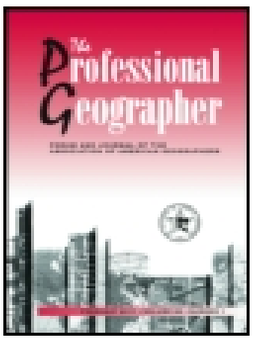

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Who Makes Geographical Knowledge? The Gender of Geography's Gatekeepers

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Building on the insight that all knowledge is situated and embodied, we analyze the gender of gatekeepers in the production of geographical knowledge in the current Anglophone publication landscape. Our results show that the share of women gatekeepers throughout the three selected sites—handbooks, progress reports, as well as editors and editorial boards of twenty-two geography journals—is consistently between 36 and 42 percent. These averages, however, disguise widely varying figures between different handbooks and journals. Comparing data for journal editors and editorial boards between 1999 and 2017, we find considerable growth in the presence of women. We also show that a higher share of female editors is associated with a higher share of women in editorial boards and in commissioned contributions. Editors and journals therefore need to put gender equity (but also racial and language equality) among the board and among contributors squarely on the agenda to create more space for new theoretical approaches, issues, and methodologies that center the lives and experiences of those living in spaces outside of the white Anglosphere—in the Global South and the Global East but also in the Global North. **Key Words: gatekeeping, gender, geographic knowledge, publication, women.**

我们根据所有知识均是情景化、具体化这一观点，以现在的英语母语出版领域为分析对象，研究了地理知识生产中把关者的性别。我们的结果显示，在三个指定对象（手册、进度报告和22种地理杂志的编辑和编辑委员会）中，女性把关者的比例始终介于36%至42%之间。然而，这些平均值掩盖了各手册和期刊间的巨大差异。对比1999年至2017年期刊编辑和编辑委员会的数据，我们发现女性比例有了大幅的增长。研究还显示出：女性编辑的比例越高，编辑委员会和委托稿件中的女性比例就越高。因此，编辑和期刊需要将性别平等（同时也包括种族和语言平等）作为委员会以及撰稿人的一项讨论议程，以便为新理论方法、问题，及方法论创造更多的空间，这些空间将以那些生活在白人英语圈之外的人（如那些生活在南半球、东半球、以及北半球的人）的生活和体验为中心 **关键词：把关，性别，地理知识，出版，女性。**

A partir de la concepción de que todo conocimiento es situado y personificado, analizamos el género de los guardianes de la producción de conocimiento geográfico en el actual paisaje anglófono de publicación. Nuestros resultados muestran que la cuota de mujeres guardianes a través de los tres escenarios seleccionados—manuales, informes de progreso, lo mismo que editores y consejos editoriales de veintidós revistas geográficas—se mantiene consistentemente entre el 36 el 42 por ciento. Sin embargo, estos promedios disimulan ampliamente cifras variables entre diferentes manuales y revistas. Comparando datos para editores de revistas y consejos editoriales entre 1999 y 2017, hallamos una expansión considerable en la presencia de mujeres. Mostramos también que una cuota más alta editoras está asociada con una cuota más alta de mujeres en los consejos editoriales y en contribuciones asignadas. Los editores y las revistas necesitan por tanto poner la equidad de género (aunque también la igualdad racial e idiomática) en el consejo y entre los colaboradores, bien evidentes en la agenda, para crear más espacio para nuevos enfoques teóricos, temas y metodologías que centren las vidas y experiencias de quienes viven en espacios por fuera de la angloesfera blanca—en el Sur Global y en el Oriente Global, aunque también en el Norte Global. **Palabras clave: conocimiento geográfico, género, guardianes, mujeres, publicación.**

Over the last decades, there have been numerous efforts to examine the place of women in geography as a discipline and in geographic knowledge production. Such efforts range from documenting women's role in the discipline's (early) history (Monk 2004; Monk and Schmidt di Friedberg 2011; García-Ramón 2012) to the representation of women in academic geography over time and in different national contexts (Monk, Fortuijn, and Raleigh 2004; Maddrell et al. 2016; VGDH Task Force et al. 2016; Peake 2017). We know now that, in 2018, 46 percent of geography graduate students in the United States were female and that roughly the same percentage of doctorates in geography was awarded to women (Kaplan and Mapes 2016). These figures might suggest that geography, long criticized for its patriarchal and sexist disciplinary culture stemming from its colonial history (Monk and Hanson 1982; Rose 1993; Lossau 2002; Sundberg 2003), has now (almost) reached gender parity.

Time to celebrate? Yes, but. … Yes, we have nearly reached parity at the graduate and postgraduate level but not at the level of faculty, with women—and especially women of color—being

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sometimes slightly, sometimes drastically underrepresented (Luzzadder-Beach and Macfarlane 2000; Monk, Fortuijn, and Raleigh 2004; Kobayashi 2006; Adams, Solís, and McKendry 2014; Faria et al. 2019). In 2018, there were still more than twice as many men as women in tenure-stream faculty positions in geography in the United States (American Association of Geographers [AAG] 2019). This ratio was even more uneven at the full professor level, where, on average, there are two female full professors for seven male professors. As Faria et al. (2019) showed in their recent paper, although gender justice has made important progress, geography lags considerably behind when it comes to racial justice: The proportion of African American and Hispanic geography faculty hovered at a combined 4 to 6 percent between 2010 and 2018 (AAG 2019), compared to an average of 10 percent across all higher education faculty, twice that of geography (National Center for Education Statistics 2016). Faria et al. (2019) called for the need to recruit more faculty of color, who can not only serve as role models for students but also include topics and questions relevant to the lives of students of color.

Feminist and antiracist geographies have explained this slow progress of female faculty and faculty of color representation as a result of geography's "general discomfort with difference" (Peake 2017) as well as its patriarchal substance that excludes women—especially of color and nonnative speakers in Europe, Asia, South and Central America, and Africa—and relegates them to the margins of the discipline (D. R. Lee 1990; Rose 1993; Domosh 2000; Winkler 2000). This "power geometry of knowledge circulation" (L. Johnson 2009, 54) not only keeps women from tenured jobs and promotion to full professor in geography but also renders invisible innovative geographic work. To open up and diversify the discipline—both with regard to those who call themselves geographers and with regard to the knowledge called "geographical"—"strategies are required to address sexism as it interacts with antiblackness" (Faria et al. 2019, 368).

Extending this debate, we argue in this article that we need to go beyond analyzing employment levels to understand the intersectional geographies of disciplinary power. Even though the empirical analysis in this article focuses in a rather additive fashion on gender and language as vectors of hegemonic power that structure publication patterns in geography, our article conceptualizes these two categories of difference as always already "interdependent" (Walgenbach et al. 2007) with race, sexuality, class, nationality, and ableness. In doing so, we underscore the need for a truly intersectional analysis of this power geometry that pays particular attention to the ways in which racial logics saturate this publication landscape (Crenshaw 1993; Yuval-Davis 2006; Kerner 2009).[1]

We urge study of what we call sites of disciplinary gatekeeping for creating alternative bodies of geographical knowledge and advancing academic careers in geography—positions of authority, such as those of editors and board members of journals, that allow shaping what does and what does not count as valid geographical knowledge. Drawing on feminist and postcolonial insights that knowledge production is always inherently situated and embodied (Hartsock 1983; Haraway 1988; Harding 1990, 1991, 2009; Seth 2009), we are—along with many others (Pulido 2002; Kobayashi 2003, 2006; Kobayashi, Lawson, and Sanders 2014)—concerned that a lack of gender, racial, and intersectional diversity in gatekeeping sites in geography has deleterious effects on the breadth of geography's intellectual production. In short, the diversity of perspectives from people with diverse kinds of bodies and experiences in terms of gender, sexuality, race, class, nationality, language, ableism, locality, and positionality in the geopolitics of knowledge is "important to the kinds of questions that geographers ask, and to their ability to understand the world" (Kobayashi 2006, 33).

Our analysis concerns itself with three sites of geographical knowledge production: first, handbooks (sometimes also called companions), which are powerful tools to define the canon of the discipline and its respective subfields as they shape students' and scholars' sense of the discipline; second, progress reports, which can be considered a crucial tool in shaping different fields of geography and their research frontiers; and, third, editors and editorial boards of a sample of twenty-two geography journals.

In analyzing these three sites of disciplinary gatekeeping, we hope to gain a deeper understanding of the gendered cultures of gatekeeping practices in geography that are emblematic for the overall power structures of the discipline.

Who Is on (the) Board? The Feminist Politics of Geographic Knowledge Production

In the neoliberal academy, the paradigm "publish or perish" haunts generations of graduate students and researchers alike. Who decides what gets published? Who defines what is accepted as "geographical knowledge" and what is not? Who defines the state of the art of a discipline and its respective subfields?

These questions are important, not only but particularly for women. This is even truer for women of color, who hold a disproportionate share of instructor and adjunct positions and make up a huge part of contingent faculty (Faria et al. 2019). For many years now, research on gender inequalities in academia has discussed the "leaky pipeline" (Fyfe

2018), which results in a steady decline of female researchers when climbing up the academic ladder. Such research has tried to solve the "productivity puzzle" (Cole and Zuckerman 1984), which shows that women publish less than men, and has asked why women do not succeed in breaking the "glass ceiling" (Morley 1994) to enter gatekeeping positions in academia. All of these metaphors stand for women's challenges to access and thrive in the "chilly climate" (Hall and Sandler 1982) of the (men-built) ivory tower (for a critique of all of these metaphors see Husu 2001). Many of the challenges are familiar: Gendered caring responsibilities; higher mentoring and administrative loads for women, in particular for women of color; the biological and social demands of motherhood (corresponding with the heavy academic demands associated with tenure and promotion); imposter syndrome; boys' networks, and intellectual and social isolation of women faculty all affect research productivity and career development (Winkler 2000; Rigg, McCarragher, and Krmenec 2012; Howe-Walsh and Turnbull 2016; Bain and Laliberte 2018; Moss 2019).

In geography, feminist geographers consider the masculinist[2] history in geography that shapes its disciplinary culture and practices until today as the main obstacle toward more gender justice in the discipline (Kobayashi and Peake 1994, 2000; Katz 2001; Kobayashi 2007). To work toward more diversity in geography, geography needs not only to understand its masculinist, racist, and colonial history but also to analyze how it "produces and constructs power inequities, and how it forms in particular ways in distinct intellectual and physical places" (Faria et al. 2019, 369). Similar to other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, geography's masculinist history has consequences until today, as Rose (1993) noted:

> Feminist geographers have long argued that the domination of the discipline by men has serious consequences both for what counts as legitimate geographical knowledge and who can produce such knowledge. … This bias in research topics is argued to have [the effect] that it makes the discipline more appealing to men than to women. … The preponderance of men in the discipline not only results in women not being studied by academic geographers, then, but also in too few women academics in geography. (2)

For Rose (1993), women's exclusion is not only a question of the themes of research "but rather a question related to the very nature of hegemonic geographical knowledge itself" (4). We argue in the following that handbooks and companions, progress reports, and editorial boards are hegemonic sites of geographical knowledge production. They all play a crucial role in defining, developing, and policing what counts as geographical knowledge and what kind of knowledges (themes, theories, concepts, methodological approaches) become hegemonic. As guardians of geographic canon building (in the case of handbooks) and the current state of the art and geographic futures (in the case of journals and progress reports), gatekeepers in these three sites decide not only who has access to an academic career but also what counts as geographic knowledge.

There are two types of gatekeeping happening in these three sites of knowledge production. We call the first *admission gatekeeping*. This is the role of editors of handbooks or companions and journals to curate and grant access to their publication sites. Editors not only are supposed to ensure the quality of the academic product but have a strong influence in determining the direction of the discipline and their subfields through their decisions on what research is published or rejected, who they invite to contribute to their handbooks or companions and progress reports, and on what kind of themes. To serve as editor or on an editorial board is a recognition of one's scholarship and visibility (Mauleón et al. 2013); it is a means of advancing one's scholarship through the possibility of influencing future geographic knowledge production by identifying emerging and innovative research and, finally, such roles facilitate professional networks (Addis and Villa 2003). Hence, examining editorship and editorial board membership by gender can be studied as a proxy for the gender (im)balance in human geography as a discipline at large.

The second kind of gatekeeping is what we call *inclusion gatekeeping*. Inclusion gatekeepers are those producing the actual knowledge, making the decision of whom to include and cite and whom not to include in the process. For our three sites, inclusion gatekeepers are the authors of handbooks or companions, progress reports, and journals. In a "politics of citation" (Mott and Roberts 2014) that values certain knowledges over others, they decide on who is enshrined as contributing to the state of the art, worthy of being included in a reference work, and who is not. This role is of particular importance for those publications that contribute to canon building (handbooks or companions) and that represent the state of the art (progress reports). Crucially, to achieve diversity in knowledge production, both kinds of gatekeepers need to work toward it in concert. A strongly diverse editorship alone will not produce very diverse research, if they are lacking a diverse author body. Conversely, a strongly diverse author body alone—facing a homogenous editorship—will not produce diverse knowledge either, because it will face the homogenizing demands and expectations of the editors as admission gatekeepers.

Whereas reports documenting the gendered composition of journal boards exist for a number of disciplines such as economics (Addis and Villa 2003), environmental science (Parker, Lortie, and

Allesina 2010), political science (Stegmaier, Palmer, and van Assendelft 2011), business administration and management (Metz and Harzing 2012; Cho et al. 2014), and medicine (Kennedy, Lin, and Dickstein 2001; Keiser, Utzinger, and Singer 2003), no such information exists in human geography, with the exception of statistics from the AAG on two of its journals, *The Professional Geographer* and *Annals*. We contend that a gendered analysis of admission and inclusion gatekeepers of journals, handbooks or companions, and progress reports speaks to the challenges identified as hindering women's upward mobility in the discipline in three ways.

First, male and female editors and board members use their social and professional networks to solicit other editors, board members, reviewers, and authors of handbook articles, progress reports, and journal articles more broadly. Homosocial reproduction theory, however, holds that individuals prefer to interact with people who are more like themselves (Kanter 1977). In other words, men prefer to work with men and women with women. Indeed, research has shown that female editors are more likely to invite women to the editorial board (Mauleón et al. 2013) and reach out to other women for reviewing (Buckley et al. 2014; Fox, Burns, and Meyer 2016; Metz, Harzing, and Zyphur 2016) and that men and women judge manuscripts differently, depending on the assumed gender of the manuscript author (Wing et al. 2010). If the editors and the overwhelming majority of board members are men, fewer women will be invited to review and fewer women might receive that "critical nudge" (Stegmaier, Palmer, and van Assendelft 2011, 802) to submit their work to the journal, write a handbook chapter, or author a progress report.

Second, women in gatekeeper positions can serve as role models for graduate students and junior researchers. Having someone who looks "like you" in terms of gender, sexuality, race, language, nationality, class, and so on is crucial for mentoring (Kobayashi 2006; Bain and Laliberte 2018; Adams-Hutcheson and Johnston 2019; Faria et al. 2019; Moss 2019), and seeing someone who looks "like you" in prestigious disciplinary positions might encourage junior female scholars and students, and especially women of color, to stay in what is often perceived as a rather masculinist and white discipline (Kobayashi 2003; Abbott 2006; Bonds 2013; Faria and Mollett 2016).

Third, both types of gatekeepers have substantial influence on defining the canon, the state of the art, and the future direction of human geography. Through their editorial decisions, editors of journals and handbooks determine what are considered important and cutting-edge research questions, appropriate and innovative methodologies, and worthwhile and fashionable theoretical perspectives. Building on feminist science scholars' insight that all research is necessarily situated and closely tied to one's embodied experiences of everyday life (Haraway 1988; Larner 2013), we contend that diversifying the bodies of gatekeepers of publication landscapes in terms of gender, sexuality, race, nationality, language, class, and so on, who bring different worldviews, perspectives, and issues to sites of geographic knowledge production, will result in a more vibrant range of research topics, methodologies, and theories in human geography.

In all this attention to the gender of gatekeepers, we should not forget, however, that multiple forms of privilege, exclusion, and marginalization beyond gender intersect in gatekeepers. Intersecting with race and nationality, language is an important determinant of privilege in access to publication spaces, although often a blind spot in Anglophone critical scholarship (Peake 2011; Jazeel 2016). Non-Anglophone authors in particular have voiced their concern that Anglo-American scholars dominate in gatekeeping positions and pass off as "international" or "global" knowledge that should more adequately be labeled as Anglo-American and often speaks to rather idiosyncratic Anglo-American, white concerns (Gutiérrez and López-Nieva 2001; Bański and Ferenc 2013; Minca 2013). It is in acknowledgment of these debates, and of the challenge thrown up by intersectionality more generally (Mollett and Faria 2018), that our analysis, in a last step, also considers how gender and language intersect with each other and other categories of oppression in journal gatekeeping positions.

Research Design

We analyzed admission and inclusion gatekeepers at three sites of knowledge production (see Table 1). First were the handbooks (or companions) of geography and its subdisciplines. These edited volumes serve to enshrine the state of the art and, through their importance as reference works for established and early-career scholars alike, have significant power over defining what counts as valid knowledge. The handbook editors act as admission gatekeepers by asking certain authors, the inclusion gatekeepers, to participate. Second, the progress reports, published in *Progress in Human Geography*, take the pulse of a certain aspect of the discipline and, being published on a rolling basis, are more up to date with

Table 1 *Sites, gatekeepers, and time periods included in our analysis*

Sites	Gatekeepers	Time
13 geography handbooks	50 editors 593 authors	2009–2019
501 progress reports	207 authors	2009–2017
22 geography journals	118 editors 645 board members	1999 | 2017

recent developments than the handbooks, which are issued periodically, often only every ten to fifteen years. Here, the editors of the journal act as admission gatekeepers, whereas the authors of the reports become inclusion gatekeepers in deciding what literature to reference for describing the state of the art. Third are academic journals, which publish the latest research and where admission gatekeeping happens through editors deciding on reviewers and whether or not to accept a paper and under what conditions. We also included editorial board members as admission gatekeepers, because boards have an important signaling function for prospective authors. For the case of journals, we only analyzed admission gatekeepers, because gender data on authors would have been extremely time-consuming to collect.

The gender of gatekeepers was our primary focus of analysis. We coded gender on a binary scale (male–female) through a triangulation process of using first names, author biographies, and information available from gatekeepers' Web sites, such as preferred personal pronouns and portrait photographs. The size of our sample (more than 1,600 individuals) did not allow us to contact all gatekeepers directly to obtain self-reported gender data. Our method comes with the limitations of using a binary scale and of not being able to unequivocally classify individuals as male or female based on the available secondary information. We apologize to all those who are represented in the sample and who do not self-identify along the heteronormative binary and hope that future studies might have more resources to contact people individually to report on self-identified data. Drawing on data collected in the same database but for a different purpose (author reference), we also examined whether journal gatekeepers were affiliated with an Anglophone or a non-Anglophone institution. This allowed us to analyze how two forms of privilege, gender and language, intersect with each other, as well as make tentative assumptions about how race is implicated in the dominance of male and Anglophone gatekeeping.

We examined all handbooks and progress reports over a longer time period to smooth fluctuations that occur from year to year. In the case of handbooks, we focused on those that appeared between 2009 and 2019 and had a clear relation to geography and its subdisciplines, usually carrying geography in the name. This resulted in a total of thirteen handbooks (listed in Figure 1). For the progress reports, we focused on the period from 2009 to 2017, stopping in the same year as with the journals, and analyzed a total of 501 reports published in that period (counting each installment of a longer series). For the journals, we obtained longitudinal information on gatekeepers and took snapshots of the composition of editors and boards in 1999 and in 2017. This allowed us to analyze change over time. We based our decision on which journals to include on previous studies, such as Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001) and Bański and Ferenc (2013). A full list is available in Figure 2. Broadly speaking, our sample included both important generalist journals (*Progress in Human Geography*, *Annals*, *Transactions*, *Geoforum*, etc.) and the flagship journals of subdisciplines (e.g., *Political Geography*, *Gender*, *Place and Culture*, *Economic Geography*, etc.). These journals are important inasmuch as they count toward building a tenure file in most geography departments in the United States and abroad and can therefore make or break academic careers.

Analysis

Women in Handbooks and Progress Reports

Overall, handbooks have the lowest representation of women in gatekeeping roles. Thirty-six percent of editors and 37 percent of authors in our sample of thirteen handbooks are female. These mean values, however, disguise considerable variance that becomes evident when looking at the scatterplot in Figure 1. One immediately notices that most handbooks (seven out of thirteen) cluster in the small bottom left quadrant of male strongholds; that is, there are more male editors and authors than the sample means. That quadrant features all three economic geography handbooks in the sample (Leyshon et al. 2011; Barnes, Peck, and Sheppard 2012; Clark et al. 2018) but also the urban geography handbook (Schwanen and Kempen 2019) and, rather disconcerting, two handbooks of relevance to the discipline as a whole: *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography* (Agnew and Duncan 2011) and *The Sage Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* (Agnew and Livingstone 2011). Among the thirteen handbooks, both of these include mostly male editors and authors, with *The Sage Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* not featuring a single female editor and only 15 percent women authors (seven out of forty-eight authors). *The Sage Handbook of Human Geography* (R. Lee et al. 2014) presents a more encouraging picture: Although still having more male editors than the sample, more than half of the contributors are female.

The lack of women in some handbooks is not innocuous. It has a direct impact on the themes and issues considered relevant enough for inclusion in them. Thus, among the eighteen venues of geographical knowledge considered in *The Sage Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, we find decidedly male sites of knowing the world, often from a distance, such as the battlefield, learned societies, the laboratory and observatory, the museum, and remote sensing, but we are missing other, altogether more intimate sites such as the community, the home, and the body.

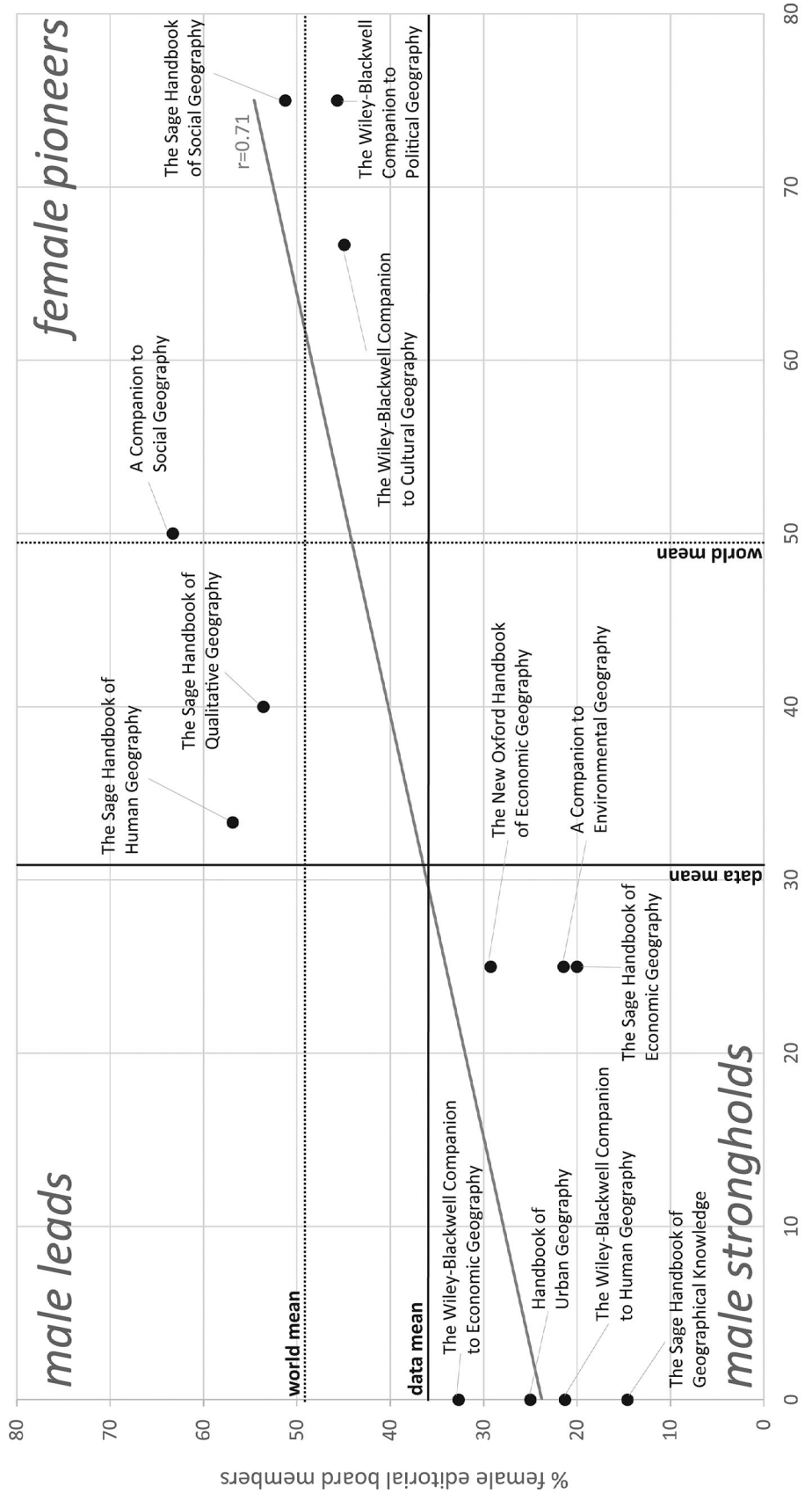

Figure 1 *The gendered galaxy of geography gatekeepers in handbooks: Scatterplot of share of female editors and authors of thirteen geography handbooks published between 2009 and 2019 (S. J. Smith et al. 2009; Delyser et al. 2010; Agnew and Duncan 2011; Agnew and Livingstone 2011; Leyshon et al. 2011; Barnes, Peck, and Sheppard 2012; N. C. Johnson, Schein, and Winders 2013; R. Lee et al. 2014; Agnew et al. 2015; Castree et al. 2016; Clark et al. 2018; Schwanen and Kempen 2019).*

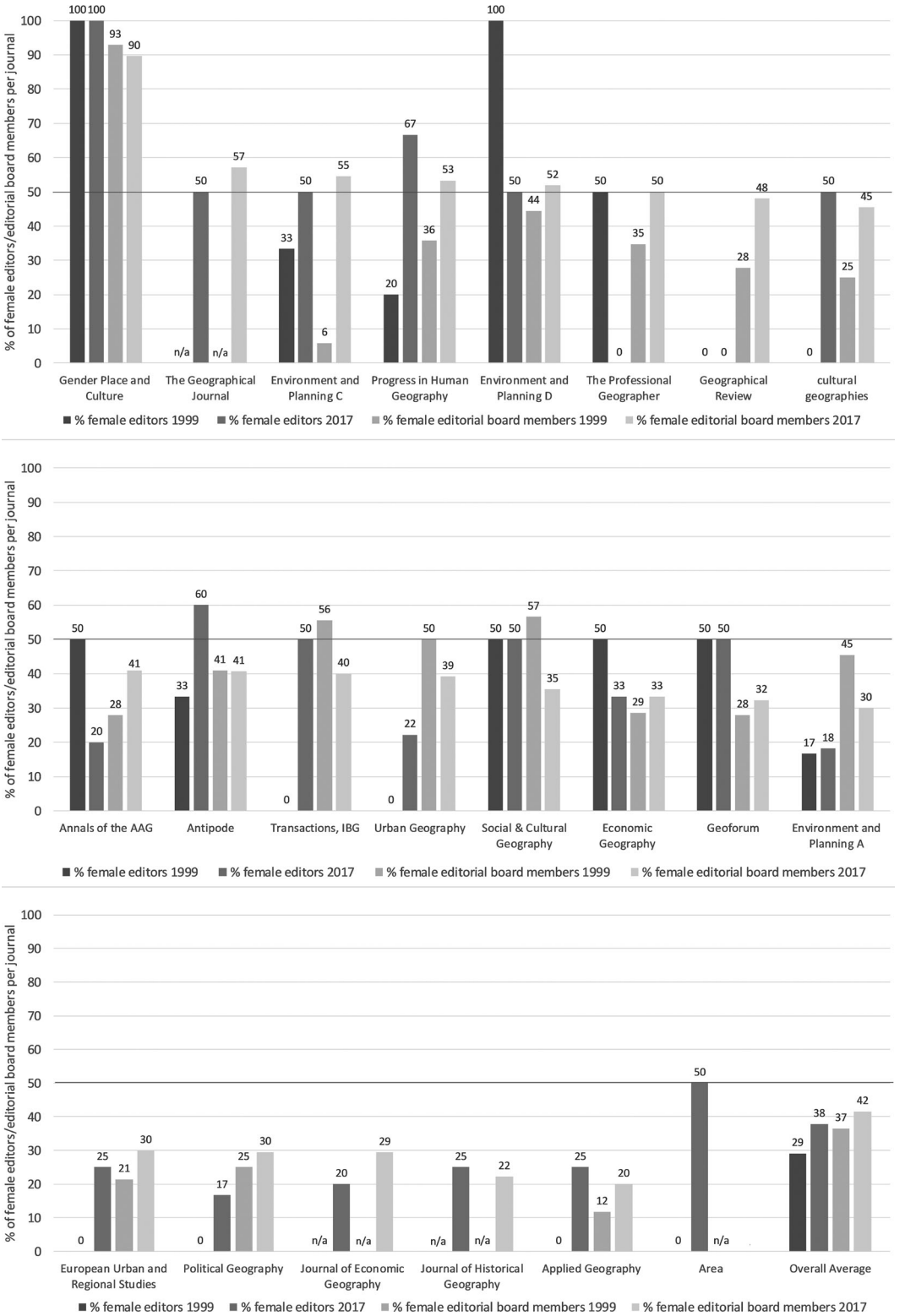

Figure 2 *Change in the share of women in editor and board positions of twenty-two geography journals, 1999 and 2017 (order by highest share of female editorial board members in 2017). Note: IBG = Institute of British Geographers; AAG = American Association of Geographers.*

Compensating for the male bias of the majority of handbooks are a number of handbooks in the top right quadrant, the female pioneers, some of which considerably exceed the mean. We find all three handbooks of social and cultural geography (S. J. Smith et al. 2009; Del Casino et al. 2011; N. C. Johnson, Schein, and Winders 2013) in that quadrant, as well as *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Geography* (Delyser et al. 2010) and *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Political Geography* (Agnew et al. 2015).

If we examine which handbooks live up to the demand for "not excluding half of the human in human geography" (Monk and Hanson 1982)—that is, those where women make up half or more of both editors and authors (dashed lines in Figure 1)—we face a rather discouraging situation: Only the two companions on social geography (S. J. Smith et al. 2009; Del Casino et al. 2011), both interestingly among the oldest in the sample, have at least 50 percent of both female editors and authors. All handbooks fall short of that criterion in terms of authors. There is a strong correlation ($r = 0.71$) between the share of female editors and the share of female authors, suggesting that more women editors also results in more women authors—a clear call for action.

When looking at the progress reports published in *Progress in Human Geography* between 2009 and 2017, of the 207 authors, 79 (38 percent) are female, a figure comparable to the share of women among handbook editors and authors. There is no discernible trend in this period, with the share of female authors varying between a minimum of 9 percent (in 2014) and a maximum of 68 percent (in 2010; Figure 3). We assume that a large part of this fluctuation is due to the smaller size of the sample for each year.

Women as Journal Editors and Board Members

The twenty-two journals in our sample allow us to compare historical data from 1999 with those of 2017 and thus to analyze the evolution of the share of women in gatekeeper positions. In general, women have increased their share in gatekeeper positions over that period: The share of female editors has grown from 29 to 39 percent, and that of female editorial board members has increased from 36 to 42 percent, putting parity within reach. There exists a strong correlation ($r = 0.47$) between female representation among editors and female representation among board members.

Figure 2 shows, however, that the situation varies considerably from journal to journal. In 2017, there were still ten journals, almost half in the sample, that had only one quarter or fewer women as editors (*The Professional Geographer*, *Geographical Review*, *Annals*, *Urban Geography*, *Environment and Planning A*, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *Political Geography*, *Journal of Economic Geography*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, *Applied Geography*). By contrast, there is only one journal where one quarter or fewer editors were men (*Gender*, *Place and Culture*), with another two where women were at least in the majority (*Progress in Human Geography*, *Antipode*). These figures, however, need to be considered with some caution, because of the low number of editors at some journals (e.g., *The Professional Geographer*), where a change of one individual can cause massive swings in journal-specific statistics.

At the level of editorial boards, only six journals in 2017 had filled at least half of their board positions with women: *Gender*, *Place and Culture* (90 percent), *The Geographical Journal* (57 percent), *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* (55 percent), *Progress in Human Geography* (53 percent), *Environment and*

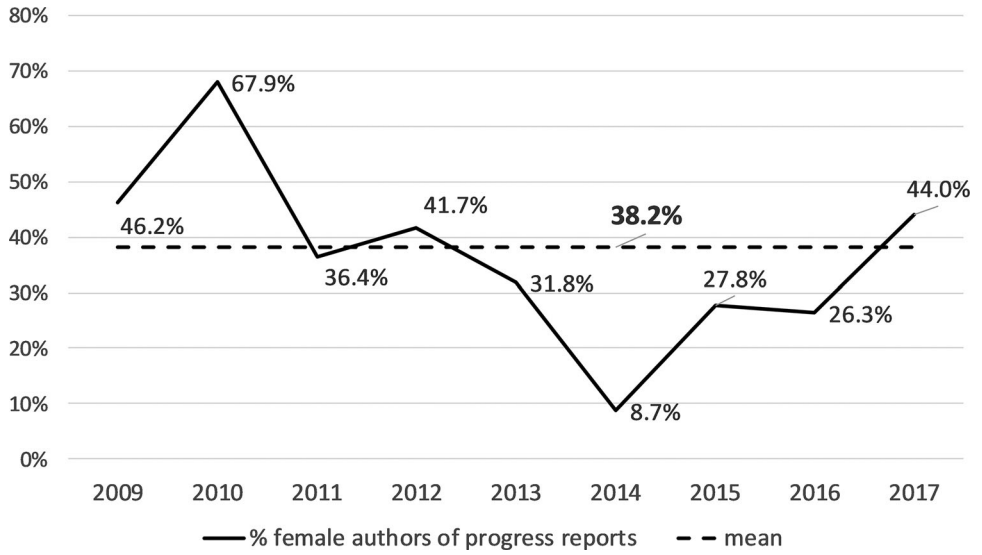

Figure 3 *Female authors of progress reports published in* Progress in Human Geography, *2009–2017.*

Planning D: Society and Space (52 percent), and *The Professional Geographer* (50 percent). Hovering just above 50 percent, these figures show that where women were in the majority, in almost all cases this was by a small margin. On the other hand, almost half of the journals in the sample have 40 percent or fewer women. The dynamic by subfields is less clear here than with the handbooks. Although journals with the most males on editorial boards, again, tend to be those with an applied, economic, and urban and regional focus, social and cultural geography journals now only range somewhere in the midfield in terms of female representation in the board.

Almost all journals experienced a growth in female representation in editorial boards between 1999 and 2017, with the exception of *Social & Cultural Geography* (−22 percent), *Transactions* (−16 percent), *Environment and Planning A* (−15 percent), *Urban Geography* (−11 percent), and *Gender, Place and Culture* (−3 percent). Although some variation of gender ratios is a normal part of fluctuation through renewal, the considerable drop in female board members for *Social & Cultural Geography* is concerning, given that it changed the journal from a female-majority to a male-majority board and that this journal aligned itself with the feminist agenda in geography not so long ago (Kitchin 2005).

Intersection of Gender and Language in Editor and Board Positions

Examining how multiple forms of privilege interlock, we are also interested in how gender privilege intersects with language privilege; that is, whether someone hails from an Anglophone or a non-Anglophone institution. Although in our data sample we were not able to include racial inequalities, we contend that language privilege intersects with race, because a great share of nonnative English-speaking researchers come from countries in the Global South and Global East.

For that purpose, we look at how the share of women in editor and board positions is related to the share of scholars with non-Anglophone affiliations (Figure 4). A regression analysis shows that there is no statistically significant correlation between these two forms of privilege. In other words, journals with more females in editor and board positions are not necessarily more non-Anglophone and vice versa. Figure 4 displays this relationship for each journal in a scatterplot. There are only four journals that both include more females and are more international than the mean, which we call the rising stars: *Progress in Human Geography*, *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, *The Geographical Journal*, and *Geographical Review*. By contrast, nine journals, in the bottom right quadrant, both include fewer females and are less international than average. There are also a number of journals, the gender-sensitive Anglo-Americans in the top right quadrant, that are leading in the share of women but lagging in the share of non-Anglophone board members. It is interesting that four journals are more international but include fewer females than the average (bottom left quadrant), pointing to a marginalization of non-Anglophone women.

When comparing these intersectional data against the world shares of circa 50 percent women and circa 93 percent non-Anglophone population (dashed lines in Figure 4), one realization hits home with full force: Even the most advanced journals on both of these dimensions, such as *Progress in Human Geography*, still have a long way to go to reach a truly international, gender-equal representation.

Comparison with the Share of Women in Faculty Positions

Table 2 compares our data on women in gatekeeping roles with data on women in geography faculty positions in the United States and the United Kingdom, the two countries from which the majority of gatekeepers originate. We can see that, for 2017, the share of women in gatekeeping roles corresponded more or less to the share of women in tenure-stream faculty positions. This is interesting, because in 1999 women were significantly overrepresented in gatekeeping roles. This closing of the gap is perhaps an outcome of the general trend toward parity in gender representation and an increasing mending of the leaky pipeline.

By contrast, if we look at data from women in faculty positions in Germany, a large non-Anglophone country, we find that only 25 percent of faculty positions were filled with women in 2014 (VGDH Task Force et al. 2016). Thus, including non-Anglophone women as gatekeepers, at least in this case, faces the difficulty of a possibly lower representation of women in some non-Anglophone countries.

Toward Intersectional Diversity

The results of our analysis might tempt us to celebrate. After all, women's representation in positions of editorship has increased from 29 percent in 1999 to 39 percent in 2017. Women now make up between 36 and 42 percent of authors in handbooks and progress reports and of editors of handbooks and journal editorial boards. This roughly corresponds to the share of female tenure-stream faculty in the United Kingdom and exceeds the numbers in the United States and Germany. Some readers and geographers in gatekeeping positions might be inclined to think that it is time to lean back and relax.

With this article, however, we want to stress the need for continued hard work. For one thing, women's representation is very uneven across sites of knowledge production. Few handbooks and journals

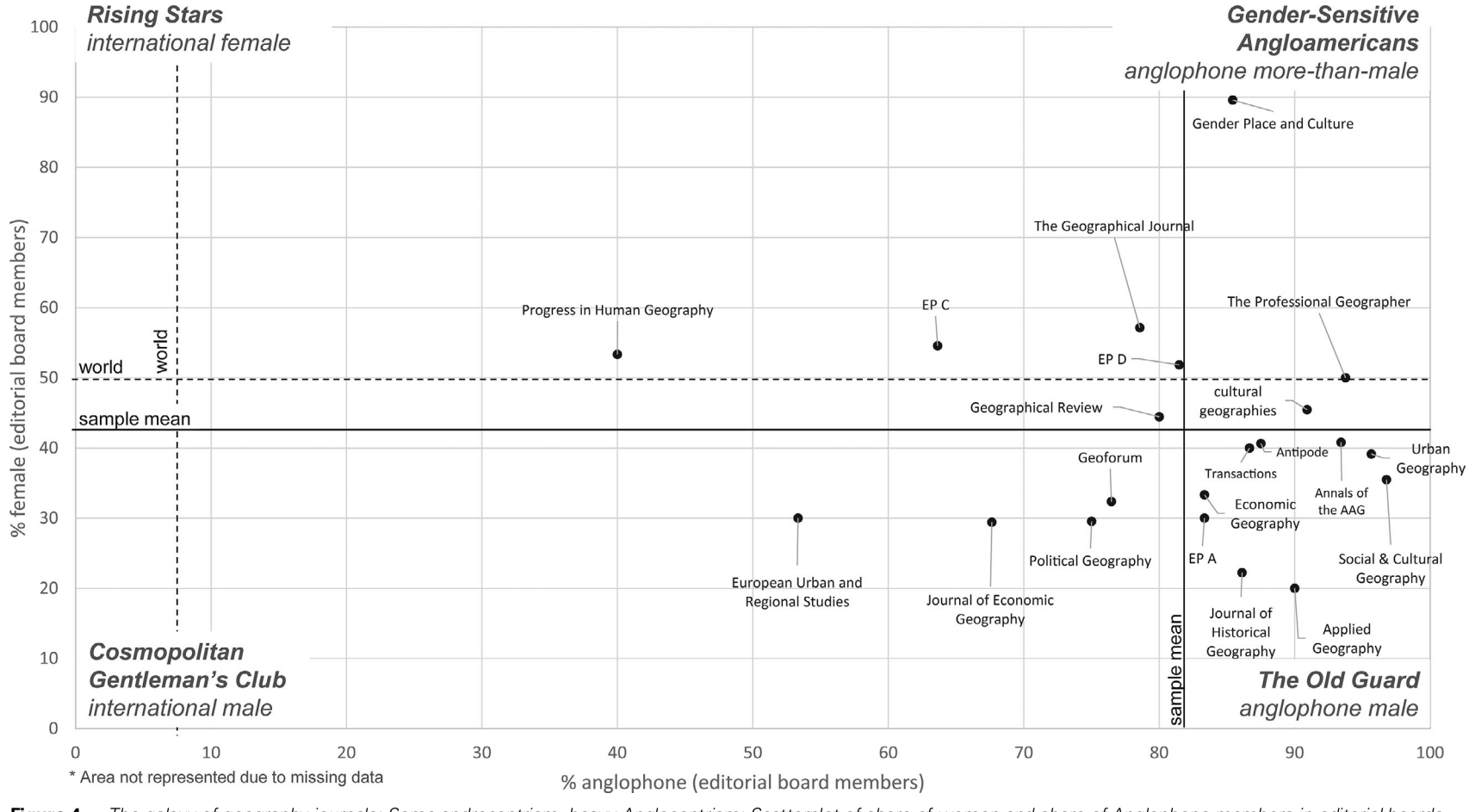

Figure 4 *The galaxy of geography journals: Some androcentrism, heavy Anglocentrism: Scatterplot of share of women and share of Anglophone members in editorial boards of twenty-two geography journals, 2017. Note: AAG = American Association of Geographers.*

Table 2 *Comparison of women in gatekeeping roles and women in geography faculty positions in the United States and United Kingdom*

	% Women						
	Handbooks		Progress reports	Journals		Tenure-stream faculty	
	Editors	Authors	Authors	Editors	Boards	United States	United Kingdom
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	29	36	ca. 16	N/A
2017	36[a]	37[a]	38[b]	39	42	ca. 33	ca. 39[c]

Note: Data from American Association of Geographers (2019), Maddrell et al. (2016), Winkler (2000).
[a]Data from 2009 to 2019.
[b]Data from 2009 to 2017.
[c]Data from 2012–2013.

have more than 50 percent women gatekeepers. Some do not even reach 30 percent. Although women have made important progress with regard to their representation both in faculty positions and in publishing gatekeeping positions, women still have harder and longer paths to reach a full professorship and are overrepresented at the adjunct and assistant professorship levels. As highlighted by others, this picture is far more dramatic when we look at women (and men) of color and indigenous scholars and in many national contexts outside the Anglophone world. More important, perhaps, the feminist project has never only, or even primarily, been about adequate representation of women per se. It has been about the issues and concerns that go neglected, if we lack diversity among those who get to ask questions in geographical research. Thus, including women has been about shifting what counts as interesting and relevant geographic knowledge (Schurr and Weichhart forthcoming). Women have worked hard to push the boundaries of the discipline to include issues such as gender, sexuality, race, and disability, calling for the need to study mundane and affectual practices such as care, community building, and intimacy and at sites that had been ignored by geographical analysis such as the community, the home, and the body (Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Pratt 2004; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Valentine 2008; Pratt and Rosner 2012; S. Smith 2012; Faria 2014; Moss and Donovan 2017; Schurr 2018; Schurr and Militz 2018).

Beyond the concern with gender, then, the feminist project is about diversifying geographical knowledge production. Following Butler (2004, 2009), who asked "Whose lives count?," this article seeks to question whose lives are reflected in geographic research. Whose lives are worth considering at the core of geographic research? Celebrating the presence of some women (mainly white, Anglophone, able-bodied, and based in the Global North) in the hegemonic sites of geographic knowledge production obscures the wall that keeps others—especially scholars of color, indigenous scholars, and nonnative speakers—outside these sites. Here, we note especially the lack of editorial boards that are intersectionally diverse; that is, both including females and international. Diversity is intersectional and needs to address not only gender inequality but racism, Anglocentrism, classism, ableism, and heteronormativity (Schurr and Segebart 2012; Grünenfelder and Schurr 2015; Mollett and Faria 2018). The analysis in this article is therefore but an opening move for making (more) space for those bodies and lives that have been and still are excluded in geographic scholarship and for new theories, approaches, and methodologies stemming from their life worlds.

For us, four steps must follow. The first is an explicit political awareness among gatekeepers of their position of power and their responsibility to diversify geographical knowledge. Second, as a consequence, is the diversification of gatekeepers themselves. The third step is a conscious inclusion of those scholars underrepresented in knowledge production to participate in canon production in sites such as handbooks and progress reports. Fourth is a more radical rethinking of modes of knowledge production, questioning the primacy of the written word and valorizing other formats such as film, poetry, art, or alternative and aesthetic maps.

Reaching gender equity, intersectional equality, and social justice is therefore not merely a matter of time. The current political climate of right-wing populism, with transnational opposition to sexual and gender equalities (Nash and Browne 2015; Gökarıksel and Smith 2016), as well as increasing intensities of racism (Inwood 2015; Virdee and McGeever 2018; Hawthorne 2019), instructs us to be careful with such a laisser-aller assumption. To embrace diversity means to identify and transform the power relations that inhabit the discipline as they are sedimented from its masculine, colonial, and imperialist past through our everyday editorial, publishing, and writing practices. Although we might be, arduously, getting over geography's masculinist past, the struggle for redressing its racist and imperialist past has just begun. ■

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Author Contributions

Carolin Schurr was the lead author in the writing process and coordinated the article. Martin Müller conceived and designed the analysis, coanalyzed the data, and cowrote the article. Nadja Imhof collected the data, coanalyzed the data, and designed the figures.

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Notes

[1] We thank a reviewer for giving us the opportunity to further develop our understanding of intersectionality and to insist on thinking about intersectionality's history as theory of racial power.

[2] We employ the term *masculinist* in Rose's (1993) sense. Drawing on LeDoeuff, she understood geography as masculinist because it claims to be exhaustive while forgetting about women's existence, concerning itself only with the position of men.

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