TRANSFORMATION AND DECOLONISATION OF CRIMINOLOGY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to those who have gone before me but have left behind a legacy of hard work, loyalty, commitment, and love - my great grandfather Makhosana Solomon Jeleni, My great grandmother Nyanisi Nwamakhanda Mashele, my grandfather Ben Julius Mashau Sadiki, my aunt Takalani Joyce Ramuhashi, my uncle Titus Mbengeni Sadiki and my sister Livhuwani Sadiki. May your souls continue to rest in peace.

DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted previously to this or any other tertiary institution for such a doctoral degree; and that, the thesis is my own work, and with regards to such publications of which I am the author, that my personal contribution to such works is clearly stated. I have given due recognition to the institutional policy on copyright.

Date: January 2022

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SUMMARY

The 2015/2016 #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student protest action reignited the call to transform and decolonise South African institutions of higher learning. The movements highlighted institutional racism and oppression, lack of racial diversity and a Eurocentric curriculum that is far-removed from the lived experiences of students. In response to some of the matters stemming from the movements, first, the study analysed the race, gender, and university status of authors publishing in the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*. In addition, the researcher investigated the Criminology curriculum through the views of postgraduate and academic staff members at various institutions in South Africa. Last, the study explored the experiences of female criminologists to determine how gender and race influences their academic trajectories. Relevant literature, intersectionality and critical race theory were used to contextualise transformation and decolonisation.

A multi-method approach was employed to determine and explore the transformation and decolonisation of Criminology in post-apartheid South Africa. Three independent research projects were conducted using knowledge production, Criminology curriculum and experiences of female criminologists as indicators of transformation and decolonisation. A quantitative content analysis method was used to analyse the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*, and an online survey was administered to 43 academic staff members and 45 postgraduate students. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 female criminologists. Results from the content analysis and online survey was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social sciences. The *Mann-Whitney U* and *Kruskall-Wallis H* tests were used to determine any significant differences. Recurring themes were identified from the interviews, and the data were transcribed verbatim.

The empirical results revealed significant gender and racial differences in terms of the authors publishing in the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology,* with the majority of first authors being White and male. Although the bulk of articles were from historically White institutions, the results displayed a significant shift (p=0.004) in publications by authors in former historically disadvantaged institutions. The survey indicated that the respondents were familiar with decolonisation, even prior to the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student protest action. In addition, the urgency to

decolonise the curriculum was more pronounced among Black than White academics (p=0.41; r=-0.37). Interviews with female criminologists revealed prevailing gender and racial inequalities insofar as interactions with students, relationship with the institution and leadership positions are concerned.

Women and Black scholars continue to be under-represented as authors and knowledge producers in the discipline. A major concern with the Criminology curriculum is the absence of indigenous knowledge systems with Eurocentric views and knowledge continuing to shape what counts as knowledge in Criminology. Even with gender equity policies in place, female criminologists continue to experience the academia as alienating and patriarchal. Therefore, further research on institutional culture, racism and sexism is warranted. In addition, a decolonised and transformed Criminology curriculum is possible through collaborative efforts between students and (Black and White) academics.

Key terms: Transformation, decolonisation, curriculum, Criminology, gender and race

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PART 1: INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

INTRODUCTION

The 1994 general elections in South Africa ushered in a new democratic dispensation. For the first time, citizens of all races were allowed to vote in the elections. In huge numbers, Black, Indian and Coloured citizens lined up in the early hours of 27 April 1994 to cast their votes. The first democratic elections, a fundamental transformation in the country's power relations, ignited hope among the people of a new beginning and opportunities for the previously marginalised.

Almost 21 years into democracy, in March 2015, students defaced the Cecil John Rhodes bronze statue at the University of Cape Town (UCT) – demanding that it be removed. This act of deviance gave birth to the #RhodesMustFall movement. The statue, a symbol of colonialism and oppression, ignited anti-racism campaigns by the students who called for Black liberation in colonial spaces, particularly at historically White institutions that were still a citadel of White privilege and Black exclusion in post-apartheid South Africa (Mahlatsi wa Azania, 2018). In addition to questioning the presence of the monument in a newly democratic country, the movement questioned the "Rhodes" in their curriculum, which deliberately privileged Eurocentric voices. The movement ignited debates about the hegemony of White male thoughts and the lack of diversity in the curricula (Peters, 2015: 641). Black students called for the decolonisation of the curriculum, a change to a more diverse staff cohort, and highlighted the need for broader institutional transformation. The #RhodesMustFall movement evolved into the #FeesMustFall movement, which highlighted broader issues of the financial exclusion of students from deprived backgrounds.

Debates about transformation and decolonisation have primarily focused on the curriculum, institutional racism, and social justice. The transformation and decolonisation agenda centred purely on the curriculum and racial inequalities in academia, with little attention given to discursive structures of knowledge production and gender disparity which could (re)produce the same colonial practices the movement aimed to change. Transforming and decolonising institutions and disciplines are fundamentally about "power, whom it belongs to, whom it elevates and whom it places at the centre of the discourse" (Kara, 2020). For Criminology, it begs the questions: who is producing

knowledge, whose knowledge is at the centre of our curriculum, and how are marginalised groups, including women, positioned in the discipline.

ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND

The curriculum offered at South African universities, particularly in Criminology, has mainly focused on a Eurocentric view of the world, crime, and criminality (Agozino, 2004: 343; Moosavi, 2019a: 230–231). As the African proverb states, "until the lion learns how to write, every story will glorify the hunter." For centuries the Global North has inscribed power through historical narratives which promote Eurocentrism and Whiteness in the discipline. The current curriculum is Western and systematically excludes knowledge from the majority of the world's population, and therefore restricts students from being exposed to multiculturism and critical pedagogy (Therlault, 2012: 23). African stories have for centuries been distorted and documented by everyone except the Africans themselves, in order to justify slavery and colonisation (Edosomwan & Peterson, 2016: 93). In South Africa, as Biko (2004: 70) castigated, our history did not begin in 1652 with the arrival of the Europeans, and Africans have to reclaim the narrative by rewriting their stories.

Criminology as a discipline originated during the height of colonialism, as Europe developed itself as a global powerhouse and ruled overseas colonies (cf. Agozino, 2004; Sadiki, 2020). Given Criminology's colonial legacy, the discipline perpetuates intellectual violence by disapproving of and rejecting alternative knowledge systems of crime and criminality. The gender agenda within the transformation and decolonisation discourse has received little to no attention. The discourses mainly focused on racial aspects while ignoring the plight of women in academia – especially Black women. It appears that the fight for representativeness and inclusion for Black people is a fight for Black men. The discipline has historically focused on White women and Black men while ignoring the plight of Black women (Agozino, 1997; Choak, 2020: 47). Mainstream feminist prioritises gender and the White middle class in its liberation efforts and claims to speak for all women, and yet is only privileging the voice of White women in the discipline (Potter, 2015: 7).

Having returned to academia in 2017 shortly after the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student protest action in 2015/2016, the researcher started working at an academic institution that was abuzz with transformation and decolonisation initiatives and

activism. As a result, the researcher became more aware of and interested in the decolonial project, particularly in terms of what transformation and decolonisation would entail for the discipline of Criminology due to its links with colonialism and apartheid. Furthermore, interest in the topic was ignited by the work of Agozino (2003, 2004, 2010), Fanon (1967) and Wa Thiong'o (1986), prompting the researcher to serve on the Faculty's and Department's transformation committees to better understand and equip herself for the doctoral-thesis journey. In addition, as a young Black woman, the researcher was concerned with the limited presence of Black women in the discipline – also as far as their stake in publishing was concerned.

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RATIONALE

Crime, criminality and social control have for centuries been written and told from the vantage point of the oppressor. During the enlightenment period, the discipline established itself as a science of oppression and served as a bedrock of the crimes of imperialism by justifying slavery and the economic exploitation of the colonised (Lynch, 2000: 147; Odo, 2005: 74). As a result of its colonial history, the discipline reflects Western perspectives (Dalgleish, 2005: 55; Kalunta-Crumpton, 2004: 6) and its narratives are centred on notions of crime, criminality and victimisation that purposefully ignore the role colonisation plays in the creation of criminalisation and victimisation (King, 2017: 7). In addition, the discipline has insufficiently reflected on colonialism, racism and slavery, while continuing to exhibit Western notions of crime and criminality (Moosavi, 2019b: 258), and has for many years suppressed the lived experiences, cultures, voices, attitudes, knowledge and histories of previously colonised people. Criminology has come late to the discussion on and debates about decolonisation, Africanisation and transformation. Any attempts to transform and decolonise in South Africa have been relatively limited or non-existent. Dominant Criminology theories (social, strain, bonding and learning theories) ignore the fact that Black people have and continue to experience racism in the criminal justice systems and the discipline itself. Notwithstanding the inclusion of restorative justice in the discipline, there have been limited attempts to include other theoretical and practice implications of indigenous understandings and approaches within Criminology (Cunneen & Rowe, 2014: 49), and much of the knowledge in the discipline has been concentrated in a few hands: the Global North (Agozino, 2004: 343; Moosavi, 2019b: 258).

Only limited research examines the status and experiences of Black and women criminologists in the discipline (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016: 319). With an increase in Black scholars at historically White institutions and the advancement of policies to transform various institutions and disciplines in post-apartheid South Africa, the time is ripe for a concerted effort to explore the transformation of Criminology in South Africa. Theory building in the discipline cannot continue to exist in an environment of unequal power relations, gender inequality and Eurocentric research methods and knowledge production. An important aspect of knowledge production and theory building relates to publishing and the composition of editorial boards. Most editorial boards are characterised by gender and racial inequalities (Amrein, Langmann, Fahrleitner-Pammer, Pieber & Zollner-schwetz, 2011: 379; Sperotto, Granada, Henriques, Timmers & Contini, 2021: 1; Verran, Dwyer, Hardstaff, Lawton & Schultz, 2020: 6). Underrepresentation of women and Black academics seen at the professoriate levels and in leadership roles is also evident in editorial boards and editorship (Fox, Duffy, Fairbairn & Meyer, 2019: 13637; Lowe & Fagan, 2019: 437). Very few scholarly contributions in high impact journals are from Black and women academics, with even fewer of them serving as editors and editorial board members. Most journals, including those dedicated to the discipline of Criminology, mainly have White men in charge (Lowe & Fagan, 2019: 437). There is a critical need for analysis of the experiences of women academics in the discipline and their contributions to scholarly production (Lowe & Fagan, 2019: 425). Even with institutions investing in a more diverse workforce, women and Black scholars still experience barriers (Silver, 2019: 2037). Transformation goes beyond teaching and learning, the curriculum and institutional culture. Transformation ought to critically examine how minority groups experience their institutions as well as their respective disciplines.

Criminology in Africa reinforces notions of crime and criminality by reinforcing and maintaining colonial relations and power (Blagg & Anthony, 2019: 13). Furthermore, as highlighted by Foucault (1981: 60–61), acts as the judge, jury and executioner within the borders of its discipline by reinforcing imperialist discourses. Criminology's reluctance to implement transformation and decolonisation may be because of its complicity in the colonial project; it has yet to confront its genealogical link to colonialism and apartheid and how it acted as a vanguard in the oppression of Africans (Agozino, 2003: 61; Blagg & Anthony, 2019: 47). Both colonialism and apartheid, built on systems of racial hierarchy and patriarchy, created tools of domination that categorised women as inferior to men. In

addition to being distinctively Eurocentric and in addition to subjugating African perspectives, the discipline exhibits gender inequality, bias and perpetuates patriarchy. It is not surprising, given how women and feminist perspectives have been ignored by the discipline and how men continue to dominate (Cook, 2016: 335; Renzetti, 2011: 75).

While many disciplines in the academy are confronting their colonial foundations and While privilege, Criminology in South Africa fails to follow suit (Blagg & Anthony, 2019: 49). There is a dearth of empirical work examining the establishment and status of Criminology in South Africa over the years. Even though the debates about transformation have been ongoing, even before the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student protest action, there is a lack of consensus regarding what it entails for Criminology. There is a need for Criminology to respond to marginalisation by challenging the structural powers that produce inequalities. Even with an increase in women entering the academic environment and discipline, their influence has been limited and feminist perspectives and the status of women in the discipline do not feature prominently (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016: 312). The message that the discipline sends is that "feminism is about women, while Criminology is about men" (Naffine, 1997: 6). Criminology is not as inclusive as it may appear to be. Therefore, it ought to be decolonised and transformed – further highlighting the need for this study.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The study aims to determine and explore transformation and decolonisation of Criminology in post-apartheid South Africa. In pursuit of the aim, the objectives are:

- Explore the extent to which transformation has taken place in Criminology by analysing articles published in the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*, in order 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.
- To explore the curriculum content of Criminology in South African universities to determine to what extent African perspectives are reflected in the subject matter and teaching approaches.
- Explore the experiences of women criminologists at South African IHL to better understand their positioning and perceptions of what it means to be a woman in

academia, and how gender and race[1] shape and continue to influence their academic and career trajectories.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding transformation and decolonisation

Since the 2015/2016 student protest action, decolonisation, Africanisation and transformation have become catchwords in South African higher education. One of the serious problems confronting the decolonisation project is a lack of agreement on what the concept entails and determining how it differs or relates to Africanisation and transformation. What is clear though is that the curriculum offered at South African and African universities replicates Western ideologies and perspectives (Chimakonam, 2019: 181; Mswazie & Mudyahoto, 2013: 170). The current curriculum is not informed by the reality of the African context, is limited to colonial ways of knowing, and under-represents and undervalues African epistemologies, experiences and perspectives (Higgs, 2012: 37; Shay, 2016). For the curriculum to empower students, it should be based on the realities and conditions of the African context (Letsekha, 2013: 5; Van der Westhuizen, Greuel & Beukes, 2017). A deep understanding of the form and content of indigenous knowledge is a prerequisite in designing relevant and appropriate education systems to support national development efforts (Mswazie & Mudyahoto, 2013: 170). The call to decolonise a Eurocentric university requires us to imagine what the alternative could be. The following section clarifies the mandate of the transformation, decolonisation and Africanisation debates at South African universities and how this relates to the discipline of Criminology. When it comes to transformation, it is not clear where institutions should start or which route should be followed. Transformation can become an easier process if one can clarify the basic norms and terms of transforming. What is clear though, is that transformation must go beyond just merely changing the curriculum. It should also entail transforming institutional culture and structural changes. It should go beyond increasing the number of Black scholars in historically White universities with no power to change the status quo. Biko (2004: 24) rejected the notion of transformation that entailed integrating Black individuals into a society that is governed by White norms and codes of conduct. For Biko,

[1] Race, which can either be socially and/or biologically constructed, refers to a group of individuals who share collective identities and physical characteristics. As a socially constructed concept, race forms an important part of individuals identity, shaping their cultural norms, history, life plans and political views (Turda & Quine, 2018: 1; Glasgow, Haslanger, Jeffers & Spencer, 2013: 2).

transformation could only be successful if all members of the society could freely participate. Furthermore, Biko lambasted White individual's arrogance in believing that "*White leadership is a sine qua non*" (2004: 24).

The first step in the transformation agenda requires institutions of higher learning to reject the destruction and suppression of indigenous people's knowledge and epistemological paradigms (Masaka, 2017: 449). Transformation refers to a process of evolution and change (Pandor, 2018: 63). In the context of higher education, transformation refers to critically evaluating what we know and how we know it, in order to encourage a paradigm shift to ensure the co-existence of diverse knowledge paradigms (Masaka, 2017: 446). Transformation refers to a process of change and evolution in epistemology, curriculum, institutional structures, and teaching and learning. Transformation also extends to publications and journals. The publishing industry needs to be transformed so that it publishes the knowledge of the indigenous people of Africa which customarily existed in oral form. This is important to provide an alternative in African universities to the predominantly written philosophy literature from the Eurocentric paradigm. Documented knowledge in the form of textbooks dominates the curriculum and the content reflects the ideology of the authors and the interests they represent (Masaka, 2017: 451–452).

There is a need for African vigilance as opposed to complacency in the face of continuing imperial domination (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 72). To gain an understanding of decolonisation, one needs to differentiate it from coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 72). Coloniality refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged because of colonialism, which continue to affect all spheres of life, including culture, knowledge production and/or intersubjective relations (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 243; Grosfoguel, 2007: 219; Fasakin, 2021: 903). Coloniality continues long after the colonial rule has ended and is kept alive in books, academia, culture and other aspects of our modern experiences (Grosfoguel, 2007: 219). Coloniality is a global power structure which has continued to reproduce Eurocentrism in society and academy long after colonialism has been dismantled (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016:4). Through coloniality, power to dominate, to control and even exploit inhabitants by the West is maintained (Fasakin, 2021: 904). Scholars such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013), Mignola (2007), Maldonado-Torres (2007) and Quijano (2007) distinguish three forms of coloniality – coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being. Coloniality of power refers to the modern form of exploitation through the control of labour and resources, land expropriation and control of authority and gender

(Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 8; Mignolo, 2007: 156; Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 242). Closely linked to coloniality of power is coloniality of knowledge. Coloniality of knowledge is the suppression of African ways of knowing and producing knowledge. From the Renaissance and Enlightenment era, the West were preoccupied with packaging Eurocentric knowledge as the only truthful and universal knowledge (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 8; Maldonado-Torres 2007: 242). Furthermore, coloniality of knowledge critiques the expansion of Western modernity by subjugating African values, norms, beliefs, knowledge, and symbols (Quijano, 2007:169). Colonialism resulted in the 'dehumanisation' and 'depersonalisation' of Africans. At the centre of the coloniality of being is the lived experiences of colonised individuals who were subjected to violence, rape, wars, harsh living conditions, diseases, and death (Ndlovu- Gatsheni, 2013: 20). With race playing a central role, the colonised were deprived of their humanity. With race playing a central role, the colonised were deprived of their humanity. As articulated by Maldonado-Torres (2007:242) colonialism had a significant impact on our understanding of 'being'

Decolonisation has an ancestral history. Fanon (1967: 35), in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, defines the concept as a term that entails a process of changing the entire social structure from the bottom up, and dismantling the entire colonial system. For Fanon, such a process cannot be devoid of violence as decolonisation aims to change the social order. In questioning the process of decolonisation and how to go about it, Wa Thiong'o (1986: 101) grapples with the following questions:

> "What should we do with the inherited colonial education system and the consciousness it necessarily inculcated in the African mind? What directions should an education system take in an Africa wishing to break with neo-colonialism? How does it want the "New Africans" to view themselves and their universe and from what base, Afrocentric or Eurocentric? What then are the materials they should be exposed to, and in what order and perspective? Who should be interpreting that material to them, an African or non-African? If African, what kind of African? One who has internalized the colonial world outlook or one attempting to break free from the inherited slave consciousness? And what were the implications of such an education system for the political and economic set up or status quo? In a neocolonialist

> context, would such an education system be possible? Would it not in fact come into conflict with political and economic neo-colonialism?"

Similar to questions raised by Wa Thiong'o (1986), the process of decolonisation should critically think about the values and goals that an African university should adhere to, what critical skills students should learn, and also produce pan-African students who can actively engage and respond to African development challenges (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016: 39; Van der Westhuizen et al., 2017: 1). For Wa Thiong'o (1986), decolonisation entails a process of re-centring, rejecting the assumption that the essence of our being and cultural heritage is held by the West. Furthermore, it entails redefining what the centre is. Historically, Europe has been placed at the centre. Ultimately, for Wa Thiong'o (1986), to move the centre entails placing Africa at the centre in our epistemology, ontology and pedagogy. Decolonisation is a continuous process and not an endpoint that requires South African universities to question their colonial origins. Mbembe (2015) believes that to decolonise universities, institutions first had to be de-privatised. Buildings and public spaces first had to be decolonised to create conditions where Black academic staff members and students felt at home in historically White institutions. The decolonisation project begs us to consider how we teach and questions the Eurocentric canon, a canon that "attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production" (Mbembe, 2015). Furthermore, it is a canon that ignores other forms of truth and of knowing.

Understanding decolonisation of the curriculum requires an understanding of colonialism. There were two forms of colonialism. Colonialism was more than just the imposition of power by Europe but a complex process of negotiation of power structures designed to distorts local histories, knowledge, and ways of being of the colonised (Mekgwe, 2010:192). Furthermore, the process of colonisation was rife with violence, brutality, war and death (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:8). The first phase entailed the conquering of physical spaces and the second the conquering of the mind, culture, education and social sphere (Odora-Hoppers & Richards, 2011: 7). The purpose of colonialism was to remove the source of income from the colonised, their understanding of the world and ultimately their sense of self-worth. In the context of higher education, the colonial curriculum "valorises the European content as the knowledge" (Chimakonam, 2019: 183). In addition, the colonial curriculum aimed to prepare indigenous individuals for a life of service, much as occurred in institutions of higher learning in South Africa during apartheid, which were

meant to prepare Black students for blue-collar work and cheap labour (Chimakonam, 2019: 183; McKeever, 2017: 118; Rakometsi, 2008: 61). Decolonisation has come to mean the dismantling of colonialism that permeates education, the media, government policies and all areas of social life. In higher education, decolonisation refers to challenging colonial powers and colonial knowledge that privileges one knowledge system over another and which permeates education, the curriculum, research and publishing (Keet, 2014: 23). In addition, to decolonise the curriculum entails undoing and removing Eurocentric perspectives and knowledge systems that negate African ways of knowing. However, decolonisation does not mean wholly doing away with all European curriculum content or intellectual ideas (Chimakonam, 2019: 184). The concepts of transformation and decolonisation have various meanings attached to them, and yet fundamentally, it entails allowing students to view their world from diverse points of view and lays the foundation for placing African voices, knowledge and epistemologies on the same level with Western notions.

Although some authors (cf. Fanon,1967) advocate a complete change in the social order as a means to undo colonialism, we are bound to repeat the same mistakes if we do not have a clear understanding of colonialism, its core purpose and processes. Understanding the colonial project may help unveil what ought to be transformed and decolonised and how to go about it. In addition, transformation and decolonisation cannot be achieved by merely changing institutional culture. It is necessary to critically examine what in the ontology of higher education in South Africa makes certain scholars (African, Coloured and/or Indian) feel marginalised, alienated and unwelcome in academic spaces. A decolonial project that merely questions its colonial origins and knowledge without evaluating how knowledge produced in the West is influenced by the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised, is at risk of creating a new imperialism which it in fact seeks to undo. There is a need to recognise the plurality of relations in knowledge production.

Decolonisation vis-à-vis Africanisation

Africanisation can only take place once the curriculum has been decolonised as it entails dismantling colonial roots that denigrate African knowledge systems (Chimakonam, 2019: 182) and replacing them with a frame of reference where a phenomenon is viewed from the perspective of the African person, position or locality (Asante, 1991: 171; Letsekha,

2013: 5). Africanisation can be achieved through contextualisation by developing knowledge, understanding and skills based on the exploration of the "life experiences, history, and traditions of African people as the centre of analysis" (Thabede, 2008: 234). Scholars continue to disagree regarding what the term "Africanisation" means. The ideological paradigm from which a term is defined influences its meaning (Masaka, 2017: 443). Africanisation entails producing knowledge that considers the African condition and identity as a focal point and is a vehicle that defines, interprets, promotes and conveys African ideas, philosophies, identities, culture, visions, interpretations and paradigms (Le Grange, 2014: 1286; Iwara & Enaifoghe, 2018: 194–195). Chimakonam (2019: 182) suggests that decolonisation and Africanisation are twin strategies that can accelerate the transformation of curricula across various disciplines. Furthermore, transformation commences with decolonisation and ends with Africanisation. Therefore, transformation across institutions cannot be achieved without both decolonisation and Africanisation (Chimakonam, 2019: 182–183). The term ‘Africanisation’ is further complicated by the notion of non-African, which is imperative to understanding Africanisation. As advocated by Chimakonam (2019: 185), there are two ways to Africanise the curriculum. First, it involves uprooting Western notions and replacing them with African notions. Secondly, it entails combining diverse cultures and content which is a combination of Western and African knowledge systems. To Africanise, Africa needs to assert its right to define itself in its African context. Imperative to reasserting African ways of thinking and relating to the world, Higgs (2012: 38) calls for an African renaissance. An African renaissance in education urges educators to produce a curriculum that is indigenous-grounded and which focuses on African epistemological frameworks (Higgs, 2012: 39).

The project of Africanisation has evoked different responses among prominent thinkers and writers of decolonisation and transformation in Africa. Africanisation recognises and accepts that there are diverse paradigms originating from diverse geopolitical centres, and ultimately rejects the dominance of one paradigm in universities in Africa (Masaka, 2017: 447–448). Fanon (1967) considered decolonisation and Africanisation to be different things. Fanon rejected the term ‘Africanisation’, viewing it as a desire to get rid of a foreigner who usually was a fellow African from a different nation. While Fanon (1967) was against Africanisation, Biko (2004) called for Black consciousness, which "is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them (2004: 92). Yet for Wa Thiong’o (1986: 87), Africanisation

entails seeing oneself clearly in relation to others. Le Grange (2014: 1290) points to the challenge of developing and designing a curriculum that is locally relevant, while Western epistemologies continue to dominate and power relations are unequal. Africanisation and transformation of the curriculum are necessary to reverse epistemicide (Masaka, 2017: 441). Hudson (2018: 207) remarks that Africanisation is not merely inserting Africa into global discourses but is rather building a non-essentialist African perspective.

Most academics and scholars hold the assumption that decolonisation of the curriculum reduces the appeal of higher education because African knowledge is considered to be inferior compared to the Eurocentric paradigm (Masaka, 2017: 444). There is a view that Africans possess little or no knowledge value that can be used in the process of educational transformation (Higgs, 2012: 38). Africanisation aims to refocus the values, needs and priorities of African people (Knight, 2018: 285). Kamwendo (2016: 18) asserts that Africanisation can only bear fruit if it receives support from institutional structures, academic staff and students. Africanisation can correct the imbalance caused by slavery, colonialism and apartheid. Through Africanisation, Africa's contribution to knowledge production can be documented. Africa should be both a consumer and producer of knowledge – instead of just the former (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021: 890).

For many decades, a large body of work has been done to define decolonisation and Africanisation (cf. Chimakonam, 2019; Letsekha, 2013; Masaka, 2017). The difference between decolonisation and Africanisation lies in their purpose and processes. Simply put, decolonisation aims to dismember colonial practices that have and continue to suppress indigenous people and their knowledge systems. Decolonisation is not a matter of subtracting or substituting colonial ways of knowing and doing – but has more to do with questioning unequal power relations and structures. Africanisation is not a post-independence project aimed at promoting and encouraging pride among African people. It is a call for an African renaissance that reminds Africans of who they are, and of their power and knowledge systems before their encounter with colonialism and enslavement.

Feminist perspectives and towards a Black Criminology

When talk of decolonisation and transformation emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, women's voices in the debates were very limited. Decolonisation was considered a masculine space and the decolonisation literature barely considered gender as a

theoretical framework for understanding the phenomenon (Levine, 2010). Decolonisation scholarship fails to locate women, and without a gendered analysis our understanding of the concept will always fall short. Feminism and decolonisation are inseparably linked. Gender should be an integral part of decolonising the discipline and the curriculum because "transformation of the curriculum has to foreground women's liberation by validating their experiences and because their gender has functioned as a key axis of power between men and women" (Wills, 2016: 22). Excluding the narratives of women in decolonisation history, debates and literature is considered a "notion of betrayal at the heart of decolonisation" (Levine, 2010).

With transformation and decolonisation gaining momentum at South African universities, it is imperative to move gender inequality from the margins of decolonisation and re-centre it as a tool of transformation. A decolonised and transformed Criminology and curriculum should be rooted in diverse scholars, critical pedagogy and multiculturism, in order to widen and encourage diverse perspectives in the discipline. Feminist perspectives in the discipline only emerged during the second wave of Feminism in the 1970s. The perspective was in response to the androcentric nature of Criminology, its theories and views on crime and criminality (Chesney-Lind, 2006: 7). Furthermore, feminist Criminology challenged the blatant misrepresentation and exclusion of women in theory, practice and research. Initially focusing on victimisation and criminalisation of girls and women, feminism in Criminology began to challenge mainstream Criminology to recognise how gender creates unique pathways of offending by interrogating patriarchy in the discipline (Chesney-Lind, 2006: 9). There is no single feminist perspective in the discipline, but various adaptations to it, for example Liberal Feminism, Radical Feminism Marxist Feminism and Socialist Feminism (Potter, 2006: 106). Liberal feminism is centred on ‘equal rights’ and women’s freedom (Simpson, 1989: 607). From the Liberal feminism perspective, the primary source of women’s oppression and exploitation is due to gender role socialisation (Renzetti, 2018: 77; Maidment, 2006: 51). According to Liberal feminists in Criminology, women’s offending is due to their gender role socialisation that deprives them of economic opportunities (Burgess-Proctor, 2006:29; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988: 537). Radical Feminism contends that the causes of gender inequality is due to patriarchy and gender inequality (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988: 538; Renzetti, 2018: 78). With society being predominantly shaped by male power and privilege, Radical Criminology feminists view women’s offending as preceded by victimisation at the hands of men (Burgess-Proctor, 2006:29). Structures such as the Criminal Justice System aim to serve and

preserve male privilege. Radical feminist criminologists turned the spotlight on violence against women (Renzetti, 2018: 78-79). According to Marxist Feminism, women's oppression is a result of their social class status in a capitalist society (Renzetti, 2018: 79). Due to their working-class economic subordination (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988: 537) women commit financial crimes to support themselves and their families (Burgess-Proctor, 2006:29). Socialist feminism suggests that both gender and class results in the oppression of women (Chesney-Lind & Morash, 2013: 290; Maidment, 2006: 53). Within a capitalist society, gender differences significantly influence power and privilege (Simpson. 1989: 607).

As highlighted by Chesney-Lind (2006: 9), patriarchy in the discipline interacts with class and race, necessitating the need for a focus on intersectionality and a nexus between race, gender and punishment. Supported by Potter (2006: 106), Chesney-Lind (2006) argues that much work still needs to be done to theorise intersecting identities instead of focusing on gender and ignoring race in the discipline. Feminist Criminology has helped in understanding the status of women in the discipline, as well as gender and criminality, by extensively expanding the discipline's foci to include female criminal offending. Feminist perspectives aimed to also examine the complexities of sexism and racism in Criminology (Cook, 2016: 335).

Despite its success, feminist Criminology failed to account for the paucity of Black scholars and experiences of Black female criminologists (Russell, 1992: 667). Black Feminism was a response to the neglect and silencing of Black women's lived experiences, knowledge and positioning by feminist Criminology. Women in academia do not share the same struggles and experiences (Mendez, 2015: 41). Black feminist perspectives in Criminology allow for understanding how race and gender uniquely position Black women to experience and interact with crime and the criminal justice system differently (Angton, 2017: 15). People of colour and women in particular have and continue to experience marginalisation in the discipline. In addition to refusing to confront colonialism due to its 'Whitemaleness', Criminology is hesitant to confront race and how this interacts with crime (Potter, 2015: 7; Smith, 2014: 108). There is a need for a Black Criminology, similar to a feminist perspective in the discipline, in order to promote inclusivity and diverse understandings of crime and criminality. Theories within the discipline are insufficient to explain the long history of racial oppression experienced by Black people because of the discriminatory practices of the criminal justice system (Choak, 2020: 46). The discipline

has historically focused on improving the status of White women and Black men, while ignoring Black women. To decolonise Criminology, the discipline must consider the plight and status of Black women in particular, since they have been side-lined because of their gender, race and class (Agozino, 1997). Twenty-four years after Agozino made this statement, not much has changed for Black women in Criminology. Black Criminology has been considered to be a viable option to improve the status of both Black women and men in the discipline.

As advocated by Potter (2006: 109), a Black feminist Criminology is built on Critical Race Feminist Theory, Black Feminism and Critical Legal Studies. Within the discipline, Black women have been silenced in respect of matters that concern them and have been robbed of their power and agency. Not only are Black women silenced in the discipline, but issues of gender and race are also not taken into consideration when analysing offending among this cohort (Potter, 2013: 310). Race and ethnicity, socio-economic status and sexuality of women should be central in the analysis of women. Black feminist Criminology is based on the tenets of 'antiessentialism' and intersectionality (Carrington, 1998: 82; Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 457; Lu, 2018: 92). As coined by Potter (2006: 112) "antiessentialism asserts that there is more than one essential voice of women". Black women embody multiple and intertwined identities. Furthermore, they are consistently oppressed by the larger society and within their communities by Black men (Potter, 2006: 111). Black feminist Criminology validates and addresses the intersecting oppressions experienced by Black women (Ali, 2009: 81). Black women experience double jeopardy; they are disadvantaged based on their gender and their race (Beal, 1969; Oyewumi, 1997:122).
Similar to mainstream Feminism, Feminist Criminology has been criticised for claiming to speak for all women, and yet it is only privileging the voice of White women in the discipline (Jonsson, 2021: 2; Potter, 2006: 111). Feminism claims one sisterhood and yet fails to consider racial differences and ignores the plight of Black women – therefore not prioritising the role of race the same way it does with gender (Carby, 1982: 213; Jonnson, 2021: 2). Mainstream feminist Criminology prioritises gender and the White middle class in its liberation efforts. For Ware (2015), feminists "may not recognise that their behaviours in terms of race can be oppressive due to White privilege". Black Feminism acknowledges the enduring legacy of colonialism (and in South Africa, apartheid) and how it operates alongside issues of race and racism to marginalise Black women. Choak (2020: 48) further advocates a Black and postcolonial feminist Criminology which emphasises "race, intersectionality, the legacies of colonialism, and the importance of inclusivity given the

exclusionary practices of White Feminism and White Criminology". Postcolonial Feminism extends its lens and framework to focus not only on gender but also on race and other intersecting identities. As Hudson (2018: 198) argues, "in colonial contexts, gender is often not the most important concern". Mainstream Feminism reproduces dominant ideas regarding gender from a Western narrative (Tamale, 2020: 40). Therefore, postcolonial perspectives demolish these narratives and provide frameworks to examine multiple forms of oppression and rebuff the notion of the universalism of women's experiences (Hussein & Hussein, 2019: 262).

There is a need for a Black Criminology that will encompass Black feminist Criminology and Black and postcolonial feminist Criminology, which will reject the prevailing White essentialism in the discipline (Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 463). Russell (1992) called for a Black Criminology by highlighting the crises faced by the discipline. Firstly, Criminology has failed to develop theories to explain crimes committed by Black individuals, and secondly, there are few Black criminologists (Choak, 2020: 46; Owusu-Bempah, 2017: 25; Russell, 1992: 667). Given the history of the discipline and its inception, its reluctance to explore race and crime is unsurprising. As Russell (1992: 670) points out, Criminology has "shied away not only from analyses of race and crime but also from exploring and developing new theoretical paradigms". Similar to feminist Criminology, Black Criminology will ensure that Black individuals are fairly represented in criminological literature and research, and their experiences validated through rigorous scholarship.

In response to the view that feminism was "predominantly a White westernized experience that often-side-lined issues of racial difference" Black Feminist was developed (Mekgwe, 2006:15). However, Black Feminism failed to acknowledge historical experiences and trajectories of Black women in Africa (Roberts, 1983: 175; Nkealah, 2016: 62) and was critiqued for viewing "all Africans are Black" and its simplistic viewpoint that all "all experiences of Black people are those of African people" (Mekgwe, 2010:193). Therefore, African feminism was a response to Western dominated feminism and aimed to delineate issues that were ignored by the global feminist perspectives but are peculiar to the African context and women (Mekgwe, 2006: 16). African feminism demands conceptualisation of the term 'Africa(n)'. The term Africa is conceptualised from a geographical and/or historical point of view (Mekgwe, 2010:189). Mekgwe's (2010) definition of Africa resonates with Gaidzanwa who defines Africa as "a geographical concept, connoting and uniting peoples who share the continent as a location for living and working" (2013: 7). Authors such as

Mudimbe (1994) denotes that Africa is a concept created by the West. In agreement with Mudimbe (1994), Bernal (1991) states that Africa's history and conceptualisation has been altered in favour of the West and Mekgwe (2006:21) asserts that 'Africa still defines herself against the West in much the same way as the West has, since the colonial era, constructed Africa as an 'other'.

Feminist movements are characterised by European women's realities. African feminism rejects the 'universalising' of feminism perspectives and advocates for a feminist model that considers the cultural perspective of Africans and African ideology and geopolitical location (Nkealah, 2016: 62). In 1970, body of literature from women in Africa emerged that aimed to dispel the misrepresentation of womanhood in Africa. As an activist movement, feminism in Africa formed during the struggle for liberation (Roberts, 1983: 175). For too long, African women have been viewed and defined from a Eurocentric perspective, warranting the need for an African-centred paradigm for women. In Africa, feminist perspectives are characterised by a myriad of heterogeneous experiences and shaped by resistance to Western hegemony of feminism (Gaidzanwa, 2013:7, Mikel, 1997:4). In 2006, more than 100 African feminists sat in Ghana Accra, to develop the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists. The purpose of the charter was to strengthen the commitment to re-assert and re-energise feminist rights in Africa and strengthen the feminist movements commitment to dismantling patriarchy (African Women's Development Fund (AWDF), 2007:2). Patriarchy, exploitive societal structures and socio-economic and political oppression which affect and subjugate African women (AWDF, 2007:4). "The African variant of feminism grows out of a history of a female integration within largely corporate and agrarian-based societies with strong cultural heritages that have experienced traumatic colonization by the West" (Mikel, 1997:4). Additionally, in recent years, African feminism has been a response to the exploitation of women by political leaders (Mikel, 1997:4).

Decolonising gender requires unmasking and restoring women's experiences, especially those of Black women, by reclaiming the rich histories of these women. The social experiences of Black women are marred by patriarchy, race, class and sexuality (Tamale, 2020: xiii). Furthermore, the life histories of Black women intersect with notions of slavery, colonialism and imperialism – therefore creating nuanced experiences of domination and subjugation (Ali, 2009: 81; Tamale, 2020: 41). As Africans, Black women were colonised by Europeans and then further marginalised, dominated and exploited by African men

(Oyewumi, 1997: 122). Colonisation created notions of gender and greatly influenced how men and women relate to each other and how White women and Black women interact. There is an urgency to re-centre the lived experiences of Black women, which have been tainted by White Feminism and racism (Jonsson, 2020: 7).

***Institutional approaches to transformation and decolonisation*[2]**

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa has implemented various transformational changes to the higher education landscape. Policies to address racial and gender inequality and to improve access for all profiles of staff and students were prioritised. Under apartheid, education was accessible and restricted based on racial characteristics (Hayward, 2020: 77). Black people received inferior education and were denied access to White institutions through the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959. The purpose of the Act was to ensure the management and control of institutions and colleges for 'non-White' citizens. Furthermore, the Act aimed to restrict non-White students from being accepted at institutions intended for White scholars by creating institutions based on racial lines.

The post-apartheid era was characterised by the extensive production of educational policies and frameworks (Sayed & Kanjee, 2013: 6). The transformation of South Africa's IHL took a participatory approach. In February 1995, then President Nelson Mandela appointed a National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) to develop a higher education policy. The NCHE consulted with various local and international educational specialists, faculty members and students, and reviewed various policy documents. The NCHE culminated in a report that was submitted to the Department of Education in 1996 (Hayward, 2020: 80–81). Titled *A framework for transformation*, the report spelt out the following focus areas (NCHE, 1996: 4): "equity in the allocation of resources and opportunities; redress of historical inequalities; democratic, representative, and participatory governance; balanced development of material and human resources; high standards of quality; academic freedom; institutional autonomy; and increased efficiency and productivity". The goals of the framework for transformation informed the *Green Paper*

[2] Although Rhodes University, the University of the Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch University do not offer Criminology as a subject, it is worthwhile to consider their transformation policy frameworks given the broader debates about transformation that South African universities

on Higher Education Transformation[3]. Developed in 1996, the purpose of the Green Paper was to expand and transform the system of higher education. Redress was at the core of the Paper and aimed to address inequalities and disparities regarding institutional access and funding. The Paper also identified deficiencies in the educational system as a result of access being skewed along racial lines.

Subsequent to the Green Paper, the *Education White Paper 3 – A programme for higher education transformation*, was developed. The White Paper of 1997 provided the framework to create a higher education system based on equity and redress and called for a single national coordinated system of higher education (Department of Education, 1997). The White Paper noted that racial inequality resulted, inter alia, in the unequal distribution of academic staff – specifically regarding the low number of Black and female staff members in higher education (Badat, 2010: 4; Department of Education, 1997; Govinder, Zondo & Makgoba, 2013: 1). With demographics being a significant indicator of transformation, a central aim of the White Paper was to produce a new generation of academics that were presentative of the country (Govinder et al., 2013: 1). The White Paper was hailed for increasing access to higher education, and yet criticised for failing to improve the success rates of students. However, the White Paper continues to frame discussions around decolonising and transforming higher education and achieving social justice in academia (Kumalo, 2019: 117). In its effort to transform the higher education landscape, the South African Ministry of Education had at least seven White Papers, three Green Papers, 26 Bills, 35 Acts, 11 regulations, 52 government notices and 26 calls for comments between 1994 and 2008 (Sayed & Kanjee, 2013: 7). The researcher has only highlighted White Paper 3, as it pertinently relates to the current study.

A year before student protest action erupted across the country, the South African Human Rights Commission convened a national hearing on transformation at IHL following complaints submitted to the Commission (South African Human Rights Commission, 2018: vii). The national hearing aimed to holistically examine transformation across institutions, both at historically White institutions and previously Black universities. After the hearing, the commission submitted a report encompassing the systematic challenges that hinder transformation in IHL and also recommendations. The report detailed the

[3] A green paper is a policy discussion document that deals with a particular issue and is published in order to obtain comments and suggestions. The green paper is a precedent of the White paper (Department of Home Affairs, 2021:4). The White Paper articulates a policy position of government that has been approved by Cabinet (Department of Home Affairs, 2021:4).

following reasons for the slow transformation in the education sector (South African Human Rights Commission, 2018: viii-ix):

- There is a lack of understanding of what transformation entails.
- There is a lack of will to transform institutional cultures.
- Institutions are characterised by persisting disparities between racial groups and between historically White institutions and historically Black institutions.
- Limited progress in transforming the demographics of students and academic staff members.
- Ineffective ways in which institutions deal with complaints and discrimination.

Following the 2015/2016 student protest action, universities started developing policies and frameworks to commit to the decolonial and transformation agenda. It is worthwhile reflecting on some South African universities' strategies and efforts in this regard:

- ***University of Pretoria***

At the University of Pretoria (UP), a *curriculum transformation framework* was developed in 2016 following a *lekgotla*[4] between student bodies and university structures. The four drivers were provided as guidelines for developing an inclusive process of transforming the curriculum (UP Curriculum Transformation Framework, 2016: 5):

- **Responsiveness to social context** – a transformed curriculum should be attuned and relevant to the local and international context. According to this driver, a transformed curriculum should further prioritise marginalised voices, narratives and knowledge systems.
- **Epistemological diversity** – curriculum transformation can only be achieved through diversity and pluriversality. An important aspect of epistemological diversity is reckoning with the histories and colonial biases of all disciplines and challenging the hegemony of Western knowledge. This also involves examining various forms of oppression which interact with race, gender and class.
- **Renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices** – involves continuously rethinking and revaluating the ways in which we learn and teach. It further entails examining the

[4] A lekgotla is a forum where matters are publicly discussed and decisions are made collectively by all members (Sadiki, 2020: 651).

demographic of students and staff members and how race and gender identity may act as a pedagogical hindrance in the classroom.

- **An institutional culture of openness and critical reflection that is based on human dignity**. Institutional culture is found in the spaces, symbols, buildings and coat of arms of a university. An institutional culture fosters curriculum transformation by hiring and promoting previously marginalised groups such as Black scholars, women and people living with disabilities. Furthermore, it entails "reviewing and redefining the identity of the university, including its dominant subjectiveness, its historically entrenched narratives and ways of doing, the deeply held stereotypes concerning which knowledge and voices count, and the hierarchical evaluations of bodies, ideas and memories cloaked in culture, standards or traditions" (UP Curriculum Transformation Framework, 2016: 5).

In addition to the framework, each faculty at UP has a Transformation Committee (TC) comprising academic staff, the office of the deanery, and students. Most of the TCs were established in 2016 following the student protest action and were tasked with developing faculty transformation plans in response to the mandate of the curriculum transformation framework. UP's framework only discusses transformation without mentioning what decolonising the curriculum would entail and how to go about creating an institutional culture that is receptive to Black academics and students. Universities have been transforming by hiring a more diverse academic staff, changing names of centres and buildings, and replacing one body of knowledge with another. However, they retain the same power relations and teaching and learning processes. Therefore, universities are transforming without necessarily decolonising.

- ***University of Cape Town***

In 2016, UCT set up the Curriculum Change Work Group (CCWG) to strategise how to transform and change the curriculum. This led to the development of the *Curriculum Change Framework*. The CCWG initiated debates on decolonisation, pedagogy, institutional culture, diversity in the classroom and assessment practices (UCT, 2018: 4). The CCWG worked with students and various departments across all faculties at the institution. The framework developed emphasised the urgency to regard "Africa and her people as not only legitimate knowers and producers of knowledge but also central to the

academic project" (UCT, 2018: 4). The framework makes specific mention of decolonisation and the myths about the term, which include (UCT, 2018: 22):

- The belief that the term decolonisation is ambiguous.
- Decolonisation can only take effect in higher education.
- Research methods are beyond the scope of decolonisation.
- Decolonisation entails undoing everything colonial.

In addition, UCT's framework highlights the importance of developing a conceptual theory of change as part of the decolonial project. Significantly, the CCWG centres the experiences of members of LGBQTIA+, women, people living with disabilities, the oppressed, disenfranchised and marginalised in the discourse of transformation and decolonisation. To decolonise their curriculum and institution, the framework focused on epistemology and underlying ontologies. In the end, the framework recommended the following (UCT, 2018:5):

- Authentic engagement and dialogue with the students, decolonial scholars and activists.
- Leadership with integrity that considers the lived experiences of the marginalised and those who have historically been disadvantaged.
- Blending the formal with the informal and not taking a 'business as usual' attitude when disruption occurs. Allowing for hierarchies to be contested and resisted, in order to drive meaningful change.
- Addressing institutional racism, ableism, sexism and heteronormativity in the institution by recognising that these issues cannot be isolated from the decolonial project.
- Addressing knowledge fragmentation by encouraging transdisciplinary research and questioning the dominant paradigms in methodologies.
- Attending to decolonial pedagogy in the lecture halls between students and lecturers and in the wider community, in order to foster interdependence in learning.
- Rethinking and reframing assessment practices to allow for fairness and equity.
- Disrupting colonial lies in the academy.
- Recognising the critical role students play in transforming and decolonising the curriculum.

- ***Rhodes University***

Rhodes University (RU) council held a stakeholder summit in 2016 to discuss key issues regarding transformation trajectories for the institution. On the agenda were matters highlighted by the #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall student protest action, particularly creating a curriculum that is locally relevant and which creates an inclusive institution for a diverse staff and student cohort. The purpose of the summit was to explore practical means to accelerate transformation at the institution. The summit was spearheaded by the Institutional Forum Transformation Summit Task. The summit yielded the following recommendations (RU, 2017: 12–36):

- **Institutional identity** - the council was asked to consider the renaming of the institution and to align the vision and mission statements so that they resonate with the members of the institution.
- **Formal curriculum** – an important recommendation from the summit was the call to decolonise the curriculum. The council was urged to consider the promotion of African language in teaching, learning and research and to include students' voices and views in developing an inclusive curriculum. Additionally, the summit defined decolonisation as removing knowledge and world views (ideologies) produced in the Global North from the centre of the curriculum.
- **Institutional culture** – to create an institutional culture that fosters transformation, the summit recommended the strengthening of efforts and programmes that eradicate harassment and discrimination. An additional recommendation concerning the institutional culture was the call to decolonise the institution's art and artefacts that were rooted in colonial history and to use isiXhosa in addition to Afrikaans as an official language.
- **Student matters** – resolving student matters such as restructuring fees, improving access to the less privileged, providing affordable accommodation, and establishing a stipend for students from low-income backgrounds.
- **Staff matters** - the summit recommended an improved staff recruitment and selection strategy that promotes an accelerated transformation of the staff structure and the development of a comprehensive strategy to retain staff from designated groups.

RU also established the Office of Equity and Institutional Culture in 2011 (RU, 2017: 4). The Office is mandated with enforcing and monitoring the institution's transformation

strategies. Furthermore, the office is tasked with identifying and managing systematic structural barriers that impede transformation. In 2015, the Office held a conference under the theme *(Re)Making the South African University: Curriculum development and the problem of place.*

- ***University of Free State***

In 2017, the University of the Free State (UFS) developed the *Integrated Transformation Plan* (ITP) following an extensive consultative workshop with student leadership, union members, council members, deaneries and the Vice-Chancellor (UFS, 2017: 2). The ITP served as a guideline to identify areas of transformation for the institution to focus on. In terms of the framework, transformation meant "dismantling of the legacy of apartheid and colonialism at political, social, economic, and intellectual levels to adopt new practices, modes of organisation, and values capable of delivering social justice". The framework highlighted the following key areas (UFS, 2017: 2):

- Initiating a review of the curriculum to examine the marginalisation of identities, knowledge and philosophies from Africa.
- The need to re-evaluate methodologies and practices to improve student success.
- Improve efforts to increase knowledge production locally and globally.
- Strengthen the administrative systems at the institution to develop socially-just processes.

UFS transformation plans focused on the following areas (UFS, 2017: 3–9):

- **Teaching and learning** – to adequately transform the teaching and learning portfolio, the institution will focus on evidence-based teaching and deep curriculum transformation. The plan further states that in order to decolonise the curriculum, locally relevant research and marginalised voices will be prioritised. In addition, the institution will implement a peer-review process of undergraduate and postgraduate pedagogies.
- **Research, internationalisation and innovation** – to counter the effects of uneven knowledge productivity, the institution will increase research-led undergraduate programmes and increase postgraduate enrolment numbers.

- **Engaged scholarship** – through this function the institution aims to maintain relevance of its syllabus and link local needs to the global knowledge project.

- ***University of the Witwatersrand***

The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) established a strategic plan on transformation in 2015 in collaboration with key stakeholders and student bodies (Wits, 2016). The transformation strategy developed eight key priorities: diversifying the Wits academy, curriculum reform, student admissions, promoting diverse and cosmopolitan residence life experience, institutional culture, institutional naming, language, and insourcing the outsourced. Curriculum reform entails including African perspectives that are locally and globally appropriate and relevant. In addition, the university established a transformation office tasked with the following responsibilities (Wits, 2016):

- Monitoring and advising on the university's transformation priorities.
- Advising on and supporting institutional culture initiatives.
- Coordinating transformation activities.
- Communicating the university's transformation objectives.
- Policy development.
- Transformation leadership within and outside the university.
- Advice and support to university committees and stakeholders.
- Support for the students' representative council, Institutional Forum, Senate and Council.
- Development of the university's Employment Equity Plan and Report.

Similar to UP's curriculum transformation framework, the Wits transformation strategic plan makes no mention of decolonisation (Knight, 2018: 280). In their executive statement on accelerating transformation, Wits states that transformation encompasses increasing numbers of African (Black) and Coloured staff members at their institution, enhancing access for marginalised students, promoting an institutional culture that makes all feel comfortable (particularly Black staff members) and reforming the language policy. A crucial matter for the university's transformation framework was increasing the number of Africans and Coloureds in the professoriate.

- ***Stellenbosch University***

The Stellenbosch University (SU) Vice-Rector: Learning and Teaching established a task team in 2017 to make recommendations about decolonising the curriculum at the institution (SU, 2017: 1). The task team submitted a report outlining and conceptualising decolonisation. The task team made the following recommendations (SU, 2017: 2-3):

- **Restitution and accountability of the university.** The institution ought to acknowledge its past and create a platform for reconciliation and restitution to take place.
- **Revisiting transformation**. Decolonisation cannot be separated from transformation. As part of revisiting transformation, it was recommended that the university needs to embrace the principles of decolonisation as part of its transformation strategy.
- **The role of management**. The task team recommended that engagement and dialogue should be an integral part of decolonising the curriculum. Management is obliged to engage with stakeholders, students, and academic and support staff members – rather than dictating forms of engagement.
- **Understanding decolonisation terminology**. It was recommended that US leadership should explore what decolonisation would entail for the institution and create opportunities for such conversations to take place.
- **Resources and support for staff members**. Resources and support structures were recommended for staff members engaged in the decolonisation process.
- **Spaces for engagement**. The task team called for the decolonisation of physical, discursive and classroom space.
- **Kinds of engagement**. Lastly, the task team urged the institution to encourage conversations and initiatives regarding decolonisation of the curriculum among faculty members, students and support staff.

SU is one of the few institutions that provides a comprehensive framework for understanding decolonisation and how to critically decolonise the curriculum. The SU task team highlighted how the Global North continues to monopolise knowledge systems (SU, 2017: 1).

The institutional policies and frameworks on transformation were a rapid response to the demands and matters raised by the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements.

Having failed to transform their institutions and curricula since the end of apartheid, and with the implementation of the White Paper 3 and after the South African Human Rights Commissions hearings on lack of transformation at IHL, these frameworks and plans were a first attempt at formalising transformation.

The researcher identified the following common themes and principles that are identifiable across most of the policy frameworks discussed above:

- **Transformation**

In response to the lack of institutional transformation, all the policies and frameworks acknowledged the need to transform, not merely the institutions, but also pedagogy and institutional culture. Transforming the institutional culture was high on the agenda, with institutions committing to multi-language policy and increasing access for marginalised students. Another area of transforming the institutional culture, as highlighted by the policies, was the renaming of buildings and centres.

- **Curriculum**

Evident from the varied institutional responses, is the need to create a curriculum that is responsive to the local context and lived experiences of the students. Transforming the curriculum prioritised the promotion of marginalised voices in teaching, learning and research. Furthermore, the institutional responses address the importance of challenging colonial roots and Western hegemony in the curriculum, and ultimately including African perspectives and paradigms.

- **Diversity**

Overall, the frameworks and plans focused on broader areas of equity and diversity in terms of staff members and the student body. The frameworks envisaged an increased participation in the academy by targeting designated groups – women, Black scholars, and people living with disabilities – as a key area for transformation. Moreover, a consensus in the institutional responses was the need to accelerate the recruitment and promotion of Black academics.

- **Decolonisation**

In addition to demanding institutional transformation, the student movements called for decolonisation. UCT and SU emphasise the need for institutions to define the term and to seek decolonisation beyond the curriculum to include academic spaces, structures and classrooms. Furthermore, the institutional frameworks stressed the importance of engaging with students and all staff members (academic and support) in decolonisation initiatives.

RESEARCH METHODS

The detailed research methods of the separate studies are elaborated on in Parts 2, 3 and 4 of the thesis. However, a summary of the key methodological decisions is provided below.

Paradigm and approach

The researcher made use of the critical paradigm as a paradigm through which to understand decolonisation and transformation of Criminology in South Africa. The critical paradigm draws on "power-rich contexts, dominant discourses, and social justice issues" (Leavy, 2017: 13). Asghar asserts that critical paradigm is "concerned with the issue of power relations within the society and interaction of race, class gender, education" which is pertinent for the current study Asghar, 2013: 3123). Central aim of the critical paradigm is to empower, emancipate and challenge the status quo (Asghar, 2013: 3123). Critical race theory, intersectionality, feminist perspectives are some of the theoretical frameworks that comprise the critical paradigm (Leavy, 2011: 130; Bohman, 2013). The researcher situated the study within the critical paradigm by not merely identifying the problems within the discipline, but also developing strategies to decolonise and transform the discipline and provided clear norms for criticism and transformation (Bohman, 2005). A multi-method approach was followed in the current study to determine and explore transformation in Criminology. Transformation and decolonisation are complex social matters that can be investigated from different angles. Therefore, multi-methods were especially appropriate for the inquiry.[5] The method provides a rich understanding and is a

[5] Relatively few studies have incorporated a multi-method research approach resulting in the researcher using mainly outdated sources to reference the approach selected.

comprehensive approach to exploring transformation and decolonisation and drawing definitive conclusions (Gil-Garcia & Pardo, 2006: 5). The study falls into the multi-method approach as each project was complete in itself to form an essential part of one larger research project designed to solve an overall research problem (Morse, 2003: 196). Each research method was kept intact without violating the data collection and sampling technique of each project. A quantitative method was used to content analyse the gender and race profile of authors publishing in the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology* and to administer a survey among lecturers and postgraduate students to determine their views on the Criminology curriculum offered and the extent to which African perspectives are incorporated in the discipline. Last, a qualitative approach was warranted to explore and describe the experiences of women criminologists to determine how their academic journeys are shaped by their gender and race.

The multi-method approach presents its own set of advantages and challenges. As an advantage, the method allows for the results from the different projects to be triangulated – therefore validating findings. Additionally, the method allows for a broader set of questions to be asked, thus encouraging new discoveries (Gil-Garcia & Pardo, 2006: 5). A challenge with using the method is the lack of clear guidelines on how to conduct multi-method research. The research addressed three basic questions:

(1) What are the race, gender and university status of the authors publishing in the *Acta Criminological: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*?
(2) To what extent does the Criminology curriculum at South African universities include African perspectives?
(3) How do gender and race influence the academic journeys of women criminologists at South African universities?

Therefore, to advance and explore the transformation and decolonisation of Criminology in South Africa, a multi-method approach was more appropriate as the researcher used different research methods for each project to understand a single phenomenon. The study was explorative because decolonisation and transformation in the discipline of Criminology in South Africa are relatively unstudied (Blaikie & Priest, 2019: 81). The study further describes the experiences of women criminologists at South African universities, making it descriptive. The study was curiosity-driven and the basic aim was to advance

knowledge about transformation and decolonisation in the discipline. The study paves the way for further debates on decolonisation and provides directives and questions on how Criminology can develop and design a curriculum that is locally relevant when Western epistemologies continue to dominate and power relations remain unequal. Furthermore, the study questions what should be transformed and how it should be transformed.

Design and analysis

Given the multi-method nature of the study, three studies were undertaken to explore the transformation of Criminology in South Africa. The first study, which focused on the transformation of a Criminology journal and academic society in post-apartheid South Africa, used a numeric research methodology. Using content analysis, the gender, race and university status (South Africa or former homeland university) of authors who published in the *Acta Criminologica* over a period of 25 years were analysed. Content analysis is a reliable and replicable approach that allows for the systematic description of information. Furthermore, findings from content analysis can be substantiated as it is a repository of social scientific knowledge and the method is cost-effective and less time-consuming (Krippendorf, 2019: 3). The journal was analysed using a systematic sampling method with a four-year interval starting from the year 1993. Data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to obtain descriptive and bivariate statistics (IBM, 2020). A significant association between variables was determined using the *Mann-Whitney U* and *Kruskall-Wallis H tests*. The findings and interpretations of the findings are detailed in Publication 1.

The second study, which was quantitative, aimed to explore the views of students and academic staff members in respect of the curriculum content of Criminology at South African universities, in order to determine to what extent African perspectives are reflected in the discipline and its sub-disciplines. An important aspect of the study was exploring the views held by postgraduate students and lecturers regarding the content of the Criminology curricula offered across universities – using an online cross-sectional survey design (Appendix). The survey was administered through the online platform Qualtrics (2020). Online surveys are useful for reaching a large and geographically diverse group of respondents such as postgraduate students and lecturers across South African universities; they afford respondents flexibility, the opportunity to complete the survey at their most convenient time and facilitate data analysis and reporting (Kumar, 2014: 237).

The disadvantage of online surveys includes the issue of non-response bias. Purposive as well as snowball sampling techniques were used to recruit respondents. The survey was piloted to ensure the validity of the instrument (Creswell & Creswell, 2018: 154). Data were analysed using SPSS and statistically significant differences were displayed as $p < 0.05$ (IBM, 2020). In addition, to determine the strength of the significant differences, effect sizes were used.

The third and last study aimed to describe the experience of female criminologists at South African universities, in order to explore the prevailing forms of gender and racial (in)equality in the discipline. Interviews were conducted to provide multiple realities from the experiences of Black, Indian, Coloured and White female Criminologists (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018: 29), and to examine participants' social experiences as they make sense of their lived experiences – firstly as women and secondly as criminologists (Nieuwenhuis, 2017: 53). A case study, which is a flexible research design, was used. The case study design provides an in-depth examination of one or a few cases, which is of particular importance to the current study. The participants were purposefully selected. Although the researcher initially planned to interview 14 female criminologists, in the end 17 participants were interviewed. Participants who identified as female and held a teaching and learning position (lecturer/senior lecturer/associate professor/professor) at a Criminology department at a South African university formed part of the study. To ensure the trustworthiness of the interviews, different sources and methods were triangulated. Trustworthiness was achieved through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. The researcher triangulated different sources and methods to ensure that themes found in the study were credible representations of the participants' experiences and perspectives by purposefully selecting participants from different universities who occupied different academic positions. The end goal of the study was not to generalise findings as participants were not randomly selected. Therefore, to ensure transferability and credibility, thick descriptions of the findings was provided, and the researcher related the findings to existing literature (Nieuwenhuis, 2017:124). Triangulation and conducting an audit trial was implemented to ensure that the research findings were shaped by female Criminologists and not by the researchers' bias. To guarantee dependability of the research findings, the research process was reported in detail to enable future researchers to replicate the research (Nieuwenhuis, 2017:124). The following sequential steps were adhered to when analysing data from the interviews (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2015: 357–364):

- A detailed record of the data was kept, and the data were transcribed by the researcher and not by a transcriptionist.
- Data were explored by continuously reading to obtain a general sense of the data and reflect on their overall meaning.
- Coding commenced once the data had been transcribed and explored. To code the data, labels were attached to segment of the text. Coding involves interacting with data using procedures such as asking questions about the data and making comparisons between data. By doing so, the researcher could derive concepts from the data, and then develop those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions (Cobin & Strauss, 2015: 66). Concepts relevant to the study were identified by open coding. Through open coding, new concepts can emerge from the raw data and later can be grouped into conceptual categories and themes.
- To make sense of the coded data, themes were reduced to manageable numbers which represent the most important ideas about the phenomenon. Repetition was used to identify themes based on the premise that if a concept continuously occurs throughout the transcript – it is likely to be a theme.

Once the data trustworthiness was ensured, the key findings were reported under main themes using verbatim quotes.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

When conducting social research, it is unavoidable that some sort of intrusion will take place in the subjects being studied. Therefore, ethical principles in terms of conducting research ought to be adhered to. Ethical considerations serve as guidelines for researchers to observe ethics when conducting research (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2011: 114). Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Pretoria's Faculty of Humanities Ethics committee.
The current study paid attention to the following ethical considerations:

- Respondents and participants participated in the study voluntarily. None of the respondents and participants were coerced or forced to participate in the study and were assured that they could withdraw at any time, and without any penalties. Furthermore, it was explained to the respondents and participants that they would not be compensated for sharing their views and experiences (Babbie, 2010: 70).

- Closely linked to voluntary participation is informed consent. Before the commencement of the studies, respondents and participants were required to sign an informed consent which detailed the aim and purpose of the study, procedures to be followed, possible risks, benefits of participation, their rights as respondents and participants, how anonymity and confidentiality would be ensured, and data storage processes. For the online survey, respondents could not commence with the survey without first agreeing to participate in the study by clicking 'yes' to informed consent. For the participants who were interviewed using online platforms (MS teams, Google Meet and Zoom), the informed consent was sent electronically, and the participants were required to send back a signed copy of the letter before the interview.
- Although no harm to the participants was foreseen, respondents and participants were provided with a separate information sheet stipulating avenues of accessing support, among others, from a social worker. The social worker would be available in person for respondents and participants in Gauteng and also telephonically available to participants outside of Gauteng for debriefing/counselling in case a participant was adversely affected by the research questions or interview process. None of the respondents and participants made use of the support offered.
- With online surveys, respondents were sent an anonymised link to participate. Non-identifiable information was asked. Although anonymity could not be guaranteed in the case of personal interviews with female criminologists, confidentiality was protected by using codes such as Participant 1 (P1) when reporting the findings. Only the researcher had access to the quantitative data set and she voice-recorded the interviews.
- The respondents and participants were made aware of the non-financial benefits associated with participating in the study and that their participation in the study was purely for academic purposes.
- The findings of each study were analysed and reported without any falsification or bias. The limitations of the research methods used were reported.
- Data will be safely stored at the Department of Social Work and Criminology for 15 years. The data will be stored for archiving purposes and may be used in future research endeavours.

The Protection of Personal Information Act No. 4 of 2013 (POPI Act) came into effect on 30th June 2021, after the one-year grace period offered to organisations to comply with the new Act. The Act protects the personal information of people from harm and provides

guidelines for the collecting, use, storing, sharing and retaining of such information. When collecting data, the researcher complied with the Act by ensuring that no personal identifies were collected and the data were stored in a secure, access-controlled device which could only be accessed by the researcher. Furthermore, the researcher explicitly defined the purpose of collecting specific information from the respondents and participants.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The format of this doctoral thesis is by publication – also known as the article format. The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) and the institutional council have increasingly urged shorter completion times for doctoral studies and have pushed for more publications; hence thesis by publication has become a viable and popular option (Frick, 2019: 49). Furthermore, publications are closely tied to university funding (O'Keeffe, 2019: 290). One of the many ways in which DHET funds universities is through research outputs (articles published in accredited journals, peer-reviewed conference publications, and publications of books) (Tongai, 2013). The number of research outputs produced has a direct influence on the funding universities receive (DHET, 2017: 8). A doctoral thesis by publication consists of a series of published or publishable articles that are inter-related and demonstrate cohesiveness (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017: 15; Mason & Merga, 2018: 143). This differs from the traditional thesis which consists of a monolithic text (O'Keeffe, 2019: 289). Similar to the traditional doctorate, the thesis by publication needs to demonstrate originality, the ability to conduct research independently, and the potential to publish and make a significant contribution to the field of study (Jackson, 2013: 363; Mason & Merga, 2018: 140).

A thesis by publication is considered a more valuable option due to the peer-review process, which is considered to be an unbiased formative assessment (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017: 18; Frick, 2019: 49) that allows students to receive valued feedback from the discipline beyond the supervisory team and examiners (Guerin, 2019). Publication of articles is key to the advancement of knowledge as it allows knowledge to be timeously and widely disseminated and increases research publication output (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017: 16; Jackson, 2013: 364). The thesis by publication addresses the lengthy completion time of the traditional thesis and helps researchers to obtain scholarly

publication skills which are key for an academic career and promotion (Asante & Abubakari, 2020: 88; Frick, 2019).

Although a popular option, theses by publication are not without shortcomings. The format has been criticised for lack of logical coherence. In addition, the turnaround time for the peer-review process has become longer and this has been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic (Asante & Abubakari, 2020: 88). As a result of the pandemic, journals have experienced a surge in articles submitted – in part due to the closure of schools, mandatory stay-at-home orders and some institutions experiencing delays in instituting remote learning and teaching (Alkhouri, Mutka & Stefanak, 2021: 6). Publishers such as Elsevier's saw a 58% rise in the number of articles submitted in 2020 compared to the same period in 2019 (Else, 2020). Analysing the peer-review process of articles submitted to anaesthesiology journals, Behera, Radhakrishnan, Mohanty and Bellapukonda (2021: 57) compared the years 2019 and 2020 found a 55% decrease in the review time as a result of the pandemic.

To address the criticism of lack of coherence, the researcher has provided an introductory and a concluding chapter. In addition, a cover page for each article detailing the status of each submission has been provided. Although the thesis by publication does not allow authors to provide extensive details of the study due to publication parameters, the researcher provided a contextual review of the literature in the introduction chapter (Part 1) of the thesis to overcome this shortfall. According to UP's Rules and Regulations of 2021, a candidate may submit a doctoral thesis consisting of published articles under the following rules:

- The research reported in the papers must have been conducted while the candidate was registered as a doctoral candidate at the university.
- The thesis must be prepared so as to present the articles as a coherent body of new knowledge and must include a comprehensive introductory section giving an adequate background and description of the objectives of the body of research and must offer a concluding section which summarises the outcomes and significance of the work.
- The articles may be introduced as chapters or sections of the thesis.

The thesis takes the form of four articles: each has an introduction, distinct aim, literature review, a theoretical framework, and coverage of methods, and the results, discussion and conclusion. The four articles are then collated in the concluding chapter (Part 6). Furthermore, in the concluding chapter, the researcher demonstrates how the articles build on one another and are cohesive. As a result of using a multi-method approach, a common thread and overlap between articles can be expected. The reader should bear in mind that the articles were submitted to different journals that have varying referencing styles, guidelines and formatting styles. The demarcation of the thesis is as follows:

Part 1 introduces the transformation and decolonisation of the curriculum in the context of in South Africa. In addition, the aims and objectives of the study are outlined, and the terms 'transformation', 'decolonisation' and 'Africanisation' are conceptualised, and the methodological approach is summarised.

Part 2 is concerned with how dissemination of knowledge is influenced by authors' race and gender, and it consists of one published article:

- Sticky floors and glass ceilings: Transformation of a Criminology journal in post-apartheid South Africa.

Part 3 examines decolonisation and transformation of the Criminology curriculum offered across South African universities by. This is done by analysing the views of lecturers and postgraduates. Part 3 consists of one article:

- Decolonising the Criminology curriculum in South Africa: Views and experiences of lecturers and postgraduate students.

Part 4 explores how gender as a social construct plays out in the academic landscape to influence the journey of women. Part 4 consists of one article:

- In solitary confinement: The constrained identities, spaces and voices of women criminologists in post-apartheid South Africa.

Part 5 examines how race and gender influence female criminologists' lived experiences in academia. Part 5 consists of one article:

- If it's not my race, it's my gender: The experiences of female criminologists in post-apartheid academia.

Part 6 is the concluding chapter and ties together all four articles. It discusses the extent to which the overall study aim and objectives have been achieved. Additionally, the chapter highlights key findings of the articles, makes recommendations for future research, and comments on the limitations of the study.

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PART 2

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Sticky floors and glass ceilings Transformation of a Criminology journal in post-apartheid South Africa

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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 & Mims, 2017; Orrick & Henrikka, 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; Lemke, 2013; Fahmy & Young, 2017; Crow & Smyka, 2015; 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 analyzing 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.

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 in 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 (1989) is pivotal to understanding the history of the discipline in South Africa. According to Van 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 (Van 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 (Van Zyl Smit, 1999; Dixon, 2004). 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

boarders, 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 redistributive 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 sub judicates 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 (Nkomo & Sehoole, 2007; Heffernan, 2017; Badat, 2010; Akala & Divala, 2016). As a by-product of the Bantu Education Act, universities were divided and made exclusive according to the four officials race groups, namely African (Black), [6]Indian, Mixed-race [7]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 (Nkomo & Sehoole, 2007; Badat, 2009; Netswara & Mathabe, 2006; Akala & Divala, 2016). 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 (Ministry of Education, 2002).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, 2010:4; Govinder, Zondo & Makgoba, 2013). The majority of academic staff, however, remain White with some growth in the number of academic staff from other races, particularly amongst Black individuals, increasing from 28.6% in 2010 to 36.8% in 2016 (Higher Education and Training, 2019).

[6] Colonialism resulted in the creation of new identities and social classification – Indian, Black, White, European and Mestizo (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 244). Post-apartheid, the democratic South African government adopted the term 'Black' as a collective term referring to all people of African, Indian and mixed-race origin (Mekgwe, 2010:190; Broad -Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 2003: 4). Often Black and African are used interchangeably.

[7] Classification of South Africans with mixed heritage of European and indigenous southern African roots (Ellison & De Wet, 2020:425). The researcher opted for the term Mixed-race as it is more understandable to the international audience compared to the term 'Coloured'.

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, Santamaria & 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; Maliniak, Powers & Walter, 2013; King, Bergstrom, Correll, Jacquet & West, 2017). 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 (Maliniak et al., 2013; Dion, Summer & Mitchell, 2018). 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 & Larivièr, 2016).

Similar to the disciplines mentioned above, publications and citations in criminology and criminal justice journals favor 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 (Maliniak et al., 2013; Dion, Summer & Mitchell, 2018).

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 lead 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) analyzed 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) analyzed 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 across-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 (Manlove & Belou, 2015; Steyn & Klopper, 2015; Dhanani & Jones, 2017; Fox et al., 2019). 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 (Manlove & Belou, 2015; Mauleón, Hillán, Moreno, Gómez & Bordons, 2013; Amrein, Langmann, Fahrleitner-Pammer, Pieber & Zollner-Schwetz, 2011). In addition, editors are often selected from

research networks and other editorial boards, which mostly comprise of men (Cho, Johnson, Schuman, Adler, Gonzalez, Graves, Huebner, Marchant, Rifai, Skinner, & Bruna, 2014).

Mauleón et al. (2013) analyzed 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 analyze 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 (Krippendorf, 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 & Petersen, 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, 2019). In addition to descriptive data, the Mann-Whitney *U* and Kruskall-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

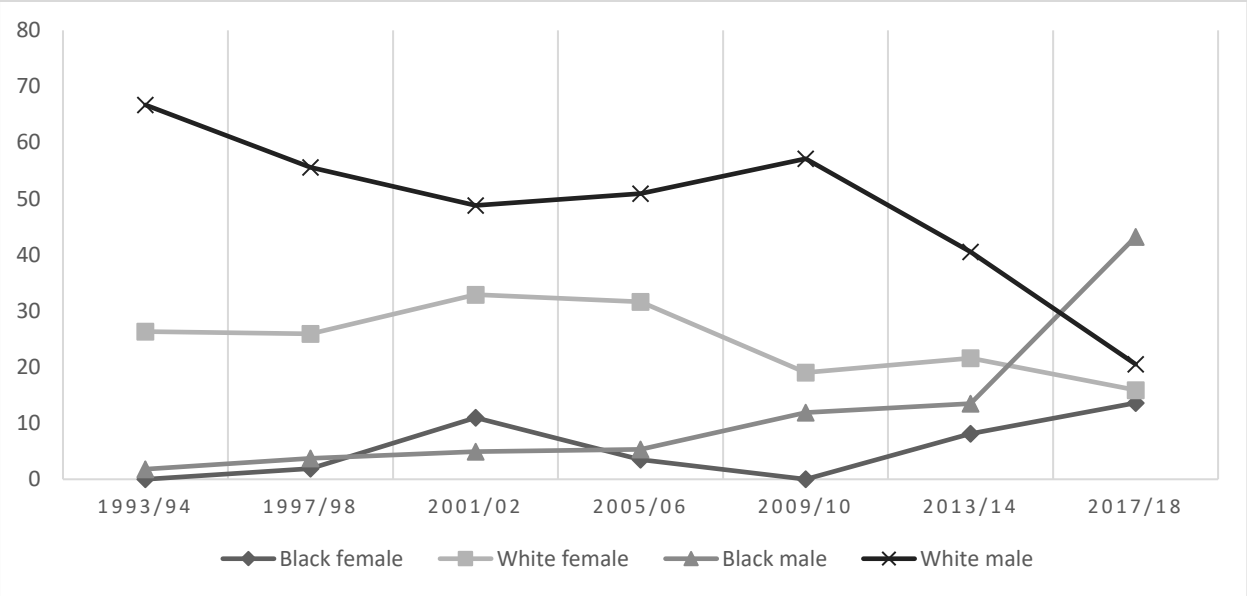
	1993/94		1997/98		2001/02		2005/06		2009/10		2013/14		2017/18	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Total	60	15.6	56	14.5	84	21.8	59	15.3	44	11.5	38	9.9	44	11.5

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 (%)[8]



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

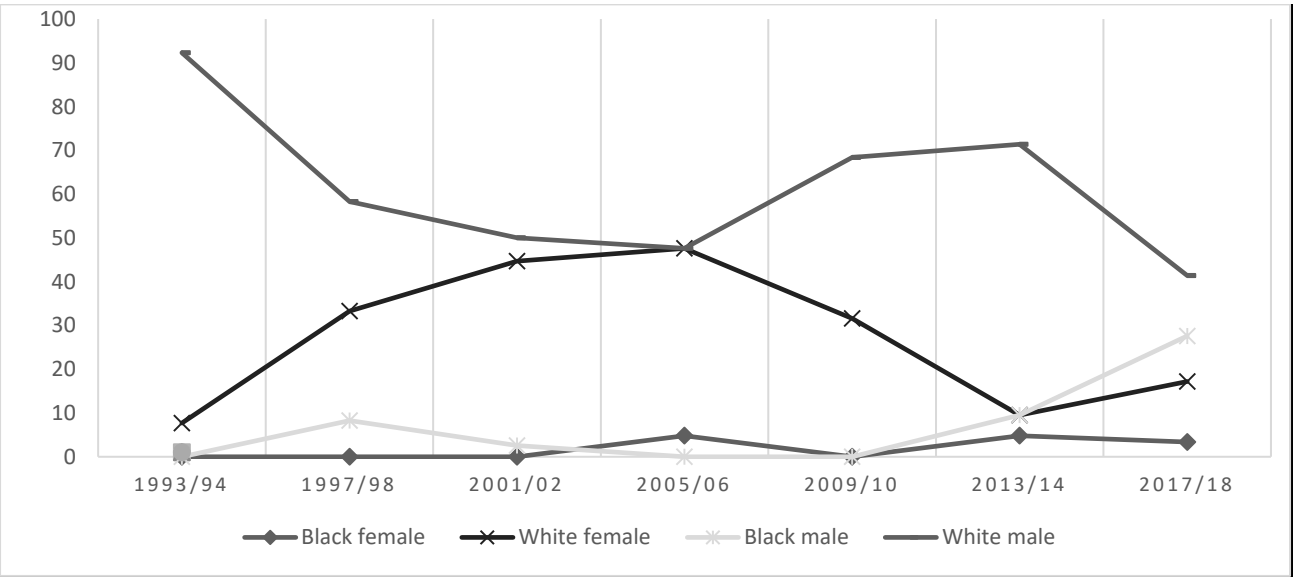
[8] Publications from Mixed-race and Indian/Asian authors were omitted from the figure due to low n-values. One Mixed-race female scholar published an article in 1993/94 (n=1; 1.8%), while three articles were by published by Indian/Asian female authors in 2013/2014 (n=3; 8.1%). Although Indian male authors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

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 publication[9]



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

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.

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							
First author	Black		Indian		Mixed-race		White	
	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.

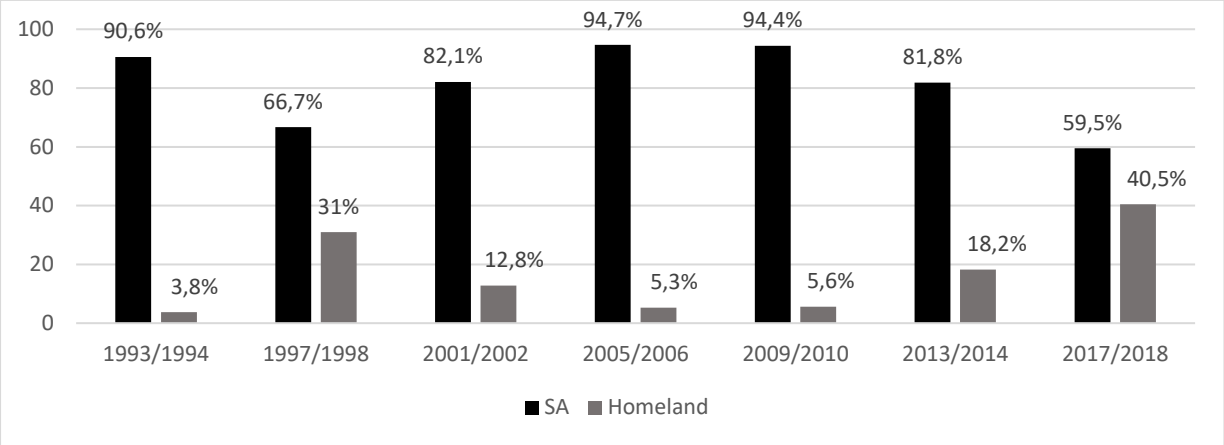
Table 4: Research methods according to race and gender

	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 (Editorial Policy of the *Acta Criminologica*, 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 Criminology*, 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 color 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, 2017:295). 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.

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PART 3

Article title: Decolonising the Criminology curriculum in South Africa: views and experiences of lecturers and postgraduate students.

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Decolonising the Criminology curriculum in South Africa: views and experiences of lecturers and postgraduate students

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ABSTRACT

Background: For many years, the lived experiences, knowledge systems, and histories of previously colonised people have been misinterpreted, removed, and devalued university teaching. The present curricula of African universities are predominantly Eurocentric, and Criminology is no exception. In the wake of the #RhodesMustFall student protest action, there is a recognition and need to include African epistemology within the discipline of Criminology.

Aim: The study investigated the views of lecturers and postgraduate students regarding the content, transformation, and decolonisation of Criminology curricula.

Setting: South African universities offering Criminology as a degree and/or academic subject.

Methods: A total of 87 respondents, 42 lecturers and 45 postgraduate students, voluntarily participated in an online survey. Lecturers were purposively selected while postgraduate students were recruited via snowball sampling.

Results: Nearly all the respondents had heard of decolonisation before, with the majority of the academic staff members being aware of it prior to #RhodesMustFall. Respondents agreed that the Criminology curriculum needs to be decolonised, with statistically significant differences emanating between Black and White lecturers.

Conclusion: Decolonisation and transformation have been debated for many years without meaningful translation in and changes to Criminology curricula.

INTRODUCTION

Institutions of higher learning (IHL) in Africa continue to replicate Western ideologies without considering the continent's context and realities (Mswazie & Mudyahoto, 2013:170). It is almost three decades since apartheid was abolished and South Africa became a democratic country, yet neo-colonialist, structural imbalances and imperialist practices continue to persist in many spheres of society, including higher education (Heleta, 2016:2). Many universities have been struggling to transform from their colonial past of being characterised by White dominance and European world views, to becoming more inclusive IHL that cater for the educational needs of a diverse South Africa (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016:4). Historically, South African knowledge systems have been suppressed by colonialism and apartheid (Luckett, 2010:5,) with apartheid manifesting in epistemologies, methodology, ontology, gender biases, patriarchy, and racism (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith, 2008:22; Keet, 2014:23).

The #RhodesMustFall student protest actions in 2015 ignited the call to decolonise South African universities and their curricula. The student movement laid bare fundamental problems of post-apartheid higher education, highlighting issues concerning access, institutional racism, and exclusion (Le Grange, 2019:29). Initially, the movements called for the removal of the statue of the British imperialist Cecil John Rhodes from the campus of the University of Cape Town. The movement petitioned for a free, decolonised, and African centred curriculum (Sadiki, 2020:640). The statue was interpreted as a symbol of colonial empire and the call for its removal was a means of challenging orthodox historical consciousness. Therefore, what remains is to remove the 'Rhodes' that underpins academic curricula (Guruba, 2016; Jansen, 2019:51). Additionally, the student protest actions were marred by violence, which is not surprising because of sudden awareness of the fundamental flaws within the system that remained unchanged and the continuation of a paradigm that simply did not match local reality, which is remnant from apartheid. Fanon (1967), in his analysis of violence in the struggle for freedom, justifies violence as an appropriate response when facing colonial oppression.

Decolonisation of South African IHL, epistemology and disciplines were an essential purpose of the student movements (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016:4-5; Shay, 2016).

Decolonisation is a contested term that has different meanings across different contexts (Mackinlay & Barney, 2014:54; Zembylas, 2018:1). Furthermore, decolonisation is a term that has a rich intellectual ancestry and was first introduced in the 1960s and gained steam in the 1980s as popularised by Fanon (1967) and Wa Thiong'o (1986). For Wa Thiong'o (1986), decolonisation does not entail merely removing and completely doing away with Eurocentric perspectives but placing Africa at the centre of teaching, learning and research. The curriculum currently taught marginalises and subjugates African perspectives and epistemologies in favour of Eurocentric domination. The term entails dismantling the remnants of colonialism which is prevalent in the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum offered at post-colonial universities (Jansen, 2019:52) which privileges Western knowledge system above the rest (Keet, 2014:23). Within the South African context, decolonisation encapsulates power relations in knowledge production and begs the question 'whose knowledge is at the centre of the continental contestation over the curriculum' (Jansen, 2019:53). For students, decolonisation was the remedy for the lack of transformation at South African universities. as cogently captured by Le Grange (2019:31-32), 'decolonisation does not have to mean or involve destruction' and often what has 'been decolonised has the potential to produce colonising effects and vice versa'.

The terms transformation and decolonisation have erroneously been used interchangeably. Transformation is not decolonisation. Transforming the curriculum entails creating a curriculum that is responsive to the social context and prioritises previously marginalised narratives, voices, and knowledge systems. However, decolonisation is far more salient than replacing Western theories and authors with African ones (Mgqwashu, 2016). One of the menacing problems confronting decolonisation is determining how the concept relates to African epistemology and Africanisation. African epistemology refers to how Africans 'conceptualizes, interprets and apprehends reality within the context of African cultural or collective experience' (Anyanwu, 1983:60). In the context of higher education, Africanisation entails centring the life experiences, traditions, culture, histories, and voices of African people in the curriculum (Thabede, 2008:234). To Africanise the curriculum, colonial roots that underpin it ought to be dismantled (Jansen, 2019:52) to make room for African modes of knowledge and understanding (Udefi, 2014:108). Therefore, without decolonisation, Africanisation cannot take place and ultimately transformation cannot be achieved without both decolonisation and Africanisation (Chimakonam, 2019:182).

The point of origin and theorising of texts being studied in Criminology has colonial roots (Williams & Chrisman, 1995:5) and presents a Western perspective of the social world (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2004:5). Criminology is dominated by Western scholars, literature, and perspectives (Moosavi, 2019:230; Williams & Chrisman, 1995:5), resulting in crime and the criminal justice system conceptualised from a Western perspective (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2004:5) and a discipline that fails to solve the crime problem (Agozino, 2004:351). Instead of generalising Criminology theories to the African continent, the discipline ought to discover better answers to the crime problem (Agozino, 2004:351). No other social science has served colonialism more directly than Criminology and the discipline has been classified as an imperialist science for the control of others (Agozino, 2004: 343; King, 2017:2-3; Moosavi, 2019:230-231). Agozino (2010: i-ii) emphasises the oppressive and authoritarian nature of Criminology by labelling the discipline as a 'technology designed for the control of others' and a 'control freak discipline'. His views echo sentiments raised by Foucault (1977) about the utility of Criminology since the discipline itself is embedded in and reliant on Western justice systems and how offenders are supposed to be 'managed' without acknowledging how remnants of colonialism continue to influence crime and criminality. Furthermore, there is a lack of understanding of how the effect of colonialism has perpetuated the operation of systems such as the criminal justice system (Cunneen & Rowe, 2014:49).

To date there have been limited attempts to include theoretical and practical implications of African understandings and approaches within Criminology and much of the discipline's knowledge has always been concentrated in a few hands (Agozino, 2004: 343; Moosavi, 2019). This in turn contributed to the marginalisation of the subjects it seeks to study (Deckert, 2014:49). Decolonisation and post-colonial perspectives have had greater impact in disciplines such as Literature, Law, Politics, Philosophy and Sociology, yet post-colonial perspectives in Criminology remain constrained. Therefore, decolonisation of Criminology is necessary and can only be achieved by employing critical research (Denzin et al., 2008:21). This article aims to explore the curriculum content of Criminology at South African universities to determine to what extent African perspectives are reflected in the subject content and teaching approaches and unpacks the views of lecturers and postgraduate students regarding the content of the Criminology curriculum. With the call to decolonise and transform institutions becoming more urgent, the curriculum is an important aspect of the decolonial project as it ultimately determines whose knowledge is learned, valued and reproduced.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

Using a quantitative research method, a cross-sectional survey was administered to academic staff members and postgraduate students at South African IHL. The survey generated insights into the attitudes, opinions, and expectations of respondents regarding transformation and decolonisation of Criminology curricula (Creswell & Creswell, 2018:49; Maree & Pietersen, 2017:174). A non-probability sampling method was employed. The non-probability sampling method entailed purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The study warranted respondents who were informative, useful, and appropriate for the topic at hand (Babbie, 2016:187; Neuman, 2014:273-274). Postgraduate students were selected on the notion that they have a higher level of understanding, critical thinking skills and specialised knowledge about Criminology and should be able to work and learn independently as opposed to undergraduate students. Academic staff members are primarily responsible for teaching and learning as well as curriculum development hence their inclusion in the study. Lecturer respondents were purposively identified from the websites of the various Criminology departments and all of the lecturers whose details was readily available on the websites were subsequently invited by email to participate in the survey. Criteria for inclusion in the study for lecturer respondents entailed academic staff members responsible for teaching and learning, in a Criminology and/or Criminal Justice department or centre. Postgraduate students were considered an unknown population (registration information is not in the public domain), therefore snowball sampling was used where academic staff respondents who participated in the survey were asked to send the survey invitation to their respective students (De Vos, De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2011:393; Kumar, 2014:244).

Data was collected by means of a rapid online survey administered through Qualtrics (2020). The platform was user-friendly and had quality control features that prevented multiple submissions from single respondents. The online survey was piloted with two respondents to test the procedures and ensure the content validity of the instrument (Creswell & Creswell, 2018:154). Respondents were sent an anonymous link and no information that could identify them (name, surname, institutions, and email address) were captured. The survey was made available for two weeks, after which the data was exported to Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (IBM Corp, 2020) for statistical analysis. In light of the study's sampling strategy and the data not showing normal distributions, the Mann-Whitney *U* test was used to determine any significant differences

(IBM, 2020). In cases where a statistically significant difference featured (p<0.05), effect sizes were calculated where r=-0.1 indicates a weak, r =-0.3 notes a medium and r=-0.5 points to a large effect size. The study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria (HUM026/1119) and all the participating universities agreed to have their Criminology lecturers and postgraduate students complete the survey. The landing page of the survey had an ethics statement and function for respondents to tick that they agree to voluntary participate in the survey. An informed consent leaflet was attached which detailed the purpose of the study and ensured anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents.

The sample is not representative of all South African universities and the findings should, therefore, be generalised with caution (Neuman, 2014:248). In addition, the sampling strategy could have resulted in selection bias (in other words, only those respondents who are interested in debates about transformation and decolonisation participated in the survey), thus giving rise to a skewed sample of Criminology lecturers and postgraduate students. Except for biographic information (gender, age, population group and academic position/highest qualification), the academic staff and postgraduate student data is presented jointly due to low n-values. Where significant differences featured, these will be indicated and unpacked as such. Indian and Mixed-race respondents were left out of statistical analyses due to low n-values. Although the bulk of the questions were close-ended, a few open-ended questions were included to gather additional information and the questions provided respondents the opportunity to motivate their answers and to offer further insights. These insights are presented as direct quotes and are accompanied by supporting literature to validate their meaning. For the purpose of this paper, each respondent's response to the open-ended question is assigned a respondent number (i.e. Respondent 1 to Respondent 87). The researcher hoped to obtain at least 100 respondents, and despite reminders, personalised emails and stating the average time it would take to complete the survey, the survey had a low response rate. The low response rate could be attributed to 'survey fatigue' and lack of internet data, especially on the part of postgraduate students because the respondents had to use their own internet data to complete the survey.

RESULTS

Sample characteristics

A total of 87 respondents completed the survey of whom slightly more than half (n=45; 51.7%) were postgraduate students and the remaining were academic staff members (n=42; 48.3%). Nearly a third (n= 28; 32.2%) of respondents were male and 67.8% (n=59) were female (Table 1). Almost half (n=41; 47.1%) of the respondents were between the ages of 20 and 30. More than half (n=49; 56.3%) of the respondents were Black.

Two in five (n=17; 40.5%) of the academic respondents were lecturers and nearly a third (30.9%) were senior lecturers. Very few respondents were junior lecturers (n=2; 4.8%), associate professors (n=3; 7.1%), and honorary professors (n=2; 4.8%), with only 11.9% (n=5) holding the position of full professor. Respondents' years of lecturing experience ranged between 1 to more than 20 years, with more than a quarter (26.8%) having had 6 to 10 years of lecturing, two in five (n=9; 21.9%) with 1 to 5 years and 11 to 15-years' experience respectively. Nearly a fifth (n=7; 17.1%) had more than 20 years of lecturing experience.

Table 1: **Biographic information of respondents**

	Total		**Academic staff**		**Postgraduate student**	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Gender						
Female	59	68	22	52	8	18
Male	28	32	20	48	37	82
Age						
20-30	41	47	6	14	35	78
31-40	21	24	14	33	7	16
41-50	15	17	14	33	1	2
51-60	8	9	6	14	2	4
>61	2	2	2	5	-	-

Table 1 continuation

	Total		Academic staff		Postgraduate student	
	n	%	n	n	%	n
Population group						
African	49	56	25	60	24	53
White	30	35	13	31.	17	37
Indian	4	5	3	7.	1	2
Mixed-race	4	4.	1	2	3	7
Highest qualification /degree enrolled for						
Honours	26	30	1	3	25	56
Master's degree	31	36	19	45	12	27
Doctoral degree	28	32	21	50	7	16
Postdoctoral	1	1	-	-	1	2

Understanding of decolonisation and what it entails for higher education

All the academic respondents (n=42; 100%) and the majority of postgraduate respondents (n=42; 93.3%) had heard of decolonisation before. Fifty-six percent (n=23) of the academic respondents knew about decolonisation prior to the 2015 student protest action, one in five heard of it during the protest (n=8; 19.5%) and 12.2% (n=5) heard about it after the protest action. Further, 12.2% (n=5) of the academic staff heard about decolonisation from other sources such as seminars and from the community. More than a quarter (n=19; 28.4%) of the postgraduate students heard about decolonisation from their prescribed learning material and the media respectively. Only two (4.7%) postgraduate respondents heard about decolonisation from university management, 13.4% (n=9) from the #FeesMustFall protest action and student activist and leadership structures, and a tenth (n=7; 10.5%) of the student respondents heard about decolonisation from their own research.

The bulk of the respondents agreed that decolonisation of higher education entailed placing African knowledge on an equal footing with current Western knowledge (n=76;

93.8%) and reconstructing the current Criminology curriculum to make it more inclusive (n=77, 95.1). A quarter of the respondents (n=21; 25.9%) were neutral in recognising that knowledge is marked by power relations (Table 2).

Table 2: What decolonisation entails for higher education

	Agree		Neutral		Disagree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Placing African knowledge on equal footing with Western knowledge	76	94	2	3	3	4
Recognising that knowledge is not owned by anyone	67	83	8	10	6	7
Recognising that knowledge is marked by power relations	52	64	21	26	8	10
Reconstructing the current curriculum to make it more inclusive[10]	77	95	4	5	-	-
Identifying the ways university reproduces colonial hierarchies	63	78	11	14	7	9
Creating spaces for a dialogue among members of the university	78	96	3	4	-	-
Belief that any knowledge could and should be open to challenge and question regardless of its origin	75	93	4	5	2	3
Rooting educational paradigms in indigenous African epistemological frameworks[11]*	74	91	5	6	2	3

* Significant difference at $p < 0.05$

Nearly two-thirds of Black respondents (n=22; 64.7%) compared to a third of White respondents (n=11; 32.4%) agreed that decolonisation entails rooting educational paradigms in indigenous African epistemological frameworks, displaying a statistically significant difference with a medium effect size (p=0.015; r=-0.41).

[10] An inclusive curriculum is one that is representative of the diverse student body, their thoughts and lived experiences (Heleta, 2016:3; Schucan Bird & Pitman, 2020:904).
[11] Rooting educational paradigms in indigenous African epistemological frameworks entails that 'all educational curricula in Africa should have Africa as their focus, and as a result be indigenous-grounded and orientated' (Higgs, 2012:39).

Three quarters (n=60; 77.9%) of the respondents stated that the current Criminology curricula promoted Western ideologies and epistemologies while nearly half (n=37; 48.0%) reported that African traditional methods of conflict resolution were seldom included. Slightly more than half of student respondents (n=41; 53.2%) were frequently inspired to think critically about issues of racism as well as discrimination (Table 3).

Table 3: **Content of Criminology curriculum**

	Frequently		**Occasionally**		**Seldom**	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Allows students to understand the origins of Criminology in its historical context	48	63	22	29	7	9
Cultivates an appreciation for diverse entry points around a particular subject*	38	49	24	31	15	20
Provides students opportunities in their learning to widen their circles of contact or experience*	38	49	26	34	13	17
Incorporates Afrocentrism in the explanation and causation of crime	34	44	19	25	24	31
Includes traditional methods of conflict resolution*	26	34	14	18	37	48
Promotes Western ideologies and epistemologies	60	78	13	17	4	5
Allows students to engage with diverse local and global perspectives	44	55	27	35	8	10
Inspires students to engage with issues such as discrimination, racism, inequality, colonialism, and inclusion	41	53	21	27	15	20

* Significant difference at $p < 0.05$

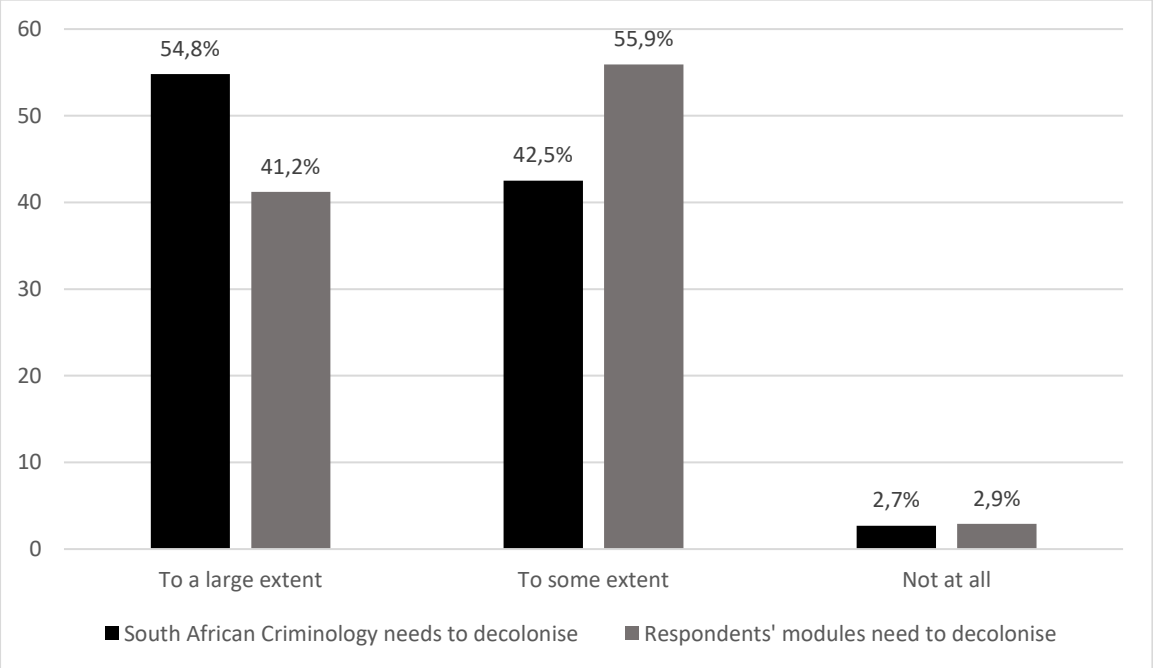
A statistically significant difference with a medium effect size (p=0.011; r=-0.28) featured between lecturers and students regarding the statement that Criminology curricula cultivate an appreciation for diverse entry points, with most lecturers stating that it happens frequently (n=24; 64.8%) compared to three in five (n=24; 60%) students who stated that this seldom happened. Nearly two thirds (n=23; 62.1%) of the academic staff indicated

that they frequently provided students with opportunities to widen their circles of contact or experience in their learning, although more than half of students (n=22; 55%) stated that these opportunities rarely occurred (p=0.008; r=-.30). Further, more than half (n=22; 55%) of the students stated that African methods of conflict resolutions were seldom incorporated in the curriculum compared to two in five (n=15; 40%) of the lecturers indicated that they frequently included it (p=0.040; r=-0.23).

Decolonising Criminology curricula

More than half of the respondents (n=40; 54.8%) agreed that the Criminology curriculum need to be decolonised (Figure 1), with statistically significant differences (p=0.14; r=-0.41) between Black (n=18; 60%) and White (n=11; 36.7%) academic staff respondents. In addition, significantly more Black (n=20; 55.6%) than White (n=15; 41.7%) respondents stated that their modules need to be decolonised (p=0.41; r=-0.37).

Figure 1: Should Criminology and its curriculum be decolonised?



Nearly half (n=18; 46.2%) of the student respondents stated that they seldom encountered indigenous perspectives in their Criminology curriculum (Table 4). Furthermore, the greater proportion (n=33; 84.6%) of the students reported frequently learning Eurocentric theories of crime and criminality.

Table 4: Indigenous vs Eurocentric perspective in Criminology curriculum (postgraduate student responses)

	Frequently		Occasionally		Seldom	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Encounter indigenous perspectives in criminology	6	15	15	39	18	46
Current curriculum relevant to African students and African conditions.	13	33	17	44	9	23
Learn predominantly Eurocentric and other Western theories	33	85	6	15	-	-
Engage with Indigenous Knowledge Systems	9	23	12	31	18	46
Ideas and perspectives within the curriculum challenge one's perspective	21	54	12	31	6	15
Individual's culture and lived experience is present in the curriculum	16	41	14	36	9	23

Responses from the open-ended questions

Regarding decolonising and redesigning the curriculum, Garuba (2015) poses two questions: do we simply add new items to an existing curriculum, or do we restructure the curriculum by objectively thinking how the curriculum itself is constituted? Many South African universities prefer "adding items" to existing curricula as a means of maintain the status quo which allows them to tick boxes as though transformation is taking place even though it is not (Heleta, 2016:5). There is a growing acknowledgement from academic staff of the importance of incorporating African perspectives into the discipline to ensure that the curriculum is founded on critical Africa-centred epistemology (King, 2016:10). The academic respondents held different views and approaches to decolonising and transforming their curricula. Some respondents felt that decolonising their curricula entailed incorporating African philosophies and world views.

Respondent 9: *'By incorporating the Africanised philosophies and use sources and literature written by African scholars.'*

Respondent 29: *'Currently incorporating African narratives to outline some theoretical perspectives.'*

Respondent 87: *'Decolonisation and transformation is an ongoing project. In South African Criminology, and the modules I teach, locally relevant research which puts African and South African indigenous knowledge systems at the centre of scientific enquiry is slowly emerging. I include such emerging scholarly work on an annual basis into my curricula for different modules I teach. Further, I encourage critical thinking activities and co-construction of content in terms of what is learned during discussions in class.'*

Some lecturer respondents followed student-centred approaches and include student voices in decolonising their curricula:

Respondent 32: *'Add in more context specific studies and examples. More interactions with students allowing them to take the lead. Ensuring more student-centred approaches are adopted.'*

Respondent *47*: *'Working through design strategies and assessment strategies to include alternative views. Adapting the lecturing method to allow for student voices.'*

Criminology as a discipline needs to consider whether its teachings relate and reflect an African worldview, whether the curricula prepare students to engage with people from an African perspective, and whether it is locally relevant (Van der Westhuizen, Greuel & Beaukes 2017:4). Local relevance of curricula requires that Criminology develop knowledge, understanding and skills based on an exploration of "life experiences, history and traditions of African people as the centre of analyses" (Thabede, 2008:234). Academic staff members noted various challenges in their attempts to decolonise their curricula:

Respondent 61: *'Fighting against the "White is right" subculture. This is not blatant but often subtle.'*

Respondent 71: *'The problem is that there are often different African explanations or interpretations for the same behaviour or phenomenon. In some cases, these insights are based on hearsay and word of mouth reports. It will be unethical to talk about ONE African*

explanation which makes the development of an African Criminology even more challenging.'

Respondent 77: *'There is limited written theories focusing on Afrocentrism. Most of African materials still seek approval from the global North for acceptance. All literature written by African is not well accepted by global South because they are the custodian of knowledge production (so they think).'*

Respondent 87: *'In the past, Afrikaans only lectures were not conducive to exposing students to diverse views and voices. In future, the slow pace at which locally relevant research is published, may delay the pace at which I am able to decolonise my curricula. As stated though, decolonisation of our curricula is an ongoing project and not a moment in time.'*

The project of decolonisation and transformation cannot be done without the involvement of students. As recipients of knowledge, students play a central role in decolonising the curriculum (Hendricks & Leibowitz, 2016). Student respondents provided various explanations as to why Criminology curricula needed to be decolonised:

Respondent 10: *'As a South African Criminology MA graduate, one would think I would be more informed with regards to what my country has to offer - with the wisdom that comes from African tradition, but I am not. It seems the answer is "just use Ubuntu", which is great, and I do, but I would like more African theory, more African-based intervention, more African voices not only in my findings but also in my literature review and theory chapters. I am working towards being part of that African voice, and I hope to be part of creating an inclusive and representative criminology for future students.'*

Similar to the #RhodesMustFall movement, student respondents raised questions about the relevance and appropriateness of the Criminology curriculum to the African context:

Respondent 22: *'Criminology is more based on the Western context, it is vital to learn about Criminology in an African context in order to easily relate and understand the content being studied.'*

Respondent 36: *'Most of the curricula is biased, it gives too much focus only on Western perspectives which at times do not even relate to us Africans and our circumstances or how we experience crime. Therefore, it would be great and informative to have perspectives that focus on the experience of Africans.'*

Respondent 85:*'The theory and methods currently being studied are out of tune with our lived experiences and realities. There is a desperate need for an understanding of our own ways, that may, in effect, contribute towards the better understanding and management of high rates of crime within the African continent.'*

Transforming the Criminology curriculum will involve incorporating multiple independent pedagogies. Criminology theories must be generated and informed by life as it is lived, experienced and understood by local inhabitants and underpinned by the African local experience (Mgqwashu, 2016). Students appear to be aware of their responsibility in decolonising and transforming Criminology:

Respondent 35: 'Challenging the West as credible knowledge producers by highlighting and learning about the African perspectives on Criminology.'

Respondent 37: 'Perhaps challenging/critiquing certain views/ theories presented by the Western world.'

Respondent 44: *'To incorporate African theories into my research and to consider things from the perspectives of other cultural groups.'*

DISCUSSION

South African universities have been built on the foundations of Western models which has always dehumanised the experiences and knowledge of the colonised (Le Grange, 2019: 34). To decolonise the curriculum, Western knowledge ought to be decentralised and African knowledge moved from the margin to the centre, as was advocated by Wa Thiong'o (1986) decades ago. The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which Criminology curricula incorporate African perspectives as perceived by students and lecturers across South African IHL. The results indicate that all the academic staff and nearly all the postgraduate students had heard of decolonisation before. More than half of

the academic staff were familiar with the notions of decolonisation even prior to the #RhodesMustFall student protest action, yet the decolonial project only gained momentum in the context of rapid political change triggered by the student movements (Mamdani, 2019:16). Only in the wake of the 2015/2016 student protest action institutions developed policy frameworks and plans geared towards decolonisation and transformation. These policy frameworks and plans were an attempt to formalise transformation and provide guidance for lecturers to transform and decolonise their curriculum. Clearly there was a level of awareness about decolonisation among academics, but very limited – if any – action on the part of universities and academics to ensure decolonisation took place. This paralysis on the part of academia is concerning since the protest action took place more than two decades after the dismantling of apartheid. Although not a new phenomenon (cf. Fanon, 1967; Mbembe, 2001; Wa Thiong'o, 1986; Nkrumah, 196;), very limited empirical work and scientific output featured regarding decolonisation before #RhodesMustFall.

Decolonisation and transformation of higher education slumbered given the academic profile of staff at South African universities. Lange (2019) explored how the student protest actions played out at the University of Free State (UFS) and the University of Cape Town (UCT), which are both historically White universities. The student protest action had little to no impact at UFS, with students receiving minimal support from academic staff. Yet UCT, where the student movement and the call to decolonise the university curriculum ignited, had a mass of Black academics to support and encourage students, which was not the case at UFS given the bulk of academic staff members being White (Lange, 2019:79-80). Limited action from the academic staff might explain why so few students learnt about decolonisation through their course material. It is important to note that student respondents from the current study were at postgraduate level, who might read outside their curriculum and have come across decolonisation as part of their research. It appears that the media and advocacy were the main drivers to challenge the slow pace of decolonising IHL and their curricula.

Respondents acknowledged that African understandings need to be on an equal footing as Western perspectives, but they presented more nuanced understandings of the intersections between power, hierarchy, knowledge production and dissemination. Conflict and critical Criminology – which focuses on power relations – are standard components of undergraduate teaching and learning, yet it appears that Criminology lecturers are reluctant to cast these interrogative lenses on their own discipline. What is

clear from the results is that a reconsideration is needed in terms of the curriculum regarding inclusivity. Inclusiveness in terms of different perspectives and worldviews is an important element of decolonisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016:4). Further, there is a need for dialogue on decolonisation and the questioning of our existing epistemologies, as well as the grounding of educational paradigms in indigenous systems of knowledge. The student protests made students aware of the need for transformation and decolonisation, and the results suggest that there is acknowledgement in the curriculum for students to understand the origins of Criminology in its historical context. The academic staff members acknowledged the need to decolonise the discipline, but the practical basis of exactly how a decolonised Criminology curriculum will play out in learning appears wanting, for example, regarding the casual nature of crime and criminality from indigenous stances. Some inroads have been made, especially in the form of child justice interventions and victim offender mediation where local philosophies and practices have infused remedial measures (cf. Steyn & Sadiki, 2018). Still, much more need to be done to develop a truly transformed, African Criminology.

A worrying result relates to the low curricula intensity of engaging students with diverse local and global perspectives, as well as limited opportunities for Criminology students to critically grapple with issues of discrimination, racism, inequality, and exclusion. The results are not surprising given the disciplines reluctance to engage and explore the relationship between race and crime (Choak, 2020: 46). These themes appear absent in the Criminology curriculum and the gap opens the door for curriculum developers to include frameworks such as intersectionality and Zemiology in their teaching and learning. More should be done to include hate crime and racism in the Criminology curriculum. Students appear aware of the shortfalls of the Criminology curriculum with regards to an appreciation of diverse entry points and opportunities to widen circles of contact or experiences in their learning. In the past, double or parallel tuition, according to language, created structural divides between different race groups of students and lecturers. Although this was mostly abolished (and only recently so) at former Afrikaans Whites-only institutions of higher education, the removal of such barriers could strengthen wider circles of learning among students. What is further evident is the mismatch between lecturers and students' views about the curriculum. The results suggest that Criminology lecturers are not engaging students on curriculum content, and they have little insight as to what students think about the curricula they study. Even though many universities have student feedback evaluations, these relate more to lecturers' performance than matters of

curriculum and that could be a valuable opportunity to gauge students' views and needs in terms of (a transformed) curriculum. As the end-users of the curriculum, academics may benefit from engaging and collaborating with students to decolonise and transform their curriculum. With the call to decolonise the curriculum, students

Awareness about shortfalls in the curriculum is present yet changes to the curriculum content lag behind. The student voices are fairly clear about the lack of indigenous perspectives in Criminology and the appropriateness of the learning content, including the relevance of Western theory to African conditions and cultures. Much has been written on African traditional forms of conflict resolution such as the *Gacaca* courts in Rwanda, the *mato oput* in Uganda and *inkundla/lekgotla* amongst the Sotho and Xhosa people in South Africa (Murithi, 2009:228; Sadiki, 2020: 647-651, 2020; Wasonga, 2009:31-32) although such knowledge is conspicuously absent in local Criminology curricula. Similarly, some voices about the methods of knowledge production emerged in Criminology (cf. Dastile, 2017; Keikelame & Swartz, 2019;), but they appear unable to gain track in local research practice. More work is needed that embraces a research methodology that fosters an understanding of local experiences of crime and its origins and management.

The results suggest some level of apathy among White Criminology lecturers toward the transformation and decolonisation of their curriculum. White scholars may be more comfortable with Western understandings of crime and criminality given their unfamiliarity with Black culture and traditions. One of the barriers to the decolonial project is the desire to maintain the status quo, which upholds and supports White supremacy, patriarchy, gender inequality and racism (Mehdi & Jameela, 2021: 151). A major drawback of the decolonial project in Criminology would be for White academics to sit on the side-line and not critically engage in the decolonisation scholarship. All academic scholars, Black and/or White can make meaningful contributions to decolonising the university curriculum. Given that the Criminology curriculum is more than just a selection of study material, academics attitudes, belief system is central to transforming and decolonising the curriculum. To decolonise and transform the curriculum, both White and Black academics will need to collaborate and engage in rigorous debates concerning the curriculum of the discipline.

CONCLUSION

Decolonisation of universities has sometimes incorporated cosmetic changes, such as the renaming of buildings, policies, vision, and mission statements, without real structural changes and thoroughly decolonising the curriculum and institutional frameworks. In the context of the present paper, the debate is not whether Criminology curriculum needs to decolonise because the answer is yes, it does, and urgently so. Even with the call to include indigenous perspectives and to decolonise the discipline, South African Criminology has continued with its business as usual. Feminist perspectives in Criminology has increased the presentation of women in the discipline and helped developed theoretical frameworks to explain female criminality. Therefore, a decolonised Criminology curriculum will hold similar value, it by diversifying the discipline and its theoretical approaches. Holding dialogues and debates with student is the first step in transforming and decolonising the curriculum. Criminology must interrogate and engage in decolonial debates not as a matter of Black and White, but as one of equipping Criminology students to respond to the crime phenomenon in a manner that places Africa at the centre of the criminological analysis.

The focus should now shift to actions that will ensure a truly decolonised Criminology. In its present form, Criminology in Africa will add little to no value in understanding crime and criminality without a strong nucleus of African perspectives, experiences and practices. Western knowledge is not universal, therefore, the Criminology curriculum should be embedded in the socio-cultural context of South Africa and the broader continent. We found evidence that the current Criminology curriculum is far removed from the lived experiences, cultures, and identities of students who must take up the baton for future crime prevention and reduction. Without immediate structural changes to the Criminology curricula, Western dominance will continue to prevail in the teaching and learning – and eventual practice – of Criminology in South Africa.

To our knowledge, this paper is the first attempt at determining views about decolonisation in South African Criminology as available research has predominantly been literature and qualitative studies. Future research should critically analyse the Criminology curricula in South Africa while at the same time being sensitive to the varying content and Criminology curricula across different universities. In addition, the apathy of some scholars to the

decolonisation project should be explored, as well as the views of Criminology practitioners and undergraduate Criminology students.

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COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors declare that they have no financial or personal relationship(s) that may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

L.S. applied for ethical approval of the study. F.S. and L.S. analysed the data and wrote-up the article.

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PART 4

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In solitary confinement: The constrained identities, spaces and voices of women criminologists in post-apartheid South Africa.

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ABSTRACT

The end of apartheid ushered in a new democratic dispensation which set out to demolish hierarchies of dominance, including patriarchy. Demographic change and institutional transformation at South African universities has occurred at a slow pace, with racism and sexism still evident. There is an over-presentation of white males and an under-presentation of women, especially Black women, in the discipline. This paper draws on interviews with 15 women criminologists at South African universities to articulate how their experiences in academia have been and continue to be shaped by their gender. The study used intersectionality theory to understand the complexities of gender in academia. Notwithstanding the restructuring of policies and developing new frameworks to better address gender inequity, female criminologists remain marginalised, rendered voiceless and subjected to gender role stereotypes when in leadership positions. Our findings reveal that Female criminologists experience the discipline of Criminology and academia as a man's world.

Keywords: gender; Criminology; South Africa; higher education

Subject classification codes: Criminology

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is a fundamental human right and a global priority (United Nations (UN) 2015). In recent years, institutions of higher learning (IHL) have increasingly enrolled more women across the globe (Eddy, Ward, and Khwaja 2017; Peterson 2016; Winchester and Browning 2015). The education of girls and women has economic and social benefits, as adequately captured by an African proverb that states if you "educate a woman you educate an entire nation". In the 1980s, only one in five of the academic staff at Australian universities were women. Two decades later, there has been an increase, with women now comprising more than two in five of academic staff (Winchester and Browning 2015). Despite progress in gender equality, however, gender disparity persists, with women experiencing marginalisation and discrimination in all spheres of society. The UN (2015) reports that women face inequality from birth and therefore it is not surprising that gender discrimination persists in IHL (Mahabeer, Nzimande, and Shoba 2018).

Women continue to be underrepresented in academia, especially in senior positions, and yet they are overrepresented among part-time and temporary staff members (Winslow and Davis 2016). Being female is still an obstacle to career advancement and the marginalisation of women constrains the ability to fully participate in academia (Jyrkinen and McKie 2012). Historically, Criminology has exhibited a significant gender bias and has been criticised for perpetuating patriarchy, particularly in the Global North (Chesney-Lind and Chagnon 2016). Although there have been meaningful changes in Criminology, with more women accessing the discipline, the changes have been limited (Chesney-Lind and Chagnon 2016). Research has neglected the role of race, gender and social class in influencing the ability to perform and succeed in academia. At the same time, there is lack of research on women criminologists' experiences in academia and the exploration of intersectionality of gender and race that influences their academic journeys at South African institutions. By focusing on gender only, this paper explores the experiences of women criminologists at South African IHL to better understand their positioning and perceptions of what it means to be a woman, and how gender shapes and continues to influence their academic and career trajectories.

Profile of South African academics

This section provides an overview of the profile of academics at IHL in South Africa and explores women's presence in leadership positions. The reader should remember that the country's population is 80.8% Black, 8.8% Mixed-race, 7.8% White and 2.7% Indian/Asian (Stats SA, 2020).

The profile of South African academics has been changing over the past three decades. IHL has been transforming from establishments catering exclusively for White scholars to institutions that are more democratic and demographically representative (Rabe and Rugunanan 2012). In 2017, the enrolment of female students increased to 58.5% – thus clearly exceeding that of male students at both contact and distance learning universities in South Africa (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2019). In addition, most female students were Black (73.7%), followed by students from the White (14.3%), Mixed-race (6.2%) and Indian/Asian (4.8%) population groups (Department of Higher Education and Training 2019). Breetzke and Hedding (2018) examined the demographics of academic staff members across 25 IHL in South Africa in 2005, 2010 and 2015, in terms of age, gender, race and academic rank, as indicators on a transformation scoreboard. Most of the academic staff were aged 35 to 54, and more than half were male although the proportion of female academics increased from 42% in 2005 to 47% in 2015 (Breetzke and Hedding 2018). In 2017, the number of female academic staff members was 54.0% and thus higher than male counterparts (Department of Higher Education and Training 2019). Although there has been an influx of women into academia, they were overrepresented in lower academic positions such as junior lecturers and lecturers, and only 29% of the women academics were professors (Mangolothi 2019).

Experiences of women academics

Academia is not immune to the inequalities that plague society at large. Women must work twice as hard to get noticed, heard and acknowledged (Angervall and Beach 2020). The academic environment is constructed as a domain that is more favourable to men than to women (Angervall and Beach 2020; Guarino and Borden 2017). Discourses of hierarchy, patriarchy and power are negotiated and reproduced in academic arenas. Gender is not a fluid concept and therefore the experiences of female academics varies (Eddy et al. 2017). Women's experiences in academia are predominantly shaped by feelings of being

an outsider, which is greatly influenced by a lack of career advancement and being excluded from established support groups (Angervall and Beach 2020; Fotaki 2013; Morley 2014).

The barriers that women in academia face will not be easily eradicated as long as academia is shaped and influenced by hegemonic male-dominated cultures and symbols (Fotaki 2013). Academia is overburdened with gender role stereotypes and ambition displayed by women is often considered to be a negative trait. The absence of women in knowledge production often means that women must adopt a masculine subject position. Furthermore, childcare is often considered a woman's duty instead of a parental one (Chitapi 2018; Savigny 2014). Similarly, gender differences are evident in how responsibilities are allocated within departments, with women taking on the burden of 'taking care of the academic family' (Guarino and Borden 2017; Savigny 2014). Division of labour is gendered, with women more likely to have a larger teaching load and administrative responsibilities compared to men (Angervall and Beach 2020; Guarino and Borden 2017).

Women's marginalisation also extends to how they are treated and discriminated against by students. Female scholars are more likely to receive low scores and negative results from student evaluation surveys. In a study by Martinez, Chang and Welton (2017), participants reported that students expected them to be more lenient than their male colleagues, thus further reinforcing the stereotype that women lecturers should be caregivers. Women are also evaluated according to their appearance, confidence levels and personality style (Mengel, Sauermann, and Zölitz 2019; Mitchell and Martin 2018), while men are regarded as more knowledgeable and competent (Boring 2017). Women academics are also considered to be more inclined to foster relationships with students and are therefore deemed more approachable (Ash 2017). Understandably, low evaluation scores from students negatively impact on the chances junior female academics have to progress in academia (Mengel et al. 2019).

Women academics and leadership positions

Leadership in academia is gendered and defined in masculine terms (Davis 2016). There is a shortage of women in academic leadership positions, which extends to editorial boards and academic society councils (Howe-Walsh and Turnbull 2016; Morley 2014;

Sadiki and Steyn 2021). With less than half of senior management positions occupied by women at South African IHL, much needs to be done to decrease gender disparity (Mangolothi 2019). Of the 20 vacancies for vice-chancellors since 2015, only four were filled by women. Furthermore, most women in senior management hold deputy positions in leadership ranks (Macupe 2020; Mangolothi 2019; Morley 2014).

In addition to the slow rate at which transformation is taking place, findings from transformation hearings held with universities across South Africa have demonstrated that women and people with disabilities were excluded from succession plans. Often women are given administrative work and "care work"[12] (Macupe 2020). The increase in women enrolling and completing degrees has, therefore, not necessarily translated into an increase in women in senior and leadership positions (Drame et al. 2012). Institutional factors that keep women in subordinate positions in academia have been considered to be an extension of societal structures of patriarchy (Fotaki 2013).

THEORETICAL LENS

To ground the experiences of women academics, the article draws on intersectionality theory. The theory was conceptualised by Crenshaw in 1989 to explore and understand women's social position in society – particularly the social position of minority women (Mitchell and Sawyer 2014; Tao 2018). Although the theory was introduced by Black feminists to account for the experiences of Black women, it is applicable to all women as they occupy minority positions in society (Bose 2012; Jennich and Kowalski-Braun 2014), including in South Africa. Intersectionality explores how the lived experiences of individuals are shaped by their identities, gender, race and class. IHL in South Africa are increasingly becoming more diverse and inclusive, and yet women experience marginalisation because of the intersections of their oppressed identities and their gender (Eddy et al. 2017). The study used intersectionality theory to highlight the experiences of women criminologists because gender influences academic scholars' access to or disenfranchisement from power.

[12] Care work is female gendered roles in academia, such as dealing with students, organising departmental meetings and social events, administrative tasks and serving on committees and forums (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group 2017).

Intersectionality in higher education has been shaped by the experiences of women in the Global North, with limited understanding and research on academics in the Global South. The position of women in academia is primarily represented in relation to their male colleagues, which is characterised by traditional masculine norms and practices (Jennich and Kowalski-Braun 2014). Employing an intersectional lens, the researchers intend to offer a variety of voices, identities and trajectories of women criminologists in South African academia. Furthermore, demographic diversity was an integral part of this study.

Intersectionality is not without criticism. Although intersectionality has broadened the scope of feminism to account for multiple intersecting gender categories and systems of oppression, Collins (2000) is concerned that the politicisation of the concept may create old hierarchies instead of dismantling them. Collins (2000:18) cautions against viewing the intersections of race, gender and class producing similar experiences for the oppressed as it 'obscures differences in how race, class, and gender are hierarchically organised'. Nash (2008: 4) questions the lack of a clear intersectional methodology and definition of the concept. Furthermore, Nash (2008: 4) scrutinises the extensive use of Black women as intersectional subjects and argues that race, gender, and class as social categories are too simplistic to adequately explain women's lived experiences (McCall, 2005: 1773). Similar to Nash (2008), Ludvig (2006:247) contends that intersectionality is characterised by conceptual and methodological challenges by asking 'who defines, where, which, and why'. The study aimed to understand how patriarchy and masculinity can be a source of privilege in IHL, which undermines women's experiences and career opportunities. Understanding how women's experiences are shaped by their gender is a meaningful research area that helps explain gender inequalities. Women academics bring different experiences and needs to academia. By bringing forth their experiences in the academic world and specifically regarding Criminology, the researchers recognise and legitimise women's voices and knowledge as applicable and valid.

RESEARCH METHODS

Using a qualitative research approach, the researchers explored the lived experiences and perceptions of what it means to be a woman in academia and how this in turn influences women's social identities and professional sense. The researcher employed a purposive sampling strategy to select female criminologists. Criteria inclusion in the study amounted to: participants that identified as a female and occupied a teaching and learning position at Criminology and/or Criminal Justice department across IHL in South Africa.

The study participants were purposefully selected because they were women criminologists at various points in their careers – from emerging scholars to full professors. Purposive sampling was consistent with the aims of the study to achieve depth understanding of female criminologists' experiences in academia. Furthermore, by using a purposive sampling method, the researcher was able to contrast and identify similarities in the participants experiences. Participants were identified and recruited in two ways. First, participants were purposefully identified from university websites and were invited to participate in the study. Secondly, some participants (female criminologist whose details were not available on the websites) were recruited via chain referral using their colleagues' recommendations. Data were collected by semi-structured interviews, using various platforms such as WhatsApp calls, Zoom, MS Teams and Google Meet. Prior to the interviews, participants signed an informed consent form which explained the purpose, procedure and ethical protocol of the study. Permission to voice-record the interviews was secured and the interviews lasted 45 to 90 minutes. The researchers intended to accurately capture the experiences of the participants by developing rich descriptions and themes, and therefore thematic content analysis of the data was conducted.

Various methods were employed to ensure the trustworthiness of the data. Memos were written during and after each interview and codes were developed to identify themes and ideas. The transcribed interviews were read multiple times to refine themes and important categories (Benaquisto 2008). In addition, broad themes were inspired from an analysis of existing literature. The results are presented verbatim, and the reader should remember that for some participants, English is not necessarily their first language. The findings are presented in direct quotations as they were voiced by the participants. Ethical approval was sought from the various institutions where the participants were employed. Only 11 of the 26 universities in South Africa offer Criminology degrees and/or courses. Of the 11 institutions, participants from seven IHL formed part of the study: one head of department refused permission to interview his female staff; potential participants from two institutions did not respond to invitations; one department had only male staff; and ethical approval from one institution was only obtained after data collection had been finalised. The researchers interviewed 15 participants: six Black, two Indian/Asian, two Mixed-race and five White females. Three participants, respectively, were aged 21–30, 41–50 and 51–60. The remaining six participants were aged 31–40. Two of the participants had been working in academia for more than three decades, while the remaining participants' experience ranged from two to 25 years. Regarding their positions, nine were lecturers, two were

senior lecturers, two were associate professors and two were full professors. The highest qualification of eight of the participants was a master's degree and the remaining seven had doctoral degrees.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Feminisation of academia

Many institutions are experiencing a wave of feminisation: a phenomenon that characterises the increase in female scholars (Guerrero and Rojas 2020; Le Feuvre 2009). Since South Africa became a democratic country, various transformation policies have been implemented across institutions to align the academic staff profile with the national demographic profile, in terms of race and gender equity (Breetzke and Hedding 2018; Sadiki and Steyn 2021). Most participants noted how women were in the majority in their departments.

P2: '… *it* [the gender profile] *has changed dramatically over the course of the past 30 years.'*

P3: *'I think it might depend on the field that you work in. But if I have to specifically look at our field* [Criminology]*, I think we are actually overrepresented to a certain extent. We have more females than we have males in the field.'*

P6: *'Like, for example, in my department, when I was employed there were like three or four females. Now there's like six. So, there's quite a few now; we are well represented. And I've also been noticing in other departments that there are many women now –female academics.'*

P14*: 'In general, now as it is, I would say, from my observation, I have seen quite a lot of transformation. Well, firstly, with the fact that a lot of posts that are sent out now have an objective to recruit women. And it is not just women in general, but it is Black South African women. So I think we can then appreciate … that there is a need for women, especially young women, in academia.'*

Females were well represented in their departments, with some noting how in recent years there has been a move to recruit more female staff members to drive transformation and

diversity by the Department of Higher Education and Training (White Paper 3 1997). Additionally, feminisation noted by the participants may be because of the concentration of women academics in social sciences (Fritsch 2015).

Women's voices and presence in academia and Criminology

IHL remain bastions of male privilege, where only the opinions of men are heard and women's voices are absent. Institutions are a product of their social contexts, where women are marginalised; women are often rendered invisible and are institutionally silenced (Gatwiri, Anderson, and Townsend-Cross 2021; Naicker 2013; Rogers 2017). Participants were fairly unanimous in highlighting how their voices were disregarded, particularly in meetings and in the wider faculty. Even in departments where women were in the majority, they were silenced and rendered powerless. Therefore, the feminisation of academia did not translate into women having voices equal to their male counterparts (Read and Kehm 2016).

P2: '*I've always felt that at those faculty meetings and faculty board meetings, women never said anything. No single women said anything; it was mainly men talking at the faculty. Men talking. And I always thought why are women so quiet? Where are they?*'

P7: '*Sitting in a staff meeting and you want to raise something. Very often you're shut down very quickly because it's just a ditzy blonde, you know. She doesn't really know what she's talking about … male voices are heard more than female voices, [and] we're very often drowned out by the male voices.*'

P8: '… *even though there's a lot of females, but we don't have much power. It's not really beneficial to us. Because policies say, maybe according to the ratio, females should be more than males. But then as females we don't have much power in the running and functioning of the department or the institution. Really, it doesn't make much of a difference … I feel like we don't have a voice; in a way, it's still run by men.*'

P14: '… *we have a very male-dominant faculty.*'

These views reflect how women are seen as being the 'other' in academia, where they are not only silenced but seen to not have anything important to contribute. The

participants were aware of their positionality and how the intersection of their gender rendered them voiceless in their institutions and departments. Even more so, the voicelessness of women in wider faculty decisions perpetuates a cycle of institutional oppression and exclusion (Mahabeer et al. 2018). IHL in South Africa are still battling to provide inclusive environments where women are heard and seen. Similarly, Aiston and Fo's (2021) study with 35 female academics revealed that women are unheard and unheeded in academia. The silencing of women is a barrier to their career progression (Aiston and Fo 2021).

Women leaders in academia

It is not that women lack the skills to take up leadership positions; it appears that leadership opportunities are structured according to gender (Santos and Dang Van Phu 2019). Women leaders find themselves in spaces where racism interacts with gender oppression, which may cause women to be hesitant to take up leadership positions (Read & Kehm 2016). Salary gaps and stereotypical gender roles are some of the barriers that women academics face. The lack of women in senior leadership positions reinforces the dominant male culture (Drame et al. 2012; Eddy et al. 2017). Similarly, gender stereotypes deny women positions of power, with the prevailing belief that leadership positions are reserved for men (Chitapi 2018; Jyrkinen and McKie 2012, 64).

P2: *'Well, there was one female criminologist that I know was really powerful in Criminology. … But she was hated by Criminology; she wasn't revered. And I'm telling you it is because she was a woman.'*

P5: *'Unfortunately, they are not used to female academic leadership in Criminology, for that matter. If we were to sample female HoDs* [heads of department] *in Criminology across the board, you will find two or three I'm sure. Yes. So they are not used to that.'*

P8*: 'I feel like there's a pressure whenever there's a position, maybe a leadership position. And then if a female actually gets that position, they are treated so badly that in a way the next generation of females don't even want to attempt [it], because all of a sudden everything gets criticised. We get so intimidated that we don't even want to try because we actually see how they've been treated.'*

One participant noted how her leadership style is influenced and shaped by her gender.

P10: *'And I am very aware that my image in a leadership position is the one "Oh, she's gonna bring us something to eat" … So, you know, sort of occupying the space, also as a social space, where the job has to be done but the job can be done over a piece of cake: a nice cup of tea, a sandwich. That I suppose would fit, you know; one's understanding of a traditional leadership style; the ethics of care that takes on quite, you know, gender-specific dimensions. I have never seen that when it comes to men – or rarely.'*

P14: *'We have women leadership. Yes, we do. But I think it's the perception that women will not be as productive as men. I'm not sure where it comes from. I'm not sure if that's the culture, but it would be a matter of having the important and productive things of the faculty being given to men. Because then, as soon as you give it to a woman it will not flourish. So yes, I have been able to see those power dynamics.'*

As participants relate, women who ascend to leadership positions are not as respected and revered as men – and often so by other women. The participants noted how they were often mistreated by women leaders, while some who were in management positions pointed out how much of the resistance to their leadership style came from female subordinates.

P2: *'I was abused and was misused. I taught everything you know: you can go look at my CV. Because at that time, and that particular head of department – she became the head of department. And she was told apparently, but I didn't know this – I learned this a few years later – that when she was appointed as the head of department, she should shake up the department; she should get the department right.'*

P7: *'… there's almost this attitude of, well, if I had to face all of these hurdles, that you know, my male counterparts didn't have to face, and I've managed to get here. Well then, you need to do the same.'*

P11: *'When I was* [in management]*, more resistance came from women, particularly senior staff members. Younger women were far more supportive; older women more resistant. I think the resistance came from a place of behavioural traits and patterns.'*

The current study suggests that women leaders often have greater challenges of being seen as leaders and having their legitimacy questioned. Aiston and Fo (2021) point out that women who ascend to leadership positions often conform to male leader stereotypes by being more aggressive and competitive. In comparison, a study by Read and Kehm (2016) on eight female vice-chancellors employed at IHL in Britain and Germany, highlighted the struggle experienced by women to have their authority and status as leaders legitimised (Read and Kehm 2016).

Relationships with students

One of the core responsibilities of faculty staff member is teaching and learning. Gender and race greatly influence student evaluations and experiences. Women are negatively stereotyped by students and fellow colleagues, and are not seen as intellectually competent (Fan et al. 2019; Mengel et al. 2019; Mitchell and Martin 2018). The experiences of women academics with students are characterised by defiance and disrespect, with male colleagues receiving more respect and being taken seriously by students (Lee 2005; Reid 2010). In addition, students find female academics easier to manipulate, and regard them as kinder and more lenient than male academics (El-Alayli, Hansen-Brown, and Ceynar 2018; Koenig et al. 2011).

P6: *'I actually got advice from my male colleagues that know – just don't smile too much. Don't smile too much when you are in class. Just deliver, you know, make jokes here and there, but ensure that if there's discipline that needs to be instilled, instil it. Like, deal with the matter right there and then so they can see that, you know, you're not a softy, [and] they can't just, you know, take advantage of you and all that. Sometimes with being young, male students want to ask you out on a date – you're so beautiful, you dress so nicely, you know, like. And then girls will be like, we love your hair, or, you know, sometimes they give you an attitude.'*

P7: '*….as females we possibly develop stronger relationships with our students. And I mean, I'm speaking from my perspective in which I have much smaller classes … I know them by name. I am very much aware of the fact that students will come to me with a problem. They will open up about a breakup or something like a miscarriage, and they are much more likely to come to me expecting an empathetic response. … the second thing is, is that I also believe that students view female lecturers as softer and more nurturing.*

They definitely take chances on a female side. I mean, I've had conversations with male colleagues, and they're like, they [students] *would never ask me that.'*

As one participant noted: often women academics are sexualised and reduced to their physical appearance.

P8: *'The way students treat men colleagues and the way they treat female colleagues is not the same. It's not. Because with the younger, especially younger colleagues, it's like you're the same age as them. So they don't have that much respect for younger colleagues as they would for males. With us where they will comment on unnecessary things like the way you dress, and how you look. They will compare female colleagues with each other. Something which we will never hear being done to males. When it comes to males, I feel like they have greater respect for them – more than us.'*

P10: *'It has to do with the fact that you're young at the game. And yes, of course, you don't know that much. And so there's this contestation around, you know: does the person who's doing the teaching; do they know what they're talking about. So, there's a kind of power play around that. I had many experiences as a young woman teaching that did not sit very comfortably with male students. So, the classroom for me was, you know, a space where gender politics was quite, you know, tactile, and one had to negotiate those spaces.'*

Participants had varied experiences when it came to their interactions with students. Some participants felt that because they were female, young and of junior status, students did not respect them to the same extent as their male counterparts. Women academics are often openly defied by students. Participants were often encouraged to be more assertive and stricter with students. MacNell, Driscoll and Hunt (2015) explored the relationship between gender and student evaluations of teachers (SET). They noted that students rated females more harshly than male staff members. Furthermore, women academics received lower scores for professionalism, respectfulness, and enthusiasm (MacNell et al. 2015). There seem to be discriminatory practices from students towards female academics – solely based on their gender (Samuel and Bryne 2017).

Intersection of motherhood and academic responsibilities

Women who are mothers experience academia differently, with the constant demands for academic productivity competing with motherhood (Huopalainen and Satama 2019). Gendered institutional culture discriminates against women when it comes to motherhood and childcare. Mothers in academia are often not able to move freely across institutional spaces. Women cannot attend conferences on a whim without making proper arrangements for their children; a challenge which male colleagues do not necessarily have. As one participant noted, being a woman entails being a carer, and therefore they always have to put the family first, even at the cost of her academic career, thus highlighting the intersectionality of gender roles and identities. Furthermore, academia is characterised by long working hours, the pressure to publish articles and develop a curriculum, while also balancing the demands of motherhood (El-Far, Sabella, and Vershinina 2021; Thun 2020).

P2: *'My gender made my life complicated. I wish I still had the parents who supported me in everything. And, yeah, life happened: my life got so complicated. My parents fell ill. I looked after them because I'm a woman. It's because I'm the eldest daughter. It's because I was prepared to sacrifice. But I felt that it was expected of me that this is what you do. Because you are a woman, this is what you should do. Because I've always felt that the way I perceive my role as a woman and a carer, and a giver, and a person who has to sacrifice, that it has stood in my way.'*

P3: *'That's just one aspect of motherhood that makes it really, really difficult. Other aspects of that, previously, one would just, you will hear about a conference and you will jump at the opportunity to go. Now it isn't that easy because I cannot leave him* [child] *behind. And I was never a mother that would be okay to leave him – not even with my parents – and go to a conference. I would not do that.'*

One participant pointed out that she was head of a department, but after returning from maternity leave she was demoted and replaced by a male colleague. In addition, women are often at the receiving end of sexist comments such as when are they planning to fall pregnant – similar to one study participant.

P6: *'For example, if as a woman I'm going to fall pregnant and I'm going to be on maternity leave. And then in a way, it puts you in comparison to your male colleague; he'll be six months ahead with his job or his position … And then we are more family-orientated as well, you know. I know more women would say no, I cannot cross nights, I cannot make that sacrifice – because I have children to go back home to. I have a husband to go back home to.'*

P7: '*And, you know, when we talk about academia, I think one of the biggest issues is that women become mothers or they often become mothers. Not all of them, but very often. So, in that space, you've got a gap in your CV because you've had maternity leave. In interviews, they'll say, you know, okay, so I see you've got a child or, whatever. Are you planning on having more? Well, what bloody business is it of yours? They wouldn't do that to a man and they will never ask a man if his wife is planning on having another child. No, because it doesn't affect his job.*'

P12: *'We also have a writing retreat specifically for females. You find that sometimes I have a small child[and it] becomes difficult for me to participate. Maybe that's why men do not want to partner with us. Because if it is them, they don't have much to think about. Myself, I have to think of how my children are going to be taken care of while I'm busy attending to this and that. You progress very slowly compared to male colleagues. When they are given something, they do it quickly – quicker than you. Because when you go home, you have this child who does not understand that, you know, you have this thing that you want to finalise.'*

When women become mothers, they are often required to relinquish their desire to occupy leadership positions (Jones et al. 2020). The intersection of family life and work responsibilities impacts negatively on the career trajectories of women academics, particularly when it comes to leadership positions (Eddy et al. 2017). For one participant, motherhood was used to discourage her from applying for a senior management position:

P5: *'Then they came with motherhood and gender and yeah, just because I'm a woman I have to raise kids. Who said I have issues with raising children? But you'll hear of* [name of institution] *appointing* [a young male colleague] *as a dean and there are no issues there. But with me there's discrimination; it's about just being female.'*

For some academics, maternity leave may have a detrimental effect on their careers. Being absent from academia due to maternity leave means losing valuable time and they must work extra hard to keep up with the latest research in their respective fields. Lapayese (2017) conducted 22 interviews with mother scholars across universities in the United States. The participants had to find creative ways to pursue scholarly work such as publishing without invalidating their maternal responsibilities and identities – further highlighting a need for balance and more fluidity (Lapayese 2017). Participants who are mothers experienced academia differently from those who are not. Even when there are equal opportunities in place, academics who are mothers face challenges that men do not.

It's a man's world

Women and men working in academia experience their work environments differently, with the academic landscape being less favourable for women. Academic institutions are deeply rooted in patriarchy (Motha and Varghese 2018), with women academics experiencing various forms of discrimination, stereotypes and prejudice (Angervall and Beach 2020). In addition, women are relegated to family responsibility roles in faculty departments (Bernat and Holschuh 2015). Intersectionality acknowledges how women's experiences in academia are not a sum of the social networks and groups they belong to. With women refusing to take up leadership positions and opportunities being offered to men first, participants related how they felt undervalued and overlooked, and commented on the challenges of surviving a male-dominated workspace.

P1: *'I remember with Professor* [male colleague]. *So, I know how to make coffee in the coffee maker. I thought he didn't know how to use it, because he said that he's waiting for someone to make the coffee. And I don't know whether it has a gender role. But I remember he said that he doesn't do it. I'm not sure why. Maybe the gender role: we expect that you know, the coffee is to be made by women.'*

P2: *'I really think it's gender stereotypes. I am going back to professor* [name of female professor] *that did achieve success. She broke that stereotype and she was lambasted for it. Because she had to assume a leadership role, which is not what you expect of a woman – therefore we don't like you. Because women aren't supposed to act like this; women are not supposed to be bossy. And she was bossy.'*

P5: *'We are still underrepresented because since we know we've been marginalised, we don't avail ourselves. You'll find that there's a position and you have capabilities. But you think, no, since I'm a female, they're not going to take me, so I'm not going to apply. You're not going to even challenge the system or question it. Women don't question. We don't question enough in academia.'*

P12: *'And even also when there are opportunities they're first offered to a man. And then you will come last as an alternative if the man is not available, or he has done that already. Instead of trying to find a way on how best to assist women – instead they give the best to the men and then the women will take just the leftovers.'*

P14: *'So this year, I think one of my greatest, exciting projects for this year, is that I'm going on a collaboration in [name of country]. So I had my dean ask me, but how did you get that? And it was just like, and the reason people would ask you such questions is because they don't see your ability.'*

Women remain excluded from the higher echelons of academia. There are systematic barriers that make women experience academia as a man's world. A recurrent theme emerging from the participants was how their daily experiences were shaped and influenced by male discourses (Howe-Walsh and Turnbull 2016).

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

As a result of social inequalities that characterise post-apartheid South African academia, transformation, particularly in terms of staff profiles, was a top priority for the IHL. Policies and gender-equity initiatives were adopted to accelerate diversity, with a focus on the advancement of women, and yet institutional culture which prioritises male voices and unequal power dynamics remained unchanged. An important characteristic of the academic landscape is the glass-ceiling metaphor, which refers to systemic barriers that prevent women from obtaining leadership positions. The increase in female academics does not appear to translate into equal gender representation at senior levels. Even when women ascend to leadership positions, they are expected to conform to male stereotypical management and communication styles. Women face many barriers in academia and are constantly negotiating and balancing their identities and responsibilities, particularly when it comes to motherhood.

Although study fields such as Criminology have over the years become more feminised, women's voices are still silenced and power appears to be concentrated in the hands of men. Experiences of women cannot be directly compared to those of men because gendered biases impact women in unique ways. Students and fellow colleagues hold women academics to different roles and standards. Gendered role expectations in academia provide men with more status, privilege and power. Patriarchy has historically placed men at an advantage. Gender equality is not only a 'women's issue'; men also have a role to play.

With a limited number of participants and the use of non-random sampling techniques, generalisation across contexts should be made with caution. Although a clear criterion was developed for the recruitment of participants, selection bias was inevitable. Future research should consider exploring race and gender as social constructs and how these shape the lived experiences of White, Mixed-race, Indian/Asian and Black women at South African IHL. Research should also explore the ways in which the voices of minority groups are silenced through the dominant discourses.

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PART 5

Article Title: If it's not my race, it's my gender: The experiences of female criminologists in post-apartheid academia.

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If it's not my race, it's my gender: The experiences of female criminologists in post-apartheid academia.

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ABSTRACT

Higher institutions of learning in South Africa reflect the systematic exclusions of females and Black scholars, which is characteristic of the apartheid era. In addition to reproducing social injustices and inequalities, the education sector reinforces and produces patriarchy by placing males at the centre of decision-making, leadership positions and knowledge production. Within the discipline of Criminology, there continues to be a lack of visibility of Black women, despite the increased number of Black females enrolled for doctoral degrees. Even more so, Black women at South African institutions are underrepresented and experience discrimination, exclusion and feelings of 'otherness'. Using a qualitative approach, we explored the experiences of 17 female criminologists at South African universities in order to understand how gender and race as social constructs shape and influence their lived experiences and academic journeys. Critical Race Theory was used to explore how gender and race interacts to create nuanced experienced for female criminologists. Even with an increase in female scholars, the participants noted the existence of a boy's club in the field of Criminology. In addition to racism, the participants experienced gendered ageism. Black female criminologists expressed the double burden of being Black and being a woman. Overall, the findings suggest that although institutions of higher learning in South Africa are transforming, race and gender privileges are still deeply entrenched in academia.

Keywords: post-apartheid, South Africa, higher education, Criminology, race, gender.

INTRODUCTION

The higher education landscape in South Africa has gone through various changes over recent decades. Women and Black citizens were systematically oppressed and excluded from academia under apartheid (Badat, 2010). Previously shaped by policies of segregation, exploitation and discrimination, transformation of higher education was a priority of the new democratic dispensation, in order to promote racial and gender equity in institutions of higher learning (IHL) (Barnard et al., 2016; Rabe & Rugunanan, 2012; Sadiki & Steyn, 2021). As set out in the Education White Paper 3 - A Programme for Higher Education Transformation (1997, p. 3), the democratic government aimed 'to redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education system to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to new realities and opportunities'. Despite policy changes, significant barriers remain, and the remnants of apartheid continue to influence IHL by perpetuating racial and gender inequalities (Badat, 2010; Rabe & Rugunanan, 2012).

Although women have begun to enter academia in large numbers, the increase in numbers is not evidence of an absence of bias and discrimination (Fisher & Kinsey, 2014), because unequal participation in the industry persists. Gender bias in academia impedes women's full participation in the academic environment – and Criminology is no exception to the gender and racial bias inherent in higher education (Greene et al., 2018). Within the discipline and its sub-disciplines, Black and minority women are overlooked and excluded. In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the lived experiences of academics; however, the interest has been in the lived experiences of White women academics, resulting in limited attention paid to the experiences of women of colour (Wright et., 2007). This paper explores the experiences of women criminologists at South African universities. It is necessary to understand the positioning of Black, Indian, Mixed-race and White women in the field of Criminology. This is done by exploring their experiences and perceptions of what it means in academia, first, to be a woman, and secondly, a Black, Indian, Mixed-race and/or White woman – and how this in turn influences their academic journeys.

Historical overview of profiles and experiences of academics in South Africa

The most noticeable change in post-apartheid South Africa was a shift in the demographic profile of historically 'Whites only' universities. Most universities have had to develop and implement affirmative action policies for the admission of students and hiring of staff, in order to address gender and race inequalities. Affirmative action is intended for previously disadvantaged groups – especially Blacks, Indians, and Mixed-race individuals (Kerr et al., 2017; Kessi & Cornell, 2017). IHL reflect the racial divide instituted by the apartheid policies of segregation. In 1993, the National Commission of Higher Education revealed that women only accounted for 32% of academic scholars. Furthermore, women were more concentrated in junior lecturer and lecturer positions. By the end of apartheid in 1994, staff members at IHL were still predominantly White (83%) and male (68%) (Badat, 2010; Department of Higher Education and Training, 2014).

An analysis of the profiles of academic staff in South Africa by Breetzke and Hedding (2018) showed changes in terms of the age, gender, race and academic rank of scholars. Although most academic staff were still White (49%), there was an upward trajectory in Black academics, from 26% in 2005 to 35% in 2015. The authors noted a changing demographic and rank of the academic body, characterised by a sharp increase in young Black academics younger than 25. Although Black academics were underrepresented, Indian and Mixed-race academics presented even lower percentages. Interestingly, of the male academic staff, 46% were White (Breetzke & Hedding, 2018). In terms of ranking, Black academics were predominantly junior lecturers, and yet there was a 10% increase in them moving rank. Professorship displayed major differences, with 75% of professors being White – compared to 15% Black, 6% Indian and 4% Mixed-race. In 2017, 46% of the academic staff were White, 8% were Mixed-race, 9% were Indian and 36% were Black. In terms of gender, 52% of the academic staff members were female (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2019). Even with an increase in the number of female scholars, Black women accounted for 16.1% of the academic cohort, and yet they represented 40.4% of the general population nationally. White academics made up 25.3% of the academic staff but only 7.8% of the general population (Statistics South Africa, 2020).

Under apartheid, women suffered more than Black men (Naicker, 2013). Yet, too often, Black women's experiences have been excluded because of a tendency to view gender

and race as separate and distinct categories that have resulted in an image of society where all the women are White, and all Black people are men. As noted by Naicker, 'the universalising of their experiences as black or female does little to affirm their uniqueness and their particular struggles' (2013, p. 326). Minority women are more likely to be discriminated against than any other racial group in the workplace (Mirza, 2017). Women occupy positions previously preserved for White scholars and Black men, earning them the label of 'space invaders' (Mahabeer et al., 2018). Such labels can exacerbate feelings of outsider-within among women academics.

THEORETICAL LENS

The study used Critical Race Theory (CRT) to highlight the complexities of gender and race in academia. The dearth of women and Black scholars in academia is part of a larger problem embedded in the socio-economic factors and racial arrangements of society (Crichlow, 2017; Gillborn, 2015). Though initially used in the legal environment, CRT can be extended to the social sciences to help understand factors and systems in institutions that maintain and promote structural and racial inequalities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Gillborn, 2015). Gender and race are socially constructed and reinforced, which ultimately shapes the lived experiences of women. In IHL, CRT challenges the way power and race are constructed and play out, leading to the marginalisation of minorities. We used CRT to help unpack historical and current practices that silence minority groups, and also to understand the role of White privilege and supremacy, which is dominant in IHL (Gillborn, 2015).

CRT is underpinned by intersectionality. Intersectionality is an empirical tool that analyses racism and sexism in order to challenge the status quo (Gillborn, 2015). Stockfelt (2018) asserts that intersectionality is critical when conducting research on women. The application of the intersectional lens has been limited in South African academia in general, and in the discipline of Criminology, in particular. Women occupy minority positions in society – even more so Black women. Intersectionality examines the way in which race and gender interact and provides an understanding of the status of Black female scholars. The lived experiences of minorities are greatly influenced by their culture, history and values, thus rendering each person's experience unique. The application of CRT in IHL attempts to disrupt racism and gender biases in education by questioning inequalities in academic spaces and knowledge (Howard, 2008; Sleeter & Delgado, 2004;

Solórzano, 1998). This is done firstly by critiquing the way the voices of minority groups are silenced through the dominant discourses, and second, challenges the voices that are dominant in the production of knowledge (Gillborn, 2015; Solórzano, 1998).

Inequality and discrimination cannot be explained by a single attribute: race. Compared to gender and race, class has received limited attention, yet class is a central principle in people's lives (Belkhir & Barnett, 2001: 159). Operating in a capitalist society, higher education has increasingly become business characterised by White males from affluent backgrounds (Smith, 2012: 285). Often women of colour are considered 'domestics' and 'scapegoats' of their institutions (de la Riva-Holly, 2012: 287). Class is considered an obstacle for working-class women academics. Although class is important when configuring gender relations, the study pertinently focuses only on race and gender. By presenting the experiences of Black, Indian, Mixed-race and White women in academia and Criminology, we recognise and legitimise their experiences as valid and worthy (Solórzano, 1998). Through CRT, we can understand the power dynamics, institutional racism and sexism, as well as marginalisation that is inherent in academia.

RESEARCH METHODS

A qualitative approach using a collective case-study design was employed to describe the experiences of female criminologists, in order to explore the prevailing forms of (in)equality in the discipline (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Niewenhuis, 2017). We used purposive and snowball sampling methods to recruit female academics due to the qualities they possessed (Babbie, 2016). To be eligible for inclusion, participants had to identify as female, be employed in a Criminology department and be responsible for teaching and learning. First, women criminologists employed at South African IHL were purposefully identified from university websites and were subsequently emailed to ask them to participate in the study. Secondly, interviewed participants were asked to refer colleagues who could be willing to participate via snowball sampling. In total, 17 participants working at South African institutions where Criminology was offered (as a subject and/or degree) formed part of the study. Although Criminology is offered at 11 IHL, only participants from seven of these institutions availed themselves for interviews. Participants from two institutions did not respond to the research invitation, while a White male head of department at one institution declined to have his female staff members take part in the

study, and the remaining institution only had male staff members when data were collected.

The sample included seven Black scholars, six White, two Indian and two Mixed-race lecturers. Eight of the participants were aged 31–40, while three of the participants were aged 21–30, 41–50 and 51–60 respectively. The participants occupied various positions in their institutions: nine were lecturers, four were senior lecturers, two were associate professors and two were full professors. Regarding the number of years the participants had been working in the academy, two had more three decades of experience and the other participants' work experience ranged from two to 25 years. Nine of the women had completed doctoral degrees and eight had a master's degree.

Semi-structured interviews lasting 60 to 90 minutes were conducted with the participants. Online platforms such as Zoom, Google Meet, MS Teams and WhatsApp were used to interview participants. Voluntary participation was sought from participants, with each signing a consent form prior to the interview. All interviews were audio recorded via the online platforms with consent from the participants, and the data were transcribed verbatim. The aim of the study was not to generalise the findings as participants were not randomly selected. Therefore, to ensure transferability and credibility, thick descriptions of the findings are provided and these are linked to the literature (Nieuwenhuis, 2017). Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the universities where the researchers were employed. To protect the identity of the participants, their names and institutions were not recorded and for the purpose of this paper each interviewee is assigned a participant number (i.e. P1 to P17).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Criminology: White and male

There is a skewed gender distribution in academia (Rabe & Rugunanan, 2012) and since its inception the discipline of Criminology has exhibited a gender and racial bias that was predominantly concerned with male deviancy and criminality from male voices (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). Gender and race biases in Criminology manifest in the way in which women's experiences with crime and justice have been ignored, as well as in the limited number of women criminologists (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). Due to their

low numbers in academia and Criminology, women are voiceless and invisible. The participants echoed the sentiments that Criminology in South Africa was dominated by a White male enclave.

P1: *'I feel that as an academic in a male-dominated career or environment, it's that it's always the man that has the last say because his voice is louder … it's not what we say, it's not what women say, it's like what they say. And they actually have their own debate and whatnot. And, you know, I couldn't say anything because I'm female, an Indian female.' (Indian female).*

One participant felt that Criminology was dominated by White men since they occupied prestigious positions in the discipline and its scholarly society, and therefore they could exert substantial power.

P2: *'I'm surprised that we're talking about race now and not gender … until very recently, Criminology has been dominated by a White male enclave. How did we get away with it until now? Who were our editors, who was our [society] chair? They were White men.' (White female)*

P16: *'I mean, even if you look at the content that we teach in Criminology and if you look at our spaces, we are only starting to transform now. And we still have a very long way to go, you know, as criminologists. And I mean, can you think of any female Criminology theorist?' (Black female)*

While there are currently more women in academia, male voices, knowledge and theories still dominate (Aiston & Fo, 2021; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012). The participants felt that knowledge was equally male-dominated, with most theorists in Criminology being White men, whether deceased or alive (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). As noted above, some participants believed that the discipline was transforming, although the wheels of transformation were turning painfully slowly.

Old boys club

Academic social networks reproduce gender and racial inequalities. Within academia, there is an 'old boys club' which is a social elite network to which only White men have

access (Dalu et al., 2018). The elusive club affords males access to social capital, information, resources and career advancement. Women and people of colour are often excluded from these networks – thus limiting their opportunities for growth and promotion (Fisher & Kinsey, 2014; McDonald, 2011; Rand & Bierema, 2009). Criminology and its sub-disciplines have seen an increase in the cohort of female students and scholars. Whether the cohort of female students will play an instrumental role in changing and shaping the future of the discipline is, however, yet to be seen (Bernat & Holschuh, 2015). As some participants noted, there is an 'old boys club' in South African Criminology, particularly within the discipline's society, and this ensures that power remains in the hands of White male scholars.

P2: *'I have always felt that [the old boys club] was with Criminology in South Africa specifically and [Criminology society] and [Criminology journal] because of the stronghold that [name of institution] used to have. There was an old boys club that decided who's going to take responsibility next. And those were the decisions that were voted for democratically at [Criminology society] meetings. But I know that people were told this, and this is what we're going to do because we think that this person should be the next president for XYZ reasons. And please vote with us so that we can have him because he's going to take [Criminology society] forward. So, there was always a lot of lobbying, but never, never for a woman.' (White female)*

A characteristic of the old boys' network is the hoarding of leadership positions by men, by keeping women out (Kobayashi, 2009). Furthermore, women academics are expected to perform their leadership positions in ways that favour the dominant male culture in academia (Daniel, 2019).

P16: *'So, I was leading, like, in an acting role for a couple of months when our then head of department was on sick leave. And I know I was a great leader, but that position kinda like traumatised me, to be honest. When the head of department position opened up, a lot of people came, they approached me, they're like we really enjoyed being led by you. I was like, even if I wanted the position, I wouldn't want to apply under the current boys' club administration, because it makes it very difficult for you to lead. And they expect you as a woman to actually come into a position and lead like a man.' (Black female)*

Academia is a gendered institution. As reiterated by the participants, there is an 'old boys club' that is still operating in South African Criminology, making it difficult for female leaders to emerge. This reality appears to feature across disciplines and faculties. For example, to determine how boys clubs promote and maintain male interest within academia, Fisher and Kinsey (2014) conducted a qualitative longitudinal study over a period of five years at a British university. By focusing on a business school in the university, the authors collected data by means of a focus group with eight women academics and they interviewed male and female academics. Their study revealed plentiful evidence of an old boys club network in universities that kept women out. Furthermore, this network influenced decision-making and the appointment of men whenever vacancies arose (Fisher & Kinsey, 2014).

Gender and publishing in the academy

Publication is an integral responsibility for academics, and is exclusive and central to achieving tenure, promotion and job opportunities (Motha & Varghese, 2018; Sadiki & Steyn, 2021). The door to publishing is narrow for women and individuals of minority status. Men outnumber women in scholarly production and even more evident is the gender homophily exhibited by men when it comes to publications. Although women are more likely to co-author with both men and women, men prefer to publish with other men (Sadiki & Steyn, 2021). Participants emphasised the hegemony of men in the publication industry and that female staff are required to publish, and yet they are not provided with the necessary support and tools to do so.

P5: *'… coming to publication as well, the miscommunication and lack of knowledge. Do you know at some point I was told to believe that [Criminology journal] is for Whites; it's not for everyone?' (Black female)*

P8: *'I feel like you will find perhaps, when it comes to most collaborations, it's mostly men that collaborate with each other. And then once in a while they might have one female in their research study, but it's unlikely for a man to approach you. You might approach a male colleague, they won't have any problem, but it's unlikely that the male will approach you.' (Black female)*

P12: *'When you can check the articles that have been published, mostly you see men partnering with other men – rather than men partnering with a woman.' (Black female)*

Collaboration in scholarly production is common, *inter alia* to increase publications and research productivity (Bozeman et al., 2018). However, a common pitfall is not crediting all the authors (Hayter, Noyes, Perry, Roe & Watson, 2013), which has important academic and financial implications (Beshyah et al., 2018; Wager, 2009). As one participant highlighted, often more senior staff members collaborate with junior staff members on research projects and articles, and yet upon publishing, junior staff are neither credited nor acknowledged.

P9: '*But I have noticed that professors in academia, they tend to use young academics. In terms of publishing, you write a paper, then the next thing you see is a professor's name as a first author, [and] yet the professor did not even contribute in that paper and that causes frustration. You end up saying why should I write if in the end I am writing for someone else?' (Black female)*

Participants experienced challenges regarding publishing, exacerbated by the fact that men are more likely to publish with their male colleagues. Therefore, the dissemination of knowledge is greatly affected by gender (Cohn & Farrington, 2014; Cohn, Farrington & Iratzoqui, 2017; Kim & Hawkins, 2013). An analysis of 998 articles published in 2007, 2010 and 2013 in the top eight Criminology journals demonstrated that of all the articles that were multi-authored, men collaborated with other men instead of women (Eigenberg & Whalley, 2015). Similarly, Sadiki and Steyn (2021) analysed the race and gender profile of authors who published in *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology* from 1993 to 2018. Their findings revealed that White men dominated publications and significantly co-authored with other males and not females (Sadiki & Steyn, 2021). Publications are increasingly moving towards collaborations and teams, to which women often might not have access. Additionally, the inability to publish prevents Black women academics from advancing in academia (Barnard et al., 2016). Nearly half of the participants in the current study were doctoral candidates, and therefore the non-completion of their degrees could impede publishing.

In the White waters of academia

The academic landscape is a racialised space, and therefore individuals experience discrimination differently (Jawitz, 2012). IHL foster a culture of Whiteness by minimising the experiences of the marginalised. Historically, South African IHL were developed along a racial divide, which was used to benefit and promote White supremacy (Heleta, 2016; Rabe & Rugunanan, 2012). Race and gender intersect in a manner that results in women of colour experiencing racial and gender hierarchies differently (Juan et al., 2016). White female participants reported experiencing little to no race-related discrimination.

P2: *'But I cannot speak about race. I think in terms of race; I've only been privileged. I mean, if I was a Black girl in 1989, in class, do you think I would have been offered that position? No. So obviously, my weigh-in was because I was White.' (White female).*

P10: *'The trajectories that we've had are mediated either crudely or in more subtle forms through the positionality of race and privilege. You know, when the first conversations around employment equity way back in small ways were raised. And I'm talking now about sort of the late 80s … I think we [White women] were targeted as individuals that could be brought in … The concern with gender equity may have had dividends for some of us.' (White female).*

White and Whiteness have historically had positive connotations, often associated with intelligence, power and access. In addition, White women have replaced White men as gatekeepers and have been protected from experiencing discrimination as partners of White men (Daniel, 2019). The results above suggest that White female academics were protected from experiencing discrimination due to the colour of their skin. Racial and gender discrimination is disproportionally felt more by marginalised groups (Juan et al., 2016; Rabe & Rugunanan, 2012). For the White participants, race had privileged them by them benefiting from opportunities, access, resources and promotion. Gachago contends that there is an unwillingness to talk about race in South Africa, therefore 'rendering black experience or black pain invisible while keeping white privilege in place' (2018: p. 133). By discerning their own privileges, White academics can help dismantle oppressive practices against marginalised minorities (Gachago, 2018).

Just who counts as Black?

Four racial categories are officially recognised in South Africa: Black, Indian, Mixed-race and White citizens (Statistics South Africa, 2020). Black can also be understood as including Mixed-race and Indian individuals (Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998; Rabe & Rugunanan, 2012). Racial classification was enforced to effect social discrimination by the apartheid government. Although Black South Africans form the majority, they occupy a minority position in relation to economic and social power (Barnard et al., 2016). The debate about who counts as a Black person is highly contested. Race is not a matter of White and Black only, and some of the participants who were Indian or Mixed-race felt that they were overlooked when it came to positions and promotions because they were 'Black, yet not Black enough' (Juárez & Hayes, 2015, p. 71).

P1: *'There were times where I questioned, why am I Indian? And why am I female, because I always felt that as much as I did my best to prove to everyone that these are my capabilities, I wasn't given the chance because of my race and my gender. When I was at [name of institution], there was a permanent post advertised. They interviewed about 12 people, including myself and when the results came in terms of who was selected, I felt that I was pushed down the ladder because of my race and because of my gender, because I felt that the university wanted specific individuals and I didn't fit that category.' (Indian female)*

P11: *'Well, you know, I've always considered myself a Black woman. And lastly, because of my own political participation, you know, since high school etcetera and I've always been someone that that's been very pro transformation. When I was not successful for the [senior management position] the feedback I got was based on race. And I'm like, but I'm a Black woman. Yeah. I think this was the first time that I realised that others don't regard me as a Black woman.' (Indian female)*

P17*: 'I identify myself as Mixed-race but I feel like Mixed-race is a culture. So, I see myself as a Black female. I think also you get put in a hierarchy. And obviously it's not in your face; everything is subtle. So you still get Whites on top, and then I suppose Black people at the bottom. And you also become like a token, at least. She's not like them and it becomes this them against us. And even the White people want to know, like, who are you with? Are you with us? Are you with them?' (Mixed-race female)*

The apartheid system followed a racial hierarchy with Whites at the top, Blacks at the bottom, and Mixed-race and Indian/Asian people somewhere in the middle. Combined with gender, Black women were at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Mokhele, 2013). Racial categories continue to exist in democratic South Africa, largely due to the race card holding certain employment benefits (affirmative action) (Seekings, 2008). Often in academia, a scholar's identity is closely related to qualifications, their perceived roles and promotion opportunities.

Positionality and interactions with students

In academia, scholars bring their histories, cultures and identities to their institutions and lecture halls. Everyday human relations produce and reproduce racialised practices (Kobayashi, 2009). A significant change in post-apartheid IHL featured in the demographics of historically Whites-only institutions and an influx of previously disadvantaged students in higher education (Kessi & Cornell, 2017). Higher education is a space where identities are contested and negotiated and power dynamics are more salient. White participants noted how they were racially stereotyped by students and how this in turn influenced their interactions with students.

P3: *'What I'm now referring to is mainly from students because that's the idea that I've mainly received from students, and last year was a very good example of me being described as an entitled White privileged [woman], not understanding the plight of students that do not have money to buy textbooks, for instance.' (White female)*

P4: *'I am aware that I am perceived differently by students. Being a White lecturer, you are often called a racist and students believe that you don't understand their situations.' (White female)*

As one participant noted, women bring their gendered and racialised bodies into the classroom, and therefore their identity cannot be separated from their teaching (Gatwiri et al., 2021).

P10: *'… there's the issue about culture, ethnicity and race, that in that space, and depending on the demographic composition of the audience that will take, you know,*

different forms. I'm very aware that I negotiate this space with the second years and there are about 140 of them. And the majority of them are Black. I negotiate that space as an ageing White female. And that's, you know, the social identity that I drag with me into that classroom. (White female).

In contrast to the experiences of White female participants, students often question the legitimacy and authority of Black female lecturers and doubt their capabilities (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2008; Martinex et al., 2015; Sian, 2017).

P15: *'So I found in this one particular incident that I was having, the student was being very problematic and missed a test. So, according to our kind of handbook, they had to get zero for it. So, when I was like, but this is the policy, you know, you have to follow the policy. It became a whole issue. But then when they went at the time, the department head was a White female, but when they went to her and she said exactly what I said, it was okay.' (White female)*

Classrooms are spaces where hegemonic power is prevalent (Gatwiri et al., 2021). Strained relationships between students and White academics may be a function of the South African higher education sector that is greatly influenced by historical social injustices and inequality (Byrne, 2017). Race has a strong effect on the interactions between instructors and students as expressed by White and Black academics alike, although their experience tends to differ.

Ageism in academia

Racism, sexism and ageism are endemic in institutional structures and academia. The identity of academics is often constructed around their gender and age. Age discrimination disproportionally affects early career women in academia (Bezuidenhout & Cilliers, 2011; Garvis, 2014). For some participants, being young was a continual discussion point.

P5: *'After finishing PhD, I realised that there is gender, there are questions around your age, there's ageism, now you start feeling so, so young, [and] now you are undeserving.' (Black female)*

P7: *'There are a lot of older males that are here for the last 40 years. And they still kind of rule the roost. They still hold courts – what they say goes kind of thing. And I think that also, in some ways, I don't think it's a racist thing. I don't think it's a gender thing. In some ways, I think it's an ageist thing.' (White female)*

There was tension between the older colleagues and younger academics, and participants noted how younger academics were treated differently because of their junior status. Furthermore, one participant noted how she was overlooked for promotion due to her age.

P8: *'… in this committee because it's different academics from different disciplines that make up these committees, there is also an issue of race. You know, you come across your White older colleagues who are not welcoming of junior colleagues and mostly Black or African colleagues'. (Black female)*

P16: *'I was pretty sure that I was supposed to have been promoted. But I was overlooked. Because, yeah, I feel like because I'm female, because and I won't even say it's because I'm Black, because the people who were shortlisting were Black people but were males. So, I feel it's because I'm female. And I think also that the other factor that actually intersects this whole thing, [is] the issue of age. I saw it like playing a role also in my situation. I'm very, very young, you know.' (Black female)*

Participants had their qualifications questioned; it is common among Black academics to have their scholarship and competence investigated and treated with suspicion (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2008; Maseti, 2018).

P16: *'But also, I know you do find like there's a little bit of resistance from other people who, whether you've got the PhD or not, because they've got their own preconceived ideas and snap stereotypes. Because I've been told before that people were even scrutinising my PhD. I've been asking myself if it's because I'm female, or what?' (Black female).*

The cohort of academics employed at South African IHL is becoming younger, therefore requiring much needed support to succeed in higher education (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2019). This presents an opportunity for more senior colleagues to mentor and collaborate with junior colleagues. No matter how many qualifications

women obtain or what titles they have, they remain vulnerable to workplace victimisation (Niemann, 2012).

Black women, you are on your own

Discrimination is central to the experiences of female academics, with Black women in South Africa experiencing the triple yoke of oppression due to patriarchy, racism and classism (Maseti, 2018; Mokhele, 2013; Stockfelt, 2017). Their experience of marginalisation remains gendered and racialised. Not only are their discriminated against by institutional systems, but also by their fellow Black counterparts. Black women in academia represent a minority of minorities (Stockfelt, 2018). The participants highlighted various discriminatory practices experienced at the hands of Black male colleagues.

P8: *'At the beginning of my career, I absolutely hated it. Like, we were bullied by Black males, simply because we're female. I would say it was one of the worst experiences that I've ever had. I think when it comes to the working environment, you would think maybe you would be bullied maybe by a White person, but if it's your race it had more of an impact than if it was coming from a different race.' (Black female)*

P9: *'And also what I noticed with other colleagues or other races, they tend to be supportive than the people that we think they should support us like Black doctors, like Black professors.' (Black female)*

P16: *'What I've found, in my experience, is that even in our cohort of Black people we don't truly understand what transformation is. And I feel like there's still a lot of like misogyny and a lot of like, patriarchy. Biases being pushed forward and stuff because at [name of institution] we are fighting for transformation. And the very people who are fighting for transformation, do not want Black women. So, there are Black men now and they occupy the spaces. It seems like transformation, now, it looks like we are promoting Black men.' (Black female)*

Victimisation and bullying by fellow Black academics create additional hurdles and barriers for the already marginalised Black female academics. Existing power structures enable racism and sexism to thrive in institutions. Furthermore, the power structures are not evenly distributed across social classes – therefore resulting in different realities for

historically underrepresented groups (Niemann, 2012), and particularly for Black women. Black female academics employed at high-ranking institutions in the United Kingdom reported being discriminated against at every level of the academy (Stockfelt, 2018). Black women remain oppressed, not only by the institutional structures or by their White peers, but also by Black men.

If it's not my race, it's my gender

Race, gender and class interact with various forms of oppression and discrimination, hampering women's participation in society. These multiple forms of oppression and discrimination also greatly affect how women and minority women are perceived and received (Naicker, 2013). Being female and of a racial minority created nuanced experiences for the participants. The Black female academics faced issues that were different from White females and Black men's experiences. The participants' experiences of exclusion were related to their gender and race. Most of the participants revealed their race and gender as a barrier to hiring and promotion (Martinez et al., 2017).

P1: *'So I started to question myself: apart from the race and gender, am I not good enough? Am I not doing the right thing? You know, as much as I was, I was doing the lectures according to how I was supposed to, I was doing my degree, I was doing everything correctly, I think. And then I was rejected. So a lot of things have stayed in my mind, including race and gender.' (Indian female)*

P5: *'Besides being discriminated against because of my age, opportunities, doors were shut just because of being a female and Black.' (Black female)*

Participants experienced intersectional disempowerment because of multiple forms of systematic discrimination due to their race and gender – thus influencing their access to opportunities and career advancement.

P8: *'But I don't see much influence that I have as a Black female. If it's not race, it's gender. Either way we are powerless.' (Black female)*

P16: *'Let me stick to gender, although I also want to, you know, equally, say race has also been a barrier. But I will say gender, actually. As a Black female, it's a double blow for you.' (Black female)*

In September 2017, the Minister of Higher Education and Training approved a ministerial team which was tasked to examine the obstacles and to propose solutions to the barriers that hinder the recruitment and retention of Black academics at IHL. Qualitative research was conducted, and university policies were reviewed. The ministerial task team found that Black female academics experienced racism, sexism and patriarchal practices – particularly when they were minorities (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2019). For some participants, their gender was trumped by their race when recounting their experiences of discrimination.

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Although there is evidence that transformation policies have to some extent been successful in achieving equity and increasing the number of female academics in South Africa, institutional cultures rooted in oppressive practices, racism and sexism are still dominant (Bonti-Ankomah, 2020; Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). The inclusion of Black scholars in White institutions did not translate into these institutions becoming more inclusive. Instead, they appear to continue entrenching privileges of race, gender and power. The agenda of transformation has been concentrated on diversifying institutions in terms of race without addressing oppressive practices of discrimination experienced by minorities. Some participants acknowledged the impact of being Black and how this had a significant effect on their academic journeys – more so than being a woman. Women in academia continue to face oppression at the intersections of their race, gender and age.

Our study was not without limitations. First, we cannot generalise our findings as participants were not randomly selected. Secondly, by purposefully selecting our participants, selection bias is possible. Last, the exclusion of four institutions from the study may have been a missed opportunity to obtain a broader perspective from South African female criminologists. Future research should consider the role department heads and chairs play in minimising and mitigating gender and racial inequality in academia, because they appear key in decisions about hiring, placement and career advancement of women academics.

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PART 6: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

The study explored the transformation and decolonisation of the discipline of Criminology in post-apartheid South Africa. The study had three objectives. Firstly, it aimed to content analyse the *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology* to track transformation and diversity by examining the race, gender and university status of the authors publishing in the journal. Second, it aimed to explore postgraduate student and academic staff member views on the content of the Criminology curriculum. Last, it aimed to describe how race and gender shape the trajectories of women criminologists at South African IHL. Given that limited empirical work on decolonisation in Criminology in South Africa, a multi-method approach was adopted to provide a holistic and rigorous view and understanding of transformation and decolonisation of the discipline.

The concluding section, Part 6, pertinently reflects on the key findings of the published article and three manuscripts under review, to examine to what extent the objectives set for the study were achieved. Strengths and limitations of the study, recommendations for policy, practice, teaching and learning, theory and future research, will all be presented. A personal reflection on the researcher's doctoral journey concludes Part 6.

KEY FINDINGS: MEETING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The articles provide pivotal findings in terms of the dissemination of knowledge, the curriculum taught and female criminologists' experiences in the field of Criminology. Publication 1 highlighted the hegemony of White men authors in *Acta Criminologica* and an increase in the trajectory of Black male authors. Although White females' presence in the journal was consistent, Black females were making fewer contributions. The second article revealed that postgraduate students and academics were aware of the urgency to transform and decolonise the Criminology curriculum. For the academic respondents, decolonising the curriculum entailed including African understandings of crime and criminality in their current curricula without disrupting power balances that universalise Western knowledge. Postgraduate students were adamant that they seldom engaged with indigenous knowledge systems and that their lived experiences were rarely present in the Criminology curriculum.

The third and fourth articles delineated how race and gender intersect to create intricate experiences for female criminologists. The female criminologists highlighted the existence of an 'old boys club' in Criminology and how women in leadership positions are expected to lead like men. Lastly, these manuscripts demonstrated how Black men and White women are privileged by patriarchy and race. Although much has been written about the need to decolonise and transform the discipline of Criminology internationally (cf. Agozino, 2004, 2018; Blagg & Anthony, 2019; Cunneen & Rowe, 2014; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Moosavi, 2019) there is little local literature. In light of this limitation, the current study aimed to explore transformation and decolonisation in the discipline in South Africa by analysing the power relations in knowledge production, whose voices are central in the discipline's curriculum, and how gender and race influence one's position in the discipline.

The study confronted the geopolitics of publishing. What becomes clear from the content analysis of *Acta Criminologica* are the inequalities in the production and dissemination of knowledge and how this is greatly affected by the race and gender of authors. While women are making inroads in international journals as authors (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016: 326; Eigenburg & Whalley, 2015: 139; Kim & Hawkins, 2013: 318;) the same cannot be said for female criminologists publishing in *Acta Criminologica*. This is especially so for Black, Indian and Mixed-race women, further rendering them invisible and voiceless. It is also evident that the location of Criminology's knowledge production is centred and located in the hands of White men and White women, and thus White perspectives dominate Criminology's curriculum (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016: 327; Potter, Higgins & Gabbidon, 2011: 96; Kim & Hawkins, 2013: 319). The legitimacy of knowledge production is linked to the racial background and location of the authors (Kubota, 2020: 721), which ultimately demonstrates how knowledge production and the university curriculum are intrinsically linked. Power dynamics in knowledge production culminate in Western theories being endorsed in teaching materials that equip future South African criminologists. A possible explanation as to why postgraduate Criminology students rarely engage with African perspectives to understand crime and criminality and how so little of the content relates to their lived experiences, could result from the few publications emanating from Black academics. The lived experiences of the oppressed should be at the forefront of decolonisation, as recommended by Fanon (1967) and Wa Thiong'o (1986). With local voices absent from knowledge production, it ultimately affects whose lived experience is at the centre of the curriculum.

The results of the curriculum survey demonstrate that academics play a critical role in the decolonial project. Academics embody certain identities and histories which inform and influence the curriculum. Furthermore, academics' attitudes, their teaching philosophy, perceptions, beliefs and understanding of the need to transform and decolonise are pivotal for enforcing change (Vandeyar, 2020: 789). Significantly, the need to decolonise the discipline and its curriculum was more striking among Black academics compared to White academics. White criminologists are currently confronted with a student body that is mostly Black at institutions that previously catered for White students and which legitimised "Whiteness" and Western notions of understanding. To achieve some degree of transformation and decolonisation in the discipline, White academics may have to acknowledge their privilege with responsibility, instead of guilt, and partner in the dismantling of the colonial system which they have benefitted from. Ultimately they will need to equip themselves with skills that are responsive to diverse student cultures and identities. Although not all South African institutions are dominated by White academics, any decolonised curriculum may in part be taught by White scholars. Therefore, White academics should not shy away from the decolonial project, because failure to engage burdens those who are already experiencing marginalisation and discrimination. Moreover, some of the academics deny the cause of decolonisation and Africanisation because the concepts have multiple meanings intellectually – and yet every other term does not have a single, uncontentious definition that everyone accepts (Masaka, 2017: 448). To become agents of transformation and decolonisation, academics in the field must unlearn, re-learn, deconstruct and re-construct their dispositions, values and beliefs. The results further highlight that the curriculum cannot change itself. It is only through collaborative efforts among scholars and students that it can be changed. Changes in the curriculum require that new bodies of research be generated.

What students ultimately read about in their curriculum, which articles are published in the journals, who we cite in our scholarly work, and who the editors of the journals are, significantly affect the gender and racial diversity of the discipline. In these instances, women appear to become even more invincible. The salient findings of interviews with women criminologists were that even after having achieved academic success (inter alia, to the levels of professorships and deanships), women still had to prove their capabilities and credibility. No one serves academia – physically, emotionally and administratively – more than women (Guarino & Borden, 2017: 690). It is therefore distressing to learn that

women fail to support other women by undermining their authority. Despite both White and Black women criminologists experiencing similar gender-based issues – leadership, motherhood, caregiving and ageism – clear racial disparities were conspicuous when it came to their interactions with students and the institutions where they were employed. White women may have been the oppressor and the oppressed during apartheid, but their race has privileged them above Black women (Van der Westhuizen, 2017: 7). The apartheid system discriminated against Black people on the basis of their racial classification. Furthermore, the system subjected them to an inferior education system, limited their economic opportunities, and provided poor health services. The devasting apartheid system was disproportionally felt by Black women by virtue of their gender and race. All people of colour in IHL are negatively affected by racism as a result of their gender and their position in the power hierarchy. However, Black women have to overcome societal patriarchy that places Black men at the top of the hierarchy and racial inequalities that prioritise White women in IHL. It is apparent that race itself is not a unifying force. Black women in the study highlighted the double burden of being Black and being a woman. For Black women, it is a constant '-ism' fight, albeit racism, sexism and classism. Even within feminism there is no 'hegemonic femininity', but instead different variations which ultimately prioritise White women's struggles and emancipation above those of Black women.

The study unpacked what transformation and decolonisation might entail for the discipline by unpacking and distinguishing between three concepts: transformation, Africanisation and decolonisation. Transformation operates within a limited understanding that it only entails increasing the number of previously marginalised individuals in the discipline, without restructuring power relations and authenticating diversity. To transform the field of Criminology, it will take more than just increasing the number of Black, Indian and Mixed-race scholars, and more than just including Afrocentrism in the curriculum. For South African Criminology, transformation will not take place without critically interrogating historical injustices perpetrated by the discipline, and without examining the relationship between power and the curriculum and questioning the racial and gender discrimination and prejudice experienced by marginalised groups. It is imperative for Criminology in South Africa to move beyond assessing its theoretical and empirical foundations which are rooted in a colonial system – and to open spaces for indigenous knowledge. Furthermore, political will and commitment from all stakeholders (the journal and its structures, the academic society in its entirety, and staff and student bodies) is needed to

transform the field. Unless there is constant pressure on and resistance to the dominant status quo, decolonisation and transformation will not be achieved in the discipline.

This study assessed publishing trends, the Criminology curriculum and women's experiences in the discipline, which ultimately confirmed the low transformation and decolonisation taking place amidst varied institutional insights and commitments. Notwithstanding the importance of dialogues and engagements that are taking place, action is needed to enforce the decolonial agenda.

REVISITING INSTITUTIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORKS

In Part 1, the analysis of institutional responses to transformation and decolonisation suggests that although most institutions appear committed to transformation, the policy frameworks and plans on institutional transformation and decolonisation were a reactive response to the demands of the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student movements. This begs the questions: were institutions not aware of their colonial roots, their alienating institutional cultures, and how they reinforce and uphold Whiteness and patriarchy in their pedagogy and curricula? The frameworks and plans have implications for Criminology as they highlight which matters are important and, ultimately, what will be prioritised and therefore changed. Below, the researcher extrapolates the empirical findings as they play out in Criminology in terms of the institutional transformation policy frameworks and plans. Although there may be some overlap with part 1, it is prudent to demonstrate some achievements and shortfalls in terms of transformation and decolonisation in the discipline.

Table 1: Policy Frameworks

Transformation	
Shortfalls	Achievements
With multi-authored articles, men still publish with other men and White scholars publish with other White scholars. A large proportion of publications from Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDI) were authored by men and White scholars.	Even though most articles in *Acta Criminologica* between 1994 and 2017 were published by White men, there has been a decline over the past decade. There was a noteworthy increase in publications by Black men and women;

	however, the increase in publications from Black women was more limited. There was a noticeable increase in publications from emerging scholars. Increase in publications from Black scholars may be as a result of mentoring and supervision of Black emerging scholars by White senior scholars. Increase in publications from HDI Institutions. There were recent changes in the gender composition of the editorial team.
Decolonisation	
Lecturers knew about decolonisation prior to the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student protest action, yet failed to decolonise their curriculum. There are differences in the racial prioritisation of decolonisation among lecturers in terms of educational paradigms. The current Criminology curriculum promotes Western ideologies and epistemologies. Students have different experiences of the Criminology curriculum and pedagogy compared to the lecturers. Criminology students learn more Eurocentric and Western theories at the cost of indigenous perspectives and knowledge. Students expressed the need for material/theories that speak to an African Criminology.	There is general agreement among lecturers and students about what decolonisation might entail for higher education. There is agreement that the Criminology curriculum needs to be decolonised.

Knowledge production is still dominated by White men.	
Diversity	
Women do not have equal power compared to men and their voices are silenced.	The gender profile in IHL changed in favour of women.
Racism and sexism	
Women criminologists in leadership positions face opposition from other women. There are gender role expectations from colleagues and students, especially towards younger Black female lecturers. Academia does not appear to be supportive of motherhood. At some institutions, women are side-lined from developmental opportunities. Women criminologists operate in a White male-dominated academic environment. Women present contested identities in terms of race. For some women, their race was a source of privilege. Black women present salient intersectional experiences and expressed insecurities, and they feel undervalued and unsupported. Black women can feel targeted by Black men and believe that transformation is skewed in favour of Black men.	

The need to transform and decolonise IHL did not stem from the will of universities. Rather, institutions were forced to change by students and liberal activism. With force comes

resistance, and therefore it is not surprising that the frameworks developed have not (yet) translated into significant transformational changes and some policies lack clarity in terms of implementation steps. Noteworthy policy achievements are changes in the profiles of Criminology academics at IHL and an increase in publications by Black scholars. However, representativeness does not necessarily translate into transformation. The gains made by Criminology in terms of institutional transformation frameworks and plans co-exist alongside an alienating institutional culture embedded in Whiteness and male dominance. Superficial transformational changes still benefit men. There are clear indicators of racism and sexism that are experienced disproportionally by Black women in the discipline, which is trivially noted in the institutional frameworks and policies. The Criminology curriculum is still Western and Eurocentric with local voices absent from the discipline's study material and theories. Even with increased hiring and the promotion of women in academia, women criminologists are expected to work in an environment that is driven by male stereotypical roles. What is conspicuous, not only in the institutional frameworks and policies, but also in Criminology, is the lack of decolonisation. Criminology has thus far been successful in advocating transformation without substantial changes or decolonisation of the curriculum.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

The strength of the study rests in the use of a multi-method research approach which provided an expansive strategy to research transformation and decolonisation in Criminology in South Africa (Stoica & Brouse, 2013: 730). Using a multi-method approach, the researcher analysed the dissemination of knowledge in the discipline, the curriculum, and women criminologists' experiences in academia as important indicators of transformation and decolonisation. The benefit of using a multi-method approach was that each study had its own research approach and design, with the final outcomes triangulated. This therefore enhanced the research findings. The study filled an important knowledge gap in the field of Criminology one of the few that quantitatively has explored transformation and decolonisation in the discipline of Criminology in South Africa. Very few academics in the study critically engage with the discipline itself. It is the first time that Criminology was subjected to the rigours of empirical research. Furthermore, it is the first time that *Acta Criminologica* has been scrutinised for gender/race and the origin of the authors publishing in journal. The study also highlighted and legitimised Black women's voices and narratives. Lastly, as end-users of the curriculum, the study gave precedence

to student voices and engagement in the transformation and decolonisation agenda, by involving postgraduate students.

A limitation of the research study is the sampling approach, which constrains the generalisability of the findings. For the first study, a systematic sampling approach was used to analyse articles from *Acta Criminologica*, which led to certain years being excluded from the analysis. In addition, after obtaining ethical clearance from one institution, the head of the department refused to allow his staff members to participate in the study. Thus, their views on the Criminology curriculum and their experiences as women criminologists could not be solicited. Furthermore, undergraduate students were excluded from the survey. A further limitation was purposefully selecting women criminologists to explore their experiences, which resulted in researcher bias (Lavrakas, 2008: 809). The researcher had to rely extensively on international sources on decolonisation of the discipline – as this is the first study of this kind in South African Criminology. Lastly, the researcher is guilty of reinforcing the Black/White binary paradigm by analysing Indian and Mixed-race scholars' experiences through a Black lens.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research findings of this study, the following recommendations pertaining to the transformation and decolonisation of Criminology in South Africa are explored. These will be illuminated according to policy, practice, teaching and learning, theory and future research:

- **Policy**

Following the 2015/2016 student protest action, institutions across South Africa developed strategies, frameworks and policies to guide transformation, and yet some of these policies superficially dealt with decolonisation. An area of exploration would be ensuring that the decolonisation agenda be embedded in these institutional frameworks, plans and polices, in order to effect structural changes. Decolonisation should not be confused with transformation because it requires its own policy**.** Much activism has been done on transformation and decolonisation in the discipline in the form of colloquiums, conferences, seminars and workshops. However, there is limited policy that provides Criminology with an opportunity to develop a proper framework for the discipline.

Furthermore, policies on decolonisation should conceptualise clear terminology so as to provide a frame of reference on how to decolonise the curriculum**.** Policies should be developed that provide mentorship and supportive leadership to women and to ensure that there is fairness and equity in the promotion and career trajectories of female academics. Similar to the European Research Council Policy on Gender Equality, DHET should develop a policy to raise awareness on gender equity in research and publishing and strive for gender balance among peer reviewers and decision-making bodies. Consistent with the DHET rule (5.10(c)) that only 25% of articles may be from one institution, journals should ensure gender equity in the articles published in both general and special editions.

- **Teaching and learning**

With Criminology as a degree/and or subject offered at more than 10 universities in South Africa, interinstitutional and interdisciplinary initiatives should be explored to align the modules across institutions and to provide academics with opportunities to work collegially on transforming and decolonising the discipline of Criminology and its curriculum**.** There should be consultation with students with reference to the creation of a curriculum that is locally relevant, inclusive and reflective of a diverse student body – particularly students who have previously been marginalised from the existing curriculum. Their insights and opinions should be heard, appreciated and accommodated. In decolonising and transforming the discipline, clear success criteria should be established for disciplines to benchmark against. Training should be provided for academics to develop an inclusive pedagogy.

- **Theory**

The discipline's theoretical frameworks are blind to the issues of race and gender. Critical/conflict Criminology theories should provide students with opportunities to engage with race, racism and ethnicity. As a decolonial tool, post-colonial perspectives that centre the local context and diverse voices in the curriculum should be explored. For example, the current curriculum insufficiently incorporates African traditional methods of conflict resolution. To adequately create an inclusive Criminology curriculum, the inclusion of African perspectives, Black Criminology and Black feminist criminology is essential. To

advance the transformation and decolonisation scholarship, research methodologies should be broadened by using indigenous research methods.

- **Future research**

The limitations of the non-probability sampling strategy and the lengthy process and barriers to obtaining ethical clearance from different institutions should be considered when conducting future research. Given the comprehensive nature of transformation and decolonisation, it was impossible to cover all aspects. Therefore, future research should explore queer criminology as a scholarly criminological endeavour in South Africa. Barriers to publishing for women, particularly Black women, should be explored. An important area of exploration should be analysing the content of undergraduate Criminology modules at different institutions to create key strategies for decolonising the curriculum across the board. A further salient area to research would be gaining the insights of undergraduate students. Research with both undergraduate and postgraduate students will offer relevant insights and provide recommendations for creating an inclusive curriculum. Furthermore, a comparative study that contrasts the experiences of Black female and Black male criminologists in the discipline would be valuable. Lastly, research on publishing could be broadened by analysing additional journals and researching enablers of and barriers to gender equity and diversity in editorial boards.

CONCLUSION

Transformation and decolonisation are erroneously and short-sightedly associated with widening participation, equality and inclusivity. Although these are important, they do not equate with decolonisation. For this study, transformation and decolonisation constituted a triad – publishing, the curriculum and women's experiences. Therefore, changing only one element of the triad will not drive the desired change. The journal is an extension of what is happening in the discipline: transformation is taking place, just slowly. South African Criminology has transformed, but it has not yet decolonised. Even though the demographics in the field have changed radically, this has not translated into a shift in power or opportunities and the status quo has remained the same. Black women, who were marginalised during apartheid, are still marginalised in the discipline. Furthermore, Black women are absent in the publishing industry and in the curriculum content. The time is ripe for a Black feminist perspective in Criminology.

Postcolonial perspectives that critique the reliance of Western perspectives in understanding crime and criminality relations must form part of the discipline's theoretical frameworks. The field of Criminology lacks self-awareness and is unable to accept criticism and to criticise itself. Given its colonial, empirical and apartheid roots in South Africa, the discipline is a unique site for the decolonial project. In addition, as an inter-disciplinary module its transformation and decolonisation have benefits beyond the field to inspire changes in the criminal justice system and to enforce effective crime-prevention policies that are locally relevant. Decolonising the discipline is not about getting rid of the 'White men' in Criminology theory or in the discipline. It is about contextualising them against local voices and knowledge. We will not be able to decolonise and transform the discipline without collective responsibility and engagement by all academics and stakeholders. *Acta Criminologica*, CRIMSA and Criminological departments across South Africa's IHL, through a dialectical relationship, must foster responsive pedagogies, develop and frame the decolonial scholarship for the discipline, and bring to the centre voices and scholars that have for years been on the periphery. Lastly, the discipline must create its own policy framework as a commitment to transformation and decolonisation.

PERSONAL REFLECTION

If someone had told the five-year-old 'me' that I would one day submit a doctoral thesis for examination, I would have laughed at them. The five-year-old 'me' that was raised by her grandparents in a remote village bordering the Kruger National Park fence in Limpopo, would not have believed them. This process has so far been my greatest accomplishment and joy. When my doctoral journey began, I was filled with so much excitement and enthusiasm, but that quickly turned into self-doubt and questioning. I began to feel unworthy of the title, out of depth, and soon was overwhelmed by the topic and the decolonial language. I began to question my own abilities and my readiness for the task that laid ahead. Transformation and decolonisation in the field of Criminology had only been written about and debated by professors and more senior academic members – highly esteemed academics. In the very beginning, I interchangeably used decolonisation and transformation, without the slightest idea that these terms had different meanings. Furthermore, my fear for the transformation and decolonial project was further exacerbated by the fact that I am a Christian. My entire existence rested on the notion that God exists, He is good, and He is for all humanity. The transformation and decolonial

project requires one to re-learn what you've been taught, to call into remembrance who you were before you were defined by the White men, and for me that meant I may discover something about myself and my Christianity that would shake me to the core.

In the last three years, I have grown tremendously as an academic, as a student, as a woman, and as an African. This academic pursuit has taken me on a journey of self-discovery and discipline. Initially plagued by insecurity, I feared being perceived as a ranting Black woman who ought to be happy that she had been offered a space in the 'ivory tower' of academia. However, I have now realised that my voice matters. At times my voice may tremble, even shake, but ultimately as a Black woman living in post-apartheid South Africa, my voice matters. It is my responsibility to fill up spaces that were previously occupied by patriarchy, colonialism and apartheid. I have also discovered that the quotes 'the past is never dead – it is not even past' and 'we can't move forward without looking back' hold true. As uncomfortable it may be, we ought to confront our history, the discipline of Criminology included, and not shy away from the 'ugly' if we are to truly effect change. In the end, I have put down the 'White/Western' God and have instead, through a decolonial lens, rediscovered God and defined Him through my own worldview. This, in pursuit of a more meaningful relationship with Him. As this journey ends, it comes in the middle of the most transformative period of my life, in which I lost a remarkable aunt, became an aunt for the second time, and lived through the Covid-19 pandemic. But as I look back, I cannot help but be in awe of my journey – a tale of loss, grief and prolific tears, but also one of triumph, perseverance and success.

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APPENDIX A: ACTA CRIMINOLOGICA CODING SHEET

1. Questionnaire number	
2. Year	
3.1. 1st author Gender	
Race	
Position	
Gender and race	
3.2 2nd author Gender	
Race	
Position	
Gender and race	
3.3. 3rd author Gender	
Race	
Position	
Gender and race	
3.4. 4th author Gender	
Race	
Position	
Gender and race	
4. Single/multi-authored	
5. If multi, who is 1st author (G+R)	
6. Criminology dept/non-crim dept	
7. University affiliation	
8. SA/former homeland	
9. Topic theme	
10. Research approach	
11. Article rank in edition	

APPENDIX B: CRIMINOLOGY CURRICULUM SURVEY

Start of Block: Informed consent

Q1 Dear respondent

You are invited to participate in a study titled ***Exploring the transformation of Criminology in South Africa***. The following details apply to the study, which will assist you in deciding whether you wish to participate: Informed consent leaflet . The purpose of the study is to explore the views held by academics and postgraduate students regarding Criminology curricula and to determine to what extent African perspectives are reflected in the discipline and its sub-disciplines.

I hereby give consent to participate in the research project.

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

End of Block: Informed consent

Start of Block: Biographic information

Q2 Gender

- ○ Male (1)
- ○ Female (2)
- ○ Non-binary (3)
- ○ Prefer not to say (4)

Q3 Age

- 20-30 (1)
- 31-40 (2)
- 41-50 (3)
- 51-60 (4)
- 61 and older (5)

Q4 Population group

- African (1)
- White (2)
- Indian (3)
- Coloured/Mixed-race (4)
- Asian (5)

Q5 Please select option

- Academic staff member (1)
- Student (2)

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q6 Highest qualification

- ○ Honours degree (1)
- ○ Masters degree (2)
- ○ Doctoral degree (3)
- ○ Other (4) _____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q7 Position

- ○ Teaching assistant (1)
- ○ Research assistant (2)
- ○ Junior lecturer (3)
- ○ Lecturer (4)
- ○ Senior lecturer (5)
- ○ Associate professor (6)
- ○ Professsor (7)
- ○ Other (8) _____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q8 Years of lecturing experience

- 1 - 5 (1)
- 6 - 10 (2)
- 11 - 15 (3)
- 16 - 20 (4)
- More than 20 years (5)

End of Block: Biographic information

Start of Block: Understanding of decolonization

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q9 Have you heard of decolonisation before?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you heard of decolonisation before? = Yes

Q10 When did you hear about decolonisation for the first time?

- Before 2015/2016 #FeesMustFall protest action (1)
- During 2015/2016 #FeesMustFall protest action (2)
- After 2015/2016 #FeesMustFall protest action (3)
- Other (4) _____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q11 In your own words, what do you understand by the concept decolonisation?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q12 What do you think decolonisation entails for higher education?

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
Placing African knowledge systems on an equal footing as Western knowledge. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Recognising that knowledge is not owned by anyone. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Recognising that knowledge is marked by power relations. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Rethinking, reframing and reconstructing the current curricula to make it more inclusive. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Identifying ways in which the university structurally reproduces colonial hierarchies. (5)	○	○	○	○	○

Creating spaces and resources for a dialogue among all members of the university on how to imagine and envision all cultures and knowledge systems in the curricula. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
The belief that that any knowledge could and should be open to challenge and question; regardless of its original power relations. (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Embracing indigenous African world views and rooting educational paradigms in indigenous African socio-cultural and epistemological frameworks. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Adding indigenous perspectives to the current curricula. (9)	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Understanding of decolonization

Start of Block: Curriculum related questions

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q13 Indicate how often your curricula...

	Very frequently (1)	Frequently (2)	Occasionally (3)	Rarely (4)	Never (5)
Allows students to understand the origins and purposes of Criminology in its historical context. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Cultivates an appreciation for diverse entry points around a particular subject. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Provides students opportunities in their learning to widen their circles of contact or experience. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Incorporates Afrocentrism in the explanation and causation of crime. (4)	○	○	○	○	○

Includes traditional African methods of conflict resolution. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Promotes Western ideologies and epistemologies. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Allows students to engage with diverse local and global perspectives. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Inspires students to think critically on and engage with issues such as discrimination, racism, inequality, colonialism and inclusion. (8)	○	○	○	○	○

Allow students to interpret the curriculum content based on their own experiences, according to their cultural norms, personal belief systems, preferences and backgrounds. (9)	○	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q14 What principles, norms, values and worldviews inform your selection of knowledge for your curricula?

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q15 How do you build a learning community in your classroom where students learn actively from each other and draw on their own knowledge sources?

_____

_____

_____

End of Block: Curriculum related questions

Start of Block: Pedagogy related questions

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q16 Indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following:

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
My students are given opportunities in their learning to widen their circles of contact or experience? (1)	○	○	○	○	○
My teaching methods promote multiple ways of viewing and learning. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
My curricula is designed in collaboration with students. (3)	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Pedagogy related questions

Start of Block: Decolonisation and Criminology

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q17 Does South African Criminology need to be decolonised?

- Yes (6)
- Maybe (7)
- No (8)

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q18 Briefly motivate your answer

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q19 Do you think **YOUR** curricula/modules need to be decolonised?

- To a large extent (1)
- To some extent (2)
- Not at all (3)

Display This Question:

If Do you think YOUR curricula/modules need to be decolonised? = To a large extent

Or Do you think YOUR curricula/modules need to be decolonised? = To some extent

Q20 What are you doing to decolonise/transform your curricula?

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Do you think YOUR curricula/modules need to be decolonised? = Not at all

Q21 Why not?

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Academic staff member

Q22 What are some of the challenges you have faced/anticipate as you decolonise your curricula?

_____

_____

End of Block: Decolonisation and Criminology

Start of Block: Decolonisation

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q23 Degree/Programme enrolled for?

- Honours degree (1)
- Masters degree (2)
- Doctoral degree (3)
- Postdoctoral programme (4)

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q24 Have you heard of decolonisation before?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you heard of decolonisation before? = Yes

Q25 If yes, where/from who?

- ☐ Curricula (prescribed text or literature). (1)
- ☐ Own research study. (2)
- ☐ 2015/2016 student protest action. (3)
- ☐ Student activists/leadership structures. (4)
- ☐ University management structures. (5)
- ☐ The media. (6)
- ☐ Other (please specify). (7)

_____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q26 What do you think decolonisation means?

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
Placing African knowledge systems on an equal footing as Western knowledge. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Recognising that knowledge is not owned by anyone. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Recognising that knowledge is marked by power relations. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Rethinking, reframing and reconstructing the current curricula to make it more inclusive. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Identifying ways in which the university structurally reproduces colonial hierarchies. (5)	○	○	○	○	○

Creating spaces and resources for a dialogue among all members of the university on how to imagine and envision all cultures and knowledge systems in the curricula. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
The belief that that any knowledge could and should be open to challenge and question, regardless of its original power relations. (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Embracing indigenous African world views and root educational paradigms in indigenous African socio-cultural and epistemological frameworks. (8)	○	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q27 Indicate how often the curriculum you receive as a student....

	Very frequently (1)	Frequently (2)	Occasionally (3)	Rarely (4)	Never (5)
Allows you to understand the origins and purposes of Criminology in its historical context. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Cultivates an appreciation for diverse entry points around a particular subject. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Gives you an opportunity in your learning to widen your circles of contact or experience. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Incorporates Afrocentrism in the explanation and causation of crime. (4)	○	○	○	○	○

Promotes Western ideologies and epistemologies. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Inspires you to think critically on and engage with issues such as discrimination, racism, inequality, colonialism and inclusion. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Allows you to understand the origins and purposes of Criminology in its historical context. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Places African ideas at the centre of any analysis that involves African culture and behaviour. (8)	○	○	○	○	○

Encourages you to cultivate an appreciation for diverse entry points around a particular subject. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Allows you to engage with diverse local and global perspectives. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Includes traditional African methods of conflict resolution. (11)	○	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q28 The questions below relate to Criminology in particular:

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Sometimes (3)	Rarely (4)	Never (5)
Have you encountered indigenous perspectives in Criminology? (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Is the current curriculum relevant to African students and African conditions? (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Do you learn predominantly Eurocentric and other Western theories? (3)	○	○	○	○	○

Are you offered content in the curriculum which affords you the opportunity to engage with Indigenous Knowledge Systems? (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Do ideas and perspectives within the curriculum challenge the perspectives you hold? (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Is your culture and lived experience present in the curriculum? (6)	○	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q29 Do you think the Criminology curricula needs to be decolonised/ transformed?

- ○ To a large extent (1)
- ○ To some extent (2)
- ○ Not at all (3)

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q30 Briefly motivate your answer

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Please select option = Student

Q31 What is **YOUR** responsibility in decolonising/transforming Criminology?

_____

_____

End of Block: Decolonisation

APPENDIX C: FEMALE CRIMINOLOGISTS SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Professional

- How long have you been working in a university/academia?
- What is your position at your department? How long have you been in this position?
- How many black men and how many women work in your department?
- How many men and how many women work in your department?
- Are women under-represented in your department?
- Are black scholars under-represented in your department>
- Are women under-represented in editorial boards, society,
- What are your views on growth and promotion opportunities for women academics?
- What are the barriers and challenges women academics experience?
- What is the role and importance of mentors for women academics?
- What support networks are available for women academics?
- What strategies would you suggest are necessary for navigating an academic/scholarly career as a woman?

Personal

- Why did you choose academia as a career path?
- Can you tell me what its been like to be a black/white scholar in Criminology?
- Can you tell me about what it's been like to be a women scholar in Criminology?
- What challenges have you experienced in your academic journey as a result of your race and gender?
- What has helped you in your professional career?
- Have you ever experienced feelings of discrimination in the professional settings on the basis of your race/gender?
- In your view, what is the impact of colonialism on the gendered nature of academia?
- What has your research productivity been like – barriers and enablers of your research productivity?
- What other thoughts and feelings do you have about your academic journey that you would like to share with me?

Thank you for taking part in the study ☺

APPENDIX D: ONLINE SURVEY INFORMED CONSENT

Researcher: **Ms Lufuno Sadiki** (012 420 4861, lulu.sadiki@up.ac.za)
Supervisor: **Prof Francois Steyn** (012 420 3734, francois.steyn@up.ac.za)
REC: **Prof Maxi Schoeman** (PGHumanities@up.ac.za)

INFORMED CONSENT

The University of Pretoria's Research Ethics Committee requires that a researcher should ensure informed consent from a participant before commencing with the research inquiry. Informed consent entails providing potential participants with information about the following aspects of the research study:

1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to explore the curriculum content of Criminology in South African universities in order to determine to what extent African perspectives are reflected in the discipline and its sub-disciplines.

2. Procedures

I, the respondent, understand that I am requested to take part in the study about the curriculum content of Criminology. I understand that I will complete an online survey at a time slot that suits me. I am willing to spend sufficient time necessary to complete the online survey.

3. Possible risks

I will not be physically or psychologically (emotionally) harmed, and it is not the intention of the researcher to hurt my feelings or cause any harm whatsoever. However, if I do experience any harm, free debriefing and counselling sessions will be made available and conducted by Mr Sipho Banda, a social worker in the Department of Social Work and Criminology, who can be contacted at 012 420 4847 or sipho.sibanda@up.ac.za.

4. Benefits of participation

I understand that there is no compensation, whether financial or material, for participating in the research. I understand that by participating, or choosing not to participate, my circumstances within the university and/or department will remain unaltered. The only benefit of participating in this study is that I will gain a better understanding of decolonisation and contribute to a broader understanding of Africanisation, the curriculum content of criminology modules as well as transformation.

5. Rights as a respondents

I understand that my participation in the research inquiry is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the inquiry at any time without explanation or negative consequences. In the event of me withdrawing from the inquiry, all data collected from me will be destroyed.

6. Anonymity and confidentiality

I understand that the online survey will be used for research purposes only and all information will be kept confidential. I understand that my name or any information that could identify me will not be asked in the online survey. My name and surname will not be made known in the student's dissertation or any subsequent publications.

7. Contact details

I can contact the researcher if I have any questions or concerns relating to the study. The researcher's email address is lulu.sadiki@up.ac.za.

8. Data storage

I understand that the data collected will be stored for a period of 15 years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, as stipulated in their policy, for archiving purposes. I understand that the collected data could, in addition

to a research dissertation, be used for research outputs in the form of scientific articles and conference papers. The collected electronic data will be password protected.

9. Permission for participation in the research study

I understand what the study is about, and I am participating on a voluntary basis.

_____ _____

Respondent **Date**

APPENDIX E: FEMALE CRIMINOLOGISTS INFORMED CONSENT

Researcher: **Ms Lufuno Sadiki** (012 420 4861, lulu.sadiki@up.ac.za)
Supervisor: **Prof Francois Steyn** (012 420 3734, francois.steyn@up.ac.za)
REC: **Prof Maxi Schoeman** (PGHumanities@up.ac.za)

INFORMED CONSENT

The University of Pretoria's Research Ethics Committee requires that a researcher should ensure informed consent from a participant before commencing with the research inquiry. Informed consent entails providing potential participants with information about the following aspects of the research study:

10. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to explore and describe the experiences of women criminologists in academia to determine how their experiences are shaped by their gender and race.

11. Procedures

I, the respondent, understand that I am requested to take part in the study about the experiences of female Criminologist. I understand that I will take part in personal interview at a location of my preference in a time slot that suits me. I understand that I will be interviewed by a Criminology postgraduate student from the University of Pretoria. I am

willing to spend sufficient time necessary for the researcher to gather information from me. I give permission to the researcher to voice record the interview.

12. Possible risks

I will not be physically or psychologically (emotionally) harmed, and it is not the intention of the researcher to hurt my feelings or cause any harm whatsoever. However, if I do experience any harm due to the sensitive nature of the questions posed, debriefing and counselling sessions will be made available and conducted by Mr Sipho Banda, a social worker in the Department of Social Work and Criminology, who can be contacted at 012 420 4847 or sipho.sibanda@up.ac.za.

13. Benefits of participation

I understand that there is no compensation, whether financial or material, for participating in the research. I understand that by participating, or choosing not to participate, my circumstances within the university and/or department will remain unaltered. The only benefits for participating in the study is that I will be able to share my experiences as well as successes in academia and contribute to the understanding of transformation and gender equality.

14. Rights as a respondents

I understand that my participation in the research inquiry is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the inquiry at any time without explanation or negative consequences. In the event of me withdrawing from the inquiry, all data collected from me will be destroyed.

15. Anonymity and confidentiality

I understand that the voice recordings will be used for research purposes only and all information will be kept confidential. I understand that my name or any information that could identify me will not be recorded. My name and surname will not be made known in the student's dissertation or any subsequent publications.

16. Contact details

I can contact the researcher if I have any questions or concerns relating to the study. The researcher's email address is lulu.sadiki@up.ac.za.

17. Data storage

I understand that the data collected will be stored for a period of 15 years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, as stipulated in their policy, for archiving purposes. I understand that the collected data could, in addition to a research dissertation, be used for research outputs in the form of scientific articles and conference papers.

18. Permission for participation in the research study

I understand what the study is about, and I am participating on a voluntary basis.

_____ _____

Respondent **Date**

APPENDIX F: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Humanities 100. Since 1919

09 November 2020

Dear Ms L Sadiki

Project Title:	Exploring the transformation of Criminology in South Africa
Researcher:	Ms L Sadiki
Supervisor(s):	Prof F Steyn
Department:	Social Work and Criminology
Reference number:	28542322 (HUM026/1119)
Degree:	Doctoral

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 09 November 2020. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Innocent Pikirayi
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate Studies and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

APPENDIX G: LANGUAGE EDITING

COPY-WRITING
Specialist Consultants

Date: 26/10/2021

CLIENT: Lufuno Sadiki, Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria

A substantive language editing service was rendered for a PhD thesis entitled:

Transformation and decolonisation of Criminology in post-apartheid South Africa
Articles 1 & 2, Introduction & Conclusion

Amendments related mainly to grammatical and other linguistic aspects, in order to improve the clarity and readability of the document. However, constructive remarks and queries were made in MS Word track changes in order to help the author improve the document further. Note that we are not responsible for checking that the corrections were implemented.

As professional editors we are not responsible for the academic accuracy of the text, which rests entirely with the client(s).

Yours Sincerely,

Dr D.A. Barraclough
Full Member: South African Professional Editor's Guild (PEG), and of the South African Translators Institute (SATI)

12A Alfred St, Observatory 7925; cell 082-0766862; fax 086-2186461; david.barraclough@copy-writing.co.za
www.copy-writing.co.za