A Citation Analysis of The 
WAC Journal, 1989-2022

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The call for this special issue of The WAC Journal asks us to consider how “we might transform the ways we do WAC [writing across the curriculum] and with and for whom.” This article is an attempt to understand those questions by analyzing citations in the journal throughout volumes 1 to 33, 1989 to 2022. We found that 90% of all citations occur only once, and that no marginalized or multiply marginalized scholars are among the authors most frequently cited. Furthermore, critiques of WAC practices or purpose, including those published in The WAC Journal, are rarely cited, if at all. Understanding the history of citation practices in The WAC Journal as narrow and exclusionary is essential if we hope to transform writing across the curriculum from a set of tidy, reproducible educational practices to a way of reimagining WAC scholarship and pedagogy with a focus on inclusiveness.

Introduction

The call for this Special Section of The WAC Journal asks us to consider how “we might transform the ways we do WAC and with and for whom” (Elder 2022). This article is an attempt to answer those questions by analyzing the cited sources in The WAC Journal itself throughout volumes 1 to 33, 1989 to 2022. Inquiry into citation practices in The WAC Journal offers an opportunity to think about “the ways we do WAC [in The WAC Journal]” and, in particular, “with . . . whom.” We are particularly interested in how citation practices over the journal’s history speak to—or contradict—the journal’s current mission statement: “We aim to publish work that explores the multiple theoretical paradigms, diverse approaches, and potential intersections between writing across the curriculum and topics of feminism, technology, and inclusion.” The WAC Journal is hosted online by the WAC Clearinghouse, whose “Invitation to Contribute Scholarly Work” says, “We subscribe to and endorse the statement and guidelines on Anti-Racist Scholarly Reviewing Practices that can be found at https://tinyurl.com/reviewheuristic.”
To consider the mission statement of the journal in relation to this citation analysis of it, we turn to Section 5 of the heuristic, which calls upon “editors, reviewers, and authors . . . [to] recognize a range of expertise and encourage citation practices that represent diverse canons, epistemological foundations, and ways of knowing” (Anti-racist scholarly reviewing practices 2021, p. 7). Section 5 also points out that “we form communities of practice/discourse communities in how we cite, excluding and including particular ways of knowing. We give particular ideas power and visibility by who gets cited. We decide whose work matters, who should be tenured and promoted, who belongs” (p. 7). Given these realities of power and authority, the contributors of the heuristic pose questions for writers, readers, reviewers, and editors to engage in anti-racist work. They ask, “What would a system of inclusivity, rather than gatekeeping and disciplining, look like?” (p. 3).

We note that the call for this special issue of The WAC Journal, specifically the question of “the ways we do WAC and with and for whom,” takes up issues of “inclusivity,” “gatekeeping,” and “disciplining.” Citation practices speak to the ideas of with and for whom, as well as their converse: Who is excluded from WAC? Which readers do not see themselves in the pages of the journal? What experiences and knowledges are not represented by those cited?

Citations represent a type of collective knowledge-making, a “conversation” about ideas or what Allen et al. (1994) describe as the “persuasive community” (p. 279) of academic discourse, drawing on what has come before to point to a particular disciplinary future. When we cite sources in published works, we signal to readers the foundation for our ideas; we also draw boundaries based on what and whom we include, and what we leave out and why (Ahmed, 2013; Conference on College Composition & Communication [CCCC], 2022; Jones, 2021; Moore et al., 2021; Tuck et al., 2017).

The social action of citation practices—as a way of creating knowledge in a field—is never neutral, of course. Tuck, et al. (2017) describe the often exclusionary practices of citation: “We often cite those who are more famous, even if their contributions appropriate subaltern ways of knowing. We also often cite those who frame problems in ways that speak against us. . . . Our practices persist without consideration of the politics of linking projects to the same tired reference lists.” Citation, then, is a political practice.

The question of who and what is included or excluded in citation practices in The WAC Journal—and the long history of the absence of marginalized and multiply marginalized scholars in most reference lists—is key to our present moment, particularly as writing across the curriculum might fulfill its role as not merely a set of tidy, reproducible educational practices (e.g., writing-process pedagogy) but also a way of reimagining scholarship and pedagogy as an inclusive (or exclusive) practice.
While citation practices might be perceived as a small part of this work, Itchuaqiyaq and Frith (2022) argue that citations provide “essential discursive infrastructure” (p. 10) upon which knowledge is built, and that citation practices have the potential “as a site of resistance and radical pedagogy” (p. 13). Drawing on the example of the Multiply Marginalized and Underrepresented (MMU) Scholar Database, these authors encourage us to think about the multiple effects of citations:

We argue citational practices are infrastructural because they are the base upon which research is built; they are the layers or work that becomes buried at the ends of articles and sentences and shape the arguments that are the more typical primary object of analysis. . . . The discursive infrastructure built through citational practices are built upon the pedagogies we are taught, reproducing limited types of knowledge across generations of scholars. (pp. 12-13)

Our overarching question is, then, what do the citation practices of the entire history of The WAC Journal tell us about what is infrastructural in writing across the curriculum, its politics of citation, and its practices of inclusion or exclusion? We investigate these questions by examining the citation practices in The WAC Journal from volume 1 in 1989 (when it began as an “in-house” publication for articles written by faculty and edited by the WAC Committee at Plymouth State College (PSC) in New Hampshire) to volume 33 in 2022 and its present status as a peer-reviewed, open-access, independent journal published online by the WAC Clearinghouse and in print by Parlor Press.

Here, in brief (developed in full later in this article), is what we learned from our research:

• Ninety percent of the citations appearing in The WAC Journal occur just once. Another 6% are cited only twice. Thus, only 4% of all citations occur three or more times, indicating either a far-ranging scholarship with few points of overlap or a disparate field with little shared knowledge.
• The most frequently cited source is John Bean’s three editions of Engaging Ideas (the last coauthored with Daniel Melzer), a text often used as a how-to for faculty across the disciplines teaching with writing.
• The knowledge that forms the “infrastructure” of WAC, as represented in recurring citations in The WAC Journal, is most often provided by white scholars and practitioners, most of whom are male and have been publishing for more than thirty years.
• Critiques of WAC, its practices, or its purpose—including those published in The WAC Journal—are rarely cited, if at all.
The two of us, who both identify as white and monolingual, have taught the texts of the most frequently cited authors, cited these authors’ texts in our own writing, and shared these authors’ texts with faculty across the disciplines. We say this to note that we mean no disrespect to the authors most cited across *The WAC Journal*’s publishing history. But we have taken this opportunity to think about who and what are not among the most cited—as well as who and what are not cited at all—in the pages of *The WAC Journal*.

**A Brief History of The WAC Journal**

As context for our citation analysis of *The WAC Journal*, we offer a brief overview of the publishing history of the journal as described within the journal itself. Personal remembrances may differ from or fill out this history, but we trace the evolution of the journal and its mission and goals, editors, and review board through the online archives of the journal’s issues (*The WAC Journal*).

*The WAC Journal* began in June 1989 as the *PSC (Plymouth State College) Journal on Writing Across the Curriculum*. The preface of the first issue notes, “The motivation to publish *The PSC Journal on Writing Across the Curriculum* came last June during a ‘second-phase’ faculty-training workshop led by Toby Fulwiler, Writing Coordinator at the University of Vermont. As faculty participants shared writing activities from their courses, Toby Fulwiler kept repeating, ‘Write an article. Let others know what you are doing’” (Hinman 1989, p. iii). Afterward, as the preface describes, the PSC Writing Task Force “decided to create this journal as a forum where faculty and students could share ideas and practical suggestions for using Writing Across the Curriculum techniques” (Hinman 1989, p. iii). The second volume of the *PSC Journal on Writing Across the Curriculum*, published just over a year later, noted the reach of that first issue of the journal, requests for which came from “as far away as Texas” (Hinman 1990, p. iii). For ten volumes, the journal’s format remained the same—a range of articles from Plymouth State College faculty. But with volume 11 in 2000, the journal’s preface had an announcement:

Since 1995, when we had presented our then five-year-old WAC journal at the National WAC Conference in Charleston and discovered no one else knew of any other campus WAC journals, we began thinking about expanding regionally and nationally. We felt too many of the articles in our journal were written by the same few authors (who also were members of the editorial board), and we wanted to hear and share more voices on WAC. But going national felt daunting, so for four years we hesitated. Finally, we received an article from a professor at Utica College of Syracuse University for this 2000 issue, an article first submitted to a different kind of journal,
and then referred to us. We liked the article, published it, and with that we made the commitment to go national. (Volume 11, April 2000)

In the preface to volume 12, the journal called itself “The WAC Journal in transition” and described its evolution: “For this issue, we solicited one article using the national WAC list, two regionally through a new editorial board member from University of New Hampshire at Durham, and one through leaflets distributed at the National Writing Center Conference. For this volume the editorial board acted, in a semi-formal way, as a review board” (Volume 12, May 2001). And by 2002, in volume 13, the Editor’s Introduction stated: “As WAC-related manuscripts arrived via e-mail from around the country (and the world), The WAC Journal reviewers had no quotas to fill, no specific topics or approaches they were looking for. Rather, they sought articles that best communicated WAC concerns of our time, articles that would make a significant contribution to the already published body of WAC literature, and, most importantly, articles that would speak to you, a reader of The WAC Journal” (p. iii). This volume also included a “Review Board” in the masthead for the first time. Four years later, in 2006, Neal Lerner, coauthor of this article, joined the review board (and stepped down in 2019).

In volume 14 (2003), The WAC Journal featured its first interview: Carol Rutz speaking with John Bean. An “Editor’s Introduction” notes, “Interviews of this type are a feature we plan to include on a regular basis in future issues of The WAC Journal” (p. iii). The next seven volumes (volume 15, 2004, to volume 21, 2010) include no preface or editor’s introduction. Volume 22 in 2011 opens with the “Letter from the Editor and the Editorial Board Seeking Funding to Continue,” which explains that the “New Hampshire Legislature cut 50% of state funding for Plymouth State University,” and “the U.S. Congress cut all federal support for The National Writing Project [NWP]” (p. 3). The “NWP had taken over funding of the journal” (p. 3) in 2011, so this letter was a plea for financial support for The WAC Journal.

Volume 23 (November 2012) included no preface, introduction, or follow-up to the previous year’s letter, but the masthead included Clemson University faculty as associate editors. Volume 24 (Fall 2013) included these same associate editors from Clemson in the masthead as well as a managing editor from Clemson. Volume 30 (2019) was the first volume to list new editors, David Blakesley and Cameron Bushnell. Both Blakesley and Bushnell had appeared in roles in the masthead previously—Blakesley from 2013 and Bushnell from 2017. While scholars from beyond Plymouth State University had appeared in the review board’s list of names throughout the journal’s publishing history, the most significant expansion of the review board occurred in volume 30 of 2019 when it expanded from eleven to twenty-one names.
Finally, we feel it is significant to note that *The WAC Journal* had the same editor, Roy Andrews, from 1997 to 2018. Andrews also edited volume 6 in 1995, so he was the single editor of twenty-two of the journal’s thirty-three volumes.

**Our Citation Analysis Findings**

Our first finding addresses the question, “How often are sources cited in *The WAC Journal*'s articles, and how has that rate changed over time?” With over thirty-three volumes/issues (published once per year), *The WAC Journal* has run 288 total articles\(^1\) (an average of 8.7 articles per issue) containing a total of 2,982 references. In aggregate, that works out to be a bit over ten citations per article; but when seen over the lifespan of the journal, the trend is toward increasing rates of citation—from largely one or two citations per article in the first eleven years, to ten to twenty or more citations in subsequent years (see Figure 1). Citations in *The WAC Journal* reach a high of thirty-four citations per article in volume 33, the most recent issue at the time of writing. Perhaps the journal’s increasing rate of citation is one measure of the academic credibility of the journal as it has reached a wider audience and aligned itself with the practices of other peer-reviewed journals in writing studies.

![Figure 1. Rate of citations per article in *The WAC Journal*, vol. 1-33.](image)

\(^1\) We note that both “articles” and book reviews might contain citations, and we include both for the purposes of our analysis.
Among those 2,982 references offered over the lifespan of *The WAC Journal*, our next point of analysis was to determine how many citations were repeated and how many were just one-offs—what bibliometric studies refers to as “orphan” citations (Jacso, 2010, p. 232). By revealing these patterns, citation analysis highlights the articles that are repeatedly cited, the socially constructed infrastructure upon which scholars build knowledge (Itchuaqiyaq and Frith, 2022).

In fact, 90% of all citations in *The WAC Journal* occur just once; another 6% are cited only twice. Only 4% of all citations occur three or more times. This small set of multiply cited scholars is similar to citation patterns in *College Composition and Communication*, in which 72% of authors are cited only once (Mueller, 2012), and *The Writing Center Journal*, in which 80% of citations appear just once (Lerner, 2014).

We could never presume the intent of scholarly authors, so we can only guess at the multiple possible interpretations of this dispersion of references. Perhaps this wide selection of sources upon which to build knowledge is a testament to the wide-ranging and heterogenous nature of WAC scholarship and the ways authors might draw from sources specific to particular disciplines (e.g., writing in math, writing in business). Or perhaps it indicates that a small number of theoretical, methodological, and interpretive approaches are shared among *The WAC Journal*’s authors.

Examining sources and authors among the 4% of citations that occurred three or more times sheds additional light on the “ways we do WAC and with and for whom” in *The WAC Journal*. As Table 1 shows, the most frequently cited source is John Bean’s *Engaging Ideas*, cited twenty total times with reference to all three editions (the third is coauthored with Daniel Melzer). Bean’s book is a common staple of WAC faculty-development workshops and teaching- and learning-center libraries, as well as a guide for faculty across the disciplines who teach with writing. *The WAC Journal* authors largely cite *Engaging Ideas* to support ideas of WAC practices or expertise, which reifies existing knowledge and does little to question those practices or engage with ongoing critical debates.

Table 1. Most frequently cited references in *The WAC Journal*, vol. 1-33.

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When we looked at the most frequently cited first authors across all publications (i.e., the authors who are cited for multiple publications), we found the following results: of the scholars who represent first-generation WAC, six out of eight are male, and all are white (see Table 2). In other words, the scholarly works framing WAC, as represented in recurring citations in The WAC Journal, are most often authored by white scholars and practitioners, most of whom are male and have been publishing for more than thirty years. In a 2010 College Composition and Communication review essay, Vicki Tolar Burton wrote, “The founding generation of WAC researchers has reached retirement or are [sic] approaching it” (p. 594), but their influence via their published work continues in The WAC Journal.

Table 2. Most frequently cited first authors in The WAC Journal, vol. 1-33.
We did wonder if a more recent time period might reveal patterns that varied from the trends crossing all volumes. To pursue that question, we focused on citation practices over the five most recent volumes: volume 29 (2018) to volume 33 (2022), which formed a period of substantial critique of US higher education and society at large and included the severe disruption caused by a global pandemic. As shown in Table 3, the most frequently cited works do shift to some degree: Bean’s *Engaging Ideas* drops off of the list and more recent book-length publications rise to the top (including one in which we are two of the coauthors). These works continue to represent programmatic and research-based explorations of the work of writing in the disciplines/across the curriculum, but few, if any, could be labeled as true critiques of the field or scholarly moves beyond what Jamila Kareem identifies as “WAC 2.0” (p. 296). None is authored by marginalized or multiply marginalized scholars. In her work on citation practices, Natasha N. Jones (2021) describes the effect: “The exclusion of scholarship from marginalized and multiply marginalized folks works to ‘estrang[e]’ these scholars from their academic disciplines. It invalidates their work. It obscures their work. It disappears the knowledge they create” (p. 145).

Also worth noting is that citations during the journal’s most recent five-year period mirror overall trends: of the 737 total unique citations appearing in volumes 29-33, 90% occur only once and 7% occur twice. Thus, only 3% of all works cited appear three or more times. When 90% of references across the thirty-three volumes of *The WAC Journal* are one-offs—never referenced by another author—and 4% of references are reinscribed over and over, we risk creating a field that has invalidated, obscured, and/or disappeared knowledge of marginalized and multiply marginalized scholars.

Table 3. Most frequently cited references in *The WAC Journal*, vol. 29-33.
But Where Is the Critique?

As noted above, our citation analysis of all thirty-three volumes of The WAC Journal reveals how seldom marginalized or multiply marginalized scholars have been cited in the journal’s pages. We were also struck by how rarely (if at all) authors cited some of the more challenging critiques of WAC, including those by marginalized and multiply marginalized scholars. These critiques include Donna LaCourt’s 1996 “WAC as Critical Pedagogy: The Third Stage?” (cited five times); Victor Villanueva’s 2001 “The Politics of Literacy Across the Curriculum” (cited four times); Asao Inoue’s 2015 Antiracist Writing Assessment Ecologies: Teaching and Assessing Writing for a Socially Just Future (cited four times); Mya Poe’s 2013 “Re-Framing Race in Teaching Writing Across the Curriculum” (cited four times); Chris Anson’s 2012 “Black Holes: Writing Across the Curriculum, Assessment, and the Gravitational Invisibility of Race” (cited five times—of Anson’s forty-one citations); Juan Guerra’s 2016 Language, Culture, Identity, and Citizenship in College Classrooms and Communities (cited two times);
and Brian Hendrickson and Genevieve García de Müeller’s 2016 “Inviting Students to Determine for Themselves What It Means to Write Across the Disciplines” (cited three times).

We point out this lack of engagement with critiques because we see endless future opportunities to refer to and build upon scholarly work that might “transform the ways we do WAC and with and for whom.” For example, when and why are WAC practices “assimilationist” (Villanueva, 2001, p. 166)? In what ways are the most cited texts across the thirty-three volumes of The WAC Journal examples of what Asao Inoue describes in his critique of WAC scholarship more generally: “very little scholarship directly addresses the ways in which the discourses expected of nurses, business majors, engineers, and others across all fields and professions are quite simply white supremacist” (Lerner, 2018, p. 115)? As Jamila Kareem points out in the 2018 IWAC conference collection, “WAC programs have excellent foundation to foster culturally sustaining practices” (p. 300), but we do not see that The WAC Journal’s citation record has thus far moved in this direction.

The Ways We Do WAC in The WAC Journal and With and For Whom

To sum up, our analysis of citation practices in thirty-three years of The WAC Journal showed that (1) 90% of citations occur only once, an indication of a field with a very small shared “infrastructure” (Itchuaqiyaq and Frith, 2022, p. 11); (2) of the 10% of sources cited more than once, very few are from marginalized or multiply marginalized scholars; and (3) published critiques of the dominant pedagogies and practices of WAC are rarely cited. We juxtapose these findings with a question from Anti-Racist Scholarly Reviewing Practices that we cited at the start of this article: “What would a system of inclusivity, rather than gatekeeping and disciplining, look like?” Citation practices and the rarity of critique in The WAC Journal certainly look like the latter rather than the former, despite the journal’s current mission statement.

In On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life, Sara Ahmed (2012) devotes a chapter to “the relationship between commitment as a pledge that is sent out and commitment as a state of being bound” (p. 114). She argues that “if commitment is made on paper, it does not necessarily commit unless you act on and with the paper. To generate institutional commitment means to make institutions ‘catch up’ with what they say they do” (p. 140). Acting on commitment to the journal’s mission statement and the “Anti-Racist Scholarly Reviewing Practices” requires the involvement not only of The WAC Journal’s authors but also of its reviewers, editors, and readers. Also required is a commitment to “hold each other responsible for striving toward citation justice, . . . [which] must not be undertaken solely by multiply marginalized scholars but instead should be the shared responsibility of all members of the broad field of rhetoric, composition, and writing studies” (CCCC, 2022).
So what will the next fifty years of publishing in *The WAC Journal* look like? Will pieces published in *The WAC Journal* #CiteBlackWomen or consider this question from the #CiteBlackWomen collective: “What does it look like to dismantle the patriarchal, white supremacist, heterosexist, imperialist impetus of the neoliberal university (and its accomplices) by centering Black women’s ideas and intellectual contributions in anthropology as well as other disciplines?” (Smith 2018). Will pieces published in *The WAC Journal* cite texts from Syracuse’s award-winning Antiracist Toolkit (Anti-racist WAC Toolkit nd)? The Association for Writing Across the Curriculum (AWAC) recognized this Antiracist Toolkit, but are WAC scholars and program leaders reading and citing the texts on that syllabus, or sharing those texts with faculty from across the disciplines as scholarship central to the infrastructure of WAC?

Moving forward, we remind ourselves and our readers that parenthetical citation of marginalized and multiply marginalized scholars is not enough. We are guided here by Natasha Jones’s (2021) four frames for studying citation practices:

1. Absence: “The absence of scholarship by marginalized and multiply marginalized scholars is characterized by citation practices that privilege traditional, Western, white-male, cishet scholars at the expense of Black scholars, scholars of color, or multiply marginalized scholars—who are excluded, even as they have expertise on a given topic” (p. 143).

2. Cursory Mentions: “[A]kin to name-dropping,” “cursory mentions . . . do performative work without truly being purposeful in citing work from marginalized or multiply marginalized scholars” (p. 146).

3. Listing: “Listing happens when scholars include citational lists that name scholars in list form” (p. 146) rather than meaningfully engaging with that scholarship.

4. Coalitional Engagement: “The fundamental ask is that we shift how we think about citation practices; not as a performative act of solidarity, not as utilitarian, but as a way to amplify *and* be in coalition with each other” (p. 149).

Jones explains that “when I say citation practices, I am referring to not only who we cite but how we cite and the impact that these practices can have on the field” (p. 143). That’s the central challenge, then: will a next generation of authors, editors, reviewers, and readers of *The WAC Journal* reread, reshare, and reinscribe through citations and programmatic work the same texts we find most often cited? We hope, instead, that all who are involved with *The WAC Journal* can strive, in Jones’s words, to “shift how we think about citation practices . . . to amplify and be in coalition with each other,” thus transforming the ways we do WAC and with and for whom.
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