs where there are no jobs.

This excerpt shows that the project was mainly initiated by the Norwegian partner universities and is based on the Norwegian government's foreign policy strategy towards Sudan. The interviewee himself was apparently not involved in the project development. In his answer, he also outlines the abovementioned shift in development policy towards higher education – a shift from financial and technical support to project-based capacity building tied to specific development goals.

Another international partner in higher education is the University of Bremen, Germany. Within the programme "Knowledge of Tomorrow: Cooperative Research Projects in Sub Saharan Africa. Political, Economic and Social Dynamics in Sub Saharan Africa", funded by the German Volkswagen Foundation, the University of Bremen initiated the research project "Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of January 9, 2005: local, national, and regional dimensions" with the University of Khartoum and University of Juba and universities in Ethiopia and Kenya. The objective of the project was the promotion of young researchers of the region and to produce "policy inputs for forging cooperation between the Sudan and neighbouring countries" (Bremen 2006:2) through their research.

As other institutions and organisations in developing countries, the universities are influenced by and sometimes dependent on international development actors and their policies. It is the lack of public funding in research that strengthens their influence. Universities try to attract international research funds through contract research for international development agencies. Furthermore, international collaborative research projects that are funded through national development agencies also offer research opportunities. Under these circumstances, universities in the South can seldom engage in basic research.

The Government of Southern Sudan is advised by several international actors, but has no jurisdiction with respect to higher education, the influence of international agencies through working groups is therefore very limited as well. But although their direct influence might be limited by the dominant role of the national government, they shape the two governments' policies as evidenced by the higher education revolution (see section 3.4) and the policy documents of the education ministry in Southern Sudan (see section 5.2).

5.3 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the role of different external and internal actors in higher education. The most important and powerful actors are the state and its agencies. The decision-making power of the state is shown on different levels. The president of the republic can directly intervene in higher education policy and bypass bureaucrats; he furthermore appoints the leadership of the university and can therefore ensure compliance with the government's philosophy. The ministry of higher education through the national council for higher education and scientific research is responsible for the accreditation and evaluation of teaching and research and its compliance with Islamic values. I have shown with several examples that the academic freedom and the institutional autonomy of

universities is constrained by the national council whose members are state-appointed vice-chancellors and government officials. Furthermore the organisational chart of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research depicts public and private higher education institutions as a branch of the ministry. Universities attempted to diversify their funding base since the higher education revolution, but are still highly dependent on the public operational grant. I have shown that public funding is a source of arbitrariness and unpredictability, because universities do not reliably receive the agreed upon funding based on the number of employees. The provision of additional funding that ensures the operation of universities in the South hinges on individual bureaucrats and is jeopardised by changes in personnel. Thus, while the lack of academic freedom and full institutional autonomy of universities is based on the higher education act and the university acts, the unpredictability of the funding process is based on decision-making not covered by law or is even in breach of the law. Even though higher education was named as a concurrent power in the CPA, the role of the newly established Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in higher education policy and governance was not yet defined. The ministry has formally no jurisdiction and is only involved in ad-hoc non-codified coordination. As one respondent, a representative of an international organisation, pointed out, higher education is one of the areas where the CPA does not work.

The role of societal stakeholders in higher education is more indirect. They are represented in the University Council, which, however, is a powerless decision-making body. The majority of the population are illiterate rural peasants and cattle herders represented by very few educated male politicians and businessmen. But the struggle and wishes of the population are also present within the university. The cultural identity of Southern Sudanese is an aspect that reaches into the higher education institution and is apparent through the dominance of Southern Sudanese in high ranking positions within higher education institutions (see section 4.5.3). These institutional actors can only maneuver successfully through uncertainties posed by governmental arbitrariness, if they have access to individuals in the government that unite within them the professional capacity and the political power, on the one hand, and share their cultural identity, on the other.

The lack of financial resources leaves an opening for international partner universities to influence the institutional teaching and research agenda through targeted projects, albeit within the law set by the state. The projects are based on concepts, goals and ideas developed in European ministries of development cooperation. Due to the lack of capacity, representatives of non-governmental and multilateral organisations can influence the policy agenda through their attendance of thematic working groups of the Ministry of Education, Science and

Technology. The biggest impact of international actors is not through direct decision-making and governance, but through influential ideas, i.e. elements of New Public Management, formed a substantial part of Islamist public sector reforms implemented after the coup in 1989.

Neither the ministry in Southern Sudan and societal stakeholders nor international actors are involved in intentional coordination of higher education and can therefore not be considered governance actors. They are, however, part of the social environment that surrounds the universities and from which they draw their legitimacy. The mission and goals of the universities are informed by concepts of development and progress and show the influence of global ideas on local policies, and they are furthermore designed to serve the local community.

6 Case Study Results

The previous chapters have highlighted the political and social environment of higher education, the structure and profile of higher education organisations and higher education actors. Based on the analysis, three main findings can be developed and will now be discussed recapitulatorily.

6.1 Islamist Public Management

I first traced back the origins of higher education in Sudan in order to explain how the current higher education system and its governance developed. The historical analysis showed the impact the long-term conflict had on the education system in general and universities in the South in particular, since education was from the eve of independence onwards a weapon in the war on identity. Furthermore, I discussed the ideas and ideologies that influenced local actors. A utilitarian view on education, elements of New Public Management, human capital theory and Islamism all informed policy-making and explain the current governance regime. The higher education system is characterised by elements of New Public Management and Islamism. This philosophical framework of Islamist Public Management originated in the Islamist coup of 1989 by members and sympathisers of the National Islamic Front, a party that originated in the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood. At the time, Sudan was affected by three problems: a fiscal crisis, an elite higher education system that did not offer access for all eligible students, and a political crisis due to the start of the 2nd civil war. In that situation, the government implemented several reforms, among them a higher education reform that reduced public spending, expanded the higher education system and introduced an Islamist world view to the curriculum. This reform shows that the social context of the higher education system is not only the immediate social environment, but a global environment that shapes local actions. When the new government came into power, they first drew on their philosophy which states that "Islam is the solution" in order to solve an overall societal problem they perceived as part of their ideology – the influence of Western thought and the dilution of religion due to local traditions and syncretism. Islamism in this case is at the same time rooted in local beliefs and in a global move-

ment. Furthermore, the new rulers looked for solutions for the tangible problems mentioned above abroad, i.e. New Public Management, which is a government philosophy underlying public sector reforms from the 1980s onwards in industrial countries, and which was carried around the world as a blueprint offered by multilateral organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in developing countries. The massive expansion of the higher education system also followed global trends and ideas of human capital theory (Meyer & Schofer 2007). I argue that New Public Management is part of a belief system of messianic or millennial capitalism. Comaroff & Comaroff (2000) state that millennial capitalism "is not just capitalism at the millennium, but capitalism invested with a salvific force; with intense faith in its capacity, if rightly harnessed, wholly to transform the universe of the marginalized and disempowered. [...] it accords the market itself an almost mystical capacity to produce and deliver cash and commodities" (Comaroff & Comaroff 2000:293). While Comaroff & Comaroff (2000) argue that this belief is most influential in transitional countries where authoritarianism and a centrally planned economy gave way to democratisation and laissez-faire capitalism, I argue that after the coup of 1989 in Sudan messianic capitalism and messianic Islamism merged into a philosophy of Islamist Public Management. The new government named itself the Salvation Revolutionary Government and implemented economic reforms called "Economic Salvation" which were modelled after the reform programmes by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The ensuing reforms with respect to the curriculum marginalised Southern Sudanese students who were not Muslims and lacked Arabic language proficiency, while the funding reforms marginalised Southern Sudanese universities, which were operating in a post-war region and did not have the same opportunity like higher education institutions in other parts of the country with respect to attracting external funds. The government introduced market-oriented reforms in order to reduce public funding of higher education. The reduced funding was to be complemented by private contributions. But especially Southern Sudanese universities located in an area affected by 40 years of civil war are not well equipped to diversify their funding base due to a high level of illiteracy, an economy based on subsistence, poorly financed public institutions and a small formal private sector. The public operational grant can only insufficiently be complemented by private donations, because there are only few Southern Sudanese businessmen or wealthy families. The funds attainable through tuition fees are limited since the student population is very poor and cannot be charged any amount. Since the public grant only covers salaries, institutions do not have enough capital to finance investments. There are no wealthy "customers" who would attend for-profit courses in Southern Sudan. The funding of student services depends on private donations, Islamic taxes and in kind

contributions by private companies, all of which is not sufficiently present in Southern Sudan. Furthermore, the expansion of the system has led to a manpower shortage in higher education. A majority of academic staff are employed as part-timers and work in several institutions at the same time. This is a commercial disadvantage for locations in Southern Sudan in contrast to Khartoum. Due to the remote location of universities in the South, academic staff cannot work at several institutions at the same time. In summary, the Arabisation and Islamisation of the curriculum was used as a tool to enforce the homogenisation of Sudanese society along the lines of the political philosophy of the government, while the implementation of market-oriented reforms in a hardly industrialised society with stark regional economic disparities has led to the reproduction of inequalities and the marginalisation of students and universities in Southern Sudan.

6.2   Teaching for Development

After having discussed the social environment of the universities from the past to the present and the ideas that informed higher education policy-making, the next chapter discussed the impact of the social environment from the perspective of the three examined universities which were the embedded units of analysis of the case. By discussing different aspects of the universities, i.e. their establishment, organisational goals and mission, study programmes, administration and funding, staff and students, I outlined the impact of developments and policies presented in the previous chapter. Universities were established for utilitarian motives based on global ideas of progress and development in order to widen access and further economic development in the process aside from saving costs for funding students abroad. This shapes the universities' objectives which are partly determined by the government and consequently the study programmes. My research has also shown that the government's ideas of progress and development are embraced by academic staff and used to develop new study programmes that are to serve the local communities. The colleges with the most students are indirectly linked to local development, such as education and medicine. The composition of the university leadership also shows the impact that the conflict and cultural identity have had on universities. The majority of administrative leadership staff are Southerners. One of the intended consequences of the higher education revolution was that universities had to diversify their funding base. The sharp reduction of the public operational grant left no significant resources for research. This has led to institutional profiles that are mainly shaped by professional and applied study programmes with a focus on community-related fields like medicine, education, agriculture and veterinary sciences. The primacy of teaching and

community-related public service is also apparent in the regulations for staff evaluation. The Universities of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal, which were established in the course of the higher education revolution, are therefore similar to non-university higher education institutions in other parts of the world like universities of applied sciences, polytechnics, and community colleges. The expansion of the higher education system was therefore basically the establishment of a new university sector, i.e. the new institutions differed from local colleges, institutes and research universities alike. This situation is similar to the developments in industrial countries where higher education expansion also included the establishment of a non-university sector. This was not the prescribed goal of the higher education revolution, but turned out to be the result, since the new universities in the periphery are not universities in a Humboldtian sense. There is no unity of teaching and research and no solitude and freedom for academics and students. Another impact the higher education revolution had on universities was a shift to more entrepreneurialism. Universities established income-generating centres offering diploma programmes with a labour market focus. Members of the University Council are expected either to donate themselves or to lobby on behalf of the institution to attract additional funds. Academics conduct contract research for international development actors and seek to forge relationships with universities in industrial countries to establish collaborative research projects. Furthermore, universities now employ investment officers whose role is to attract outside funding beyond the academic marketplace. Two universities invested in agriculture in order to generate revenue. The University of Juba, e.g., established a publishing house. Thus, universities not only compete in the academic marketplace for funding from public sources, but are also present in the economic marketplace and compete with non-academic organisations. In summary, universities in Sudan are public service institutions (cf. Braun & Merrien 1999). This goes back to the establishment of higher education in Sudan during colonialism and is not connected to the global change in governmental philosophy.

6.3 Neopatrimonialism

After having started the discussion of findings with the social environment of higher education policy-making, and the impact of the social environment from the perspective of the examined institutions, I then turned to the role individual groups of actors of the social environment (external) and of the examined universities (internal) play. All of the actors described that the state, society, international actors, the University Councils, vice-chancellors and collegial bodies influence higher education, but not all of them intentionally coordinate it. The role

of society is diminished by the politicisation and powerlessness of the University Council, where societal stakeholders are represented. International actors can influence teaching and research programming within the confines of the higher education and the university act, but do not regulate higher education. Their role is also complicated by the nature of the political system after the peace agreement. At the time, Sudan and Southern Sudan were *de facto* a confederation with two systems in one country with two different branch offices for each multilateral organisation in each part of the country. Universities were still under the jurisdiction of the national government, while parts of their campuses were located in the South. In this situation, the Multi-Donor Trust Fund for Southern Sudan included the relocation and promotion of universities in its programme, while the formally responsible Multi-Donor Trust Fund for Sudan did not. Societal and international actors are not governance actors but nevertheless have a significant impact on higher education policy and are themselves influenced by global ideas and concepts. The dominant governance actor is the state through the office of the presidency, the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research and the ministry of finance. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology plays a marginal role, since it has no legal enforceable standing in higher education policy. The state regulates higher education hierarchically through laws, decrees, and resolutions of the national council and funding. The university act defines the organisational structure, the higher education act defines the general goals of higher education. With decrees, the president can introduce new rules for tuition fees or establish a new university, the resolutions of the national council regulate the content of teaching and research, and the scarce funding disempowers the University Council, shapes the profile of universities and their funding policies. Furthermore, by deducting funds from the oil revenue of Southern Sudan to spend on Southern universities and at the same time rejecting the idea of concurrent powers, the national government controls the Government of Southern Sudan's role in higher education governance. The state is therefore the most important actor who also actively limits the governance scope of all other actors, i.e. the Government of Southern Sudan, society and international actors. This partly also holds true for internal actors, the most powerful being the vice-chancellor who is appointed by the head of state. But since the vice-chancellor is state-appointed and therefore accountable to the head of state and is often chosen because of his political affiliation with the state, his scope is only *de iure* confined. The function and powers of the vice-chancellor and his relationship with other administrative and academic staff point to a tight-coupling of Southern Sudanese universities. The vice-chancellor is the chief executive officer and the superior of all staff. Due to the capacity of the state and the vice-chancellor, the role of collegial decision-making of academics is limited.

Furthermore, supervisory bodies such as the national council and its specialised committees, which were originally coordinating bodies of the academic profession, are political decision-making bodies since the higher education revolution. Relevant actors of higher education governance are therefore the state and the vice-chancellor. This shows that the governance mechanisms used are hierarchy by the state and the institutional leadership, community by academics and competition for scarce resources.

The analysis has also shown that the boundaries between society, universities and the government are blurred. Universities are perceived to be part of the government. At the same time, the government is formed by an Islamist party whose affiliates since the aftermath of the coup dominate the private sector, the state bureaucracy and organisations of civil society. Furthermore, the ties between the government and universities are kept through their domination of the national council for higher education and the appointment of senior positions in universities. Thus, the community of Islamists and government loyalists pervades the public and private sphere. The same holds true for the community of Southerners in and outside academia who share an experience of marginalisation and (in part) exclusion in the state bureaucracy, the private sector and higher education. At universities in Southern Sudan, a change in the appointment policy has led to a dominance of Southerners in the university leadership although they form a small minority among academic and administrative staff. Governmental decisions are oftentimes based on irrelevant considerations connected to ethnic, religious or political affiliation which marginalises the universities established in the periphery of the Sudan for marginalised groups. Along with the breach of law, this leads to the unpredictability of governmental actions. In turn, institutional actors seek access to members of their cultural community in high ranking government positions in order to solve problems arising from the unpredictability of decisions. These two patterns conform to the definition of neopatrimonialism, i.e. the unpredictability of government actions and the development of clientelism and patronage as a reaction to cope with it (see section 7.2).

6.4 Research Questions

Based on the findings, the research questions can be fully answered.

How are the three universities in Southern Sudan regulated?

The main regulative force is the government which is in charge of determining the organisational structure, salaries of staff, the philosophical framework for teaching and research and is the main funder of higher education. Due to the ideological and neopatrimonial nature of the political regime and its governance, universities in Southern Sudan are regulated in a neopatrimonial and ideological fashion. That is to say, the decisions are made based on the ideological and cultural affiliation of negotiation partners to the community of the governing party, which leads to unpredictable outcomes not covered by law. Therefore, members of the cultural community of Southern Sudanese try to counter the unpredictability by enlisting allies who are culturally and ideologically affiliated to their community. Thus, the answer to the first research question is that universities in Southern Sudan are regulated in a neopatrimonial manner and that the norms and values, not only of the academic profession, but of cultural communities, inform decision-making on all levels of authority.

Which actors are involved in higher education governance?

With respect to the organisational structure, personnel affairs, and funding, the state and its agencies are in charge of regulation. Other governance actors are the university leadership headed by the vice-chancellor, academics in the national council for higher education, and institutional collegial bodies. While the vice-chancellor disposes of expansive powers within the university and is appointed by the head of state (and therefore a link between the state and the university), the role of academics is limited due to the politicization of the national council and the powers of the vice-chancellor. Their role is to oversee the academic affairs of the university in the senate and administrative affairs in the Deans' Board. Both bodies are headed by the vice-chancellor.

Which governance mechanisms can be observed and how do they relate to each other? Are the established governance theories applicable in post-conflict situations?

The state regulates hierarchically through laws, decrees, resolutions and scarce funding and, as pointed out, by decisions based on irrelevant considerations, the breach of law and obstruction. The vice-chancellor and his administration also regulate hierarchically through the power of his office and his prerogative to set up and chair committees and to set the agenda through his subordinates. Academics negotiate issues of teaching and research in collegial bodies based on academic norms and values. The norms and values of a cultural community inform the decision-making of all the named actors. The Sudanese higher education system is characterised by a strong level of state regulation, strong external steering, strong patrimonial steering, weak academic self-governance, medium cultural self-governance, medium managerial self-governance, and medium competition between and within universities. The most important mechanisms are hierarchy and community.

Is higher education in Southern Sudan regulated in a multi-level governance system?

Multi-level governance is the coordination of political processes involving public and private actors and transgressing the international, national, regional, and local levels. The CPA outlined that tertiary education and scientific research are concurrent powers of the Government of National Unity, the Government of Southern Sudan and the state governments. It was furthermore obvious that private and public international actors are heavily involved in regulating the reconstruction of primary education and other social services. I therefore developed the hypothesis that the higher education sector in Southern Sudan was also regulated in a system of multi-level governance. This turned out to be a misconception based on the analysis of the CPA. Universities in Southern Sudan turned out not to be regulated in a multi-level governance system. The reason for this is related to the findings of the dissertation. I approached the CPA and other data I collected prior to my field stay in Sudan with a Eurocentric bias, i.e. the assumption that regulation is based on legal rational coordination. It turned out that the social context the CPA was embedded in did not allow for a multi-level governance system. The two opposing parties did not find a philosophical common ground, but agreed to a peace agreement due to pressure from international negotiation partners and their own assessment that they could not win the war on the

battlefield. The CPA itself legitimised the Islamist central government and allowed for a deviation from their governance philosophy for the South. This led to the establishment of two systems within one country. Both parts of the country were effectively governed like a confederation with the universities in the South caught in the middle. As pointed out, the conflict between North and South was related to questions of nationhood and diversity and was not resolved with the peace agreement. Thus, the unpredictability of decision-making due to its basis on irrelevant considerations and the breach of law is the reason why the target of concurrent powers in higher education was never met. At the same time, beyond the jurisdiction of the national government and the North-South conflict, the working group of higher education of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the education, reconstruction and development forum in the South are coordinating bodies of a nascent multi-level governance system: Members of the working group are representatives of the ministry, experts from neighbouring countries, representatives from international non-governmental organisations, governmental organisations and multilateral organisations, academic staff, the national student welfare fund's regional office and a minister of education, science and technology of one of the Southern states.

7 Conceptualising University Governance in Southern Sudan

University governance in Southern Sudan during the transitional period was characterised by a governance regime of Islamist Public Management and neo-patrimonialism. This concluding chapter offers a conceptual explanation of these findings using neo-institutional theorising and the governance concept. Furthermore, it is argued that the governance concept, as used in higher education research, cannot fully describe the case. I will therefore offer an amended governance typology derived from the empirical findings.

7.1 Travel of Ideas

The trend towards reforms inspired by New Public Management has been documented in higher education systems all over the world. Amaral et al. (2003) called this the higher education managerial revolution. Studies show that reforms encompass different elements of New Public Management ideas, i.e. more hierarchy on the organisational level as well as a reduction of public funding and competition within and between universities have been implemented in Asian, Latin American and African higher education systems. Sudan therefore forms part of a trend. As discussed in section 6.1, the changes in higher education policy that led to a governance regime of Islamist Public Management are connected to the Islamist coup of 1989 and its goal to instigate a spiritual and economic revolution. Now the question remains why a political regime that professed its anti-imperialism and whose Islamism led to Sudan's international political isolation pushed forward reforms very similar to structural adjustment programmes by the international financial institutions that members of the political regime deemed imperial. NPM is a global reform model that has led to isomorphism in higher education. New institutional organisation theories therefore offer a convincing framework for a conceptual explanation of the findings.

According to Czarniawska-Joerges & Joerges (1996), ideas and concepts can become global models, when they are disembedded in one time and space, transformed into objects and reembedded in a different place. Organisations in

one organisational field all over the world become more similar, because they compare themselves with each other. Local problems are then defined by the gap between the local organisation and a perceived successful organisation according to the traveling idea. The solution is therefore to imitate the aspects of the role model that are deemed the reason for its success, irrespective of the context. These aspects are translated, imitated and edited during their objectification, travel and reembedding (Sahlin-Andersson 1996). The idea of New Public Management was disembedded in the 1980s from its environment in the United Kingdom and transformed into objects such as policy papers by International Financial Institutions and offered as a policy proposal or a condition for World Bank loans in developing countries. For Sudan, Beckedorf (2012) points out that the travel of ideas was instigated by the travel of Abdelrahim Hamdi, the Sudanese minister of finance in the 1990s. He had worked in the United Kingdom during the tenure of Margaret Thatcher and witnessed her privatisation policies. When he became minister of finance, he implemented similar reforms which partly surpassed the prescriptions of international financial institutions. According to Beckedorf (2012:119), it was the minister of finance, who "made the concept of privatization travel from the globally acting world of finance in London to the Sudanese economic policies in Khartoum". There the concept was adopted and re-embedded and translated into the local context by the new Sudanese government – at the time isolated in the international community – which thereby created a new form of New Public Management. This led to increased entrepreneurialism within religious boundaries defined by the state.

According to Brunsson & Sahlin-Andersson (2000), NPM reforms pose an effort to turn public organisations into complete organisations. A complete organisation is characterised by hierarchy, identity, rationality. Despite their lack of overall autonomy, universities show elements of complete organisations (Brunsson & Sahlin-Andersson 2000), i.e. hierarchy: due to the role and competencies of the vice-chancellor as a chief executive officer and the relative weakness of collegial bodies; identity: universities in Southern Sudan are shaped by the cultural identity of the local community they are to serve which informs decision-making within the universities and their relationship with the outside world; rationality: the universities were established with specific organisational goals and missions besides teaching and research connected to the cultural identity. In the case of Sudanese universities, these elements are not exclusively connected to the recent reforms which were inspired by New Public Management, but are also related to local path dependencies.

With respect to internal actors, universities in Southern Sudan are tightly coupled as opposed to universities in most industrial countries (cf. Weick 1976). The state-appointed University Council is at the same time politicised and pow-

erless. The state-appointed vice-chancellor, however, is the chief executive officer of the university. He chairs all committees and governing bodies of the university and is involved in all major decisions. He is not a "primus inter pares" and in contrast to university rectors and presidents in Germany, for example, he disposes of personnel and organisational power.[60] The collegial bodies of the university are headed by the vice-chancellor and are bound by laws and decisions of the state.

7.2 Neopatrimonial Governance

The analysis has shown that the dominant actor in higher education governance is the state through the office of the presidency, the ministry for higher education and scientific research, the national student welfare fund and the ministry of finance. The features of governance by government are detailed regulation, direct intervention by the president, arbitrariness, i.e. decisions that are not legitimised by law, but that are made upon the decision-makers' discretion and the outright breach of law.

The National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research is a supervisory body of politicians and academics. Together they coordinate the content of teaching and research. Since decisions that contradict political guidelines are overturned by political actors, the Council is only *de iure*, but not *de facto* a body of public-private partnership. The working group for higher education in Southern Sudan is a think tank comprising politicians, bureaucrats, academics and representatives of the international community and advises the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of Southern Sudan. Since the Southern universities were still under the national government's jurisdiction, the working group had no legal standing with respect to higher education in Sudan as a whole and could therefore not engage in intentional legally sanctioned coordination.

While societal stakeholders can be influential actors in the University Council, through public discourse and participatory processes, their actions can nevertheless not be classified as intentional coordination based on a legal right to intervene. The academic profession in Sudan is rather weak. After staff and professional associations and trade unions were disbanded after the military coup of 1989, the role of academics in higher education has weakened (El-Hassan 1992:5). Successful decision-making of academic bodies is also based on political affiliation and not exclusively on professional values. The national council is a politicised body. Academics have some decision-making power within the

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[60] See Hüther 2010, Hüther & Krücken 2011, 2013

university senate concerning academic affairs, albeit within the confines of government regulations.

The boundaries between the state and universities are blurred. The relationship is shaped by strict laws with occasional breach of law by the state and decision-making based on irrelevant and arbitrary considerations. On the one hand, universities are restricted by laws and regulations; on the other hand, those laws are frequently ignored by public actors to favour political or ethnic allies. This conforms to Peters' (2001:175) statement that governing in developing countries is characterised by a combination of rigidity and arbitrariness. The institutional leadership attempts to counter this institutionalised arbitrariness and the breach of law by finding allies within the government who share the same values based on shared experience of discrimination as Southerners. This community of Southerners pervades the state, universities and societies as does the community of (Arab) Islamists who form the government. The blurred boundaries between the public and the private sector and clientelism have been discussed by many authors, particularly in African Studies. For example, Bayart (1993) describes that members of the public sector and private business form what he called a "politico-commercial class" in pursuit of financial resources. He termed this the politics of the belly. Chabal & Daloz (1999) use the term informalisation of politics for what they see as a lack of emancipation of the African state from society and therefore a lack of an independent and professional bureaucracy where ethnic affiliation trumps every other identity. Mbembe (2001) argues that the weakening of the hegemony of the state bureaucracy and the privatisation of sovereignty through structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank in the 1980s actually invigorated the links between the private and public sector and led to a form of private indirect government. All these authors describe a form of neopatrimonialism.[61] Many authors – as the ones mentioned above – often use cultural explanations to make sense of neopatrimonialism. A definition that is more helpful for conceptualising university governance in Sudan is from Erdmann & Engel (2006) who state that in neopatrimonial governments, "elements of patrimonial & legal-rational bureaucratic domination penetrate each other. The distinction between the private and public sphere formally exists, but in the

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[61] For an exhaustive discussion of the scholarly discourse on neopatrimonialism in the social sciences and its Eurocentric pitfalls see Draude (2012:55-99). For an example of neopatrimonialism in higher education, see Willott (2009) who discusses the daily practice among students and staff, their methods of coping with clientelism and their perceptions with regard to neopatrimonialism, Furthermore, Munene (2013) elaborates on the role of ethnicity in Kenyan higher education institutions against the background of political developments and issues of legitimacy in Kenya.

social practice it is often not observed".[62] In contrast to the findings of the previous authors, Erdmann & Engel (2006) acknowledge that domination and governance in African countries is not exclusively patrimonial. As in Sudan, a legal-rational bureaucracy exists, but overlaps with patrimonial authority. Further on, Pitcher et al. (2009) state "that even in the most highly industrialized societies significant elements of patrimonialism survive and thrive today without decisively undermining democratic processes or economic development". In Bach & Gazibo (2012), several cases of neopatrimonialism in Africa, Asia, Europe[63], and Latin America are discussed. Thus, while the neopatrimonial nature of higher education governance is one finding of this intrinsic case study, it is not an aspect particular to Sudan or post-conflict states in general.

According to Schimank (2007b), the focus of governance research are "the patterns of handling of interdependencies between actors" (Schimank 2007b:1, Translation by author). These patterns – basic forms of social order – form the governance regime. The basic forms of social order – hierarchy, community and market – are themselves a combination of mechanisms. Schimank (2007b) divides the basic mechanisms according to reciprocal observance, reciprocal influence, and reciprocal negotiation.[64]

In this study I will stop at the level of the three named basic forms of social order in order to juxtapose them with the definition of neopatrimonialism. The mechanism of hierarchy is characterised by a leading authority and the one-sided adjustment of subordinated social units. Competition describes the reciprocal adjustment of actors competing for scarce resources. In communities, decisions are made by reciprocal adjustment of actors based on shared values (Benz 2004, 2010).

According to my findings the following basic forms of social order are relevant in the Sudanese higher education system:

Hierarchy: According to Döhler (2007:46) – since Weber – hierarchy is perceived "as part of the legal order which is particularly characterised by regularity and predictability" (Translation by author) and therefore precludes arbitrariness. In the Sudanese case, however, the whole system of governance is shaped by institutionalised arbitrariness. This means there is a second form of hierarchy,

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[62] Note that Draude (2012) states that the equation of public with the state and private with society is in of itself based on a Eurocentric bias. In my point of view, this definition is still useful for developing a typology or heuristic with which to describe the Sudanese case and to compare ii to other cases.
[63] See Barisione (2012) for Italy and Magone (2009) for Portugal.
[64] For an in-depth discussion see: Schimank, Uwe (2007b): Elementare Mechanismen. In: Arthur Benz, Susanne Lütz, Uwe Schimank und Georg Simonis (eds.): Handbuch Governance. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendungsfelder. 1. Aufl. Wiesbaden: VS, Verl. für Sozialwiss., p. 29–45.

i.e. one-sided adjustment of subordinated social units based on patrimonial as opposed to legal-rational coordination.

Community: Individuals can be part of several communities at the same time (cf. Gläser 2007). In the examined universities, two communities and their values coexist and overlap: the academic community of scholars and the cultural community of Southern Sudanese who share a heritage of discrimination and social exclusion in post-colonial Sudan.

Competition: Competition in the higher education sector is defined as competition for funding based on the norms and values of the academic profession in an academic marketplace created by the government.[65] Due to the higher education revolution, the examined universities are also impacted by market-oriented discourses and policies in higher education such as utilitarian expectations, external steering and the need to diversify their funding base by generating income (Teichler 2008). Since the reform, universities in Southern Sudan also compete in the economic marketplace by establishing private companies that also sell non-academic products, but according to my empirical data, this form of competition in the free market does not impact the overall governance of the university.

Table 15: List of Governance Mechanisms

Hierarchy I (legal-rational)	One-sided adjustment to a leading authority through legal-rational coordination
Hierarchy II (patrimonial)	One-sided adjustment to a leading authority through patrimonial coordination, i.e. intentional actions based on irrelevant considerations, not covered by law or the breach of law
Community I (Academic)	Reciprocal adjustment based on shared norms and values of academic profession
Community II (Culture)	Reciprocal adjustment based on shared experience and socialisation of a cultural community
Competition I (Science)	Competition for funding in the academic marketplace

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[65] Le Grand (1991) used the term quasi-market to define markets in the public sector introduced within the framework of new public management reforms. The term is also used by Teixeira, Amaral, Jongbloed & Dill (2004) who define increased competition between higher education institutions, privatisation of higher education and increased financial autonomy of higher education institutions as elements of quasi-markets in higher education.

In the following, I discuss whether higher education governance typologies are useful in describing and analysing the case and whether they encompass the needed mechanisms, i.e. legal-rational and patrimonial hierarchy, community of academics and cultural groups and competition. Four popular typologies of higher education governance are used to describe the Sudanese governance regime. The typologies are partly based on each other and sometimes seen as an evolution of higher education governance typologies. In this case, each typology is applied in order to provide insight into the governance of Southern Sudanese universities, and to discuss the benefits and shortcomings of each of these typologies when applied to a case of a post-colonial, post-conflict developing country.

7.2.1   The Triangle of Coordination

Burton Clark (1979) identified four modes of coordination in higher education, i.e. bureaucratic, political, professional and market coordination. Political coordination encompasses the influence of political officials themselves and their appointees in higher education, as well as the role of external groups, e.g., representatives of trade unions and private business, and internal interest groups, i.e. students, junior academic staff and administrative staff. Market coordination encompasses the interaction of institutions with students, employees and with each other, i.e. concerning students, there are consumer markets, if students pay tuition fees or the government awards portable aid to students who can then choose their institution or the government awards funding to higher education institutions for the number of students that are enrolled. There are also labour markets with respect to academic staff and institutional markets, i.e. inter-institutional competition, whose main commodity in higher education is prestige. In addition, Clark names power markets in state authority, i.e. competition among different administrative units within government, as a form of coordination.

   Political and bureaucratic coordination: Political officials in Sudan are highly influential with regards to higher education. They appoint the leadership of universities, are represented in the national council for higher education and in the respective University Councils. The vice-chancellor, who is a political appointee, plays a central role in university governance, as he is the chief executive officer of the administration and the faculties. External interest groups like private business and unions are represented in the University Council of higher education institutions. So are members of the students unions, academic and non-academic staff. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the main role of the council is to approve the budget of the university. Since the funding mechanism

was changed in the 1990s and universities since then receive a grant based on the number of staff and students, the University Council has been rendered powerless and therefore the role of external and internal groups in that regard. Furthermore, academic and management affairs are restricted by administrative regulations and laws.

Market coordination: Students at Sudanese universities are charged with tuition fees. The admission of private students, whose grades do not correspond to admission criteria, is regulated by the government with 25% of each cohort. Funding is based on input criteria such as the number of students and programmes and the number of employees. Since the campuses of the universities in the South are not easily accessible, universities receive funding for the transport of staff and students. During the civil war, these funds ensured that they could compete with other universities. Staff is recruited by the appointment committee, which is a committee of all the deans chaired by the vice-chancellor. Leadership posts from the head of department to the vice-chancellor, however, are appointed by political officials. According to Clark (1979), the currency for inter-institutional competition is prestige. This plays a role with respect to students' admission, collaborations with partner universities of the global North and contracts from international development actors.

Professional coordination: Academics in Sudan are organised in disciplinary societies and associations. Professors are appointed to the specialised (disciplinary) committees of the national council for higher education and scientific research. The national council itself is a general, not disciplinary, body of vice-chancellors and experts in higher education. However, cabinet ministers are also members and the council is chaired by the minister of higher education. The vice-chancellors of the South Sudanese universities organise informally in order to combine their efforts with respect to negotiations with the Government of National Unity and the Government of Southern Sudan. Within the university, staff is organised in staff unions. There is also a special staff union for South Sudanese academics. The senate is the collegial body responsible for all academic matters. Members are all the professors of the university.

Later in his seminal work "*The higher education system*" of 1983, Clark defined state authority and the market as extremes on a scale from tight to loose linkage. State authority is therefore "a unitary context in which all units are parts of an inclusive formal structure and have common goals", while market "is a "social choice" context in which there are no inclusive goals, and decisions are made independently by autonomous organizations" (Clark 1983:137). Here, the market "is synonymous with nongovernmental nonregulated" (ibd.: 138). He then added a third dimension – academic oligarchy – to analyse the role of academics in coordination. In summary, Clark subsumed bureaucratic and political

coordination under the dimension of state authority and turned the four modes into a triangle of coordination that encompasses state authority, academic oligarchy and the market (Clark 1983:143). Rhoades (1992) criticises the underlying assumptions of the triangle. Professionals in European higher education are not independent from state bureaucracy like in the United Kingdom and the United States as they are themselves civil servants and their functions and rights are protected by administrative rules. Furthermore, there is usually a mix of political and bureaucratic coordination and the triangle does not offer a proper categorisation or theorising of statehood (Rhoades 1992). If we apply the definitions of coordination and the triangle to Sudanese universities, the result is the following.

In comparison, there is a high degree of coordination through political officials and administrative regulations, the level of non-governmental non-regulated action is rather low and professional coordination, on the other hand, specifically in national buffer bodies, is neutralised by political actors. At the same time academics are civil servants whose salaries and promotion regulations are regulated by the ministry for civil service. As one interviewee points out concerning the meetings of the national council for higher education:

> 230108-1unu: I go as a government employee, ok and you know what I mean, [mh] as a government employee sometimes you are bound to obey the minister, hm?

Political coordination does not only mix with bureaucratic coordination as outlined by Rhoades (1992), but also with professional coordination. Based on the broad definition of the market in Clark (1983), the state system is by far the most dominant, followed by a weak market and professional system. The professional system cannot be differentiated from the state system since several governing bodies of the academic oligarchy morphed into hybrid politico-academic boards. Many researchers (Braun & Merrien 1999:20, Schimank 2000: 97, Kehm & Lanzendorf 2006) point to Clark (1998) in stating that he added a fourth dimension – institutional hierarchical steering or organisation – to the triangle, thus turning it into a quadrangle. Actually, the triangle of coordination focusses on macro-level governance, while the model of the entrepreneurial university focusses on institutional governance for change, i.e. meso-level governance. The model of the entrepreneurial universities is based on case studies in the 1990s in Europe. Burton Clark describes entrepreneurial universities as institutions that transform their organisation in order to confront new challenges such as: a constantly expanding and more diverse student body, changing demands from the labour market, a public demand to contribute to the solution of societal and economic problems, reduced public funding and a tension between new and old fields of study (Clark 1998:xiii). Universities that can navigate through these

challenges are characterised by "[…] a strengthened steering core; an expanded developmental periphery; a diversified funding base; a stimulated academic heartland; and an integrated entrepreneurial culture" (Clark 1998:5). As outlined in the previous chapters, since 1990, universities in Sudan have become increasingly entrepreneurial. Clark (2004) followed up on the universities he had researched and included a number of universities in developing countries, among them Makerere University in Uganda, in his case study of entrepreneurial universities. Thus, are Sudanese universities in the South entrepreneurial universities according to Clark (1998)? First, the challenges that universities in Sudan face are only partly the same as outlined by Burton Clark. Their *raison d'être* is to further social and economic development and therefore labour market orientation. There is also no tension between disciplinary and interdisciplinary and more utilitarian motivated fields of study as the latter is part of their mission. Universities in Sudan do face an expanded student body – the number of students was doubled in a short period of time at the beginning of the 1990s – and sharply reduced public funding. Universities had to confront these challenges within the realm of government policy. Universities in Southern Sudan show elements of entrepreneurial universities such as a strong steering core, an expanded developmental periphery and a diversified funding base. These elements, however, are not all connected to recent reforms, but to local developments.

As far as the mechanisms of governance at universities in Southern Sudan are concerned, state authority is the equivalent of hierarchy, the academic oligarchy stands for the community of academics, while Clark's market dimension is not clearly defined as competition for scarce resources. Therefore, the mechanisms of patrimonial hierarchy and cultural community are not represented in the model. The triangle shows the dominance of the state in higher education, but not the unpredictable nature of its actions and the role of cultural identity in higher education systems in Sudan. Furthermore, the empirical data suggest that the Sudanese case poses an exception to Clark's assumptions on the limits of state control: "*Time and again the modern state stumbles over the academic system. A concluding review of some twentieth century efforts to fashion compelling chain of commands suggests their self-defeating nature*" (Clark 1983:137). There is indeed a chain of command in Sudan from the president of the republic through the University Council chairman to the vice-chancellor and deans to the heads of departments.

7.2.2 State Supervision vs. State Control

In his higher education model, van Vught takes a different focus. He first describes two general policy models with respect to government strategies and instruments: the model of rational planning and control and the model of self-regulation. The policy model of rational planning and control means that "[...] the knowledge of the object of regulation is assumed to be firm, the control over the object of regulation is presumed to be complete, and the self-image of the regulating subject is holistic" (van Vught 1989:190). This model is based on a normative ideal of rational decision-making. It leads to centralisation in order to secure comprehensive control. In contrast, according to the policy model of self-regulation, "knowledge is highly uncertain", overall control is to be avoided and the self-image is atomistic (van Vught 1995:12) The perspective on decision-making of this policy model is cybernetic. In the self-regulation model, public actors know important variables in order to monitor the object of regulation. These objects are ideally decentralised self-regulatory units. In general, the difference between the two policy models is the difference between detailed regulation and steering at a distance or rather supervision. Van Vught also explains the different instruments of government that are used depending on the policy model based on a typology by Hood.

Table 16: List of Instruments of Government

Information	Hardly at all restrictive	Responses	Influence the behavior of others by providing them with information
		Messages	
Treasure	Exchange (some restrictions)	Contracts	Financial incentives and disincentives to strongly urge actors to behave according to the government's wishes
		Bounties	
	Give it away (less restriction)	Transfers	
		Bearer-direct payments	
Authority	Mildly restrictive	Certificates	Through approval and disapproval the government can limit the behavioural options of other actors. (connected to financial resources)
		Approvals	
	Higher level of restriction	Conditionals	(Not) allow actors to behave in a certain way, usually by providing or
		Enablements	

			denying financial resources or licenses.
	Extremely restrictive	Constraints	Command/forbid. The government can use these to compel other actors to behave completely according to its wishes
Action	Restrictive	Operational activities	These instruments tend to strongly influence the other actors behaviour

From van Vught 1995 pp. 22-25

Within the rational planning and control model, instruments of treasure and authority are applied; in the self-regulation model, instruments of information and less constraining instruments of authority and treasure are used.

Table 17: Instruments of Government (Policy Models)

Instruments of Government	**State Control (Rational planning & control)**		**State Supervision (Self-regulation)**	
Authority	Constraints	Command/forbid. The government can use these to compel other actors to behave completely according to its wishes	Certificate Approvals	Through approval and disapproval the government can limit the behavioural options of other actors. (connected to financial resources)
Treasure	Contracts Bounties	Financial incentives and disincentives to strongly urge actors to behave according to the government's wishes		Financial incentives and disincentives to strongly urge actors to behave according to the government's wishes

Information			Responses	Influence the
			Messages	behaviour of others by providing them with information

From van Vught 1995 p.43

Van Vught then applies these models to the higher education sector. The rational planning and control model is the state control model and the self-regulation model is the state supervision model. The state control model stands for the strong authority of bureaucracy that regulates access, curriculum, the appointment and remuneration of staff, complemented by a strong academic oligarchy that regulates the content of education and research. The institutional management of a university in this model is weak and limited by the authority of state bureaucrats and academics (Braun & Merrien 1999:17). In the state supervising model, a strong academic oligarchy and a strong administration and management of the university (deans, president, administration and board of trustees) are supervised with respect to issues of quality and accountability by weak bureaucratic authorities (Braun & Merrien 1999:18). Van Vught equates the state control model with Clark's continental model prior to New Public Management reforms in Europe in the 1980s; the state supervision model is to describe higher education in the United States and Great Britain. Further on, he points out that due to reforms, the higher education policy model in continental Europe is transitioning from a state control to a state supervision model (van Vught 1995).

In order to establish the level of applicability of van Vught's policy models, I will discuss which instruments of government are used to coordinate teaching and research, personnel, funding and organisation and then deduce which higher education policy model the Sudan is following. The main actors in higher education discussed in van Vught's policy model are the state bureaucracy, institutional administrators and senior chair holders. The objects of governance are admission, curriculum, staff policy and the award of degrees. Due to the development of an authoritarian state system and several military coups in the course of Sudan's post-colonial history, the role of the government was strengthened and the degree of institutional autonomy and academic freedom reduced. The higher education system is characterised by strong authority of bureaucrats and politicians, a strong internal administration empowered by its appointment through politicians and arbitrariness. The steering by laws, regulations and decrees of the organisational structure, personnel policy and partly teaching and research shows the use of extremely restrictive instruments of authority. With respect to teaching and research, instruments of authority with a high level of restriction as condi-

tionals and enablements are used. Instruments of treasure with some restrictions, such as contracts and bounties, are used to incentivise the academic staff to work on campuses in the South. Thus, according to the instruments of government, the higher education system in Sudan is governed within the rational planning and control policy model, i.e. state control.

In Neave & van Vught (1994), the model was applied to higher education in developing countries. Van Vught (cited in Omari 1994) says that most higher education systems in former British colonies started out as state supervision systems and that after independence and the development of authoritarian rule, most countries adopted a state control model. This idea is echoed by Farrant & Afonso (1997) when they say that – based on the case studies of Neave & van Vught (1994): "[…] Britain exported the "state supervising model" to its colonies in Africa" (Farrant & Afonso 1997:27). But the authors' conclusion that post-colonial states shifted from state control to state supervision is based on a wrong conception of colonialism and its governance. While Great Britain might have been a democratic state during colonialism, the British Empire was authoritarian in nature, its main role being to rule and extract without democratic accountability to its subjects (cf. Bierschenk 2010:6). In Great Britain itself, higher education governance was characterised by the authority of faculty guilds, the modest influence of trustees and administrators and weak state involvement – a state supervising model (van Vught 1995). In the colonies, however, the government became substantially more involved in higher education governance. The university colleges in the colonies had two tasks to fulfil: first ‚to educate and train locals to assist in the administration of the colonies, and second, to prepare a new elite that could lead the nation in case of independence. The government therefore had a strong interest in determining the curriculum and the range of academic subjects offered. In the case of Sudan, the first university, the University of Khartoum, was modelled after the British civic university. But the majority of decision-makers in its governing bodies were public officials of the colonial administration. Only after independence in 1956 did a short period of *de facto* institutional autonomy and academic freedom begin. It ended with the first coup in 1958 (Ibrahim 2007). Furthermore, van Vught, as other higher education researchers, does not take the nature of the state into account (Moja, Muller, Cloete 1996:137). Therefore, the state control model seems to apply to higher education systems in democratic continental Europe in the 1980s as well as to higher education systems in authoritarian developing countries in other parts of the world. This shows that the model has a bias, because it is assumed that politicians' and bureaucrats' behaviour is predictable and that the law is always adhered to. There have been attempts to confront this bias by Moja, Muller & Cloete (1996) who criticise that van Vught's model does not distinguish between

political and administrative coordination. Based on ideas of Omari (1991), they develop the state intervention model as an extreme form of state control, where "'intervention' is used to signify that it is not a systematic control policy model. Rather, intervention occurs when higher education institutions become the sites of opposition to the development path or perceived political direction of the state." (Moja, Muller & Cloete 1996:148). But the state intervention, which the authors describe, is mainly a form of crisis intervention. According to Kulati & Cloete (2003), the South African National Commission of Higher Education (NCHE) used three models in its assessment of possible higher education models for South Africa after apartheid. Besides the state control and state supervision model they also name the state interference model. The latter "is based on control in higher education […] based on arbitrary forms of intervention" Both models, the state interference and the state intervention model, are not clearly defined.

As to the mechanisms of higher education governance at universities in Southern Sudan, hierarchy by the state is represented while the role of senior academics and the market is merely implied. As the triangle of coordination, the model does not feature patrimonial hierarchy and the cultural community.

7.2.3   The Three Dimensional Cube

Braun and Merrien (1999:18-21) criticise van Vught's model for three reasons: he omitted the market dimension, he focusses mainly on the role of the state, and his model is too undifferentiated to represent the difference between the coordination models of the United Kingdom and the United States. They further on criticise the lack of differentiation between different areas of governance and the different instruments used with respect to them. Finally, van Vught does not take into account the new managerialism as a new philosophy of public governance, but assumes that this change is represented by the state supervising model. Thus, Braun & Merrien (1999) first discuss the shift in governance arrangements in continental Europe since the beginning of New Public Management reforms and describe it as a shift in belief systems. According to Braun & Merrien (1999), during the period of state control the university was perceived as a cultural institution with no concrete purpose that indirectly contributed to social cohesion and economic development. In the old belief system that was more prevalent in continental Europe the university was more or less autonomous from political interference and its performance was not measured. In the 1980s – after the massification of higher education and growing national debts in most countries – universities came under scrutiny as being sheltered from competition and change,

unaccountable to societal and economic demands and generally inefficient and low performing due to incoherent management structures. Subsequently, a more utilitarian view on higher education and society in general became popular. The university was now seen as a public service institution subject to social, political and economic goals. Braun & Merrien (1999) assume a link between the belief system and the strength of the academic oligarchy in any given higher education system, i.e. a cultural belief system leads to a strong role of senior academics in decision-making, while the service belief system favours a weak role. They furthermore take into account McDaniel's model who points out that the governance arrangement can change with respect to the specific field of object in higher education. He differentiated two broad areas: educational matters (teaching, research and part of student affairs) and institutional management (finance, governance, personnel, part of student affairs) (McDaniel 1996). Third they incorporate Berdahl's concept of institutional autonomy, in which he outlines the difference between autonomy of teaching and research (what?) and the autonomy of institutional processes (how?). Thus,they developed a model that takes into account the degree of state control with respect to educational matters (substantial autonomy) and matters of institutional management (procedural autonomy) and the national belief system of higher education. Based on these two aspects, Braun & Merrien (1999) developed a three-dimensional governance cube that represents three opposing models: within the cultural belief system the *bureaucratic-etatist model* with tight substantial and procedural control, the *bureaucratic-oligarchic model* with tight procedural control and a high level of substantive autonomy, and the *collegium model* with a high level of procedural and substantive autonomy. Within the service belief system there is the *corporate-statist model* with tight substantial and procedural control, the *new managerialism* with tight state substantive control and a high level of procedural autonomy, and the *market model* with a high level of procedural and substantive autonomy (Braun & Merrien 1999:22). They use Clark's analysis of higher education systems in 1983 as an example, i.e. Switzerland as an example of a bureaucratic-etatist model, Germany as the bureaucratic-oligarchic model, the United Kingdom as a collegiums model, the Soviet Union as a corporate-statist model and the United States as a market model.[66]

The structures, positions and functions in institutions are restricted by the university acts and the higher education act. The recruitment of staff, their salaries and promotion guidelines are all regulated by the government, as is student admission. The internal allocation of funds is an exception. Thus, there is a difference between a high level of financial autonomy opposed to a low level of

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[66] In 1983, no higher education system fit the new managerialism model (Braun & Merrien 1999).

autonomy concerning organisation, personnel and student selection. But all four aspects are subsumed under procedural autonomy. As shown in 5.2.1 the Sudanese government is in control of teaching and research content and programming. Thus, according to the three-dimensional governance cube of Braun & Merrien (1999), the Sudanese higher education system is a corporatist-statist model where higher education institutions lack substantive and procedural autonomy within a service belief system.

Hüther (2010:114) criticises the equation of the new managerialism with a utilitarian belief system and the link between belief system and the role of academic oligarchy. His criticism is especially valid if the model is applied to former colonies. Higher education systems in developing countries were operating within a service belief system before the trend towards New Public Management. The universities in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa were utilitarian institutions from their inception during colonialism until today. During colonialism, universities were established to produce manpower for the colonial administration, and after independence, a university in addition to armed forces and a national airline was perceived as a symbol of sovereignty for the new nations and as a tool for social and economic progress (Omari 1994:58). This viewpoint resulted in strong government involvement.

With regard to the mechanisms of higher education governance, the role of the academic community and competition is deduced from the role of the state and the level of substantial and procedural autonomy of higher education institutions and the national belief system. In addition, patrimonial hierarchy and the cultural community are again not represented. Thus, the governance cube does not show the arbitrariness of the government's actions nor the level of financial autonomy.

7.2.4   The Governance Equalizer

Schimank (2000), de Boer, Enders & Schimank (2007) and Schimank (2007a) developed a new governance typology, called governance equalizer, based on Clark's triangle of coordination and his model of the entrepreneurial university. Schimank divides state authority into state regulation and external steering by public actors – academic oligarchy equals academic self-governance, the market equals competition – and adds the dimension of organisation (the strengthened core) as managerial self-governance. He operationalises the five dimensions as follows: **State regulation** of universities by the state through laws is defined by loose or tight legal control of finance, organisation, personnel, teaching & re-

search. **External steering**[67] is executed through contract management by the state, the involvement of external actors, (e.g., with respect to the allocation of third party funding), the number of external actors in the University Council and their authority and external influence on study programmes (e.g., accreditation). **Competition pressure** takes place within institutions (internal resource allocation based on performance indicators, decisions based on profile development) and between institutions (public funding related to performance indicators, the level of third party funding). The level of **academic self-governance** by collegial bodies is based on the degree of authority of collegial bodies with respect to finance, organisation and personnel issues, i.e. if the academic senate is a decision-making or supervisory body, and the significance of peer review. Another indicator is the autonomy of individual scholars based on their job contracts and privileges, e.g., are professors civil servants with the right to life long employment or not? **Managerial self-governance** depends on the competences of the executive team, the deans and heads of department with respect to finance, organisation and personnel. The organisational culture is another indicator: is it a corporate culture or culture of consensus, duration of tenure and possibility of voting out incumbents? Schimank (2007a) suggests a possible operationalisation of the governance equalizer and developed indicators for each of the dimensions. He then argues that each indicator should be weighted with one point for weak, two points for medium and three points for strong weight. For some indicators he also offers examples for weak and strong weight (Schimank 2007a:247-253). In the following, I have further developed this operationalisation with a specific description for each indicator and each weight (weak, medium and strong) based on the findings and applied it to the Sudanese case.

Table 18: Operationalisation of the Governance Equalizer

State Regulation	Weak –	Medium[68]	Strong +
Funding	1 – Lump sum budgeting, freedom to generate income without restrictions	2 – Partly lump sum, partly line item budgeting, regulations concerning income generation	3 – Line item budgeting

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[67] This dimension was first defined as external guidance (Schimank, Kehm & Enders 1999).
[68] Schimank (2007a) generally does not offer a specific operationalisation for a medium weight of each indicator. Therefore, these are all based on my own operationalisation.

Personnel	1 –Universities are free in recruiting and promoting personnel and setting salaries	2 – General guidelines concerning staff selection, salaries and promotions.	3 – Detailed regulations concerning recruitment, salaries and promotions. Senior staff is appointed.
Organisation	1 – Universities are free to define their own organizational structures.	2 - Universities are can define their own organizational structures subject to government approval.	3 – Organisational structure is defined by regulations
Teaching	1 – Universities can independently decide on study programmes, curriculum and examination regulations	2 - Study programmes curriculum and examination regulations have to be approved by state or state appointed buffer bodies.	3 – Study programmes curriculum and examination regulations have to be approved by the government.
Research	1 – Universities can accept and use third party funds without any regulations.	2 – There are broad guidelines concerning the acceptance and use of third party funds that universities have to adhere to.	3 – Regulations and terms of reference restrict the acceptance and the use of third party funds.
External Steering[69]	**Weak –**	**Medium**	**Strong +**
External actors in the University Council	1 –The University Council is a ceremonial body with dignitaries and academic staff as its members. Their approval is pro-forma.	2 – Some members of the University Council are external. The approval of the council is needed with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research	3 – A majority of members of the council are external, they have decision-making power with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research

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[69] Schimank originally named four indicators including target agreements – Zielvereinbarungen. Since this does not apply to the Sudanese case, this indicator was omitted. If applied to other higher education systems, however, this dimension might still be useful.

Third-party funding (Research) from external contractors	1 – Non-scientific criteria do not play a role in allocating third party funding. Peer review and scientific criteria prevail.	2 – A mix of scientific and non-scientific criteria is used for allocating funds, both public and private research funds are used. External actors are involved in decision-making	3 – General funding for research is so scarce that attracting funds from external non-scientific actors is necessary.
External actors in the national council[70] (Teaching content)	1 – External actors play a marginal role in intermediary bodies. Their role is to approve decisions made by academic peers.	2 external actors and academic peers are both members of intermediary bodies; one group cannot override decisions of the other.	3 – External actors in intermediary bodies have a veto power concerning decisions on teaching.
Academic Self-Governance	**Weak –**	**Medium**	**Strong +**
De iure decision-making power of collegial bodies with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research	1 – Collegial bodies are restrained by the decision-making power of institutional managers/public actors	2 – Collegial bodies have substantial leeway in the scope of their decision-making, but decisions need approval from higher authorities.	3 – The most important and powerful decision-making body within the university is the academic senate, his decisions cannot be easily overturned.
De facto decision-making power of collegial bodies with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research	1 – Collegial bodies are restrained by the decision-making power of institutional managers/public actors	2 – Collegial bodies have substantial leeway in the scope of their decision-making, but decisions need approval from higher authorities.	3 – The most important and powerful decision-making body within the university is the academic senate, his decisions cannot be easily overturned.

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[70] Schimank mentions accreditation and study programme commissions here. Based on the empirical findings, I specified the national council as partly external actor.

Level of peer review with respect to teaching	1 – External actors are members of evaluation and accreditation bodies and dominate decision-making.	2 – Senior academics and external actors make decisions with respect to teaching. One side cannot override the other.	3 – Only senior academics are involved in evaluating and accrediting teaching.
Level of peer review with respect to research	1 – External actors are members in evaluation and accreditation bodies and dominate decision-making.	2 – Senior academics and external actors make decisions with respect to teaching. One side cannot override the other.	3 – Only senior academics are involved in evaluating research.
Individual autonomy of professors (de iure)[71]	1 – Professors have short-term contracts and can be dismissed like any other employee. They are not autonomous from the university leadership or the state concerning academic affairs.	2 – Professors have conditional contracts based on regular external evaluations. Their teaching and research has to conform to the institution's profile developed by the leadership/government.	3 - Professors have life-long tenure and cannot easily be dismissed by the institution or the government. They have academic freedom.
Professor's (in)dependence on/from third party funding	1 – Professors do not have their own budget and heavily depend conditional resource allocation from the university leadership and on attracting external funds.[72]	2 – Professors dispose of some financial resources and cover some of their costs, e.g., support of young researchers, with third party funds.	3 – Professors have their own budget and can make financial decisions for their own chair or institute in addition to third party funds.

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[71] Based on the empirical data, I added the government as an actor who can appoint or dismiss professors.

[72] Operationalisation is based on empirical findings. In the two new universities, additional funding has to be requested from the university leadership.

Managerial Self-Governance[73]	Weak –	Medium	Strong +
De iure decision-making power of actors with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research	1 – Institutional managers cannot override the decision-making power of individual professors and collegial bodies	2 - The power of institutional managers particularly concerning teaching and research is restrained by veto and decision-making powers of individual professors	3 – Unrestricted authority of institutional managers over individual professors
De facto decision-making power of actors with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research	1 – Institutional managers cannot override the decision-making power of individual professors and collegial bodies	2 - The power of institutional managers particularly concerning teaching and research is restrained by veto and decision-making powers of individual professors	3 – Unrestricted authority of institutional managers over individual professors
Election and duration of tenure of university leadership	1 – The university leadership can be voted out anytime by senior academics/can be dismissed by public actors. Their tenure is short.[74]	2 – The university leadership has a short-term tenure. They cannot be easily voted out, but have to stand re-election regularly.	3 – The university leadership has long-term tenure and cannot be easily dismissed or voted out before their term ends.
Competition	**Weak**	**Medium**	**Strong**
Institutional allocation of resources based on indicators	1 – Internal resource allocation is based on input criteria, like number of students, staff, programmes	2 – A large part of funding is allocated based on input criteria; only a proportion of funding is allocated based on perfor-	3 – A large part – if not all – of funding is performance related.

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[73] Schimank (2007:251) chose *de facto* and *de iure* competences as one indicator and also named the institutional culture as one indicator.

[74] Operationalisation adjusted based on empirical findings, since the university leadership is not elected but appointed and can be dismissed or not appointed for an additional term.

		mance.	
Profile building (competition among professorships and study programmes)	1 – Profile building is not based on competition.	2 – There is a limit for considering performance indicators with respect to profile building, other factors need to be considered as well.	3 – Professorships or study programmes are closed or established based on research performance.
A national reporting system that forms the basis for the performance related allocation of funds	1 – The national monitoring system is not consulted for resource allocation.	2 – The national reporting system is only partly consulted with respect to resource allocation, in put criteria are also considered.	3 – A national reporting system is used to rank institutions and to allocate funds accordingly.
The rate of tuition fees with respect to the institution's budget (teaching)[75]	1 – No tuition fees are charged.	2 – The tuition fees are not charged or the rate of tuition fees is marginal and only covers a small portion of actual study costs.	3 – Tuition fees are a substantial portion of the general budget and of the costs of study programmes.
The rate of third party funds (research)[76]	1 – The rate of third party funds of the budget is negligible.	2 – Research funds are allocated through the public operational grant. Third party funds form a small part of the research budget.	3 – Due to scarce public funding, third party funds form the major part of research funding. The granting of third party funds is highly competitive.

Table 19: Range of Points for Operationalisation

	Range of points	Weak	Medium	Strong
State Regulation	5 to 15 points	5 to 8 points	9 to 12 points	13 to 15 points
External Steering	3 to 9 points	3 to 4 points	5 to 7 points	8 to 9 points

[75] Operationalisation based on empirical findings.
[76] Operationalisation based on empirical findings.

Academic Self-Governance	6 to 18 points	6 to 10 points	11 to 14 points	15 to 18 points
Managerial Self-Governance	3 to 9 points	3 to 4 points	5 to 7 points	8 to 9 points
Competition	5 to 15 points	5 to 8 points	9 to 12 points	13 to 15 points

According to Kehm & Lanzendorf, "[T]he particular strength or weakness of the individual mechanisms of coordination in a specific system of rules can be imagined as a power parallelogram. The term 'governance regime' describes such a specific power parallelogram"(Kehm & Lanzendorf 2006:15). In the following a governance regime will be developed for universities in Southern Sudan.

State Regulation: Universities are restrained in their actions by the higher education and the university acts, which delineate the university's role in advancing the social and economic development of the nation as well as national integration in teaching and research. Academic and administrative staff is recruited based on government regulations and salary rosters. Staff can be dismissed by public actors outside the university on public grounds. Thus, in the four areas of organisation (3), personnel (3), teaching (3) and research (3) state regulation plays a strong role, while it plays a weak role in funding (1).

External Steering: Half of the members of University Councils are external. The council is *de iure* strong (3), but *de facto* weak since the government provides universities with a public grant based on input criteria. Thus, the University Council's resolutions concerning funding and the establishment of new programmes is dependent on government approval through funding. International actors are involved in developing new programmes and faculties through development projects. This includes the evaluation and auditing of programmes. They also play a role in developing joint research projects in the confines of the national law. As mentioned above, this cannot be defined as governance. The national council is responsible for the approval of new faculties, study programmes and the fund for research (2x3). There is a high number of external actors among its members.

Academic Self-Governance: The most important coordinating body of academic self-governance is the national council for higher education responsible for evaluating teaching and research, but it has a large number of politicians among its members (2x1). The highest collegial body concerning academic issues is the university senate. The senate is responsible for discussing and deciding on examinations, new programmes or any other academic issue, but needs approval from the University Council and finally the national council for higher

education (2x1). Professors can be dismissed by the government for political reasons (1) and do not dispose of their own budget (1).

Managerial Self Governance: The vice-chancellor, his executive team and the deans of the universities are political appointees (1) with substantial decision-making powers (2). The vice-chancellor as the chief academic and administrative officer in the university supervises all internal committees and governing bodies and the deans through running the day-to-day activities of the university in the Deans' Board (3). The deans' financial powers vary between the three universities (see section 4.4).

Competition: The pressure to raise external funds has intensified due to the higher education revolution. National and institutional allocation of funds is based on input criteria (2x1) and profile building is based on local needs (1). Because of the decrease in funding, universities rely heavily on tuition fees (3) and third party research funding (3).

The governance regime is characterised by strong state regulation and external steering by the state, weak academic self-governance, medium managerial self-governance and medium competition. As for the mechanisms identified for the governance of Southern Sudanese universities, state regulation and external steering equal hierarchy, the academic self-governance stands for the academic community and competition for competition. Again patrimonial hierarchy and the cultural community are not represented.

In summary, all the typologies can be applied to the Sudanese case but tell only half of the story.[77] According to the typologies, the higher education system in Sudan is either a state system (Clark 1983), state control (van Vught 1989), a corporate-statist model (Braun & Merrien 1999), or regulated in a governance regime of strong regulation and external steering by public actors, weak academic self-governance, medium managerial self-governance and medium competition (Schimank 2007). The models correctly grasp hierarchy as the dominant mechanism and with it the dominance of the state. But the assumption that hierarchy precludes arbitrariness is inherent in all typologies. They can therefore not grasp an important feature of higher education governance in Sudan.

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[77] This also applies to the comparative framework by Dobbins, Knill & Vögtle (2011), the general governance typology developed by Olsen (1988), which was applied to the post-apartheid higher education system of South Africa by Cloete, Maassen & Muller (2005), and Olsen (2007), which is a higher education specific governance typology.

Table 20: University Governance Typologies in Comparison

Governance Mechanisms	Triangle	StateCtrl/Superv.	Cube	Equalizer
Hierarchy I (legal-rational)	X	X	X	X
Hierarchy II (patrimonial)	--	--	--	--
Community I (academic)	X			X
Community II (cultural)	--	--	--	--
Competition	X	--	--	X

All the typologies discussed refer to each other and can be read as an evolution of higher education governance typologies with Clark's triangle of coordination as the starting point. The three mechanisms in the triangle are related to each other, i.e. there cannot be a system with three strong mechanisms, a state system implies weaker academic oligarchy and weaker market mechanisms. Van Vught's policy models focus on the role of the state which then implies the strength or weakness of the institutional leadership and the academic oligarchy. Braun & Merrien's governance cube deduces the strength of the academic oligarchy and the market from the role of the state and the belief system. It is only the governance equalizer that outlines the different governance dimensions with respect to the state, other stakeholders, the institutional leadership and the academic profession in addition to competition independently from each other. Each dimension is defined as strong or weak independently from all other dimensions (Schimank 2007). Therefore, the governance equalizer is the adequate template to develop an amended typology that incorporates the additional governance mechanisms that characterise the Sudanese higher education system.

7.3 A New Typology of University Governance

In all cases, the missing mechanisms were patrimonial hierarchy and cultural community. The governance equalizer is the best template for an adjusted typology that encompasses the named mechanisms. A new typology that encompasses all mechanisms of higher education governance is therefore based on the definition of neopatrimonialism of Engel & Erdmann (2006) and Engel & Olsen (2005) and the governance equalizer of Schimank (2007). The dimensions of this typology are: state regulation, patrimonial steering and external steering by public actors to incorporate the combination of legal-rational and patrimonial coor-

dination, managerial self-governance, academic self-governance, cultural self-governance and finally, competition.

Table 21: Patrimonial Steering & Cultural Self-Governance

Patrimonial Steering	Weak –	Medium	Strong +
The regularity of decisions with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research (arbitrariness)	1 – Decisions are primarily task and issue-oriented. Political considerations play a lesser role. There is a high level of predictability.	2 – While decision makers are task-oriented and sometimes pragmatic, ethno-political and ideological issues are also considered. This leads to unpredictability.	3 – Decisions are exclusively based on irrelevant considerations, e.g., ethno-political affiliation and therefore highly unpredictable.
The legality of decisions with respect to funding, personnel, organisation, teaching & research (breach of law)	1 – Rules, regulations and agreements are generally honoured.	2 – Legally binding agreements and regulations are only honoured if they do not contradict the goals and ideology of the government.	3 – Decisions – especially with respect to funding – that are agreed on and legally binding are frequently breached.
Cultural Self-Governance	Weak –	Medium	Strong +
The Role of Identity in the Academy	1 – The socialisation and ethnicity of academic staff is not perceived as important as the norms and values of the academic profession.	2 – The socialisation and ethnicity of academic staff is an important factor as well as their academic profile.	3 – The socialisation and ethnicity of academic staff is widely known and viewed as an essential part of their personality.
Institutional decision-making with respect to organisational and academic matters	1 – Decisions are solely based on issues relevant to the field. Ethno-political alliances exist, but are of marginal importance for decision-making.	2 – Besides qualifications and need also the ethno-political affiliation is considered.	3 – The appointment of personnel, the allocation of funding & academic-related decisions are solely based on ethno-political affiliation

I developed two indicators with respect to patrimonial steering, i.e. the regularity and legality of public decision-making, which is an analytical distinction, and two indicators – "the role of identity in academia" and "institutional decision-making with respect to organisational and academic matters" – with respect to cultural self-governance.

Patrimonial Steering: The state never pays the full budget that is submitted in the proposal by universities. Furthermore, the payments that are agreed upon are also not paid on time or not at all, i.e. the staff salaries for universities in the South are paid two to three months late and not in total. Decisions made in the national council are not implemented or stalled by the government if they do not correspond to the wishes of the minister of higher education who chairs the meetings. Financial commitments with respect to the relocation of universities to the South, e.g., the funding of the renovation of a local hospital or the development of a local campus due to room shortages, are not honoured (2). There are also several instances where agreements and laws are broken by the government. Presidential decrees to the benefit of universities are regularly not implemented. E.g., the president decreed that students from war-torn areas receive a tuition fee waiver and that their fees would be paid by the government. The fact that the government did not pay these tuition fees after the universities were forced to issue waivers caused a fiscal crisis. Lastly, professors are by law entitled to benefits in the form of airline tickets, which they have not received for several years (3). I therefore conclude that there is a strong level of patrimonial steering

Cultural Self-Governance: Cultural and ethnic identity is an important marker in universities. For some interviewees it was important to state which region of the country they came from. Levels of loyalty and service to the university were explained in ethnic terms. (2) While academic staff from Southern Sudan form the minority within the universities, they are the majority in the leadership of the university. Southern Sudanese are also overrepresented in deanships (2). There is a medium level of cultural self-governance.

Table 22: Range of Points for Operationalisation II

	Range of points	Weak	Medium	Strong
Patrimonial Steering	2 to 6 points	2 to 3 points	4 points	5 to 6 points
Cultural Self-Governance	2 to 6 points	2 to 3 points	4 points	5 to 6 points

Universities are embedded in their social environment: The state through hierarchy, society through community and the market through competition regulate the universities. The social environment in return is shaped by global ideas such as development and new public management and Islamism which also shape the universities.

7.4 Chapter Conclusion

The findings of the case study are that the boundaries between state, society and universities are blurred. Public actors make decisions based on irrelevant considerations not covered by law or in breach of law. This makes their decisions unpredictable. Second, the Sudanese society is shaped by ethnic, political and ideological conflict. The experiences and values of marginalised groups affected by the conflict reach into the universities and inform institutional decision-making. Lastly, higher education policy is influenced by global ideas that are locally translated. The most poignant example for Sudan is the higher education revolution implemented by the new Islamist regime after the coup in 1990. The "revolution" combined elements of New Public Management and Islamism. This led to a more entrepreneurial profile of the universities with teaching and research confined to Islamic values. Thus, higher education governance is shaped by neopatrimonialism, social embeddedness and travelling concepts.

Based on the case study results, this chapter focussed on the governance mechanisms prevalent at universities in Southern Sudan and discussed the applicability of the most popular governance typologies in higher education research to the case. According to my results, the governance mechanisms are hierarchy through legal-rational coordination and patrimonial coordination, community based on reciprocal adjustment based on the norms and values of the academic profession, and community based on the shared socialisation and experience of cultural groups and competition for scarce resources in the academic marketplace regulated by the government. A detailed analysis of four typologies[78] shows that all typologies represent to varying degrees the mechanisms of legal-rational hierarchy, the community of academics and competition, but do not represent the mechanisms deduced from neopatrimonialism and cultural

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[78] Clark's (1983) Triangle of Coordination – state authority, market and academic oligarchy, van Vught's (1989) state control versus state supervision model, Braun and Merrien's (1999) three dimensional cube including the educational belief system, the level of procedural and of substantive autonomy in higher education, and the governance equalizer (Schimank 2007a) with the five dimensions: state regulation (hierarchy), external guidance (network), managerial self-governance (hierarchy), academic self-governance (community) and competition.

identity. The typologies can be applied and the Sudanese case can be defined as a state system (Clark 1983), state control (van Vught 1989), a corportatist-statist model (Braun & Merrien 1999) and a system with strong state regulation, external steering, medium managerial self-governance and competition and weak academic self-governance (Schimank 2007a). But that does not tell the whole story. What all of these typologies omit is the possibility of patrimonial steering and the influence of identity on decision-making. Arbitrariness and unpredictability are assumed to be inexistent in higher education governance. Since the governance equalizer is the most detailed governance typology, I used it as a template for an amended typology that can describe the results of the case study. In order to better describe the case, two dimensions – patrimonial steering and cultural self-governance – were added to the typology. In order to describe the governance regime of universities in Southern Sudan, I then followed Schimank's (2007a) operationalisation of the governance equalizer and defined indicators for the two additional dimensions. As public organisations, universities are also affected by patrimonial aspects of government steering. The boundaries between public and private, between the state, society and universities formally exist but are not observed (cf. Engel & Olsen 2005, Erdmann & Engel 2006). This is an aspect that is usually neglected in other higher education studies where universities are viewed as isolated from the political regime and its governing style. The universities in Southern Sudan are regulated in a neopatrimonial manner, and issues of identity reach into the university and inform institutional decision-making. Therefore, current university governance typologies that have a democracy and problem-solving bias cannot fully describe the case. In order to shed light on this blind spot, I developed the governance equalizer further to include two additional dimensions.

I argue that the amended model is not a complementary typology for universities in developing countries, while the original equalizer is a typology for universities in industrial countries. In fact, due to the operationalisation I offered the typology can be applied to any higher education system. The case of the Sudanese higher education system during the transitional period is a very specific one, with a specific historic legacy. But at the same time the additional governance mechanisms I found are not specific to postcolonial post-conflict countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The concept of neopatrimonialism is also used to describe political regimes and statehood in Asia, Latin America and Europe (Bache & Gazibo 2012). Research has shown that elements of patrimonial coordination can also be found in the German public sector (Bosetzky 1974 cited in Bierschenk 2010). Bureaucracies in industrial and developing countries both deviate from the ideal type of legal-rational domination. This is related to Eurocentric assumptions the typologies are based on. The typologies do not take into

account that the concept of legal-rational domination according to Weber is an ideal type and that governance in western industrial countries also shows elements of patrimonialism. This typology therefore confronts the two elements of eurocentrism, i.e. European universalism and European exceptionalism. The idea, that European norms and values are superior and universal influences policy and research alike. At the same time a European ideal is compared with the reality in the periphery (cf. Neubert 2005). So while governance in post-conflict and developing countries deviates from the ideals in the Western World, so does governance in the Western World itself.

This thesis has widened the perspective of Eurocentric higher education governance research based on empirical data and by including the findings of African studies. In the same way, this thesis offers a new perspective for the African studies community which focuses on statehood and public sector governance in Africa while often omitting the higher education sector.

Based on the empirical findings, I have developed a typology that encompasses the neopatrimonial aspects of governance, which also occur in public sector governance in western industrial countries. Since it would be beyond the scope of the study, the application and test of the typology in other higher education systems of the world is a possible topic for future research. In a next step, higher education research should take into account the role of clientelism and patronage in higher education systems, e.g., with respect to recruitment policy. The inclusion and exclusion of groups in developing countries is usually explained with clientelism and patronage based on ethnic and clan affiliation. The recruitment of academics in particular and the reproduction of elites in general based on gender, social class and ethnicity in Western countries follows similar mechanisms. A closer look at and conceptualisation of "academic patronage" (Martin 2009) could be part of a larger research focus on inequality and justice in higher education.

Epilogue

Since I concluded my research a lot has changed in Southern Sudan. From January 9th to 15th, 2011, a referendum was held during which an overwhelming majority of voters (98.83%) opted for the independence of South Sudan. After a transitional period of six months, the Republic of South Sudan celebrated its independence on July 9th, 2011. This change – though expected – had a tremendous impact on higher education in South Sudan. In December 2010, all three universities were transferred back to the South in a five-day operation organised by the Ministry for Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology.[79] In order to accommodate Northern staff and students of the three Southern universities, the Sudanese government established a new university in July 2011, the University of Bahri, which was housed in the premises of the University of Juba near Khartoum, with ca. 12,000 students, 850 academic and 686 non-academic staff and 26 colleges and 8 specialised centres.[80] The universities in the South therefore lost about 65% of their staff and in addition their assets, since their properties in the North were impounded. [81]

The Government of South Sudan established its own Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology in 2011. In May 2012, a National Council for Higher Education was inaugurated by the President of South Sudan with the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology as its chairman. The organisational structure of higher education policy of the Republic of Sudan is therefore replicated in the Republic of South Sudan. At the same time, some reform initiatives were implemented. A new salary structure was introduced: Full professors in South Sudan now earn US$2,000 opposed to the on-average up to US$700 they would earn in the Republic of Sudan. Since the living expenses in South Sudan are much higher than in Sudan, the reform is partly viewed as a gesture of goodwill. Reforms of the Student Welfare Fund and the appointment

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[79] Philip, Mabior (2010): Higher education ministry repatriates universities from north Sudan. Available online at http://www.borglobe.com/25.html?m7:post=higher-education-ministry-repatriates-universities-from-north-sudan.

[80] http://www.bahri.edu.sd./index.php

[81] Sawahel, Wagdy (2012) Ambitious higher education reform plans for Africa's newest nation, in: University World News Global Edition Issue 215.
Available online at http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20120329103110290

and remuneration structure of academic staff is also underway. Other reform suggestions offered by the working group on higher education, like the election of the university leadership instead of appointment, are still being discussed.

The government of the new state also seems to follow Sudan's higher education policy in embarking on an expansion of the higher education system. The number of universities has grown since independence from three to at least eight public universities, although not all of them are operational yet. Besides the universities of Juba, Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile, the universities of Rumbek and Northern Bahr el Ghazal, which were still established in the Republic of Sudan by Omar al Bashir, were opened in 2010 and 2011 respectively.[82] The John Garang Institute of Science and Technology in Bor – originally established by the state government of Jonglei and a Moldovan petroleum company – was taken over by the state and upgraded to the John Garang Memorial University. The University of Western Equatoria in Yambio and Torit University of Science and Technology in Eastern Equatoria state are currently planned. In addition, around 35 private universities were established to absorb the growing number of secondary school graduates. In May 2012, however, the then Minister of Higher Education, Dr. Peter Adwok, ordered the closure of 21 private universities after the conclusion of a study of private higher education in South Sudan. According to the study, private universities are often situated in urban areas, lack adequate lecture rooms, offer programmes that are not approved or accredited by the government and usually employ staff on a part-time basis without employment contracts.[83] The decision to close private universities has curbed opportunities for many students, since most of the public universities have been closed for long periods of time due to budget constraints since 2012.

Oil revenue forms 98% of the budget of the Government of South Sudan, of which the higher education sector receives 0.4%. Thus, when the government in a dispute with the Government of Sudan over transport tolls[84] suspended oil production in January 2012, it took a heavy toll on the budget of the universities. The stop in oil production led to austerity measures and steep cuts in the education budget.[85] The problems of the universities with respect to lack of infrastruc-

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[82] In case of the University of Northern Bahr El Ghazal, however, the funding for the opening of the university was never provided. See: Green, Andrew (2014): Plans for higher education development – Once the war ends, in: University World News Global Edition, Issue 322. Available online at http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20140528194107485

[83] Wudu, Whaake Simon (2012): Minister orders closure of 21 universities, in: Oye! Times. Available online at http://www.oyetimes.com/news/africa/23086-minister-orders-closure-of-21-private-universities.

[84] The oil pipelines run through the Republic of Sudan to Port Sudan, since South Sudan is landlocked and no new pipeline with an alternative route has been constructed.

[85] Oil production only resumed in March 2013.

ture, academic staff and chronic under-funding were therefore exacerbated. That same year the government had planned to move five universities to new locations and construct modern campuses in a five-year university project financed with "$2.5 billion in oil-backed loans from China". The plan has been delayed due to the oil shut down.[86]

The funding crisis has led to the closure of universities and strikes by lecturers. Lecturers at the University of Bahr El Ghazal went on strike during examinations, because they did not receive their examination allowances.[87] The university remained closed from September 2012 onwards for at least a whole year.[88] In January 2013, Upper Nile University remained closed due to lack of funds for supporting housing and food for students. Lecturers also went on strike at the University of Juba, because they did not receive allowances. In addition, in April 2012, the university was closed in response to tribal clashes on campus. The university closed again in March 2013 for at least half a year. The same developments have taken place at other public universities which had to close due to funding shortages.[89]

In December 2013, South Sudan went through its most serious crisis yet.[90] The conflict between the President Salva Kiir Mayardit and his first Vice-President Riek Machar Teny started with the firing of the Vice-President and the whole cabinet for supposedly plotting a coup. The situation escalated on December 15th when fighting between soldiers of the army loyal to the two politicians erupted. The conflict turned in to a civil war and large scale massacres along ethnic/tribal lines that turned the country into turmoil.[91] According to reports Ugandan, troops entered the conflict on the Government's side and continued fighting rebels. Since January 3, 2014, negotiations between the Government of South Sudan and rebels started in Addis Ababa at the request of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which was also involved in the

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[86] Dziadosz, Alexander (2012): South Sudan plans China-backed $2.5 bln university project, in: Reuters. Available online at http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/13/southsudan-education-idUSL5E8KD83Z20120913

[87] Ariath, Ater Garang (2012): South Sudan: Deans' Board of Bahr El Ghazal University denounces lecturers' strike, in: The Citizen (Juba). Available at http://allafrica.com/stories/201209030051.html; Ariath, Ater Garang (2012): South Sudan: Bahr El Ghazal University exams, amid lecturers strike, in: The Citizen (Juba). Available online at http://allafrica.com/stories/201209020305.html

[88] Garang, Deng Simon (2013): What next for South Sudan's beleaguered higher education?, in: TheNiles.com. Available online at http://www.theniles.org/articles/?id=2020

[89] Mon, Majok (2012): University of Rumbek forced to close unless funding improves, in: The-Niles.com. Available online at http://www.theniles.org/articles/?id=1274

[90] For an in-depth analysis of the crisis see Douglas (2014).

[91] Observers of the United Nations describe the ongoing violence as ethnic cleansing, since armed groups target civilians that belong to specific ethnic groups: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27102643

peace negotiations between the North and South. As of yet, an agreed upon ceasefire could not be secured on the ground.

Due to the eruption of violence, the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology ordered all public and private universities closed. During this crisis in March of 2014 the vice-chancellors of all South Sudanese universities were exchanged by the government. The universities hardest hit by the civil war are John Garang Memorial University of Science and Technology in Bor and University of Upper Nile in Malakal. The two universities remain closed (as of May 2014), while the Universities of Juba, Rumbek and Bahr El Ghazal and the country's leading private university Catholic University of South Sudan managed to re-open. All universities lost staff and students in the civil war. Higher education reform and funding projects were put on hold due to the violence. The crisis has also led to the suspension of international cooperation projects with universities and other partners in Europe and North America. The situation is still unstable and fighting continues. As of April 17, 2014, 917,000 South Sudanese were displaced and 10,000 were killed.

In my study, I concluded that the governance regime of universities in Southern Sudan during the transitional period was shaped by a local form of New Public Management (Islamist Public Management), that governance was shaped by neopatrimonial steering and that universities heavily focussed on applied teaching and research for social and economic development. Since the independence of South Sudan part of the findings have changed. The governance regime of Islamist Public Management was implemented by the Islamist government of Sudan and was therefore rejected by politicians, academics and students in South Sudan.[92] A screening of newspaper articles on the current state of higher education in South Sudan suggests that the elements of New Public Management introduced during the higher education revolution have not been abolished. The student welfare fund was not yet reformed. The government started to support students' board and lodging during the transitional period, which has become untenable during the financial crisis and therefore stopped. This has led universities to close, because students from different regions did not have the opportunity to find accommodations of their own and had to be supported by the universities. There are therefore calls to again demand students pay their own tuition fees and to involve students and parents in cost sharing measures. A student loan scheme was also in discussion.

The universities of Juba, Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile were not consolidated as the three main universities for South Sudan, but new universities are established and planned, while the existing organisations are still chronically

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[92] The Islamist Public Management Regime still prevails in the Republic of Sudan.

underfunded and therefore each had to be closed for some time. This continues a pattern that was started in the Republic of Sudan, i.e. that every region needs its own university which also answers to local demands. On the other hand, the expansion is not funded adequately and bears the possibility of a tribalisation of higher education.

The development focus of the universities has not changed. In 2011, the Academics and Researchers Forum for Development (ARFD) was founded, which is headed by the vice-chancellor of the University of Northern Bahr El Ghazal.[93] In November of the same year, they partnered with the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology of South Sudan and organised a conference on the Future of Higher Education in Sudan. The ARFD is a think tank of academics and researchers with a pronounced focus on development and poverty reduction.

In summary, current data suggest that universities are still governed by a local, more secular form of New Public Management. Due to the expansion of the higher education system and a possible regionalisation, if not tribalisation, it can be assumed that governance is still shaped by patrimonial steering, albeit based on different groups and affiliations. The goal of higher education policy-makers, the university leadership and academics is still to develop the nation.

Further research should therefore focus on the role of global and local ideas professed by international and national actors that are appropriated and implemented in the course of state building. International actors now have a lot more access than in the Republic of Sudan. Many new politicians and academics are returnees who spent decades in exile, be it in the region or in other (Western) parts of the world. They might also introduce new ideas into the local discourse. In this early stage of state building, new institutional theories could be substantiated or refined empirically.

During the transitional period, universities were in constant financial crisis. In addition to financial woes, universities also have to face situations of instability and violence. It is therefore useful for further research to focus on the intersection of theories of conflict and violence and organisation studies, higher education management in crisis situations, and the impact of conflict on teaching and learning.

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[93] http://johnakecsouthsudan.blogspot.de/2011/02/founding-conference-of-academics_24.html

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – List of Interviews

Academic and Administrative Staff of the Universities

Date	Archive-No.	Position	Department	University
01.02.2008	010208-1ubg	Administrator	Vice-Chancellor's Office	University of Bahr El Ghazal
06.02.2008	060208-2ubg	Secretary for Academic Affairs		University of Bahr El Ghazal
02.05.2008	020508-3ubg	Dean	College of Education	University of Bahr El Ghazal
07.05.2008	070508-4ubg	Deputy Vice-Chancellor		University of Bahr El Ghazal
24.01.2008	240108-1uj	Executive Director	Vice-Chancellor's Office	University of Juba
28.01.2008	280108-2uj	Personnel Secretary		University of Juba
07.02.2008	070208-3uj	Head of Department	College of Education	University of Juba
18.02.2008	180208-4uj	Dean	College of Education	University of Juba
19.02.2008	190208-5uj	Dean	College of Social & Economic Studies	University of Juba
21.02.2008	210208-6uj	Director	Centre for Distance Education	University of Juba
03.03.2008	030308-7uj	Secretary for Academic Affairs		University of Juba
06.03.2008	060308-8uj	Principal		University of Juba
09.04.2008	090408-9uj	Vice-Chancellor		University of Juba
20.05.2008	200508-10uj	Academic Staff	School of Management Sciences	University of Juba
27.05.2008	270508-11uj	Academic Staff	College of Education	University of Juba
18.06.2008	180608-3uc	Chairman	University Council	University of Juba
23.01.2008	230108-1unu	Principal		University of Upper Nile

29.01.2008	290108-2unu	Secretary for Academic Affairs		University of Upper Nile
03.02.2008	030208-3unu	Academic Staff	Department of Community Medicine	University of Upper Nile
13.02.2008	130208-4unu	Dean	Faculty of Agriculture	University of Upper Nile
29.03.2008	290308-5unu	Dean	College of Human Development	University of Upper Nile
01.04.2008	010408-6unu	Deputy Dean	College of Education	University of Upper Nile
04.06.2008	040608-1uc	Chairman	University Council	University of Upper Nile
12.06.2008	120608-2uc	Member	University Council	University of Upper Nile

Government Officials

Date	Archive-No.	Position	Department	Organisation
11.04.2008	110408-5gov	Director	Department of Higher and Tertiary Education	Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, GoSS
19.02.2008	190208-1gov	former Executive Secretary	National Council for Higher Education	Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research, GoNU
20.02.2008	200208-2gov	Executive Officer	Secretary General	Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research, GoNU
25.02.2008	250208-3gov	Secretary	Technical Committee for Rumbek University Establishment	Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research, GoNU
31.03.2008	310308-4gov	Secretary General		National Students' Welfare Fund, Upper Nile state

Societal Actors

Date	Archive-No.	Position	Department	Organisation
13.02.2008	130208-expert	Commissioner		National Civil Service Commission
13.03.2008	130308-expert	Academic Staff	Institute of African and Asian studies	University of Khartoum
25.03.2008	250308-1splm	General Secretary		SPLM Secretariat, Upper Nile state
18.04.2008	180408-1ngo	Regional English Language Advisor		Windle Trust International
24.04.2008	240408-1soc	Chairperson		South Sudan Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture

Appendix 2 – List of Informal Interviews

Academic and Administrative Staff

Date	Position	Department	Organisation
23.02.2008	Vice-Chancellor		University of Bahr El Ghazal
02.06.2008	Dean	Graduate Studies	University of Bahr El Ghazal
17.06.2008	Principal		University of Bahr El Ghazal
10.02.2008	Director	Centre for Languages and Translation	University of Juba
30.04.2008	Professor for Demography		University of Juba
19.01.2008	Dean	Library	University of Upper Nile
02.03.2008	Secretary for Academic Affairs		University of Upper Nile
03.03.2008	Director	Finance	University of Upper Nile
04.04.2008	Dean	Faculty of Veterinary Medicine	University of Upper Nile
07.04.2008	Academic Staff	Faculty of Animal Production	University of Upper Nile

Government Officials

Date	Position	Department	Org
24.02.2008	Director of Finance		Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research, GoNU
25.02.2008	Secretary	Technical Committee for Rumbek University Establishment	Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research, GoNU
27.03.2008	a.i. Director General		Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, Upper Nile state
27.03.2008	Minister		Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, Upper Nile state
23.04.2008	Minister		Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, GoSS
12.05.2008	Director General		Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, Western Bahr El-Ghazal state

Societal Actors

Date	Position	Department	Organisation
14.04.2008	Senior Operations Officer	Education	The World Bank, Sub-Office, Juba
24.04.2008	Chairwoman		Women's Union
28.04.2008	Officer		European Commission
28.04.2008	Education Officer		UNICEF
28.04.2008	Education Program Manager		USAID
12.06.2008	Dean	Faculty of Law	University of Khartoum
24.06.2007	DAAD Lektor	German Studies	University of Khartoum
22.04.2008	Female Student (1st year)	College of Medicine	University of Juba
03.06.2008	Students	College of Economics and Social Studies	University of Juba
09.04.2008	Returnee Representative	Juba University Students Union	University of Juba
09.06.2008	Information Committee	Juba University Students Union	University of Juba

Appendix 3 – Interview Guidelines

Guideline for Academic and Administrative Staff of Universities

1. Could you tell me something about the history and the profile of your University/College/Faculty ?
    1.1 When was the university/college/faculty established?
    1.2 When was the university/college/faculty transferred to Khartoum?
    1.3 Do you possess documents about the number of staff and students at the time of the transfer?
    1.4 How many colleges/faculties are in Khartoum and how many in Juba/Malakal/Wau
    1.5 How many students and staff are in Khartoum and in Juba/Malakal/Wau?
    1.6 Are there documents that outline the university's/college's/faculty's mission?
2. Which actors in the higher education sector did you cooperate with so far and which have you heard of (national, international, private/public)?
    2.1 Which capacity do they have and which policies do they stand for?
    2.2 Could you give an estimate of these actors influence on decision making processes?
    2.3 Which of these actors did you deal with?
    2.4 What did you experience with these actors?
    2.5 Are there institutionalised coordination committees that you work in with them?
    2.6 If that is so, how many coordination committees are there?
    2.7 How are decisions made in these committees?
    2.8 Could you please exemplify the process and schedule of one coordinating meeting?
    2.9 What role do you play during those meetings?
3. Please, explain to me the levels of decision making in the university/college/faculty.
    3.1 How is the university/college/faculty funded?
    3.2 How many committees does the university have and which purpose they have?
    3.3 Who is a member in these committees and who chairs them?
    3.4 Could you give an estimate of these committees' influence on decision making processes?
    3.5 Which of the committees in the university is the most important and powerful one?

3.6 Are there any other decision making authorities you need to deal with?
3.7 Which decisions are made on which level?
3.8 Are you satisfied with the actual decision-making arrangement?
3.9 If not, what would you change?
4. Could you say something about the plan to transfer the faculties located in Khartoum?
    4.1 How many faculties, staff and students are being shifted to the South this year?
    4.2 Are there any coordinating committees specifically introduced to coordinate the transfer?
    4.3 How are decision-making processes executed in this context?
    4.4 Did you yourself write, publish or give a talk on this topic?
    4.5 Do the Vice-Chancellors of the three universities cooperate and meet?
    4.6 If that is so, are the meetings informal or institutionalised?

Guideline for Government Officials

1. Could you at the beginning please say something about the objectives, the tasks and the structure of your ministry?
    1.1 How many departments are there and what is their objective?
    1.2 How many staff is working in the ministry?
    1.3 How many primary and secondary schools are under your supervision?
    1.4 Are there international agencies involved in the education sector?
    1.5 What significance does the higher education sector have in the ministry's work?
    1.6 Is there a higher education department (budget etc.)?
    1.7 What are the objectives of the government's higher education policy?
    1.8 Are there any documents on your institutions policy you can provide me with?
2. How would you describe the university-state relationship in Southern Sudan concerning the issue of concurrent powers laid down it the CPA?
    2.1 How are the responsibilities divided and if not, why is that so?
    2.2 How are the universities financed? What are the proportion you finance and the proportion that other state institutions finance?
    2.3 Which of the players named before is involved in policy formulation in the higher education sector?
    2.4 Are you satisfied with the current decision-making arrangement concerning the universities and the way responsibilities are shared?
    2.5 If not, what would you change?

3. Is your ministry involved in the plan to transfer the three southern universities back to the South?
   3.1 If that is so, what is your role in the process?
   3.2 Does your ministry deliver support (technically, financially)?
   3.3 Are there any coordinating committees specifically introduced to coordinate the transfer in your ministry?

Guideline for Representatives of International Organisations/Bilateral Donor Governments

1. Could you please at the beginning say something about your organisation's activities in the field of Sudanese higher education?
   1.1 Do you have a specific work unit concerned with higher education or is this field part of a general education programme?
   1.2 What is the significance assigned to higher education in your organisation? How many staff, programmes, funding is assigned to this field?
   1.3 Do you have any documents supporting your strategy, you can provide me with?
   1.4 Could you say something about your higher education promotion strategy? Is it technical or financial aid, consultancy etc.?
   1.5 Who are your local customers/partners?
   1.6 Do you have any policy beliefs on how a higher education system should be reconstructed in post conflict situations?
   1.7 Is the allocation of aid tied to conditions?
   1.8 Did you issue any policy documents, you can provide me with?
2. Is your organisation involved in the plan to transfer the three southern universities back to the South?
   2.1 If that is so, what is your role in the process?
   2.2 Does your organisation deliver support (technically, financially)?
   2.3 Are you aware of the universities transfer strategies and plans
   2.4 Are you aware of the problems and challenges concerning the university transfer?
3. How would you describe the university-state relationship in Southern Sudan concerning the Government of National Unity and the Government of Southern Sudan concerning
   3.1 policy formulation
   3.2 funding
   3.3 academic freedom
   3.4 research