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Intersectionality and the Politics of Knowledge Production

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Abstract

Since its coinage in the 1980s intersectionality has journeyed across borders and disciplines, a testament to its resonance. We examine how intersectionality has travelled within political science and the potential impact this has had on its political project, with particular attention to the politics of knowledge production. The analysis draws on 1) an original database of articles published in political science journals, 2) descriptive citation analysis, 3) a content analysis of the articles, and 4) an online survey of authors. We find that positionality plays an important role in shaping the field and political project of intersectionality.

Keywords: citation practices, feminism, gender, intersectionality, knowledge production, race

Since Black feminist scholars coined the term intersectionality in the 1980s, it has become its own field of study (Cho et al. 2013; Crenshaw 1989). Over the past decades, scholars across a range of disciplines have used the idea of intersectionality to explore how ‘race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive categories but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that shape complex social inequalities’ (Hill Collins 2015: 2). Emerging in the space between social movements and the academy, intersectionality has been used as more than an analytical tool, but a heuristic to amplify and highlight specific problems that are generally overlooked and silenced (Crenshaw 2011; May 2015). Yet, some argue that the growing popularity of intersectionality and its application to new contexts depoliticises the field, dulling its critical edge and transformative potential.

This seeming ‘depoliticisation’ happens when intersectionality is used merely as an analytical tool without a social justice orientation. Critics argue that such trends ignore the history of intersectionality, such that the study of women of colour, or even race, is deemed nonessential (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016). Black women, in particular, are perceived as being erased from the scholarly project of intersectionality (Alexander-Floyd 2012; Jordan-Zachery 2013). An effort to prioritize the work of women of colour in the United States, however, complicates the intersectionality project globally, as scholars in the Black diaspora must contend with a scholarly world dominated by U.S.-centric approaches (Emejulu and Sobande forthcoming 2019). Even in the United States, there are calls to widen intersectionality to include marginalized women “othered” by the focus on Black women (Puar 2007), and to address the visibility of queer and trans politics in the struggle for Black liberation (Cohen and Jackson 2016).

This debate about the meaning and purpose of intersectionality foregrounds theoretical questions about the role of race and ethnicity, especially in a European context that disavows race. It also suggests new directions for thinking about intersectionality in the United States, for example, by focussing on the importance of ethnicity and sexuality in processes of racialisation. Last, it highlights epistemological questions about the relationship between the identity and interests of the individual knower and her contribution to scholarship at a micro-level, and how the composition of the scholarly community at a macro-level shapes which and whose questions, dimensions, and contributions are prioritised.

In this paper, we examine how intersectionality has travelled within political science and across the Atlantic, and the potential impact this has had on its political project. We use a mixed methods approach including the creation of an original, comprehensive database of political science articles on intersectionality, an analysis of citations patterns and the focus of these articles, and an online survey

asking authors about their identity and approach to the study of intersectionality. We use these data to address key questions about the politics of knowledge production: How do political scientists approach intersectionality? Which or whose scholarship is best represented? What or who is the subject of intersectional research? What role, if any, does scholar identity, and the composition of the field, play with regard to the approach to intersectionality or the reception of one's work?

Intersectionality in Political Science

While intersectionality has a long history in Black, ethnic, and women and gender studies, its popularity in political science is more recent. In political science, intersectionality is seen as '*both* a normative theoretical argument *and* an approach to conducting empirical research that emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference (including but not limited to race, gender, class, and sexual orientation)' (Hancock 2007a: 64). For political scientists, intersectionality has come to be seen as a research paradigm: '...a worldview that precedes any questions of empirical investigation' (ibid.). Political scientists have frequently used this conceptualisation as a jumping off point for expansionary explorations.

These new 'expansionary explorations' may have come at a cost to the Black feminist genealogy of intersectionality. Several scholars argue that the applicability of intersectionality beyond race, class, and gender appears to erase Black women's and other women of colour's intellectual labour and experiences. Alexander Floyd (2012: 9) argues that:

[...] as scholars ply intersectionality as a scholarly framing device, they do so in ways that undermine the central project [...] of intersectionality – that is, the political project undertaken by women of color in general and black women in particular to address the political plight of nonwhite women [...].

Jordan-Zachery (2013: 103) states that as intersectionality gains popularity, Black women seem to be disappearing from political science texts. These critiques by two prominent Black feminist political scientists are echoed more broadly within the field of women and gender studies. Bilge (2013) argues that the colonization of intersectionality by the neoliberal academy has served to evacuate race from the concept to better to appeal and be acceptable to the hegemonic whiteness of the academy—especially feminist social science.

Whilst some critics are against the *broadening* of intersectionality, others question the perceived *narrow* interpretation of the Black feminist origins prevalent in intersectionality studies. Puar

(2007) challenges intersectionality as a dominant paradigm that centres Black women's experience such that it 'others' women of different racial and ethnic origins. Hancock (2016) advocates the need to expand the origin stories of intersectionality to include scholars from groups that are underrepresented as contributors to intersectionality (e.g. Asian Americans, Latinxs, Native Americans in the United States, and women of colour scholars working outside the Global North).

Broadening the debate beyond North America raises new questions, particularly in the European context. Black British feminist foundational texts from the 1970s to the 1990s address race, class, and gender as co-constitutive and a resource for activism (Carby 1982; Amos and Parmar 1984; Mirza 1997). Yet these classic texts are not often cited and do not form part of the (unmarked) North American intersectionality 'canon.' For example, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983) used a framework of race, class, and gender to explore the experiences of minority and migrant women in Britain—but did not name this at the time 'intersectionality'. Bryan et al. (1985) examine race, class, and gender from a variety of perspectives in relation to Black British women whilst Wilson (1978) explores similar themes among South Asian women. British intersectionality scholarship continues to flourish—notably outside the discipline of political science (Ahmed 2016; Bassel and Emejulu 2010; Brah and Phoenix 2004; Lewis 2013; Mirza 2015).

Intersectionality entered continental Europe in the 1990s in the work of Dutch scholars (Aerts and Saharso 1994; Botman et al. 2001) and was picked up in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Sweden in the 2000s (see Lutz et al. 2011). The issue of race and its (dis)appearance in relation to intersectionality is brought into sharp focus as intersectionality is operationalised on the European mainland. Race is contested as a category of empirical analysis in many European countries—it is forbidden in France and Germany, for example, to collect census data on race (Bassel and Emejulu 2017; Simon 2008). Rather than using race as a central category for analysis, scholars working in Europe use ethnicity, national origin, migration history, and/or religion as proxies (Celis et al. 2014; Davidson-Schmich 2017; Emejulu and Mügge 2018; Krizsan et al. 2012; Lombardo and Rolandsen Agustín 2016; Mokre and Siim 2013; Mügge 2013; Mügge and De Jong 2013; Kantola and Nousianen 2009).

The de-emphasising of race in a European context follows well-established patterns of disavowing race as a way to both 'forget' Europe's colonial history and to 'atone' for the Holocaust (Bhambra 2016; Hesse 2007; Wekker 2016). Eschewing race as a category of analysis, however, is neither unproblematic nor apolitical in Europe. Whilst processes of racialisation differ across Europe and the grammar of race is less available, race is omnipresent in continental political discourses. Thus, key dimensions of power relations go under-analysed by the omission of race.

As we turn to an analysis of publications, we consider whose voices and history are reflected back to us. Publications and citations are used as indicators for academic esteem, and are decisive for tenure, promotion, and salary (Maliniak et al. 2013; Mitchell et al. 2013). Yet, women are published in political science journals at dramatically lower rates than men; in the ‘top’ journals only between 18% and 33% of the articles are published by women (Teele and Thelen 2017). A report by the *American Political Science Association* (APSA) shows that female and scholars of colour are cited at disproportionately lower rates than would be expected given their representation in the field, a discrepancy that remains even when generational cohort is considered (Fraga et al. 2011: 40-41; Masuoka et al. 2007). Publication and citation cultures create a gendered and raced hierarchy where scholars become “gatekeepers” by defining what is “important” versus what is “peripheral” in the field (Ahmed 2016; Lake 2016). The question is how this influences the extent to which research on intersectionality is published, cited, and by whom.

This debate is inseparable from a larger disciplinary context of inclusion and exclusion. Under the direction of its first African American woman president, Diane Pinderhughes, APSA (2011) published a report addressing the marginalization of scholars and research based on race, class, gender, and sexuality (Fraga et al. 2011). The report noted that political science faculty in the United States was 88.9% white and 71.4% male. While the presence of women significantly increased over the past several decades, the overwhelming majority of women were white (86.6%). While intersectional data on political science faculty is lacking, the *International Political Science Association* finds that political science remains male dominated (Lindroos et al. 2014). In general, there is a dearth of data on the ethnic and racial makeup of European political scientists. Where such data exists, they suggest that patterns of racial and ethnic exclusion are not limited to the United States. In Britain, the Equality Challenge Unit (2017) has consistently found the systemic over-representation of white women and women of colour in low-paid precarious teaching-only contracts and their under-representation as full professors and senior managers. The *Political Studies Association* (2014) has found that less than 4% of British political scientists are scholars of colour.

Constructing the Canon: Research Design and Data Collection

This is the first empirical analysis of how intersectionality is studied in political science. Yet, the use of quantitative analyses places us at the centre of debates about intersectionality (see Alexander-Floyd 2012). This study does not seek to displace other kinds of scholarly work but rather to identify broader patterns that will complement existing work in this area. To study how intersectionality has travelled in

political science and where it stands today, we employed a mixed-method research design that includes a mapping exercise, descriptive citation analysis, content analysis, and a survey.

To establish which political science journals publish articles on intersectionality, we listed all journals that are ranked under the category *Political Science* and *International Relations* (IR) in the most recent database (2016) of the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI), a total of 214 journals (see Appendix A for a detailed description of the sampling and method). Using *E-journal finder*, we searched for research articles that mention the term ‘intersectionality’ at least four times in total, including the keywords, abstract, title and text, yielding 131 articles by 168 different scholars published between 1999 and 2016. Through *Google Scholar*, we retrieved the number of citations to each article. To examine hierarchy and power we sought to delineate the “canon,” or those works seen as foundational or influential by those working in the field (see Appendix 1 for a complete overview). We define this canon in two distinct ways. The first canon consists of the ten most-cited articles in our database. This canon has two limitations: 1) it excludes journals that are not yet SSCI-ranked such as the *National Political Science Review* and *Politics, Groups and Identities*; 2) it excludes influential pieces not published in SSCI-political science or IR journals, such as those in women and gender studies journals. To address these limitations, we extended the scope and constructed a canon that *informs* the articles in our database. We analysed the complete reference lists of all the articles in our database, using a Java application to scrape *Web of Science* data, resulting in a sample of 2,737 different publications.

Intersectionality in SSCI-ranked *Political Science* and *IR* Journals

Intersectionality entered the discipline as represented by these journals through research on human rights. The first political science article that mentions intersectionality is written by a Canadian male scholar of international law (Craig 1999). Apart from this initial piece, few articles on intersectionality appear in international relations journals (8 of 133 articles overall). Journals most likely to feature articles on intersectionality are those focussing on gender and politics: *Politics & Gender* (25) and the *Journal of Women Politics and Policy* (17).

Figure 1 shows the publication of articles over time. There is a peak in 2006 and steady increases thereafter, with additional spikes in 2011 and 2016. Special issues/sections dedicated to intersectionality explain the peaks in several years (Hardy-Fanta 2006; Davidson- Schmich 2011; Ackerly and McDermott 2012; Bassel and Lépinard 2014; Mügge and Erzeel 2016; Erzeel & Mügge 2016).

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Intersectionality is being discussed in the most widely cited and recognized journals in the discipline: 34% (45) of articles on intersectionality are published in the top-50 SSCI-ranked journals, so-called “Q1” or the most prestigious journals in the discipline (see table 1). However, none of the widely-cited (Q1) European journals appear on this list. While the intersectional agenda is being recognised in top U.S. journals, albeit slowly, this trend is completely absent in top-tier European journals.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

A plurality of articles in our overall sample focus on the United States, 43% (56), and more than a quarter of the articles, 28% (36), focus on Europe or single European countries such as Britain, Finland, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Norway, and Sweden.

Coding the content of the articles produced thirteen distinct categories explored by intersectionality scholars: gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion, ability, age, citizenship, regional location of origin, sex, (im)migrant, and unspecified. In our sample, only 57% (74) of articles study race. The most commonly studied combinations in our sample are gender/race 12% (16) and gender/race/ethnicity five percent (6), both predominantly in the United States. In total, authors named around 125 different intersectional groups, sometimes using different terms for similar or overlapping groups.

The lion’s share of the articles study marginalized rather than advantaged groups. Articles that include majority groups are predominantly quantitative comparative analyses of legislation. Twelve articles with a focus on the United States study ‘white’ groups, particularly ‘white women’ and/or ‘white men’ (11) or ‘white LGBT’ (1) alongside or in comparison to other racial groups.

The Intersectionality “Canon”

Who is most cited in work on intersectionality in political science? Defining the ‘canon’ in terms citations shows that these works are published exclusively in American journals and that the majority of the authors (nine out of ten) are U.S.-based (Table 2). Five of the top-ten articles are by African American feminist scholars well known for their work about African American women and Black feminism: Hancock, Hill Collins, Jordan-Zachery, and Simien. The single most frequently cited author by any measure is Hancock, author of two articles on the list.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Most of these pieces are theoretical discussions of intersectionality, defining the meaning and application of the concept for political science. The top-cited piece is Hancock's (2007a) argument for understanding intersectionality as a research paradigm and calling for its broader application in political science. Its extensive citation reflects the central place the article plays in current debates about intersectionality. Hill Collins' (2000) article also discusses intersectionality as a paradigm, but describes it as an interpretive framework that centres Black women's experiences while also providing broader insight to the overall organisation of social structure and culture. Dhamoon (2011) advocates a shift from a study of identities and categories to a study of processes and systems. Yet, she also articulates intersectionality as a political project, emphasizing it as a political critique of power. Weldon (2006) aims to provide a conceptual basis for the use of the idea of intersectionality in comparative politics, theorising its application outside the United States, extending what she sees as the structural approach to intersectionality developed by Hill Collins and Crenshaw to new contexts.

Three of the most-cited articles come from a single 2007 symposium in *Politics and Gender*. Hancock (2007b) advocates for a broader understanding and application of intersectionality that moves beyond a content-based specialisation focused on particular intersections. Simien (2007) similarly enjoins political scientists to shift towards adopting more intersectional research (quantitative and qualitative), making her case by highlighting and engaging with scholarship on African-American women and politics. Jordan-Zachery (2007) acknowledges diverging approaches to intersectionality, placing herself more in the context-specific work of the Combahee River Collective (1977) and Crenshaw (1989), than in the broader empirical approach. She describes her use of intersectionality to understand the lived experiences of black women and their liberation.

The remaining articles are empirical applications of the idea of intersectionality. Hawkesworth (2003) is one of the few pieces published in the prestigious *American Political Science Review* (APSR). It centres women of colour and their "race-gendered" experiences in the United States Congress. Hughes (2011), also published in the APSR, uses intersectionality as an approach to understanding the role that quotas play in minority and white women's representation worldwide. For the cross-national analysis, Hughes establishes minority status by determining salient social cleavages (e.g. racial/ethnic, religious, and linguistic) and "axes of disadvantages." Finally, Strolovitch (2006) looks at interest groups in the United States and focuses on national organisations that represent marginalized groups. These three articles in the discipline's most visible, top-ranked journals are all authored by white women.

Our second construction of “the canon” is aimed at incorporating more non-SSCI articles and books to expand what might be considered foundational work for researchers working on intersectionality in the discipline, which potentially also may include work that is not explicitly about intersectionality (Table 3). As the last three articles received an equal amount of citations, we listed not the ten, but the eleven most-cited works. These were journal articles only, even though we used the entire reference lists of SSCI- ranked journal articles in our sample. Compared to the first canon (table 2) this canon is more interdisciplinary and includes scholars and journals in the wider field of women and gender studies. Other than the first canon, this canon includes European journals (*European Journal of Women’s Studies*) and scholars (Verloo 2006; Yuval-Davis 2006). Only four articles appear in both canons (Hancock 2007a; Hawkesworth 2003; Simien 2007; Weldon 2006). The share of women of colour – around half (five) – is comparable to the first canon.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

Two scholars of Black feminism top the list: Crenshaw (1991) is cited in 33% (37) of articles while Hancock (2007a) is cited in 30% (34). McCall (2005) is the next most-cited piece, cited by 22% (25) of our sample. The other articles are cited by 7-12% (8-14) of the sample. Mansbridge (1999) article is the one piece in this list that is not about intersectionality; it serves as reference point for some scholars about the relationship between gender, race and representative politics.

Taking the four most cited studies in our sample (Figure 2), we see that over the period from 2006 to 2016, citations to articles by the women of colour authors in our construction of the canon (e.g. Crenshaw and Hancock) grew steadily while citations to articles by the white women authors--even in leading political science and women’s studies journals--level out or drop off. Citations to McCall are relatively steady and Hawkesworth’s citations peak in 2011 but decline radically thereafter. In spite of some highly visible pieces on intersectionality by white women, in political science journals, Black feminist scholars based in the United States appear increasingly to lead the field of intersectionality studies.

What does this data tell us about the claim that as intersectionality gains popularity, Black feminist scholarship becomes less cited? The evidence for this thesis is mixed at best, especially if we want to focus on political science journals, and if we distinguish between American and European political science. Women of colour based in the United States are well represented in our constructions of the canon, although they are less well represented in top ranked political science journals. It is

important to note that intersectionality in political science research is relatively new. It is therefore no surprise that the scholars who were among the first to publish about intersectionality in the discipline, like Hancock, receive most citations. As intersectionality gains popularity, citations of these foundational works logically grow as well. In future work on this topic, it will be important to examine broader trends in citational patterns that expand beyond the parameters of this study and to map any changes over time.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Author Identity and Approach to Intersectionality

To further probe questions about the diminished visibility of women of colour in political science and any attendant depoliticisation of intersectionality, we designed an online *Qualtrics* survey of authors to ask about their identities and approaches to intersectionality scholarship (see Appendix B). The aim was to get at *self-reported* identities of political scientists who publish on intersectionality. Not only may gender, racial or ethnic categories differ from what outside observers conclude, but other salient differences, such as disability, religion and sexuality, may not be readily observable at all. Our survey allows us to explore whether these identities are related to their particular approaches to intersectionality.

The survey was sent to all of the authors (158/168) in our database for whom we could identify valid email addresses between December 2017 and January 2018. Our results reflect a response rate of 52% (83 responses), which is quite high for email survey. An average response rate for a web survey is 34% (Shih and Fan 2008). About 53% (44) of respondents worked in the United States, while another 32% (27) were based in Europe. An additional 10% (8) scholars were based in Canada, Japan, Australia or elsewhere and 4-5% were based in an unknown location.

About 14% (12) of the respondent authors to our survey identified as men. Slightly more than half (7) of men identify themselves as members of marginalized racial, ethnic or religious groups and/or as sexual minorities. The majority of our respondents identified as women, 77% (64), and one person identified as transgender. Overall, about a quarter of our respondents (20) identify as lesbian, gay, or gender nonconforming. Only 6% of the authors in our survey (5 people) reported being white, straight, cis men.

Our respondents are predominantly middle class: 14% (12) report working class identity or background. The vast majority 86% (71) see themselves as middle class or as better off than that. More

than a third 34% (28) reported being first generation students, suggesting that coming from a working-class background may be underreported, though it is possible that respondents did not know what “first generation” meant (one person indicated both that their parents had a college degree *and* that they were a first generation student).

About a quarter of all respondents (20) reported being from a marginalized race, ethnicity or religion. Of these respondents, about a fifth (4) identify as men. In terms of the immigrant or refugee experience, a quarter of respondents (21) report an immigrant background and a tiny proportion, 4% (3), report coming from a refugee background. The majority of our respondent authors are white women: only 14% (12) identify as women of colour. A slightly larger proportion, 18% (15), appear to be women of a marginalized racial, ethnic, or religious group. Only seven percent of our respondents reported a disability. Our analysis suggests the demographic composition of our respondents likely represents the make-up of the broader group of authors on intersectionality.

Fewer European than American respondents identified as women of colour (only two European scholars so identified). A few European respondents contested the idea of race and/or ethnicity. Other European respondents reflected upon the difficulty of answering questions about race. Two or three other respondents to the survey did not specifically contest the category of race, but responded to questions about the racial identity with terms such as “human,” “majority,” or “European.” These responses suggest that race is a challenging category for many Europeans, even for some who have published about intersectionality. The low rate of identification as women of colour in Europe may reflect the difficulty of devising racial or ethnic categories that travel well across different national contexts. On the other hand, this low rate may reflect the under-representation of women of colour scholars in the European academy.

How did this group of scholars define their approach to intersectionality, and how did their identity influence their work? Overall, about 1 in 6 respondents, 16% (13), said they saw intersectionality primarily as a research paradigm, whereas only 4% (3) said they saw it primarily as a political project (Table 4). The majority, 67% (56) see intersectionality as *both* a research paradigm and a political project.

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

A sizeable minority, 40% (33), of all respondents identify centering women of colour as essential to an intersectional approach, and another 57% (47) see critical discussion of race as necessary. Other

aspects seen as important, and about which we asked, included looking at any group defined by multiple social structures, or context-specific analysis. Other aspects that we did not specifically ask about, but which some respondents saw as essential, were sexuality, gender, class, national, and linguistic identities. Even those who agreed that centering women of colour and/or race was essential to intersectionality emphasized the importance of giving gender and especially sexuality equal weight. One respondent noted, “I definitely think that it's crucial to center women of colour, but I also think that it's important to center gender. I also think that sexuality and gender identity are under-included. To some degree disability and class too.” It is interesting to note that, for some respondents, centering women of colour seemed to be a different activity than centering ‘gender.’ Respondents identifying as women of color overwhelmingly (10 or 83%) agreed that centering women of color was essential to the study of intersectionality and the same number and proportion thought that critical discussion of race was necessary.

Those who did not identify race or women of colour as an essential element sometimes emphasized context-specific marginalisation, or even individual level salience, as being the relevant criterion. For example, one respondent who did not identify centring women of colour or a focus on race as essential said that it was essential to an intersectional approach to: “focus on communities that have been historically marginalized in their specific context.” Another respondent who did not identify centering women of colour or critical discussion of race as priorities indicated that: “Intersectionality is important as it broadens our thinking of "diversity" and should be extended to multiple individual traits (socio-economic status, race, gender, age, religion, education attainment), all of which collectively have a role in the behavior and ideals of individuals.”

Emphasis on race was greater for U.S.-based researchers, of whom 61% (27) thought centering women of colour was important and of whom 66% (29) thought that race was an essential part of intersectionality. As in the discussion of self-identification, race (and the category of “women of colour” in particular) has less salience in Europe even among intersectionality researchers: Only 26% (7) of Europe-based respondents thought it was essential to centre women of colour, and only 59% (16) thought it was essential to intersectional analysis to include critical discussion of race.

The majority of our respondents see intersectionality as both a political project and a research paradigm. This was true for respondents who identified as a member of a marginalized racial or ethnic group (Table 4). Of these 20 respondents, 70% (14) identified intersectionality as *both* a political project and as a research paradigm. About 10 percent (just 2) of these respondents saw intersectionality as a political project and another 15% (3) saw it as a research paradigm. The same pattern, roughly speaking,

also emerged if we looked only at women of colour respondents: 75% (9 of 12) identified intersectionality as being both a research paradigm and a political project, and only three respondents identified intersectionality as either a research paradigm (2, or 17%) or a political project (1 or 8%).

Looking at those who did *not* identify as women of colour also revealed a majority who see intersectionality as *both* a research project and a political project 64% (36). A similar proportion 18% (10) of this group--a group who do *not* see themselves as women of colour (either because they are men or they do not see themselves as people of colour) --see intersectionality as primarily a research paradigm as compared to a similar proportion of women of colour. Taking male-identified authors – not identifying with a marginalized racial group- together, one-quarter (2 of 8) saw intersectionality as primarily a research paradigm, but given the small numbers of men in our survey we cannot draw any firm conclusions. About 16% (8) of the 48 women respondents not marginalised by race or ethnicity see intersectionality as primarily a research paradigm, while 77% (37) of these women see it as both a political project and a research paradigm.

It is notable that intersectionality scholars are far from representative of the field of political science. With only 7% (6) being straight white cis men, it is clear that work on intersectionality appeals to people who experience marginalisation along one (or multiple) axes of different (e.g. race, gender, sexuality). In this sense, positionality appears to influence interest in intersectionality. Furthermore, most of our respondents see an intersectional approach as being *both* a political project and a research paradigm-even if they do not always state this explicitly in their published work. So, positionality does play an important role in establishing intersectionality as a political project. It might also, however, play a role in determining what exactly comprises that political project. Our survey suggests that the vast majority of scholars writing about intersectionality do not identify as women of colour or even as a member of a marginalised racial group. How does this affect the study of intersectionality? While most scholars see it as essential to place gender and race at the centre of the analysis, our survey does suggest that women of colour, scholars based in the United States, and women of marginalised racial, ethnic and religious groups, collectively place more emphasis on race as a part of that political project.

Conclusion

As one of the first empirical assessments of intersectionality in political science, our study has provided an introspective analysis of the politics of intersectionality. While intersectionality has increased in its visibility in political science journals, it has most frequently appeared in the specialised journal, *Politics &*

Gender. Intersectional scholarship has less frequently appeared in the most-cited, long-established political science journals and only in the United States. Our analysis of the canon – operationalized as the top cited articles – found that work by women of colour (particularly North American) is well represented, at least in the American political science journals (though not in the most well-established mainstream journals). The wider canon – operationalized as the complete reference lists of all articles in our sample – also represents European scholars, albeit at a very low level (two out of eleven). In both canons, roughly half of the authors are women of colour. These findings are instructive; however, more extensive research is needed to explore the potential power differentials in the citation practices of intersectionality studies, for example to explore changes in these practices over time, and more finely grained analysis of who is citing whom.

Our findings also demonstrate how the underrepresentation of women of color in European political science is consequential in terms of how intersectionality is framed and understood. Earlier we discussed how race is less central, and perhaps invisible, in the operationalisation of intersectionality by continental European scholars. The significance of this is underscored by several factors. First, according to our survey, women of colour were more likely to centre race in their intersectional analysis. Second, women of colour in Europe and Britain are largely absent — with a few notable exceptions — within political science and its processes of knowledge production. Third, the Black feminist scholars that are most visible in the global intersectionality project, are from the United States. Thereby we miss the story about diasporic Blackness and its intersections in Europe and beyond (Emejulu and Sobande forthcoming 2019). Citation politics amplify these problems of voice and visibility. Which publications count in political science, who gets to publish in those outlets, and who is actually writing these texts constitute a politics of exclusion.

Has the increased popularity of intersectionality come at the expense of its radical praxis, of its commitment to placing race and women of colour at the centre of feminist analysis? While not all scholars agree that intersectionality is inherently political, a vast majority of them do. That intersectionality is part of a political project is not explicitly in dispute, nor is the perception that intersectionality should focus on marginalized groups and processes of marginalisation. This seeming agreement may obscure a deeper disagreement, however, about what intersectionality's political project is, which particular groups it is meant to represent, and whose history and intellectual labour it should reflect. Gender and race are still largely seen and treated as essential and central components of any intersectional analysis, although our survey suggests that this is truer in the United States and amongst women of colour. How centrally to place sexuality, class and disability seems less well

established. Here too, the social location of the scholar has some impact on how they conceptualize intersectionality and what intersections they prioritize, with LGBT scholars more likely to emphasize the importance of sexuality.

In this article we mapped how intersectionality has travelled in political science. Future research should dig deeper into the content of this map and presumable different approaches and foci across authors and borders. Key to our argument is that one cannot separate political science knowledge production from the systematic underrepresentation of women of colour in the discipline on *both* sides of the Atlantic. More work needed to fully understand and intervene in the exclusionary politics of knowledge production in political science and the wider academy. Who is (under)represented in the discipline of political science, and how they are (under)represented is vital to this question.

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Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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Bio notes

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Figure 1 Articles on Intersectionality Published in Political Science/IR SSCI-ranked Journals, 1999-2016

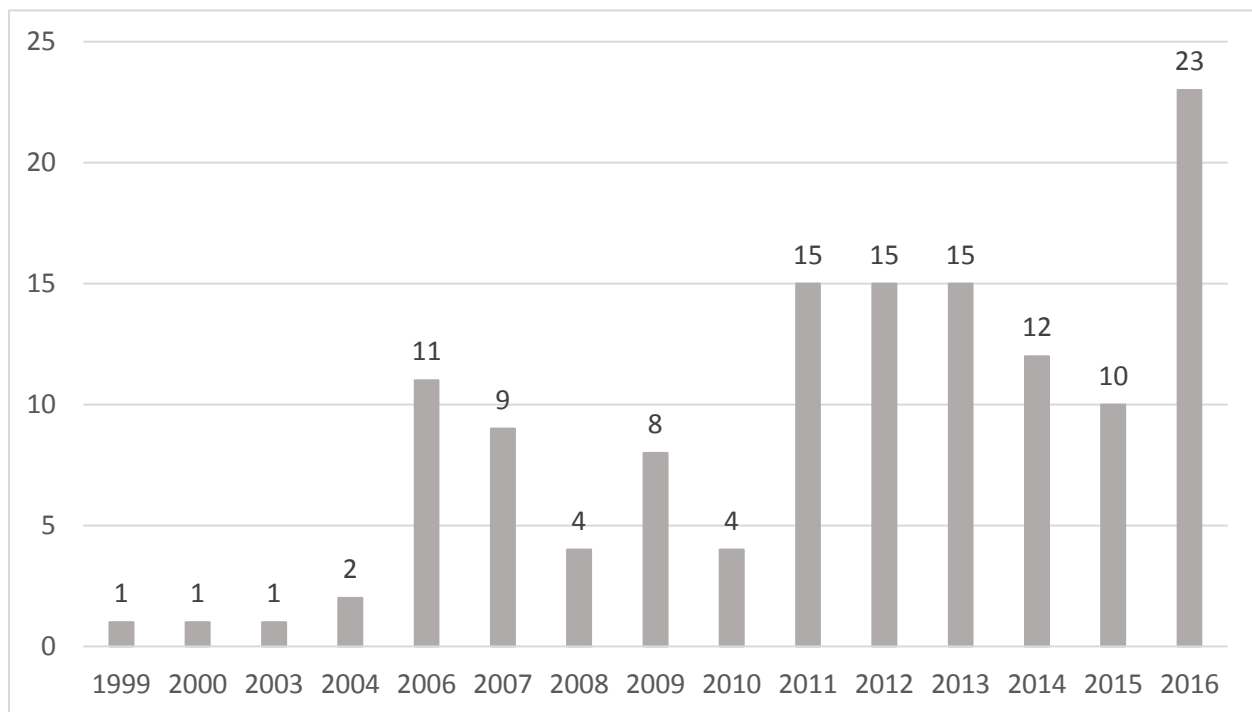


Table 1: Articles published on Intersectionality in top SSCI-ranked (Q1) *Political Science* and *IR* journals, 2000-2016

SSCI Rank	Articles (N=48)	Journal Name
1 (PolSci)	1	<i>American Journal of Political Science</i>
6 (PolSci)	3	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
8 (PolSci)	4	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
9 (IR)	1	<i>Common Market Law Review</i>
14 (PolSci)	1	<i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>
15 (PolSci)	3	<i>Political Psychology</i>
16 (IR)	1	<i>International Affairs</i>
19 (IR) (PolSci 46, Q2)	2	<i>International Journal of Transitional Justice</i>
20 (PolSci)	1	<i>Comparative Political Studies</i>
30 (PolSci)	1	<i>Policy Studies Journal</i>
32 (PolSci)	2	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>
33 (PolSci)	25	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
39 (PolSci)	1	<i>Journal of Politics</i>
41 (PolSci)	2	<i>Environmental Politics</i>

Table 2: Top-10 Cited Articles on Intersectionality Published in *Political Science* and *IR* SSCI-ranked Journals

Rank	Author	Year	Article	Number of citations in November 2017	Average number of citations per year	Journal
1	Hancock, Ange-Marie	2007a	When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm	946	95	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
2	Hill Collins, Patricia	2000	Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy	446	26	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>
3	Hawkesworth, Mary	2003	Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions	381	27	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
4	Hancock, Ange-Marie	2007b	Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm	326	33	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
5	Dhamoon, Rita Kaur	2011	Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality	272	45	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
6	Jordan-Zachery, Julia S.	2007	Am I a Black Woman or a Woman Who Is Black? A Few Thoughts on the Meaning of Intersectionality	188	19	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
7	Weldon, S. Laurel	2006	The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender	176	16	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
8	Simien, Evelyn M.	2007	Doing Intersectionality Research: From Conceptual Issues to Practical Examples	143	14	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
9	Hughes, Melanie M.	2011	Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide	140	23	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
10	Strolovitch, Dara Z.	2006	Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender	139	13	<i>Journal of Politics</i>

Table 3: Top 11 cited Works by Articles on Intersectionality Published in *Political Science* and *IR* SSCI-ranked Journal Articles

rank	Author	Year	Article	Percentage of citations (from the total of citations of 114 articles)	Absolute number of citations	Journal
1	Crenshaw, Kimberlé	1991	Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color	33%	37	<i>Stanford Law Review</i>
2	Hancock, Ange-Marie	2007	When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm	30%	34	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
3	McCall, Leslie	2005	The Complexity of Intersectionality	22%	25	<i>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</i>
4	Hawkesworth, Mary	2003	Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions	12%	14	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
5	Verloo, Mieke	2006	Multiple inequalities, intersectionality and the European Union	11%	12	<i>European Journal of Women's Studies</i>
6	Yuval-Davis, Nira	2006	Intersectionality and Feminist Politics	11%	12	<i>European Journal of Women's Studies</i>
7	Mansbridge, Jane	1999	Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"	11%	12	<i>Journal of Politics</i>
8	Smooth, Wendy	2006	Intersectionality in Electoral Politics: A Mess Worth Making	9%	10	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
9	Weldon, Laurel, S.	2006	The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender	7%	8	<i>Politics & Gender</i>

10	Simien, Evelyn, M.	2007	Doing intersectionality research: From conceptual issues to practical examples	7%	8	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
11	Bratton, Kathleen A.	1999	Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race	7%	8	<i>The Journal of Politics</i>

Figure 2 Top-four cited Works by Articles on Intersectionality Published in *Political Science* and *IR* SSCI-ranked Journal Articles, 2006-2016

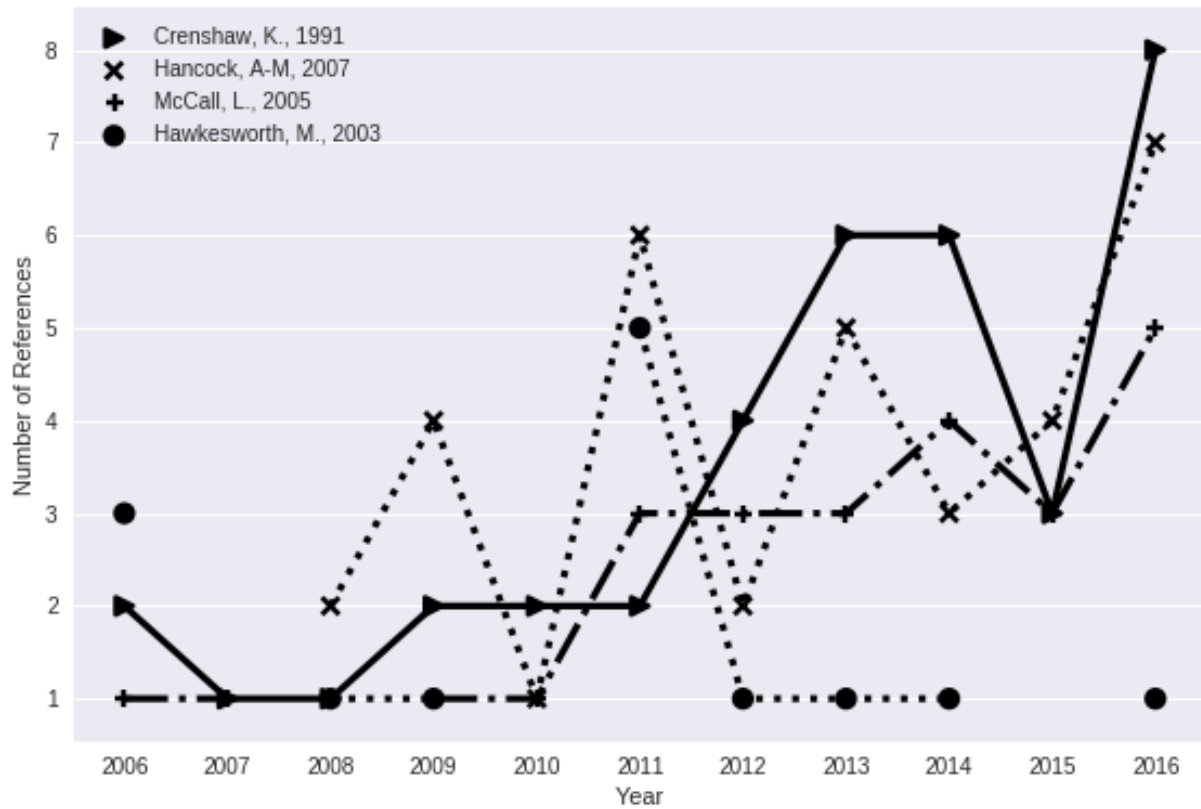


Table 4: Self-Reported Approach to Intersectionality by Selected Groups of Respondents*Q17. Would you say that intersectionality is: a research paradigm, Political project, both, Other, No answer.*

	Total Respondents Identifying	Research Paradigm	Political Project	Both	Other	No answer
All respondents	83 (100%)	13 (16%)	3 (4%)	56 (67%)	3 (4%)	8 (10%)
Women of Colour	12 (100%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)	9 (75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Marginalized Ethnic, Racial or Religious Group	20 (100%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	14 (70%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
Male Gender Identity	12 (100%)	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	8 (67%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
LGBT Identity	20 (100%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	14 (70%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
US-Based	44 (100%)	7 (16%)	2 (5%)	32 (73%)	3 (7%)	0 (0%)
Europe-Based	27 (100%)	5 (19%)	1 (4%)	19 (70%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)

Supplementary On-Line Materials: Methods Appendix

Appendix A: The Database

The database with journal articles has been compiled and analysed at the University of Amsterdam by Liza Mügge with assistance of Anna Keuchenius, Arwen van Stigt and Mehri Zamanbin. We used the recent database (2016) of the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI published by *In Cites Journal Citation Reports* by Thomson Reuters accessed in *Web of Science*. The 2016 SSCI-list includes 165 *Political Science* and 85 *International Relations* journals. Of these journals, 36 are categorized in both disciplines, which brings us to a total of 214 journals. SSCI lists *Political Science* and *International Relations* as two different disciplines, but in the text we consider them as one discipline.

Definition of Articles Focussing on Intersectionality

Our sample includes papers in which the concept of *intersectionality* is one of the key components of an article. This decision is based on a pilot study in which we noticed that in papers where intersectionality was mentioned three times or less intersectionality was not defined, reviewed, criticized and/or interpreted. We only searched for the full concept of *intersectionality*, and not parts of it such as *intersectional*. The rationale is that searches on for instance *intersectional*, *intersect* or *intersection* yielded hundreds of irrelevant results unconnected to intersectionality research, such as special planning. While this kept our sampling feasible, we might have missed articles that address internationality, but did not mention the full concept at least four times.

Inductive Development of Intersectional Categories

To examine whether there was a difference in the categories and groups studied by authors based in continental Europe, Britain and the US, we coded each article as to the combination of categories defining social groups under study. We coded this inductively, using the exact same phrasing as the authors. We thus listed all the terms used by authors without categorizing them ourselves. What this shows, is that there is no consensus among scholars on terminology. 'Black women' is the most frequently named group in this wording. Others have used a different wording to describe this group or a subset of it, including: "women of colour", "African American women", "Black females", "Black feminists" "Black lesbians", "female African Americans."

Through *Google Scholar*, we retrieved the number of times each article has been cited. See Table 1 for the complete list.

Table 1: Number of Citations of All Articles on Intersectionality Published in *Political Science* and *IR* SSCI-ranked Journals

Rank (N = 131)	Times cited in November 2017	Article	Year	Author(s)	Journal
1	946	When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm	2007	Hancock, Ange-Marie	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
2	446	Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy	2000	Hill Collins, Patricia	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>
3	381	Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions	2003	Hawkesworth, Mary	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
4	326	Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm	2007	Hancock, Ange-Marie	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
5	272	Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality	2011	Dhamoon, Rita Kaur	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
6	188	Am I a Black Woman or a Woman Who Is Black? A Few Thoughts on the Meaning of Intersectionality	2007	Jordan-Zachery, Julia S.	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
7	176	The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender	2006	Weldon, S. Laurel	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
8	143	Doing Intersectionality Research: From Conceptual Issues to Practical Examples	2007	Simien, Evelyn M.	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
9	140	Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide	2011	Hughes, Melanie M.	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
10	139	Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged?	2006	Strolovitch, Dara Z.	<i>Journal of Politics</i>

		Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender			
11	134	Institutionalizing Intersectionality In Europe. Introducing The Theme	2009	Kantola, Johanna and Nousiainen, Kevät	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
12	107	Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons from Existing Models	2011	Hankivsky, Olena and Cormier, Renee	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
13	106	Institutionalizing Intersectionality In The European Union? Policy Developments And Contestations	2009	Lombardo, Emanuela and Verloo, Mieke	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
14	104	Race, Immigration, and the Identity-to-Politics Link	2008	Lee, Taeku	<i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>
15	104	Intersections of Inequality: Understanding Marginalization and Privilege in the Post-Civil Rights Era	2007	García Bedolla, Lisa	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
16	93	Climate change through the lens of intersectionality	2013	Kaijser, Anna and Kronsell, Annica	<i>Environmental Politics</i>
17	92	Intersectionality in Electoral Politics: A Mess Worth Making	2006	Smooth, Wendy	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
18	83	Reaching Beyond (Without Abandoning) the Category of “Economic, Social and Cultural Rights”	1999	Scott, Craig	<i>Human Rights Quarterly</i>
19	78	The Intersection of Race and Gender: An Examination of Black Feminist Consciousness, Race Consciousness, and Policy Attitudes	2004	Simien, Evelyn M. and Clawson, Rosalee A.	<i>Social Science Quarterly</i>
20	60	Intersection inequalities: Britain’s equality review	2009	Squires, Judith	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
21	60	Envisioning the Possibilities for a Good Life: Exploring the Public Policy Implications of Intersectionality Theory	2006	Manuel, Tiffany	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>

22	58	Agenda Setting and African American Women in State Legislatures	2006	Bratton, Kathleen A. <i>et al.</i>	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
23	55	Welfare Policymaking and Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in U.S. State Legislatures	2012	Reingold, Beth and Smith, Adrienne R.	<i>American Journal of Political Science</i>
24	55	Underenforcement and Intersectionality: Gendered Aspects of Transition for Women	2007	Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala and Rooney, Eilish	<i>International Journal of Transitional Justice</i>
25	52	The emergence of the other sexual citizen: orientalism and the modernisation of sexuality	2012	Sabsay, Leticia	<i>Citizenship Studies</i>
26	52	Gender and Ethnicity: Patterns of Electoral Success and Legislative Advocacy Among Latina and Latino State Officials in Four States	2006	Ricardo Fraga, Luis <i>et al.</i>	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
27	49	Gender, Race, and Intersectionality on the Federal Appellate Bench	2008	Collins, Todd and Moyer, Laura	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
28	47	Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality	2011	Smooth, Wendy	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
29	40	Spain. Intersectionality Faces The Strong Gender Norm	2009	Bustelo, María	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
30	37	Gender, Race, and Descriptive Representation in the United States: Findings from the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project	2006	Hardy-Fanta, Carol <i>et al.</i>	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
31	36	Intersectionality in California's Same-Sex Marriage Battles: A Complex Proposition	2011	Wadsworth, Nancy D.	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
32	34	Do Ethnic Parties Exclude Women?	2009	Holmsten, Stephanie S. <i>et al.</i>	<i>Comparative Political Studies</i>
33	34	Gender-Skepticism or Gender-Boom?	2004	Chan-Tiberghien, Jennifer	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>

34	32	Quotas and intersectionality: Ethnicity and gender in candidate selection	2014	Celis, Karen <i>et al.</i>	<i>International Political Science Review</i>
35	31	Women of Color in State Legislatures: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Legislative Office Holding	2006	Scola, Becki	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
36	31	Gender Equality Jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights	2008	Radacic, Ivana	<i>European Journal of International Law</i>
37	30	Rethinking Care Ethics: On the Promise and Potential of an Intersectional Analysis	2014	Hankivsky, Olena	<i>American Political Science Review</i>
38	29	Du Mlf Au Mouvement Pour La Parité La Genèse D'une Nouvelle Cause Dans L'espace De La Cause Des Femmes	2007	Bereni, Laure	<i>Politix</i>
39	27	Finding Intersection: Race, Class, and Gender in the 2003 California Recall Vote	2006	García Bedolla, Lisa and Scola, Becki	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
40	27	Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom: Intersectionality and the Politics of Policy	2010	Bassel, Leah and Emejulu, Akwugo	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
41	27	Intersectionality In Practice? Anti-Discrimination Reforms In Norway	2009	Skjeie, Hege and Langvasbråten, Trude	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
42	27	What is Relevance? Defining Intersectional Praxis in Uruguay	2011	Townsend-Bell, Erica	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>
43	26	An Intersectional Analysis of International Relations: Recasting the Discipline	2008	Ackerly, Brooke and True, Jacqui	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
44	26	The Intersection of Gender and Minority Status in National Legislatures: The Minority Women Legislative Index	2013	Hughes, Melanie M.	<i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i>
45	26	The Gender Jurisprudence of the Special Court for Sierra Leone: Progress in the Revolutionary United Front Judgments	2011	Oosterveld, Valerie	<i>Cornell International Law Journal</i>

46	24	Race and Gender Matter: Refining Models of Legislative Policy Making in State Legislatures	2006	D'Andrá Orey, Byron <i>et al.</i>	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
47	23	A 'women's revolution from above'? Female leadership, intersectionality, and public policy under the Merkel government	2011	Wahl, Angelika Von	<i>German Politics</i>
48	22	Teaching Intersectionality Intersectionally	2009	Naples, Nancy A.	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
49	22	Rethinking Theory. Inequalities, Informalization And Feminist Quandaries	2012	Spike Peterson, V.	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
50	20	The Hollow and the Ghetto: Space, Race, and the Politics of Poverty	2007	White, Julie Anne	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
51	20	A Second Look: Is There a Latina/o Gender Gap?	2006	García Bedolla, Lisa <i>et al.</i>	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
52	19	An Intersectional Approach to Angela Merkel's Foreign Policy	2011	Yoder, Jennifer A.	<i>German Politics</i>
53	18	What Does Queer Theory Teach Us about Intersectionality?	2012	Duong, Kevin	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
54	18	Disability as a New Frontier for Feminist Intersectionality Research	2012	Hirschmann, Nancy J.	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
55	17	Intersectionality in Time: Sexuality and the Shifting Boundaries of Intersectional Marginalization	2012	Strolovitch, Dara Z.	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
56	17	Solidarity under Austerity: Intersectionality in France and the United Kingdom	2014	Bassel, Leah and Emejulu, Akwugo	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
57	17	Disclosed and Willing: Towards A Queer Public Sociology	2012	Santos, Ana Cristina	<i>Social Movement Studies</i>
58	15	Thinking beyond the Category of Sexual Identity: At the Intersection of Sexuality	2012	Robertson, Mary A. and Sgoutas, Arlene	<i>Politics & Gender</i>

		and Human-Trafficking Policy			
59	15	Immigrant sexual citizenship: intersectional templates among Mexican gay immigrants to the USA	2014	Epstein, Steven and Carrillo, Héctor	<i>Citizenship Studies</i>
60	15	Transnational Feminisms Building Anti-Globalization Solidarities	2012	Conway, Janet et al.	<i>Globalizations</i>
61	14	For Women Only? Gender Quotas and Intersectionality in France	2013	Lepinard, Eleonore	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
62	14	Impossible Intersectionality? French Feminists and the Struggle for Inclusion	2014	Lepinard, Eleonore	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
63	14	Institutionalizing Intersectionality. A New Path To Equality For New Member States Of The EU?	2009	Koldinská, Kristina	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
64	14	Gender, Intersectionality, and the Executive Branch: The Case of Angela Merkel	2011	Davidson-Schmich, Louise K.	<i>German Politics</i>
65	13	Remembering Complexity? Memorials for Nazi Victims in Berlin	2013	Wilke, Christiane	<i>International Journal of Transitional Justice</i>
66	12	We are in Complete Agreement': The Diversity Issue, Disagreement and Change in the European Women's Lobby	2012	Bygnes, Susanne	<i>Social Movement Studies</i>
67	12	Predicting Presence at the Intersections: Assessing the Variation in Women's Office Holding across the States	2013	Scola, Becki	<i>State Politics & Policy Quarterly</i>
68	12	Building a Theory, Measuring a Concept: Exploring Intersectionality and Latina Activism at the Individual Level	2010	Jaramillo, Patricia A.	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
69	11	Intersecting Identities, Divergent Views: Interpreting the Experiences of Women	2015	Corbett, Jack and Liki, Asenati	<i>Politics & Gender</i>

		Politicians in the Pacific Islands			
70	10	Beyond environmental security: complex systems, multiple inequalities and environmental risks	2011	Cudworth, Erika and Hobden, Stephen	<i>Environmental Politics</i>
71	10	Intersectionality in European Union policymaking: the case of gender-based violence	2016	Lombardo, Emanuela and Rolandsen Agustín, Lise	<i>Politics</i>
72	10	Left High And Dry. An Intersectional Analysis Of Gender, Dams And Development In Lesotho	2011	Braun, Yvonne A.	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
73	10	Which Genocide Matters the Most? An Intersectionality Analysis of the Canadian Museum of Human Rights	2013	Hankivsky, Olena and Dhamoon, Rita Kaur	<i>Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique</i>
74	10	Queering women, peace and security	2016	Hagen, Jamie J.	<i>International Affairs</i>
75	9	Gender, Ethnicity, and Support for Bilingual Education: Will Just Any Woman or Latino Do? A Contingent “No”	2011	Rocha, Rene R. and Wrinkle, Robert D.	<i>Policy Studies Journal</i>
76	9	Gender quotas, gender mainstreaming and gender relations in politics	2013	Meier, Petra and Lombardo, Emanuela	<i>Political Science</i>
77	9	Women, Earmarks, and Substantive Representation	2013	Schulze, Corina	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
78	8	Intersectionality and the Spectrum of Racist Hate Speech: Proposals to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination	2013	Ghanea, Nazila	<i>Human Rights Quarterly</i>
79	7	Sex-Classification Policies as Transgender Discrimination: An Intersectional Critique	2014	Davis, Heath Fogg	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
80	7	Social Dominance Orientation and John Henryism at the Intersection of Race and Class	2012	Sanders, Melissa R. and Mahalingam, Ramaswami	<i>Political Psychology</i>

81	7	Intersectionality, Recruitment and Selection: Ethnic Minority Candidates in Dutch Parties	2016	Mügge, Liza	<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>
82	7	Conditions of cultural citizenship: intersections of gender, race and age in public debates on family migration	2015	Horsti, Karina and Pellander, Saara	<i>Citizenship Studies</i>
83	7	Competing Inequalities? On the Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity in Candidate Nominations in Indian Elections	2016	Jenselius, Francesca R.	<i>Government and Opposition</i>
84	7	What Scarlett O'Hara Thinks: Political Attitudes of Southern Women	2013	Ondercin, Heather	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i>
85	7	Political Participation of Women of Color: An Intersectional Analysis	2014	Brown, Nadia	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
86	6	God, Gays, and Progressive Politics: Reconceptualizing Intersectionality as a Normatively Malleable Analytical Framework	2013	Lindsay, Keisha	<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>
87	6	Political Intersectionality and Democratic Politics in the European Public Sphere	2014	Siim, Birte	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
88	6	Northern Crises. Women's Relationships And Resistances To Resource Extractions	2015	Stienstra, Deborah	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
89	6	Diversity Matters: Intersectionality and Women's Representation in the USA and UK	2016	Evans, Elizabeth	<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>
90	6	Bringing Narrative In: Race–Gender Storytelling, Political Ambition, and Women's Paths to Public Office	2013	Frederick, Angela	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
91	6	El mainstreaming de género y sus nuevos desafíos: repensando el concepto de igualdad(es)*	2010	Álvarez, Alba Alonso	<i>Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia</i>
92	5	Blind Justice: “Seeing” Race and Gender in Cases of Violent Crime	2007	Nooruddin, Irfan	<i>Politics & Gender</i>

93	5	Double Jeopardy or Multiple Advantage? Intersectionality and Political Representation	2016	Mügge, Liza M. and Erzeel, Silvia	<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>
94	5	Geopolitical Maize: Peasant Seeds, Everyday Practices, and Food Security in Mexico	2014	Gaalaas Mullaney, Emma	<i>Geopolitics</i>
95	5	Collective Representation as a Mobilizer: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, and Their Intersections at the State Level	2016	Uhlaner, Carole Jean and Scola, Becki	<i>State Politics & Policy Quarterly</i>
96	5	Electing Women of Color: The Role of Campaign Trainings	2015	Sanbonmatsu, Kira	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
97	4	Blogging at the Intersections: Black Women, Identity, and Lesbianism	2012	Jordan-Zachery, Julia S.	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
98	4	Ambivalent Intersectionality	2014	Townsend-Bell, Erica	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
99	4	lost in the mainstream? gender in dutch political science education	2016	Bonjour, Saskia <i>et al.</i>	<i>European Political Science</i>
100	4	Power, privilege and disadvantage: Intersectionality theory and political representation	2016	Severs, Eline <i>et al.</i>	<i>Politics</i>
101	4	What Makes A (Third) Wave? How And Why The Third-Wave Narrative Works For Contemporary Feminists	2015	Evans, Elizabeth	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
102	4	Electoral Competition, Issue Salience and Public Policy for Disabled People: Westminster and Regional UK Elections 1945–2011	2011	Chaney, Paul	<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>
103	4	Intersectionality and Bundestag leadership selection	2011	Kintz, Melanie	<i>German Politics</i>
104	4	Women and Participation in Civil Society: Do Women Get Empowered? The Case	2013	Mudege, Netsayi Noris and Kwangwari, Christine	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>

		of Women in Goromonzi District in Zimbabwe			
105	4	Doing It Differently: Collective Impressions of the Creation of an “Art Gallery”	2012	Smith, Heather A. <i>et al.</i>	<i>International Studies Perspectives</i>
106	3	“I Make Here My Soil. I Make Here My Country.”	2015	Fathi, Mastoureh	<i>Political Psychology</i>
107	3	Intersectionality as a tool for social movements: Strategies of inclusion and representation in the Québécois women’s movement	2016	Laperrière, Marie and Lépinard, Éléonore	<i>Politics</i>
108	3	Intersectionality and candidate selection in Sweden	2016	Freidenvall, Lenita	<i>Politics</i>
109	3	Intersecting Identities: Old Age and Gender in Local Party Politics	2016	Randall, Vicky	<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>
110	2	Exploring Variation in the Moroccan-Dutch Collective Narrative: An Intersectional Approach	2015	Prins, Jacomijne <i>et al.</i>	<i>Political Psychology</i>
111	2	Crossings and Correspondences: Rethinking Intersectionality and the Category “Latino”	2013	Beltrán, Cristina	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
112	2	Add Female Veterans and Stir? A Feminist Perspective on Gendering Veterans Research	2016	Eichler, Maya	<i>Armed Forces & Society</i>
113	2	Stories that condition experiences: the implications of stories about the public policies on violence against women and abortion in Spain	2015	López Rodríguez, Silvia	<i>Revista de Estudios Políticos</i>
114	2	Gender, Race, and Dissensus on State Supreme Courts	2014	Szmer, John <i>et al.</i>	<i>Social Science Quarterly</i>
115	2	Involuntary Sterilization of HIV-Positive Women: An Example of Intersectional Discrimination	2015	Sifris, Ronli	<i>Human Rights Quarterly</i>

116	1	Gender and Generation in the Social Positioning of Taste	2012	Lee, Nam-Jin <i>et al.</i>	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>
117	1	(Inter)disciplinary Trouble: Intersectionality, Narrative Analysis, and the Making of a New Political Science	2013	Alexander-Floyd, Nikol G.	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
118	1	Intersectional institutions: Representing women and ethnic minorities in the British Labour Party	2016	Krook, Mona Lena and Nugent, Mary K.	<i>Party Politics</i>
119	1	Japanese political science at a crossroads? normative and empirical preconditions for the integration of women and diversity into political science	2016	Steele, Jackie F.	<i>European Political Science</i>
120	1	“Ellen Is Our Man” Perceptions Of Gender In Postconflict Liberian Politics	2016	Ansahta Garnett, Tanya	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
121	1	Race, Gender, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in the U.S. Military Differential Vulnerability?	2016	Mustillo, Sarah A. and Kysar-Moon, Ashleigh	<i>Armed Forces & Society</i>
122	1	Intersectionality and Primary Accumulation Caste and Gender in India under the Sign of Monopoly-Finance Capital	2016	Whitehead, Judith	<i>Monthly-Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine</i>
123	1	The Postwar Black Women's Club Movement: The Intersection of Gender, Race, and American Political Development, 1940–1960	2010	Mathews-Gardner, A. Lanethea	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
124	1	A Wise Latina or a Baffled Rookie? Media Coverage of Justice Sonia Sotomayor's Ascent to the Bench	2016	Towner, Terri L. and Clawson, Rosalee A.	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
125	1	For a Ruthless Criticism of U.S. Politics	2016	Forrest, M. David	<i>Polity</i>

126	1	¿Son las políticas de igualdad de género permeables a los debates sobre la interseccionalidad? Una reflexión a partir del caso español	2012	Platero Méndez, Raquel/Lucas	<i>Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia</i>
127	1	Intersectionality and the notion of disability in EU discrimination LAW	2016	Schiek, Dagmar	<i>Common Market Law Review</i>
128	0	Intersectionality in resource extraction: a case study of sexual violence at the Porgera mine in Papua New Guinea	2016	Manning, Susan M.	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
129	0	Between the Waves: Currents in Contemporary Feminist Thought	2016	Hague, Ros	<i>Political Studies Review</i>
130	0	Guarding Our Borders with Gardasil: Immigrant Women and Physical Autonomy	2014	Lavariega Monforti, Jessica and Cramer, Renee Ann	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>
131	0	Strategic Intersectionality and Political Representation: Female Muslim Councilors in London	2015	Tatari, Eren and Sahin Mencutek, Zeynep	<i>Journal of Women Politics & Policy</i>

Reference List Analysis

Of the 131 publications in our database, 114 were available in *Web of Science*. In total, the 114 reference lists contained 5.292 publications. The 114 articles in this sample together cite 2.737 different publications. This may include also self-citations, as these are not filtered out. Using this approach enabled us to include influential work in non-SSCI-ranked outlets or work not categorized as political science, such as books, chapters and interdisciplinary publications excluded from that list.

Appendix B: Survey

The sex and gender identity of the authors would have not have been possible to ascertain from an inspection of pictures or names. The aim of this survey was to get at *self-reported* identity categories of political scientists who publish on intersectionality. Not only may gender, racial or ethnic categories differ from what outside observers conclude, but other salient differences- such as class, religion and sexuality- may not be readily observable at all.

About 14% (12) of the respondents to our survey identified as men (a name-based classification would have put this at 14 or 17%). Identification of class background or sexuality would not have been observable without the survey, and the indigenous or other ethnic identity and racialization of some scholars would not have been detected at all. Marginalized ethnic group identification that did not result in identification as women of colour included biracial women, indigenous and Chicano peoples, Asians (both south and southeast Asians), and Jewish women. Identification of women of colour based on names or pictures would have overstated the number of women who so identify: such an approach would have estimated that 22% of authors were women of colour (nearly twice as many as the number who self-identify as women of colour). Among US-based respondents, there was less question about what was being asked about when it came to the question about race. US-based authors did not contest questions about race, and the open-ended answers produced a smaller range of responses.

Survey Questions

This survey has been sent from Purdue University by Laurel Weldon with assistance of Krista Kelley. It was sent in two waves. One wave of the survey were sent out with two reminders in December 2017 and one additional wave (sent only to those who had not already responded) was sent in January 2018.

The introductory email read as follows:

We write to you as part of a project entitled **The Politics of Intersectionality: Embodied Scholarship and the Transformation of Political Science**, led by Akwugo Emejulu, Celeste Montoya, Liza Mügge, and Laurel Weldon. This research aims to explore the relationship between the identity of intersectionality researchers and the substance and impact of the research that they do. You have been identified as someone who has written an article about intersectionality. We ask that you complete a very brief (less than five minutes) survey about you and your work on intersectionality at the link below. If you would like to see the results of our work, there is an opportunity to indicate that, and we will be happy to share them. In addition, we are very interested in feedback from authors, and would welcome your comments and suggestions about this survey, and about our research questions, in the open-ended items provided at the end of the survey. Please complete this survey in the next week, by **Dec. 17**, in order to be included in the study.

Again, we estimate that the survey will take 3-5 minutes to complete. Note that only respondents

aged 18 and over may participate in this research. Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary, and you may stop the survey at any time or skip questions you do not wish to answer. If you have any questions, comments or concerns about this research project, you can talk to one of the researchers. Your responses will be only be used in the aggregate, and will not be disclosed in an identifying way. Data will be stored so that identifying information is kept separate from the responses. The key to this data will be held by the PI, and destroyed upon publication of results. Data will only be shared in its de-identified form, so that others will not be able to identify your response. Please contact S. Laurel Weldon at weldons@purdue.edu with any questions.

The text of the survey

Thank you for participating in our very brief survey. This research aims to explore the relationship between the identity of intersectionality researchers and the substance and impact of the research that they do. You have been identified as someone who has written an article about intersectionality.

We hope you will answer the questions below. In addition, we are very interested in feedback from authors, and would welcome your comments and suggestions about this survey, and about our research questions, in the open-ended items provided at the end of the survey.

We estimate that the survey will take 3-5 minutes to complete.

Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary, and you may stop the survey at any time. If you have any questions, comments or concerns about this research project, you can talk to one of the researchers. Please contact [blinded] at [email address] with any questions.

1. How would you describe your racial identity? [open question]
2. How would you describe your ethnic background? [open question]
3. Do you consider yourself to be a member of a marginalized racial, ethnic, or religious group?
[yes/no]
4. Do you consider yourself to be a woman of color? [yes/no/not sure]
5. Are you of an immigrant background? [yes/no/not sure]
6. Are you of a refugee background? [yes/no/not sure]
7. In which country do you currently work? [dropdown menu with all countries]
8. In which country did you complete your PhD? [dropdown menu with all countries]

9. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to any particular social class? [yes/no]
10. Have either of your parents earned a university or college degree? [yes/no/not sure]
11. Are you a first-generation student? [yes/no/not sure]
12. Do you have a disability? [yes/no]
13. What sex were you assigned at birth, on your original birth certificate? [male/female]
14. How do you describe yourself? (Please select one) [male/female/transgender/I do not identify as male/female/transgender]
15. Do you, personally, identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or gender non-conforming? [yes/no/not sure]
16. To what extent do your answers above differ from the identities that are ascribed to you by institutions (e.g. census, national bureau of statistics) of the country in which you are currently living? [open question]
17. Would you say that intersectionality is: [political project/research paradigm/both of the above/none of the above/other: open field]
18. Which of the following elements are essential to an intersectional approach, in your view?
Check all that apply [centering women of color/including critical discussion of race/examining the ways social structures intersect for any group/context specific analysis/none of the above/other: open field]
19. What comments do you have about this survey? [open question]
20. Would you like us to share the results of our research with you? [yes/no]
21. May we contact you again for follow-up research? [yes/no]

Thanks again for taking the time to participate in this survey!

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about this research project, you can talk to one of the researchers. Please contact [blinded] at [email address] with any questions.