

Citation Evidence Report

EB-2 NIW Petition — National Interest Waiver

Matter of Dhanasar · Prong 2 (well-positioned)

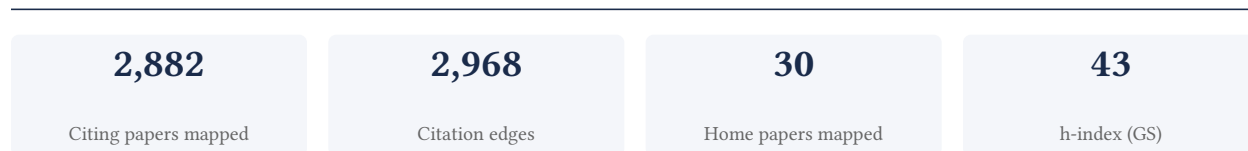
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[Google Scholar profile](#)

Generated 2026-05-21 by CiteMap. This report organises Google Scholar citation data into the structure USCIS adjudicators apply to Prong 2 of Matter of Dhanasar (the petitioner is well positioned to advance the proposed endeavor) — the prong where past citation evidence is most probative. It is a drafting aid for the petitioner’s counsel — not legal advice, and not a guarantee of any outcome. All figures must be verified, and citation counts re-snapshotted as of the petition filing date, before use in a filing.

A. Overview & Filtering Statement



Filtering statement – methodology & limits

Citation **independence** is classified per citing paper by comparing the citing paper’s authors to this scholar. *Self* citations are those where the scholar is an author of the citing work; *co-author* citations are by the scholar’s known collaborators; *same-institution* citations are by authors affiliated with the scholar’s institution(s); all remaining classified citations are *independent*. Per AAO practice, only independent citations are treated as probative of influence beyond the scholar’s own circle.

Known limitations – counsel must verify. (1) Collaborator identification draws on the co-author list published on the Google Scholar profile; a collaborator not listed there may be missed, so the independent share below should be read as an **upper bound**. (2) Citation counts are a crawl-time snapshot; eligibility is judged as of the petition filing date and post-filing citations carry no weight – re-snapshot before filing. (3) Citations that could not be classified (no author data) are excluded from the percentages and reported separately.

B. Citation Independence

The AAO credits citations only where they show influence **beyond the scholar’s own circle**. Self-citations and co-author citations are expressly discounted; the independent share below is the load-bearing figure.

99.1% independent of 441 classified citing papers

Citation type	Count
Independent	437
Self-citation	0
Co-author	0
Same-institution	4

2,441 citing papers could not be classified (no author data) and are excluded from the percentages above.

C. Significant Contributions & Their Citation Evidence

Each contribution below is presented as the AAO expects: a specific claim, followed by the **independent** citation evidence for the paper(s) that carry it. Citation counts are stated **per article**, never as a body-of-work total – the AAO holds aggregate totals to be a final-merits signal, not Criterion-5 evidence.

Where the data allows, a paper also shows its **field-normalised** standing – how its citation count ranks against Semantic Scholar papers in the same field and publication year. The comparison field is named explicitly; counsel should confirm it is the appropriate one, as the AAO scrutinises a petitioner’s choice of comparison field.

Contribution 1

Claim – Contribution 1

The researcher established a foundational framework for analyzing how bureaucratic development mechanisms depoliticize power structures, a theory that has profoundly shaped critical development studies and political sociology.

The researcher’s seminal 1994 paper, 'Anti-politics machine,' serves as the cornerstone of this contribution, introducing a critical lens on the intersection of development, depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho. This work appears to challenge conventional views of development aid by highlighting how technical interventions can obscure political accountability. The originality of this line of work lies in its early identification of the 'anti-politics' function of development institutions, a concept that distinguishes it from earlier, more technocratic approaches to international aid and governance. By framing development not merely as economic assistance but as a mechanism of bureaucratic control, the researcher opened a new avenue for critiquing the political economy of aid. The significance of this contribution is evidenced by the core paper’s extensive citation record, which indicates widespread adoption of its theoretical framework. Furthermore, the researcher’s continued engagement with these themes in later works, such as 'Give a man a fish' and 'Global disconnect,' suggests an evolving critique of distribution and modernity that builds upon this initial insight. The high degree of citation independence, with nearly all citing authors being external to the researcher’s immediate circle, underscores the broad and autonomous impact of this scholarship across the global academic community.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 192

CORE PAPER

[Anti-politics machine: Development, depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho](#)

1994 · U of Minnesota Press, 1994 · 13,780 citations (GS)

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Nature Unbound: Conservation, Capitalism and the Future of Protected Areas	Dartmouth College, Manchester University	United Kingdom, United States	—
2	Social Justice in HCI: A Systematic Literature Review	Georgia Institute of Technology, Indiana University - Purdue University Indianapolis, Northeastern University	United States	—
3	Power to the People? Opportunities and Challenges for Participatory AI	DeepMind, Google	United Kingdom, United States	—
4	Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography	Rice University	United States	—
5	Decolonizing energy justice from the ground up: Political ecology, ontology, and energy landscapes	Durham University	United Kingdom	—
6	Refugees and exile: From "refugee studies" to the national order of things	University of California, Irvine	United States	—
7	The study of discourse in international relations: A critique of research and methods	Graduate Institute of International Studies	—	—
8	TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics	George Washington University	United States	—
9	Dislocated accountabilities in the "AI supply chain": Modularity and developers' notions of responsibility	Carnegie Mellon University, Intel	United States	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
10	Can foreign aid buy growth?	—	—	—
11	Doing good? The politics and antipolitics of NGO practices	Harvard University	United States	—
12	The Capitalocene Part II: accumulation by appropriation and the centrality of unpaid work/energy	Binghamton University	United States	—
13	Life on the land: New lives for agrarian questions	Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Indiana University Bloomington, Universidade de Brasilia	Brazil, France, South Africa	—
14	Postcolonial computing: a lens on design and development	Georgia Institute of Technology, University of California, Irvine	United States	—
15	Documents and bureaucracy	University of Michigan	United States	—
16	Sustainable governance of common-pool resources: context, methods, and politics	McGill University	Canada	—
17	Resilience, poverty and development	Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex	United Kingdom	—
18	Geographies of knowing, geographies of ignorance: jumping scale in Southeast Asia	University of Amsterdam	Netherlands	—
19	Maddening states	University of Texas	United States	—
20	Social justice-oriented interaction design: Outlining key design strategies and commitments	University of Colorado, University of Washington	United States	—
21	New political ecologies of renewable energy	Durham University, Global Energy Monitor, The Evergreen State University	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States	—
22	The hustle economy: Informality, uncertainty and the geographies of getting by	University College London	United Kingdom	—
23	The deskilling of domain expertise in AI development	Georgetown University, Google Research	United States	—
24	Hackathons and the making of entrepreneurial citizenship	University of California, San Diego	United States	—
25	Linking knowledge and action for sustainable development	Chiang Mai University, The Australian National University	Australia, Thailand	—
26	The business of anthropology and the European refugee regime	University of Pittsburgh	United States	—
27	Engaged anthropology: diversity and dilemmas: an introduction to supplement 2	Institute of Cytology and Genetics, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Urmia University, Zoological Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences	Iran, Russia	—
28	Avatars of Eurocentrism in the Critique of the Liberal Peace	University of Cambridge	United Kingdom	—
29	Transnational humanitarianism	The New School for Social Research	—	—
30	Distinguishing participation and inclusion	University of California, Irvine, University of Minnesota	United States	—

Showing the 30 most-cited of 192 independent citing papers.

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

FOLLOW-UP WORK

[Give a man a fish: Reflections on the new politics of distribution](#)

2020 · Duke University Press, 2020 · 1,998 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 351 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Political Science papers from 2020 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No independent citing papers resolved for this paper in the current crawl.

FOLLOW-UP WORK

[Global disconnect: Abjection and the aftermath of modernism](#)

2020 · Industrial Work and Life, 311-329, 2020 · 213 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 16 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 5% of History papers from 2020 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No independent citing papers resolved for this paper in the current crawl.

Contribution 2

Claim — Contribution 2

The researcher established a foundational framework for understanding the cultural and spatial dimensions of modernity and neoliberal governance in African urban contexts.

The researcher's contribution centers on a seminal 1999 paper examining the myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt. This work serves as the cornerstone for a broader scholarly trajectory that explores how modernity is perceived and constructed in post-colonial African settings.

This line of work appears to address a gap in understanding the intersection of urban experience, state power, and cultural meaning. By following the core study with a 2002 paper on the ethnography of neoliberal governmentality, the researcher suggests a shift from analyzing local cultural narratives to examining how state structures and neoliberal policies spatially manifest and govern everyday life.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by the substantial citation counts for both the core and follow-up papers. Furthermore, the fact that nearly all citing researchers are independent indicates that this framework has been widely adopted and utilized by the broader academic community to analyze similar phenomena, confirming its impact beyond the researcher's immediate circle.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 1

CORE PAPER

[Expectations of modernity: myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt](#)

1999 · Univ of California Press, 1999 · 4,309 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 857 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Sociology papers from 1999 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	The politics and poetics of infrastructure	Barnard College, Columbia University	United States	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

FOLLOW-UP WORK

[Spatializing states: toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality](#)

2002 · American ethnologist 29 (4), 981-1002, 2002 · 3,980 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 2,062 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Sociology papers from 2002 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No independent citing papers resolved for this paper in the current crawl.

Contribution 3

Claim — Contribution 3

The researcher advanced critical spatial theory by reframing cultural analysis through the lenses of space, identity, and the politics of difference.

The researcher's seminal contribution rests on the 2008 paper 'Beyond 'culture': space, identity, and the politics of difference'. This work appears to establish a foundational framework for understanding how spatial dynamics intersect with identity formation and political difference, moving beyond traditional cultural analysis.

This line of work addresses a conceptual gap by suggesting that culture alone is insufficient for analyzing social difference. The title indicates a deliberate shift toward incorporating spatial and political dimensions, offering a novel theoretical perspective that redefines how scholars approach identity and difference in academic discourse.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by its extensive uptake, with over 7,700 citations. Notably, 99.1% of classified citations originate from independent researchers, demonstrating that this framework has been widely adopted and integrated into the broader scholarly community across diverse institutions and fields.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 170 · 2 flagged influential by Semantic Scholar

CORE PAPER

[Beyond 'culture': space, identity, and the politics of difference](#)

2008 · The cultural geography reader, 72-79, 2008 · 7,721 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 2,091 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Sociology papers from 2008 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography	Rice University	United States	—
2	Refugees and exile: From "refugee studies" to the national order of things	University of California, Irvine	United States	—
3	Analyses and interventions: Anthropological engagements with environmentalism	Medical College of Wisconsin, University of Washing-	United States	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
		ton, Washington University in Saint Louis		
4	Culture, globalization, mediation	University of Chicago	United States	—
5	Global ethnography	University of Illinois	United States	—
6	Green dots, pink hearts: displacing politics from the Malaysian rain forest	—	—	—
7	Modern times: Seven steps toward an anthropology of the future	National Institute for Lasers, Plasma and Radiation Physics, National Research and Development Institute for Textile and Leather	Romania	—
8	The study of boundaries in the social sciences	—	—	—
9	A space for place in sociology	Indiana University	United States	—
10	Regimes of mobility across the globe	KU Leuven	Belgium	—
11	Hofstede's model of national cultural differences and their consequences: A triumph of faith—a failure of analysis	University of Essex	United Kingdom	—
12	Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography	Ben Gurion University of the Negev, University of Oulu	Finland, Israel	—
13	Talking culture: new boundaries, new rhetorics of exclusion in Europe	The Second Affiliated Hospital of Jiaxing University	China	—
14	Translocality: Concepts, applications and emerging research perspectives	University of Bonn, University of Cologne	Germany	—
15	The politics of space, time and substance: state formation, nationalism, and ethnicity	University of Arizona	—	—
16	Displacing place-identity: a discursive approach to locating self and other	Lancaster University	United Kingdom	—
17	Community-based cultural tourism: Issues, threats and opportunities	KU Leuven	Belgium	—
18	The Mexican-US border: the making of an anthropology of borderlands	Arizona State University	United States	—
19	The field site as a network: A strategy for locating ethnographic research	University of California-Berkeley	United States	—
20	Europe as a social process and discourse: considerations of place, boundaries and identity	University of Oulu	Finland	—
21	Are ethnic groups biological “species” to the human brain? Essentialism in our cognition of some social categories	—	—	—
22	The commodification of intimacy: Marriage, sex, and reproductive labor	University of Pittsburgh	United States	—
23	Time and the other in crisis: How anthropology makes its displaced object	—	—	Background
24	Imagining globalization: power-geometries of time-space	Fondazione IRCCS San Gerardo dei Tintori	Italy	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
25	Decolonial and ontological challenges in social and anthropological theory.	Texas Tech University	United States	Background
26	Local knowledge in the environment–development discourse: From dichotomies to situated knowledges	University of Helsinki	Finland	Background
27	Community forestry in theory and practice: Where are we now?	University of Washington, USDA Forest Service	United States	—
28	Resilience: A commentary from the vantage point of anthropology	Southern Illinois University Carbondale	United States	—
29	Can culture be copyrighted?	Nanjing Medical University	China	—
30	Geographies of gender and migration: Spatializing social difference	University of Colorado	United States	—

Showing the 30 most-cited of 170 independent citing papers.

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar’s read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2’s isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

D. Citing-Institution Prestige & Geography

Top citing institutions

Institution	Country	World ranking	Citing papers
University of Washington	United States	SCImago #45 · THE 25 · QS 81	12
University of California, Irvine	United States	SCImago #329 · THE 97 · QS 293	10
University College London	United Kingdom	SCImago #30	9
University of Oxford	United Kingdom	SCImago #26 · THE 1 · QS 4	9
University of California, Los Angeles	United States	SCImago #70 · THE =18 · QS 46	8
University of Sussex	United Kingdom	SCImago #1505 · THE 201–250 · QS 278	7
Durham University	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	SCImago #1369 · THE 175 · QS =94	7
University of Toronto	Canada	SCImago #39 · THE 21 · QS 29	6
University of California, Berkeley	United States	SCImago #95 · THE 9 · QS =17	5
University of Oslo	Norway	SCImago #425 · THE =113 · QS =119	5
University of Minnesota	United States	SCImago #165 · THE 88 · QS 210	5
University of California, Santa Cruz	United States	SCImago #1349 · THE =181 · QS =458	5
KU Leuven	Belgium	SCImago #180 · THE 46 · QS 60	5
Monash University	Australia	THE =58 · QS =36	5
University Medical Center Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	—	5

Geographic distribution of citing authors

Country	Citing papers
United States	170
United Kingdom	93
Canada	30
Australia	20
Netherlands	18
Germany	16
South Africa	12
Norway	8
Finland	8
Italy	7
France	6
China	6

Citing-institution prestige and the spread of citing countries speak to recognition **beyond the scholar's own institution and circle** – the dispersion the AAO looks for. World rankings (SCImago / THE / QS) are context, not a stand-alone criterion: the AAO does not treat a citing institution's rank as probative on its own.

F. AAO Precedent Considerations

Pre-filing self-check (AAO denial patterns)

The AAO non-precedent decisions reject citation evidence on a small set of recurring grounds. Confirm the petition addresses each before filing:

- Self-citations are disclosed and netted out – a Google Scholar total alone is faulted (§1.1).
- Evidence is per individual article, not a body-of-work aggregate total (§1.2).
- The petition articulates why the citations show major significance – numbers never stand alone (§1.5).
- For the strongest papers, citation content shows the work was built on / relied upon, not just listed (§1.6, §2.2).
- Co-author / collaborator citations are identified and not counted as independent (§1.7).
- Recognition is shown beyond the scholar's own institution and circle (§1.8).
- Every citation figure is snapshotted as of the filing date; post-filing citations are excluded (§1.9).
- Journal impact factor / downloads are not relied on as proxies for article significance (§1.10, §1.12).
- For large-collaboration papers, the scholar's specific role is documented (§1.13).
- Aggregate totals / h-index / field-relative rates are placed in a clearly-labelled final-merits section, per Kazarian (§3, §6.1.7).

Disclaimer

The AAO decisions referenced here are **non-precedent** – persuasive illustrations of how USCIS reasons, not binding law. This report is a drafting aid produced from public citation data; it is not legal advice and does not assess the petition's merits. All analysis must be reviewed by qualified immigration counsel.

G. Citation Evidence Index

Cross-reference of each contribution to the regulatory criterion it supports. Counsel should map these to the petition's exhibit numbers.

Contribution	Core paper	Indep. cites	Supports
Contribution 1	Anti-politics machine: Development, depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho	192	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)
Contribution 2	Expectations of modernity: myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt	1	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)
Contribution 3	Beyond 'culture': space, identity, and the politics of difference	170	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)