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# Capturing Women's Standpoint in EU–Turkey Studies: The Evolution of Gendered Publication and Citation Patterns

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## Abstract

Starting from the ‘gender problem’ in European studies, we scrutinize the gendered knowledge production patterns in a least likely case to be gendered, EU–Turkey studies, due to the overrepresentation of women in the field and its feminine image. We utilize feminist standpoint theory and apply research synthesis and citation analysis techniques to two original datasets comprising 300 articles in 26 Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) journals, published from 1996 to 2020 and involving 8494 citations. Our findings reveal that male-dominated knowledge marks even EU–Turkey studies with men outnumbering women in authorships and an extremely limited number of articles focusing on gender, whilst ampler disparities transpire in first authorships and citations. Whilst women have progressively disrupted male-dominated knowledge by surpassing male authorship numbers since 2014, engaging in greater theoretical sophistication and having a greater inclination to cite women, limited incorporation of women’s standpoint hinders the field’s potential to address gender inequalities and promote gender-sensitive policies and development.

**Keywords:** citation analysis; EU–Turkey studies; feminist standpoint theory; gender equality; research synthesis

## Introduction

The Middle East? What you call a man [should] work on stuff like the EU.  
[Aslantepe (@gzmslnp), 2020, June 5]

In June 2020, Gizem Aslantepe, a female scholar specializing in Middle Eastern politics, posted the aforementioned quote on Twitter as a reaction to male academics studying the Middle East and suggesting that they might do better to focus on Europe, which was more suitable for men as an area of study. Her tweet was part of the ‘reverse stream’, where thousands of Twitter users in Turkey posted about the stereotypical statements directed against women in their everyday lives by replacing the word ‘woman’ with ‘man’. Aslantepe has drawn attention to an important issue in Turkish academia: Women are viewed as more suitable to acquire expertise on European politics rather than Middle Eastern affairs. The reason for this kind of perception is simple: The Middle East requires that one works predominantly on security, conflict and militarism, whereas European studies has been largely marked by low politics issues, such as democracy and human rights, corresponding to the occupational gendered stereotypes that attribute soft tasks and matters to women.

Both authors contributed equally to the article.

That European studies is perceived as a women's area in Turkish academia has also been mirrored in the significant number of female scientists working in the discipline in Turkey. Women constitute 63% of all researchers officially enrolled in (sub-)departments (*Anabilim Dalları*) with a particular focus on European studies<sup>1</sup> and 52% of the members of the Academic Network for European Union (EU) Studies in Turkey (A-NEST).<sup>2</sup> Likewise, amongst scholarship affiliated with non-Turkish institutions and studying EU–Turkey relations, female academics appear to constitute a significant number. In fact, women compose 52% of all scholars affiliated to non-Turkish institutions who presented papers on EU–Turkey affairs at the last three biennial conferences (2017, 2019 and 2022) of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA).<sup>3</sup>

By contrast, Guerrina et al. (2018) identify a 'gender problem' in researching the EU and call attention to the dominance of male researchers and their interpretations, resulting in 'malestream' approaches to the scholarly inquiry of the EU. Similarly, the special issue by Thomson and Kenny (2021) discloses the numerical underrepresentation of women in Political Science and International Relations (IR) by locating women's minority status within the Political Studies Association (PSA) and the respective departments of UK universities. Such arguments concerning the gendered discrepancies in academia have been reinforced by recent studies employing bibliometric analyses and underlining the underrepresentation of women in submissions, authorship and review processes in various core European studies journals such as *European Union Politics* (Bettecken et al., 2022), the *European Political Science Review* (Closa et al., 2020), *South European Society and Politics* (Verney and Bosco, 2022), the *European Journal of Political Research* (Grossman, 2020), *West European Politics* (Martinsen et al., 2022), the *Journal of Common Market Studies* (Haastrup et al., 2022) and *European Political Science* (Stockemer et al., 2020).

The twisted and multifaceted 'love–hate relationship' (Turhan and Reiners, 2021, pp. 1–2) between the EU and Turkey engendered a rich body of literature in an extensive range of established journals. As such, we can confidently label 'EU–Turkey studies' as a boutique field within European/EU studies. Turkey has been an attractive case to scrutinize the effectiveness of the EU's mechanisms of transformation in third countries (e.g., Schimmelfennig, 2008), unpack the changes in the manifold dimensions of Turkish domestic polity, policies and politics (e.g., Aydın-Düzgüt and Kaliber, 2016; Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, 2019) and discuss alternative models of external differentiation outside or in addition to Turkey's accession process (e.g., Müftüler-Baç, 2022).

The overrepresentation of female scholars in European studies sub-departments of Turkish universities coupled with the perceived image of EU/EU–Turkey studies as feminine fields in Turkish academia, on the one hand, and the manifestation of gender gap in the broader discipline of European studies, on the other, generates an important puzzle to

<sup>1</sup> Own calculation based on data from YÖK (2021), Yükseköğretim Bilgi Yönetimi Sistemi, Bölüm/ABD Bazında Öğretim Elemanı Sayıları Raporu, <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/>, last accessed 07.08.2021.

<sup>2</sup> Authors' calculation based on data from Delegation of the European Union to Turkey (2021), A-NEST-Academic Network for EU Studies in Turkey, <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/a-nest-professors?keys=&page=0>, last accessed 07.08.2021.

<sup>3</sup> Authors' calculation based on 2017/2019/2022 programmes of the EUSA conferences, extracted from European Union Studies Association (2023). In our sample, 63% of the articles are authored by at least one scholar based in Turkey, whereas the authors of 37% of the articles are affiliated to non-Turkish universities. This also pinpoints the significance of the gender distribution of European studies scholars in Turkey for our analytical puzzle (see also Turhan and Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, 2022).

be resolved: If the latter is overshadowed by male dominance and malestream analyses (Guerrina et al., 2018), how does the seemingly female-dominated EU–Turkey studies perform? We frame our case as a least likely case to be steered by malestream analysis and would expect that the descriptive overrepresentation of women coupled with the feminine image of the field should generate strong visibility of women scholars and incorporation of women's standpoint. This would be primarily reflected in publication and citation patterns as well as the proliferation of theoretical/conceptual and thematic research prioritizing gender-sensitive analyses.

To decipher this conundrum, we draw on feminist standpoint theory, which claims that the adequacy of any theory, feminist or otherwise, is related to the representation of the world from the standpoint of (diverse) women. Feminist standpoint theory explains how women's perception of reality and everyday experiences are neglected in Eurocentric and male-dominated knowledge production patterns, leading to the marginalization of female scholars and to incomplete scholarly inquiries. Applying research synthesis and citation analysis techniques to two original datasets comprising 300 articles published in 26 Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) journals from 1996 to 2020 and involving 8494 citations, we offer a systematic mapping of the gendered terrain of EU–Turkey studies.

Our study is divided into three main parts. The following section contextualizes the feminist standpoint theory by considering gender disparities in global processes of scholarly knowledge production. The second section elaborates on the research design and data collection. In the third main section, we take stock of gendered (co-)authorship traits, theoretical–conceptual and thematic inclinations, and citation patterns in EU–Turkey studies. Finally, we reflect on our main findings and discuss their disciplinary and broader implications.

Our research has yielded contradictory findings. Whilst, overall, men outnumber women in publications on EU–Turkey relations, we observe a reversal of this trend from 2014 to 2020, with female scholars consistently surpassing male authorship numbers. Women also engage more frequently with normative and critical theorizing and demonstrate greater theoretical/conceptual sophistication than their male counterparts. Yet, without affirmative actions to counteract (un)conscious biases, the integration of women's standpoint remained limited in EU–Turkey studies, as reflected in the strong gender gap in citations and first authorships, echoing the 'gender problem' in the broader discipline of European studies. Additionally, the proliferation of the thematic foci has not adequately reflected women's priorities, limiting the field's potential to address gender inequalities and promote policy outcomes and development that incorporate women's concerns. More specifically, despite being less likely to be marked by gendered knowledge production compared with the broader discipline of European studies, the scarce presence of women's standpoint in EU–Turkey studies omits specific aspects of the relationship, which relate to the EU's promotion of human rights and democracy in candidate/third countries. Cases in point include the distinct challenges faced by women such as gender-based violence, restricted reproductive rights and unequal participation in decision-making processes. The lack of feminist lens also contributes to the disregard of the gendered implications of Turkey's EU accession process and the specific vulnerabilities faced by migrant women because of the EU–Turkey refugee 'deal'.

## I. Feminist Standpoint Theory and Malestream Knowledge Production in Academia

With a view to contextualizing the gendered terrain of IR in general, and European studies in particular, we benefit from the key premises of feminist standpoint theory, which argues that the dominant worldview and knowledge reflect the interests and values of the hegemonic class. Several studies were conducted in the 1970s demonstrating the distinctive perceptions of women of the world (Ardener, 1975; Millman and Kanter, 1975), paving the way for the emergence of feminist standpoint theory as a critical approach to scrutinizing the relations between power structures and knowledge production (Harding, 2004). Feminist standpoint theory is influenced by varieties of feminisms, including socialist feminism that underlines the marginalization of working-class women (Haraway, 1987) and Black feminism, such as the Combahee River Collective, shedding light on the intersectional ways in which Black women are marginalized and oppressed (Collins, 2020). Strong influence also came from radical feminism and other strands underlining that feminist theory should acknowledge intersecting oppressions of inter alia, gender, race and class. Equipped with this richness, Jaggar (2004, pp. 55–57) argues that the positionality of women gives them a special epistemic standpoint and builds a less distorted worldview compared with capitalist and working-class men. Such a standpoint (or indeed that of any other epistemically oppressed group) gives a more impartial and comprehensive view of the world than that of the ruling class and bears greater potential to represent the whole (Brooks, 2007).

Despite efforts to uncover and address gender-based ‘silences’ in IR (Dingli, 2015), women remain unable to create systemic alternatives to the male-dominated ways of knowledge production. Grosfoguel (2013) demonstrates how a faction of ‘Western European’ and ‘Euro-American’ male scholars monopolizes social scientific theory development, culminating in systematized provincialism and epistemic racism/sexism and oppression in knowledge production. Investigating the authorship diversity in the journals of the three major pan-European associations of political research [European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), European Political Science Association (EPSA) and European International Studies Association (EISA)] from 1973 to 2019, Ghica (2021) reveals a persistent Western European and/or US core, where scholars affiliated with Central and Eastern European institutions and women remain heavily underrepresented. Therefore, on a par with non-Western and subaltern knowledge, women’s insight and scholarship tend to be excluded from IR (see also Sjoberg, 2006). Merton (1968) identifies this phenomenon as the ‘Matthew effect’, whereby established scholars receive disproportionate recognition regardless of the quality of their work, whilst newcomers or underrepresented groups such as women remain neglected. The ‘Matthew effect’ has been habitually accompanied by the ‘Matilda effect’, in which ‘research done by women tends to be overlooked in favour of that of men’ (Lincoln et al., 2012, p. 313), even in fields featuring high levels of female representation.

Even though the masculine character of Political Science and IR has come under extensive criticism since the early 1990s (Jones, 2006), feminist scholars continue to face pressures to shift their practices and employ strategies to get accepted in the mainstream journals (Tickner, 2010). These include justifying contributions to gender-unaware, malestream scholarship through citations by feminist scholarship without holding

gender-unaware scholars responsible for responding to feminist criticisms of their work or citing feminist scholarship in return (Duriesmith, 2020).

The rising amount of feminist scholarship remains insufficient to create gender-neutral knowledge or to reflect the standpoint of women in academia. Production of gender-impartial knowledge requires the material overthrow of male domination (Jaggar, 2004, p. 61), as opposed to Eurocentrism that is imbued with malestream knowledge production. Employing American Political Science Association (APSA) membership records, Maliniak et al. (2013, p. 894) demonstrate a gendered division of labour in IR, with men having a greater inclination to publish on security, US foreign policy and methods, whilst women are more likely to work on human rights, comparative foreign policy, health and the environment. Similarly, Hoagland et al. (2020) show that the security subfield of IR features even greater male-centrism than other IR subfields with security-specific journals demonstrating exhaustive resistance to publish articles authored by female authors. An analogous gendered pattern is also observed in the theoretical traditions studied by women and men, with the former employing constructivism and feminism more than men, who largely draw on the explanatory power of realism and liberalism (Maliniak et al., 2013, p. 894). Such a gendered division of labour is perpetuated by the long-standing exclusion of women from science and education and the codification of ‘high politics’ as a male domain in interstate relations. Gender differences in citation patterns can be considered the latest form of masculine hegemony. In their seminal study of citation bias in IR, Maliniak et al. (2013) illustrate that women are systematically cited less than men, regardless of their productivity, institutional affiliation, publication quality and epistemology. The citation gap diminishes when women co-author with men, pinpointing the persistent ‘Matilda effect’ in the discipline.

## II. Research Design and Data

### *Methods and Construction of a Representative Sample of EU–Turkey Studies*

We trace the evolution of malestream knowledge in EU–Turkey studies by incorporating *research synthesis* and *citation analysis* techniques. Research synthesis concerns the systematic, empirical review of the literature based on purposeful sampling, inquiry and (statistical) consolidation (Suri, 2011), thus having the potential to engender unbiased generalizations and critique about the state of EU–Turkey studies. Furthermore, we analyse the transformation of gendered citation patterns in EU–Turkey studies utilizing citation analysis. Citations facilitate one's recognition by the greater academic community and affect scholarly promotions (Maliniak et al., 2013). A citation count in favour of men thus exposes the communication networks of privilege that propel the perceived centrality of the malestream (Duriesmith, 2020).

With a view to generating two novel datasets for our citation analysis and research synthesis, we constructed a representative sample of the literature on EU–Turkey relations by attending to articles published in journals listed in the Web of Science's (WOS) SSCI. Our motivation to focus on SSCI-indexed journals is threefold. First, established journals possess a well-maintained archive in comparison with books (Bunea and Baumgartner, 2014), which is imperative for the systematic review of the literature and the prevailing citation

patterns. Second, SSCI journals usually have high citation counts and ability to influence the disciplinary agenda. Third, the reliance on SSCI allows us to compare our findings with existing work exploiting similar sampling strategies (e.g., Dion et al., 2020; Ferber, 1986; Maliniak et al., 2008, 2013). Our analysis encompasses articles from 1 January 1996 (succeeding the entry into force of the EU–Turkey Customs Union on 31 December 1995, which initially served as the overarching instrument to develop the bilateral relationship) to 31 December 2020.

A well-defined catalogue of authoritative journals publishing research on EU–Turkey affairs does not exist. Therefore, in order to eliminate the risk of excluding any major journal with a high number of publications on EU–Turkey relations, we pursued the purposeful sampling of cases that match specific, prearranged criteria (Suri, 2011). To identify the journals, we retrieved all SSCI journals in the fields of ‘Political Science’, ‘Area Studies’ and ‘International Relations’ from the WOS Journal Citation Reports given the strong intersection of EU/EU–Turkey studies with these disciplines (Jensen and Kristensen, 2013; Turhan and Reiners, 2021); this resulted in 297 journals. We then reviewed the overview/aim of each journal as provided on the respective homepage and excluded any journal that does not incorporate any reference to ‘Turkey’ and/or ‘EU/Europe’ in the respective section. Consequently, we surveyed each issue of the short-listed journals by searching the article’s title and abstract for a combination of the keywords ‘EU/Europe/European’ AND ‘Turkey/Turkish’.<sup>4</sup> Finally, we removed any article without a substantive focus on the relationship. Our strategy yielded a strongly representative sample comprising 300 peer-reviewed articles in 26 SSCI-indexed journals with impact factors ranging from 7.339 to 0.250 (see Appendix A).

### Data Collection and Coding

Our first dataset concerns the research synthesis of EU–Turkey studies. Drawing inspiration from Maliniak et al. (2013, 2020) and aiming at systematically explicating the gendered nature of the field, we coded our sample for the following categories:

- *Gender set-up of the authorship*: This variable was coded as all-female<sup>5</sup> (AF), all-male<sup>6</sup> (AM) or mixed-gender (MG). To identify the authors’ gender, we primarily looked at the pronouns used in the author bibliographies of the articles or on the department websites.<sup>7</sup>
- *Year of publication*: The publication year of a given article was coded by the year corresponding to the issue/number of the journal the article was published in.
- *Theoretical/conceptual approach*: We coded a given article for a respective theoretical/conceptual perspective based on the explicit declaration of its author(s). If the author(s) did not visibly declare any theoretical/conceptual approach, we coded the article as ‘atheoretical’. If an article compares or synthesizes two or more

<sup>4</sup>For two journals (*Uluslararası İlişkiler/International Relations* and *Bilig*) that publish in both English and Turkish, the search was conducted in two languages.

<sup>5</sup>Single- or co-authored articles written by female scholars.

<sup>6</sup>Single- or co-authored articles written by male scholars.

<sup>7</sup>For the key objectives of this study and in line with existing work (e.g., Dion et al., 2020; Maliniak et al., 2013), we were required to work with a binary understanding of gender. As stated by Frances et al. (2020), the impact of non-binary gender on gendered publication and citation patterns could be the subject of future research.

theoretical/conceptual lenses, we coded the study for the approach more prominently employed.

- *Issue area:* This variable concerns the main research topic each article substantively studies concerning EU–Turkey relations. It was coded inductively, resulting in 19 categories ranging from ‘democracy/human rights’ to ‘migration’. The dependent variables of the articles mostly moulded the issue areas. If an article deals with more than one topic, we coded the most prominent one.

With an eye to generating a second dataset for our citation analysis, we retrieved all bibliographic references from our representative sample of EU–Turkey studies. We coded the gender of the author(s) of the cited sources in a separate Excel file by classifying them into AF-, AM- and MG- authored sources for each of the 300 articles. In congruence with our aim to investigate the academic gender gap, we eliminated from bibliographic data primary sources, newspaper articles, reports, policy briefs and websites. These distinct Excel files were then synthesized in an across-the-board dataset, which comprises for each of the 300 sampled articles its publication year, gender set-up of its authorship catalogued as AF, AM or MG, and the number of AF, AM and MG sources it cites. Accordingly, we carried out a longitudinal analysis on a total of 8494 citations.

### III. Tracing Women's Epistemic Agency and Recognition: Mapping of EU–Turkey Studies

#### *Capturing the Epistemic Standpoint of Women Through Authorship Traits in EU–Turkey Studies*

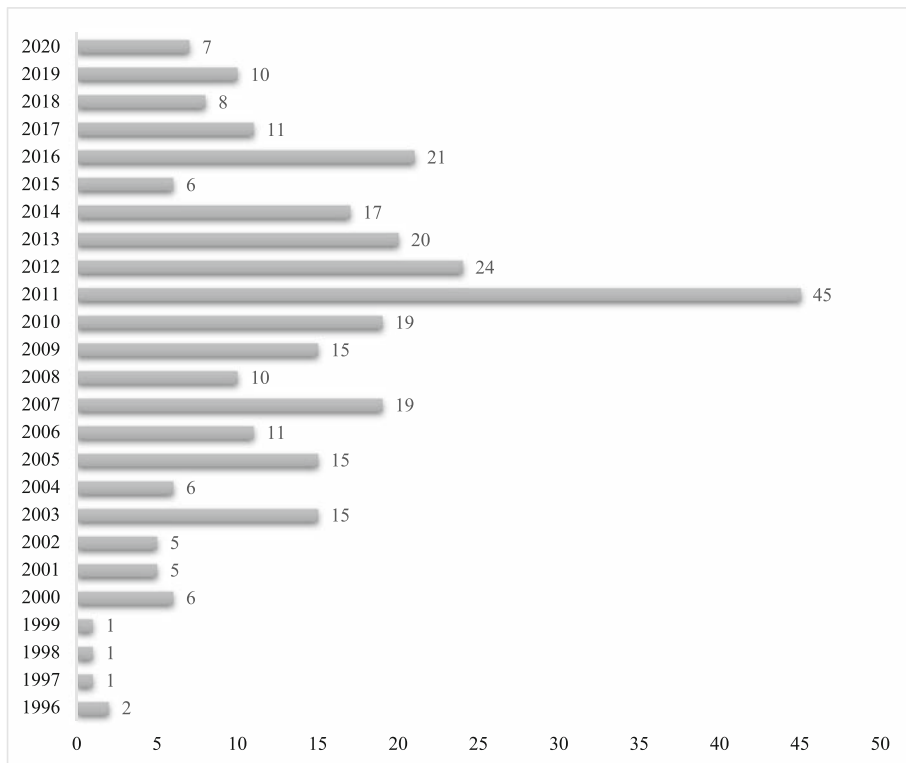
An exploration of authorship patterns in SSCI articles on EU–Turkey relations casts noteworthy light on the evolution of EU–Turkey studies as a distinct research field in general and on the shifts and continuities in its gendered features in particular. Figure 1 presents the number of articles published annually from 1996 to 2020. It shows that the boom in EU–Turkey studies has been largely triggered by key milestones promoting the ascent of co-operative trends in EU–Turkey relations, such as the confirmation of Turkey's candidacy and the launch of accession talks in 1999 and 2004, respectively. EU–Turkey studies manifestly entered a period of stagnation after 2016, coinciding with the rise of conflictual trends in bilateral relations (Reiners and Turhan, 2021; Saatçioğlu et al., 2019).

Figure 2 presents the distribution of authorship and different modes of co-authorship by gender, disclosing a noteworthy characteristic of the scholarship on EU–Turkey relations. Contrary to other (sub-)disciplines (see, e.g., Bunea and Baumgartner, 2014; Ferber, 1986; Mathews and Andersen, 2001), the gender gap in publishing appears to be narrower in EU–Turkey studies. Of the 300 articles, AM (single-male and multi-male)-authored articles constitute 47% of our sample and AF (single-female and multi-female)-authored work 38%. Overall, female scholars contributed to 53% of the articles (161)<sup>8</sup> in our dataset, whilst 62% of all articles (184) included at least one male author.<sup>9</sup> These numbers create optimism for integration of women's standpoint in the discipline;

<sup>8</sup> AF (single-female and multi-female)- and MG-authored sources.

<sup>9</sup> AM (single-male and multi-male)- and MG-authored sources.

Figure 1: Number of Articles on EU–Turkey Relations Published Per Year.

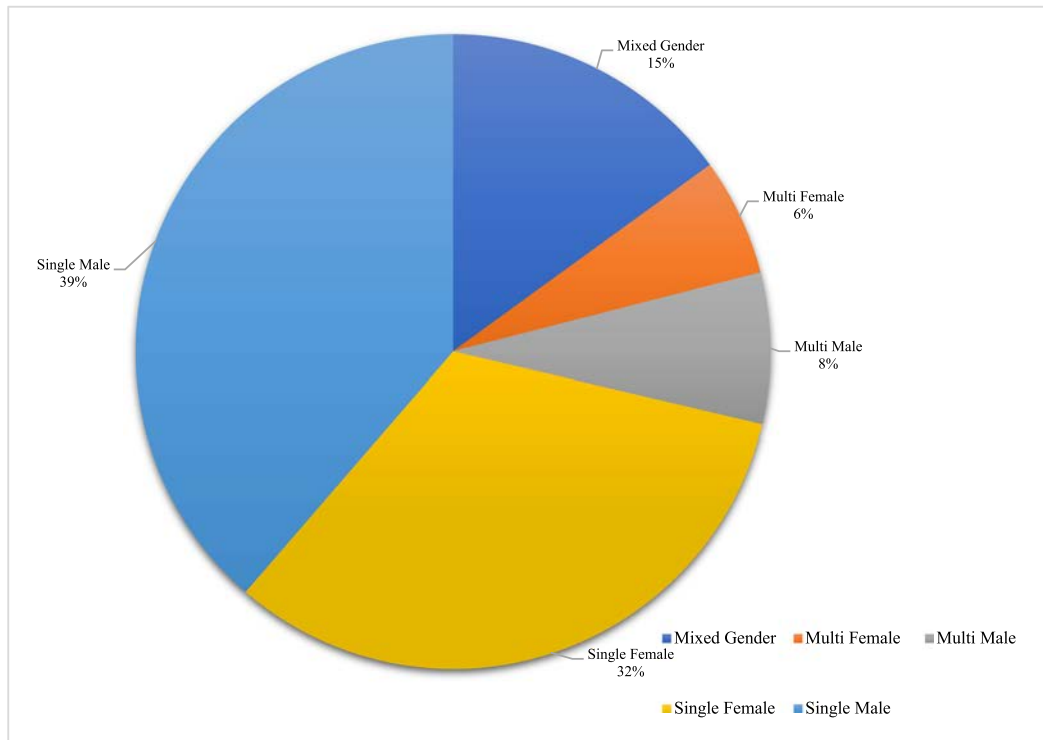


nevertheless, albeit small, the gender gap is in favour of male scholars in EU–Turkey studies, despite the descriptive overrepresentation of women scholars in the field.

Longitudinal analysis of our data illustrates an important trend: EU–Turkey studies progressively evolves as a field epitomized by a rising gender gap in publishing in favour of female scholars. As Figure 3 shows, from 2014 to 2020, the number of AF-authored sources consistently surpassed AM authorship, except for 2018 where they were equal. This may convey the impression that knowledge production on EU–Turkey relations has been less distorted by male-dominated ideology and more gender-neutral (Brooks, 2007; Jaggar, 2004). Nonetheless, our analysis of co-authorship and citation patterns and thematic preferences proves this wrong.

Figure 4 showcases discernible gender imbalances in favour of male authors in MG collaborations. Of the 45 MG-authored articles, female scholars appear as first authors in only 16 articles (36%). Male dominance in first authorships is clearly amplified when authors are not listed alphabetically. Of the 17 MG articles neglecting alphabetical alignment, only two (12%) had female first authors. Female scholars obtained first authorship in 13 of the 28 MG collaborations (46%) conforming to alphabetical aligning. This indicates that non-alphabetical author listings disadvantage women in terms of scholarly credit allocation. Thus, even though female authors have managed to begin to disrupt the gender

Figure 2: Distribution of Authorship by Gender. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]



disparity in terms of number of publications since 2014, Dion et al.'s (2020, p. 2) observation of a gendered hierarchy in co-authorships still holds in EU–Turkey studies.

### *Theoretical–Conceptual and Thematic Inclinations by Gender*

As diverse theories seize upon different facets of (world) politics, the study of the distribution of the theoretical/conceptual toolboxes utilized by gender helps us disclose female and male scholars' positionality concerning EU–Turkey relations. It further stimulates the elaboration on how greater incorporation of women's standpoint influences the diversification of the theories, concepts and themes covered in EU–Turkey studies.

Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of the theoretical/conceptual foci of the articles across genders. Reminiscent of Maliniak et al. (2013, p. 894), our data demonstrate that AM authorship bears a greater inclination towards an atheoretical exploration of EU–Turkey relations compared with AF-authored sources. Whereas only 38% of AF-authored articles lack a theoretical/conceptual framing, atheoretical empiricism comes into view in 68% of publications written solely by male authors. MG authorship falls somewhere in-between, with 56% of MG-authored articles taking on atheoretical designs.

As Figure 5 shows, both men and women strongly lean towards mainstream theories/concepts of European integration such as (neo-)functionalism, intergovernmentalism,

Figure 3: Number of All-Female, All-Male and Mixed-Gender Authorship Per Year. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]

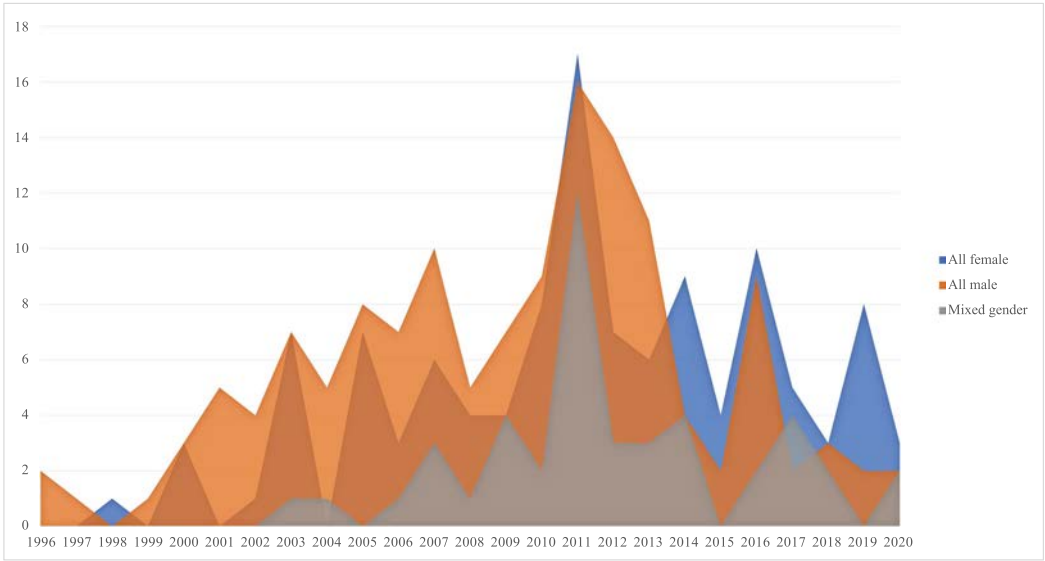
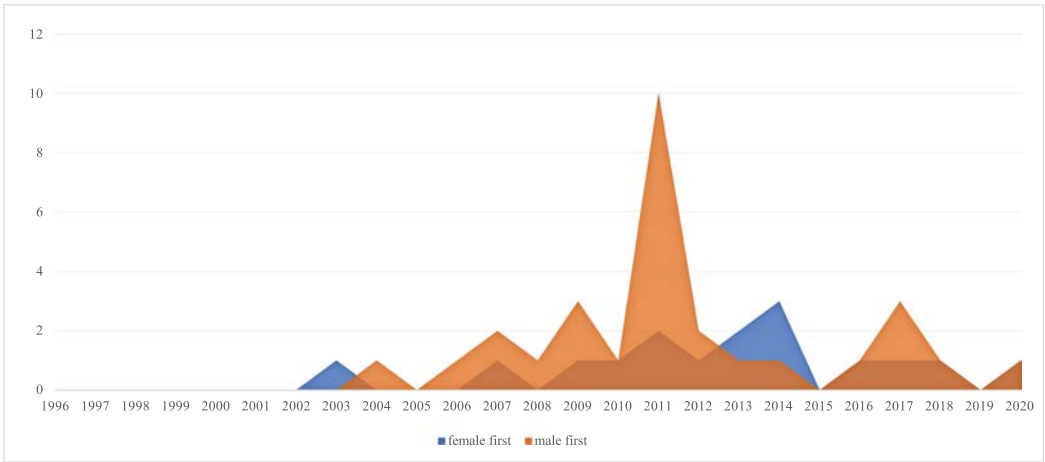
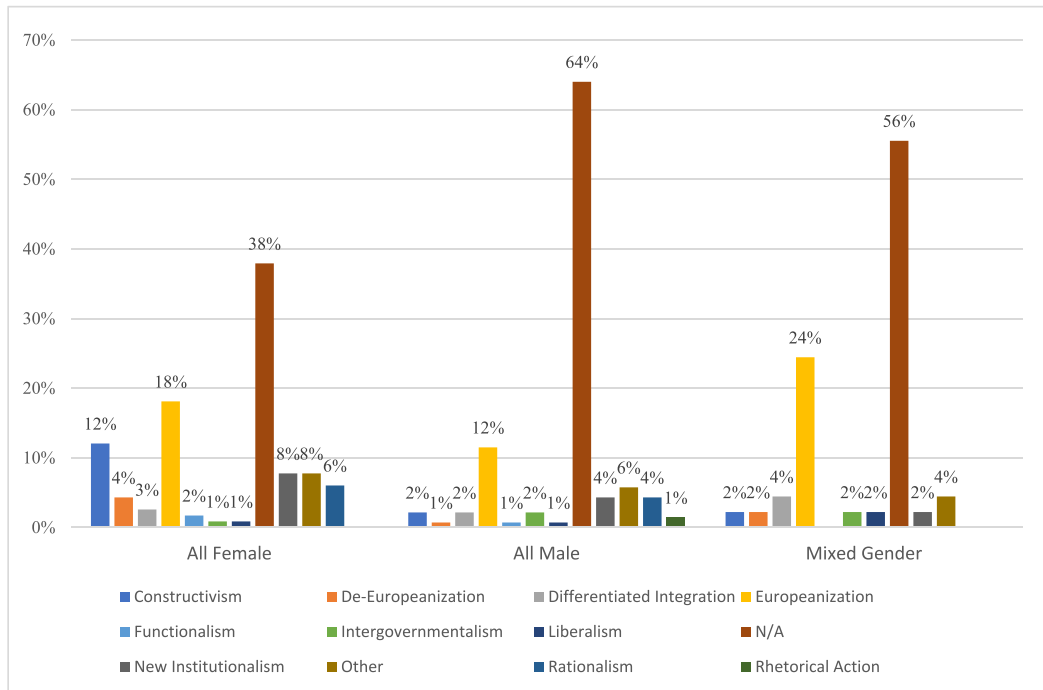


Figure 4: First Authorship by Gender in Mixed-Gender Collaborations. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]



variants of new institutionalism and Europeanization, which mostly treat the EU as a state-like political system (Manners and Whitman, 2016, p. 3) and downplay the way norms and values embedded in institutions shape power asymmetries amongst institutional levels and actors (Kronsell, 2005, p. 1036). Hence, they largely overlook the explanatory power of critical insights like sociological perspectives, gender approaches,

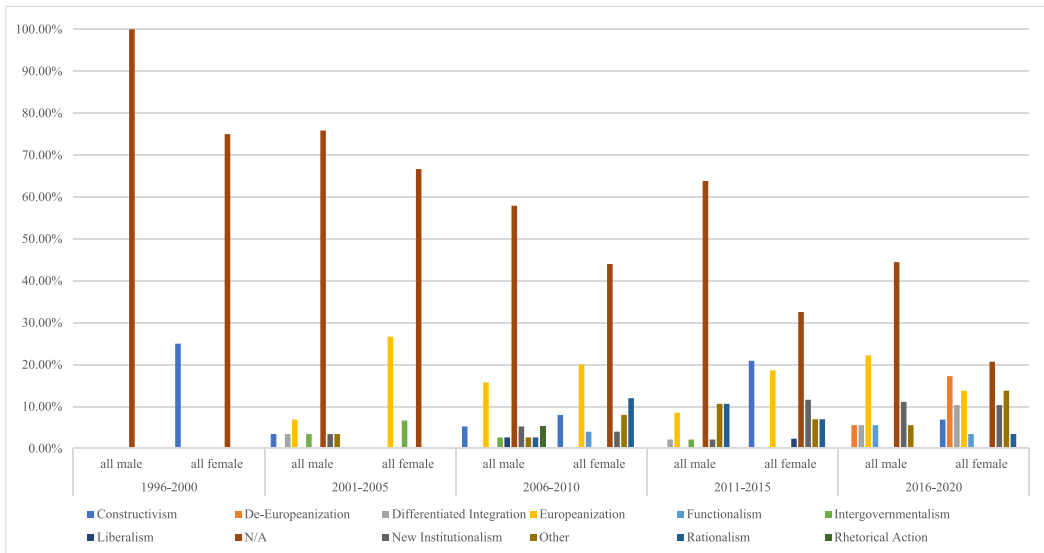
Figure 5: The Distribution of the Theoretical/Conceptual Foci of the Sampled Articles Across Genders. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcms.13534)]



postcolonialism and critical geopolitics. Within the mainstream camp, theoretically informed articles predominantly exploit the concept of (de-)Europeanization, which appears in 26% of MG-, 22% of AF- and 13% of AM-authored sources, followed by new institutionalism(s), employed in 8% of AF-, 4% of AM- and 2% of MG-authored articles. Our analysis also explicates the growing trend towards embedding the concept of differentiated integration into theoretical discussions on EU–Turkey relations by both men and women.

In EU–Turkey studies, female scholars (12% of AF sources) tend to rely on constructivist approaches more heavily compared with male authors (2% of AM sources). Akin to European studies (Rosamond, 2007), these constructivist accounts generally build upon reflectivist takes rather than the American Political Science-influenced constructivism by delving into representations of European and Turkish identities through discursive means (e.g., Aydın-Düzgüt, 2013). The popularity of constructivist variants amongst women could be attributed to their recognition of constitutive effects of social structures on individual identities, bringing them into proximity with gender theories (Lombardo, 2016). By doing so, female authors contribute to the subsistence of ‘dissident voices’ (Manners and Whitman, 2016) in EU–Turkey studies. Albeit exceedingly rare, other critical approaches like postcolonialism (one MG article) and social identity theory (one AM article) are also utilized in our sample.

Figure 6: Evolution of the Theoretical/Conceptual Inclination of All-Male and All-Female Authorship. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcms.13334)]

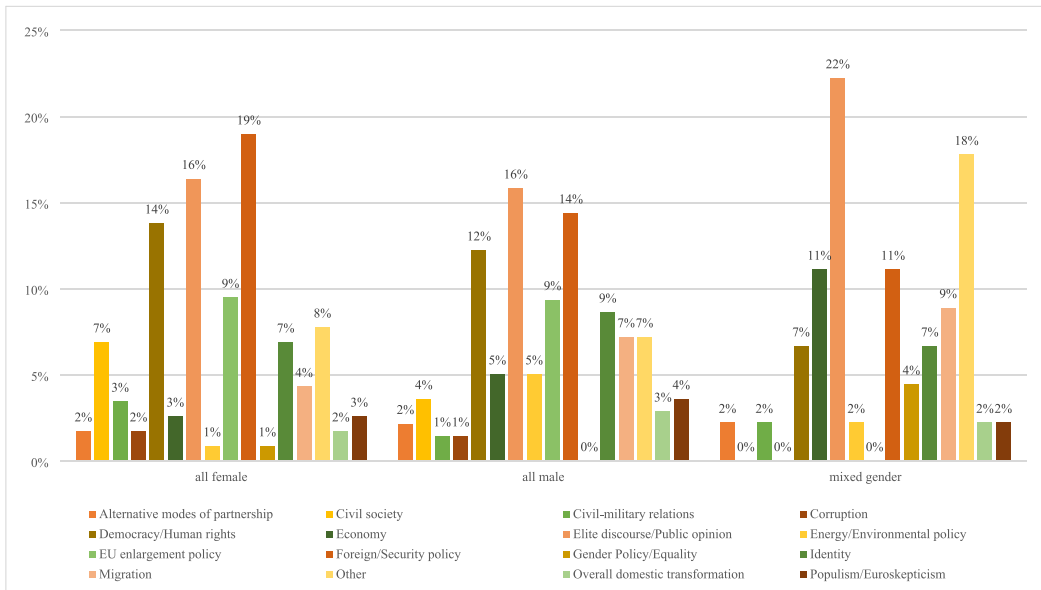


Importantly, high levels of female representation (and overrepresentation from 2014 onwards) in publishing have not yet led to the proliferation of women's standpoints in the study of EU–Turkey relations. None of the 300 sampled articles utilizes feminist theorizing in EU–Turkey studies. Contrasting with the fundamental assertions of the feminist standpoint approach, the existing literature on EU–Turkey relations fails to encapsulate the power differentials that underpin the said relations, and the varying impacts of policies and practices, such as migration, human rights and security, on women and other intersecting identities, such as ethnicity, race and class.

Figure 6 exemplifies the growing trend towards theoretical/conceptual proliferation with the proportion of atheoretical articles in both AF- and AM-authored publications gradually decreasing. Yet, we observe that 44% of articles written solely by male scholars in the most recent period from 2016 to 2020 still lack a theoretical grounding, as opposed to 21% of AF-authored work. An in-depth exploration of the female scholarship's motivations for theoretical/conceptual disposition can be subject of future research benefiting from evidentiary material like interviews. However, a plausible explanation might be the aspiration of women to get their work published in SSCI journals through solidifying their theoretical level of analysis. It thus seems that female scholars feel a need to be more innovative to be published and cited just like they take on more administrative duties than men to get recognition at the workplace (Maliniak et al., 2008; Mathews and Andersen, 2001).

Regarding the distribution of the main topics studied in the articles across genders, Figure 7 illustrates the manifestation of the profound focus on 'foreign/security policy', 'elite discourse/public opinion' and 'democracy/human rights', by both men and women. Amongst the AF-authored articles, the top three most popular research areas are foreign/security policy (19%), elite discourse/public opinion (16%) and democracy/human rights

Figure 7: The Distribution of the Main Issue Areas in EU–Turkey Studies Across Genders. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcms.13534)]



(14%). Similarly, articles solely authored by male scholars predominantly circumscribe their analysis to elite discourse/public opinion (16%), foreign/security policy (14%) and democracy/human rights (12%).

That a higher percentage of articles exploring the foreign/security policy dimension of EU–Turkey relations are written by female than by male scholars represents a finding that runs counter to previous work (e.g., Hoagland et al., 2020; Maliniak et al., 2008, 2013; Mathews and Andersen, 2001). The popularity of foreign and security policy amongst both male and female authors can be related to its prevalence for the EU–Turkey agenda, which often displays asymmetrical interdependencies in favour of Turkey (Müftüler-Baç, 2022). At the same time, our data demonstrate that in other issue areas, a gendered division of labour follows a pattern akin to the findings of previous work. A larger fraction of AF-authored articles than AM articles focuses on democracy/human rights (+2%), civil society (+3%), corruption (+1%) and gender (+1%). Gendered division of labour also persisted in other issue areas as a higher proportion of articles solely authored by men focused on the economy (+2%), energy/environmental policy (+4%)<sup>10</sup> and migration (+3%).

Our data showcase an important challenge for the evolution of the field from the perspective of feminist standpoint theory. In both AF- and AM-authored articles, we observe the discernible subordination of topics that take into consideration the social fabric of EU–Turkey relations, such as the consequences of the bilateral relationship for social hierarchies and for traditionally marginalized groups. In Figure 7, we notice that, of the 139

<sup>10</sup>Five of the nine articles rated as publications dealing with ‘energy/environmental policy’ substantially focus on energy issues.

articles authored exclusively by men, only one article focuses on ‘higher education’, two on ‘corruption’ and five on the ‘civil society’ dimensions of the EU–Turkey relationship, and no article at all on gender equality. Likewise, of the 116 articles written exclusively by women, one article deals with ‘higher education’, eight articles deal with ‘civil society’ and only one article studies ‘gender equality/policies’. ‘Gender equality/policies’ are studied in the context of EU–Turkey affairs by two MG-authored publications. Overall, our sample includes three articles with a central focus on gender. Whilst this may seem unanticipated given the rich and growing body of literature on gender equality and women’s rights in Turkey, we notice that these issues have been studied detached from EU–Turkey relations and as part of domestic developments concerning inter alia, higher education, labour and social policies, and migration, as well as the Justice and Development Party’s conservative policies.

One might interpret our finding as an outcome of selecting only journals in the fields of Political Science, IR and Area Studies and excluding those in Sociology, Education and Gender Studies. Yet, during our initial cross-check, we came across an exceedingly limited number of articles applying feminist theory or incorporating gender concerns in EU–Turkey affairs even in more critical SSCI journals relating to the latter disciplines, with most of these articles having been published in the *Women’s Studies International Forum* (see, e.g., Dedeoglu, 2013).<sup>11</sup> Whilst purposeful sampling helped us identify journals with a strong focus on European/Turkish studies that generally belong to the mainstream camp (see for categorization, Jensen and Kristensen, 2013), claiming a knowledge production that is not distorted by Eurocentric and malestream ideology also requires Political Science-centred, mainstream journals to cover every aspect of politics, policy and polity. The expansion of the scope of mainstream journals with a view to embracing dissident voices and perspectives including those of women and other marginalized groups would open up the field to new directions. It would facilitate the emergence of a more diverse scholarship better equipped to address a broader set of interests (see also Guerrina et al., 2018), offer a deeper understanding of the ‘diverse universe’ of EU–Turkey affairs and encourage gender-sensitive policies.

Thematic mainstreaming in EU–Turkey studies may have prevented the marginalization of female scholarship by providing a pathway to mainstream journals that habitually consider humanistic subjects as niche (Duriesmith, 2020). At the same time, women’s standpoints are consequently integrated in a tokenistic way, failing to generate a holistic understanding of the broader socio-economic structures in which EU–Turkey relations evolve and synchronously reproduce different social hierarchies.

### *Gendered Citation Patterns in EU–Turkey Studies*

Even though the gender gap in publishing is only slightly in favour of male scholars, citation analysis reveals a more complicated picture that confirms tokenistic addition of women’s standpoint into the field (see Phull et al., 2019). Our citation analysis comprised a total of 8494 citations, drawing on the bibliographic references of the 300 articles included in our sample. In the sampled bibliographies, AM-authored sources received

<sup>11</sup>We did not find any articles in more critical journals such as *Security Dialogue* and the *International Feminist Journal of Politics* tackling gender within this specific context. We also identified only a very limited number of articles on gender and women in EU–Turkey relations in non-SSCI journals (e.g., Kazanoğlu, 2019).

66% (5636) of all citations, whereas only 23% (1954) of all references were related to AF-authored work. MG-authored sources obtained 11% (904) of all citations produced by the sampled articles. Our data showcase that the proportion of citations received by AF-authored publications is profoundly beneath the proportion of AF publications in EU–Turkey studies (38%). Thus, EU–Turkey studies features a strong gender gap in citations in favour of male authors resembling the findings of previous research on various disciplines or subfields (e.g., Bunea and Baumgartner, 2014; Dion et al., 2018; Ferber, 1986).

Figure 8 discloses a (fairly) consistent upward trend in the share of AF citations in total citations. From 1996 to 2002, AF-authored sources garnered on average only around 15% of total citations produced by the sampled publications. The gender disparity in citations started to narrow gradually, and more incrementally, from 2013 onwards, with the proportion of AF citations increasing from 24% in 2013 to 34% in 2020. Our analysis confirms previous evidence that an increase in the female authorship (see Figure 4) engenders a decline in citation gap (Ferber, 1986, 1988). Nonetheless, the disruption of gender disparity in publishing has yet to culminate in a proportional decrease in the citation gap. The persistence of a visibly higher proportion of citations devoted to AM work throughout the late 2010s, notwithstanding the overrepresentation of female scholar's publishing in the sampled journals, suggests the persistence of the 'Matilda effect' by which 'research done by women tends to be overlooked in favour of that of men' (Lincoln et al., 2012, p. 313).

The 'Matilda effect' becomes even more discernible when we look at who cites whom. Figure 9 shows the percentages of citations arranged by the gender of citing and cited

Figure 8: Cited Sources by Gender (%). Notes: AF, all-female; AM, all-male; MG, mixed-gender. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcms.13334)]

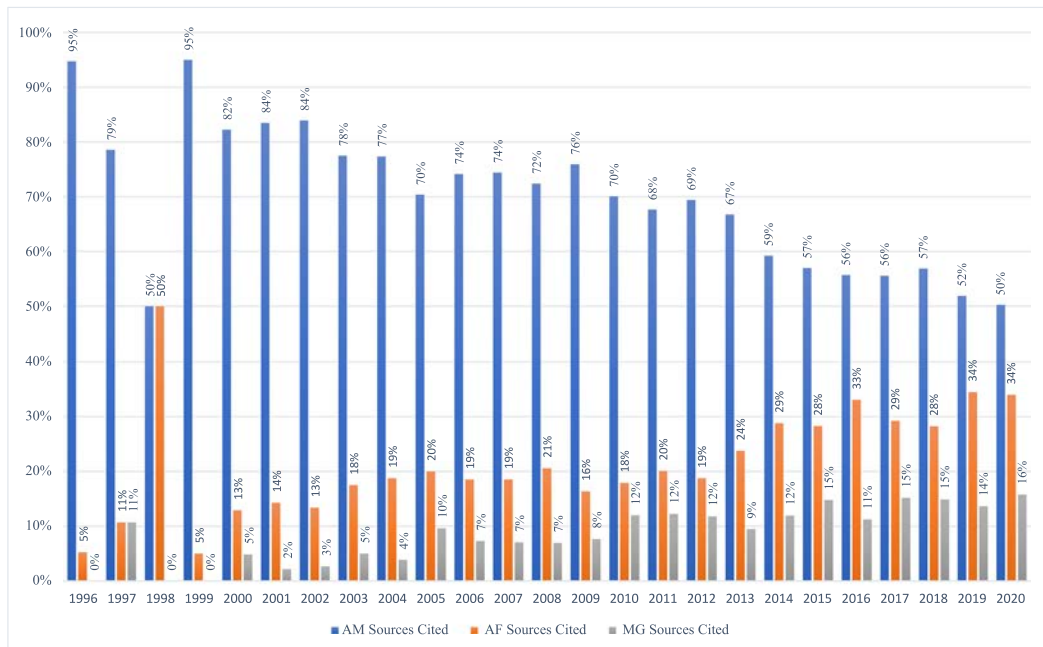
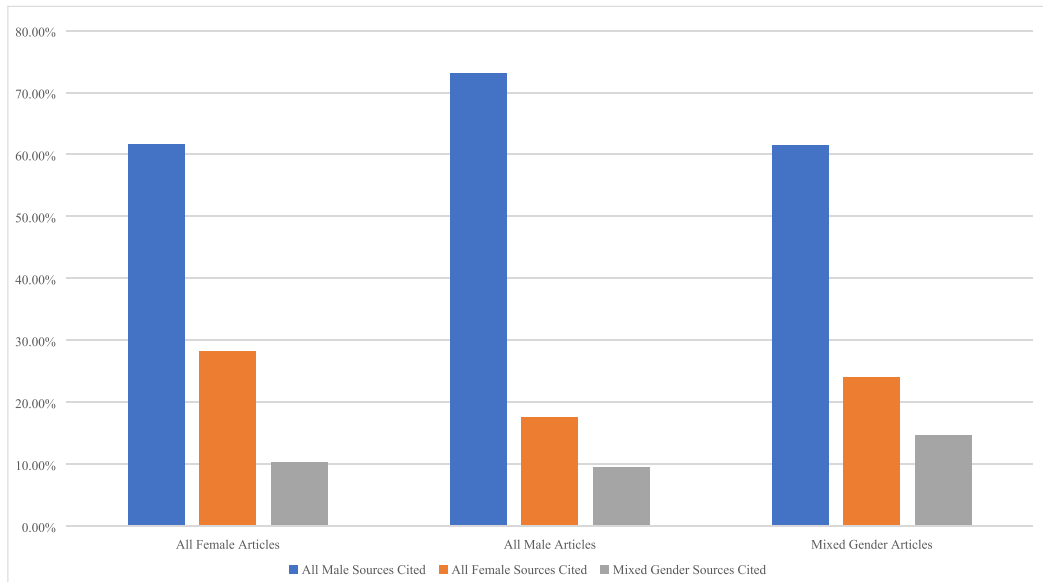


Figure 9: The Percentages of Citations Arranged by the Gender of Citing and Cited Authors. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcms.13314)]

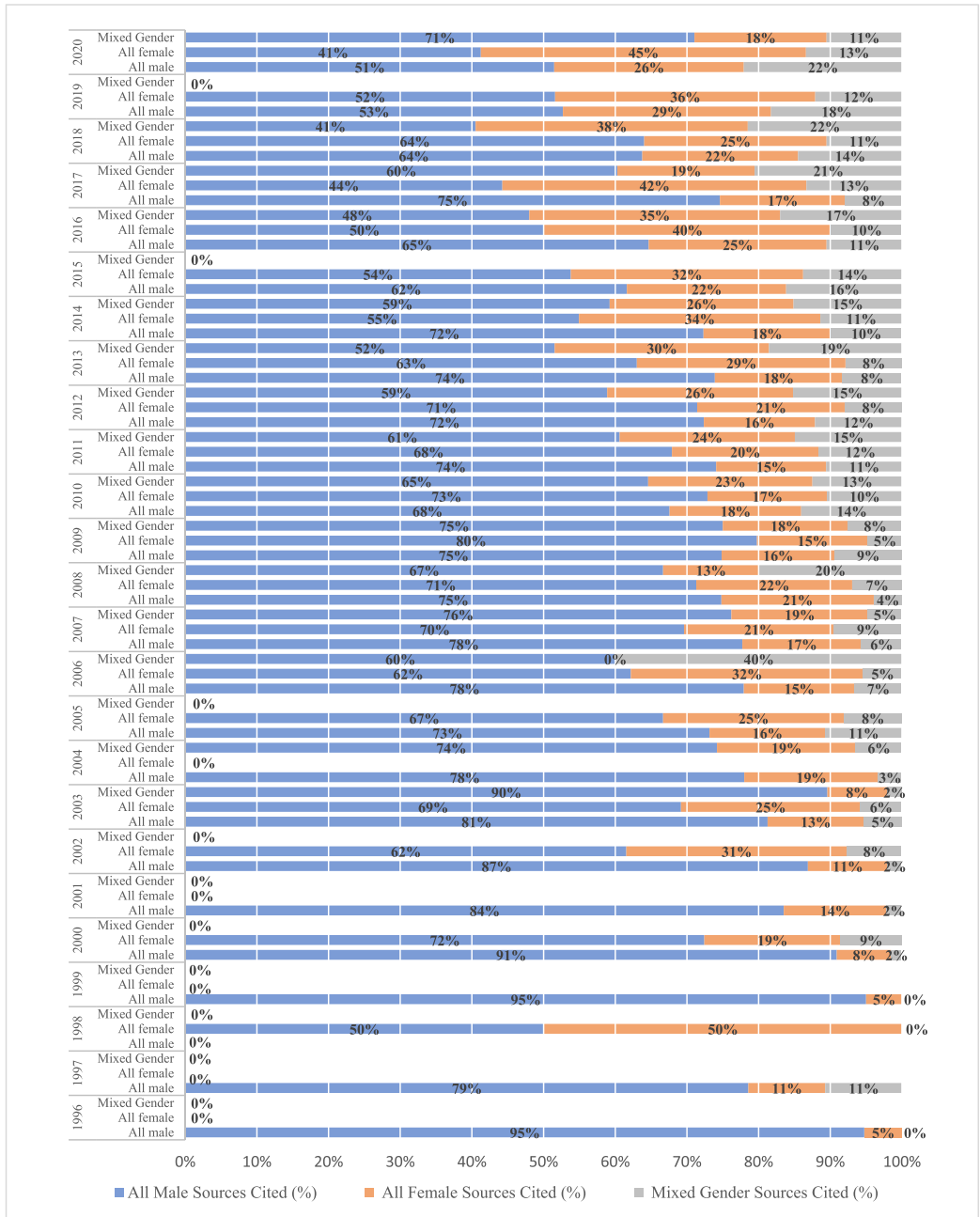


authors. In AF-authored articles, AM sources garnered 62% of the citations whereas AF sources received only 28%. Whilst 73% of the citations in the AM-authored articles concerned AM-authored sources, citations related to AF- and MG-authored publications constituted only 18% and 9% of the total citations included in AM sources, respectively.

Our data demonstrate two important traits of gendered citation patterns in EU–Turkey studies. First, malestream knowledge production in the field has been driven not only by male scholars but also by the citing behaviour of female authors. Our findings confirm Dion et al.’s (2018, p. 316) assertion concerning a persisting Matilda effect in disciplines with higher female populations and authorship as ‘men’s research may still be treated as the most central or important research in those areas’. At the same time, we notice that women play a central role in the reduction of the citation gap in the field as scholars have been more inclined to cite work by authors of the same gender (see also Dion et al., 2018; Ferber, 1986, 1988; Maliniak et al., 2013). Overall, articles authored by women generated 50% of all citations devoted to AF-authored work, whereas MG- and AM-authored articles contributed to around 32% and 18% of all AF citations, respectively.

Figure 10 offers an annual overview of the percentages of citations arranged by gender of citing and cited authors, providing us with further clues for understanding the enduring gender gap in citations. We see that there is a gradual increase in AF citations in female-authored (single- and co-authored) articles. Whilst from 2007 to 2013, AF citations constituted on average 21% of all citations in AF-authored work, this proportion rose to 37% for the 2014–2020 period, pointing to a 76% increase. The disruption of gendered citation practices amongst male authors took affect at a remarkably slower pace and followed a less consistent pattern. The average proportion of AF citations in AM-authored articles

Figure 10: The Percentages of Citations Arranged by Gender of Citing and Cited Authors Per Year. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]



rose from 17% during 2007–2013 to 23% in the most recent period from 2014 to 2020, amounting to a 35% growth. In 2020, the final year under scrutiny in our study, AF citations comprised 45% of the citations engendered by AF-authored articles, whereas only 22% of citations specified in AM-authored articles were from AF-authored publications.

These results indicate that even though malestream analysis perseveres in both female and male work on EU–Turkey relations, male scholars demonstrate greater resistance to citing female scholars, showcasing the effective neglect of the feminist standpoint by men. They expose the perpetual male-bias in citations and signal the presence of “old boys” [citation] networks’ (Ferber, 1988, p. 86).

## Conclusions and Discussion: The Gendered Terrain of EU–Turkey Studies and its Implications

This article contributed to a growing body of literature employing journal-based analyses in IR and European studies that report a consistent gender problem in authorship, review processes and citation patterns. It focused on EU–Turkey studies, which initially strikes one as a least likely case driven by malestream knowledge due to the overrepresentation of women in the field and its feminine image. Our analysis revealed three important findings about gendered practices of knowledge production in EU–Turkey studies.

First, albeit by a small margin, men outnumber women in the field. This contradicts our preliminary proposition and suggests that gender biases and hierarchies persist in the field, despite its perceived femininity. This may be indicative of broader gender inequalities in academia, where male scholars are still afforded more opportunities and recognition than their female counterparts, even in fields that are associated with women. Gendered authorship hierarchies reveal themselves particularly detectable in MG collaborations, where women have proven to be less likely to become first authors. However, we also observe that female academics could make themselves progressively more visible in the field, having consistently surpassed the extent of male authorship from 2014 to 2020.

Second, it has been women who primarily ensured the endurance of normative and critical theorizing (e.g., by utilizing discursive and reflectivist variants of constructivism), which attend to further questions deciphering practices of marginalization and the power hierarchies underpinning the bilateral relationship. They largely contributed to theoretical–conceptual proliferation and sophistication in the field, with male scholars having been more inclined to publish atheoretical articles. Yet, despite progressively increasing female authorship, none of the sampled articles employs feminist theory to scrutinize EU–Turkey relations, and an extremely limited number of articles focus on gender. Contrarily, we notice that women have gained even greater visibility than their male counterparts in traditionally male-dominated subject areas such as foreign and security policy. Likewise, empirical analyses devoted to cultural and social issues primarily affecting women such as gender-based violence, women’s rights, reproductive health, access to education and the gender pay gap are largely overlooked. The literature covers these issues primarily detached from EU–Turkey affairs even though they concern some of the critical policy areas of the EU–Turkey bilateral agenda. Yet, it is crucial to underscore the enduring gendered structures and informal norms within academia that might have compelled women to deliver mainstream scholarship to navigate and sustain their scholarly presence.

Third, our analysis of citation patterns discloses a strong gender gap in favour of male authors, contradicting our initial assumption. The transfer of women's standpoint to the field has remained limited because both men and women tend to cite AM-authored sources. This also reinforces the findings of previous work (Duriesmith, 2020), highlighting the perpetuation of malestream Eurocentrism by female scholars' citation patterns. Still, with the rise of women's authorship, the tendency to cite women has increased, thus generating strong potential for integrating women's standpoint to cover the entirety of EU–Turkey relations. However, it is crucial to exercise caution as such positive outcomes often necessitate the cultivation of epistemic virtues and the eradication of unconscious biases, regardless of gender, amongst scholars. For instance, Türkeş-Kılıç (2020), a female scholar, cited an equal number of AM and AF sources in our sample. In private correspondence, she revealed that she has been particularly attentive to this issue.

Altogether, our findings substantiate the claim that the descriptive representation of women did not lead to greater incorporation of women's standpoint in EU–Turkey studies. Gendered publication and citation patterns have important ramifications going beyond the advancement of the field itself. As feminist standpoint theory argues and our findings suggest, women's lived experiences provide a unique perspective, enabling them to embed theoretical innovation and sophistication to their scholarship, ultimately advancing the field. Therefore, the gendered terrain of EU–Turkey studies induces the exclusion of alternative viewpoints and bears significant implications for the field's theoretical sophistication, innovation and thematic inclusivity, resulting in an impoverishment of its potential to promote positive social change. Furthermore, given the broad range of interaction between academic and policy communities coupled with male-dominated political environments, women's priorities and interests have a diminished chance of being translated into policy-making in gendered disciplinary landscapes. This may result in unintended policy outcomes that exclude the interests and concerns of half of the population and further perpetuate gender inequalities.

The rising visibility of women's authorship after 2014 and its impact on higher citation of women's work create optimism that knowledge on the EU–Turkey relationship will gradually become less distorted by male-dominated ideology. In fact, some significant work on gender has been published in the context of EU–Turkey affairs following the completion of data collection (e.g., Bodur Ün and Arıkan, 2022; Kancı et al., 2023; Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm and Cin, 2021). However, cautious optimism is warranted given the rise of anti-gender politics in Turkey, culminating in Ankara's withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention in 2021. The disciplinary integration of women's standpoint is likely to encounter considerable resistance until anti-genderism in Turkish politics is reversed.

Furthermore, certain vigilance may also be needed concerning the potentiality of steadily increasing descriptive overrepresentation of female scholars in the field, recalling the literature on occupational feminization, which underlines that 'the value assigned to work in different occupations depends on the social characteristics of the occupations' incumbents' (Levanon et al., 2009, p. 868). Occupational stereotypes labelling a line of work as masculine or feminine then interact with cultural norms that ascribe less economic value to the work done by women (Busch, 2018). Such stereotyping already exists concerning European studies in Turkey, as indicated by Aslantepe's tweet cited in our introduction. In other words, feminization of EU–Turkey studies bears some potential for

its devaluation, propelling further marginalization of women's standpoint that may be the subject of future research.

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## Appendix A: The Sampled List of SSCI Journals With Articles on EU–Turkey Relations (1996–2020)

<i>Rank (according to journal IF, December 2020)</i>	<i>Full journal title</i>	<i>Number of articles</i>
1	<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	2
2	<i>JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	16
3	<i>West European Politics</i>	3
4	<i>South European Society and Politics</i>	42
5	<i>Cooperation and Conflict</i>	3
6	<i>European Union Politics</i>	4
7	<i>Democratization</i>	1
8	<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	1
9	<i>Mediterranean Politics</i>	18
10	<i>Eurasian Geography and Economics</i>	5
11	<i>German Politics</i>	1
12	<i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>	2
13	<i>Comparative European Politics</i>	10
14	<i>European Security</i>	1
15	<i>Asia Europe Journal</i>	1
16	<i>European Political Science</i>	1
17	<i>Turkish Studies</i>	67
18	<i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>	27
19	<i>Journal of European Integration</i>	9
20	<i>East European Politics and Societies</i>	1
21	<i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i>	19
22	<i>Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies</i>	35
23	<i>Middle Eastern Studies</i>	8
24	<i>European Review</i>	6
25	<i>Uluslararası İlişkiler/International Relations</i>	15
26	<i>Bilig</i>	2