THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

South Sudan Studies Association

South Sudan Studies Association

Gender Equality and Civicness in Higher Education in South Sudan: Debates from University of Juba Circles

Kuyang Harriet Logo

CONFLICT RESEARCH PROGRAMME

About the Authors

Dr. Kuyang Harriet Logo teaches International Law, International Human Rights Law, and Women and Child Law at the University of Juba. Kuyang is an independent consultant, working on democratic governance, access to justice, and the rule of Law. Prior to becoming an academic and consultant, Kuyang served with the United Nations Development Programme as a Rule of Law Analyst, Programme Analyst for the Rule of Law Cluster, and Access to Justice Specialist in the Sudan, South Sudan, and East Timor.

Kuyang has published on knowledge production and transitional justice, international humanitarian law, customary law, and gender issues. Dr. Kuyang is currently a Fellow of the Rift Valley Institute, a member of the Expert Working Group of the Africa - China – Europe, promoting dialogue and cooperation to prevent the diversion of arms and ammunition in Africa, and a research fellow on the Data and Displacement Project at the University of Warwick.

About the South Sudan Studies Association

The SSSA is a professional association of academics, students, activists and practitioners dedicated to the production, development, and promotion of knowledge on South Sudan. The SSSA has met on an annual basis since its founding in 2018 to consider various aspects of the research agenda for South Sudan, including the politics of humanitarianism, education and civicness, the political and social implications of the Covid-19 pandemic, regional dimensions of the conflict in South Sudan, and priorities for the newly established unity government.

About the Conflict Research Programme

The Conflict Research Programme is a four-year research programme hosted by LSE IDEAS and funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office.
Our goal is to understand and analyse the nature of contemporary conflict and to identify

Table of Contents

Abstract

If universities are to contribute to political transformation and civicness in conflict settings, they must foster gender equality. This is an exceptional challenge in the context of South Sudan, where female literacy was last estimated at under 30 percent and where universities have been affected by conflict and resource shortages. Societal dynamics arising out of a patriarchal society mean that the ratio of boys and girls enrolled in schools remains unequal. This persists at the university level, resulting in fewer females joining universities as students and academics. But even those who are admitted face complex challenges.

This paper explores whether and how the University of Juba is promoting equality and inclusion in practice and assesses the implications. It examines the existence of formal and informal policies, attitudes towards teaching certain courses, attitudes of students towards female students and lecturers, and attitudes of non-teaching staff at the College of Law and at the Institute for Peace, Development and Security Studies. The research offers recommendations on how the prevailing situation could be mitigated and how the university can counter gender inequality to build on what has been achieved so far.

Acronyms

IPDSS	Institute for Peace, Development and Security Studies
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
UoJ	University of Juba

Introduction and Literature Review

Gender equality in education is a prerequisite for political transformation in South Sudan. This is well understood at the primary and even secondary levels, where the Government of South Sudan and international donors have invested in programmes to encourage girls to attend schools. A less explored question is how to promote equality and inclusion in higher education. A World Bank report recently found that Sub-Saharan Africa still has the lowest level of tertiary enrolment for females due to insufficient role models, societal values, and beliefs that inhibit women from joining institutions of higher education (Rathgeber, 2013). The report also found that the concentration of female academics at many African universities were at the lowest academic levels (Rathgeber, 2013). It is often the case that the limited number of women in universities, as both students and academics, is attributed to the challenges they face in managing multiple roles as mothers, wives, and workers. Some of the obstacles are also related to cultural barriers and fewer networking opportunities for women compared to their male counterparts (Karikari, 2008).

Mainstreaming gender equality in teaching and academic institutions would increase the numbers of female students and female academics (Vergos, 2019). Gender equality policies can help to identify gaps in institutions of higher education, including identifying women's needs and how responses to those needs can be designed to counter the inequality (Paterson, 2019). In South Africa for instance, where gender equality policies have been implemented, female students and academics dominate higher education, however, there is still gender asymmetry in the distribution of academic, scientific, and administrative positions (Shakirova, 2019). According to researchers, universities are characterised by a hierarchical division of labour that is asymmetrically valued and rewarded. So, women typically occupy medium and low-level positions while they are less represented in high-level positions that require additional efforts, creative energy, and innovation for which they have little time, resources, or support (Shakirova, 2019).

While there exists evidence of gender disparities in education globally, there is limited assessment of the real time impacts of these disparities (Pemunta & Nkongho, 2014). Furthermore, while higher education institutions have increasingly tried to empower women and facilitate their access to political, social, and economic roles and positions in their communities, few studies have traced how the system of higher education itself may actually reproduce inequalities (Van Houweling et al., 2018). There is evidence that some of the initiatives and policies put in place to counter inequalities or provide opportunities have failed to meet the objectives for which they were set, or have inadvertently reproduced dominant gender norms and entrenched stereotypes (Byrne, 2017; El Jack, 2012). One assessment of policies meant to counter gender inequality notes they tend to be created reactively and hastily in times of conflict, and as a result show little regard for the root causes of inequalities, and the contexts and cultures of socialisation (Deng, 2006). Furthermore, broad-stroke attempts in educating all children often ignore local context and the root causes that produce the divergent outcomes (Ensor, 2012). Given this wider debate about how to address gender inequality in and through education, this research will consider experiences of gender inequality in higher education in South Sudan, with attention to both formal and informal policies and the spaces available to counter, perpetuate, or deepen gender inequalities.

In South Sudan, even primary education for all is only a relatively recent policy priority.

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) adopted education policies during the second Sudanese civil war and after independence to increase literacy levels for all. In fact, South Sudan's independence presented multiple opportunities for both men and women, but amid the enormous post-conflict needs, the SPLM did not focus on attaining gender equality (SPLM, 2008). The competing priorities of the new state not only absorbed limited resources, but assigned equality between men and women as a less urgent goal and delegitimised concerns for gender equality (Ali, 2011). Moreover, in this difficult context, education systems designed as solutions to multi-dimensional inequalities in many ways contributed to fuelling inequalities (Daoust, 2017). Social and political conditions such as poverty, insecurity, and selective cultural values all contributed to reproducing inequalities and challenged the wide adoption of formal schooling (Deng, 2006; SPLM, 2002).

As in other contexts, education in South Sudan is not only a potential tool to counter inequality, it also contributes to reinforcing patriarchal ideologies. For example, higher education has, for the most part, trained men to dominate public life, while preparing women for domestic life (El Jack, 2010; Scott et al., 2014). On its own, higher education may not resolve issues of multi-dimensional inequalities, including gender inequalities, but might reproduce them, albeit in a different form, because education systems are situated in complex local contexts of inequalities and gender norms (Daoust, 2017).

This research focuses on the University of Juba (UoJ) as a space where women, men, academics, and students interact, and as an institution vested with authority capable of countering gender inequalities. I posited UoJ as a potential site of civicness during the most recent civil war, in the sense that it might constitute a place where public authority is based on consent generated voluntarily through shared deliberative processes grounded in norms and rules that value respect for persons, and where integrity, trust, civility, inclusion, dialogue, and non-violence might be fostered (Kaldor, 2019). However, a gender analysis of the current practices of UoJ calls its commitment to the values and processes of civicness into question.

In this research, I explored whether and how staff and students at the UoJ perceived the institution as a place of civicness, equality, and inclusion at both the administrative and classroom levels. In the research, I emphasised gender as a category of analysis, and inquired into whether UoJ provides spaces which counter or perpetuate gender inequalities. The research highlights experiences of academics and students—both male and female—working and learning at the UoJ. It draws on my longstanding personal experience as one of a handful of female lecturers in the School of Law and, indeed, at the university generally, and upon interviews, focus group discussions. and university policy documents. The paper argues that from the perspective of women and girls, the spaces of civicness at the University of Juba are partial and fragile, and suggests that without urgent attention to, and intentional policymaking in, the area of gender equality, the institution risks cementing non-inclusion and inequality (Conflict Research Programme, 2019).

Design and Methodology

The approach I adopted during this research was informed by Nada Mustafa Ali's methodology, in which the author's personal experience is "integral" (Ali 2015, p. 4) to the research process and to the analysis of the findings. I selected the School of Law as a primary site of research based on my experience teaching the first Women and Law and Child Law courses

to final year students. The course had generated interesting discussions about gender equality at the university and I felt that research at the School of Law would help me apply an analytical frame onto the classroom discussions and therefore generate insights into the perceptions and practical implementation of approaches to, and policies directed at, gender equality at UoJ. I selected the final year students both because of their enrolment in the law courses under investigation and because final year students in both units were more prepared to articulate issues related to gender equality and disparities than first- or second-year students.

I conducted both key informant semi-structured interviews and focus groups with male and female academics as well as third- and fourth-year students from both the School of Law and the Institute for Peace, Development and Security Studies (IPDSS). A total of 22 respondents participated in key informant interviews and a total of four focus group discussions. Seven students participated from the School of Law and seven from the IPDSS. I conducted the semi-structured interviews according to a question guide I developed, and relied on ethnographic observations as part of my fieldwork. In the final stages of analysis, I consulted data and secondary literature in the area of gender and education to support the findings gathered during fieldwork.

Attitudes Towards Policies for Countering Gender Inequality

The semi-structured interviews examined attitudes of different groups towards UoJ gender policies, teacher attitudes towards women students, student attitudes towards women teachers, and attitudes among non-academic staff towards men and women teachers.

Interviewees noted that no formal policy existed at the university to inspire minority groups like women to join the university, and no formal policies existed to encourage more women to join the university as teaching staff or as top level administrators at the university and within the Colleges of Law and the IPDSS.[1] Despite the current increase in the number of female students and teaching staff, respondents noted[2] that the ratio of female to male students remained unequal.[3] Interviewees generally attributed the small number of female students, female academics and administrators to historical factors stemming from customary norms and the lack of interest by the females to join these institutions.[4] Respondents argued that joining the university remained a voluntary endeavour and even if formal policies were enacted, it was unlikely that females would join the institution in the various capacities outlined above because of lack of interest.[5] Other respondents argued that gender equality policies, if adopted by the university, would create an environment that encourages female students and female lecturers to join the university, thereby fostering inclusion and gender equality.[6] While interviewees pointed out that the number of female students has steadily increased at the university, they pointed to both customary norms and socio-historical developments for the continued disparities between men and women's enrolment.

1 Interview with a male professor, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
2 Interview with a male student of Peace Studies, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).
3 Interview with a female lecturer at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).
4 Interview with a male administrator, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
5 Interview with a male administrator, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
6 Interview with a male student, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).

It is often the case that due to the rigorous requirements for promotions in higher education, female academics remain junior to mid-level lecturers (Britwum, 2015).[7] According to some of the research respondents, many girls join UoJ, but because of the rigorous requirements, especially at the School of Law, some of the female students choose to either drop out or lag behind their colleagues.[8]

Attitudes Towards Teaching Women and Child Law

While research respondents gave the impression that furthering gender equality was an integral informal policy of the UoJ, the attitudes of both lecturers and professors towards teaching certain courses suggested otherwise. For instance, according to one female lecturer, the School of Law appointed only women lecturers to teach the Women and the Law and Child Law courses based on an assumption that women enjoyed an inherently greater understanding of women's and children's issues.[9] Male lecturers assigned to teach the two courses at the School of Law were also reported feeling "ashamed" to teach them as they devalued the course content, claiming the subjects did not fall within the spectrum of procedural and substantive law, which they identified as superior.[10] Byrne (2017) has suggested that some subject matter and disciplines lack power in academia, and it is this type of marginalisation that may underlie lecturers' devaluation of the courses. But it is also possible that the male lecturers' discomfort in teaching the Women in Law and Child Law courses derives from their unwillingness to identify their own privilege and role in perpetuating gender inequalities and the patriarchal system (Flood, 2011). The attitudes expressed in the interviews, notably that topics related to women and gender studies are ranked as lower in importance or value than other subject areas or disciplines, echo attitudes reported in higher education institutions elsewhere (Strimpel, 2012).

Research on higher education curriculum also notes the influence of course titles on perceptions and attitudes at the university level. For instance, Spoor (2014) notes that faculty members may be assigned to teach a class with a specific title, but prefer to focus on different content. Spoor further explains that some course titles may reflect past curriculum decisions that did not account for how the course title would be perceived and how the title may influence the attitudes of the teaching staff (Spoor, 2014). Furthermore, courses that focus on a traditionally disadvantaged group may be perceived negatively by both students and lecturers (Spoor, 2014).

Feminist pedagogies often assume that women studies or feminist analysis is best taught by women based on an understanding of the politics of knowledge which affirms a connection between knowledge and personal experience. This understanding is further extended to a belief that a feminist classroom must be presided over by a woman to better facilitate the sharing of personal experiences of women (Hughes, 1999). Furthermore, Flood (2011) has indicated that many faculty view women's and gender studies courses as spaces set aside for the advancement of women, and are subsequently sensitive to the identity of the lecturer assigned to teach the course. However, male lecturers' perception of women lecturers' natural ability to teach the course on women and children is also an indication that these attitudes are grounded in cultural norms that affirm essentialism (Mukhopadhyay & Blumenfield, 2017). While feminist studies value personal experience as an important source of knowledge, it also brings into question the basis of identity categories,

7 Interview with a male student of Peace Studies, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
8 Focus group discussion with female fourth-year law students at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
9 Interview with a female lecturer at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).
10 Interview with a female lecturer at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).

such as "man," "woman," and "gender," thereby complicating who may claim what identity and who may speak on behalf of "women."

Therefore, even while the school took steps to address gender inequalities by expanding the curricula and introducing courses that directly addressed these issues, the implementation of these transformations bore traces of ingrained sexism and patriarchal gender norms. Feminist literature attests to the ways that universities remain culturally male dominated (Britwum, 2015). The institutionalisation of gender studies is constrained by the continuing patriarchal ideologies circulating in the academe, and by the fact that until recently gender inequalities were addressed only through informal solutions rather than documented and enforceable policies (Britwum, 2015). Adding new courses addressing topics and issues related to gender, while commendable, is only the first step in transforming attitudes in the academe and creating spaces of inclusion and equality. A transformative approach would likely need to restructure the entire curriculum, addressing the fundamental theories, methods, and histories of the course content, and the pedagogical approaches and ideologies shaping the classroom setting. Previous research on the reception of gender studies in African universities revealed that courses on gender and women have succeeded in training a handful of feminists and activists who used their knowledge to influence limited facets of society, but did not succeed in challenging or transforming broader institutional and academic spaces. The persistence of attitudes that support gender inequality among professors, even in the face of the new course addressing women and gender in law, also resonates with observations that academic programmes in gender studies would make broader strides and deeper changes if they operated not in isolation but in tandem with other departments and the everyday, bureaucratic activities of universities (Awumbilia, 2007).

Attitudes Towards Female Lecturers and Female Students

In the absence of formal policies to counter gender inequality at the UoJ, the ratios of female and male students and lectures remains significantly unequal. For instance, at the time of the fieldwork, there were only two female lecturers at the School of Law and none at the IPDSS. The imbalances between men and women students and lecturers contributes to mixed attitudes of students towards female students and female lecturers.[11] In the absence of formal policies to counter inequality, the IPDSS and the School of Law countered inequality on an informal and individual basis.[12][13] For instance, the IPDSS was sympathetic to both female students and academics and continually waived tuition for students and academic requirements for female academics who applied to teach at the IPDSS.[14] Some research respondents felt that formal policies, if enacted, would encourage and inspire female students and female lecturers to join the university.[15]

Despite the positive attitudes towards the importance and promise of formal policies on gender equality, some respondents felt that South Sudanese women were not interested in pursuing university education and academic careers as professors or top-level university administrators.[16] Respondents attributed this lack of interest to the prevalence of customary norms, and a patriarchal order which trained and readied girls for family life rather than life outside of the home (Nawe, 2002).[17] Some of these factors were woven in institutionalised

11 Interview with a female lecturer at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).
12 Focus group discussion with female students at the IPDSS, University of Juba, (November 20, 2019).
13 Interview with a male administrator, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
14 Interview with a male administrator, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
15 Interview with a male professor, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
16 Interview with a male student, University of Juba (November 20, 2019.)
17 Focus group discussion with male students of Peace Studies at the IPDSS, University of Juba, (November 22, 2019).

socialisation processes during pre- colonial, colonial, and post-independence periods. Reports on women's participation in African universities describes the socialisation of women for housekeeping and reproductive roles by both customary norms and educational programs designed in the wake of national independence (Nawe, 2002). The deeply entrenched societal and patriarchal mindsets have inhibited women from participating as students and academics, and yet women and girls are often blamed for failing to take advantage of such opportunities (Nawe, 2002).

In the current research, a female student explained that South Sudanese society prepares girls to be wives and the boys to be leaders. So, when young women find themselves in university spaces, they are unprepared for the rigors and demands, explaining too why many female students fail to participate in and out of the class.[18] Another recent study on the participation of women lecturers in academic research in one African university asserts that the social environment creates barriers for women. Consistent stereotyping shapes women's opportunities and how they perceive themselves, in turn impeding their ability to participate in rigorous spaces at the university level (Chikuvadze et al., 2015). The study further explains that reluctance on the part of women to participate in activities is sometimes attributed to a lack of ambition, but should be seen in light of gender socialisation in patriarchal societies which creates discrimination between female and males at home and subsequently follows the females to formal spaces like universities (Chikuvadze et al., 2015).

A female respondent to the current research explained that poor command of the English language was partly to blame for the marginal participation of females in and out of class and remained the biggest obstacle to their participation as well as contributing to the negative attitude towards women students.[19] However, that assertion was quickly countered by a male respondent who explained that all male and female students struggled with the English language because most of them were trained in Arabic. He attributed the low level of female participation in and out of class to a tendency of women students to carry family-level socialisation and gender roles to the classroom. He explained that he perceived that when things get tough in the class, the girls dropped out to get married because that conformed to their socialisation.[20] According to the same respondent, male students and lecturers were aware of the kind of socialisation females receive in South Sudanese families and tried to make the environment conducive for female participation. For instance, the current Secretary General of the Law Faculty Association is a woman who receives support from both men students and lecturers to execute her functions (Basow, 1995).

Consequently, despite the mixed attitudes of male students and lecturers towards women students, one thing that was shared or expressed across all respondents was the role of the family attitudes and patriarchy, which barred girls from joining education at the elementary level, contributing to the very small number of female students at the School oof Law and IPDSS (Nawe, 2002).[21] An interesting comment was made by one of the administrators at the IPDSS, in which he noted that single women students worked harder and had regular attendance and participation. However as soon as they got married, their attendance and participation dropped and sometimes, they opted to leave school. He attributed that decision to the role that a male dominated society plays

18 Interview with a female lecturer at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).
19 Focus group discussion with female students at the IPDSS, University of Juba, (November 20, 2019).
20 Interview with a male administrator, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
21 Interview with a male student, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).

in the decision-making process among women.[22] For instance, in such situations husbands demand that the student drops out of school to take care of the family.[23] The attitudes of men and women students towards women lecturers was also mixed. Women respondents and a few men felt more sympathetic towards women lecturers than the majority of their colleagues. For instance, female student respondents to the research felt that the woman lecturer teaching the course on Women and the Law was accused of lacking the abilities to teach the course, not because she was not fit to teach, but because male students purposefully made the classroom unconducive. She was disrespected because she was a woman and that stems from the patriarchal and masculine notion that men—even as students—do not see themselves being taught by a woman and cannot follow instructions from a woman.[24] The woman lecturer in question explained that male students' attitude towards her and other female colleagues was extremely negative. She noted that some male students felt offended when asked to adhere to coursework deadlines.[25] Her relationship with the students got to a point where she had to stop teaching the course.[26]

Feminist scholars refer to the everyday verbal and non-verbal snubs, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile and derogatory messages targeting persons of a marginalised groups as microaggressions (Beaulieu & Boylan, 2016). Microaggressions often devalue individuals and are done by those who harbour a bias towards an individual (Beaulieu & Boylan, 2016). Studies show that student evaluations may carry gender bias from time to time. Male students have been found to rate woman lecturers lower than they would rate male professors (Basow, 1995). For instance, when a woman teaching a women's studies course is evaluated, her teaching evaluations may be affected by her perceived personality (Basow, 1995). The low-level evaluations and negative attitudes towards female lecturers could stem from the fact that men remain over-represented in faculties. Male and female faculty members may also differ in their teaching style and to students that may represent differences in personal traits (Basow, 1995).

African feminist scholarship argues that women in academia have had to consistently fight for space as they constantly face covert and overt gender stereotypes (Boateng, 2018). Therefore, if socio–cultural norms continue to subordinate women to men, gender inequalities will continue to persist in African universities (Boateng, 2018). Research participants expressed their profile of a capable lecturer as assertive, and possessing some masculine traits – so women who are seen as strong-willed, assertive, and resilient are able to withstand the stereotypes and win acceptance from all students (Boateng, 2018). An interesting finding from the research shows that the female lecturer teaching the course on Women and the Law had to put up with requests from students asking to extend coursework deadlines, an opportunity to redo their assignments when compared to male professors.[27] This could be interpreted as the friendly environments female lecturers cultivate with their students. Such requests have an emotional toll on the lecturer and some students react negatively when their request for favours is denied (Settembre, 2018).

22 Focus group discussion with male students of Peace Studies at the IPDSS, University of Juba, (November 22, 2019).
23 Interview with a male professor, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
24 Focus group discussion with female students at the IPDSS, University of Juba, (November 20, 2019).
25 Interview with a female lecturer at the School of Law, University of Juba (November 18, 2019).
26 Focus group discussion with female students at the IPDSS, University of Juba, (November 20, 2019).
27 Interview with a female librarian at the IDPSS, University of Juba (November 20, 2019).

Conclusion and Recommendations

In many ways, the UoJ has been regarded as a place of civicness from the time of its establishment in 1975 through to its relocation to Khartoum and return to Juba. The university has been regarded as such due to its unparalleled role in shaping the visions of generations of South Sudanese elites during wartime, nationalist struggles, and influencing networks of South Sudanese leaders.[28] Yet, as in other liberation struggles around the world, the category of gender was overlooked and stratification based on gender inequalities remain inadequately addressed at UoJ today. The university needs to actively counter gender inequalities to contribute to the flourishing of civicness in South Sudan.

Currently, UoJ does not have gender equality policies in place to increase the enrolment of female students and strengthen the recruitment of female teaching staff.[29] Despite the lack of formal policies, interviewees attested to the existence of informal actions within the IPDSS and the School of Law, but it is imperative that informal actions are translated into concrete affirmative action policies if the university wishes to effect transformations in society (Daoust, 2017).

Furthermore, curricula need to be regularly reviewed and reformed with an eye toward gender-sensitive educational approaches. As discussed earlier, the inclusion of new gender-sensitive courses in the School of Law is a necessary but not sufficient step toward challenging existing sexist attitudes among lecturers and in fact triggered resistance among these lecturers toward teaching the courses. Respondents reported lecturers feeling ashamed to teach such courses, which they devalued as "non-legal" and suitable only for female lecturers (Flood, 2011). Feminist literature provides reasons for this predicament, and reveals the deeply rooted societal and patriarchal norms that follow women from the domestic sphere to the workplace, especially the classroom (Karikari, 2008). It is therefore important that alongside the introduction of new courses related to gender and women studies, universities make the effort to introduce new and wider curricula reforms, pedagogical training, and policies that aim to transform inequalities.

One way to approach this would be to establish mechanisms that recognise the way gender inequalities and bias shape faculty-faculty, faculty-student, and faculty-staff interactions (Hughes, 1999). For example, when it came to the attitudes of students towards women students, there was an expression of sympathy, demonstrating an understanding of some of the barriers young women had to overcome to join universities, particularly rigorous institutions like the School of Law.[30] However, gender relations and attitudes towards women are also shaped by existing ideologies and customary norms. Particularly, interviewees suggested that female lecturers face both subtle and overt discrimination. There was also some anecdotal evidence from the interviews that the non-academic staff attitudes reflected and reproduced stereotypical faculty and student attitudes towards women teaching staff. While the current research did not explore this thoroughly, there is literature documenting the ways women participate in perpetuating sexism and dominant gender norms that undermine other women (Syed, 2020). Putting into place gender-sensitive orientation and methods of teacher evaluation would go some way toward building a supportive environment for women lecturers and expand the circles of civicness that should be the mandate of higher education institutions in South Sudan.

28 Interview with a male student, University of Juba (November 20, 2019.)
29 Interview with a male administrator, IPDSS, University of Juba (November 19, 2019).
30 Interview with a male student, University of Juba (November 20, 2019.)

Bibliography

Ali, N.M. (2011). *Gender and Statebuilding in South Sudan*. Washington DC: USIP.

Awumbilia, M. (2007). Challenging Context: Gender Studies and geography in Anglophone African Countries. *Belgian Journal of Geography* 3(1): 261-274.

Basow, S.A. (1995). Student Evaluations of College Professors: When Gender Matters. *Journal of Educational Psychology* 87(1): 656 - 665.

Beaulieu, R., & Boylan, M. (2016). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Teacher - Student relationships in a third grade Liveracy Session: Dynamics of Microaggression. *Cogent Education* 3(1).

Boateng, D.A. (2018). Experiences of Female Academics in Ghana: Negotiations and Strengths as Strategies for Successful careers. *African Journal of Social Work* 8(1): 21 - 30.

Britwum, A.K. (2015). Institutionalising Gender and Women's Studies at the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. *Rwandan Journal of Education* 2(1): 1 - 16.

Byrne, D. (2017). "Teaching and Researching Women's and Gender Studies in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *ResearchGate* 18(1): 113- 129.

Chikuvadze P., Matswetu, V.S., & Mugijima, S. (2015). An Analysis of Female Lecturers' Participation In Civil Engineering Research And Development Activities At One Polytechnic in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Education and Practice* 6(21): 1-7.

Conflict Research Programme (2019). *Invitation from the Conflict Research Programme to apply for writing grants leading to a journal special issue on the theme of 'Education, conflict and civicness in South Sudan'*. London: LSE.

Daoust, G. (2017). *Education and the Critique of liberal peacebuilding: The case of South Sudan*. Sussex: University of Sussex.

Deng, L.B. (2006). Education in Southern Sudan: War, Status and Challenges of achieving Education for All Goals. *Sudanese Journal for Human Rights, Culture, and Issues of Cultural Diversity* (4): 2 - 27.

El Jack, A. (2012). 'Education Is My Mother and Father': The 'Invisible' Women of Sudan. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 27(2): 19-29.

Ensor, M.O. (2012). *African Childhoods. Education, Development, Peacebuilding and the Young Continent* (1st Edition). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Flood, M. (2011). Men as Students and Teachers of Feminist Scholarship. *Men and Masculinities* 14(2): 135 - 154.

Hughes, G. (1999). Teaching Introduction to Women's Studies: Expectations and Strategies. In B.S. Winkler & C. DiPalma (Eds.), *Revisiting the Men Problem in Introductory Women Studies Classes* 73-85. Westport: Bergins & Garvey.

Kaldor, M. (2019). *The Phenomenon of Civicness and Researching its Advancement*. London: LSE.

Karikari, A.A. (2008). *Experiences of Women in Higher Education: A study of Women Faculty and Administrators in Selected Public Universities in Ghana*. Ohio University: Department of Educational Studies and the College of Education.

Mukhopadhyay, C., & Blumenfield, T. (2017). "Gender and Sexuality." In: N. Brown, L.T. Gonzalez, & T. McIlwraith (Eds.), *Perspectives: An Open Invitation to Cultural Anthropology*. American Anthropological Association.

Nawe, J. (2002). *Female Participation in African Universities: Effective Strategies of Enhancing their Participation*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Pemunta, N.V., & Nkongho, E.R. (2014). The Fragility of the Liberal Peace Export to South Sudan: Formal Education Access as a Basis of a Liberal Peace Project. *Journal of Human Security* 10(1): 59–75.

Paterson, M. (2019). *Gender Equality – Key Aspect of University Transformation*. South Africa: University World News.

Rathgeber, E.M. (2013). *Gender Barriers Faced by African Women in Graduate Programmes and Research in the Social Sciences*. Nairobi: PASGR.

Scott, J., Hacker M., Averbach, S., Modest A.M., Cornish, S., Spencer, D., Murphy, M., & Parmar, P. (2014). Influences of sex, age and education on attitudes towards gender inequitable norms and practices in South Sudan." *International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice* 9(7): 773-786.

Settembre, J. (2018). *The subtle ways that students challenge their female, but not male teachers*. Market Watch.

Shakirova, S. (2019). *Where Women Predominate in Universities but Few Lead*. Kazakhstan: University World News.

SPLM, Education Secretariat. (2002). *Education Policy of the New Sudan and Implementation Guidelines*. Yei: SPLM.

SPLM (2008). *The Manifesto of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement*.

Spoor, J.R. (2014). The Impact of Course Title and Instructor Gender on Student Perceptions and Interest in a Women's and Gender Studies Course. *PLoS ONE* 9(9): 1-7.

Strimpel, Z. (2012). *Why do so few men take gender studies courses*. The Guardian.

Syed, N. (2020). *Are Women Contributing to Gender Gap at Work?* ZA: HRD.

Van Houweling, E., Christie M.E., & Rahim A.A. (2018). *Women's access and experience in higher education agricultural programs in Africa*. Gender and Education.

Vergos, C.D. (2019). *Incorporating the Gender perspective in Higher Education Teaching*. Barcelona: The Catalan University Quality Assurance Agency.

Supported by

Find out more about the Conflict Research Programme

Connaught House
The London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE

Contact:
Amy Crinnion, Programme Manager

Tel: **+44 (0)20 7849 4631**
Email: **Ideas.Crp@lse.ac.uk**

lse.ac.uk/conflict

Disclaimer: This material has been funded by UK aid from the UK government; however the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies.

Please note that the information provided is accurate at the time of writing but is subject to change.