

1 GLOBAL INEQUITY IN SCIENTIFIC NAMES AND WHO THEY HONOR

2 Shane DuBay^{1*}, Daniela H. Palmer^{2*}, and Natalia Piland^{3,4*}

3 ¹ Department of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology and Museum of Zoology, University of
4 Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

5 ² Department of Animal and Plant Sciences, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK

6 ³ Committee on Evolutionary Biology, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA

7 ⁴ Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL, USA

8 *for correspondence: dubaysg@umich.edu, d.h.palmer@sheffield.ac.uk, npiland@uchicago.edu

9 **KEY WORDS:** birds, colonialism, eponyms, global North, global South, imperialism, inequity,
10 power structures, taxonomy, Western science

11 ABSTRACT

12 Linnaean taxonomy is a cornerstone of Western biology in which organisms are given a two-
13 part name (a genus and species), creating biological units that help us order and manage our
14 knowledge of the living world. In this system, the names of species themselves take on
15 additional functions, such as describing features of the organism or honoring individuals (known
16 as eponyms). Here, we interrogate how power and authority over the natural world are claimed
17 through Western scientific naming practices to evaluate the legacies of imperialism,
18 dispossession, and exclusion in these practices. We compile and analyze a dataset of all bird
19 species descriptions from 1950 to present, asking: who has access and power to name species,
20 and who is honored in species names? We show that 95% of newly described species are
21 described from the global South, but the majority of species and eponyms are described by
22 authors, and named after individuals, from the global North. We find an increase through time in
23 authors from the global South, which is associated with a rise in eponyms that honor individuals
24 from global South countries. However, this formal inclusion of global South authors has not
25 translated into increases in first authorship (a primary form of credit and authority in Western
26 science). We contextualize these disparities in naming and authorship within broader global
27 structures of access and power put in place through centuries of European and U.S.
28 imperialism, but a historical perspective alone ignores institutional and individual agency and
29 incentives in present-day actions. As we increasingly reflect on the social foundations and
30 impacts of our science, these findings show how research and labor in the global South
31 continue to be disproportionately translated into power and authority in the global North,
32 upholding and re-enacting imperial structures of domination.

33 *For working definitions of key terms, see the Definitions Box at the end of the text. For Spanish*
34 *language version of the manuscript, see Supplement (para la versión en español ver*
35 *Suplemento).*

36 INTRODUCTION

37 The act of naming and ordering the living world cuts across cultures and language, and is an
38 integral part of how we make sense of the world around us (Brown 1984, Atran 1998, Berlin
39 2014). By naming and classifying organisms, we build a foundation for understanding their
40 biology, which has enabled scientists to study variation and diversity (Darwin 1859), define
41 biological units to conserve (Mace and Lande 1990, Myers et al. 2002), and commodify or
42 extirpate species (Weinstein 1983, Bucher 1992, Diamond 2002, Cronon 2009). The world as
43 we know it is a direct result of our ability to name and catalog the natural world.

44 In 1735, Carl Linnaeus codified a binomial system of taxonomy, which has since
45 become a cornerstone of Western biology and biodiversity science (Linnaeus 1735). While the
46 primary function of Linnaean taxonomy is to document and organize knowledge of the living
47 world, the names of species themselves take on additional functions, such as describing
48 features of the organism (like where it is found or what it looks like), or honoring individuals. For
49 example, in 2017, a new bird species was described from an outlying ridge of the Peruvian
50 Andes. The bird was given the scientific name *Myrmoderus eowilsoni* in honor of the “Father of
51 Biodiversity” – Edward O. Wilson (Moncrieff et al. 2018). In response, Wilson said that, “the idea
52 of [having] a bird named after you is right up there with maybe the Nobel [Prize], because it’s
53 such a rarity to have a true new species discovered, and I do take it as a great personal honor”
54 (Rainforest Trust 2017). As Wilson notes, descriptions of birds new to Western science have
55 become rare events in the last 70 years (Figure 1A), and being the inspiration for a new species
56 name is widely considered a great honor.

57 How a bird from the Peruvian Andes comes to be named after E.O. Wilson, a naturalist from the
58 Southern U.S., can only be understood through a historical lens and by considering the societal
59 interests and global structures put in place during centuries of European and U.S. imperialism
60 (Richardson 2018). This history of European and U.S. conquest is inextricably tied to the
61 enterprise of Western science. For example, critical advances in malaria research were funded
62 and motivated by efforts in the late 19th century to curb European deaths in British colonies
63 (Deb Roy 2013, 2018), and in 1902, Sir Ronald Ross received a Nobel Prize in Medicine for his
64 work on the transmission of malaria, having argued that, “in the coming century, the success of
65 imperialism will depend largely upon success with the microscope” (*Science* 1900). As historian
66 Rohan Deb Roy writes, “[Ross] point neatly summarised how the efforts of British scientists
67 were intertwined with their country’s attempt to conquer a quarter of the world” (Deb Roy 2018).

68 The reliance of Western science on imperial ventures (and vice versa) is probably best
69 catalogued in the links between naturalists and slave trade, prospecting and resource
70 extraction, and European exploration of the 18th and 19th centuries (Kean 2019, Wynn-Grant
71 2019). The impacts of these naturalists on present-day science are difficult to overstate; the
72 voyages of naturalists like Charles Darwin on the *Beagle* and Sir Joseph Banks on the
73 *Endeavour* were integral parts of an imperial enterprise (MacKenzie 1990, Carter 1995).

74 Imperialism granted Western scientists unprecedented access to the world, which they
75 translated into scientific authority, power, and wealth, fueling narratives of white supremacy,
76 while simultaneously disregarding (or appropriating) Indigenous knowledge. These narratives
77 were used in turn to justify genocide, coercive labor, and exploitation, enabling the flow of
78 material wealth and intellectual resources from colonized lands to metropolises (Galeano 1971,
79 Said 1979). In settler colonial states, like the U.S., nation-building relied on European colonial
80 and imperialist infrastructure for global access (e.g. Quintero Toro 2012). As a result, Western
81 science is conducted through the same institutions and methods that thrived under and helped
82 constitute European imperialism. Within this context, we can understand how species from
83 formerly or currently colonized parts of the world (usually referred to as the “global South”) come
84 to be described by, and named after, scientists from former or current imperial metropolises, or
85 the “global North”.

86 In this study, we interrogate the ways in which imperialism and exclusion underlie modern
87 scientific naming practices. We compile and analyze a dataset of species descriptions and their
88 authors to ask: who has access and power to name species, and who is honored in species
89 names? We focus our analysis on descriptions of birds because of their broad scientific and
90 cultural relevance (e.g. Schuetz and Johnston 2019, Robinson 2019). We also limit our analysis
91 to after 1950, when the opportunity to name new bird species becomes rare (Figure 1A), further
92 intensifying the potential for recognition of authors and honorees with new descriptions. We find
93 that global patterns of naming and authorship, extending into the present, are consistent with
94 the historical exploitation of intellectual and material goods in the global South (Galeano 1971),
95 and advance scientific authority in the global North, as expertise about the natural world
96 continues to be disproportionately claimed by the global North. Our findings serve as a case
97 study of the disparities that exist at the core of biological science. The implications of this study
98 extend beyond inequity in naming practices and taxonomy, which is a facet of how biodiversity
99 science is done in a global context. This study is a broader reflection on the inequitable
100 structures that underlie Western scientific practices – inequities in access, labor, collaboration,
101 power, and designations of expertise and authority. Our intention for this work is not to discredit
102 the accomplishments of others, but rather provide context and promote conversations in our
103 scientific communities that acknowledge and confront inequities in our practices.

104 **RESULTS**

105 Since 1950, 95% of new bird species have been described from countries in the global South (n
106 = 367 of 385). During this period, only 17 species have been described from the global North
107 (one species had an undetermined geographic placement). We classified countries and island
108 regions as either global North or global South –here and throughout the study– based on the
109 United Nations classifications for “developed” and “developing” regions
110 (<https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/>), with “developed” corresponding to the global
111 North, and “developing” corresponding to the global South (Rigg 2007). Since 1950, species

112 have been described from 68 countries (Figure 2), but half of all species have been described
113 from five global South countries alone: Brazil (n = 68), Peru (n = 57), Colombia (n = 25),
114 Philippines (n = 23), and Indonesia (n = 20). Hereafter, we refer to the country where a species
115 was described from as its *type locality*.

116 Half of all species were named after people (50%, n = 193), like *Myrmoderus eowilsoni*. This
117 type of species name is known as an eponym. The other half of species were named after
118 defining characteristics (50%, n = 192), like morphological features, behavior, or where it is
119 found, like *Pyrrhura peruviana*. Over time the number of eponyms increases ($R^2 = 0.141$, $p =$
120 0.001) as the other naming categories remain steady ($R^2 = 0.011$, $p = 0.379$; Figure 1B).

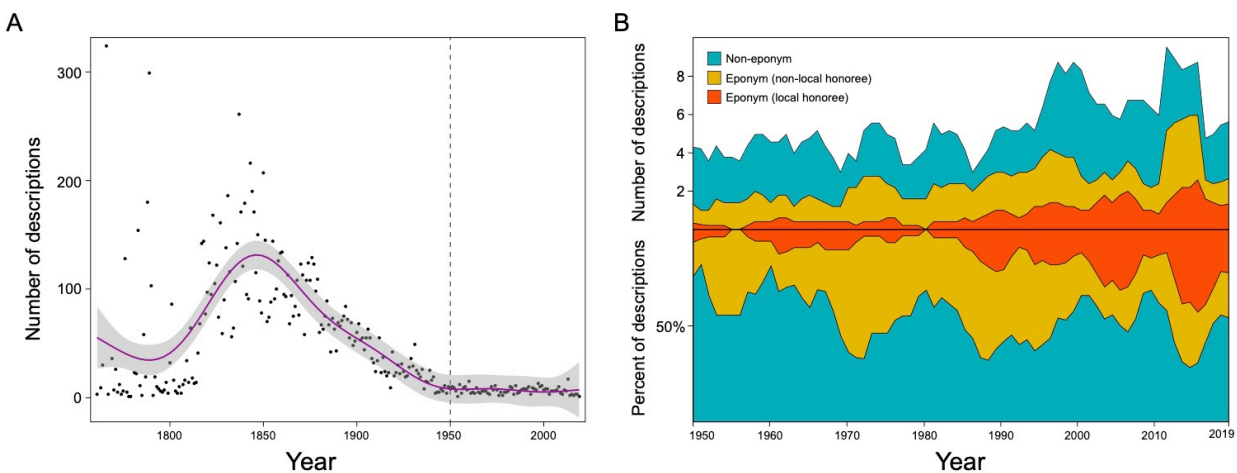
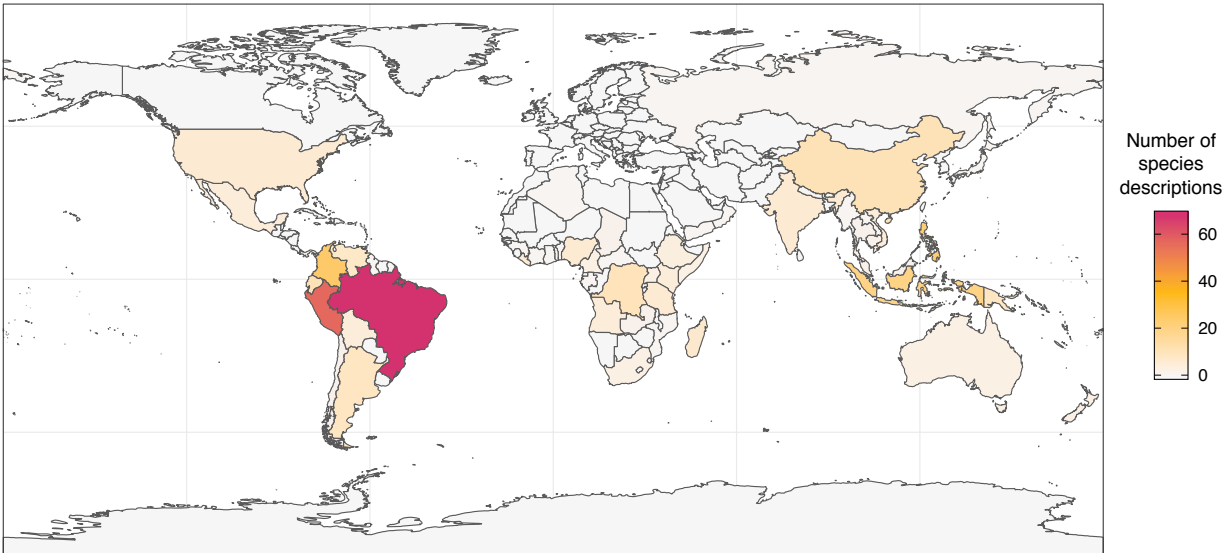


Figure 1. The number of bird species descriptions through time. (A) The number of descriptions by year that follow Linnaean taxonomy, starting after 1758, when Carl Linnaeus initially described 554 birds in the 10th edition of *Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus 1758). The purple line is a LOESS regression with 95% confidence intervals (shaded gray area). The dotted vertical line marks the point in time at which the dataset for this study begins, once the magnitude of species descriptions bottoms out in the mid-twentieth century. (B) The total number (top) and percent (bottom) of descriptions split by naming category from 1950 to present, plotted as a five-year moving average. Species names that honor individuals (eponyms) are divided into two categories: eponyms that honor individuals from the country where the bird was described (local honoree), and eponyms that honor individuals from somewhere other than the country where the bird was described (non-local honoree). We binned all species names that are not eponyms (e.g. morphonyms, toponyms, etc.) into the third grouping (Non-eponym).



121

Figure 2. The number of bird species described from a given country from 1950 to 2019.

122 **Who has access and power to name species?**

123 Over the last 70 years, 545 individuals authored 385 species descriptions, filling a total of 1012
124 author positions (descriptions have anywhere from 1 to 16 authors). We compiled data on
125 where each author was from to infer where an author received their formative education
126 (hereafter, referred to as their *country of origin*). Using publicly available sources, we inferred an
127 author's country of origin from a combination of where they were born and where they received
128 an undergraduate education (details of this method are discussed in the Methods). We were
129 able to compile data for 76% of all authors ($n = 412$ of 545) and for 84% of total author positions
130 ($n = 848$ of 1012). Of these authors, 62% ($n = 255$) are from the global North and 38% ($n = 157$)
131 are from the global South. We also recorded the institutional affiliation (at the time of the species
132 description) for 98% of total author positions, which shows a similar pattern: 60% of authors
133 were affiliated with institutions in the global North ($n = 595$), and 40% were affiliated with
134 institutions in the global South ($n = 393$). These results show that the majority of authors are
135 from the global North and affiliated with global North institutions.

136 When we consider that 24% ($n = 133$ of 545) of authors have missing country of origin data in
137 our dataset, our results likely underestimate the percentage of authors from the global North,
138 which suggests that the geographic skew in authorship is more extreme. This dynamic can be
139 understood when we assess individuals in the dataset with known birthplace and institutional
140 affiliations (which accounts for 59% of authors): 72% ($n = 236$) of authors were born in the same
141 country as the institutions where they worked, and 7% ($n = 23$) of authors were born in the
142 same country as at least one of the institutions where they worked (i.e. these 23 authors were
143 affiliated with multiple institutions in different countries). Of the remaining 21% of authors ($n =$

144 67) who were born in a country that was different from the institutions where they worked, this
145 movement was largely within the global North (33%, $n = 22$) or from the global North to global
146 South institutions (49%, $n = 33$). We documented one instance of movement within the global
147 South, and only 16% of authors ($n = 11$) who shifted countries moved from the global South to
148 global North institutions. Given the much higher prevalence of movement within the global North
149 and from the global North to global South institutions, these data suggest that the percent of
150 authors whose country of origin is in the global North should be higher than the percent of
151 authors whose institutional affiliation (for which our dataset is 98% complete) is in the global
152 North.

153 *First authors, author lists, and authority*

154 In the biological sciences, the first author on a publication typically receives the most credit for
155 the work, and this author is viewed as a primary authority on a publication's contents
156 (Tschardt et al. 2007, Shen and Barabási 2014). We therefore examined metrics for first
157 authors to explore who is perceived by the scientific community as the authority on a species
158 description. We found that 71% of first authors ($n = 275$) are from the global North, and 21% (n
159 $= 82$) are from the global South. The country of origin for 7% of first authors ($n = 28$) was
160 unknown. In 55% of the cases where the first author is from the global South ($n = 45$), all
161 authors on the description are from the global South. The first author's country of origin was
162 different from the species' type locality for 72% of species descriptions ($n = 276$), and the same
163 for 22% of species descriptions ($n = 85$). The first author's country of origin was unknown for the
164 remaining 6% of descriptions ($n = 24$) (for one description the species' type locality was
165 unknown). The prevalence of first authors from the global South increases significantly toward
166 the present ($R^2 = 0.143$, $p = 0.014$), but the prevalence of first authors from the global North
167 remains consistent ($R^2 = 6.749e-5$, $p = 0.947$) and is always higher (Figure 3A).

168 When we looked at institutional affiliation, 70% of first authors ($n = 268$) were affiliated with
169 institutions in the global North, 27% of first authors ($n = 104$) were affiliated with institutions in
170 the global South, and the institutional affiliation was unknown for 3% of first authors ($n = 13$).
171 Similar to the authors' country of origin patterns, the prevalence of first authors from global
172 South institutions increases significantly toward the present ($R^2 = 0.142$, $p = 0.007$), but the
173 prevalence of first authors from global North institutions remains consistent ($R^2 = 0.018$, $p =$
174 0.282) and is always higher (Figure 3B). Taken together, these data show that the perceived
175 authorities on species described from the global South are largely scientists from the global
176 North.

177 We found an increase (though non-significant) through time in the percent of species
178 descriptions for which the first author's country of origin is the same as the species' type locality
179 ($R^2 = 0.053$, $p = 0.137$; Figure 3C). However, for most descriptions, the first author's country of
180 origin was different from the species' type locality (Figure 3C,E). In fact, for 51% of descriptions
181 ($n = 195$), not a single author was from the species' type locality. For 39% ($n = 149$) of

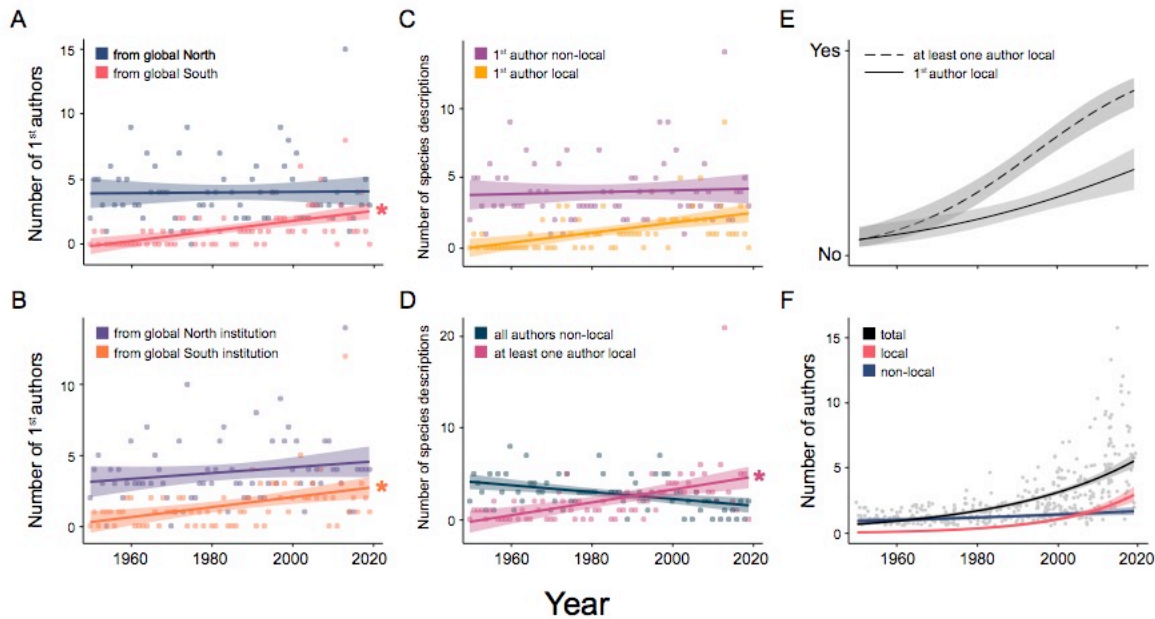


Figure 3. Authors' country of origin and institutional affiliation through time. (A) The number of first authors for a given year whose country of origin is in the global North vs. global South. (B) The number of first authors for a given year whose institutional affiliation is in the global North vs. global South. (C) The number of species descriptions for a given year in which the first author's country of origin is the same as the species' type locality (1st author local) or different (1st author non-local). (D) The number of species descriptions for a given year in which at least one author is from the species' type locality (at least one author local) vs. when not a single author is from the species' type locality (all authors non-local). In panels A-D, (*) denote significant changes ($p < 0.05$) in the response variable through time from simple linear models. Each point is the number of descriptions in a given year for each category. (E) Logistic regressions of the data from panels C (solid line) and D (dotted line), showing changes through time in whether or not species descriptions have local first authors or at least one local author. (F) The total number of authors on a description (total), and the number of authors on a description in which an authors' country of origin is the same (local) or different (non-local) from the species' type locality. Lines plot Poisson regressions. Each gray point is the number of authors on each species description. For all panels, shaded areas are 95% confidence intervals for each regression.

182 descriptions at least one author was from the species' type locality, and this information was
 183 unknown for the remaining 11% of descriptions ($n = 41$). Toward the present, however, we
 184 found a significant increase in descriptions that include at least one author from the species'
 185 type locality ($R^2 = 0.189$, $p = 0.002$), and a near-significant decrease in descriptions without a
 186 single author from the species' type locality ($R^2 = 0.056$, $p = 0.068$; Figure 3D), resulting in a
 187 pattern inversion in the 1990s (Figure 3E). That is, before 1990, most author lists were
 188 exclusively non-local, while after 1990, most author lists included at least one author from the
 189 species' type locality (Figure 3D,E).

190 When we look at the entire author list for a species description, the number of authors increases
191 significantly toward the present (GLM: $\chi^2 = 292.54$, $p < 0.001$; Figure 3F), which appears to be
192 driven by the addition of authors from the global South (Figure 3F), rather than changes in the
193 number of authors from the global North, which remains relatively stable through time (Figure
194 3F). This result reflects a significant increase toward the present in the percent of authors
195 whose country of origin matches the species' type locality (GLM: $\chi^2 = 187.96$, $p < 0.001$; Figure
196 3F).

197 *Journals and the language of species descriptions*

198 We found that 85% of species descriptions are published in journals based in the global North
199 ($n = 329$); 13% of descriptions are published in journals based in the global South ($n = 51$), and
200 five descriptions are published in journals with unknown geographic placement. We also
201 determined the language of each description based on its title. We found that 70% of
202 descriptions are published in journals that are based in countries where English is recognized
203 as an official language ($n = 268$), but 82% of descriptions are written in English ($n = 316$). This
204 excess of English-language descriptions consists of 57 descriptions written in English that are
205 published in journals based in countries where English is not an official language. The other
206 languages of species descriptions are: Portuguese ($n = 20$), French ($n = 18$), German ($n = 14$),
207 Spanish ($n = 9$), Russian ($n = 1$), and Vietnamese ($n = 1$). We were unable to classify language
208 for six species descriptions.

209 **Who is honored in species names?**

210 Of the species named after a single person ($n = 183$), the type locality for 96% of these species
211 are in the global South, but the majority of these eponyms are named in honor of individuals
212 from the global North: 68% ($n = 124$) of eponyms honor individuals from the global North, while
213 30% ($n = 54$) honor individuals from the global South. The honoree's country of origin was
214 unknown for 5 eponyms. Looking at the countries from where each bird was described, only
215 31% ($n = 56$) of eponyms honor individuals from the species' type locality, while 67% ($n = 122$)
216 of eponyms honor individuals from a different country. Additional eponyms are named after
217 fictional characters, honorific titles, or have unknown etymology ($n=7$), or are named after
218 groups of people ($n = 8$), of which three are named after indigenous groups from the region
219 where the species occurs. Although the majority of eponyms honor individuals from the global
220 North, we found an increase toward the present in eponyms that honor local individuals – i.e.
221 from the global South ($R^2 = 0.242$, $p < 0.001$; Figure 1B).

222 *Impacts of an author's country of origin on eponym patterns*

223 When the first author's country of origin is consistent with the species' type locality, the species
224 is 62% more likely to be named in honor of someone from that country (GLM: $\chi^2 = 18.68$, $p <$
225 0.001 ; Figure 4). Regardless of first authorship, however, if there is at least one author whose

226 country of origin matches the species' type locality, then the species is 47% more likely to be
227 named in honor of someone from that country (GLM: $\chi^2 = 21.88$, $p < 0.001$; Figure 4).

228 Gender disparity in eponyms

229 Based on the Latin endings of species names, we also assessed gender designations for
230 individuals honored in eponyms (-ae = woman, -i = man, -orum = group of women/men or group
231 of all men, -arum = group of women). The Latin language and the codes that manage Linnaean
232 taxonomy impose binary gender designations for eponym names (ICZN Article 31.1.2 [animals],
233 ICNafp Article 60.8 [plants], ICNB Appendix 9 [bacteria]). This practice reflects gendered rules
234 and language that have governed Linnaean taxonomy for almost three centuries, and
235 consequently erase the identities of nonbinary individuals, while also imposing gender identities.
236 Of the eponyms that are named after a single individual ($n = 183$), 81% ($n = 149$) honor men,
237 and 19% ($n = 34$) honor women. The observed gender disparity in eponyms is also paired with
238 disparities in how authors characterize honorees within the text of species descriptions. For
239 example, men who are honored are often described as *colleagues* and *friends*, *notable*
240 *scientists*, and *patrons*, while half of all eponyms that honor women describe these women as
241 *wives* ($n = 13$) and *daughters* ($n = 4$). To put these differences into perspective, only one male
242 honoree is characterized as a son, and not a single male honoree is characterized as a
243 husband. The observed gender disparity in who is honored as a source of knowledge is itself a
244 manifestation of the epistemic sexism/racism that defines Western science as a colonial and
245 imperial project (Grosfoguel 2013). This disparity is further reflected in the fact that 59% ($n = 20$)
246 of eponyms that honor women use only their given name, while 12% ($n = 4$) use given name
247 and surname, and 29% ($n = 10$) use only surname. In contrast, only 1% ($n = 2$) of eponyms that
248 honor men use only their given name, while 2% ($n = 3$) use given name and surname, and 97%
249 ($n = 144$) use only surname.

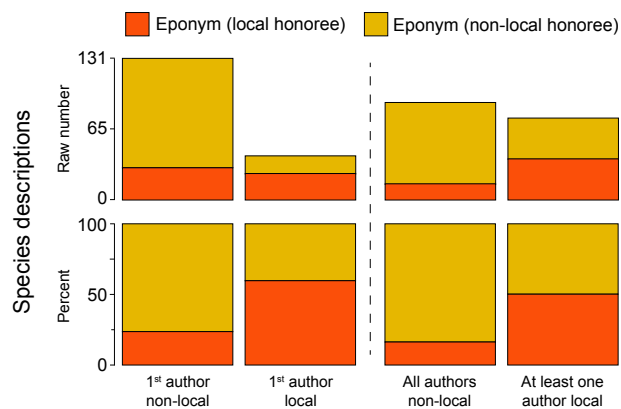


Figure 4. Eponym patterns based on an author's country of origin, comparing eponyms that honor individuals from the country where the bird was described (local honoree), and eponyms that honor individuals from somewhere other than the country where the bird was described (non-local honoree). The four author classifications follow the classifications in Figure 3B,E. The top plots show the raw number of species descriptions in each category. The bottom plots show the percent of species descriptions in that category.

250 **DISCUSSION**

251 Our results show how foundational practices in Western science still adhere to global structures
252 of access and power that disproportionately benefit the global North. As professional scientists
253 from the global North who are affiliated with global North institutions, we (the authors) have had
254 access to funding and career opportunities in science that are the product of the wealth
255 amassed through a history of genocide, coercive labor, land seizure, and resource extraction by
256 the U.S. and Britain (e.g. see Jordan et al. 2018; please see our statement of Land
257 Acknowledgement below). We recognize that our affiliations with global North institutions have
258 provided us with largely unrestricted access to work in the global South. As our findings
259 highlight, this access to the global South continues to be translated into scientific authority,
260 power, and material wealth (e.g. in the form of careers) in the global North. While we can
261 understand this dynamic by examining the global structures of access and power put in place
262 during centuries of European and U.S. imperialism, a historical perspective alone ignores the
263 agency of institutions and scientists in present-day actions. By ignoring the inequities embedded
264 in Western science, we re-enact and uphold structures of domination and imperialism in our
265 research practices.

266 **Inclusion, access, and power within Western science**

267 The patterns of authorship we observed show that researchers from the global South have
268 increasing access to Western science (Figure 3), which appears to impact naming outcomes
269 (see Figure 4). We see an increase through time in the number of authors on a description,
270 which is driven almost exclusively by an increase in authors from the global South (Figure 3F).
271 This formal inclusion of global South authors, however, does not broadly translate into Western
272 metrics of primary authority, like first authorship (compare the differences between Figure 3C
273 and D). As a result, Western scientific authority continues to be consolidated in the global North.
274 The increase in global South authors tracks the efforts in recent years by global North
275 institutions to expand participation in Western science (Mervis 2016, Valentine et al. 2016), and
276 also tracks the recent increase in international collaborations (Coccia and Bozeman 2016).
277 These two academic trends have been motivated by a model in which diversity and inclusion
278 equal better science, higher rankings, and increased marketability (Iwasaki 2019, Henderson
279 and Herring 2013, Berrey 2011). These initiatives, however, are documented to be largely
280 symbolic, utilizing labor and collaborations to serve academic markets in the global North and
281 legitimize authority and dominance structures already in place (Ahmed 2017, Khan et al. 2019,
282 Henry et al. 2017). This model of inclusion and collaboration prioritizes the global North's power
283 to theorize and conceptualize (e.g. the scientist that extrapolates the observation of an
284 individual bird to the *naming of a full species*), while relying on the global South to connect the
285 work to the material world (e.g. the local guide/resident/scientist who facilitates the physical
286 work to *find the individual bird*) (Alvarez and Coolsaet 2020). Furthermore, this model of
287 inclusion frames the value of people and their perspectives in terms of how they can benefit
288 those currently in power, without challenging those power structures (e.g. Johnson 2020).

289 An example that illustrates how Western science allows inclusion insofar as power structures
290 are maintained is the expectation of professional English as its language. English is the
291 linguistic currency of Western science, placing the burden of inclusion on the person seeking
292 inclusion, e.g. a non-native English speaker from the global South. This expectation of English
293 is highlighted in our dataset, for example, in the higher percentage of descriptions written in
294 English (82%) than the percentage of descriptions published in journals based in English-
295 speaking countries (70%). Getting to the point where a non-native English speaker can write a
296 species description assumes not only that the researcher has something to write about (e.g. a
297 bird), but that the researcher has had access to English classes and/or English-speaking
298 colleagues/contacts/editing services, by way of financial means, time, a global social network, or
299 institutional support. In contrast, scientists from English-speaking countries already know the
300 language of Western science.

301 It is essential to acknowledge that this study looks at knowledge production, access, and power
302 within Western naming practices *from the perspective of the global North*. Implicit in this
303 perspective is that first authorship, and authorship of publications in general, are ways to
304 establish authority and accumulate power in knowledge production, which in itself is worth
305 questioning. For example, how do established authorship norms promote inequity and
306 dominance in Western science (e.g. Pender and Shaw 2020, Ward-Fear et al. 2020)?
307 Furthermore, while our work examines dynamics between the global North and South within a
308 Western context, these dynamics are mirrored in broader structures of dominance between
309 Western science and Indigenous science (as defined by Ogawa 1995). The imperial dynamics
310 that created the current structures of access and power within Western science between the
311 global North and South have also enabled Western science to assert dominance in global
312 knowledge production (de Sousa Santos 2018, Manathunga 2020), while erasing, appropriating,
313 and subjugating Indigenous knowledge and authority. Solutions to build a more equitable global
314 scientific community –if that is in fact our goal within Western institutions– will ultimately require
315 actions that redress current structures of dominance and authority built on a history of
316 dispossession, violence, and white supremacy.

317 **The consequences of upholding imperial structures of power and authority**

318 The observed disparities in eponyms and authorship raise ethical and practical questions about
319 how science is done in a global context. For example, what does it mean for power and
320 authority over the natural world to be disproportionately claimed by the global North (Meneghini
321 et al. 2008, Mori et al. 2015, Espin et al. 2017)? What are the consequences for a community's
322 relationship to the environment when scientific authority over that environment is held/claimed
323 by individuals outside of the local community (Mammides et al. 2016, de Vos 2020)? What does
324 it mean for work in the global South to be translated and consolidated into authority, prestige,
325 and careers in the global North? Our intention here is not to prescribe particular answers to the
326 above questions because the formulations of those answers will require dialogue between the

327 hegemonic communities in which we are embedded and those excluded and marginalized by
328 them. Rather, our goal for this paper is to promote conversations and actions around these
329 questions, and contribute to the work already being done within and outside the academy that
330 re-frames approaches to science to confront inequity in present-day practices (for examples of
331 recent work see Maile 2015 and <https://decolonize-dna.org>), while acknowledging our collective
332 agency in these practices (Perrotta and Alonso 2020). As an entry point for these conversations,
333 we recommend working through the questions in the Research Justice Worksheet found at:

334 <https://freerads.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/research-justice-worksheet-with-refs.pdf>

335 We have found this resource helpful for personal reflection and group discussion (thanks,
336 Supriya). We recognize that these questions may be uncomfortable and even painful for some
337 (as they have been for us). We invite and challenge you to work through this discomfort.

338 Linnaean taxonomy reflects a social history and practice that continues to consolidate authority
339 in the global North under the guise of scientific objectivity. As we grapple with the questions
340 above as a global community, Western science must give up the fallacy of presenting itself as
341 *neutral* and *objective* (Latour and Woolgar 1979, Proctor 1991, Harding 1992, Sheth 2019,
342 Alves 2020), which remains a dominant tenet of training and discourse to this day. As
343 sociologist William Jamal Richardson reminds us, “[we] can’t understand the production of
344 knowledge and science independent of its relationship to societal interests and structures of
345 power” (Frickel and Moore 2015, Richardson 2018). Adhering to the fallacy of neutrality (which
346 is in fact a non-neutral stance and one embedded in white supremacy; Grosfoguel 2013,
347 Prescod-Weinstein 2015, Saini 2019) has allowed scientists to ignore the social impacts of our
348 actions past and present, while upholding global and institutional structures of dominance and
349 inequity, regardless of intent.

350 **METHODS**

351 **Dataset**

352 As our base dataset, we used the Birdlife International global avian checklist, which is regarded
353 as a dominant authority in avian taxonomy (HBW and BirdLife Taxonomic Checklist v4 Dec
354 2019). Importantly, this checklist includes information on the authors and year of each species’
355 description. For entries from 1950 to present, we removed taxa that are currently recognized as
356 species but were originally described as subspecies. We identified these entries by looking at
357 the original species/subspecies description for each entry. Removing these taxa ensures that
358 the level of honor at which a taxon is described is consistent between entries. Additionally, we
359 added in taxa for which the opposite scenario is true – that is, we included taxa that were
360 originally described as species following Linnaean taxonomy but are not currently recognized as
361 species by the BirdLife International checklist committee. We included these “invalid” species in

362 the dataset because they were originally described with the intention of being at the species
363 level. We identified these taxa using *Bird Species New to Science: Fifty Years of Avian*
364 *Discoveries* (Brewer 2018), which reports a comprehensive list of taxa described as species
365 between 1960 and 2015. For taxa described as species between 2015 and 2019, we conducted
366 a literature search to identify recently described species to include in the dataset. Lastly, we did
367 not include descriptions in which the species was extinct at the time of description. Figure 1A
368 includes all (and only) entries from the HBW and BirdLife Taxonomic Checklist v4, but for all
369 subsequent figures and analyses, subspecies and extinct taxa were removed, and “invalid”
370 species were included.

371 **Type localities, species name categories, and etymology of eponyms**

372 We defined a species’ type locality as the country from where the species was described, which
373 we determined from locality data associated with holotype specimens.

374 We classified species names based on their meaning and derivation, placing each species into
375 one of nine naming categories defined in the *Helm Dictionary of Scientific Bird Names* (Jobling
376 2010). The categories include: (1) eponym – named after a person or persons; (2) morphonym
377 – named after morphological characteristics, like plumage; (3) toponym – named in reference to
378 a geographic place; (4) autochthonym – named in an indigenous language; (5) taxonym –
379 named in relation to other taxa; (6) bionym – named after habitat or environmental conditions;
380 (7) ergonym – named after behavioral characteristics, like breeding or display behaviors; (8)
381 phagonym – named after diet or prey type; and (9) phononym – named after vocal
382 characteristics.

383 We further divided eponyms into five categories: (1) local – named after an individual from the
384 species’ type locality; (2) non-local – named after an individual from a country other than the
385 species’ type locality; (3) fictional – named after a fictional character; (4) titles – named after an
386 honorific title, like Prince; and (5) group – named after a group of people. To determine if an
387 eponym was local or non-local, we had to first infer where an honoree was from, which we
388 defined as the country where they were born, and determined using *The Eponym Dictionary of*
389 *Birds* (Beolens et al. 2014). For example, the entry for Maria Koepcke says, “born Maria Emilia
390 Ana von Milkulicz-Radecki in Leipzig, Germany,” and the entry for Alfonso Maria Olalla says,
391 “an Ecuadorian professional collector, who lived in Brazil (mid-1930s) and took Brazilian
392 citizenship.” We recorded the countries where they were from as Germany and Ecuador,
393 respectively. For individuals who lack this information in *The Eponym Dictionary of Birds*, we
394 determined where they were born from other publicly available sources, such as *curriculum*
395 *vitae* available online or *In Memorias* published in society journals.

396 **Author metrics**

397 We compiled author data from the publication of each species description. We recorded the
398 number of authors on each publication and each author's institutional affiliation. For authors with
399 more than one affiliation listed, we used their first institution listed for our analyses, as this
400 institution is given and perceived as having priority. When an author's institutional affiliation was
401 not included in a species description, which is the case for some publications earlier in the
402 dataset, we inferred their institutional affiliation at the time of publication (when possible) from
403 other publicly available sources, such as *In Memorias*.

404 We inferred an author's country of origin based on where they were born or where they received
405 an undergraduate education, which we compiled from publicly available sources, such as *In*
406 *Memorias*, personal websites, *curriculum vitae*, etc. Our country of origin metric is intended to
407 capture: (1) the place where an individual received their formative education, and (2) the
408 academic conventions under which they were trained. We defined an author's country of origin
409 as the country where they were born (61% of authors), but when this information was
410 unavailable, we used the country of their undergraduate institution when available (14% of
411 authors). This combined approach helps us increase coverage, and when both data types were
412 available for an author (34% of authors), the two metrics show 93% congruence.

413 **Statistical analysis**

414 We assess changes in authorship patterns through time using simple linear regressions (Figure
415 1B and Figure 2A-D), logistic regressions (Figure 2E), and Poisson regressions (Figure 2F),
416 with year as a single predictor variable. We analyzed if eponym patterns (local honoree vs. non-
417 local honoree) were significantly predicted by the authors' country of origin (local vs. non-local)
418 using logistic regressions, with year as a fixed effect (Figure 3). All analyses were conducted in
419 R v3.6.2 (R Core Team 2013).

420 **LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

421 Our ability to write this paper is made possible through institutional access and support enabled
422 by coercion and theft, and ongoing occupation of indigenous land. In particular, the University of
423 Michigan and the University of Chicago/Field Museum are situated on the lands of the Council
424 of the Three Fires – comprised of the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi Nations – as well as the
425 Miami, Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Sac, Fox, Kickapoo, and Illinois Nations. For this reason, we are
426 complicit in the ongoing oppression of peoples indigenous to and displaced from these
427 territories. Along with the seizure of lands, our institutions and practices have contributed to the
428 erasure and oppression of indigenous sovereignty and knowledge. We call for our community
429 to: (1) reflect on the objectives and impacts of our science, (2) acknowledge and respect
430 indigenous autonomy and self-determination, and (3) recognize that our objectives are not
431 justification for the violation of indigenous autonomy and self-determination.

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438 **LINK TO SUPPLEMENT**

439 Versión del manuscrito en español (Spanish language version of manuscript)
440 <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1iloVAaqUznEOoWqejXfFclGtf9-TnbUt/view?usp=sharing>

DEFINITIONS BOX: Definitions of terms, and how we use terms in the text.

country of origin - The country where an author was born and/or where they received an undergraduate education. This metric is intended to capture where an individual received their formative education, and the academic conventions under which they were trained.

eponym - a name (in this case, the scientific name of organisms) that “commemorates a real person or a mythological or fictional character” (Jobling 2010).

global North/global South - We classified countries and island regions as either *global North* or *global South* based on the United Nations classifications for “developed” and “developing” regions with “developed” corresponding to *global North* and “developing” corresponding to the *global South*. These terms are not strict geographical categorizations of the world but “based on economic inequalities which happens to have some cartographic continuity” (Rigg 2007). Countries such as Australia and New Zealand, for example, are considered as part of the global North. The North/South designations are associated with the Brandt report (1980) which argued that North/South is broadly synonymous with rich/poor and developed/developing, “although neither is a uniform or permanent grouping” (Brandt 1980).

imperialism - The ideology and practice of domination over the territories of sovereign peoples. “By the late nineteenth century, *imperialism* [was] used to describe the development or maintenance of power (“hegemony”) of one country over another through economic, diplomatic, and cultural domination even in the absence of direct colonial occupation” (Young 2015).

Indigenous science - The science of a local culture and society (Ogawa 1995). In contrast to Western science (which is rooted in European culture), *Indigenous science* is not rooted in one cultural background. We do not use the term *Indigenous science* to imply a shared ontology or history among indigenous cultures, but rather, to refer to the concept of science and knowledge production that is rooted in local culture and society.

metropole - The central territory of a colonial state (i.e. the colonizing sovereign state). For example, the U.S. is the *metropole* of Puerto Rico and Guam. Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal are the former *metropoles* for much of the Americas.

(settler) colonialism - “...a specific mode of domination where a community of exogenous settlers permanently displace to a new locale, eliminate or displace indigenous populations and sovereignties, and constitute an autonomous political body.” (Veracini 2010). While our study focuses primarily on imperial dynamics, imperialism and colonialism are closely tied.

type locality - The country where a species is described from.

Western science - A system of knowledge-production that rose to prominence in the 17th and 18th centuries as part of European empire building, and is currently a dominant form of knowledge production globally (Medin and Bang 2014). *Western science* is rooted in ancient Greek philosophy and science, although its foundations are heavily influenced by a broader range of intellectual traditions – such as those in central Asia, as well as Babylonian and Islamic science (Lindberg 2007, Ragep 2009).

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533 [two-parts/](https://therednation.org/2015/05/13/science-time-and-mauna-a-wakea-the-thirty-meter-telescopes-capitalist-colonialist-violence-an-essay-in-two-parts/)
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