

Sticky Floors and Glass Ceilings: Transformation of a Criminology Journal in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Lufuno Sadiki^{a,*} and Francois Steyn^b

^aUniversity of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa;

^bSocial Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria, Lynnwood Road, Hatfield, Pretoria, South Africa

*CONTACT Lufuno Sadiki. Email: lulu.sadiki@up.ac.za

Abstract

Privileges of race and gender remain characteristic of the South African landscape despite the end of apartheid in 1994. Little is known in the country about race and gender (in)equalities in the production and dissemination of knowledge. This paper reports on the race and gender profile of authors who published in the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology* with particular reference to first and second authorship, academic positions, research methods and the universities from which publications originate. Interval sampling was used to select 385 articles that were published between 1993 and 2018. The results show that, overall, White male scholars dominated publications and nearly two in five articles originated from one university. A statistically significant shift featured in publications from Black male and female researchers, as well as articles from marginalized universities, although these changes only occurred towards the end of the study period. The study further confirms racial homogeneity in multi-authored publications, and that men are mostly responsible for quantitative research articles. Male and female scholars from minority groups were virtually absent from publications in the journal. Overall, the study shows that transformation of *the Acta Criminologica* is taking place at a slow pace.

Keywords: Post-apartheid; higher education transformation; gender; race; publishing; criminology

Introduction

The dynamics of gender, race and class are embedded in institutions of higher education, constructing regimes of 'ruling relations' that not only shape individual identities and social relations but also scholarly paradigms and hierarchies throughout academic disciplines. Conducting and publishing research is one of the responsibilities of academic researchers who experience increasing pressure to publish in peer-reviewed journals. Tenure, promotion and job opportunities often depend on consistent and frequent publications in high-impact journals. The importance of publishing is evidenced by the fact that faculty and departmental rankings are mostly based on publication productivity. Publishing, therefore, is closely related to knowledge creation and it is the most common formula of assessing productivity among academics (Kleck & Bethany, 2017; Orrick & Weir, 2011). Research on scholarly

publication patterns in criminology and criminal justice has gained traction over the past few years, with most studies focusing on citations, mentoring patterns, author characteristics and composition of editorial boards (cf. Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016; Crow & Smykla, 2015; Fahmy & Young, 2017; Lemke, 2013; Lowe & Fagan, 2019).

In post-apartheid South Africa, little is known about racial and gender (in)equalities in the production and dissemination of knowledge. This paper explores the extent to which transformation took place in criminology by analysing articles published in the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*, the only South African journal dedicated to the discipline for the past three decades. The race and gender of authors are investigated in terms of first and second authorship, the academic positions of authors, the research methods which authors employed, and the origin (university status) of publications. Attention is also paid to the gender and racial composition of members of editorial teams. The paper stems from a larger project which explores, among others, transformation of criminology curricula at local universities and the gendered experiences of criminology faculty. The present paper, therefore, represents a historical analysis of the *Acta Criminologica* in an effort to determine shifts in the racial and gender makeup of authors as one of several indicators tracking the broader transformation of criminology in South Africa.

Literature

Prior to the gender and race analysis of publications among criminology scholars, a brief overview is warranted of the establishment of criminology in South Africa and the pre- and post-apartheid realities of academia in order to contextualize the results against the backdrop of the country's higher education landscape. Attention is further paid to evidence from abroad and how the results of the present study compare to experiences elsewhere.

Development of criminology in South Africa

Since its establishment in South Africa, criminology has morphed from a myopic, divisive paradigm to one promoting diversity without being in the service of only a few. The discipline has, nevertheless a contested history in South Africa. The ties between criminology and apartheid South Africa has not been thoroughly investigated compared to the link between criminology and colonialism. Criminology as a discipline gained momentum during the height of colonialism, while in South Africa, the discipline's origins ran parallel to the expansion of policies of racial segregation. Since its inception, South African criminology provided justification for the oppression of Blacks by engaging in the politics of race (Chanock, 1995:916). The work of Dirk van Zyl Smit is pivotal to understanding the history of the discipline in South Africa. According to Zyl Smit (1989), criminology in South Africa is the product of three movements, namely Afrikaner nationalist criminology, legal reformist criminology, and critical criminology. The Afrikaner nationalist criminology, which emerged in the 1930s, was an intellectual project with the purpose of critiquing dominant individualistic theories of crime which solely served the interests of Afrikaner victims and justified the exclusion of Blacks from urban areas (Van Zyl Smit, 1999). Criminology was first established as an academic and scientific discipline in 1949 at the University of Pretoria by two scholars, G Cronjé and WA Willemse, who had already laid the foundation for the discipline a decade earlier in an attempt to advance Afrikaner interests (Zyl Smit, 1989).

Following the Afrikaner nationalist criminology, the legal reformist criminology, a movement dominated by lawyers and judges, emerged in the 1980s with the aim of making

the criminal justice system more humane and efficient by ensuring equality before the court of law (Dixon, 2004; Van Zyl Smit, 1999). Lastly, critical criminology established a criminological discourse outside the confines of the criminal justice system and questioned the status quo advocated for by the Afrikaner nationalist criminology. Critical criminologists were influenced by international developments of criminological theory as well as the political changes occurring in South Africa at the time (Dixon, 2004:365). Since the wide scale removal of sanctions in the early 1990s and the opening up of intellectual borders, South African criminology diversified and embraced, among others, restorative justice, police reform, and the rights of victims and offenders. With the establishment of the *Acta Criminologica* in 1988, criminology's foci in the 1990s was on the value and role of the discipline as well as the development of the curriculum (Naude, 2005). Negotiations paving the way for a democratic society began in the early 1990s, which was a turbulent and often violent time in South Africa. With increased co-operation between security forces and criminologists, the period of transition was characterized by debates over the future of policing in a democratic dispensation (Dixon, 2004; Singh & Gopal, 2010). Notable changes featured in community and restorative justice policies and practices, including the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1995. In the early 2000s, criminology primarily focused on police/policing as well as youth offending (Steyn & Klopper, 2015:13). Over time, some criminology departments adapted their curricula to focus on specialized training, including victimology, forensic sciences, corrections, security studies, and governance and crime. Criminology and its sub-disciplines are currently offered at 11 of South Africa's 26 universities.

Transformation of higher education in South Africa

It has been more than two decades since apartheid was abolished and South Africa became a free, democratic country. The broader socio-economic nature of South Africa is characterized by social inequalities, rampant poverty, burgeoning informal settlements, limited access to basic services and a poor health care system. Despite retributive socio-economic policies developed to extend services and infrastructure to previously marginalized individuals, transformation post-apartheid has been slow and limited (Clarke & Bassett, 2016). Furthermore, obstacles to the emancipation of Blacks, structural imbalances across racial divides, and imperialist practices in higher education continue to persist (Christie, 2016). Imperialist practices include curriculum that promotes Eurocentric worldviews, institutional cultures that subjugates indigenous cultures and existence of Cambridge Exam systems in African universities (Heleta, 2016). Under White rule, and in accordance with the Groups Area Act of 1950, ten entities—the so-called homelands—were established based on race and ethnicity. These homelands were Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Qwaqwa, Transkei, and Venda (Netswera & Mathabe, 2006). Only four homelands—Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei—obtained some form of independence yet these states did not obtain international recognition or legitimacy because they were pseudo independent or 'puppet states' of the apartheid government (Rakometsi, 2008).

The establishment of ethnic and racial homelands extended to education systems as enforced by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 (Akala & Divala, 2016; Badat, 2009; Heffernan, 2017; Nkomo & Schoole, 2007). As a by-product of the Bantu Education Act, universities were divided and made exclusive according to the four official race groups, namely African (Black), Indian, Mixed-race¹ and White. Universities designated for Whites remained part of South Africa while universities meant for

Blacks were established in the homelands, thus cementing educational and economic opportunities along racial lines (McKeever, 2017). Furthermore, historically Black universities were severely under-resourced and their teaching and learning was entrenched in apartheid practice, for example most lecturers at homeland universities were White Afrikaners (Akala & Divala, 2016; Badat, 2009; Netswera & Mathabe, 2006; Nkomo & Sehoole, 2007). Consequently, the focus was on training rather than on research, and the bulk of teaching material was sampled from White Afrikaans-medium universities (Bunting, 2006). The impetus to transform higher education in post-apartheid South Africa was focused on fostering social equality and promoting inclusivity by increasing access to tertiary education to previously excluded population groups (Badat, 2009). This transformation had many facets, including the amalgamation of former Whites-only and marginalized universities, and several name changes to reflect the new democratic dispensation. Furthermore, various programs, one of which was the Education White Paper 3, were developed to address the unequal distribution of academic staff, particularly the low number of Black and female staff members, and to produce a new generation of academics that were representative of the country (Badat, 2009; Govinder, Zondo, & Makgoba, 2013). The majority of academic staff, however, remain White with some growth in the number of academic staffs from other races, particularly amongst Black individuals, increasing from 28.6% in 2010 to 36.8% in 2016 (Higher Education & Training, 2019).

Race, gender and publishing

Historically, women have been under-represented in academia. Despite efforts to recruit and retain more women, gender disparity persists within academia and specifically so in scholarly production (Palma, 2005; Rice, Terry, Miller, & Ackerman, 2007). The global as well as local reality is one of men outnumbering women in scholarly production and academic leadership positions (Criminology is no exception, a discipline that has been considered to be a White and male-dominated discipline since its inception (Saul, 2013; Leuschner, 2015; Stockfelt, 2018). Although female students make up large numbers at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, the matter is not about numbers per se, but whether they are afforded the opportunity and support to take up senior academic positions. The marginalization of women in academia, particularly in scholarly output, impacts on how knowledge is produced and what ultimately counts as knowledge (Fotaki, 2013).

Although the majority of articles in criminology are still authored by men, there has been an increase in publications by female authors (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016; Eigenberg & Whalley, 2015). Crow and Smykla (2015) analyzed articles published between 2008 and 2010 in regional and national criminology and criminal justice journals in the United States of America (USA) and found an increase in output from women, but only in regional journals. Eigenberg and Whalley (2015) analyzed the gender breakdown of authorship in eight mainstream justice journals in the USA and found that 38% of the authors were women. The study showed that the proportion of female authors had increased in 2013 (41.7%) compared to 2007 (37.9%) and 2010 (35.4%). However, an increase in publications from female authors did not necessarily extend to first authorship. Moreover, women are less likely to publish single-authored papers compared to their male counterparts (Mihaljević-Brandt, Santamaría, & Tullney, 2016).

Gender differences in publishing also extends to citations (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016; Zettler, Cardwell, & Craig, 2017). Citations measure the quality of scholarly output, impact of the publication and are also used in ratings of universities, academic departments, and

scholarly awards and prizes (Cohn, Farrington, & Iratzoqui, 2017; Kim & Hawkins, 2013; King, Bergstrom, Correll, Jacquet, & West, 2017; Maliniak, Powers, & Walter, 2013). Gender citation patterns in political science, international relations, economics and sociology journals suggest that works published by women are less likely to be cited, even in journals that have a feminist approach (Dion, Sumner, & Mitchell, 2018; Maliniak et al., 2013). In the field of health, articles that had a greater proportion of female authors were less cited thus implying that publishing with other women greatly reduced the chances of being quoted (Beaudry & Larivière, 2016).

Similar to the disciplines mentioned above, publications and citations in criminology and criminal justice journals favour male scholars (Kim & Hawkins, 2013), and racial and ethnic minorities are nearly absent (Crichlow, 2017). Non-White authors contributed the least in scholarly productions across three journals, namely 12.3% in *Criminology*, 6.3% in *Justice Quarterly* and 23.4% in *Theoretical Criminology* (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). Of the 270 scholars who ranked in the top 50 amongst six criminology and criminal justice journals, the vast majority were White men followed by White women; a mere 1.7% were Black men and 0.3% were Black women (Kim & Hawkins, 2013).

One of the explanations for gender differences in publication output relates to mentoring and theoretical stances. Mentoring positively influences the likelihood of being retained in academic positions (Rice et al., 2007; Saulnier & Swigonski, 2006). Research conducted by women is more likely to employ feminist theoretical approaches, which are often not fully embraced by mainstream criminology journals (Lowe & Fagan, 2019). Furthermore, scholarly production is influenced by academic positions and large proportions of professors are White and male which may be explained by their longevity in academia. Resembling other social sciences disciplines, knowledge production in criminology therefore appears to be concentrated in the hands of male scholars (Dion et al., 2018; Maliniak et al., 2013).

Race, gender and authorship

There has been a steady increase in the co-authorship of criminology articles. The growth in co-authorship has been largely facilitated by technological advancement, the use of research teams and inter-institutional partnerships (Higgins, Swartz, & Hayden, 2019; Lemke, 2013). Technology has broken down geographical barriers and increased ease of communication, resulting in access to various collaborative networks across universities. An important barrier to publishing could be time constraints due to teaching workloads thus making co-authorship a viable option. In addition, the “publish or perish” dictum has also led to the increase in co-authorship (Lemke, 2013).

Gender discrepancies are evident in multi-authored research publications in that males appear more prominent as co-authors. The tendency to co-author with scholars of the same gender is known as gender sorting and is more common amongst male scholars (Holman & Morandin, 2019). Female authors also tend to display the tendency of publishing with men (Fahmy & Young, 2017). In political sciences, for example, an analysis of ten journals in the USA showed that co-authored work emerged from a team largely consisting of men (Teele & Thele, 2017).

Despite the broad tendencies noted above, there are contradicting results in criminology as to whom authors collaborate with. Eigenberg and Whalley (2015) analysed 998 articles published in 2007, 2010 and 2013 in eight criminology journals and found that more than half

of the articles were multi-authored, with men more likely to co-author with other men than with women. In contrast, Fahmy and Young (2017) analysed 656 co-authored articles written by 1 247 authors in five criminology and criminal justice journals and found that more than two-thirds (70.5%) engaged in cross-gender collaborations, and that women engaged more in across-gender collaborations than their male counterparts. Similarly, in their analysis of 11 348 articles published between 1974 and 2014, Zettler et al. (2017) showed that women published significantly more with other women than they did with male colleagues. The evidence therefore suggests that scholars in criminology tend to collaborate with same-gendered colleagues.

Women's representation in editorship

Although there are indications of increases in publications from female authors, the same cannot be said for editorship as women remain under-represented in editorial roles (Fox, Duffy, Fairbairn, & Meyer, 2019). Editors are considered as gate-keepers of the publication process and greatly shape the trajectory of their respective fields of interest (Dhanani & Jones, 2017; Fox et al., 2019; Manlove & Belou, 2018; Steyn & Klopper, 2015). Publishing further hinges on a peer review process which is potentially subject to systemic biases that undervalue particular research topics or evidence produced by certain author groups. The presence of women tends to decrease as the stature of an activity increases, therefore, women are more likely to author articles than to edit them (Amrein, Langmann, Fahrleitner-Pammer, Pieber, & Zollner-Schwetz, 2011; Manlove & Belou, 2018; Mauleón, Hillán, Moreno, Gómez, & Bordons, 2013). In addition, editors are often selected from research networks and other editorial boards, which mostly comprise of men (Cho et al., 2014).

Mauleón et al. (2013) analysed the gender composition of the editorial boards of 131 Spanish journals in all fields of science and confirmed that the presence of female authors was lower than that of males. Furthermore, a lower presence of female editors was associated with a lower presence of females in editorial boards. Similarly, Amrein et al. (2011) investigated the editorial boards of 60 medicine journals listed in the Thomson Reuters Web and found that only 15% of the editors were women. An analysis of journals of environmental biology from 1985 to 2013 revealed that only 16% of the editors were female and 14% were associate editors (Cho et al., 2014). On the more positive side, Fox et al. (2019) noted a 21% to 35% increase in female editors when they examined the gender diversity of editorial boards of six ecology and evolution journals from 2003 to 2005. In criminology and criminal justice journals, women represented a mere 14% of editors between 1985 to 2017 (Lowe & Fagan, 2019). It is evident that women's contribution to the academic publishing industry is constrained.

Research methods

The present paper set out to analyse the gender and racial composition, as well as the university status, of authors publishing in the *Acta Criminologica*. It also explored the gender and racial make-up of the editorial team of the journal. Content analysis was used because it is a useful research design to determine trends, patterns and differences over time (Krippendorff, 2019). Employing a systematic sampling strategy with a four-year interval, the analysis included articles that were published between 1993 to 2018. Two elements (years) were selected per interval in order to enhance the statistical power of the analysis (Babbie, 2016; Maree & Pietersen, 2017). The years 1993 and 1994 were identified as starting point, followed by 1997/1998 up until the year 2017/2018. The timespan of 1993 to 2018 was

selected for two reasons. Firstly, in the early 1990s South Africa went through major political changes which included the release of former President Nelson Mandela, an apartheid activist and icon in the struggle for a free South Africa. The period 1990-1993 was characterized by on-going negotiations for a democratic dispensation between former anti-apartheid collectives and the then White government. The analysis therefore starts at the time democracy was attained. Secondly, in 2017 the Criminological Society of Africa engaged in structural and policy reforms of the Acta Criminologica thus by including 2017 and 2018 it was possible to gauge whether the journal has been making transformation gains.

Book reviews, letters to the editor and special editions were excluded from the analysis. A data capturing sheet was developed to record the year of publication; gender, race and position of author(s); number of authors; university affiliation; status of the university (South Africa or former homeland); research methods employed; and themes of the articles. To code the authors gender, we used first names, pronouns as well as images. When the gender of an author, based on his/her first name, was unknown or unfamiliar an online search (LinkedIn, university websites, Google Scholar, Google search engine and ResearchGate) was conducted to obtain more information. To classify the race of an author race, we used the South African population group classification, namely, African (Black), Indian/Asian, Mixed-race and White. For race, authors' last names, faculty/departmental websites and other online searches was used for information. Thirteen author's gender was unaccounted for in the total sample. The coded data was captured on Microsoft Excel and exported to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences to obtain descriptive results and bivariate results (IBM CORP, 2019). In addition to descriptive data, the Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis H tests were used to identify significant associations between variables. Significant values (p) will only be presented where significant associations prevailed.

Results

Sample characteristics

A total of 385 articles were published in the selected sampling intervals. The greater proportion of publications occurred in 2001/2002 (Table 1). A slight decline featured in the number of articles published toward 2013/2014 and 2017/2018.

Table 1. Number of articles per sampling interval.

	<u>1993/94</u>		<u>1997/98</u>		<u>2001/02</u>		<u>2005/06</u>		<u>2009/10</u>		<u>2013/14</u>		<u>2017/18</u>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	60	15.6	56	14.5	84	21.8	59	15.3	44	11.5	38	9.9	44	11.5

In terms of the total sample, two-thirds of the authors were men (n = 365; 66.7%) and 33.3% (n = 182) were women. The majority of authors were White (n = 446; 79.6%), followed by Black (n = 72; 12.9%), Indian/Asian (n = 36; 6.4%) and Mixed-race authors 1.1% (n = 6; 1.1%).

Race, gender and position of first authors

Male scholars constituted the bulk of first authors (n = 247; 65.2%) and women accounted for 34% (n = 129) (the gender of six authors was unknown). The majority of first authors were White (n = 293; 76.1%) and roughly one in seven were Black (n = 57; 14.8%) (the race of one

author could not be determined). When the race and gender of the first authors were combined, most publications emerged from White men. Although this profile has dominated publications over the 25-year period of analysis, there was a peak in 2009/2010 followed by a substantial decrease in publications towards 2017/2018 (Figure 1). Contributions from Black male scholars showed a sharp increase in 2017/2018, but to a lesser extent for Black women. A statistically significant shift featured in the gender and race of first authors over the study period ($p = 0.000$).

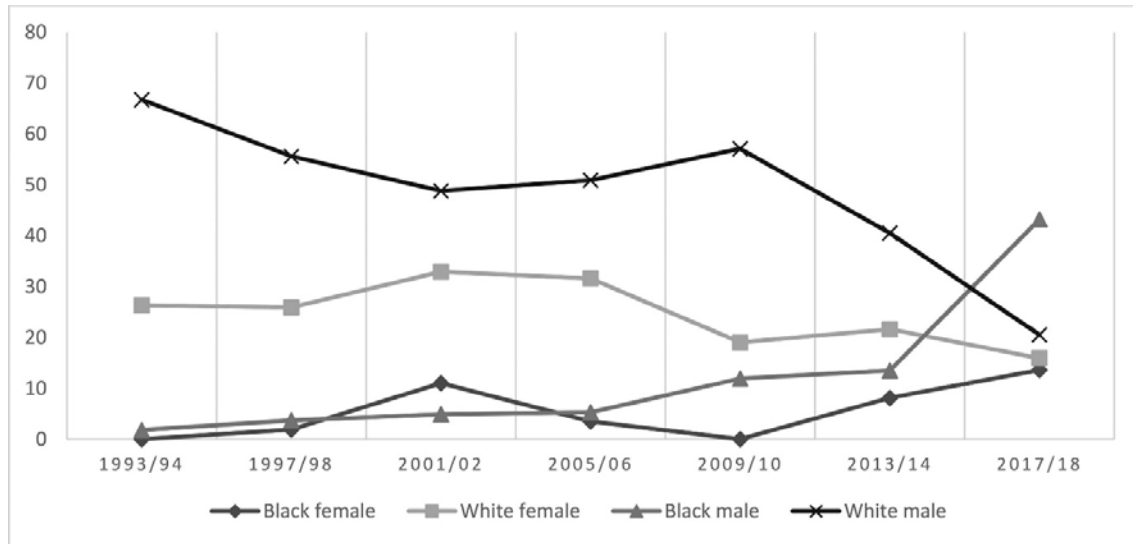


Figure 1. Combined gender and race of first authors by year of publication (%)².

From the analysis of first authors, almost half were professors ($n = 125$; 46.6%), followed by senior lecturers ($n = 35$; 13.1%), students ($n = 27$; 10.1%), and lecturers ($n = 25$; 9.3%). Overall, the greater proportion of professors were White males ($n = 93$; 62.4%). One in five of the lecturers were Black men ($n = 13$; 21.7%) and White women accounted 44% ($n = 11$) (Table 2).

Table 2. Academic positions of first authors by gender and race.

	Associate Professor/Professor/ Fellow		Lecturer		Student		Researcher/Other	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Black female	4	2.7	8	13.3	2	8.0	4	6.9
White female	32	21.5	17	28.3	11	44.0	6	23.1
Black male	13	13	13	21.7	4	16.0	2	7.7
White male	93	93	16	26.7	4	3.3	10	38.5

The academic positions of first authors showed a significant difference over the research period ($p = 0.000$), displaying a decline in the dominance of professors in the publication process from 67.2% ($n = 39$) in 2001/2002 to 9.9% ($n = 15$) in 2017/2018. At the same time, lecturers/senior lecturers produced more publications, from 15.5% ($n = 9$) in 2001/2002 to 33.3% ($n = 20$) in 2017/2018.

Race, gender and position of second authors

Similar to first authorship, the bulk of the second authors were male ($n = 118$; 70.2%) and female authors were less than one-third ($n = 50$; 29.8%). The vast majority of second authors were White ($n = 153$; 86.9%), followed by Black ($n = 15$; 8.5%), Indian/Asian ($n = 7$; 4.0%) and only one Mixed-race author. There were significant shifts ($p = 0.002$) when the race and gender of second authors were combined, with a general declining trend in the number of articles authored by White males and an increase in the number of Black male and female authors (Figure 2).

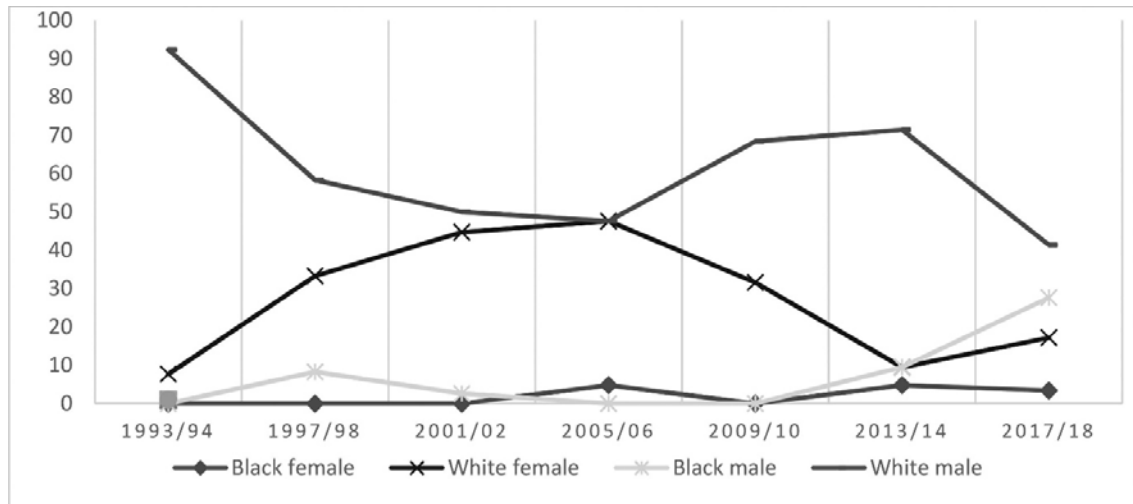


Figure 2. Combined gender and race of second authors by year of publication³.

When the academic post level of second authors was analysed, the second authors were predominantly professors ($n = 81$; 63.8%), followed by other ($n = 24$; 18.9%), senior lecturers/lecturers ($n = 17$; 13.4%) and students ($n = 5$; 3.9%). Amongst the second author gender and race, White males ($n = 52$; 65%) and Black males ($n = 4$; 5.0%) were professors. Amongst the lecturers, White females, Black Females and White males accounted for 28.6% ($n = 6$) respectively. Only four of the second authors were students (one Black female and three White females).

Race, gender and multi authored publications

Slightly more than half of the publications ($n = 206$; 53.5%) were single authored and 46.5% ($n = 179$) had multiple authors. There was a significant shift ($p = 0.015$), with authors leaning more towards multi-authored publications over the years. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the bulk of the publications were single authored. Same gender collaborations were significantly ($p = 0.000$) more prone amongst male authors. Female authors displayed across-gender collaborations, publishing with both women ($n = 28$; 50.9%) and men ($n = 27$; 49.1%). In terms of race and collaborative publications, White authors were more likely to co-author with other White authors ($n = 126$; 94.0%), while Black authors published with White ($n = 17$; 63.0%) and Black authors ($n = 8$; 29.6%) (Table 3).

Table 3. Multi-authored articles according to race.

	Second author							
	Black		Indian		Mixed-race		White	
First author	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Black	8	29.6	2	7.4	–	–	17	63.0
Indian/Asian	1	9.1	2	18.2	–	–	8	72.7
Mixed-race	1	25.0	1	25.0	–	–	2	50.0
White	5	3.7	2	1.5	1	0.7	126	94.0

Race, gender and research methods

More than half of the publications (n = 105; 54.9%) were empirical studies and the remainder of the publications (n = 86; 45.1%) were literature-based. Of the empirical articles (n = 105), the greater proportion (n = 68; 66.7%) was quantitative, followed by 26.7% (n = 28) qualitative, and 6.6% (n = 7) mixed methods. Almost two-thirds (n = 74; 62.2%) of quantitative studies were published by White male authors, followed by White female authors (n = 25; 21%) (Table 4). One-third (n = 4; 33.3%) of the mixed methods research originated from Black males. Literature-based studies dropped significantly ($p = 0.000$) from 59.5% (n = 50) in 2001/2002 to 6.6% (n = 12) in 2017/2018 resulting in an increase in qualitative studies from 8.3% (n = 7) to 28.4% (n = 19) in 2017/2018.

Table 4. Research methods according to race and gender.

	Quantitative		Qualitative		Mixed Methods		Literature-based	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Black female	8	6.7	8	12.3	–	–	–	–
White female	25	21.0	21	32.3	–	–	51	28.8
Black male	6	5	10	15.4	4	33.3	19	10.7
White male	74	62.2	20	30.8	5	41.7	86	48.6

Race, gender and university status

The bulk of publications (n = 353; 92.4%) came from South African universities and the remaining 29 articles (7.6%) had international origins. A total of 26 South African universities have published in the *Act Criminologica* over the twenty-five-year period, yet 37.2% (n = 142) of articles stemmed from one university only. The bulk of articles (n = 280; 82.1%) published in the journal emerged from authors affiliated with universities that were considered part of South Africa prior to the advent of democracy. Less than one in five articles stemmed from former homeland universities (17.8%; n = 61). In 1993/1994, the greater number of publications were from authors from South African universities (90.6%). Although the bulk of publications came from authors from South African universities, there was a significant shift ($p = 0.004$) with an increase in publications from former homelands universities in 2017/2018 (Figure 3).

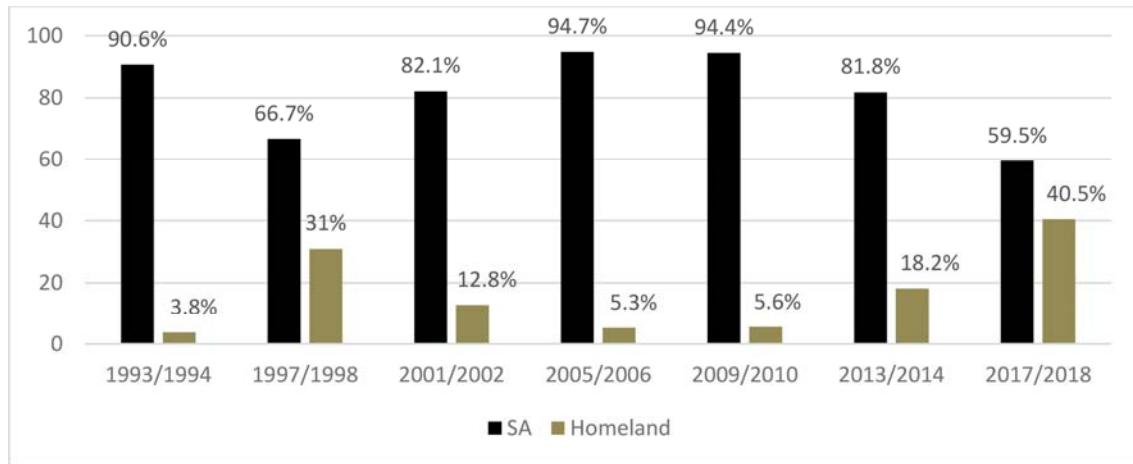


Figure 3. Contribution of South African and former homelands universities to the journal.

Gender disparities persisted amongst South African and former homelands universities ($p = 0.060$). From the South African universities, female authors made up 38.4% ($n = 106$) and males 61.6% ($n = 170$). Females publishing from former homelands universities ($n = 12$; 10.2%) was lower than those from South African universities ($n = 103$; 87.3%). Publications from males in former homeland universities was 18.2% ($n = 39$).

The race of authors varied within South African and former homeland universities, with significant shifts ($p < 0.000$) in contributions from Black authors. Contributions from White authors remained high in both South African ($n = 234$; 83.6%) and former homeland universities ($n = 27$; 45.0%), while Black authors were more likely to be from former homeland universities ($n = 25$; 41.7%) than South African universities ($n = 25$; 8.9%). Contribution from Mixed-race authors remained low in both South African ($n = 1$; 0.4%) and former homeland universities ($n = 2$; 3.3%).

Race and gender of editorial teams

The greater proportion of editors of the journal were White males, with only one White female editor from 2017 (Table 5).

Table 5. Gender and race of editors.

	1993/94	1997/98	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2013/14	2017/18
Editor (in Chief)	White male	White male	White male	White male	White male	White male	White female
Sub-editors	White male				White male White female	White male Indian male White female	White male Indian Male

Discussion

It has been more than 25 years since apartheid was dismantled, yet the country’s higher education sector continues to grapple with remnants of its segregated past. This paper suggests that transformation of some academic journals in South Africa—insofar as the race and gender makeup of authors is concerned—happens at a slow pace. Consistent with previous research, the *Acta Criminologica* demonstrates the hegemony of White men in the publication industry (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016; Kim & Hawkins, 2013; Potter,

Higgins, & Gabbidon, 2011) which was a key characteristic of apartheid architecture. In Western contexts the hegemony of White men might be due to patriarchy, but—importantly—racial (under) privilege was formally legislated in South Africa. Despite this overall result, the study shows noteworthy shifts in publication frequencies from Black scholars, with a significant increase in contributions from Black male academics. These shifts are, however, only noticeable from 2013/14, two decades after democracy prevailed in the country. On the one hand, it can be argued that delays in article publishing by Black scholars is due to the observation that it takes at least 20 years to produce a professor (University of Cape Town, 2016). On the other hand, the increase in publications from Black scholars towards 2017/18 coincided with policy changes at government and journal level. In March 2017, the National Department of Higher Education instituted the rule that at least 75% of articles published in an academic journal must emanate from multiple institutions. This directive broke the dominance of the university which published nearly two in five articles (37.2%) over the study period thus opening the door for other universities and scholars to obtain publication space in the journal. At the same time, the *Acta Criminologica* continued to receive multiple submissions from the same author(s) within a year, a practice which is commonly referred to as publication syndicates. In response, the new editorial team (appointed in 2017) implemented a policy limiting the number of manuscripts printed in any one publication year to either one single-authored or two co-authored articles per annum. This move was deemed necessary to ensure a diversity of publications—from institutions, authors and disciplinary fields—and to advance opportunities for emerging and other scholars to publish their research (Criminological Society of Africa, 2018). In light of the available results, it can be argued that these measures are bearing fruit, and at the same time it underlines the need for structural and policy reforms to facilitate transformation in South Africa’s academic sector.

White women appear to have maintained their position as authors in the *Acta Criminologica*, with an increase in published output in the early and mid-2000s which may have been a function of publishing for promotion purposes. However, the intersection of gender and race appears relevant in light of the under-representation of Black, Indian/Asian and Mixed-race women in scholarly output. Intersectionality, as an explanation of the gender and race hierarchy (Gillborn, 2015), is tied to South Africa’s apartheid philosophy and keeps female academics, especially Black women, from the publishing industry. It is further evident that Indian/Asian and Mixed-race men and women—who form part of minority groups—are virtually absent in the publication process (Crichlow, 2017; Potter et al., 2011). In South Africa, the Mixed-race population accounts for 8.8% and the Indian/Asian population a mere 2.6% (Statistics South Africa, 2019). In addition, the Western Cape province carries a disproportionate number of Mixed-race citizens yet none of the four universities in the province offer criminology at undergraduate level, which may partially explain why Mixed-race academics are absent in *Acta Criminologica* publications.

Noteworthy shifts are evident in the increase in collaborative publications in the journal. In the late 2000s there has been a shift towards multi-authored articles compared to single-authored publications. The increase stemmed from, among others, more output by Black scholars in recent years, which could be ascribed to the mentoring of emerging academics, and senior staff collaborating with junior staff members to accelerate the attainment of doctoral degrees and promotions. In this regard, the National Department of Higher Education and the National Research Foundation have put in place several mechanisms to support scholars of colour to obtain postgraduate qualifications, including Thuthuka bursaries, the Black Academics Advancement Program, and the New Generation Academics Program. Since professors are responsible for academic supervision of masters and doctoral

graduates, they might have contributed to the increase in co-publications, as students are often required to publish with their academic supervisors. Although the bulk of authors were White male professors, a noteworthy shift is observed in the increase in lecturers and senior lecturers publishing in the journal. Our findings confirm that authors publishing in the *Acta Criminologica*, particularly men, often engage in gender homophily, displaying a skewed gender ratio by publishing with other White male scholars. Both men and women were more likely to be co-authors when women were primary authors, contradicting previous research findings (Eigenberg & Whalley, 2015; Fahmy & Young, 2017). Furthermore, Black males were also more likely to co-author with White males.

The present findings support the literature that White men working within the Western paradigm of empirical research dominated publications in the *Acta Criminologica* (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). Quantitative articles largely emerged from men. The results thus suggest that it is not only in the science, technology, engineering and mathematics disciplines where men dominate in quantitative output, but also in South African criminology which is considered a social science. Further, at face value it appears as though there were positive shifts in research publications from former homeland universities. However, upon closer inspection, half of the authors from homeland universities were White academics which might to be a remnant of this profile having taught at these universities under apartheid (Akala & Divala, 2016). Lastly, the involvement of women in the editorial team of the *Acta Criminologica* remains problematic. In the 30 years of its existence, the journal only recently had its first female editor-in-chief. Besides the lack in gender inclusivity, the journal does not fare well either in terms of the racial make-up of editors.

This study points to the reality of ‘sticky floors and glass ceilings’ still facing particular profiles of South African criminology scholars in the publication industry. The devastating legacy of apartheid cannot be underestimated where structural barriers prevented the development of academics and researchers who were not White. Notwithstanding the introduction of policies and developing new frameworks to address issues of equity and transformation, the paper demonstrates that women, particularly minority women, remain marginalized and under-represented in South African criminology.

Limitations and future research

While our study makes a meaningful contribution to understanding the gender and racial profile of South African criminologists publishing in the *Acta Criminologica*, we must note some limitations. Firstly, the authors acknowledge that the findings on publishing patterns are limited as the study solely focused on one South African criminology journal, and that local criminologists do in fact publish in other local and international journals. Therefore, the findings should not be interpreted as the trajectory of publishing patterns of criminologists in the country as a whole. Secondly, we acknowledge that, while we were diligent to code individuals as either male or female based on personal knowledge and information in the public domain, gender is a more complicated construct and some individuals might not fit into the binary distinctions used in the analyses. There is a degree of error inherent in our search of authors gender and race. Various methods were utilized to determine the biographic characteristics of authors, however, the information of those who did not have an online presence were incomplete. Thirdly, due to space constraints it was not possible to provide a thematic analysis of research topics published which may impact on the gender and racial composition of authors. Future research should consider expanding the timeline beyond 25 years in order to fully understand why transformation in the journal has been constrained.

Furthermore, a mixed-method design should be employed to better understand the gender and racial composition of South African criminologists' scholarly production.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes

¹ Classification of South Africans with mixed heritage of European and indigenous Southern African roots (Ellison & de Wet, 2020:425).

² Publications from Mixed-race and Indian/Asian authors were omitted from the figure due to low n-values. One Mixed-race female scholar published an article in 1993/94 (n = 1; 1.8%), while three articles were published by Indian/Asian female authors in 2013/2014 (n = 3; 8.1%). Although Indian male authors had publications throughout the study period, their contributions ranged between one (1.8%) and two (4.8%) publications in each sample interval.

³ Publications from Mixed-race and Indian/Asian authors were omitted from the figure due to low n-values. Of the females, only Indian/Asian females were co-authors in 2001/2002 (n = 1; 2.6%) and in 2013/2014 (n = 2; 4.8%). Indian/Asian (n = 2; 6.9%) and Mixed-race (n = 1; 3.4%) authors co-authored in the year 2017/2018 respectively.

References

Akala, B. M., & Divala, J. M. (2016). Gender equity tensions in South Africa's post-apartheid higher education: In defence of differentiation. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 30(1), 1–16. doi:10.20853/30-1-557

Amrein, K., Langmann, A., Fahrleitner-Pammer, A., Pieber, T. R., & Zollner-Schwetz, I. (2011). Women underrepresented on editorial boards of 60 major medical journals. *Gender Medicine*, 8(6), 378–387. doi:10.1016/j.genm.2011.10.007

Babbie, E. (2016). *The Practice of Social Research* (14TH ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Badat, S. (2009). Theorising institutional change: Post-1994 South Africa higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 34(4), 455–467. doi:10.1080/03075070902772026

Beaudry, C., & Larivière, V. (2016). Which gender gap? Factors affecting researchers' scientific impact in science and medicine. *Research Policy*, 45(9), 1790–1817. doi:10.1016/j.respol.2016.05.009

Bunting, I. (2006). The higher education landscape under apartheid. In Cloete N., Maassen, P., Fehnel R., Moja T., Gibbon T., & Perold H. (Eds.), *Transformation in Higher Education: Global pressures and local realities* (pp.35–52). South Africa, Dordrecht: Springer.

- Chanock, M. (1995). Criminological science and the criminal law on the colonial periphery: Perception, fantasy, and realities in South Africa, 1900-1930. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 20(04), 911–940. doi:10.1111/j.1747-4469.1995.tb00696.x
- Chesney-Lind, M., & Chagnon, N. (2016). Criminology, Gender, and Race: A case study of privilege in the academy. *Feminist Criminology*, 11(4), 311–333. doi:10.1177/1557085116633749
- Cho, A. H., Johnson, S. A., Schuman, C. E., Adler, J. M., Gonzalez, O., Graves, S. J., Huebner, J. R., ... Bruna, E. M. (2014). Women are underrepresented on the editorial boards of journals in environmental biology and natural resource management. *Peer Journal*, 2, 1–11.
- Christie, P. (2016). Educational change in post-conflict contexts: reflections on the South African experience 20 years later. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 14(3), 434–446. doi:10.1080/14767724.2015.1121379
- Clarke, M., & Bassett, C. (2016). The struggle for transformation in South Africa: Unrealized dreams, persistent hopes. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34(2), 183–189. doi:10.1080/02589001.2016.1202501
- Cohn, E. G., Farrington, D. P., & Iratzoqui, A. (2017). Changes in the most-cited scholars and works over 25 years: The evolution of the field of criminology and criminal justice. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 28(1), 25–51. doi:10.1080/10511253.2016.1153686
- Crichlow, V. J. (2017). The solitary criminologist: Constructing a narrative of black identity and alienation in the academy. *Race and Justice*, 7(2), 179–195. doi:10.1177/2153368716687624
- Criminological Society of Africa. (2018, October 15). Notice of changes to submission guidelines: Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology. http://www.crimsa.ac.za/docs/Notification_for_Change_of_Guidelines_from_15October_2018.pdf
- Crow, S. M., & Smykla, J. O. (2015). An examination of author characteristics in national and regional Criminology and Criminal Justice Journals, 2008-2010: Are female scholars changing the nature of publishing in Criminology and Criminal Justice? *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40(2), 441–455. doi:10.1007/s12103-014-9250-x
- Dhanani, A., & Jones, M. J. (2017). Editorial boards of accounting journals: gender diversity and internationalization. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, 30(5), 1008–1040.
- Dion, M. L., Sumner, J. L., & Mitchell, S. M. (2018). Gendered citation patterns across political science and social science methodology fields. *Political Analysis*, 26(3), 312–327. doi:10.1017/pan.2018.12
- Dixon, B. (2004). Justice gained? Crime, crime control and criminology in transition. In Dixon, B. & Van der Spuy, E. (Eds.), *Justice Gained? Crime and Crime Control in South Africa's Transition* (pp.ix–xxx). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Eigenberg, H. M. & Whalley, E. (2015). Gender and publication patterns: female authorship is increasing, but is there gender parity? *Women & Criminal Justice*, 125(1–2): Pages 130–144. doi:10.1080/08974454.2015.1023882

Ellison, G. T. H., & de Wet, T. (2020). The classification of South Africa's mixed-heritage peoples 1910-2011: A century of conflation, contradiction, containment, and contention. In Rocha, Z. & Aspinall, P. (Eds.), *The Palgrave international handbook of mixed racial and ethnic classification* (pp425–456). Switzerland, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fahmy, C., & Young, J. T. N. (2017). Gender inequality and knowledge production in Criminology and Criminal Justice. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 28(2), 285–305. doi:10.1080/10511253.2016.1233346

Fotaki, M. (2013). No woman is like man (in academia): The masculine symbolic order and the unwanted female body. *Organization Studies*, 34(9), 1251–1275. doi:10.1177/0170840613483658

Fox, C. W., Duffy, M. A., Fairbairn, D. J., & Meyer, J. A. (2019). Gender diversity of editorial boards and gender differences in the peer review process at six journals of ecology and evolution. *Ecology and Evolution*, 9(24), 13636–13649. doi:10.1002/ece3.5794

Gillborn, D. (2015). Intersectionality, critical race theory and the primacy of racism: Race, class, gender, and disability in education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 277–287. doi:10.1177/1077800414557827

, K. S., Zondo, N. P., & Makgoba, M. W. (2013). A new look at demographic transformation for universities in South Africa. *South African Journal of Science*, 109(11/12), 1–11.

Heffernan, A. (2017). The University of the North and Building the Bantustans, 1959–1977. *South African Historical Journal*, 69(2), 195–220. doi:10.1080/02582473.2017.1293716

Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education*, 1(1), 1–8. doi:10.4102/the.v1i1.9

Higgins, E. M., Swartz, K., & Hayden, E. A. (2019). The state of authorship in Criminology: Perceptions of right and order among elite criminologists. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 30(4), 477–494. doi:10.1080/10511253.2019.1566481

Higher Education and Training (2019). *Post-school education and training monitoring: Macro-indicator trends*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Holman, L., & Morandin, C. (2019). Researchers collaborate with same-gendered colleagues more often than expected across the life sciences. *PLoS One*, 14(4), e0216128–19. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0216128

IBM Corp. (2019). *IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 25.0*. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

- Kim, B., & Hawkins, P. M. (2013). Who's Getting Cited: Representation of Women and Non-White Scholars in Major American Criminology and Criminal Justice Journals Between 1986-2005. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 2, 306–321.
- King, M. M., Bergstrom, C. T., Correll, S. J., Jacquet, J., & West, J. D. (2017). Men set their own cites high: Gender and self-citation across fields and over time. *Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, 3, 1–22.
- Kleck, G., & Bethany, M. (2017). Article productivity among the faculty of criminology and criminal justice doctoral programs, 2010–2014. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 28 (4), 467–487. doi:10.1080/10511253.2016.1146008
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: A content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage
- Lemke, R. (2013). Perceptions on the trend of multi-authored collaboration: Results from a national survey of Criminal Justice and Criminology Faculty. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 24(3), 316–338. doi:10.1080/10511253.2012.719163
- Leuschner, A. (2015). Social exclusion in academia through biases in methodological quality evaluation: On the situation of women in science and philosophy. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 54, 56–63. doi:10.1016/j.shpsa.2015.08.017
- Lowe, C. C., & Fagan, A. A. (2019). Gender composition of editors and editorial boards in seven top Criminal Justice and Criminology journals from 1985 to 2017. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 30(3), 424–443.
- Maliniak, D., Powers, R. M., & Walter, B. F. (2013). The gender citation gap in International Relations. *International Organization*, 67(4), 889–922. doi:10.1017/S0020818313000209
- Manlove, K. R., & Belou, R. M. (2018). Authors and editors assort on gender and geography in high-rank ecological publications. *PLoS One*, 13(2), e0192481–13. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0192481
- Maree, K., Pietersen, J., (2017). The quantitative research process. In Maree, K., Creswell, J. W., Ebersohn, L., Eloff, I., Ferreira, R., Ivankova, N. V., & Jansen, J. D. & Nieuwenhuis, J. (Eds.), *First steps in research* (2nd ed., pp. 145–153). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Mauleón, E., Hillán, L., Moreno, L., Gómez, I., & Bordons, M. (2013). Assessing gender balance among journal authors and editorial board members. *Scientometrics*, 95(1), 87–114. doi:10.1007/s11192-012-0824-4
- McKeever, M. (2017). Educational inequality in apartheid South Africa. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(1), 114–131. doi:10.1177/0002764216682988
- Mihaljević-Brandt, H., Santamaría, L., & Tullney, M. (2016). The effect of gender in the publication patterns in mathematics. *PLoS One*, 11(10), e0165367–23. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0165367

- Netswera, F. G., & Mathabe, N. (2006). A pervasive apartheid? an analysis of changing higher education in South Africa and its relationship with the state. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 38(1), 29–40. doi:10.1080/00220620600552425
- Nkomo, M., & Sehoole, C. (2007). Rural-based universities in South Africa. *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education*, 8(2), 234–246. doi:10.1108/14676370710726689
- Orrick, E. A., & Weir, H. (2011). The most prolific sole and lead authors in elite criminology and criminal justice journals, 2000–2009. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 22(1), 24–42. doi:10.1080/10511253.2010.517649
- Palma, S. D. (2005). Progress for women faculty in Social Work academia. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 20(1), 71–86.
- Potter, H., Higgins, G. E., & Gabbidon, S. L. (2011). The influence of gender, race/ethnicity and faculty perceptions on scholarly productivity in criminology/criminal justice. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 22(1), 84–101. doi:10.1080/10511253.2010.517653
- Rakometsi, M. S. (2008). *The transformation of Black school education in South Africa, 1950-1994: A historical perspective*. Bloemfontein, South Africa: University of the Free State.
- Rice, S. K., Terry, K. J., Miller, H. V., & Ackerman, A. R. (2007). Research Trajectories of Female Scholars in Criminology and Criminal Justice. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 18(3), 360–384. doi:10.1080/10511250701705305
- Saul, J. (2013). Implicit bias, stereotype threat, and women in philosophy. In Hutchison, K., & Jenkins, F. (Eds.), *Women in philosophy: What needs to change* (pp.39–60). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Saulnier, C. F., & Swigonski, M. (2006). Editorial. As feminists in the academy. *Affilia*, 21(4), 361–364. doi:10.1177/0886109906292157 [Crossref],
- Singh, S., & Gopal, N. (2010). Criminology in the 21st Century: “Through the eyes” of academics. *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*, 32(1), 11–24.
- Statistics South Africa. (2019). Mid-year population estimates. Pretoria, South Africa: Government printers.
- Steyn, F., & Klopper, H. F. (2015). Ubi vuimus, quo vadimus Acta Criminologica? [Where are we, and we are we going Acta Criminologica?]. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 5, 1–18.
- Stockfelt, S. (2018). We the minority-of-minorities: a narrative inquiry of black female academics in the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 39(7), 1012–1018. doi:10.1080/01425692.2018.1454297

Teele, D. L., & Thele, K. (2017). Gender in the journals: Publication patterns in Political Science. *Political Science & Politics*, 50(2), 433–447.

Van Zyl Smit, D. (1999). Criminological ideas and the South African transition. *British Journal of Criminology*, 39(2), 198–215. doi:10.1093/bjc/39.2.198

Zettler, H. R., Cardwell, S. M., & Craig, J. M. (2017). The gendering effects of co-authorship in criminology & criminal justice research. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 30(1), 30–44.

Zyl Smit, D. (1989). Adopting and adapting criminological ideas. *Contemporary Crises*, 13(3), 227–251. doi:10.1007/BF00729342