

## GENDER AND LOCATION IN AFRICAN POLITICS SCHOLARSHIP: THE OTHER WHITE MAN'S BURDEN?

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### ABSTRACT

While the percentage of women publishing in *African Affairs* and *The Journal of Modern African Studies* from 1993 until 2013 has increased, the percentage of articles by Africa-based authors has declined. We present evidence suggesting that this decline is not being driven by lower submission rates from Africa but rather by low and declining acceptance rates. We also find that Africa-based scholars, but not women, are systematically cited less than others. We then analyse article titles and find preliminary evidence suggesting that Africa-based authors are more likely to write on a small number of countries and less likely to generalize. Authors based outside Africa seem more likely to generalize to the continent and are more likely to write on economics or conflict. These patterns have implications for the diversity of the discipline and the state of our knowledge about Africa.

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ACADEMIC PUBLISHING IS, and historically has been, rife with structural inequalities. Recent examinations of these inequalities have focused most on the position of women and have shown, for example, that women are on average cited less frequently than men.<sup>1</sup> We examine two decades of research in African politics and analyse how the positions of women and Africa-based scholars have changed over time. In doing so, this article answers two main questions. First, who is publishing in top African politics journals? Second, who is being cited? In answering both questions, we pay special attention to the role of gender and place in influencing one's ability both to publish and to be cited.

Our decision to examine the influence of gender and place stems from concerns about both representation in knowledge production and the quality of research on African politics. The former concern is one of equality,

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1. Daniel Maliniak, Ryan Powers, and Barbara F. Walter, 'The gender citation gap in international relations', *International Organization* 67, 4 (2013), pp. 889–922.

and is based on the judgement that it is inherently problematic if women or Africa-based scholars are accepted by these journals at lower rates than men or other scholars. The latter concern about research quality is instrumental. As we describe more fully below, we expect that the quality of the literature will increase as the diversity of participating academics increases.

To understand the influence of gender and place in research on African politics, we analyse all research articles written in *African Affairs* (*AA*) and *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (*JMAS*) over 21 years. We first discuss the literature on publication gaps and citation gaps, mainly drawing on research from the social sciences but also on literature in the hard sciences when it speaks to the position of Africans or women. Across disciplines, women tend to publish less than men and are cited less. Also, researchers in Africa typically publish at a far lower rate than people based on other continents. We test whether there are similar patterns in *AA* and *JMAS* and our results only partially confirm the findings of the broader literature.

We find that the number of articles published by women has risen dramatically over the past decade and we find no evidence of a citation gap between men and women in these journals. However, we also find that the proportion of articles published by Africa-based academics is declining over time. We present evidence suggesting that this decline is being driven by low and falling acceptance rates for Africa-based authors rather than declining rates of submission. As a result of these declines, our scholarship – as measured by work in two top, English-language journals – includes fewer voices from academics based in Africa today than in the early 1990s. Additionally, work by Africa-based scholars is cited less than work by other academics. We show that this deficit is probably not due to differences in methods between Africa-based scholars and everyone else. We also introduce preliminary evidence suggesting that one mechanism leading Africa-based scholars to be cited less is that Africa-based authors often study different topics and generalize less than scholars working elsewhere. It should be noted that while there has been relatively little academic work on the role of place in knowledge production, editors of journals – including the journals under study – are clearly aware of these issues and have made efforts to publish more work from Africa.<sup>2</sup> The present article, then, can be read partially as an analysis of the extent to which such efforts have been successful.

2. This awareness extends to major professional organizations and many individual academics as well. Typical strategies for increasing publication rates from Africa include organizing conferences in Africa, such as those by the UK African Studies Association or the American Political Science Association. In the case of *AA*, it also includes the African Author Prize awarded for best article by an author based in Africa or an African PhD student studying overseas. We would like to thank a reviewer for drawing our attention to this point.

*Gender gaps and geographical representation*

Gender gaps in scientific output are the most prominent and well-researched example of unequal representation in publishing. While the male–female publication gap was originally framed as a puzzle,<sup>3</sup> when additional institutional and personal factors are taken into account the gender gap in publication rates shrinks dramatically.<sup>4</sup> The male–female publication gap also seems to be shrinking with time.<sup>5</sup> Turning to related disciplines instead of a broad sweep of scientific publishing, women published about one in five articles in top international relations<sup>6</sup> and political science<sup>7</sup> journals in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In at least one journal in international relations, there is evidence of a declining publishing gap between men and women and no evidence that articles submitted by women are less likely to be published than articles submitted by men.<sup>8</sup> Female participation is increasing, but women still make up far less than half of all members present at the International Studies Association<sup>9</sup> and American Political Science Association<sup>10</sup> annual meetings. Currently, the (US) African Studies Association's membership is 36 percent female.<sup>11</sup>

While typically studies have focused on gender-based publication gaps, these gaps are likely to be significantly smaller than those based on geography. For example, OECD countries are widely over-represented in top journals in medical research<sup>12</sup> and in the sciences the top eight

3. Jonathan R. Cole and Harriet Zuckerman, 'The productivity puzzle: Persistence and change in patterns of publication of men and women scientists', *Advances in Motivation and Achievement* 2 (1984), pp. 217–58.

4. Yu Xie and Kimberlee A. Shauman, 'Sex differences in research productivity: New evidence about an old puzzle', *American Sociological Review* 63, 6 (1998), pp. 847–70. This implies that the gender gap in publication is explained by the indirect effects of gender. Put simply, women publish less than men because of their unique (and typically worse) social position within universities and families.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Marijke Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft, and Eugene Walton, 'Promise and performance: An evaluation of journals in international relations', *International Studies Perspectives* 6, 4 (2005), pp. 447–61.

7. Marijke Breuning and Kathryn Sanders, 'Gender and journal authorship in eight prestigious political science journals', *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40, 2 (2007), pp. 347–51.

8. Gudrun Østby, Håvard Strand, Ragnhild Nordås, and Nils Petter Gleditsch, 'Gender gap or gender bias in peace research? Publication patterns and citation rates for *Journal of Peace Research*, 1983–2008', *International Studies Perspectives* 14, 4 (2013), pp. 493–506.

9. Marijke Breuning and Kelan Lu, 'Participation by women in ISA annual meetings, 2005–2009', *International Studies Perspectives* 11, 3 (2010), pp. 242–54.

10. Martin Gruberg, 'Participation by women in the 2008 APSA annual meeting', *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42, 1 (2009), pp. 173–4.

11. Personal communication, 14 July 2014.

12. The key finding is that 'only 6.5 percent of the publications in these journals have authors from countries where 90 percent of the world's population lives'. Athula Sumathipala, Sisira Siribaddana, and Vikram Patel, 'Under-representation of developing countries in the research literature: Ethical issues arising from a survey of five leading medical journals', *BMC Medical Ethics* 5, 1 (2004), p. 5.

science-producing countries (all OECD) write 85 percent of the top 1 percent most-cited articles.<sup>13</sup> Africa's already small share of total international journal output has declined over the last few decades in the sciences, though the share of co-authoring between Africa-based academics and others has increased.<sup>14</sup> Shifting from the sciences to the humanities, a review of British African historians published in these pages in 1993 noted that they were 'overwhelmingly male', 'almost entirely white', and that almost half of the historians had not been to Africa in the past seven years.<sup>15</sup> A summary of the influence of African literary writing on the Western canon from the early 1990s concluded that 'Africa has been allowed to contribute almost nothing to the Western academy up to the present moment'.<sup>16</sup> In general, there existed, and seems to exist today, a 'general picture of African underrepresentation in world knowledge [that] is replicated across fields, disciplines, and diverse subject matter'.<sup>17</sup>

Similar dynamics are likely to exist in the social sciences.<sup>18</sup> For example, in economics, Pranab Bardhan has expressed concern that mainstream journals are biased against researchers working outside the US. He notes that Cambridge, Massachusetts alone accounts for more articles published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* than many countries.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, no Africa-based researcher was the first author in any article in *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, or *World Politics* in the period 1999–2003 and researchers from non-OECD countries were barely represented in these journals during this time.<sup>20</sup> No similar data exist for the study of African politics, and one contribution of this article is to provide such data.

13. David A. King, 'The scientific impact of nations', *Nature* 430, 6997 (2004), p. 311–16.
14. R. J. Tijssen, 'Africa's contribution to the worldwide research literature: New analytical perspectives, trends, and performance indicators', *Scientometrics* 71, 2 (2007), pp. 303–27. Co-authoring patterns also suggest power dynamics at work. Boshoff showed that 80 percent of articles originating in Central Africa were co-authored with someone outside the region, and that 35 percent were collaborations with someone based in a country with a colonizing past; see Nelius Boshoff, 'Neo-colonialism and research collaboration in central Africa', *Scientometrics* 81, 2 (2009), pp. 413–34.
15. John McCracken, 'African history in British universities: Past, present and future', *African Affairs* 92, 367 (1993), p. 243.
16. Christopher L. Miller, 'Literary studies and African literature', in Robert Bates, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Jean F. O'Barr (eds), *Africa and the disciplines: The contributions of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, 1993), p. 220.
17. Amina Mama, 'Is it ethical to study Africa? Preliminary thoughts on scholarship and freedom', *African Studies Review* 50, 1 (2007), p. 4.
18. For an excellent overview of the international construction of knowledge on Africa, see Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (ed.), *The study of Africa: Global and transnational engagements*, Volume 2 (African Books Collective, Oxford, 2007).
19. Between 1991 and 2000, authors based in Cambridge accounted for 30 percent of all publications in the *QJE*. Pranab Bardhan, 'Journal publication in economics: A view from the periphery', *The Economic Journal* 113, 488 (2003), pp. F332–7.
20. Breuning *et al.*, 'Promise and performance'.

The question of who gets to represent Africa matters for at least four reasons. First, a diverse group of researchers is more likely to produce a wider variety of research questions and to answer those questions with a wider variety of methods. This argument favours diversity along many axes, including both gender and place. The second reason is that in the study of African politics, researchers based within Africa are likely to have access to a wealth of information—a ‘deep privileged knowledge and analysis of ground material’<sup>21</sup> – that can be difficult for outside researchers to accumulate. This knowledge enters the literature more slowly if Africa-based scholars do not publish in widely read journals. Third, the ability to represent a country or community in academic research is a form of power that historically has been denied to Africans due to the experience and legacies of colonialism, racism, and economic stagnation.<sup>22</sup> The persistence of this situation is revealed in both the paucity of international research coming from Africa and in the fact that African scholars speaking to international audiences are often pushed to express their research using foreign languages, concepts, and paradigms.<sup>23</sup> Fourth, at the limit, concerns about representation are also concerns about a ‘very real danger of the creation of two separate and compartmentalized worlds of Africanists: African and non-African,’ where we have the ‘rich Europeans and Americans on the one hand and the poor African scholars on the other’.<sup>24</sup> While the fit is not perfect, we should pause to consider the degree to which this concern, as expressed by Michael Crowder in 1987, describes our present situation.

Finally, to the extent that publication gaps are an issue, citation gaps matter too. While a publication gap shows that certain voices cannot be heard, citation gaps show that certain voices do not command attention. Put simply, some kinds of authors may make it into major journals but still not influence the literature in the way their peers do. To take two examples from international relations, men have been shown to be more likely to cite other men in their work<sup>25</sup> and across many highly ranked international relations journals there is evidence that women are cited less than men.<sup>26</sup> While citation gaps based on gender are being studied, there is much less work examining citation gaps based on place. The analyses we offer below

21. Kwesi Yankah, ‘Displaced academies and the quest for a new world academic order’, *Africa Today* 42, 3 (1995), p. 10.

22. For example, see Audrey Kobayashi, ‘Coloring the field: Gender, “race”, and the politics of fieldwork’, *The Professional Geographer* 46, 1 (1994), pp. 73–80.

23. Abiola Irele, ‘The African scholar’, *Transition* 51 (1991), pp. 56–69; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, ‘The politics of historical and social science research in Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28, 1 (2002), pp. 9–23.

24. Michael Crowder, ‘Us and them: The International African Institute and the current crisis of identity in African studies’, *Africa* 57, 1 (1987), p. 109.

25. Sara M. Mitchell, Samantha Lange, and Holly Brus, ‘Gendered citation patterns in international relations journals’, *International Studies Perspectives* 14, 4 (2013), pp. 485–92.

26. Maliniak *et al.*, ‘The gender citation gap in international relations’.

assess discrepancies in the number of citations received by articles written by women and those written by Africa-based academics.

This article extends the current literature by focusing on the field of African politics. We introduce a novel data structure that allows for more fine-grained analyses of author and article characteristics. We briefly examine which countries are being studied and then analyse the characteristics of the people doing the studying, and who is being cited in more detail. We find that research in these journals does not evenly cover countries in Africa, but is instead clustered on a small number of predominantly Anglophone or East African countries. Second, we show that there was a large publication gap between men and women in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, in the last ten years, that gap has vanished and, in the last two years, women have published about half of all articles in the journals under study. Third, we extend the literature on participation and citation gaps by examining the influence of place. We find that academics that are based in Africa are publishing less in these journals over time. While we do not find evidence of a male–female citation gap, we show that Africa-based authors writing on African politics are cited less than other authors.

### *Data and methods*

Two top African politics journals, *AA* and *JMAS*, were selected because they offer a good representation of the upper tier of work on African politics from 1993 to 2013. While these journals obviously experienced changes over this time period, we believe their consistently high status makes them the best choice for representing the high end of this field of research. We chose to study two journals because tracking trends over two different journals allows us to separate journal-specific effects, such as editorial choices, from effects that are being driven by the field in general.

The core unit of scholarly production is the research article, but articles frequently have multiple authors, methods, or countries of study. We deal with this by giving each article one vote and allowing it to split its vote between authors, methods, countries of study, and all combinations thereof. For author characteristics, we record an author's self-identified gender (as noted in one of his or her publications) and the country of the author's institution (as recorded in the article).<sup>27</sup> If an article has one male author then this will be recorded as one article for men in the year it was published. If the article was co-authored by a man and two women, then that article would

27. To identify gender, we first looked at the articles under study for gendered pronouns and then we examined every other article that an author had written looking for the same. We were unable to find any instances of an author self-identifying using gendered pronouns in about 2 percent of the articles under study. In these cases, we made educated guesses about gender using names and photographs.

count as 1/3 for men and 2/3 for women. We also record the countries under study in each article; if the article covers a large number of countries with no distinct focus then we record ‘large-n’. A small number of articles were primarily theoretical or conceptual and these were recorded as ‘none’ for their study countries. Most articles focused on one or a small number of countries, and we again let an article split its vote between the countries under study. If an article was a comparative study of Kenya and Tanzania, then each country would receive 1/2 in the variable assessing countries of study.

Our method becomes more interesting when considering interactions between variables. For example, we have a variable recording if the author was based at an institution that was located in the country under study in the article. If an article on Kenya and Tanzania was written by a Kenya-based academic and a non-Africa based academic then the article would score 0.25 for a variable assessing if the authors were based in the country on which they were writing. We extend this core logic to all variables under study.<sup>28</sup> For completeness, we also record the author’s name, the title of the article, the title of the journal, the year the article was published, and the article’s volume and issue number.<sup>29</sup>

It should be noted that our approach measures whether or not a scholar is based in Africa, and so it does not measure citizenship or any kind of self-identified African status. We chose this measure for two reasons. The first is our interest in structural forces that may be limiting participation in the literature on African politics. As noted above, one under-studied but often very important structural force influencing publication and citation rates is place. The second reason is that this measure is considerably easier to collect than the other measures, which would have required attempting a survey of all authors at a high risk of introducing many kinds of non-response bias. We discuss some of the implications of using this measure when appropriate in the following empirical analysis. The essential point is that because of international migration and the complexities of identity, we cannot easily move from statements about ‘authors based in Africa’ to ‘African authors’.

#### *What countries are studied?*

Before turning to our main analysis, we briefly note the extent to which research clusters on a small number of countries. The ten most studied countries in the period 1993–2013 are shown in Table 1, along with their share of each journal’s total output. The top ten countries account for half of all

28. In practice, this means that every permutation of the variables requires its own row in the database, while the fragmented votes of all rows belonging to one article will always sum to 1. This adds complexity, but also enables more fine-grained analysis. The complexity of the method seems proportionate to the richness of the categories under study.

29. Our data are available online at [www.ryancbriggs.net/research](http://www.ryancbriggs.net/research).

*Table 1* The most commonly studied countries

	AA	JMAS
South Africa	15%	9%
Nigeria	8%	7%
Kenya	8%	4%
Ghana	5%	6%
Tanzania	4%	5%
Uganda	3%	4%
Ethiopia	2%	5%
Sierra Leone	3%	3%
Rwanda	4%	2%
Malawi	2%	2%

articles over the period under study.<sup>30</sup> There is broad agreement in the order and frequency of countries studied between journals.<sup>31</sup>

Former British colonies, or countries where English is a language of state, are studied far more than other countries. This is expected given that these are English language journals based in the UK. At a regional level, countries in East Africa are heavily studied.<sup>32</sup> More than one in three article-equivalent publications focused on countries in East Africa.<sup>33</sup> About one in four focus on West Africa and about 15 percent focus on Southern (usually South) Africa.

We provide only a cursory evaluation of the methods used in these articles. At a general level, qualitative case studies are by far the most common method. However, case studies may contain wide variation in epistemology and ontology and we did not succeed in fitting all articles into a neat, exhaustive typology based on methods or underlying assumptions. Articles with statistical tests (those that report p-values) make up fewer than 5 percent of all articles over our 21-year period. However, they are more common in the latter half of the database and in 2013 they made up 14 percent of all articles.

30. For the top ten calculation and the order of countries in Table 1 we took the average share of each study country between the two journals, so weighting each journal equally instead of each article equally. The top ten countries made up a little more than half of all articles in *AA* and a little less than half in *JMAS*. The table ends in what is basically a three-way tie between Malawi, the DRC, and Zimbabwe.

31. The pooled country shares, a subset of which are shown in Table 1, are highly correlated between journals ( $r = 0.89$ ).

32. We use the United Nations regional groupings, so East Africa includes countries like Malawi and Zimbabwe.

33. Two articles that devote half of their space to a country in East Africa count the same as one article that focused only on a country in East Africa. Most of the discussion about ‘articles’ below uses this article-equivalent logic.

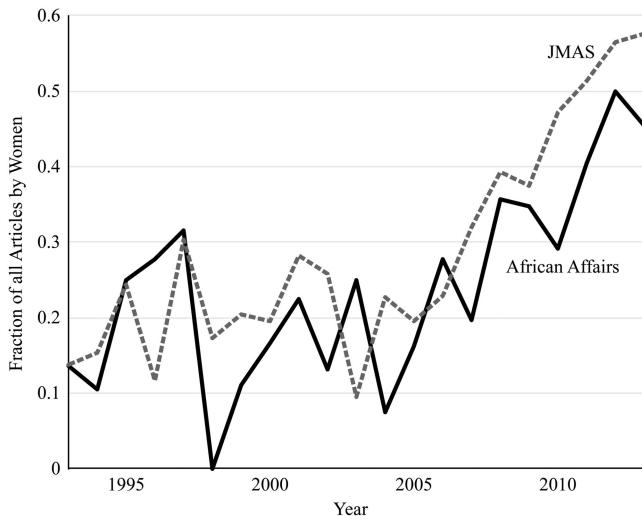


Figure 1. Women have seen their share of journal space increase dramatically.

### *Who is published?*

Figure 1 shows how the fraction of all article-equivalent publications written by women has changed over the past two decades. Figure 2 shows the same change over time for Africa-based scholars. The graphs show two stark trends. First, women as a share of all authors have risen sharply. In the period 1993–2003, women stagnated at around 20 percent of all authors. This roughly mirrors the fraction of women publishing in top political science journals during this time.<sup>34</sup> However, the fraction of female authors has risen quickly from 2004 onwards and in the past two years women have written about half of all articles in these journals.

Second, the share of articles written by Africa-based authors has declined from around 25 percent to 15 percent of all contributions.<sup>35</sup> Since 2005 there was no year in which Africa-based authors contributed more than 20 percent of articles in either journal. This drop is largely driven by a decline in the frequency with which academics based in Southern Africa are publishing. For example, while 13 single-author equivalent articles were

34. Breuning and Sanders, 'Gender and journal authorship'.

35. Most of the articles written by Africa-based academics were written by men. Africa-based women published the equivalent of about 21 single-authored articles out of the 935 articles in our database. As a point of comparison, 3 percent of the (American) African Studies Association's current membership is based in Africa. Of the membership based in Africa, 80 percent is male (personal communication, 14 July 2014).

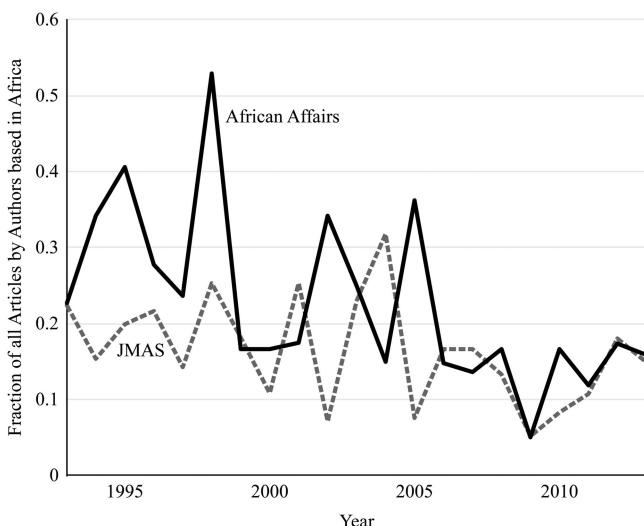


Figure 2. Academics based in Africa are publishing a declining share of articles.

published between 1993 and 2006 by Botswana-based academics, no academic based in Botswana has published in either journal since 2007. South Africa-based academic output has also declined, falling from 43 article-equivalent publications in the period 1993–2002 to 26 in the period 2003–2013.

There are a number of possible explanations for this downward trend and, while we currently lack the information required to test them adequately, they merit discussion. First, it is important to note that a decline in publishing from Africa-based authors does not necessarily imply a decline in publishing by Africans. If, during this time period, an increasing number of African scholars were leaving the continent but publishing at steady rates, then we would see a pattern like that in Figure 2. We find this explanation implausible, as it requires not merely high but rapidly increasing outflows of scholars, but we currently lack the detailed information on immigration flows that would allow us to test it. Bracketing emigration, we are left with three explanations. The first is that Africa-based academics are simply submitting a smaller share of articles to these journals over time. The second is that articles by Africa-based academics are being accepted by these journals at decreasing rates due to editorial gatekeeping or reviewer bias. The third explanation is that the decrease in published work is due to a decrease in the quality of written work by Africa-based academics.

The first explanation – that Africa-based authors are submitting a declining share of all articles to these journals – could be driven by higher rates of submission from outside Africa or shrinking submission rates from within Africa. This fits a story where outsiders have faced much greater pressure to publish in highly ranked journals while Africa-based authors either shifted their work towards local journals or simply published less. This period saw some African governments either neglect or actively stifle the social sciences. For example, the period under study saw Botswana's government clamp down on dissent at universities. This is exemplified by the government's decision to declare Kenneth Good, formerly Professor of Political Studies at the University of Botswana, a prohibited immigrant on 18 February 2005.<sup>36</sup> This period also saw a rise in Southern Africa-based academic outlets. For example, *Anthropology Southern Africa* (originally titled *South African Journal of Ethnology*) was founded in 1994 and the *South African Journal of International Affairs* was founded in 1993. The latter explicitly seeks submissions 'written by African authors'.<sup>37</sup> These combined forces – of either government suppression or neglect of social sciences and a rise in alternative outlets – make it plausible that declines in submissions drove the declines in the fraction of articles authored by academics based in Africa. Directly testing these hypotheses requires article-level submission data, including institutions of affiliation (and names or other markers of gender), across both journals over the whole time period. In this time period *AA* did not track such information on submissions, but we were able to acquire submission data from *JMAS*. The *JMAS* data have some limitations, however, so our analysis below is necessarily tentative.

To test this explanation, we analysed submission data from *JMAS*. The data provided the total number of annual submissions per region of the author's institution and covered the period 1997–2012. Unfortunately, the dataset is missing about 30 months of submission data and so our discussion will use relative submission or acceptance rates per year instead of counts of articles per year. The first finding that comes from these data is that Africa-based authors are actually submitting a larger share of all articles to *JMAS* over time. In the late 1990s, Africa-based academics submitted about 30 percent of all submissions. By the 2010s this had increased to about 40 percent. Again, while this is based on one journal, it is evidence against the argument that Africa-based scholars are submitting fewer articles to these journals over time. The second finding is that there are very

36. Roger Southall and Henning Melber (eds), *Legacies of power* (Human Sciences Research Council, Cape Town, South Africa, 2006), p. 334. We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing up this point.

37. 'Instructions for authors', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 13 January 2015, <<http://www.tandfonline.com/action/authorSubmission?journalCode=rsaj20%26page=instructions>> (13 January 2015).

different acceptance rates for Africa-based scholars as compared to everyone else. Over the time period for which we have data, Africa-based scholars had an acceptance rate of about 6 percent. The equivalent figure for other academics is 23 percent. The acceptance rate for Africa-based scholars is also declining over time. There are a lot of year-to-year fluctuations in the early period of the data, but Africa-based authors had about 16 percent of their articles accepted in the period 1997–2003. There is a downward trend throughout the period and in 2004–2012 the acceptance rate for scholars based in Africa was consistently less than 10 percent.

One common response to the decline in Africa-based publishing is to try to encourage increases in submissions from Africa. If the above patterns hold up across journals, then pushing for more submissions from scholars based in Africa is unlikely to cause much of an increase in the number of publications from Africa-based scholars. The problem is not low submission rates from Africa, as these may well be increasing over time, but rather low and declining acceptance rates.<sup>38</sup>

Low and declining acceptance rates for Africa-based authors have two explanations. The first is that editors or reviewers are uniquely hostile to work coming from authors based in Africa. This could perhaps be due to Africa-based academics having differing epistemologies or ontologies. It would be surprising if this was happening, as it clashes with other obvious efforts to encourage and promote the work of authors based in Africa, such as the organization of conferences and workshops in Africa, but it is a possibility. Gatekeeping could also be an outcome of implicit biases on the part of reviewers or editors.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately we do not have a way to evaluate this group of explanations empirically, even at a general level, so we will move to the next possible explanation for the decline.

If we set gatekeeping aside, then Africa-based work could be published at declining rates because the quality of Africa-based research is declining relative to the quality of outside research. Comments in informal conversations and during the review process for this article almost uniformly explained the publication gap with reference to low-quality research from Africa. Again we have no obvious way to measure the quality of research,

38. An alternative explanation was suggested by a reviewer. The data are consistent with a story in which Africa-based authors receive 'revise and resubmit' requests as frequently as other authors but then, for unknown reasons, are less likely to resubmit their work. We currently lack the data to test this explanation.

39. Implicit biases have been shown to affect decision making in other domains, so if reviewers can discern nationality from writing (perhaps if authors use first-person, plural personal pronouns) then implicit bias could affect reviews. For an example of implicit bias from another domain, note that doctors with no stated bias against black patients have been shown to implicitly stereotype black patients as less cooperative. See Alexander R. Green, Dana R. Carney, Daniel J. Pallin, Long H. Ngo, Kristal L. Raymond, Lisa I. Iezzoni, and Mahzarin R. Banaji, 'Implicit bias among physicians and its prediction of thrombolysis decisions for black and white patients', *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 22, 9 (2007), pp. 1231–8.

especially unpublished research, but this explanation fits into a broader history of decline in support for tertiary education in much of Africa. While many accounts of this decline are overstated and levels of support are uneven across countries within Africa, in general there has been a continental shift from elite, state-supported universities to more state support for primary education, coupled with declines in public support for universities.<sup>40</sup> This occurred at a time when university enrolments dramatically expanded, and the result is much heavier teaching loads combined with lower levels of research support. If a decline in the quality of submissions is driving the decline in acceptance rates for Africa-based authors, then the financial situation of African universities is likely to be part of the story.

It is important to view public support for higher education in Africa in two contexts: the continent's overall economic performance and the number of students attending higher education. Over the period under study, Africa (on average) maintained a constant level of funding for its universities if funding is measured as a fraction of GDP (0.8 percent) or as a fraction of public spending on education (20 percent).<sup>41</sup> The result is that during the fifteen years from 1991 to 2006, public support for higher education in Africa doubled.<sup>42</sup> However, enrolments to universities tripled during the same period.<sup>43</sup> Compounding this decline in per student public support was a shift in donor support away from tertiary and towards primary education.<sup>44</sup> These combined forces brought a sharp decline in resources per student, and led universities to try and teach more students with either fewer or less adequately trained faculty. In an analysis of thirteen African countries, senior faculty<sup>45</sup> made up fewer than one in five faculty positions.<sup>46</sup> In the eight countries with data, the fraction of lecturing positions filled by someone with a graduate degree was 35 percent, although this figure hides wide cross-national variation, from 9 percent in Ethiopia to 22 percent in Uganda to 69 percent in Burkina Faso.<sup>47</sup>

40. For example, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Scholars in the marketplace: The dilemmas of neo-liberal reform at Makerere University, 1989–2005* (CODESRIA, Dakar, 2007). For an account of the perils of internationalizing higher education and related problems around funding for higher education in Mauritius, see Ramola Ramtohul, 'Globalisation, internationalisation and higher education in Mauritius: The compromise of quality' (Conference paper, 14th CODESRIA General Assembly: Creating African Futures in an Era of Global Transformations: Challenges and Prospects, 2015).

41. The World Bank, *Financing higher education in Africa* (Washington, DC, 2010), pp. 1–2.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

43. *Ibid.*

44. The World Bank now holds the opinion that they 'viewed the role of post-basic education in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) with a blind eye'. The World Bank, *Accelerating catch-up: Tertiary education for growth in sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington, DC, 2009), p. 1.

45. For reasons that are unclear, 'senior faculty' are defined as professors and assistant professors.

46. The World Bank, *Financing higher education in Africa*, p. 33.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4.

In a more recent analysis of eight national flagship universities in Africa, the average fraction of full-time academics with a PhD was 43 percent.<sup>48</sup> This shift towards faculty with lower levels of education coincided with a decrease in academic salaries, although today there is considerable cross-national variation in salaries. For example, at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique, salaries for academics are on par with salaries for high-ranking public sector professionals, while at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, an academic's salary is only one-seventh the salary of a permanent secretary.<sup>49</sup> Where and when salaries have declined, many professors have either left universities for other positions or added consulting work, often for NGOs or development organizations, to their schedules. This shift to consulting deprives academics of control over their own research agendas and probably redirects some high-quality research from a pathway that ends in publication to one that ends in a donor report.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to declines in public, per student resource allocations, 'funding for research in sub-Saharan Africa has declined significantly'.<sup>51</sup> The collective decline in overall public support and research funding, taken together with increases in enrolment rates, has shifted professorial attention from research to the teaching of increasingly large, and increasingly undergraduate, classes.<sup>52</sup> Thus, while we do not have direct evidence that the quality of research coming out of Africa has declined over the past two decades, the notion is consistent with broader trends in higher education on the continent.<sup>53</sup>

Two points, however, caution against this view. First, at least to *JMAS*, submissions by Africans have been increasing. This fact does not sit comfortably alongside the view that Africa-based professors are doing less research. Second, while these trends show that the average professor in Africa probably has less time for work, they do not conclusively show that the number of professors producing high-quality articles has declined since the mid-1990s. While the descriptive fact that Africa-based authors are publishing less in

48. Ian Bunting, Nico Cloete, and François van Schalkwyk, 'An empirical overview of eight flagship universities in Africa, 2001–2011' (Centre for Higher Education Transformation, Cape Town, 2013).

49. Gerald Wangenge-Ouma, Agnes Lutomiah, and Patrício Langa, 'Academic incentives for knowledge production in Africa: Case studies of Mozambique and Kenya' in Nico Cloete, Peter Maassen, and Tracy Bailey (eds), *Knowledge production and contradictory functions in African higher education* (African Minds, Cape Town, 2015), pp. 128–47. The figures include salaries and a number of large allowances, such as car purchases or housing.

50. We are indebted to Laura Seay and one reviewer for the point that consulting redirects scholarship from academic journals to donor or NGO reports.

51. The World Bank, *Financing higher education in Africa*, p. 24.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

53. It is not at all obvious that the solution is simply to increase state support for tertiary education in Africa. While per student public support for tertiary education in Africa has declined, in 2006 it was still more than double the average for non-African developing countries. The World Bank, *Financing higher education in Africa*, pp. 20–1.

these journals is clear, future work could do much more to figure out why this is happening.

Regardless of the mechanism driving the decline, there are stark regional differences in publication rates across Africa. South African authors, for example, experienced a drop in publications in these journals during the period under study. However, even with this drop, Southern Africa's share of total academic output (about 9 percent of all articles) is double that from West or East Africa and far higher than the very small contributions from Central Africa and North Africa. Central African and North African-based academics published fewer than half of 1 percent of all articles. While authors based in the UK or United States alone published more work in these journals than all of Africa, it is still the case that the country-level differences in academic output within Africa are larger than the differences between Africa-based and non-Africa-based academics.

Unsurprisingly, as the fraction of articles authored by Africa-based academics has declined, so has the fraction of articles authored by people who were based in the country on which they were writing. Over the entire time period, about 13 percent of all articles were published by academics based in the places on which they were writing. In the period 2008 to 2013, it stood at about 10 percent.<sup>54</sup>

Research output clusters heavily in high-income countries. For example, Canada-based authors publish more in these journals than authors based in Nigeria. Authors working in Greece publish more than authors based in Mozambique. Academics in New Zealand published more than authors in Uganda or Tanzania. The single largest countries in terms of research output are the US and the UK. While academics in the US published 29 percent of all articles during this time, the share of articles written by academics based in the United States is declining.<sup>55</sup> The same is not true of authors based in the UK, which hosted authors who published 26 percent of all articles during this time.

#### *Who is cited?*

Finally, we shift from analysing who writes on African politics to analysing who is cited.<sup>56</sup> While we do not find evidence of a citation gap between men and women, we do find that on average Africa-based academics are

54. Not all articles were case studies. If an article did not focus on one or a small number of countries, then even if the author was based somewhere in Africa he or she would not have been recorded as being based in the same place as his or her case studies.

55. This trend is driven by a decline in American authors publishing in *JMAS*.

56. For the regression analysis we collapse the data so that the unit of observation is the research article. This analysis drops one article that was authored anonymously and so lacks information on the author's gender and his or her institution's location.

cited less than non-Africa-based academics. This holds in both single-authored articles and in co-authored articles when we measure the fraction of authors that are based in Africa.

The dependent variable in all regressions is the number of times that an article is cited.<sup>57</sup> The female variable measures the fraction of an article's authors that identify as female and the African variable measures the fraction that are based in Africa. All regressions include a *JMAS* dummy, a dummy for if the article was co-authored, a dummy variable marking if the article used statistics (which is defined here as any article that reports a p-value), and a dummy variable that takes a value of one for any article that focuses on only one country. All regressions also include a variable measuring the age of the article.<sup>58</sup> Year-fixed effects are selectively included to show that idiosyncratic year-specific effects are not driving the results. We present the results of OLS regressions with robust standard errors, but the results are consistent when estimated with a negative binomial model.<sup>59</sup> The results are also robust to the standard errors being clustered on each journal-year, which allows for dependence within each volume of each journal.

The results of the citation analysis are shown in Table 2. Models 1 and 2 only differ in how the age of an article enters the analysis, with model 2 allowing for the effect of time to decay as an article gets older. Model 3 drops the squared term from model 2 and adds year-fixed effects.<sup>60</sup> The differences in the first three models are minor and are less important than their similarities. Across all regressions, articles in *JMAS* receive about two citations fewer than articles in *AA* and there is no evidence of a citation gap between men and women. Co-authored articles are cited more than single-authored articles. Single-country studies are also cited less than other articles but this effect is weak and not present in the robustness tests (see Appendix). As expected, older articles have more citations than more recent articles and this effect diminishes with time.

Articles published by academics at African institutions receive about two citations fewer than articles by other scholars.<sup>61</sup> This result is consistent

57. Citation counts come from the Web of Science Core Collection and were collected on 21 May 2014. We drop all observations from 2013 as they were published too recently to have been cited.

58. Some regressions control for age squared as well, as the effects of an article's age may diminish with time.

59. Negative binomial models take into account the fact that the dependent variable is a count variable. For a discussion of using OLS on limited dependent variables or count variables see Joshua D. Angrist and Jörn-Steffen Pischke, *Mostly harmless econometrics: An empiricist's companion* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2009), pp. 94–107.

60. This was done by adding dummy variables marking years. The time since publication squared term was dropped because of collinearity.

61. This is a large effect as articles by only Africa-based academics receive a little more than 8 citations on average across the dataset. This average does not consider the time since publication. Articles by only Africa-based academics receive on average about three-quarters of a

Table 2 Citation analysis

	1	2	3	4
African institution	-2.00** (0.961)	-2.05** (0.931)	-2.10** (0.947)	-1.76* (1.051)
Co-authored	1.70** (0.822)	1.66** (0.755)	1.87** (0.768)	2.44** (0.956)
African institution * co-authored				-2.45 (1.905)
Female	-0.84 (0.790)	0.13 (0.720)	0.36 (0.716)	0.36 (0.717)
Stats	0.35 (1.853)	-0.18 (1.760)	-0.78 (1.864)	-0.88 (1.859)
Single-country study	-2.16** (1.011)	-1.74* (0.964)	-1.74* (0.957)	-1.72* (0.961)
Time	0.21*** (0.049)	2.54*** (0.233)		
Time <sup>2</sup>		-0.11*** (0.011)		
JMAS	-2.45*** (0.804)	-2.41*** (0.770)	-2.36*** (0.771)	-2.35*** (0.772)
Constant	10.43*** (1.336)	1.39 (1.054)	10.58*** (1.523)	10.50*** (1.531)
Year fixed effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	888	888	888	888
R-squared	0.03	0.11	0.13	0.13

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1

across the models.<sup>62</sup> This result is not being driven by a relatively small number of highly cited articles written by authors based outside Africa. To demonstrate this, we drop the 297 articles with citation counts above the mean value of 9.4 and run the regressions used to produce Table 2 on this more homogeneous sample of 591 articles. The coefficients on the African institution and co-authored variables are about half their magnitude in these regressions, which is expected given that we dropped the articles with high citation counts, but the p-values of the variables are consistently less than

citation for each year after publication. Articles by only non-Africa-based academics receive on average about 1.25 citations per year.

62. The effect is largely being driven by the *AA* subset of the data. The African institution coefficient for the *JMAS* subset is usually negative but, unlike the *AA* subset, it is usually small and not statistically significant. However, in *JMAS*, co-authored articles with no African authors receive more citations but this effect reverses when the co-authors are based in Africa. In the light of the biases in both journals and the general similarities across both journals, we chose to pool the data but allow the journals to have different intercepts.

0.05.<sup>63</sup> The core citation penalty result is also consistent when the dependent variable is logged or when a fixed effects negative binomial model is used instead of OLS (see Appendix). The negative effect of being based in Africa is also apparent ( $p < 0.05$ ) in minimal regressions that include either time, time squared, and the African institution variable or just the African institution variable and year-fixed effects.<sup>64</sup> The coefficient for the female variable is never statistically significant and is not even consistently signed.

It might be the case that authors based at African institutions often co-author with academics outside Africa, and therefore the positive effect of co-authoring might be reducing some of the negative effects of being based in Africa. Model 4 directly tests this hypothesis by interacting the co-authored dummy variable with the African institution variable. The presence of the interaction term implies that the coefficient for the African institution variable in model 4 shows the effect of being based in Africa when publishing single-authored articles and the coefficient on the co-authored dummy now shows the effect of co-authoring when no author is based in Africa.<sup>65</sup> Both of the lower-order terms are similar in magnitude. Single-authored articles by authors based at an African institution receive about 2 citations fewer than other articles ( $p < 0.1$ ) and co-authored articles by teams of academics based solely outside Africa receive about 2.5 citations more. The interaction term is negative and statistically insignificant, but allows us tentatively to note that the positive effect of co-authoring seems to decline as a larger share of authors are based in Africa.<sup>66</sup> This decline is shown in Figure 3. By the time half of an article's authors are based in Africa, co-authoring basically has no effect on citation counts. However, unlike the very robust negative effect of being based in Africa, the co-authoring results from model 4 are weak and should only be seen as suggestive.

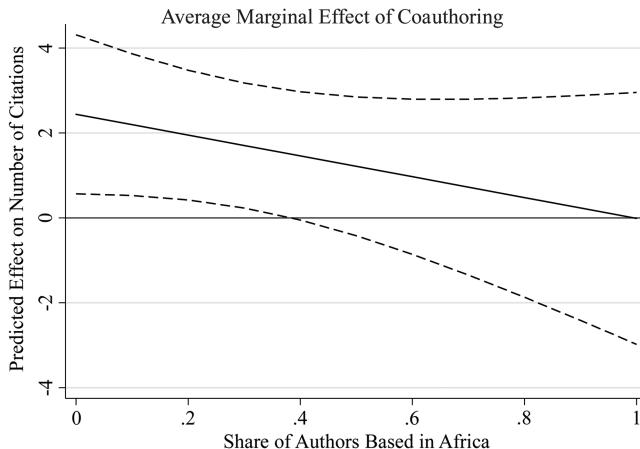
The African institution variable used in Table 2 ranges from 0 to 1, and includes gradations based on the fraction of an article's authors that are based in Africa. To test the robustness of model 4, we dichotomize the African institution variable into a dummy that takes a value of 1 if any author is based in Africa. We then estimate model 4 using this African institution dummy instead of the continuous variable. The effects are similar,

63. The *JMAS* dummy variable has  $p > 0.1$  in some of the regressions in this sample, suggesting that the negative *JMAS* effect is driven by a small number of very highly cited *AA* articles.

64. In a minimal regression with only time since publication and the African institution variable, the p-value on African institution rises to 0.07.

65. For a good overview on the interpretation of multiplicative interaction terms, see Bear F. Braumoeller, 'Hypothesis testing and multiplicative interaction terms', *International Organization* 58, 4 (2004), pp. 807–20.

66. The interaction term between the co-authoring dummy and the share of Africa-based authors is statistically significant ( $p = 0.054$ ) in a similarly specified negative binomial model. The negative binomial model also yields interaction effects of similar magnitude to the OLS regression.



*Figure 3.* Co-authoring increases citations, but only if most authors are based outside Africa (dashed lines are 95 percent confidence intervals).

with the new dummy variable taking a value of -2 ( $p < 0.1$ ) and the interaction being negative and statistically insignificant but producing a similar difference in predicted outcomes.

If there is a citation bias against authors in Africa then it seems likely that people who live and work in the places that they study are being undercited. To test this more specific issue, we estimated models 1–3 again but replaced the variable measuring the fraction of authors at African institutions with a similar variable measuring the fraction of an article's authors that are based in the country that is the focus of the article. Articles usually focus on countries in Africa and so generally authors based in Africa increase the value of this variable; however, some articles focus on other countries such as the UK, France, or US, and so in some cases authors based outside Africa could increase the value of the variable. The bias against authors writing on the countries in which they are based is similar to the bias against authors based in Africa.<sup>67</sup>

The citation gap between academics at African institutions and everyone else does not seem to stem from differences in methods. Articles with at least one author based at an African institution use statistical analyses as much as other articles, and controlling for the presence of statistical analyses does not change the negative influence of being based in Africa. Authors based in Africa are more likely to write single-country case studies than other

67. The based in country variable correlates with the African institution variable at  $r = 0.74$ , so it is very likely that this effect is being driven by the same underlying forces.

authors,<sup>68</sup> but controlling for the presence of single-country case studies also does not diminish the citation gap. However, it remains possible that articles with African authors are using different ontologies, epistemologies, or simply asking different questions from other academics, and that these differences may be influencing citation patterns.<sup>69</sup> We do not have strong enough theory or crisp enough coding schemes to analyse this bundle of questions statistically, so instead we try a more inductive approach to examining how authors present their work. Titles of articles help to reveal an article's topic and give away information about what an author thinks readers will find important. They are also short enough to be processed easily. For these reasons, we examine differences in the frequency of words used in article titles between authors based inside and outside Africa.

To complete the analysis, we first divided all articles into those written only by Africa-based authors and those written only by other authors, discarding co-authored articles. Our goal is to compare relative word frequencies in titles across groups. To do this, we combined all titles for each group into one long sentence, made all words in the sentence lower-case, removed all numbers, and removed common English language words such as 'and'. We also made sure to treat country names and region names as one word, even when they are made up of more than one word ('South Africa'). We then counted the frequency of each word in each of the two groups and divided this by each group's total number of words. This gives us a set of numbers that sum to one for each group, where each word that was ever used in a title has an associated number that represents its share of all title words for that group. The difference in word frequencies between the two groups reveals the words that are most unique to either group. Examining these most unique words can help us understand if and how articles by Africa-based authors and authors based outside Africa are different. Table 3 lists the most unique words for each group, in order of their uniqueness. It should be emphasized that Table 3 does not list the most common words in titles, but rather the words that are most unique to one group relative to the other. For example, both groups use the word 'politics' often in their titles, and so it does not appear in Table 3.

Authors based in Africa are more likely to write articles specifically about Nigeria, Botswana, and South Africa. This is unsurprising, as these are

68. For this calculation the articles were divided into those with at least one Africa-based author and those without. Sixty-nine percent of articles written by authors based outside Africa were single-case studies. The figure for authors based in Africa was 79 percent. In a two-tailed t-test, the difference is significant at  $p < 0.01$ .

69. The differences in citation counts do not seem to be due to methods, as in the techniques for comparing or analysing data. They could still be due to issues of research style or issues of methodology, with the latter defined as 'a concern with the logical structure and procedure of scientific enquiry'. Giovanni Sartori, 'Concept misformation in comparative politics', *American Political Science Review* 64, 4 (1970), p. 1033.

*Table 3* Most unique words found in journal article titles

Based in Africa	Based outside Africa
Nigeria	Africa
Botswana	African
South Africa	Sierra Leone
South African	economy
South Africa's	economic
popular	international
character	reform
Southern Africa	war
policy	governance
congress	rural
foreign	democracy
return	violence
transformation	Congo
party	Rwanda
exile	Ghana

populous and richer countries with more indigenous academics, and as noted above academics based in these countries publish in the journals under study. Second, authors based outside Africa are much more likely to include the words ‘Africa’ or ‘African’ in their titles. This suggests that generalization across the continent is more commonly done by academics based outside Africa rather than by those based within. Additionally, outsiders appear more likely to write about economic concerns (economy, economic, reform) and about conflict (war, violence, Sierra Leone). While preliminary, these differences are consistent with an explanation for the African citation penalty that hinges on Africa-based authors and outsiders writing on different topics or generalizing to different degrees. Thus, it may be that Africa-based authors are writing on topics that do not map neatly onto the broader Anglophone political science literature. These topics may then be cited less frequently, creating the citation penalty.<sup>70</sup> One intriguing finding that complicates this explanation is that the African citation penalty exists in co-authored as well as single-authored articles. As noted above, this portion of the analysis is preliminary and exploratory. Further refining and testing of various explanations for these publication and citation gaps – and seeing if these gaps hold in a wider sample of journals – is an important area of future research.

70. An additional explanation for the citation gap is that article citation patterns may be influenced by the social networks of the article’s authors and that academics based outside Africa may have wider social networks than Africa-based academics. We would like to thank Nic Cheeseman for noting this point.

### *Conclusion*

This article has examined two decades of scholarship on African politics and identified a number of important trends. First, and perhaps least surprisingly, it has shown that our scholarship clusters heavily on a small number of mostly Anglophone countries. Second, over time the proportion of articles published by academics based in Africa has declined and we find evidence in support of the claim that ‘most of that which is received as knowledge about Africa is produced in the West’.<sup>71</sup> We examined a number of explanations for this decline and found it unlikely that the decline was caused by Africa-based authors submitting fewer articles to these journals. Rather, it seems that the decline exists because Africa-based authors have very low and declining acceptance rates. Future research could more closely examine the causes of the decline in the fraction of articles published by authors in Africa.

Third, we examined patterns in citations and showed that Africa-based academics are cited less on average than other academics. We presented evidence suggesting that this gap is unlikely to stem from differences in methods or from the use of single-country studies. We also presented evidence suggesting that academics based outside Africa write on topics different from those chosen by academics based inside Africa. Outsiders are more likely to generalize to the entire continent and to study conflict or the economy, while Africa-based scholars are more likely to focus on a small number of larger and wealthier countries in Africa. While it is not obvious that these differences explain the citation gap, they suggest one of its possible causes. Again, future work could examine these causal pathways in more detail.

Fourth, the unfortunate news about the decline in Africa-based writing in these journals can be contrasted with the much more positive news about women. In the past decade, women have moved from publishing fewer than 20 percent of all articles to publishing about half of all articles. We also find no evidence that women are being cited less than men. Both findings are in contrast to much other social science work on the gendered production of research, and so future work could also aim to understand why women have done so well in Africanist journals over the past decade compared to other fields.

While we do not believe that there are simple solutions to these complicated problems, there is likely to be space for marginal improvements. First, more research on the causes of the decline in African publishing in these journals could go a long way towards the creation of better remedies. Second, whether or not the problem is based on gatekeeping, journals

71. Mama, ‘Is it ethical to study Africa?’, p. 4.

Table 4 Robustness checks

	(1) Below mean	(2) Logged DV	(3) Negative binomial
African institution	-0.96*** (0.286)	-0.68*** (0.186)	-0.28*** (0.081)
Co-authored	0.80*** (0.304)	0.58*** (0.156)	0.29*** (0.071)
Female	-0.19 (0.277)	0.11 (0.144)	0.07 (0.069)
Stats	0.25 (0.683)	-0.13 (0.358)	-0.04 (0.167)
Single-country study	0.02 (0.231)	-0.09 (0.130)	-0.04 (0.060)
JMAS	-0.41* (0.214)	-0.24* (0.123)	-0.16*** (0.055)
Constant	4.20*** (0.471)	1.70*** (0.282)	0.40*** (0.080)
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	591	888	888
R-squared	0.19	0.23	

Models 1 and 2 have robust standard errors in parentheses.

Model 3 has standard errors in parentheses.

\*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1

could track the biographical details of all authors that submit articles and publish anonymized and aggregated versions of this information. Aggregate author information could be broken down by whether or not the article yielded a desk rejection, reviewer rejection, revise and resubmit, et cetera. This would be very helpful in understanding the nuances of the publication issue. If the publication problem hinges on article quality, then policies that directly target the constraints on article quality are likely to be helpful. Perhaps working to increase access to academic articles for authors at institutions with lower library budgets is one such course of action.<sup>72</sup>

A more difficult but probably more beneficial course would be to increase the number of funding opportunities that allow Africa-based authors to focus on their research. Finally, the citation gap could be shrunk if authors made greater attempts to write diverse bibliographies, and if editors were willing to raise this issue when appropriate.<sup>73</sup> All of these proposals are

72. One notable example of this is JSTOR's African Access Initiative.

73. In attempting to address similar issues, the journal *International Studies Quarterly* notes: 'Finally, a number of recent studies have highlighted the possible under-representation of

tentative and none are solutions. The more we know about and reflect upon the structural inequalities in our field, the greater the possibility of addressing them.

### *Appendix*

Table 4 checks the robustness of the core results in Table 2 by re-analysing the results of model 3 in Table 2 in three different ways. The first robustness check drops all articles that have citation counts above the mean citation count (about 9.4) and runs the same analysis on the remaining articles. The second robustness check transforms the dependent variable by taking the natural log of the citation count (after 0.01 has been added to remove zeros). The results of the second robustness check are substantively similar ( $p < 0.01$ ) if 0.1 or 1 is added to the citation count to remove zeros instead. The third robustness check uses a negative binomial model with conditional year-fixed effects, as the dependent variable is a count variable. In all cases, authors in Africa receive significantly fewer citations than would otherwise be expected.

female and minority scholars in article citations. *International Studies Quarterly* is committed to ensuring that scholars receive appropriate intellectual acknowledgement regardless of race, gender, class, professional standing, or other categorical attributes. To that end, we ask referees to pay particular attention to this issue when noting overlooked authors and literatures.<sup>7</sup> See ISQ Guidelines and Policy, 9 June 2015, <<http://www.isanet.org/Publications/ISQ/Guidelines-and-Policy>> (9 June 2015).