

# “We are not named”: Black women and the politics of citation in anthropology

Christen A. Smith<sup>1</sup>  and Dominique Garrett-Scott<sup>2</sup>

1 Associate Professor, Departments of African and African Diaspora Studies and Anthropology

2 Ph.D. Student, Department of Sociology, The University of Texas at Austin

Corresponding author: Christen A. Smith; e-mail: Christen.smith@austin.utexas.edu

Black women anthropologists are not cited within the discipline at a rate consistent with our scholarly production and visibility in the field. Despite our training, practice, and prolific writing, authors who publish in top-tier anthropology journals rarely cite Black women. This citational absence reveals a paradox: although Black women play key roles in the discipline as leaders and service providers, our intellectual contributions are undervalued. We are symbolically visible yet academically eclipsed. This article examines the epistemological erasure of Black women’s contributions to anthropology in the United States. Through a pilot study, we measure Black women’s citation rates in some of the highest ranked anthropology journals (according to impact factor). Moving away from a one-dimensional gender analysis toward a two-dimensional, intersectional analysis that analyzes race and gender, we find that Black women are underrepresented in citations in top-tier anthropology journals relative to their absolute representation in the field. This reveals a significant and disturbing trend: Black women anthropologists are rarely cited in top-tier anthropology journals, and in the rare instances they are cited, they are cited by other Black anthropologists. There is a need for an intersectional analysis of the politics of power and inequality in anthropology, one that not only pays attention to gender discrimination but also racial discrimination.

**Keywords** Black women, citation, anthropology, journal impact factor, academic productivity

It was my first year in my undergraduate anthropology program.<sup>1</sup> I was a junior in college, and I was enrolled in a core course on anthropological theory. It was my first core anthropology course, and I was eager to learn about this mysterious discipline that seemed to fit my interests but was unknown to me prior to starting college. Before my junior year, I had mostly taken classes in African American studies, literature, and language, although what really interested me was African diasporic cultures. My university did not have an African American studies major at that time, and I loved to travel and learn new languages, so my undergraduate advisor suggested that I pursue anthropology. It seemed like the perfect fit. However, my first course took me by surprise. Although we were reading diverse texts about world cultures, including a number of feminist anthropology texts, none of the assigned readings were by Black authors. Naively, I approached my professor after class one day and asked

her what I thought was a completely innocuous question: Are there any Black anthropologists? She flushed and curtly replied, "Well, of course there are." She proceeded to suggest that I read the recently published book *Women Writing Culture* (1995), edited by Ruth Behar and Deborah Gordon. I picked the book up from the library that day and began to read. The experience reassured me that anthropology could be for me. In it, I found Faye Harrison's (1995) "Writing Against the Grain: Cultural Politics of Difference in the Work of Alice Walker," and I learned that my path—which seemed to meander from African American studies and literature to anthropology—was not a unique one. From Zora Neale Hurston to Alice Walker, Black women who had been alienated by anthropology as a field turned to writing literature to engage with African diaspora cultures and think critically about sociopolitical and cultural realities for Black people globally. I also learned why my question had left my professor flustered: Black people, and specifically Black women, had indeed been historically erased from the canon in anthropology despite conducting far-reaching ethnographic work and writing.

I had found my kindred. Yet lurking behind an otherwise inspiring moment of revelation was a nagging issue that still remains a concern: Why are Black women *still* not included in the canon of anthropological literature despite decades of important scholarship? It seems like every generation of young Black women anthropologists goes through a learning experience similar to mine (e.g., Bolles 1995, 2013; Harrison 1995 Harrison 2008; Harrison and Harrison 1999; Harrison, Johnson-Simon, and Williams 2018; McClaurin 2001). This experience repeats itself precisely because of anthropology's entrenched epistemological relationship to patriarchal white supremacy and its refusal to grapple with this relationship over time (Beliso-De Jesús and Pierre 2020). Yet from Vera Green to Leith Mullings, Black women have shaped the field and taken important leadership roles. For example, Yolanda Moses was president of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) from 1995 to 1997, and Leith Mullings was president from 2011 to 2013. Nevertheless, despite our visible and significant service to the field, anthropology still relegates us to the intellectual margins. We are *symbolically included* but *epistemologically erased*: considered auxiliaries to anthropology as an intellectual project. I say "symbolically included" because despite our periodic prominent leadership roles within the discipline, we still experience a pervasive sense of marginalization, particularly in the AAA. Symbolic in this sense is not an absence of power but a limited frame of power that does not translate into the highest form of disciplinary respect: scholarly recognition. This feeling of marginalization is also shared by other anthropologists of color. Aisha Beliso-De Jesús and Jemima Pierre (2020, 68) remark,

As anthropologists of color whose research focuses on race and racism, we have experienced the mundane cultural logics of white supremacy within the discipline, particularly during the annual meetings. Indeed, we have experienced being dismissed by well-meaning white allies as not being "theoretical" enough because we "do race." For many of us, the experience of being trivialized at AAA meetings is part and parcel of being anthropologists of color.

Anthropologists of color in the AAA, particularly Black women, experience intellectual erasure even when we are ostensibly in the limelight. Much in the way that Black women have occupied the role of "the help" since modern slavery in the Americas, we continue to be cast as service providers but not as thinkers within the field.<sup>2</sup> To say this is not to belittle the important value of Black women's labor but rather to acknowledge the disconnect between embracing Black women as service workers and ignoring us as theorists and intellectuals. Nowhere is our erasure more evident than in the rates of citation within anthropology.

Black women are not cited in anthropology at a rate consistent with our absolute representation in the field. In other words, it appears that despite our scholarly production, training, practice, and prolific writing as anthropologists, we go either unnoticed or unremarked. Although Black women are productive archaeologists, bioanthropologists, ethnographers, linguists, and sociocultural anthropological theorists, *our non-Black colleagues are not citing our work with any measurable consistency*. We are not named.<sup>3</sup> Based on a pilot study, this article examines the epistemological erasure of Black women's contributions to anthropology in some of the highest-ranked anthropology journals according to Journal Impact Factor.

Citational politics are the rules, practices, beliefs, and principles by which we determine how we publicly map the genealogy of our thoughts and inspiration. They are much more than mere mentions; they determine how our disciplines both value our work and evaluate us as scholars. Citations determine whether we are perceived as academic subjects or objects. Although Black women make important contributions to US anthropology through our service and our leadership, we are epistemologically erased by the canon and the contemporary discourses that dictate the direction of the field. Our scholarship is more often than not invisible, and even when we are cited, our colleagues often devalue our writing as descriptive rather than theoretical.<sup>4</sup> Despite the value of our scholarship and its insight, we are rarely cited in the anthropology venues that matter most to anthropology and the US academy. This means that despite our perceived value as anthropological spokespersons (leaders and service providers among our discipline's membership), we are not equally valued intellectually (citation), which in turn translates into academic eclipsing within the culture of the US academy. This is significant considering the trend toward measuring productivity according to citational rates. Although women seem to be emerging on par with men in terms of citational rates in anthropology (Chibnik 2014), *Black women* still face deep-seated bias. If anthropologists are serious about the need to eliminate inequality within our ranks, then we must begin to cite Black women.

Our pilot study on the citation rates of Black women in top-tier anthropology journals reveals a significant and disturbing trend: Black women anthropologists are scarcely cited in relative comparison to our absolute representation in the field; in the infrequent instances that we are cited, we are cited by other Black anthropologists. Most often, non-Black authors cite no Black women at all.<sup>5</sup> The few non-Black authors who do cite Black women, cite only a small handful: far less than the rates of citation among Black authors. Black women are underrepresented in these bibliographies relative to what we would expect given our representation in the field. If citation is the standard-bearer for determining disciplinary worth, then it would seem that non-Black anthropologists do not recognize Black women as intellectual standard setters—the theorists and rigorous scholars who inspire their work. In other words, we are not recognized as the conceptual framers of the field.<sup>6</sup>

In the spirit of feminist critiques of citational practices in anthropology (e.g., Bolles 2013; Lutz 1990), this article moves away from a one-dimensional gender analysis that does not account for race (Lutz 1990) toward a two-dimensional, representational, and intersectional analysis that assesses gender and race simultaneously (Bolles 1995, 2013). We use Journal Impact Factor (JIF) rankings for five top-tier journals published in the United States in 2016 and 2017 to analyze the frequency with which the most cited articles in those years cite Black women.<sup>7</sup> In all, we analyze 5,445 citations from 61 articles. The findings of our pilot study are clear: if top-tier anthropology journals represent the intellectual ethos of the discipline, then Black women's writing is not referenced at a rate consistent with our absolute representation in the field. Black women are severely underrepresented in the elite journals of the discipline. Given the role that elite journals play

in defining the discourse and trends in anthropology, this citational underrepresentation connotes the extent to which Black women are undervalued as thought producers within the discipline. This is significant because it demonstrates a need for an intersectional analysis of the politics of power and inequality in anthropology, one that pays attention not only to gender discrimination but also racial discrimination—including implicit and explicit bias—as they interlock as mechanisms of social marginalization.

### Speaking from the Margins

As a Black feminist anthropologist, I have viscerally known that I sit at the margins of anthropology for quite some time. Indeed, I would suggest that most, if not all, Black women anthropologists know our precarious position within the field, and viscerally feel the ways that we are undervalued by allies and non-allies alike. For years, Black feminist anthropologists have made the assertion that anthropology marginalizes Black women as writers and knowledge producers while simultaneously using Black women's intellectual labor. Although Black women's leadership contributions to anthropology have been far and wide, including presidencies of the AAA and its subsections, anthropology does not treat us as *protagonists* of the discipline. In making this statement, I do not mean that all anthropologists erase Black women—Black anthropologists tend to recognize and cite Black women. However, non-Black anthropologists by and large ignore or marginalize us, despite publicly engaging with us as emblematic invocations of diversity.

In her insightful essay "Academia, the Free Market, and Diversity" (2008), originally published in 1999, Faye Harrison observes that there is an "enforcement of an intellectual division of labor by gender and race, which assigns [Black women in anthropology] the housekeeping role of collecting and describing data" (278). Four years before, in "Writing Against the Grain," Harrison writes, "anthropology's opportunity structure accommodates limited Black participation in rank-and-file ethnographic production—particularly as glorified field assistants 'on the cheap'—but limits positive, validating sanctions for their formulating cross-culturally testable explanations of data" (1995, 234). In other words, Black women are accepted as anthropological workhorses but not as anthropological idea makers. This housekeeping includes disciplinary service—prestigious and otherwise. Harrison tells a series of stories about being snubbed and marginalized on high-profile national committees inside and outside of the AAA. She was ignored and her ideas were dismissed or attributed to someone else in these meetings: "My ideas provided the data that allowed an authorized voice to speak conclusively. Does this not represent a relation of appropriation?" (2008, 268). If our scholarship is invisible but our bodies are hyper-visible, our discipline does not view us as anthropological subjects. Rather, we are anthropological objects. Citation—the process of crediting ideas and inspiration to their source—is not only the measure of "success" in the academy; it is also the mark of subjectivity.

Lynn Bolles shares similar experiences. In 1995, Bolles gave a paper at the annual AAA meeting. In this paper, "Decolonizing Feminist Anthropology," she critiqued the citational erasure of Black women from feminist anthropology:

What rhetorical trajectory would best convey my sense of frustration and betrayal at the lack of inclusion of African American feminist's research in the citations of my feminist colleagues. How to describe that these practices were rendering Black feminist anthropology invisible in the short and long run. The feminist project is influencing and reconfiguring the discipline. But this same group is erasing a sector of its membership. (2)

Bolles's presentation sparked an animated conversation at the annual meeting around the intersectional politics of race, gender, and citation. However, despite this intrigue, the panel's organizers chose not to invite Bolles to contribute her paper to the book that subsequently came out of that panel—an act of erasure that mirrored the critiques Bolles identified in her paper (email correspondence between Christen Smith and Lynn Bolles, August 31, 2020, to September 1, 2020). Consequently, despite the publication of her fellow panelists' work, Bolles would not be able to publish her paper until almost twenty years later in 2013 in *Transforming Anthropology*, the journal of the Association of Black Anthropologists.

Bolles's 2013 article, a revised version of her 1995 AAA conference paper, argues that anthropology systematically erases Black women by failing to cite us. She writes, "The Black female voice in anthropology is not fully included in the reading and the teaching of anthropology" (57). She goes on to state, "The ways of 'miseducation' in anthropology are the glaring omissions in citations, and exclusion from discussions that establish recognition in the field" (58). For Bolles,

[E]ven though African American feminist anthropologists publish, their works fail to be adequately recognized and cited by anthropologists, including those who count as allies and colleagues ... If the citation wars have meaning in the modern academy ... then in both short and long runs African American scholars are/will be faceless and voiceless in the anthropological record. (66-67)

Our experiences with publishing and citation mirror those of Black women outside of anthropology as well (e.g., Bailey and Trudy 2018; Christian 1987; Guy-Sheftall 1995; Hull, Scott, and Smith 1982; Lorde 1984; Morrison 1992). The citational erasure of Black women is a long-standing problem that is deeply embedded in the white supremacist, neoliberal logics of the academy.

Bolles's observations are based on her long history as a leading Black feminist anthropologist—one who has experienced repeated moments of intellectual erasure over the course of her career.<sup>8</sup> Examining the erasure of Black women from the feminist anthropology canon, Bolles deepens the critique of citational erasure by taking on the delicate topic of citational politics among women, particularly the erasure of Black women's intellectual contributions by their feminist anthropologist, non-Black colleagues. She asserts, "White privilege ... allows White feminist anthropologists to carry out normative practices of exclusion of their Black feminist counterparts from the activities that count in the academy such as recognition and citation" (2013, 57). Building from intellectual and activist Frances Beal's (1970) notion of "double jeopardy," Bolles affirms, "despite employing analytical tools that dissect the structural and cultural implications of race, gender, ethnic, economic, and other forms of social inequality found across the globe ... feminist anthropologists have basically rendered Black feminist anthropology almost invisible" (57). Much like the tensions between Black and white feminists in feminist movements across the Americas (Carneiro 2003; Carneiro 2019; Curiel 2016; Gonzalez 1988; Hull, Scott, and Smith 1982; Lorde 1984), Black women have been marginalized and erased by allies and non-allies.

Many, if not most, Black women anthropologists can tell stories of being ignored, overlooked, or even worse plagiarized and silenced by our colleagues—myself included. This occlusion is intimately tied to the politics of anti-Blackness and misogynoir that run deep in the academy.<sup>9</sup> However, it is also true that epistemological anti-Blackness impacts Black scholars generally. As historian Nell Painter observes, one of the negative realities Black scholars face in the US academy is the invisibilization of our scholarship.<sup>10</sup> She writes, "[The] phenomenon of invisible scholarship involves the absence of one's publications from other people's footnotes and bibliographies" (Painter 2000). Indeed, Black studies scholarship is often invisible outside of the discipline of Black studies, in

part because Black scholars are devalued and in part because Black studies is devalued (Painter 2000; Pickett 2009). The logics of patriarchal white supremacy determine the politics of knowledge production and consumption, leaving Black scholars on the margins.

Anthropology has an intimate historical relationship with devaluing Blackness and Black people (Baker 1998). This history manifests in the systematic erasure of Black anthropologists of all genders from the canon (e.g., Harrison and Harrison 1999; Harrison, Johnson-Simon and Williams 2018; McClaurin 2001). As Harrison and Harrison (1999, 4) observe, “Anthropology, like all other disciplines, is produced and reproduced in a wider order of power that hierarchically positions multiple knowledges by valorizing some and subjugating others ... . This process appropriates, disguises, and buries certain knowledges within the body of systematizing theory.” Despite the fact that Black researchers have played significant roles in constructing the field of anthropology since the nineteenth century, these contributions and the acknowledgment of this work have never been fully realized, especially in the footnotes and the bibliographies of the discipline. For example, Haitian anthropologist Anténor Firmin (1850-1911) was one of the foremost critiques of the racist eugenics of Arthur de Gobineau and helped to found the field of biological anthropology. The absence of figures like Firmin from the anthropological history books is what led Faye Harrison and colleagues (1997) to argue for the need to decolonize anthropology. Yet anthropology still has not been decolonized. Returning to Beliso-De Jesús and Pierre (2020, 69), “the history of anthropology depends on racialist imperial logics based on the privileging of whiteness.” The realities of misogynoir complicate this already acute and racialized erasure. Heteropatriarchy, misogyny, and white supremacy impact the extent to which anthropologists acknowledge Black women’s writing (Bolles 2013; Harrison 1995; Harrison 2008; McClaurin 2001; Moses 1989).<sup>11</sup> The citational erasure of Black women in anthropology is the result of the uniquely intersectional realities of gender and race discrimination.<sup>12</sup>

Black women’s experiences as faculty and students in predominately white spaces (departments, conferences, classrooms) teach us that we are “outsiders within” (Harrison 2008).<sup>13</sup> We reside in the liminal in-between of being there but not seen, present but not counted—peripheralized:

Peripheralization or erasure can result from the way an academic audience receives an intellectual product such as a publication ... this can be measured by citation and content analysis. Erasure and silencing also take place in the everyday and not-so-publicly displayed behaviors constitutive of the conditions under which ideas are developed—or underdeveloped. Among these behaviors are the communications and interactions that influence—by facilitating or obstructing—the production of work deemed to be publishable. (Harrison 2008, 277-78)

Race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect to produce a distinct kind of inequality, where Black women are symbolically seen but not heard (cited) in anthropology. Citational erasure is the evidence of our lack of assigned value.

## Citation, Gender, and Anthropology

At least since the 1970s, scholars across academic disciplines have queried the impact of gender on citational politics (e.g., Ferber 1986, 1988; Ferber and Brün 2011; Lutz 1990; Morgen 1989; Rossiter 1993). Researchers have found evidence of gender inequality in citations across disciplines, particularly the sciences (e.g., Aksnes et. al 2011; Beaudry and Larivière 2016; Dion, Sumner, and Mitchell 2018; Ferber and Brün 2011; Maliniak, Powers, and Walter 2013; Mitchell, Lange, and Brus 2013; Rossiter 1993). In anthropology, discussions of gender and citation emerged out of

the 1970's feminist turn. For example, in her introduction to *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, Rayna Reiter (now Rapp) writes of the treatment of women in anthropological literature: "Too often women and their roles are glossed over, under-analyzed, or absent from all but the edges of the description ... [These studies] are all instances of a deeply rooted male orientation which makes the anthropological discourse suspect" (1975, 12). This feminist critique of anthropology expands throughout the 1980s (e.g., Morgen 1989). These conversations provide the backdrop for a more pointed criticism of citational erasure, albeit from white women's perspectives.<sup>14</sup>

In 1990, Catherine Lutz provided analytical data to buttress the feelings of erasure women anthropologists had already identified. Her critical reflection on gender inequality and citational politics in anthropology examines the tension between apparent advances in eliminating gender inequality in anthropology in the 1980s (the increased inclusion of women in graduate school, on AAA panels, as panel organizers, and as authors in anthropology journals) and the absence of women authors from anthropology's bibliographies. Her article analyzes the frequency and class of paper presentations at the AAA conference and citational indices for four anthropology journals from 1977 to 1986: *American Anthropologist*, *American Ethnologist*, *Ethos*, and *Human Organization*. Specifically, Lutz was interested in how often women published in these journals (alongside an analysis of submission vs. publication) and how often they were cited. She found an increase in publication rates over this time period, which paralleled the growth in the popularity of feminist anthropology. From this, she concluded that "women's writing enters the standard journals and other writing venues of the discipline at a rate which suggests that their voices are not excluded from the field" (Lutz 1990, 616). However, she also found that while anthropology journals were publishing women's work, women were not being cited at a rate consistent with that of men.

Lutz's findings exposed the paradox of diversity gains in anthropology. While women were being increasingly included, they were not being given the coveted value of intellectual acknowledgment: citation. Citation is cultural capital within the academy, and is heavily dependent on social networks and implicated by power relationships. Lutz's reflections on this are worth quoting at length:

The citation is a central part of all academic writing and is one of the most important ways in which academics evaluate the written work of others. To engage in scholarship is to involve oneself with the ideas of others, to attempt to support, amend, or overturn them, but first of all to take them under consideration. The citation is an index of a judgement, made by the author of the article in which the citation appears, that the person cited has been taken seriously. (1990, 612)

In other words, the gender bias that exists in citation is a question of value—to what extent are women's thoughts considered valuable within the epistemological structure of the field? As feminist scholar Sara Ahmed (2013, 2017) observes, citational structures are the reproductive technologies of disciplines. Ahmed writes, "I would describe citation as a rather successful reproductive technology, a way of reproducing the world around certain bodies."<sup>15</sup> Citational politics produce social meaning in the academy. Yet visibility is only one aspect of citational structures. If our disciplines are our intellectual societies, then citation is a question of citizenship and belonging—to be cited is to belong to the intellectual polity.

Lutz's early work laid the foundation for subsequent studies examining gender bias in anthropology and discussions of citational politics. In 2014, Michael Chibnik conducted a follow-up study in which he analyzed 462 research articles (including presidential addresses) published in *American Anthropologist* and found that there were no significant differences in citation rates between male and female authors. Yet studies in linguistics and biological anthropology suggest that

a stark gender gap persists (e.g., Dominguez, Gutmann, and Lutz 2014; Isbell, Young, and Harcourt 2012; McElhinny et al. 2003). However, while there have been generations of inquiry into the politics of gender and citation in anthropology, very few scholars have studied the intersection of race and gender inequality. Yolanda Moses (1989) and Faye Harrison (2008) deeply reflect on the impact of the politics of race, gender, and the academy for Black women from a Black feminist anthropological perspective. Irma McClaurin's (2001) edited volume, *Black Feminist Anthropology*, gathers stories of Black women's experiences in anthropology that include reflections on the invisibility of their scholarship. Yet Lynn Bolles's "Telling the Story Straight" (2013) is the only scholarly article to specifically measure the *citational* erasure of Black women in anthropology that I have found to date. Bolles's study distinguishes itself by specifically analyzing citation rates—literally counting how often Black women anthropologists are cited. What she finds is unsurprising: Black women's scholarship is undercited not only in the discipline as a whole but also in feminist anthropology specifically. Reading her conclusions alongside similar, non-intersectional studies stresses the need for intersectional analyses. We can only get a full picture of the landscape of discrimination in anthropology if we know more about Black women's experiences being cited in the field.

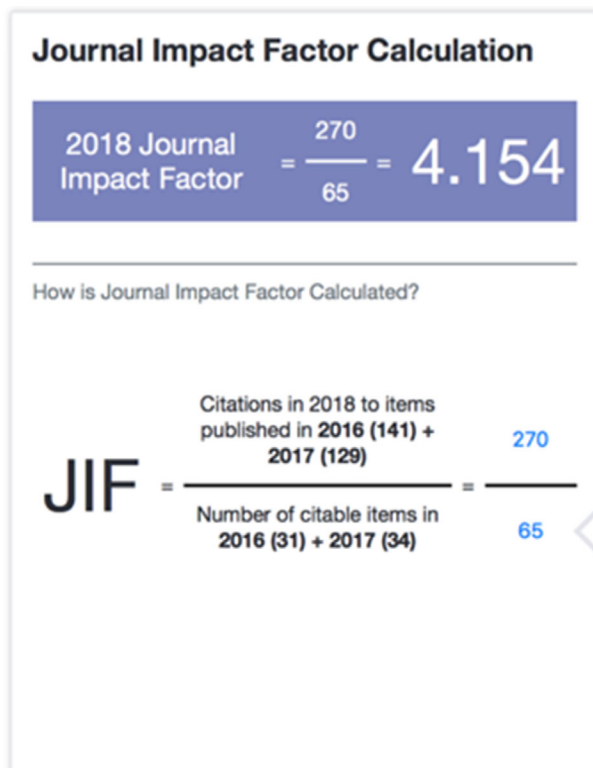
## Rates of Citation for Black Women in Anthropology

This section presents a methodological overview of the pilot study we conducted over eleven months, analyzing Black women's rates of citation in top-tier anthropology journals. This pilot study is part of a larger, more expansive, and more comprehensive research investigation of Black women's rates of citation in anthropology, and is therefore preliminary research. This is a study of the underrepresentation of Black women in citations in top-tier anthropology journals. In this sense, it is not a gap study, choosing to consider the relationship between absolute representation in the field and relative representation in citation rather than compare citations across and between gender and racial groups. This pilot study follows the methodological lead of Catherine Lutz (1990) and Lynn Bolles (2013) by identifying how frequently authors cite Black women in top-tier anthropology journals as a method for measuring their perceived intellectual value within the discipline.

Much has changed since Catherine Lutz's 1990 study. At that time, long before the proliferation of the internet as a research tool, Lutz relied upon manual methods to count citations. Bolles's (2013) work benefits from some of the technological advances of the internet in the 1990s and early 2000s. Her research relies on an exploratory study of citational patterns using the 2001 Social Web.<sup>16</sup> She looks at fifteen Black women anthropologists, covering 409 citations (Bolles 2013, 67). The research we present here builds from where Bolles left off, using more recent advances in technology and shifts in the culture of citational metrics to present an updated snapshot of the underrepresentation of Black women in citations relative to Black women's absolute representation in the field based on a sample of articles in a sample of journals. Twenty years later, we have many more research tools at our disposal to do the work of citational analysis. Almost all academic journals are digital and available online. There has been a proliferation of online citational databases and indexing. We now have InCites, Web of Science, Google Scholar, and others at our disposal, making a comprehensive analysis of citational data more accessible, albeit still a bit tedious.

The first step in our pilot study was to use the 2018 Journal Impact Factor (JIF) rankings of anthropology journals by InCites to identify the top-five-ranked sociocultural and general anthropology journals published in the United States.<sup>17</sup> We chose to use this sample because of the role that top-tier sociocultural and general anthropology journals play in determining the





**Figure 1** Screen shot of InCites calculation of 2018 Journal Impact Factor (JIF) for *Cultural Anthropology*.

current discourse and trends of the field. The articles published in these journals represent the topics and ideas that anthropologists deem cutting-edge for that time period, and thus reflect conversations that the discipline believes are important. The citations in the articles included in these journals for this time period therefore represent what authors feel to be the genealogy of thought behind the trending issues in anthropology at the time, and reflect a mixture of the canon and that which anthropologists cite as the important research influencing contemporary discourses in anthropology.

Journal Impact Factor is “a measure of the frequency with which the average article in a journal is cited in a given period” (Groesser 2012, 624).<sup>18</sup> It is the most commonly used measure to determine the impact of journals in the social sciences and the sciences. InCites calculated the JIF for 2018 by dividing the number of times an article published in a journal in 2016 and 2017 was cited in 2018. It then divided that number by the total number of articles the journal published in 2016 and 2017. For example, Figure 1 shows how InCites calculated the 2018 JIF for *Cultural Anthropology*. Using the InCites ranking, we chose the top five general and sociocultural anthropology journals published in the United States for the 2018 JIF calculation period (journal publications in 2016 and 2017): *Cultural Anthropology* (4.154 JIF), *American Ethnologist* (3.053 JIF), *Current Anthropologist* (2.787 JIF), *American Anthropologist* (2.709 JIF), and *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2.698 JIF).<sup>19</sup>

The second step was to use JIF article ranking to identify the top ten articles in each journal published in 2016 or 2017. We included articles tied in rank in our top ten.<sup>20</sup> Our sample includes 61 articles in all: 12 articles from *Cultural Anthropology*; 16 from *American Ethnologist*; 11 from *Current Anthropology*; 12 from *American Anthropologist*; and 10 from *Annual Review of Anthropology*.

The third step was to aggregate all 5,445 of the citations for the 61 articles we identified. We used this aggregate sample to determine what percentage of total citations were of Black women authors generally, and then Black women anthropologists specifically.

This pilot study limits itself to the parameters of the culture of anthropology in the United States as a case study. Although digital databases and measuring systems that evaluate faculty productivity exist globally (for example, the *Currículo Lattes* in Brazil), the United States is a key case study given the imperialism of the US academy. Systems that measure and rank scholarship according to Journal Impact Factor have become critical and decidedly neoliberal tools for evaluating academic production in the United States (e.g., Webber 2011). For example, according to its website, Ohio State University uses both InCites and Academic Analytics to evaluate faculty productivity levels.<sup>21</sup> Universities use productivity levels to make promotion, tenure, and retention decisions. Universities' use of citational metrics to measure productivity is not without contention, however. For example, in 2018, the Faculty Council at the University of Texas at Austin voted to approve a resolution recommending that the university "make no use of data collected from Academic Analytics in allocating resources among individual faculty, departments/programs, and colleges" or "in tenure and promotion decisions or other reviews, including hiring" (Basken 2018). The resolution emerged after the faculty discovered that the university had been contracting with Academic Analytics since 2012 without faculty knowledge. Faculty expressed acute concerns over the accuracy of these metrics, claiming, "The methods and variables employed by Academic Analytics, LLC inadequately capture the extraordinary breadth, methodologies, and quality of scholarly inquiry on a university campus with a large number of colleges and departments" (University of Texas at Austin Faculty Council 2019). The resolution came on the heels of similar denunciations from faculty at Rutgers and Georgetown (Basken 2018). Citational metrics are an important aspect of the culture of knowledge and labor value in the US academy. To follow, evidence of severe race and gender underrepresentation in citation are most likely significant indicators of structural inequality across the board in the academy.

Understanding how citational metrics measure Black women's productivity gives us important insight into the perceived value of Black women's intellectual labor within the frame of the neoliberal university in the United States. By analyzing citational rates in the top-tier journals according to Journal Impact Factor, we believe that we can gain important perspective on bias against Black women faculty working in the United States. The extent to which journals with high impact factors (HIF) cite Black women directly impacts how much the academy values Black women as faculty workers. The same is true within the social economy of anthropology. Anthropologists also widely recognize anthropology journals with high JIFs as the intellectual standard setters for the field.

Within our citation sample, we counted all Black women authors, not just Black women anthropologists. A large proportion of the Black women we identified within our citation sample were not anthropologists—an interesting result that we did not anticipate. We counted each cited publication authored by one or more Black women as one, rather than counting the total number of Black female authors that appear across all citations. In other words, if there was an article authored by three Black women, we counted it as one citation, not three, because it was only cited once despite having three authors. Likewise, if an article was coauthored between a Black woman and non-Black authors, we also counted that as one citation. We chose to do this to be consistent with the methods InCites uses to factor JIF (counting the number of citations rather than the number of people cited).

This pilot study is a first step in a larger research project that takes an in-depth look at the impact of citational politics on Black women in anthropology, from a quantitative and qualitative

perspective, across multiple variables. It has several limitations that we acknowledge briefly here and also identify later in this article. We identified Black authors by race and gender self-identification, as well as visual analysis cross-referenced by internet background research (using existing racial and gender identity information we found online to determine race and gender identification). Given this, we think that it is extremely important to acknowledge that any analysis of gender binaries is deeply problematic as it reifies normative gender discourse and cis-heteronormative ideas of gender identity, despite best efforts not to do so. We address this further in our discussion of limitations. We try to mitigate this by framing this study as one of *perceived gender*, not lived gender (which we feel is not fixed and constant). In other words, it is a study that acknowledges the ways that transphobic and cis-biased gender binaries continue to shape the contours of people's experiences with gender discrimination and misogyny in the academy; experiences often manifest through citational practice. With regards to race, we also acknowledge zones of ambiguity that make race difficult to identify at times. For this reason, self-identification is an extremely important element of our methodological frame. We were able to readily identify Black women anthropologists by cross-referencing citations with our preliminary crowd-sourced list of Black women anthropologists tenured or on tenure track in the US academy.<sup>22</sup>

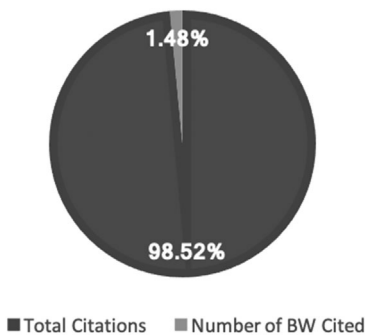
## Results and Analysis

Context is a vital element of framing statistical information. Numbers can be deceiving, particularly without a basic sense of the demographic trends in the analyzed population. For this reason, we must understand the gender/racial breakdown of US anthropology as a whole to accurately analyze the patterns we see in citation. As previously discussed, the American Anthropological Association is widely recognized as the principal professional organization for anthropologists in the United States. In 2018, the AAA conducted a survey of its membership. That year, the AAA had 899 members, of which 273 (30.4 percent) successfully completed the membership survey (Jackson and Ginsberg 2019). Of those surveyed, 65.6 percent identified as women and 34.4 percent identified as men (of the 273 respondents, three identified as gender nonbinary). The survey also counted race: 67 percent of respondents identified as white, 1.8 percent Black, and 10.6 percent more than one race or ethnicity.<sup>23</sup> Although the published survey did not aggregate gender and race, we contacted the AAA to get clarification on the gender/racial breakdown of the survey participants. According to Daniel Ginsberg, director of education and professional practice at the American Anthropological Association, of the total respondents, five were Black women ("2.1%, with a 95% confidence interval of 0.28%-3.89%") and none were Black men. However, Ginsberg notes, "If we also include bi- or multiracial respondents who identified as Black as well as some other race, there are 12 women (5%; 2.24%-7.76%) and no men."<sup>24</sup>

These figures require us to pause and assess. We know that there are Black men who are members of the AAA (see, for example, the membership roster for the Association of Black Anthropologists). In addition, there is a significant difference in percentages when we include multiracial respondents who also identify as Black. Considering this, we can assume that the survey might not reflect an accurate percentage of Black anthropologists in the United States. To control for these discrepancies, Ginsberg suggested that we compare the 2018 AAA survey with the five most recent years of available data on recent anthropology PhDs (2014-2018). According to the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), approximately 2.6 percent of anthropology PhDs went to Black women.<sup>25</sup> Table 1 represents the IPEDS findings (NCES/IPEDS 2014-2017 2018).

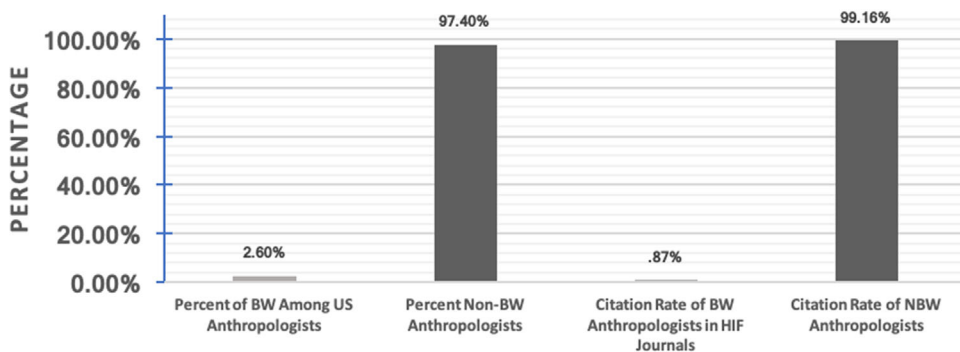
**Table 1** IPEDS Anthropology Demographic Data

	Men		Women	
	n	% of total	n	% of total
Asian	34	1.20%	75	2.70%
Black or African American	34	1.20%	73	2.60%
Hispanic or Latino	66	2.30%	120	4.20%
American Indian or Alaska Native	12	0.40%	19	0.70%
Nonresident alien	229	8.10%	232	8.20%
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	1	0.00%	1	0.00%
race/ethnicity unknown	99	3.50%	173	6.10%
Two or more races	16	0.60%	39	1.40%
White	580	20.50%	1022	36.20%
Total	1071	37.90%	1754	62.10%

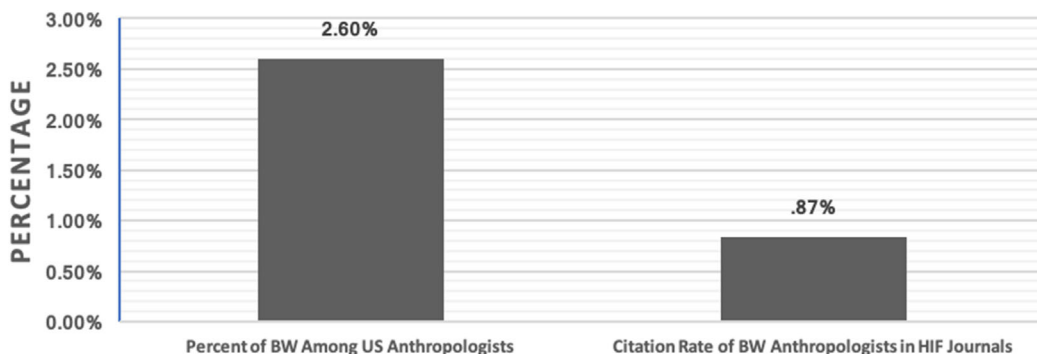
**Figure 2** Black Women Cited in Sample of Top-Ranked Journals According to 2018 JIF.

Given the range of the AAA 2018 survey data and the findings of the IPEDS survey, we can reasonably assume that Black women make up approximately 2.6 percent of US anthropologists. This gives us the basic frame from which to analyze the results from our sample study. If Black women make up 2.6 percent of US anthropologists, then we should expect Black women's rates of citation in top-tier anthropology journals to be similar in absolute comparison to their representation in the field. However, according to our pilot study's findings, Black women only constitute 1.48 percent of the total citations included in this study—82 out of 5,445 (see Figure 2). More interestingly, this figure—albeit already an underrepresentation of the percentage of Black women in anthropology—does not accurately reflect the rates of citation for Black women anthropologists within our sample. Of the total number of publications authored or coauthored by Black women that we identified (82), *only 46 are publications authored by Black women anthropologists*. Black women anthropologists make up 0.87 percent of the total citations in our sample, a severe underrepresentation relative to their absolute representation in US anthropology (see Figures 3, 4, 5).

Disaggregating the patterns of citation by race displays significant findings. In our sample, Black authors cite Black women more often than non-Black authors do. Of the 82 citations of Black women that we analyzed, 47 were citations made by Black authors. Black authors wrote only 3 of the total 61 articles we examined, constituting 295 out of 5,445 citations. That is to say, Black authors constituted 5 percent of the articles analyzed but were responsible for 57 percent of the citations of Black women. Articles written by *non-Black authors* make up 95 percent of the articles analyzed



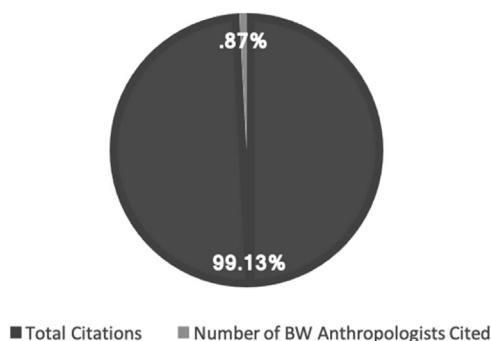
**Figure 3** Percentage of Black Women (BW) Anthropologists and Rates of Citation of BW in Sample of Top-Ranked Journals According to 2018 JIF.



**Figure 4** Percent of BW Among US Anthropologists vs. Rates of Citation in Sample of Top-Ranked Journals According to 2018 JIF.

and contribute 43 percent of the citations of Black women. Moreover, only 29 percent of the articles written by non-Black authors (17 out of 58) cite Black women. By contrast, 100 percent (3 out of 3) of the articles written by Black authors cite Black women.

We get an ever-clearer picture of the citational landscape of anthropology when we disaggregate the results to isolate citations of *Black women anthropologists*. As mentioned previously, Black women anthropologists constitute 46 of the 82 citations of Black women among the citations



**Figure 5** Black Women Anthropologists Cited in Sample of Top-Ranked Journals According to 2018 JIF.

we analyzed (57 percent). For Black authors, Black women anthropologists constitute 16 percent of total citations (46/295). For non-Black authors, Black women anthropologists constitute 0.68 percent of total citations (35/5,150). All of the articles by Black authors in our sample cited Black women anthropologists. In comparison, only 12 articles by non-Black authors cite Black women anthropologists (19.6 percent). Non-Black authors are overrepresented in the citations we analyzed, and while Black women anthropologists are overrepresented in citations by Black authors, they are severely underrepresented in citations by non-Black authors.

When taking demographics into consideration, Black women anthropologists are half as likely to be cited by non-Black anthropologists. Articles in top-tier anthropology journals rarely, if ever, cite Black women. The few articles that do cite Black women tend to be by Black authors.

## Limitations

The results of this pilot study are only a glimpse into what we believe to be a much bigger, more complex problem that merits further, comprehensive investigation. There are several limitations to the results we present here. The most slippery problem with the current line of research is the tendency to reify gender binaries that may be fluid, which we briefly discussed above. When identifying citations by gender, we can only rely on the gender information that exists in an author's public record. We relied on pronoun usage and self-identification (either by personal acquaintance or through public records) to determine authors' genders. This method cannot account for real-time gender identification. In other words, we can only evaluate gender identification based on what we find in public record, not the concurrent identification of the author. People change their public gender identification according to their personal identities, histories, and rights. If an author has changed their gender identification in the course of this study, or other public record does not match their gender identification, our data does not reflect this dynamic. Moreover, perceived gender is deceptive. There are nuances that complicate citational politics with regard to perceived gender identity: Regardless of personal gender identity, does perceived gender identity affect citation rates?

Likewise, race can be slippery, albeit in different ways. In a couple of cases, we were unable to identify an author based on race. This was not the case for Black women anthropologists, all of whom we were able to identify according to our preliminary list of Black women anthropologists in the United States. However, there were a few non-anthropologist authors that we could not identify by race. Consequently, we did not include them in our count of cited Black women. Region has a significant impact on racial identification, and although we do recognize this, we could not always account for it. In a place like England, for example, someone of Southeast Asian descent might be identified as Black. The same is true for South Africa. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, we feel that this study demonstrates clearly how those authors who publicly identify as Black women experience citational erasure.

Other lines of inquiry are important for future work as well. For example, we hope to analyze the frequency with which authors publishing in anthropology journals cite Black women anthropologists and what percentage of Black women anthropologists' overall citations come from the discipline. It would also be interesting to determine how often Black women publish in anthropology journals and compare this information to citation rates, as Lutz (1990) did. What are Black women's submission and acceptance rates in anthropology journals? Even as we make this observation, however, we are aware that publication rates are also quite fraught: How can we differentiate between voluntary and

involuntary rates of publication, for example? In other words, to what extent are rates of publication a question of choice, preparedness, or further discrimination at the editorial and peer-review stage that lead to rejection? If Black women are being rejected at higher rates, what reasons are given for this rejection? Are Black women choosing not to submit to anthropology journals? If so, why? Do they believe those journals are discriminatory? Moreover, what are the coded racialized and gendered ways that the peer-review process measures knowledge? Are Black women more or less likely to be published if they write about certain topics? What about the question of patronage? Does having a white man as an advisor or spokesperson make a difference in whether a Black woman's work is accepted by anthropology journals? What about a white woman patron or advisor? How do existing social networks and cultural capital factor into Black women's ability to be cited and published in anthropology journals, and what percentage of Black women have access to these networks and resources? Also, what happens when we analyze rates of citation across demographics? This is just a short list of questions that we find interesting and important, and that merit further inquiry. In short, there is plenty of work to be done. The work that we share here is just one step toward answering a broader set of critical questions.

In any study, it is important to play devil's advocate. We are aware that some people will read the results of this study and conclude that it is an absence of "merit" and not discrimination that leads to Black women's erasure. One of the classic racist and sexist excuses for dismissing Black women's scholarship is the assumption that Black women's research and writing are subpar. Of course, this is an old and familiar dog whistle (e.g., Guinier and Torres 2002). Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1989) writes extensively on this white supremacist and patriarchal way of thinking, and what she terms the "knowledge-validation process." Her words are worth citing at length:

Since the general culture shaping the taken-for-granted knowledge of the community of experts is one permeated by widespread notions of Black and female inferiority, new knowledge claims that seem to violate these fundamental assumptions are likely to be viewed as anomalies ... . The experiences of African-American women scholars illustrate how individuals who wish to rearticulate a Black women's standpoint through Black feminist thought can be suppressed by a white-male-controlled knowledge validation process. (752)

Our pilot study corroborates the observations of Black feminist scholars like Collins. Black women's epistemologies are delegitimated by the knowledge-validation process of anthropology, leading to a gross lack of engagement in anthropology with Black women's scholarship.

## Conclusions: A Way Forward

There is a tendency within the academy to privilege white, heterosexist, patriarchal, and imperialist thought.<sup>26</sup> That tendency is acute in anthropology. Although anthropology has been grappling with its colonialist and racist roots since at least the 1980s, we have yet to truly decolonize the racist and sexist epistemological assumptions that define our discipline.<sup>27</sup> Citing Black women might be one way to begin overturning the patriarchal, heterosexist, imperialist, white supremacist structure of anthropology. Yet citing Black women is not simply a matter of including the reference for an idea in a bibliography or text of a scholarly work. To undo anthropology's marriage to white patriarchal, heterosexist, and imperialist supremacy as we know it, we must allow Black women's epistemologies—not to be confused with Black women's periodic reproductions of hegemonic white supremacist discourses—to dismantle the house that anthropology has built. This is not a simple task. Indeed, Black women do, at times, fall back into the familiar tropes of

undervaluing Black women's knowledge production. Yet if we recognize that there are aspects of Black women's epistemologies that have been historically antithetical to anthropology's perception of its intellectual project, then to explore those areas of knowledge is also to unearth anthropology's deepest fears, and potentially a clue to undoing it as we know it.

Racial upheaval struck the United States again in 2020. The public lynching of George Floyd in May 2020 reignited the country's attention to the necropolitics of the US state, and the urgent need to end police killings of Black people. The national uprisings of summer 2020 also brought about a reckoning across US society, including the academy. Universities across the country issued statements against racism and scrambled to put together diversity and inclusion taskforces denouncing anti-Blackness. Anthropology found itself squarely in the center of the conversation. The Association of Black Anthropologists issued a strong statement in response to the national conversation, and organizations like the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the AAA worked to create public events and responses to the needs of the moment. However, as many Black women in the US academy observed on spaces like Twitter and Facebook, ironically, the burden of service still fell back on Black women. Black women faculty became increasingly overwhelmed by requests to put in extra hours serving on committees, writing statements, speaking on panels, and creating new syllabi. Nevertheless, despite this service work, many of the antiracist reading lists that academic departments and universities created to educate their communities failed to cite Black women. Books by Black men and white women from the *New York Times* best-sellers list became the gold standard while Black women's scholarship took a back seat. What happens in moments of crisis reflects our social consciousness. If we are truly to dismantle patriarchal white supremacy and achieve antiracism and Black liberation, then we must cite Black women. Otherwise, we are simply reifying old hierarchies of knowledge production and labor distribution.

To change the culture of gendered, racial, epistemological erasure in anthropology, we must redefine the structure of our citational world. This means going beyond haphazardly inserting sources into bibliographies. We must deeply engage with Black women's ideas and experiences. We must read Black women's work and allow it to shift the criteria by which we understand, measure, and validate knowledge. We must begin to see Black women as intellectual subjects, not objects of anthropology. Tacking Black women onto a syllabus or a footnote as an afterthought is not serious engagement and does not undo existing power structures (see for example the work of the Cite Black Women Collective and "Cite Black Women: A Critical Praxis (A Statement)" in this special issue). There are ways that we can cite works without truly honoring their contributions (e.g., Harrison 2008; Lutz 1990). We must make a deep investment in deconstructing the hierarchy of knowledge production in anthropology to truly become an antiracist, anti-sexist discipline. If we do not, our diversity efforts will continue to be cosmetic—an illusion of inclusion that fails to fully engage with those at the margins. Citing Black women is a method for radically restructuring our field and making our epistemological world anew without the premise of inequality. Citing Black women is not about creating new politics of erasure by ignoring all non-Black women. Rather, it is a political exercise intended to reprogram how we think about the politics of knowledge production.

In her critical book, *Living a Feminist Life*, Sara Ahmed (2013) takes on the task of writing an entire book without citing white men. Her words are worth quoting at length:

I cite those who have contributed to the intellectual genealogy of feminism and antiracism, including work that has been too quickly ... cast aside or left behind, work that lays out other paths, paths we can call desire lines, created by not following the official paths laid out by disciplines.



These paths might have become fainter from not being traveled upon; so we might work harder to find them; we might be willful just to keep them going by not going the way we have been directed. (16)

It is time for anthropology to follow other paths by citing those Black women anthropologists who have been cast aside too quickly. In her 1995 AAA presentation, Bolles writes:

The work of decolonizing anthropology runs parallel to this process of feminist recovery; it too includes a strongly historical component which focuses on lost figures ... [we are] condemned to keep relearning. I argue that we presently face a critical juncture in feminist anthropology: in what direction shall we take the hard-won-lessons gleaned from a recovery by female ancestors such that they also contribute to a way of decolonizing the field?

What would it look like if we followed the paths of those who have been literally and figuratively seen but not heard in anthropology? Where would this take us? What new opportunities would this open up: new theories, new fields, new knowledges, new methodologies? The only thing we have to fear is change.

## Notes

- 1 This opening autobiographical narrative is by Christen Smith, who wrote this article in its entirety. All first person references throughout the article refer to Smith and are written in her voice. The collaborative elements of this article emerge from the data collection and analysis. For eleven months, Dominique Garrett-Scott worked with Smith as a graduate research assistant, playing a pivotal role in developing the pilot study for this project. Garrett-Scott worked diligently to assist with data collection, analysis and calculation and with bibliographic research. She also created all of the graphs included herein. References to “we” in this text refer to that collaborative work.
- 2 Faye Harrison (2008) notes the ways that Black women often do academic housekeeping in anthropology. Specifically, she writes that Black women are too often relegated or assigned to “mammyfied” roles (276). I engage with this work later in this essay. Also, in her work on Black women’s perceived roles in Brazilian society, anthropologist Kia Lily Caldwell (2007) offers an important reflection on the ways that Black women are always considered service providers. She argues, following Brazilian Black feminist Lélia Gonzalez and US Black feminist Patricia Hill Collins, that Black women are always scripted as service providers in the popular imagination across the Americas.
- 3 I would like to thank Dominique Garrett-Scott for inspiring this title. She used this phrase during our first research project meeting when we began to discuss the data on Black women and citation in anthropology.
- 4 Faye Harrison offers an excellent deconstruction of the dichotomy and hierarchy of descriptive versus theoretical scholarship with regard to Black women in “Academia, the Free Market, and Diversity.”
- 5 We define top-tier anthropology journals as those that have the highest Journal Impact Factors and are widely recognized as the most prestigious publication venues in the field.
- 6 Catherine Lutz’s (1990) argument regarding women’s overall visibility within anthropology is still very much the case today for Black women in particular. She writes, “Widespread public adherence to the liberal norm of ‘gender equality’ (if not to a more radical critique of patriarchy and gender ideologies as embedded in even seemingly gender-balanced institutions) has no doubt had an impact on the evaluation of women’s work in public contexts” (622).
- 7 Journal Impact Factor for 2018 is calculated using articles published in 2016 and 2017. This methodology is discussed later in the article.
- 8 Lynn Bolles share this information with me during an interview that I conducted with her at the National Women’s Studies Association Meeting in Baltimore for the Cite Black Women Podcast in November 2017. The podcast episode is in production and has not yet been released.
- 9 Moya Bailey and Trudy (2018) define misogynoir as “the anti-Black racist misogyny that Black women experience.”
- 10 Painter’s (2000) essay is a twenty-year retrospective on the advances and stalls of Black studies departments in the United States. However, while she specifically takes up just the US academy, we believe that similar patterns of citational erasure exist elsewhere. My experiences working in the Brazilian academy, although colloquial, indicate that Black scholars are equally erased there, if not more so. More research should be done on these transnational politics.
- 11 Bolles argues that “‘race’ trumps ‘gender’ in departments and significant feminist publications over the past 30 years” (2013, 57). We sympathize with this argument and understand why Bolles framed it this way. Nevertheless, we contend that both race and gender work in concert.

- 12 In using the term *intersectional* here, we specifically reference Kimberlé Crenshaw's coinage of the term to suggest the need to methodologically consider race and gender as intersecting factors (rather than separate, independent factors) when analyzing inequality (Crenshaw 1991).
- 13 In *Outsider Within* (2008), Faye Harrison writes, "For more than twenty years, I have played the role of an outsider within anthropology rather than that of an academic comfortably incorporated into the mainstream . . . as I see it, my professional role is shaped by my positionality as a racially marked woman, particularly as one of African descent" (12-13). Harrison draws her use of the phrase "outsider within" from sociologist Patricia Hill Collins's (1991) use of the concept of the "outsider within locations."
- 14 It's important to note that white women dominated the feminist conversations that started in anthropology in the 1970s. Nonwhite women's participation in these conversations was largely invisibilized, as Bolles (2013) observes.
- 15 This quote is included in Sarah Ahmed's (2013) blogpost "Making Feminist Points" <https://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/>
- 16 The Social Web was a platform that Bolles (2013) used to analyze citations for her research study. She describes by saying, "The Social Web categorizes journals and authors under headings, such as education, race, history, and area studies (e.g., Latin American Perspectives); anthropology, sociology, the social and behavioral sciences, and law reviews; and feminist studies" (67).
- 17 InCites is a subsidiary of Clarivate Analytics that uses Journal Impact Factor to rank academic journals and articles by discipline. According to the InCites handbook, "InCites is a citation-based evaluation tool for academic and government administrators to analyze institutional productivity and benchmark output against peers and aspirational peers in a national or international context." Clarivate Analytics is a for-profit company that ranks academic journals according to journal impact factor. The business owns the well-known Web of Science platform, among other academic metrics sites. See the InCites website accessed January 7, 2021: <http://help.incites.clarivate.com/inCites2Live/overviewGroup/overviewInCites.html>.
- 18 Scholars who have written about the index trace it back to the first use of the phrase in *Science* in 1955 and the subsequent publication of the *Science Citation Index* in 1961 (Garfield 2006). Historically, the STEM fields have relied heavily on Journal Impact Factor and citation metrics to hierarchize scholars and publishing venues. However, citational studies—alternatively called scientometrics, informetrics, and journalology—have become increasingly popular over the past forty years (Garfield 2006).
- 19 We define general anthropology journals as those that publish in all four fields of anthropology: archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology, and social and cultural anthropology. We chose to analyze sociocultural and general anthropology journals because of the 83 tenured and tenure-track Black women anthropologists we preliminarily identified for this study, only 7 are physical anthropologists (biocultural, specifically) or archaeologists (approximately 8 percent). Thus, for the purposes of publishing our preliminary results, we believed that including journals that exclusively focused on biological or archaeological anthropology would not be proportionate and could skew the broader picture of citational patterns. In the broader research project, we will aggregate biological and archaeological journals.
- 20 We use the phrase "top ten" figuratively. InCites ranks the 2018 articles for each journal by counting how many times each article (published in 2016 or 2017) is cited in 2018. Often, several articles have the same citation count. Due to this, we counted all articles in the top ten, including all of those that tied with the tenth-ranked article. This at times meant more than ten articles because several articles had equal citation counts.
- 21 You can find this information on Ohio State University's website under the heading "Research Impact: Tracking and Enhancing the Impact of Your Research" Accessed January 7, 2021: <https://guides.osu.edu/c.php?g=608754&p=4233840>.
- 22 We have preliminarily identified 83 tenured or tenure-track Black women anthropologists working in US universities. We also identified Black male anthropologists who authored articles by their self-identification.
- 23 The survey also included the racial categories East Asian, Asian American, Pacific Islander; Hispanic or Latinx; Middle Eastern, North African; Native American, American Indian, First Nation.
- 24 From email correspondence between Christen A. Smith and Daniel Ginsberg on June 26, 2020.
- 25 Special thanks to Daniel Ginsberg for making this suggestion and for generously analyzing the AAA 2018 data to produce race/gender statistics for this essay.
- 26 For a deep and reflective conversation about the ways that white male realities have shaped academic thought in the United States, see Patricia Hill Collins's "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought" (1989) and *Black Feminist Thought* (1991).
- 27 The calls that Faye Harrison (1997) made to decolonize anthropology back in 1997 are still unresolved.

## References

- Aksnes, Dag W., Kristoffer Rorstad, Fredrik Piro, and Gunnar Sivertsen. 2011. "Are Female Researchers Less Cited? A Large-Scale Study of Norwegian Scientists." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 62 (4): 628-36.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2013. "Making Feminist Points." Blogpost for feministkilljoys. <https://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/>. Accessed on January 6, 2021
- Bailey, Moya, and Trudy. 2018. "On Misogynoir: Citation, Erasure, and Plagiarism." *Feminist Media Studies* 18 (4): 762-68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1447395>.
- Baker, Lee D. 1998. *From Savage to Negro Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Baskan, Paul. 2018. "UT Austin Professors Join Campaign Against Faculty-Productivity Committee." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. June 24, 2018. Accessed January 5, 2021: <https://www.chronicle.com/article/ut-austin-professors-join-campaign-against-faculty-productivity-company/>
- Beal, Frances 1970. "Double Jeopardy." In *The BlackWoman*, edited by Toni Cade Bambara, 109-123. New York: New American Library.
- Beaudry, Catherine, and Vincent Larivière. 2016. "Which Gender Gap? Factors Affecting Researchers' Scientific Impact in Science and Medicine." *Research Policy* 45 (9): 1790-1817.
- Behar, Ruth, and Deborah A. Gordon. 1995. *Women Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Beliso-De Jesús, Aisha and Jemima Pierre. 2020. "Special Section: Anthropology of White Supremacy." *American Anthropologist* 122 (1): 65-75.
- Bolles, A. Lynn. 2013. "Telling the Story Straight: Black Feminist Intellectual Thought in Anthropology." *Transforming Anthropology* 21 (1): 57-71.
- Bolles, A. Lynn. 1995. "Decolonizing Feminist Anthropology", Conference Paper given for the Association of Feminist Anthropologists' Invited Session: "From an Anthropology of Women to the Gendering of Anthropology at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, Washington, DC, November 15-19
- Caldwell, Kia Lily. 2007. *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning Black Women, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity / Kia Lilly Caldwell*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Carneiro, Sueli. 2019. *Escritos de uma vida / Sueli Carneiro*. Belo Horizonte, MG: Letramento.
- Chibnik, Michael. 2014. "Gender and Citations in American Anthropologist." *American Anthropologist* 116 (3): 493-96.
- Christian, Barbara. 1987. "The Race for Theory." *Cultural Critique* 6: 51-63
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1989. "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought." *Signs* 14 (4): 745-73.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. London: HarperCollins Academic.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241-1299.
- Curiel, Ochy. 2016. "Rethinking Radical Anti-Racist Feminist Politics in a Global Neoliberal Context." *Meridians* 14 (2): 46-55.
- Dion, Michelle, Jane Lawrence Sumner, and Sarah McLaughlin Mitchell. 2018. "Gendered Citation Patterns across Political Science and Social Science Methodology Fields." *Political Analysis* 26 (3): 312-27
- Dominguez, Virginia R., Matthew Gutmann, and Catherine Lutz. 2014. "Problem of Gender and Citations Raised Again in New Research Study." *Anthropology News* 55 (3-4): 29-30.
- University of Texas at Austin Faculty Council. 2019. *2018-2019 Annual Report for A-1 Committee of Counsel on Academic Freedom and Responsibility (CCA FR)*. Austin, TX.
- Ferber, Marianne A. 1988. "Citations and Networking." *Gender and Society* 2 (1): 82-89.
- Ferber, Marianne A. 1986. "Citations: Are They an Objective Measure of Work of Women and Men?" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 11:381-89.
- Ferber, Marianne A., and Michael Brün. 2011. "The Gender Gap in Citations: Does It Persist?" *Feminist Economics* 17 (1): 151-58.
- Garfield, Eugene. 2006. "The History and Meaning of the Journal Impact Factor." *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association* 295 (1): 90-93. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.295.1.90>.
- Gonzalez, Lélia. 1988. "For an Afro-Latin American Feminism." *Confronting the Crisis in Latin America: Women Organizing for Change*. 95-101
- Groessner, Stefan N. 2012. "Dynamics of Journal Impact Factors." *Systems Research and Behavioral Science*. 29: 624-644
- Guinier, Lani, and Gerald Torres. 2002. *The Miner's Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Harrison, Faye V., ed. 1997. *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further toward an Anthropology for Liberation*, 2nd ed. Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association.
- Harrison, Faye V. 2008. *Outsider Within: Reworking Anthropology in the Global Age*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Harrison, Faye V. 2008. "Academia, the Free Market, and Diversity" in *Outsider Within: Reworking Anthropology in the Global Age*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Harrison, Faye V. 1995. "Writing Against the Grain: Cultural Politics of Difference in the Work of Alice Walker." In *Women Writing Culture*, edited by Ruth Behar and Deborah Gordon, 233-245. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Harrison, Ira E., and Faye Venetia Harrison. 1999. *African-American Pioneers in Anthropology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Harrison, Ira E., Deborah Johnson-Simon, and Erica Lorraine Williams, eds. 2018. *The Second Generation of African American Pioneers in Anthropology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hull, Gloria, Patrica Bell Scott and Barbara Smith, eds. 1982 *All the women are white, and all the Blacks are men, but some of us are brave: Black women's*. Old Westbury, N.Y: Feminist Press.
- Isbell, Lynne A., Truman P. Young and Alexander H. Harcourt. 2012. "Stag Parties Linger: Continued Gender Bias in a Female-Rich Scientific Discipline." *PLOS One* 7(11): e49682.
- Jackson, Palmyra and Daniel Ginsberg. 2019. "Profession Outlook on the Discipline: Report on the AAA's 2018 Member Survey", American Anthropological Association, Washington DC.
- Lorde, A. 1984. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.
- Lutz, Catherine. 1990. "The Erasure of Women's Writing in Sociocultural Anthropology." *American Ethnologist* 17 (4): 611-27.
- Maliniak, Daniel, Ryan Powers, and Barbara F. Walter. 2013. "The Gender Citation Gap in International Relations." *International Organization* 67 (4): 889-922.
- McClaurin, Irma, ed. 2001. *Black Feminist Anthropology: Theory, Politics, Praxis, and Poetics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- McElhinny, Bonnie, Marijke Hols, Jeff Holtzkenner, Susanne Unger, and Claire Hicks. 2003. "Gender, Publication and Citation in Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology: The Construction of a Scholarly Canon." *Language in Society* 32 (3): 299-328.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, Samantha Lange, and Holly Brus. 2013. "Gendered Citation Patterns in International Relations Journals." *International Studies Perspectives* 14 (4): 485-92.
- Morgen, Sandra, ed. 1989. *Gender and Anthropology Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*. Washington, D.C: American Anthropological Association.
- Morrison, Toni. 1992. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Moses, Yolanda. 1989. "Black Women in Academe. Issues and Strategies." Report for the Ford Foundation. Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women. Washington, DC; New York
- NCES, IPEDS collection, Completion survey component, 2014-2017 (final) and 2018 (provisional). <https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/use-the-data/download-access-database>
- Painter, Nell. 2000. "Black Studies, Black Professors, and the Struggles of Perception." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. December 15, 2000. Accessed on January 5, 2021: <https://www.chronicle.com/article/black-studies-black-professors-and-the-struggles-of-perception/>
- Pickett, Carmelita. 2009. "Black Studies Scholarship and Its Coverage in Thomas Reuters' *Web of Science*." *Collection Management* 34(4): 260-275.
- Reiter (now Rapp), Rayna, ed. 1975. *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Rossiter, Margaret W. 1993. The Matthew Matilda Effect in Science. *Social Studies of Science* 23(2):325-341.
- Webber, Karen L. 2011. "Measuring Faculty Productivity." In *University Rankings: Theoretical Basis, Methodology and Impacts on Global Higher Education*, edited by Jung Cheol Shin, Robert K. Toutkoushian, and Ulrich Teichler, 105-121. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.