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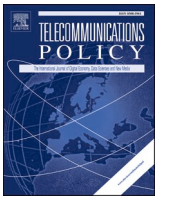

Citation politics: The gender gap in internet governance

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ABSTRACT

This article proposes an informed debate on the politics of citation in internet governance (IG), focusing on gender. To this end, we use the Bibliographic Reference Index (BRI) to examine the prominence of female and male names in the IG references. The BRI is based on an action research process ("pesquisa-ação"), in which authors fill out information about their citation practices. The aim is to promote self-reflection on authors' selection of references whilst collecting bibliographic data. We applied the BRI to 1113 citations from 35 papers published in the Proceedings of the Brazilian Internet Governance Research Network (REDE) throughout 2017–2021. Results show that male-gendered names were cited more than double the number of times of female-gendered names (47% vs. 20%). To situate these results vis-à-vis global IG, we analyze the gender gap in the curriculum of IG schools and courses, by applying the index to an Internet Governance Forum compilation of 22 IG syllabi and course programs, comprising 96 references and the names of 217 IG experts worldwide. Results show that female names authored only 19% of the syllabi readings and materials featured vs. 29% by men. Also, the gender rate among experts is 63% vs. 37% in favor of men. Based on the structural gender inequalities that we have found in global and local IG contexts, we recommend interventions to increase the conscious engagement with bibliography and syllabus preparation on two fronts: 1) we recommend the application of the BRI to IG syllabi and course programs to monitor and reduce the gender gap; and 2) we provide a citation diversity statement that IG scholars can add to their publications in order to promote self-reflection about their knowledge production and add transparency to the politics of citation in IG.

1. Introduction

The overall goal of this article is to promote an informed debate on the politics of citation in internet governance (IG), focusing on gender. The Bibliographic Reference Index (BRI) provides a tool with which to examine the prominence of female and male names in the IG references.[1] Developed in 2017, this index aims to promote authors' self-reflection on their bibliographic references through an

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[1] We recognize that male-female categories are problematic as they do not account for nonbinary identities. We discuss this further in section 3.1 Methods Limitations.

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action research process (*pesquisa-ação*) (Franco, 2005) and to collect bibliographic data.[2] First, we apply the BRI to 1113 citations from 35 papers published in the Proceedings of the Brazilian Internet Governance Research Network (REDE) throughout 2017–2021, to examine to what extent female and male names have been cited. The authors of the papers in the Proceedings are the primary respondents of the BRI's data collection instrument. Second, we use the BRI to analyze the gender gap in the curriculum of IG schools and courses by applying the index to the 96 references from IG syllabi and course programs in an Internet Governance Forum (IGF) report as well as the report's list of 217 faculty and scholars worldwide. We find structural gender inequalities in both global and local IG contexts.

IG as a research field developed alongside the beginnings of the commercial Internet in the late 1990s and early 2000s in the global North (e.g. Abbate, 1999; Kahin & Keller, 1997; Mueller, 2004; Paré, 2002). It was in the second half of the 2010s, with a growing number of authors in the field, that central IG themes began to be permeated by gender issues. For instance, research on the governance of names and domains interestingly addressed the implications of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) for the rights of LGBTQ+ populations (DeNardis & Hackl, 2016).

In the same period, feminist studies entered the discussions of governance in media and communication studies (Mayer, 2018; Padovani, 2018). Notably, in Latin America, feminist scholarship and practice have sought to focus on the design and governance of technologies, with strong criticism of their antidemocratic values (Da Hora, 2022), and of narratives imposed by the industry, such as consent standards and artificial intelligence, and have proposed new paths based on feminist values (Brussa, 2023; Varon & Peña, 2021).

As the dialogues between IG and feminist literature expand, gender diversity in IG scholarship does as well. Women and genderqueer people's academic production is prominent in the field and no list of topics will be exhaustive. For example, in Brazil, where IG scholarship spreads throughout different disciplines, such as communication, political science, law, studies of science and technology, geography, international relations, among others, production by women and genderqueer people addresses topics such as cybersecurity (Hurel & Lobato, 2018), disinformation (Lobo, Morais, & Nemer, 2020; Recuero, Soares, & Vinhas, 2021), spectrum and mobile networks (Foditsch, 2017; Santoyo & Linhares, 2014), platform studies (Mielli & Romanini, 2021; Venturini et al., 2016), surveillance studies (Bruno et al., 2018; Souza, Avelino, and Silveira, 2018), gender (Barbosa, Tresca, and Lauschner, 2021; Kremer, 2019), data governance (Reia and Cruz, 2021), global governance (Maciel, 2014; Pigatto, 2020), physical infrastructure and Internet protocols (Oliveira, 2018; Rosa, 2022), domain names (Holmes & Anastácio, 2020), internet access policies (Alimonti, 2016; Lefévre, 2016), sovereignty and territory (Córdova, 2018; Israel, 2020; Pinto, 2018), community networks (Oliveira, Araújo, & Kanashiro, 2020), as well as extensive contributions in the fields of digital activism and cyberfeminism (Bülow & Dias, 2019; Lobato & Gonzales, 2020; Segurado and Silveira, 2021; Valente & Néris, 2018), and law and internet regulation (Dahlmann, Venturini, Dickow, & Maciel, 2015; Keller, 2019; Melo, 2016; Rossini, Cruz, & Doneda, 2015; Santos, 2021).

We contribute to the discussion of the politics of citation in IG with a focus on gender on both national and global levels: the former by analyzing citations in academic papers in a national conference in Brazil, and the latter, by examining an IGF report whose references are distributed worldwide. Academia, in general, suffers from a lack of diversity in terms of gender, ethnicity, race, origin, class, disability status, etc.; measuring such inequalities is necessary to better understand the problem and promote structural changes. We will use citations in articles published in the proceedings of the REDE as a way of measuring gender diversity in IG scholarship in Brazil, a national case, and sources and references in IG School syllabi as a way of measuring gender diversity in IG instruction and education worldwide.

The IGF is an annual event promoted by the United Nations that brings together representatives from different stakeholder groups to discuss issues and policies related to the internet at a global level. Locally, countries can also promote their own IGFs in preparation for the UN meeting.

The present study began in 2017, when a group of researchers started REDE as an autonomous, multi and transdisciplinary academic collective. REDE's goal is "to discuss the techno-political dimensions of the network [Internet] and its technical, social, economic and public policy consequences" (REDE, 2022). REDE holds national annual meetings[3] during the Brazilian IGF, and has published a total of 43 articles in five editions of the conference proceedings as of the time of analysis.[4] It has also tracked citations by gender annually through the application of the BRI, which is the focus of this paper and will be further explained below.

2. Theory

Citations are not just the basis of knowledge construction or a form of dialogue with authors who precede us in the field; they are also "technologies" (Mott & Cockayne, 2017) and, as such, can be anti-racist, feminist, etc. Carrie Mott and Daniel Cockayne (2017) call for "a conscientious engagement with the politics of citation that is mindful of how citational practices can be a tool for either the reification of, or resistance to, unethical hierarchies of knowledge production" (956). When we quote in text, we empower certain people and not others, echoing their voices (Mott & Cockayne, 2017). A study that analyzed the number of citations by Black

[2] A preliminary and shorter version of this analysis was published in Portuguese as Rosa, F. R., Anastácio, K., de Jesus, M. V., Veras, H. (2022) Política de Citações: uma análise de gênero dos Anais da Rede de Pesquisa em Governança da Internet. In: Barbosa, B., Tresca, L. Lauschner, T. TIC, Governança da Internet e Gênero: Tendências e Desafios. São Paulo: CGI.br. pp. 187-218.

[3] The only exception was that the meeting was not held in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Conference proceedings were not published that year. The meeting was strictly virtual in 2021.

[4] Conference proceedings for 2023 did not become available until after the analysis was complete.

anthropologists illustrates bias in citational practices. Smith and Garrett-Scott reported that Black authors wrote only 3 of the 61 articles analyzed in the research, and that these 3 were responsible for 57% of citations to Black scholars in the sample (Smith & Garrett-Scott, 2021, p. 29). They concluded that Black anthropologists "are symbolically included but epistemologically erased (Smith & Garrett-Scott, 2021, p. 19). Clearly, inclusion and diversity in academia should not be detached from a more ethical and representative politics of citation that will involve addressing structural epistemic erasure. In this way, citations can become a form of resistance, of creating bonds and of strengthening the cited sources.

In Latin America, research on academic and scientific production in the areas of social sciences, political science, communication, and international relations (IR) is increasingly taking into consideration gender inequality. Among these, a study of IG specifically showed that among 22 doctoral theses and master's dissertations on IG defended in 2005–2020 in Brazil, 8 of the 10 most cited authors are men (Montenegro & Freitas, 2021).[5] A range of studies in other areas have been performed with similar results.

For example, Maliniak, Powers, and Walter (2013) used a database with nearly 3000 articles published during 1980–2006 in the 12 largest IR journals. They concluded that "articles written by women are consistently cited less than articles written by men" (90). Inspired by this research, a paper published in 2019 analyzed the authorship of articles published between 1997 and 2018 in two main journals in the field of political science and IR in Brazil. According to the study, men are 2.6 times more likely to be the first author in the articles analyzed (Souza, Elias, & Santos, 2019). The research also points out that this gender disparity can vary in different subareas of the discipline. This variation is extremely relevant for the field of IG as well, as issues around technical artifacts related to critical infrastructures tend to have more male presence than issues around internet law and human rights, as we are going to see.

Another study analyzed the bibliography of articles published by Argentinian female authors in five communications journals between 1996 and 2019. Based on a selection of the most frequently cited authors, the paper identified that, of the 130 most cited works, only 32—about 24%—include a woman among the authors[6] (Sampaio, 2020). In addition, among the 10 most cited authors, only one is a woman and she occupies the last position in the general ranking, which includes Argentinian and international authors (Sampaio, 2020).

Even gender studies research itself exhibits challenges in this regard. Medeiros and Vanz (2018) examined 1207 references in 35 articles published, cumulatively, in two editions of *Revista de Estudos Feministas*, a prestigious journal for gender studies in Latin America. Institutional sources were the most cited, but following that the most cited were two men—Michel Foucault (15 times) and Pierre Bourdieu (12 times), both ahead of prominent women authors such as Judith Butler and Michelle Perrot, who were referenced 10 times each.

Machado and Machado (2021) offer another quantitative bibliometric analysis of gendered citations, based on the Web of Science (WoS) database, an international online platform for scientific publications. The authors analyzed the number of female authors in the 10 articles with the highest citation rate in three different time periods. Overall, female participation represented only 12.5% in articles in 1999–2000, 17.6% in 2009–2010 and 14.7% in 2019–2020.

Also using the WoS, a large international study concatenated papers from 83 countries in 13 disciplines, from political science to computer science Huang et al., 2020. Taking a sample of 1.5 million authors who have published their latest article between 1955 and 2010, which account for 33% of the papers published in that period, the authors found that men receive 30% more citations than women. They found that authors ranked as the top 20% in productivity extend even more this disparity, citing 36% more men than women. Furthermore, the higher the university ranking, the higher the gender gap between scientists with female and male names (Huang et al., 2020). These values disregard self-citation, which is also higher among men.

Bibliometric analyses of gender in course syllabi find similar gender disparity, implying that such is reflected – or often begins – in the bibliography taught in the universities. A bibliometric analysis of the mandatory anthropology curriculum at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) in Brazil found that across 23 courses, women were the first authors of only 95 out of 430 texts, about 22% (Passos, 2017). As the study's author suggested, "In a major where there is an equal number of women and men, having less than a quarter of the required reading being produced by women as the main author is, at the very least, worrying and symptomatic" (Passos, 2017, p. 8, own translation).

Colgan (2017) carried out bibliometric research in IR postgraduate programs in the United States and found that results conformed to the overall trend. He began by analyzing 3343 references in 42 course plans selected among the top 65 postgraduate courses in IR, according to the US News & World Report, and whose plans were available online. He found that fully 82% of these syllabi were written by male authors, either alone or in co-authorship. Out of the 42 courses, 1 was co-taught by a man and a woman, 33 were taught by men, and 8 were taught by women. To create a more balanced sample, he did an active search of courses taught by women among the 65 top ranked IR programs arriving at 73 course plans of which women taught 35 and men 38, by. In total the plans contained 4148 references. He found that men were more likely to assign their own research to their students than women, and that while men had written 71.5% of the texts women assigned, men had written 79.1% of the texts men assigned.

Santos et al.'s (2022) bibliometric research study on master's and doctorate syllabi in women's, gender, and feminist studies offered by public universities in Portugal in the years 2021 and 2022 suggests that these disciplines may be exceptions. In total, they analyzed 448 references listed in 84 syllabi distributed across four masters and three doctoral courses. Results indicated that 58.9% of

[5] In order of citations, Milton Mueller, Manuel Castells, Laura DeNardis, Carlos Alberto Afonso, Diego Canabarro, Myriam Dunn Cavelty, William Drake, Ronald Deibert, Wolfgang Kleinwächter and Jovan Kurbalija appear (Montenegro & Freitas, 2021).

[6] We bring to this work the study by Sampaio (2020) and other authors as we consider them important to visualize an overview of bibliometric studies on gender in Brazil and Latin America published in recent years, but we consider that a deficiency in this and other research it is the absence of a gender perspective beyond the male-female binary, failing to include nonbinary and gender-fluid people in their work.

the references had only women as co-authors or authors, 28.3% only men and 11.6% shared authorship between women and men.

To add to research knowledge, in this paper we look at the gender gap in the Internet Governance scholarship, analyzing both academic production in the form of publication citations and academic training in the form of IG syllabi. To do that, we introduce the IRB as a tool to foster a conscious engagement between authors and the sources they cite and, potentially, between faculty members and the references they select to their syllabi.

3. Methods

To quantify citations to male and female names among IG publications and IG syllabi, we followed the methodology proposed by REDE, the Bibliographic Reference Index (BRI). The BRI was conceived to systematize the gender im/balance within publications' citations, and in this paper we extend its application to syllabi. It was designed to provide data regarding gender diversity in IG and to ignite authors' self-reflection about their own bibliographies, as they are the primary BRI respondents. REDE has collected data for the BRI with the aim of monitoring the number of citations of female and male names in the field of IG from articles published in its annual conference proceedings since 2017. Data were collected through a form sent by email to all authors who presented papers at REDE meetings through the fifth annual conference in 2022. The self-completion form in this survey has a pedagogical intent. By interacting with their own list of bibliographic references, authors are expected to broaden their perception of their own theoretical production, their dialogues and positionality.

The BRI contains two questions about the paper's author(s), six questions about list of references cited, and (added in 2021) two open-ended questions for reflection (see Appendix A). Respondents are asked to indicate the number of authors attached to the paper and how each self-identifies in terms of gender: female, male, or other. The six questions about the works cited are as follows: how many entries it contains, the number written by female-names or that include female-names in the author team, the number written by both female and male-names, of female name authorship or co-authorship, the number of male name authorship or co-authorship, the number of female and male name co-authorship, and, finally, how many citations are of institutional authorship (e.g., documents, laws and decrees, reports, etc.) The female gendered name *versus* male gendered name distinction is rendered by those filling the IRB from the first name of the cited authors. Names in Portuguese are generally gendered with "a" (female) and "o" (male) articles or another identifier in the last syllable.

By 2022, the BRI had obtained 25 responses. Among these two were excluded for the purposes of this analysis: one due to inconsistent numbers and another because the article was not included in the proceedings of the REDE of that year—since authors decided not to send the full article to be published after the conference. To conduct the present analysis, we filled in the form for the 12 articles published in the 2017–2021 proceedings by authors who did not complete the form or who gave inconsistent answers. We did this by using Google Scholar searches where the gender of the author was unclear (most frequently, especially in cases where the first name was abbreviated). We note that, from the point of view of action research, the 23 responses filled by the authors and the 12 responses we filled ourselves are different in nature, since in the latter, the authors' conscious engagement with their own bibliography is compromised.

Reflecting on the pedagogical intent of the survey, we decided to add the two open-ended questions that constitute Q7 and Q8 and sent them to the authors who completed the BRI after the 2021 REDE Meeting in order to receive their reflections on the process (see Appendix A). We received five open-ended responses, including two from people who currently make up the organizing committee of the REDE.

The analysis of the 35 articles resulted in 1113 citations. As shown in Table 1, the total number of citations varies from year to year, with the highest number in 2017, with 369 bibliographic entries, and an average of 41 citations per article.

In Graph 1, each point is equivalent to one of the 35 articles analyzed, distributed by the number of citations contained in their bibliographic references and by year. Mainly in 2017 but also in 2021, there were outlier articles, those with much more citations than the others, which had a greater influence on total citations (e.g. in 2017, an article alone, by one author, cited 96 authors). To counterbalance the weight of these cases, we will present the percentage of female-male citations and, in certain analyses, also the absolute numbers.

A challenge to the results presented in this article is the impossibility of pointing out, in a context of gender imbalance in the citations, how many more female-gendered names could be cited in order to achieve balance, since there is not an established number of all the universe of names available. Addressing this challenge in the way that Smith and Garrett-Scott (2021) did in their study of racial representation in anthropology research would not be possible.[7] As an interdisciplinary area, with researchers distributed in several departments, IG does not have educational statistics that allow for measuring the field according to the number of graduates, as is conceivable with anthropology. At the same time, many researchers working on IG topics do not identify themselves as IG researchers on a day-to-day basis.

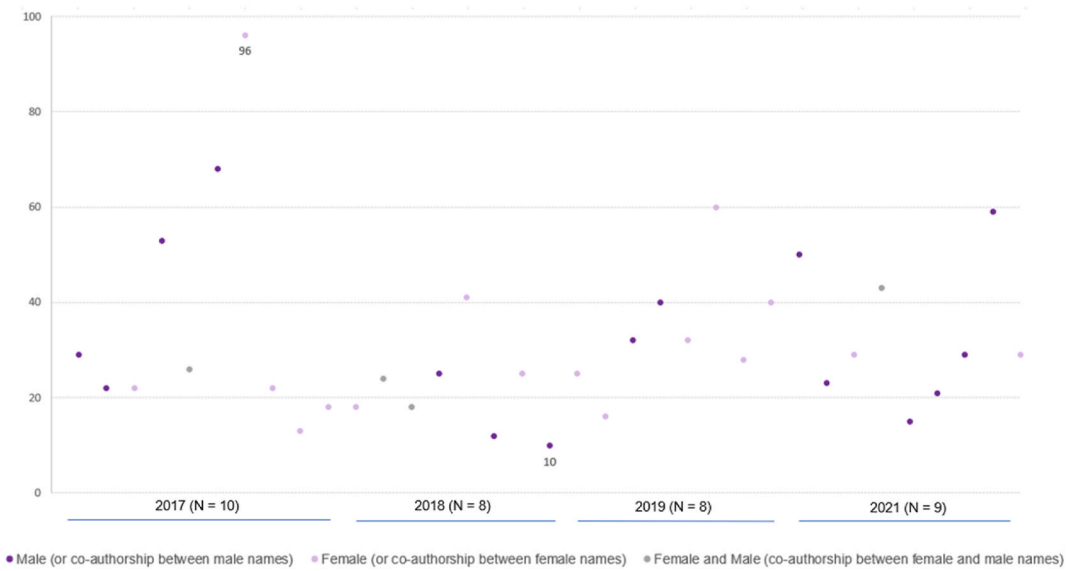
Nonetheless, we collected some demographic information at the time of registration for the purpose of understanding the audience reached by the 2021 REDE Meeting, which took place virtually on October 4 and 5. We share this data on Graphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 to contextualize the results of the analysis as a way to provide a sense of the demographics of IG researchers in Brazil. Of a total of 66 participants, there is a balance between female and male participants (42% × 40%), and a predominance of white people (58%), with a doctorate completed or in progress (34%) and from the Southeast region (48%), where the biggest Brazilian cities are located. People

[7] The authors drew a parallel between the racial classification of doctoral graduates in anthropology in the United States with the numbers of Black people cited in well-ranked journals, pointing out, in the end, an underrepresentation of Black authors.

Table 1
Number of CITATIONS per year and average of CITATIONS per article.

Year	Number of articles	Citations	
		Number	Average per year
2017	10	369	41.0
2018	8	173	21.6
2019	8	273	34.1
2021	9	298	29.8
Total	**35**	**1113**	-

Source: Authors' elaboration.



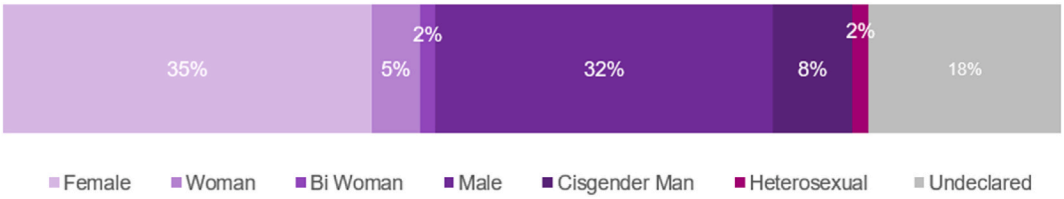
GRAPH 1. TOTAL CITATIONS PER ARTICLE
Source: Authors' elaboration.

of mixed race/brown ("pardo") (18%) or Black (9%), from the Northeast (20%) and with a master's degree completed or in progress (30%) were the following groups with highest presence. We draw attention to the lack of Black and Indigenous representation in IG.

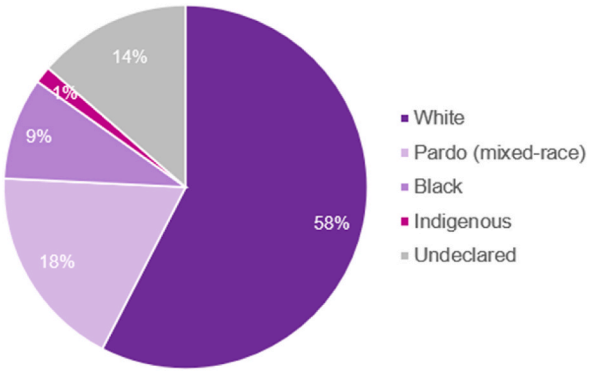
Next, to examine the gender gap among IG syllabi, we used the BRI to quantify citations to male and female names in an Internet Governance Forum report whose goal, as written in its foreword, was developing an "international syllabus framework that can be adjusted to the particular requirements and needs of any local community" (IGF Secretariat, 2022, 6). The report includes the syllabi and programs of 22 members of the IGF's Dynamic Coalition on Schools on Internet Governance (DC-SIG), an IGF division that brings together initiatives from various countries that aim to train students in subjects related to IG. It also includes the syllabi of eight professors who teach in specialized IG programs, online courses from two institutions, interviews with people from DC-SIG, academic mailing lists, and an open consultation session on teaching IG.

Perhaps as a result of the extensive work of synthesizing the collected materials, and due to the limits of consolidating a framework from different geographic and geopolitical realities, the document states that the IGF goal is to offer "a sample to give… an idea of expertise and topics that are taught in academia and at schools" (IGF Secretariat, 2022, 14). The result is a compilation that presents suggestions for content and activities, including a list of "selected sources," such as articles and videos that can be used in the teaching of IG, and a list of faculty that is a sample of experts in areas related to IG. Both faculty and sources are divided into 17 thematic modules, which appear in the document as core or elective, referring to modules that most schools cover in their programs, or that not all cover or cover reduced versions.

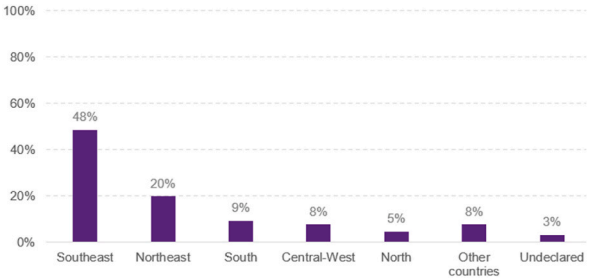
In this work, we analyzed the IGF document to demonstrate that the BRI can also be used to verify the gender gap in course programs and syllabi, extending the bibliometric analysis literature (Colgan, 2017; Passos, 2017; Santos, Lopes, Vieira, & Ferreira, 2022) to illuminate the gender gap in IG education worldwide. To do that, we quantified the female- and male-gendered names on both lists: faculty and selected sources following the steps used to quantify gender in the REDE proceedings, also resorting to Google Images searches in cases of doubt regarding the classification of names.



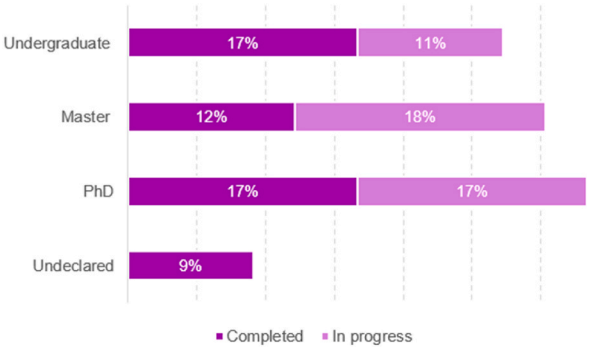
GRAPH 2. REGISTRATIONS IN THE 2021 REDE MEETING BY SELF-DECLARED GENDER[81]
Source: Authors' elaboration.



GRAPH 3. REGISTRATIONS IN THE 2021 REDE MEETING BY RACE
Source: Authors' elaboration.



GRAPH 4. REGISTRATIONS IN THE 2021 REDE MEETING BY REGION OF RESIDENCE
Source: Authors' elaboration.



GRAPH 5. REGISTRATIONS IN THE 2021 REDE MEETING BY EDUCATION
Source: Authors' elaboration.

3.1. Methods Limitations

It is important to address the limits of our method, which are intrinsically related to the complexity of gender discussions that urge new ways of classifying and understanding the world. Gender is a social, historical, and cultural construct (Lins, Machado, & Escoura, 2016; Moutinho, 2014) and, as such, fixed and binary categorizations, such as female and male, are increasingly destabilized. In terms of definitions, people who conform to the sex and, consequently, the gender they were assigned at birth are considered cisgender, while people who do not are considered transgender. Thus, a cis man is someone registered as male at birth and who identifies with that gender; a trans man is one who identifies as a man and who at birth was classified differently. In this scenario, the correspondence of gender determination, also referred as the correspondence to the "sex assigned at birth" (Anderson, File, Marshall, McElrath, & Scherer, 2021), has been intensively problematized, and has been called "compulsory cisgenderness" (Ferreira, 2021). As Ferreira (2021) explains, within compulsory cisgenderness,

> gender is characterized by the biological data of the materiality of the body, expressed in the presence of certain sexual characteristics such as genitals, gonads, certain body shapes, certain hormonal levels, certain genomic configurations, etc. These discourses also have in common the belief that there would only be two possible configurations based on this biological data: either you are a man or you are a woman. And, finally, they start from the premise that the gender you were assigned at birth will define you for as long as you live. (361, own translation).

Although cis men, trans men, cis women, and trans women complicate female and male categories, patterns of identity imposed by national states persist.[9] Nevertheless, other classifications and ways of being in the world have been continuously added and include self-identification as a nonbinary person, as a person without gender, among other classifications that destabilize binarism and also the use of language, as exemplified by inclusive words in Portuguese ending in "e," "x," etc. to disrupt the fe/male identifiers in the final syllables (e.g. *obrigade*, *obrigadx* as words for thank you, instead of obrigada, obrigado).[10]

When we use the authors' first names to quantify the proportion of female names and male names of citations in the articles in the REDE proceedings, we recognize that we operate within the limits of a binary analysis that does not capture the nuances of gender identities. The first names in a given citation do not necessarily clarify whether the author(s) are cisgender, trans, or genderless/nonbinary people. Trans people struggle to be recognized for the way they self-identify in legal disputes to change documents (Ferreira, 2021; Lima, 2017). The problem of misidentifying authors gender intersects with IG when social networks mediate one of the layers of gender transition due to the terms and conditions of particular platforms, for example, the rules regarding the use of legal or "dead" names (Haimson, Brubaker, Dombrowski, & Hayes, 2016). What these facts uncover is also related to and imposes limits on the methods of this article, since names or first names—the data unit analyzed in our study of gender in bibliographic citations—are not neutral classifications. And while data are never "raw" (Gitelman, 2013), being always imbricated in cultural values, names themselves are data. In the United States, the discussion about the politics of first and last names, and the way they are racialized, allows us to understand names as markers that lead to social discrimination (Benjamin, 2019; Sweeney, 2013).[11] In Brazil, for example, people with names more commonly given in the Northern regions of the country face discrimination, where these names are associated with lower social classes or stereotyped as "made up" (as if not all names are made-up by someone; Benjamin, 2019).

In our analysis of bibliographic references and gender relations, we know that the first names may reflect cis people, therefore corresponding to the gender defined at birth, or may reflect trans people, if social names have been adopted; at the same time, they can overshadow gender, as in cases of genderless or nonbinary people. Thus, we understand that female- and male-gendered names correspond not only to women and men, but also to other genders.

A second limit of our method concerns the impossibility of capturing gender overlaps with racial, ethnic, class, origin, disability, and other markers that characterize authors' lived experience and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2002). With the concept of intersectionality, Black feminism in the United States changed the understanding of women as a homogeneous category, making explicit the need to think about the experience of Black women as distinct from that of white women, given that the intersection of gender, race, and other markers put them at different positions of power. Earlier, in the Latin American context, Lélia Gonzalez's Black feminist account, sensitive to our Indigenous and diasporic origins, was also defending intersectional analyses (Gonzalez, 1988; Rios, 2019).

As María Lugones (2008) explains the concept:

[8] The option for the open gender question aimed to understand the fluidity of self-identification in the field. The answers display both gender identity and sexual orientation. Percentages (%) totaling above 100% are due to rounding. In all graphs, registered participants are indicated as a percentage of a total of 66 people.

[9] For example, author Sasha Costanza-Chock (2020) explains how her trans identity is unintelligible when she passes through airport security entrances, where machines identify anomalies every time her body is scanned. Since machines are programmed in a binary female/male standard, her body has markers that destabilize these categories, leading her to recurrent invasive searching that disrespect her gender identity. While the U.S. Census has collected, since 2021, the "assigned sex at birth" and then the respondent's current self-classification, whether "female," "male," "trans" or "none of these" (Anderson et al., 2021), the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics rejected including gender identity and sexual orientation in the 2022 census (Carneiro, 2021).

[10] It is worth mentioning that gender identity is not to be confused with sexual orientation (e.g. a cis man (gender identity) can self-identify as gay (sexual orientation).

[11] For example, in an experiment with AdSense ads, when searching using names associated with black people on a website, Latanya Sweeney found 25% more ads related to arrest and incarceration issues than when using names associated with white people (2013).

> At the intersection between "woman" and "black" there is an absence where the black woman should be precisely because neither "woman" nor "black" includes her. The intersection shows us a void. Therefore, once intersectionality shows us what is missing, we are left with the task of reconceptualizing the logic of intersection, thereby avoiding the separability of given categories and categorical thinking. (82, authors' translation).

With regard to our method, the female-male gendered names analysis, evidently, does not allow access to this complexity: we do not intersect with racial issues, origins in the global South or North, and a multitude of aspects, even though it is known, for example, that references from the global North dominate in the IG literature in Brazil (Montenegro & Freitas, 2021).

Another limitation stems from the fact that, for the sake of demonstration, we systematized the data already collected by the IGF. To keep the pedagogical purposes of the BRI method, though, the data should be systematized by the faculty responsible for IG syllabi and course programs themselves. As well, the 96 sources listed are a sample of IG education, whose selection we have not controlled. Nonetheless, considering that the IG teaching is interdisciplinary and takes place in several languages and institutions, the document validated by the IGF is an interesting source of what faculty associated with the Schools of Internet Governance that are members of the Dynamic Coalition on Schools on Internet Governance (DC-SIG) are teaching.

Despite these limitations, we believe that the results of this study may engender a discussion of the citation politics in the field. This discussion is the necessary first step towards greater diversity and more conscious engagement with the IG bibliography and instructional materials.

4. Results

4.1. The gender gap in the Brazilian IG scholarship

Between 2017 and 2021, 16 out of 35 articles published by REDE were written by female-gendered names and female authors, 15 by male-gendered names and male authors, and 4 with co-authorship between female and male names (with variation in which gender's name appears first; Table 2). The average number of citations per article varies little, and articles with exclusively female and exclusively male have an average of 32 citations each.

Next, we analyzed the citations by gender as shown in Graph 6 (1113 citations). As the graph shows, not only do male names strongly predominate, but articles authored solely by people with female names are fewer than articles credited to institutional sources.

When examining the data longitudinally (Graph 7), we found a preponderance of citations to male names in all years, although it did lessen over time. In any case, differences are visible over the years, with slight increases in female and institutional citations. In 2018, we had a total of 173 citations and, although the number of citations to male names was still higher, we noticed a 7-percentage point increase in citations to female names. The year 2019 had a total of 273 citations and a further considerable increase in the number of citations to female names of 6 percentage points and also to institutions, of 7 percentage points. In 2021, citations to male names dropped to 34%, a number lower than institutional citations (37%), but still much higher than female names citations, of only 19%.

Next, we present the same distribution without institutional citations, to facilitate a female-male comparison (Graph 8). In this case, the number of citations analyzed in 2017 was 315; in 2018, 139; in 2019, 211; and in 2021, 182. In 2017, the citations to male names were more than four times higher than that to female names (71% vs. 17%). Over the years, there has been an increase in female citations, with a better result achieved proportionally in 2019 (55% $\times$ 35%). In 2021, attention is drawn to the higher proportion of citations to female-male co-authorships.

In Graph 9, when analyzing the data above in absolute numbers, we notice that, despite positive variations, there were 59 texts by female names in 2017 and only 55 in 2021. The absolute number of texts by male names was 223 in 2017, due to outliers, as shown in Graph 1. The lowest number of cited male-name sources, 89 in 2018, is 22% more than the highest number of citations to female names, 73 in 2019.

Finally, considering the total number of citations in the four years analyzed (1,113), we examined whether there are differences in the female-male distribution based on the authors' self-identification in terms of gender, or the authors' names, when we filled out the BRI. As shown in Graph 10, there are no sharp differences. Citations to male names predominate regardless of whether the authors of the articles have female (60%) or male (59%) gendered names or self-identify in one way or another, or whether the articles have female-male co-authorship (69%). Based on the literature on politics of citation in the racial context, it would seem likely that authors with female-gendered names would generate more female-gendered citations. However, as Graph 11 reflects, this did not happen: in fact, in a total of 220 citations to female names analyzed, women authors cited numerically fewer female names (96) than male authors did (105), even though, show in Table 2, their bibliographies were of the same length.

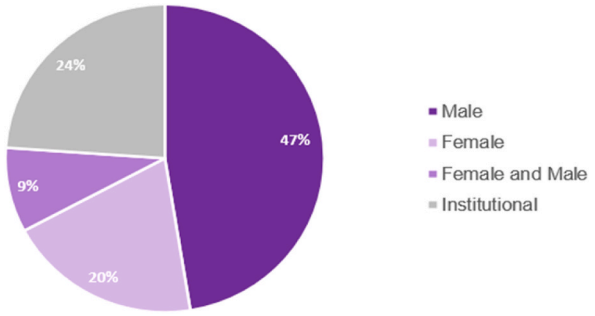
The testimonies of the authors who answered the BRI's open-ended questions show that the conscious engagement with their bibliographies generate a promising dynamic of self-perception and reflection on the field of IG. Below are translated excerpts of some responses:

> "After filling it out, my first reaction was one of astonishment, considering the difference between the number of male and female authors in the article. Despite being aware of this gender issue in science, seeing this issue in the form of quantifiable data shocked me. At the same time, as soon as I saw this data, I was thinking about the problem and how it would be possible to remedy it, but I came across an issue that precedes the difference in the number of citations in the article: I don't know enough woman authors such that, in the future, there will be a balance in the number of citations."

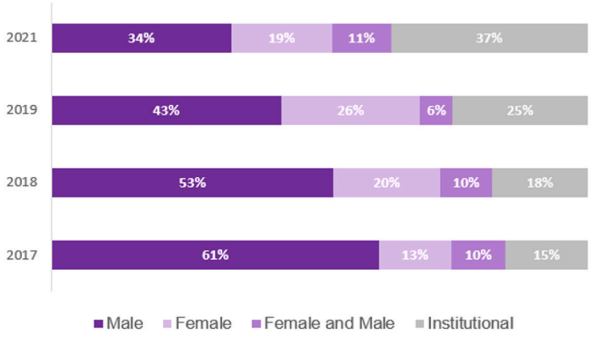
Table 2
TOTAL and average number of CITATIONS by the AUTHORS' genders.

Authors's Gendered Names	Articles	Citations	
		Total	Average
Female (or co-authorship between female names)	16	514	32.1
Female and male (co-authorship between female and male names)	4	111	27.8
Male (or co-authorship between names)	15	488	32.5
Total	**35**	**1113**	-

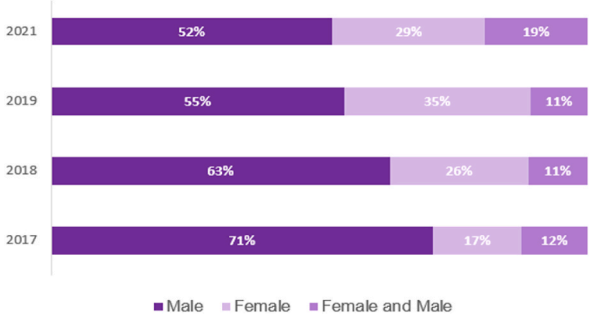
Source: Authors' elaboration.



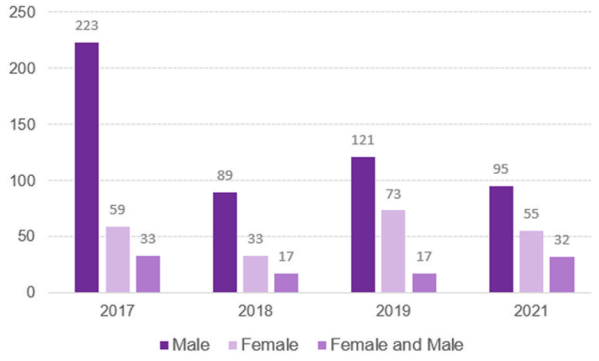
GRAPH 6. TOTAL CITATIONS
Source: Authors' elaboration.



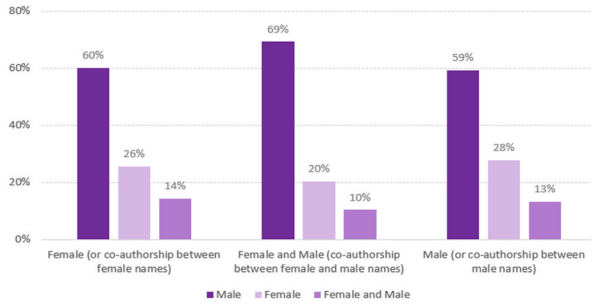
GRAPH 7. TOTAL CITATIONS
Source: Authors' elaboration.



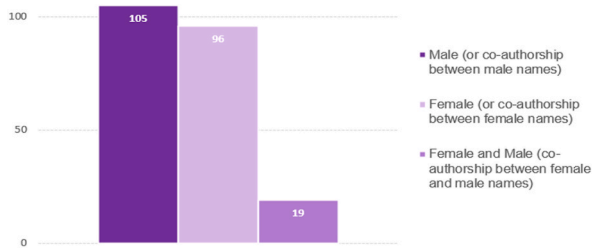
GRAPH 8. TOTAL CITATIONS FEMALE-MALE ONLY
Source: Authors' elaboration.



GRAPH 9. TOTAL CITATIONS FEMALE-MALE ONLY
Source: Authors' elaboration.



GRAPH 10. TOTAL CITATIONS FEMALE-MALE ONLY BY AUTHORS' GENDERED NAMES/SELF-IDENTIFICATION
N = 1,113
Source: Authors' elaboration.

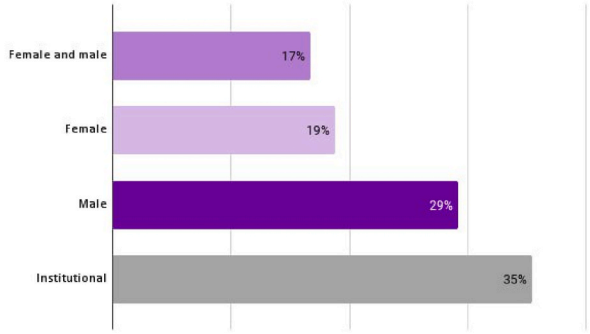


GRAPH 11. TOTAL CITATIONS TO FEMALE NAMES BY THE GENDERED NAME OF THE AUTHOR
N = 220
Source: Authors' elaboration.

> "[T]he reference to the index itself leads those who had not yet stopped to reflect on this to do so. I say this from personal experience. I had not stopped to think about the male-female composition of the bibliographic references that I used in the proposed work and in the other works that I am doing and that I have done."
>
> "As a gay Black man, I found the reflection on gender quite interesting. While it is an additional layer of complexity in the research process, I believe it is necessary to establish this effort [i.e., completing a survey such as the BRI] as a standard."

4.2. The gender gap in global IG education

Turning to global IG education, we first considered all the selected sources listed in the IGF report. The results, seen in Graph 12, indicate a predominance of institutional citations. Among the remaining citations, male-gendered names (29%) predominate, and female-gendered names (19%) and female and male co-authorship (17%) are close in number. The male predominance is even greater when we consider the list of faculty presented in the document, as seen on Graph 13. The list contains faculty by thematic modules. Thirty-eight people were cited as experts more than once in different subfields. When we combine the modules and delete duplicates,



GRAPH 12. SELECTED SOURCES BY GENDER
N = 96
Source: Authors' elaboration with IGF data (2022).

GRAPH 13. FACULTY BY GENDER
N = 217.

the list is 217 faculty members of which 137 faculty have male names and 80 have female names. Thus, male names outnumber female names by 71%.[12]

We then analyzed the list of faculty and selected sources by thematic modules as shown in Table 3, retaining duplicates as the exclusion of names in some modules would be arbitrary and affect the analysis. We grouped the original IGF modules into seven areas, which we named following the IG taxonomy by Raymond and DeNardis (2015) when possible.[13] Table 3 is ordered according to modules from lowest to highest gender equality.

As seen on Table 3, there are no areas where female names significantly outnumber male names, although male names significantly outnumber female names for "Critical Internet Resources," "Introduction to IG," and "Cybersecurity Governance." When we consider references to female or male names among both selected sources and faculty, in the module related to "Critical Internet Resources," for every 6 references to male names there is only 1 reference to female names. In the module with the greatest gender parity, "Internet Access and Human Rights," the proportion is 11 female names for every 10 male names. Thus, relative balance between male and female references, and consequently greater gender parity, seems to be a rare event in the field of IG.

5. Discussion

The gender gap in internet governance is a consistent problem throughout IG literature and IG education. Applying the BRI to REDE's conference proceedings at a national level and demonstrating its application to schools of IG and IG syllabi and course programs systematized by the IGF at a global level, numbers reveal a clear and systemic predominance of male names in all instances. Considering the four editions of REDE's conference proceedings in Brazil, 47% vs. 20% of all citations are to male versus female names. Considering all the selected sources in IGF syllabi compilation, this relation is 29% vs. 19%, also in favor of male names. Furthermore, the IGF report reproduces and even magnifies gender discrepancies in their list of experts/faculty, where 63% are male names and 37% female names.

These results sustain what Mott and Cockayne (2017) label "unethical hierarchies of knowledge production," perpetrated by the epistemic erasure, intentional or not, of women and genderqueer people's work. Given the gender parity in IG conference attendance, it seems that we have identified a systemic pattern of disregarding certain academic productions and not assessing the hazard that this behavior creates for the knowledge production in IG in general.

[12] If we consider these duplications, the gender gap is even greater, since among the 38 people mentioned twice or more, 27 of them correspond to male names (71%). Out of 218 faculty entries, 217 correspond to names and 1 correspond to an institutional reference, "Internet Society – Tutors," which was excluded from the gender analysis on Graph 13.

[13] There was a final section of the IGF document entitled "How to find lecturers?" This section is not a thematic module, but a series of centers and universities that have programs in IG, with the name of a representative for each location and thus it does not appear in our analysis. Out of the 10 representatives listed, 9 are male names.

Table 3:
CITATIONS to SELECTED SOURCES and FACULTY by MODULES
N = 348.

Area	Selected sources				Faculty		
	Female	Male	Female/Male	Institutional	Female	Male	Institutional
Critical Internet Resources	1	2	1	5	1	10	–
- *Domain Name Registries and Registrars Governance*							
- *Internet Protocols and Regional Internet Registries*							
Introduction to IG	1	13	2	11	23	60	–
- *Introduction to IG*							
- *Models and Approaches to IG and the Technical Community*							
- *Regional/Global Organizations and IG*							
Cybersecurity governance	1	1	3	1	12	28	–
- *Cybersecurity and cybercrime*							
- *Domain Name System Abuse and Security*							
Emerging issues	2	1	1	3	5	8	–
- *Emerging Technologies (Artificial Intelligence, Blockchain, etc.)*							
- *Digital Technologies and Environment*							
Information Intermediation	7	6	4	8	17	24	1
- *Online Platform Governance*							
- *Privacy and Data Protection*							
- *Digital Footprint*							
- *Digital Trade and the Internet*							
- *Intellectual Property Rights and IG*							
Internet Access and Human Rights	6	5	5	6	33	30	–
- *Digital Divide and Digital Inclusion*							
- *IG and Human Rights*							
- *Country and Region-Specific Issues*							

Source: Authors' elaboration with data from IGF Secretariat (2022).

Although our data itself does not allow us to examine causation, it is reasonable to suggest that the gender gaps in syllabi and course plans and in the literature co-produce each other. As Montenegro and Freitas (2021) show, prominent authors at the global level are usually in the list of citations in academic works in global South countries like Brazil, and they are primarily men. The platformization of knowledge only aggravates this dynamic, as big tech indexation and quantification has massively influenced academic work distribution, and artificial intelligence recommendation algorithms that often reproduce racism, sexism, ableism, etc. increasingly shape it. Leveraging the conscious engagement in the creation of IG syllabi and IG publications are necessary and complementary steps.

Based on the literature, we were expecting to see differences in citation patterns depending on the gender of the authors, but as Graph 10 shows, male names are more cited in IG literature independent of the authors' gender. In bibliometric analysis, Colgan (2017) had to intentionally increase their sample with courses taught by women instructors to be able to identify different patterns in the gender gap in IR syllabi. Revisiting our results in the future, when more data is available, can illuminate more nuances not visible at this point. Some other reasons for the lack of difference between women and men authors' citation patterns may be the generalized lack of knowledge of more diverse bibliographic sources, the reproduction of citation patterns from the past, following algorithms that highlight the most cited sources when selecting the bibliography, and also the lack of conscious engagement with gender in bibliographic construction.

Given the results found in this study, it is unlikely that there will be changes in the politics of citation in IG without intentional actions. As Mott and Cockayne (2017) put it, citation is a "problematic technology," which calls on us to think about it. Without a critical approach to the values encoded into citations, structural gender imbalance in IG tends to continue, worsened by intersectional attributes only mentioned in this paper such as ethnicity, race, origin, and disability status. We call for increasing awareness and the creation of tools to address the gender gap available for easy dissemination.

6. Conclusion

From the analysis of the REDE's annual conference proceedings with the Bibliographic Reference Index, we have found a clear predominance of male name citations in Internet Governance in Brazil. This predominance has decreased over the years, but without an increase in the number of female name citations at the same level, despite a vast number of women, genderqueer, and authors with female-gendered names publishing in IG, and self-identifying as such in IG conferences. When demonstrating the application of the BRI to the broader context of global IG schools and educational spaces, our analysis has shown that the gender gap can be traced to the way that IG instructions are currently designed, reproducing structural gender biases.

By increasing the conscious engagement of authors with their bibliographies, we hope that the BRI engenders substantive changes in the politics of citation in IG in the near future. It is worth asking when we create our bibliographies: are we reproducing historical power hierarchies? The same is true for IG syllabi. We invite authors to include a "citation diversity statement" (Zurn, Bassett, & Rust, 2020) in their papers as a generative step, and offer an example below, which we now use an optional section in the REDE's conference proceedings template.

Additionally, bibliographic norms such as those in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, which abbreviate the first name of authors, silently contribute to the erasure of gender and perceptions about gender in citations. The Brazilian Association of Technical Standards referencing style allows authors to maintain the first name in full in the bibliography. When reflecting on these established standards, an author who filled out the BRI suggested that bibliographic norms should contain other fields, such as race. We agree that it is necessary to consider how such standards can become more intersectional and contribute to more inclusive citations.

Future investigations could compare the results presented here to other IG settings and conferences, focusing on qualitative analysis of authorship, and on a better understanding of the salience of institutional authorship within IG in their relation to gender. We believe that there are several spaces for intervention to change the current gender gap, and we hope that the results presented here will contribute in that direction.

Citation diversity statement

Through this declaration, we join a collective effort to undo the structural epistemological erasure in academia against women, genderqueer people, Black people, people from the global South, and other social groups, whose voices are less heard due to bias in citations. We believe that transparency in relation to our bibliographies is essential to understand the present, and to change this structural condition in a joint and consistent way. In this paper, citations are distributed as follows: female names (45; 60.8%), male names (5; 6.8%), female-male names (21; 28.4%), and institutional sources (3; 4.1%).

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CRediT authorship contribution statement

Fernanda R. Rosa: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Supervision, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Conceptualization. **Kimberly Anastácio:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Supervision, Investigation, Data curation. **Maria Vitoria Pereira de Jesus:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Investigation, Data curation. **Hemanuel Jhosé A. Veras:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Investigation, Data curation.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

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Appendix A[14]

index of bibliographic references

filling form

QA. Inform the gender identity of the author(s) of the article to which this filling refers.

Female (or co-authorship only between female authors)
Male (or co-authorship only between male authors)
Female and male [co-authorship between male author(s) and female author(s)]
Others: _____

QB. How many author(s) does the article to which this filling refers have?

1

[14] We used to use the term "sex" in QA, now replaced by "gender identity." Also, we used to ask, "how many have exclusive men as authors?" in Q2 and "how many have exclusive women as authors?" Now men and women were replaced by "male names" and "female names," respectively

2
3
4 or more

Q1. In total, how many items are there in the Bibliographic References section of your article? Please add up all existing bibliographic entries, including those with institutional authorship. Enter a numeric value.

Q2. Of the total number of bibliographic entries for your article, how many have EXCLUSIVE male names? Please add up all bibliography items that contain only male names as authors or co-authors. Enter a numeric value and make sure it is a number equal to or less than that entered in Q1.

Q3. Of the total number of bibliographic entries for your article, how many have EXCLUSIVE female names? Please add up all items in the bibliography that contain only female names as authors or co-authors. Enter a numeric value and make sure it is a number equal to or less than that entered in Q1.

Q4. Of the total number of bibliographic entries for your article, how many are co-authored with male AND female names? These items, which indicate a partnership between male name authors and female name authors, must not have been considered in the answers to Q2 or Q3. Enter a numeric value and make sure it is a number equal to or less than that entered in Q1.

Q5. How many of the bibliographic entries have institutional authorship? These items are common in citations of laws, government documents, organization reports, etc. Enter a numeric value and make sure it is a number equal to or less than that entered in Q1.

Q6. Finally, what is the sum of the values reported in Q2 (male name authors) + Q3 (female name authors) + Q4 (co-authorship between male name and female name authors) + Q5 (institutional authorship)? This number must be EQUAL to the one entered in Q1. If it is different, please check and correct your answers. We appreciate the care and validation!

Q7. After filling out the form, would you like to share some thoughts with us?

Q8. Is there anything else you would like to share?

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