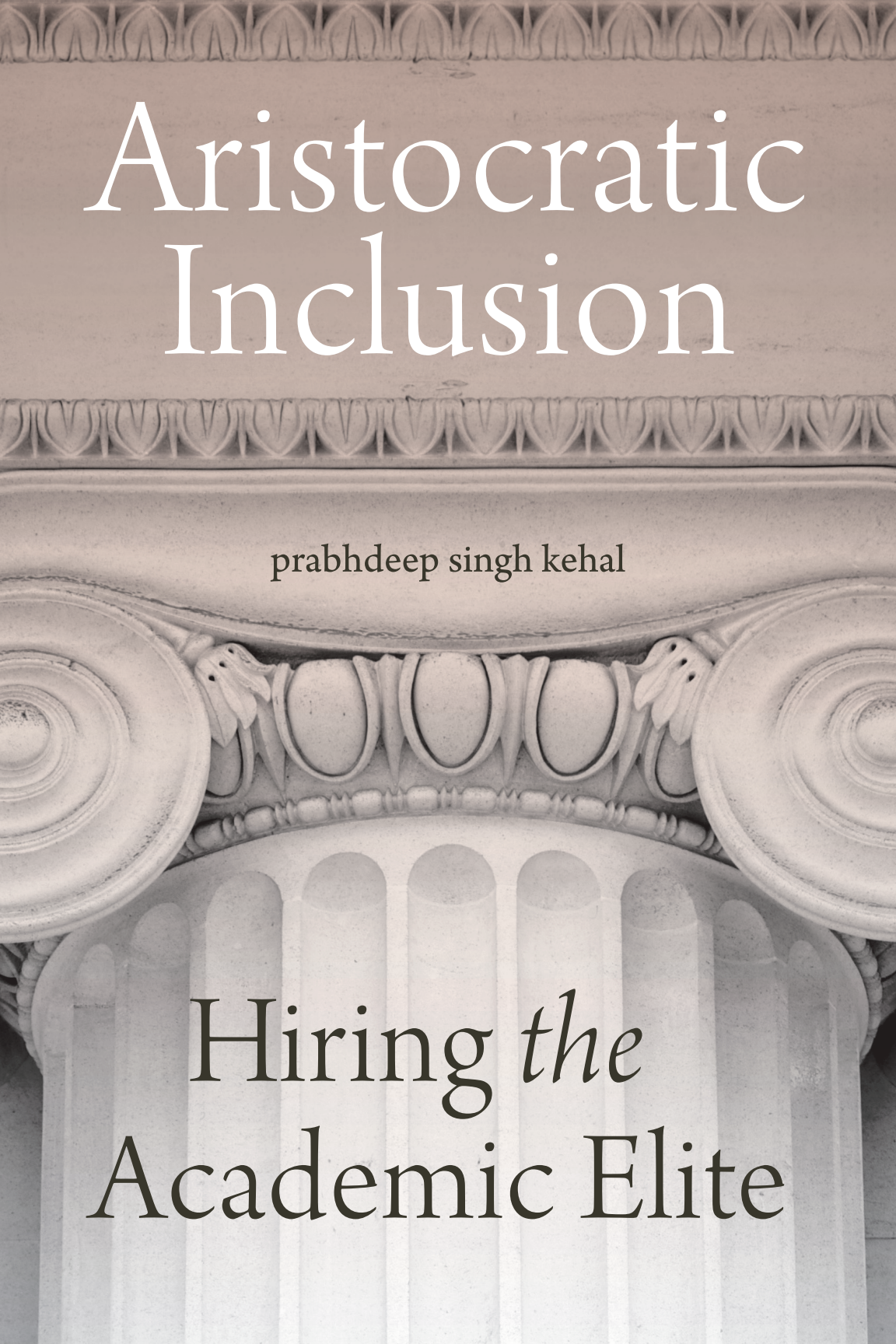
Aristocratic Inclusion

prabhdeep singh kehal



Hiring *the* Academic Elite

ARISTOCRATIC INCLUSION



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HIRING THE ACADEMIC ELITE

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to those who were made to feel and *imagine*
that something was wrong with them
when in *reality*
we were the ones with sense and clarity:
it is *all* absolute nonsense and unseriousness

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INTRODUCTION

ELITE DOMINATION IN TODAY'S AGE OF DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION

Archie was excited to talk to me. His eyes gleamed as I sat down in his office. Thinking back now, I remember how much we laughed—which is not how most of my interviews went, since we were talking about inequities in faculty hiring. I knew Archie was one of those people who had been keeping a mental archive of his entire professional life in the US academy. I was ready to hear what he had to say. Archie is a natural scientist tenured at an elite university. I had asked him about his experiences with hiring from both sides: as a candidate and as an evaluator. He began telling me what his senior faculty mentor in the department, a white man from outside the United States, had told him years after being hired: "'I have to tell you what happened when you were being hired. . . . People were saying they already have a Black person and she's female, it fulfills the diversity requirement. And then, why are we looking at him?' And [my soon-to-be mentor] said to them in the meeting, 'I don't give a fuck. If he's black, green, yellow, white. I love his work and I want him.' And he said, 'It was like silence in the room.'"

Archie would not have the job he has now—I would not be laughing with him—without his mentor's active advocacy. And he wanted me to know that. Archie had been trained at elite US research universities and had published in elite disciplinary journals. He had won prestigious awards and grants—some that professors in this department had not even

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achieved at the time of his hiring, and still hadn't. He had a senior white advocate and mentor. He was also a Black man working in a white male–dominated elite research professoriate. How could these professors get away with justifying their refusal to consider Archie and his record fairly because of his race? As university administrations, from the 1980s to the present, have worked to culturally and demographically diversify their campuses, white and male professors have resisted. Resistant professors allege that inclusion initiatives, no matter how well-intentioned, prioritize cultural conformism around social justice over academic freedom to legitimate and manage knowledge production, researchers, and academic cultures (Brint and German 2021). But this white patriarchal resistance to change has a history.

While Archie assumed he was hirable because he met—exceeded, actually—the unofficial and official hiring criteria in the elite research professoriate, his exclusion mirrored what white female professors I had spoken with described: not being included in an elite white boys' club. Within this club, existing members welcomed new members if they felt comfortable with them; the terms of entry were culturally distinguished and socially verified (Maher and Tetreault 2006; Malkiel 2016). In these elite clubs, white men benefit from the social group's cultural norms. Since these men decide the terms of inclusion, such cultural norms ensure their empowered positions. While Archie had the right technical qualifications—and was a man—white male departmental professors found him to be unhirable.

How does one enter a workplace if the gatekeepers treat it like an elite white boys' club? What is hirability among elites? How do academics justify their ideas of it? And for those elites who voice commitments to changing this culture while still continuing to hire from the elite, how do they justify this double-talk?

The Study

I explore these concepts of inclusion and elites by analyzing how elite academics use the concept of "hirability" to distinguish the inclusion of new junior colleagues when they are prompted to change academic norms through administrative equity-based policies, programs, and initiatives. *Aristocratic Inclusion* questions how elites give themselves permission to be such by analyzing how such academics distinguish who is hirable and

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who is not, and how they justify these decisions. I investigate how professors use hirability to justify, adapt, and preserve their cultures, and how they defend a regime of hirability to track its use in distinguishing includable candidates. The book shows that professors use hirability to preserve their aristocracy as a cultural institution focused on research labor while navigating pressures to implement administrative equity-based efforts that would change their work cultures. I explore how they use hirability along five key dimensions: research, inclusion-aligning cultural labor, academic power, intellectual diversity, and in-person evaluations. I wrote *Aristocratic Inclusion* as a guide for activating, organizing, and implementing cultural change by identifying these five pressure points of cultural change and why they are important within cultural organizations.

But could professors be making the best practical decisions on who to include, given university, departmental, and disciplinary limitations? Possibly, but domination is also a practical decision. For instance, institutional status continues to highly predict US researchers' career placements and trajectories across higher education. These dynamics are so long-lasting and sedimented that scholars describe the elite research professoriate as a metropole (a colony's dominating state) that produces scholars (junior candidates) for the peripheral colonies (less elite universities and colleges) to hire (Wapman et al. 2022; Morgan et al. 2018). Other scholars focusing on the "PhD exchange network" in specific disciplines describe hiring as an "academic caste system" because academic prestige among job candidates is a type of cultural capital that elite universities value (Burris 2004). Collectively, scholars are moving toward describing hiring in the research system as a whole but struggle to do so because they cannot account for or identify the purpose of elite status in hiring. Yet practically, searching for "the best" is a great cover for rationalizing domination.

While these quantitative network studies and demographic hiring trends have made it harder for professors to deny criticisms of elitism, they have not clarified what rationale professors use to maintain this inequitable link. For instance, do they rely on elite affiliations because they believe candidates with such affiliations have some inherent desirable quality, because these candidates are academically legible to their elite expertise culture, or because they are managing other concerns related to cultural change? Qualitatively exploring how professors justify using elite affiliations to distinguish inclusion reveals what elites think confers that status, and how newly included scholars are meant to preserve and transform elite cultures.

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How do elites justify hiring from the elite while committing to equitable inclusion? I found that elite credentials serve as a bulwark against which any cultural change can be challenged and minimized. Faculty at elite US research universities—what I refer to as the "research aristocracy"—use inclusion initiatives to protect their own status and to maintain elitism across the research system. I call this defensive and reorienting process "aristocratic inclusion." Aristocratic inclusion is a compromise for maintaining the research aristocracy as a process of group production that responds to and resolves the problem of elite white colonial domination—white demographic overrepresentation in the US research system. I show that aristocratic inclusion evolves from a history of segregation and that contemporary inclusion efforts, rather than challenging that legacy, are in practice the newest expression of it.

It is simple for professors to take aristocratic inclusion for granted. They can emphasize their campus's or department's uniqueness (difference) while overlooking the cultural sameness in which that uniqueness operates and gets meaning. For instance, administrators, faculty, and external entities (first corporations and later the federal government) built the current research system, with the elite research universities at the top, between the 1860s and the 1940s. They did this by incentivizing research labor over teaching labor as the basis for faculty work. From the 1940s onward, as the education system grew, administrators and professors used the academic cultural norms they had established to defend prioritizing research as they responded to desegregation, integration, and multicultural inclusion efforts that sought to change these historic norms at their campuses. In the present age of diversity, equity, and inclusion, research universities look different in size (more buildings, centers, and partnerships with governments and countries) and services (advancements in technology and student support, resources, and amenities). Yet, like many of their predecessors, those among the elite tenure-track research professoriate continue to resist organizational change initiatives for equity, even as they espouse a commitment and investment in equitable cultural change, unlike many of their ancestors (Ahmed 2012; Okechukwu 2019; byrd 2019). Furthermore, the terms of inclusion through hiring remain remarkably similar since their creation in the early 1900s among the elites. For instance, though professors have had great discretion over hiring *evaluations* per their academic norms, it is administrators who decide *if* hiring happens and whether to prioritize donor-driven hiring through named faculty chairs. While individual campuses can have their unique cultural

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dynamics, they participate in a broader translocal culture by which they recognize and legitimate others and their status based on who is on the faculty (Cetina 2007; D. E. Smith 2005). This cultural homogeneity—in resisting cultural change for greater inclusion and maintaining hirability norms—operates as a translocal system that creates and maintains a professorial culture among the elite (Cetina 1999). In this translocal system, inclusion initiatives serve as the modern vehicle for preserving the research aristocracy's elitism, though they do not have to function this way.

Since my study (2018–22), two major phenomena directly relevant to this study took place: (1) labor organizing within the US academy amid administrators' increasing corporatization of decision-making power after COVID-19 and antigenocide, pro-Palestine student protests, and (2) right-wing backlash to critical race theory and queer and transgender visibility amid increased university commitments to inclusion efforts. These two forces have consolidated into a singular, fascist federal government that took power in January 2025. This government has targeted elite research universities and their stated commitments to inclusion initiatives as a way to destroy institutionalized civil rights protections around racial and gender equality. These efforts have intensified since 2023–24 when students and faculty participated in pro-Palestine, antigenocide protests against the US-backed, Israeli genocide of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. For instance, President Trump and President Biden both weaponized claims of antisemitism being rampant in universities; while Biden used these claims to construct Zionists and Israel-supporters as victims that needed protection from "the left" and equity-advocates with antigenocide and antiwar politics, Trump used them to attack diversity, equity, and inclusion as concepts to make universities abandon their inclusion initiatives, particularly targeting humanities, social sciences, and LGBTQIA+ studies. Effectively, in an "antiwoke," anti-DEI contemporary context led by an empowered, fascist federal government, inclusion initiatives' opponents portray them as "unfair, divisive, anti-white, and now antisemitic" because they cast "antisemitism as adjacent to the alleged anti-white racism of D.E.I., [hoping] this effort has the potential to draw Jews and others concerned about antisemitism into the right's campaign of grievance politics" (Taylor 2024).[1]

While I conducted the study as these recent developments were still consolidating as a reactionary, mainstream movement against DEI, elite US research universities and their professors have become a site for labor organizing and a target for right-wing culture wars. As pro-Palestine and antigenocide organizing grew in support, administrators and right-wing

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activists targeted faculty labor rights, academic freedom, and DEI efforts among the elites. It was administrators who would decide how to respond to these attacks, especially through strategic hiring, even if professors could make statements denouncing these attacks and responses. If anti-DEI efforts define the contemporary context, who is an elite and how they negotiate power is an even more critical question since political governance and knowledge production are fundamental tools for preserving a fascist, imperial nation.

Who Counts as an Elite?

For *Aristocratic Inclusion,* elites are tenure-track professors at universities that are historically, socially, and culturally identified as valuable organizations. The value of their intellectual labor on campus and in the broader research system is cultural, with eliteness bound to the organizations from which professors work (Shapiro 2009; Morgan et al. 2018).[2] They work at universities that are culturally debated the most in media, that have national and international status and rankings that students and academics want to join, and that have accrued immense wealth over their histories through endowments, land, real estate, and research funding. Historically, since rankings were developed for graduate training programs and research faculty and despite differences among them, elite universities have included and still do include Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Duke, Harvard, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Northwestern, NYU, Ohio State, Princeton, Stanford, UC Berkeley, UCLA, University of Chicago, University of Illinois Urbana–Champaign, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, University of North Carolina, University of Pennsylvania, University of Texas–Austin, University of Washington, University of Wisconsin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Yale (Cartter 1966; Magoun 1966). Tenure-track professors at these universities are elites because they are in occupations that give them disproportionate control over resources that have transferable value, alongside immense access to them (Khan 2012b, 362). For professors, one "resource" is employment through the "recognition" of tenure-track status at an elite research university in the United States. Only professors at such institutions can provide this status to the global public.

Understanding elite power like this—as localized, translocal, and transnational—requires a historicized understanding of elites' role in

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creating the research university system; otherwise these developments can be interpreted as the United States' inherent greatness "naturally" emerging or emerging due to elites. Administrators, professors, and private donors sought to make the US research university into an academic aristocracy (detailed in chapter 1). Aristocracies as political systems typically have a hereditary dimension to them since aristocracies are ruled by families, interfamilial relationships, and a social hierarchy. But these relationships do not have to be hereditarily or matrimonially family based. Instead, they can be based on different, higher-order norms since the purpose is to identify elite leaders of the local and translocal system—aristocrats. For instance, for an academic aristocracy, aristocratic norms can include:

1. *believing in the existence* of well-defined, identifiable, and verifiable differences in individuals' capacities to rule the system;
2. a *consistent procedure* for selecting such leaders based on these differences that is both publicly approved but politically-unaccountable to the public; and
3. a *communal trusteeship* for the aristocracy. (Merriam 1938)

Simply, there exist elites among the masses to be found and included, they can be found and included in a publicly justifiable, but private process, and the aristocracy is preserved and protected communally rather than individually. An academic aristocracy would follow this systematic structure by prioritizing (1) authority in the form of expertise and knowledge, (2) consensus-building toward shared goals, and (3) a desire to counteract managerial governance forms (Haviland et al. 2017; Tierney and Bensimon 1996). Or in an academic aristocracy, authority is granted through research labor, processes of inclusion are bound by a need for consensus, and governance is shared between professors, administrators, and the board of governors. These structural dimensions are in practice today through the network of assumptions, traditions, and relations by which professors establish interpersonal relations and are legitimated and granted autonomy to govern themselves and their university's academic functions (Downey 1996). Through their governance structure and their justifiable but unaccountable processes of inclusion, professors prioritize the academic aristocracy's maintenance because "major decisions regarding policy are habitually made by a small section of the community acting through procedures and institutions adapted to this end" (Merriam 1938, 857). Hiring—identifying, verifying, and including new academic

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aristocrats—becomes a crucial site for debating the terms of inclusion since equity-based inclusion efforts can change historic hirability norms. Yet professors have the primary authority to choose whom to include in their departments and campuses, a justifiable process, and a governance structure that empowers them to rule the aristocracy. Understanding how they distinguish people for inclusion reveals *how* they rule the aristocracy. Professors at elite US research universities are, thereby, elites as academic aristocrats.

If it is an academic aristocracy, it is a colonial, white-serving, segregated, and patriarchal one. The tenure-track status is aristocratic because of how racist and cisheterosexist power transitioned in the settler colonial United States from a white-dominating, patriarchal enslaving structure in the 1860s toward a desegregating, integrating, and multicultural democratizing structure since the 1980s (Ferguson 2012; Okechukwu 2019; Wooten 2016; Du Bois [1933] 1973).[3] Amid this ongoing transition, the US research system—and the aristocracy that rules over it from within—is one node of a historic transnational knowledge network that has origins in the settlement and transformation of the British settler colonies into the United States and from there into global colonial and imperial networks (Bhambra et al. 2018; Chatterjee and Maira 2014; Kennedy 2014; Pietsch 2015; Wilder 2013). When I use this framing to understand elite power, I do not mean that there has been a static, unidirectional relationship for the US nation over the past six centuries through a "US research system" or "research aristocracy"—such a system has not existed (Stevens and Gebre-Medhin 2016; Wilder 2013). I do this to recognize that my analyses of power negotiations among elites have colonial and imperial implications. Elite professors occupy positions of US power. When they negotiate racist and cisheterosexist power among themselves, they remake relations of authority and interpretation in their local, translocal, and transnational networks (Pietsch 2015; Espeland 1998). When professors debate whom to include through consensus-making processes in the metropole (e.g., academic aristocracy or the United States), they remake racist, patriarchal, colonial, or imperial relations across the colonies (i.e., less elite universities and colleges or US colonial territories and military occupations) to redefine who is worthy for inclusion. For instance, in the 1950s, while under British imperial rule, British academics imposed norms from their academy onto West Indian scholars, but these Indigenous scholars went "against the grain" to create their own knowledge systems by resisting British academic norms (Cramer 2022, 2023). Within

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the academic, colonial metropole then, professors' debates in the United States would be equitably deliberative if they considered how segregation historically determined worth in their system and the ways cultural norms developed around segregation, such as aristocratic hirability norms (P. H. Collins 2012; Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). Put simply, if the aristocracy is not structurally transformed through desegregation, inclusion in a racistly and patriarchally segregated academic aristocracy will occur through instances of aristocratic inclusion.

Aristocratic Inclusion: Inclusion Through Hirability

When championing diversity and inclusion, how can a demographic global minority (white people, organizations, nations) use institutions to maintain their domination over a demographically diverse global majority that they once ruled? Aristocratic inclusion is a process of group production that responds to and resolves the problem of elite white colonial domination—white demographic overrepresentation—in the US research system because it maintains elite domination.[4] When aristocratically including people, elite affiliations are justified as accomplishments for narrowing the terms of inclusion, while demographic diversity is treated as an includable attribute sourced from a narrow group of elites. It is a process through which elite domination continues through a more demographically diverse set of elites—whose inclusion is then used to justify its continuation (Ferguson 2012; Johnson 2020; Táíwò 2022). Under racial and colonial capitalism, white patriarchal domination can continue when elites choose a new guard that holds the same values as the old guard but is sufficiently modernized to adapt to ongoing challenges to that domination (Fanon 1986; [1963] 2005; Ferguson 2012). Aristocratic inclusion can be identified in numerous different empirical instances but will be structured by these two dimensions (privileging elite affiliations and modernizing from within the elite) because elites use inclusion initiatives to resolve debates over the future of their status (i.e., their exploitation by capital).

It is possible because of how elites use hirability to distinguish entry into their world. Hirability is a higher-order norm within their system of worth. It empowers them to produce and reproduce their political bonds of elite domination because it functions as a justification for the research system as a whole (the aristocracy). By using hirability to create consensus,

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professors can also treat it as a justification (hirable/unhirable) to coordinate action among disagreeing professors. This is because disagreers search for agreement based in the existing references, formulations, and designations that make sense within an elite culture (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, 281). Professors have a cultural understanding and acceptance of these norms in their workplace, and therefore, this provides a place to find consensus when they debate whom to include—or how to distribute resources and recognition through hiring.

Aristocratic Inclusion tracks how professors and administrators tied an aristocratic system of worth to hirability and then justified aristocratic norms as hirable accomplishments and attributes to manage the inclusion of people who were not elite, white Christian men. Aristocratic norms were initially vague and unwritten because their significance and purpose did not need to be explicit. These norms were meaningful on their own because of who was creating the research system and for what purpose: Hirability as a justification enshrined the worthy elite. Norms did not need to be spelled out until external parties wanted a way to manage and measure faculty productivity and politics (chapters 1, 2, and 3). Hirable accomplishments are specific, written versions of aristocratic norms, and they are well-defined, identified, and verified through demonstrated achievements (chapters 1 and 4). These accomplishments preserve aristocratic norms of worth amid pressures for fundamental change (Siegel 1997). Even if hirability needed to be spelled out and the elite had to include people outside their world, only a small group would be able to achieve these accomplishments: Hirability as a justification functioned as a highly rejective bar identifying them. Hirable attributes are still associated with the specific, written versions of the original aristocratic norms since they can be defined, identified, and verified in the form of accomplishments but are assessed based on arbitrary, subjective feelings and beliefs (chapters 2, 3, and 5). In contrast to accomplishments, hirable attributes signify those within a broader group (the public) who can achieve these accomplishments: Hirability as a justification functioned as a highly rejective bar, verifying the worthy.

Through aristocratic inclusion, elites use hirability to coordinate whom to include because they use it to justify their evaluative and dominating hierarchy of worth for drawing distinctions. I operationalizes a value system to distinguish a hirable population of elites from among the public as members and provides existing elites a place from which to dominate their system justifiably. Elites maintain aristocratic inclusion by justifying elite affiliations as accomplishments for narrowing the terms of hirability,

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while treating demographic diversity as a hirable attribute sourced from a narrow group of scholars. These two dimensions enable professors to narrow discussions on hirability toward maintaining aristocratic status because they can rely on university activities, such as inclusion initiatives, as tools for debate before and during searches.

Justifying Unequal Systems

Professors justify their double-talk of inequity through aristocratic inclusion, but in practice, how do justifications naturalize elite domination as equitable? My theoretical interest is in understanding how elites justify their power to rule their specified domain and legitimate that rule. The domain or territory can be material, as with political leaders governing over a geography or parents overseeing the home, and it can be cultural and intellectual, as in the case of culture and knowledge leaders dictating the acceptable norms for behavior and thinking. By focusing on the justification practices and logics that elites use in their day-to-day (rather than in exceptional, rare situations), I identify and deconstruct the foundations of elite power. Much like sinews tie muscles to bones or connect bones, if elite domination is a larger system being upheld, elites' justifications give this domination strength and form (Sewell 2005; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Du Bois [1933] 1973). Elite justificatory practices and logics are the very sinews of elite domination, and by understanding what they are and how they work together, I deconstruct power by reversing the gaze: studying the dominators and their ways of being.[5] My reversal enables me to see how elites bind different types of domination together under this system (Fields and Fields 2012; Kang 2024; P. H. Collins 2009). I make this point through *justifications* by bringing together theories of worth and racial and colonial capitalism. Since domination can be practical, I wanted to understand professors' search for "the best" as a decision that can hide their domination.

Hirability is a justification because it embodies the fundamental grammar and defines the appropriate set of practices for deciding who is and is not worthy of inclusion in a system. Typically, justifications can refer to studying an individual's intent for action. I extend this perspective to consider how they also coordinate social action. For instance, when different individuals evaluate an object in an established system, such as the US research system, they seek agreement or a compromise over the evaluation. When

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agreement or compromise is not possible, evaluators create justifications to legitimize their specific actions within the system by using logics and practices within the existing system to identify a higher level of agreement. By using a "higher level" to create consensus, justifications coordinate action among disagreers because reaching that level within the system enables generalizing this compromise across it (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, 66). This resolves conflict and preserves the system as a whole.

Though this framing may seem like trying to get "inside" someone's mind, this approach is akin to finding a compromise by using schemas. Schemas are the set of "binary oppositions that make up a given society's fundamental tools of thought," which circulate within the system, such as those used to distinguish if someone is includable (Sewell 1992, 7). They are not "formally stated prescriptions," but the metaphors or conditions needed to make those formal prescriptions meaningful (8). For instance, racist or cisheterosexist schemas are not the justifications that certain groups of people are unworthy; the justification is the fixed identity that is stigmatized within the broader racist or cisheterosexist system (e.g., Black, Indigenous, women, LGBTQIA+, disabled, un-American) (Fields and Fields 2012). The schemas reflect hierarchies of power and worth because stigmatized identities (as justifications) are coordinative within a racist and cisheterosexist system; the identities signify to others that the person and group are not aligned with a valued schema in the system (e.g., white/nonwhite, cisgender/noncisgender, man/nonman). The coordination of justifications among evaluators to find compromises is how power is channeled within the system. For schemas to be coordinative, they must be combined with resources because resources represent a system's materiality. Human resources include "physical strength, dexterity, knowledge, and emotional commitments that can be used to enhance or maintain power," while nonhuman resources are animate/inanimate, natural/manufactured objects that can enhance or maintain power (Sewell 1992, 9). Crucially, it is through coordinating activities that schemas and resources come together as justifications. Hirability as a justification is empowering for those who do align with valued schemas in the aristocracy because they are worthy of inclusion into the system and hirability is stigmatizing for those who align with unvalued schemas because they are not.[6]

The schemas professors use to create hirability justifications depend on what they believe their organizational cultures should accommodate or how they have experienced being evaluated in the past (Castilla and Ranganathan 2020; Turco 2010). When professors share *why* they believe their hirability

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justification is correct, they reveal why they value/devalue different schemas and the potential connections between these valuations and other systems, such as those of inequality and domination. By deconstructing hirability justifications to identify the schemas that professors use to recognize and reward candidates, I show how professors' justifications bind different types of domination together. Justifying hirability in an unequal system means staying implicated and complicit with how it produces inequality.

The implication/complicity emerges when distinguishing people for inclusion because schemas that are coordinative under racism and cisheterosexism can be tied to hirability justifications through processes of racialization and cisgendering. For instance, through racialization, individuals transform differences among people along schemas of unworthiness and associate these schemas with specific people or groups when making decisions to distribute resources and recognition (Hochman 2021; Omi and Winant 2014; Uyan 2021). Comparable processes of gendering occur with US womanhood and femininity, where positive schema alignment—embodying piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity—emerged for elite white women and those seeking the middle class through heterosexual marriage (Branch and Wooten 2012; P. H. Collins 2009; Wooten and Branch 2012). Gendering US manhood and masculinity had similar histories: Positive schema alignment included strength, technical expertise, authoritarianism, sexual potency, attractiveness, heterosexual family-endowed but not heterosexual family-bounded, and emotional control (Acker 1990, 153; Jones 2023). Yet these positive qualities that valorize US white genders contrasted with those of Black genders, for instance, because the white family structure was the most valuable and these white patriarchal qualities stigmatized and pathologized femininities and masculinities among Black people (Spillers 1987). Through justifications formed by these schemas, people produce a particular reality because when interlinked, they form a regulatory system that maintains this reality (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Sewell 2005; Espeland 1998; Mathers 2017; Du Bois [1920] 1999). Justifications are potent because they are a way for people to make that which they desire a part of their social realities. To make what one desires—or values—part of their social reality, a person must regulate, verify, and justify that desired element's place in their reality.

Combining these theories, *justifications* bring together schemas and resources to produce coordinative social action, such as searches for compromise at a higher-level order. Professors can move someone from the applicant pool to the job talk stage as the candidate accrues more hirability

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based on which higher-level order norms professors use to find agreement. Yet professors will search for this agreement based on the shared grammar of the academic system they already know, such as diversity, equity, inclusion, shared governance, labor, professional associations, elitism, tenure, merit, and language available from campus-based inclusion initiatives (e.g., racism, cisheterosexism, patriarchy). From this grammar, they will produce coordinative schemas of inclusion. In the context of using hirability to distinguish inclusion, professors can link specific schemas of worth (research/teaching labor, change leader/follower, threat/nonthreat, productive/unproductive, legible/illegible, primetime ready/unprepared) to resources (the tenure-track position) to justify (through hirability) whom to include in this system. Evaluators can use schemas of worth to represent desirable accomplishments and attributes as normal and obvious for inclusion, while using schemas that reflect empowered positions within racist and cisheterosexist systems to create such justifications that maintain domination (P. H. Collins 2009; Hamilton et al. 2019). Thus, justifications describe how professors explain their actions of moving candidates from the applicant pool to the final stage of evaluation. When professors use historical hirability norms to move candidates forward through debates, they maintain the system of worth that those historical norms were used to produce. Through different combinations of schemas and resources over history, hirability justifications emerged; some value including scholars and scholarships that maintain the existing hierarchical system of worth, while others can challenge this hierarchy.

What, Actually, Is the "US Research Academy"?

The US research system is a specific way of organizing people and their labor through knowledge production activities at university campuses and in disciplinary departments. In this arrangement, tenure-track professors are trained at graduate research programs in different disciplines on ways to do research after attaining a bachelor's-equivalent degree; typically, they receive limited, if any, formal training for teaching. Professors and administrators hire these trainees into faculty ranks as junior faculty (assistant professors) based on a trainee's promise for a research career in the professions. Professors and administrators assess research promise for hiring based technically on candidates' demonstrated accomplishments in

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recognized professional outlets. Yet even with demonstrable outcomes like these, they rely on academic cultural norms to distinguish promise (Matthew 2016; Jones et al. 2014; Gasman 2022). When understood through the lens of junior tenure-track hiring, the US research university's organization of knowledge production and of intellectual labor power is clearer. People are trained to be researchers in order to produce knowledge for academic professional associations, and these products are the bedrock for cultivating one's researcher credibility to be hired. Meanwhile, even though professors will be promoted (tenured) based on the perceived value of their research credibility, professors are contractually employed at universities based on the teaching they provide since research universities also offer courses.

Even though this arrangement of people, labor, and research knowledge production was explicitly formed during racist and cisheterosexist segregation in the United States, it is taken for granted today. After private foundations and corporations briefly attempted to control research production by providing funding incentives for faculty and pressuring administrators to comply with their desires in the early 1900s, administrators and professors heavily defined their labor through their research autonomy from corporatist control. Despite this foundation, the arrangement of people, labor, and research knowledge remarkably remains unchanged and is recaptured under corporatized governance on campuses. Consider hiring. Since the 1940s, professors have been assessed for their research output, and administrators decide whether hiring takes place. While the definition of research now includes new topics that did not fit under historical academic cultural norms, the desired form of output remains the same: articles in professional association journals and books with academic presses. While academics could interpret the fact that this arrangement lasted as a success story of institutionalizing best hiring and laboring practices, to make that interpretation realistic, they would have to ignore how professors and administrators used hiring to create an *elite* and *segregated* profession from the 1860s until 1980—an academic aristocracy. They would have to ignore how facts are neither statements nor realities, but an organization of practices that maintain a reality so that it can be seen on its own terms (P. H. Collins 1992, 76). If they did not outright ignore the facts, then they would have to argue that such elitism and segregation is incredibly irrelevant or critically fundamental.

A final aspect of this arrangement of people, labor, and research knowledge production is that it is transnational even while being specifically

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US-American. This arrangement is similar to how European research universities formed and operate today, but the development of academic sciences in the United States is not synonymous with the development of academic science globally. I reject a presumption of methodological homelandism (Steinmetz 2019).[7] Instead, the US arrangement of knowledge production—vis-à-vis the elite research professoriate, professions, journal and book publications—is integral to the different ways that people produce and legitimate knowledge globally within capitalist and colonial networks (Bhambra et al. 2018; Chatterjee and Maira 2014; Kamola 2019). The norms that US academic aristocrats use to produce knowledge function as imperial boundaries for inclusion in the US aristocracy. This has implications for how global actors can make knowledge-based or scientific claims, such as those related to climate change; health, housing, and work (redistributive social policies); militarism; and colonialism and imperialism.

How Did We Get Here with Diversity?

Demographic diversity as a schema in the United States has meant different things in different historical periods based on the political, economic, and social context of the time. I review how administrators and professors tied this schema to different types of hirability as a justification for inclusion.

Roots of US Knowledge Production from Emancipation to Civil Rights

In the 1860s, professors did not value demographic diversity and created segregated norms and organizations (e.g., universities, professional associations, disciplines) to ensure demographic homogeneity. In the contemporary context, diversity is valued as something that identifies an exploitable difference through inclusion (kehal 2025a; Gerrard et al. 2022). For example, while the Morrill Land Grant Acts of 1862 and 1890 enabled the creation of "Black colleges" (renamed historically Black colleges and universities, or HBCUs, in mid-twentieth-century federal policy), they also enabled administrators to create research organizations for educating white and often male students through the simultaneous dispossession of Native tribes, nations, and peoples from their lands and the repopulation of those lands with white settlers through universities (Rocha Beardall

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2021; Stein 2020; Wooten 2016). Among the historically elite twenty-five research universities named earlier, UC Berkeley, Wisconsin, Cornell, Illinois, UCLA, Minnesota, and Ohio State were specifically land-grant universities (or "land-grab" under racial and colonial capitalism), and the remaining eighteen have linked histories of Native dispossession and racial enslavement that were sanctioned by state law; Brown and Yale were initially designated land-grant universities but lost this designation after insufficiently complying with the Morrill Act (Johnson 2020; Kelley and Wright 2020; Lee and Ahtone 2020). Native-serving higher education organizations did not emerge with such a designation until after 1965, and many that existed by 2000 were community colleges that did not provide bachelor's degrees, not four-year universities.

I focus on the research aristocracy as a ruling minority within the US research system. Across the US research system, the aristocracy's segregated emergence mimics a plantation political structure (Dancy et al. 2018). Namely, colleges for white women were located near those for white men (within the same patriarchal structure valuing men's over women's education) (P. H. Collins 2009), while those for Black and Native peoples were segregated from these core locations. They were placed in the periphery, making the existence of Black and Native colleges contingent on the exploitation of each. Relationally, this segregated arrangement of universities reflected how the research system came into being in the United States and how racist and colonial patriarchy operated differently for white and Black women (Wooten 2016). White and Black gender-specific organizations were part of the segregated construction of the elite research system. Yet elite white women's liberal arts colleges had partnerships with white-segregated research universities and were subsumed into them over time (Malkiel 2016). In contrast, while gender-specific organizations for Black women did emerge, they often were oriented toward serving these communities and led by women (and later men) of color who had advanced degrees (Bethune [1999] 2002; Cooper [1892] 1998; Gasman 2007). Collectively, the segregated arrangement placed research activities in white professors' and the aristocracy's domain and Black uplift in Black professors' and the periphery's domain.

The organizational segregation of labor and people is also evident quantitatively. Using organizational establishment data from the Higher Education General Information System, I identified four-year liberal arts colleges and research universities that were operating between 1636 and 2000. When I contextualized their foundings in a history of segregation,

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80 percent of higher education campuses created by the 1960s were for white individuals. The aristocracy of US knowledge production was, therefore, historically segregated to serve white people (1860–1960). While Black-serving colleges and universities were primarily created during the era of legal segregation (1860s–1960s), these organizations were not considered as part of the US-based elite or research system since they were meant to educate and train Black students to meet the needs of Black communities, as opposed to producing research knowledge for a segregated society; the latter task was understood to be the role of white mainstream institutions (J. Anderson 1988; Wooten 2016). Contemporarily, this dynamic continues since HBCUs and Native-serving organizations are excluded from the Association of American Universities (AAU), the leading US research association and the set of universities from which graduate trainees are most often admitted to elite doctoral programs (Gasman 2022).

When interpreted within this history of segregation, the field of US knowledge production was formed among liberal arts colleges and research universities from the 1860s to the 1940s. In this time, white male professors could justify rejecting job candidates because they were nonwhite or nonmale. It took decades of desegregation and integration movements—beginning in the 1930s and continuing until they were abandoned by the 1980s—to change this norm. While HBCUs continued to educate the majority of Black students, white-serving colleges and universities (in and outside the aristocracy) gradually integrated their student, staff, and faculty ranks, with elite ones desegregating the slowest (Teddlie and Freeman 2002; Gimenes 2021; Slater 1994, 1998).

Inclusion Since Integration

Yet advocates continued their efforts. They tried to retool a segregated patriarchal system that served elite white men into a multiracial higher education system. For some, this retooling includes dismantling white colonial supremacist ideologies and practices that had been enshrined across US society. This retooling has been an aspirational project since the 1980s, and today it continues in the form of inclusion, or DEI, initiatives; resistance to such efforts continues as well (Okechukwu 2019; Synnott 2010; Jayakumar et al. 2018).

Relative to prior historical periods when segregation was the legal and cultural norm, the contemporary historical period since the 1980s is

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typically described as one of "postracism" for white people in the United States. US society has not transcended racism and patriarchy but rather forms of social domination have been adapted (i.e., racism, cisheterosexism) (Mills 2007; Mueller 2020; Onyeador et al. 2020). For example, institutions, systems, and ideology became the site for reproducing social domination, rather than hate groups, statesmen, mobs, and individuals being the primary distributors of violence (Brown 2018). In this model, when institutions included individuals who were nonwhite, nonmale, and nonsettlers into historically white-serving, patriarchal colonial structures, these institutions were meant to socialize people into enacting racist, patriarchal, and colonial domination; at the same time, those included can be dominated, marginalized, or exploited as part of the socialization (Rodgers and Liera 2023). Today, inclusion initiatives are understood to continue bringing people from historically excluded backgrounds into historically white institutions, but with less *explicit* focus on socializing them into *specific* racist, patriarchal, and colonial ideologies, such as not educating Native or Black people *to* seek white colonial acceptance.

Implementing inclusion initiatives since the 1980s and particularly since the 2000s did not come without backlash. Such initiatives had gained influence and support because professors have increasingly identified explicit practices and the types of academic environments that hinder inclusive campus cultures (O'Meara et al. 2020). Administrators and faculty have used their inclusion initiatives to increase pressure on clarifying the unwritten rules and norms that result in racist and patriarchal exclusion (antonio 2002; Calarco 2020; Harris et al. 2017; Matthew 2016; Muhs et al. 2012). Yet, despite financial, professorial, and administrative investments, these inclusion initiatives have only to a limited extent changed the historical aristocratic norms that professors use because professors resist them and justify preserving their historical hirability norms. While inclusion initiatives emerged to acclimate people who were historically excluded due to segregation to the aristocracy, these efforts insufficiently focused on addressing bias and have not sought to undo discrimination (O'Meara et al. 2020; Wilson 2013; Williams and Wade-Golden 2013). Even as more robust frameworks for change have been available since the 2000s, this narrowed focus on how people feel excluded *once hired* does not challenge the normalized segregation in the aristocracy that makes such inclusion initiatives necessary.

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Setting the Stage for *Aristocratic Inclusion*

I conducted eighty-eight in-depth interviews with professors from across the disciplines at four elite public and private universities during five months of ethnographic campus observations in North Carolina and California from September to October 2018 and January to March 2019. The sites were the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Duke University; Stanford University; and the University of California, Berkeley (hereafter UNC, Duke, Stanford, and Berkeley, respectively). Considering the accelerating loss of faculty power in recent decades, faculty may advocate for inclusion efforts, but they are enforced and managed by administration; I refer to them as administrative inclusion efforts for this reason. I expected each to have its own specificities and particular inclusion initiatives. But given that each campus did have an architecture for its inclusion initiatives, I decided to track how professors responded to them because it could reveal similarities across the aristocracy and further insights into how their labor is being managed. While on and off campus, I noted the specific national, state, and campus-level issues that were relevant to how these campuses addressed matters of racism, trans/misogyny, and colonialism in order to consider as much organizational variation and historical specificity as possible during my time of study. I focused on issues related to these topics since professors referred to them when discussing the political power and momentum behind their campus's inclusion initiatives. In focusing on variation and specificity, I simultaneously identified similarities in professors' experiences and justifications to assess whether there were shared practical norms across campuses.

Contextualizing the Research Sites

In the national context, I considered the impact of climate change and free speech debates on how professors perceived inclusion. In fall 2018, climate issues affected operations. At Duke and UNC, administrators closed campuses due to hurricanes and tropical storms, and I rescheduled interviews (Hudson 2018; Schramm and Black 2018). Similarly, due to multiple fires in northern California, UC Berkeley and Stanford University had unhealthy air quality advisories (A. Adams 2018; Kaye 2018). Despite these particularities with respect to environmental concerns, professors recognized that they were operating within a system, and now climate change

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was impacting their work. This came up in interviews when professors suggested that climate might be an increasingly "hot" area of study.

Fall 2018 was also a midterm election year, which brought heightened national and campus-level attention to partisan debates throughout the year around the topic of free speech. Berkeley's Commission on Free Speech had just completed an assessment in April 2018 on "how UC Berkeley might best align its responsibility for protecting free speech with its values as a community" (UC Berkeley 2018). Later that year at Stanford, after students had noted demographic and topical homogeneity among its guest speakers and leadership, Stanford finally decided to revise how they do "The Conversation" series, which was meant "to encourage the free exchange of ideas through intellectual discourse" (Shao 2018). Despite how each campus may have engaged with free speech as part of its inclusion initiatives, professors connected these campus-based initiatives through debates about it. Even as campus members organized to register voters or host educational sessions on relevant political issues in different ways, administrators and professors were concerned that the US president was targeting universities and professors. First-term President Donald Trump asserted that elite public and private universities were enemies of free speech due to a perceived hostile environment for conservative speakers and thinkers. Meanwhile, campus community members claimed that such speakers and thinkers were partisan provocateurs and that existing speaker series and their sets of discussion topics were narrow and not diverse. These debates are common and perennial since desegregation, but they were nationally politicized during the fall and served as a connective thread between the fall and spring. At first, President Trump advocated for "opening up" libel laws to enable people to sue universities in fall 2018; by March 2019, he had an executive order describing his beliefs that free speech was under attack (Vazquez and Klein 2019). Though the executive order was widely panned as symbolic and unenforceable, professors did refer to Trump's polarizing effect on historical debates on inclusion. Nonetheless, professors grounded their concerns in their status and role as researchers within a historical, shared field of knowledge producers in a democratic society. In other words, the climate and national free speech context did not change the historical concerns that professors navigated when they tried to change their campus culture (e.g., free speech and administrative power), but the contemporary context brought heightened attention to the research professoriate's precarious position as an aristocracy.

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Notably, this precarity became a liability at the start of President Trump's second term in 2025. Claiming rampant (but widely disputed) levels of antisemitism at Columbia University in response to antigenocide and pro-Palestinian student protestors, Trump illegally and successfully withheld $400 million in federal research funds from Columbia University until administrators adopted his racist and cisheterosexist policies (Gumbel 2025). Even after Harvard University effectively altered its policies to accept Zionist definitions of antisemitism—anti-Israel bias and Zionists are protected in Harvard's antidiscrimination policy—Trump still threatened to withhold over $2 billion in federal funds unless Harvard ceded its autonomy to federal oversight due to allegations of rampant antisemitism and hostility to conservatism; Harvard has since sued for violations of the First Amendment (Enos and Levitsky 2025; Khalid and Eisgruber 2025; Powell 2025). Yet, against these slow-moving legal battles, President Trump is regulating free thought. On September 25, 2025, he issued National Security Presidential Memorandum (NPSM-7), titled "Countering Domestic Terrorism and Organized Political Violence," identifying "anti-Americanism, anti-capitalism, and anti-Christianity"; "extremism on migration, race, and gender"; and "a hostility towards those who hold traditional American views on family, religion, and morality" as ways to identify "domestic terrorists" (Trump 2025).

Finally, like climate change and free speech issues, discussions about sexual harassment were a final dimension for how my campuses operated in a shared practical culture around inclusion. Discussion of creating fair policies to address sexual assault and harassment was widely present, but Stanford was confronting a specific situation due to a high-profile sexual assault on campus (*The People of the State of California v. Brock Allen Turner*). With respect to a shared, national context across states, the US Senate held Supreme Court confirmation hearings for the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh. These hearings were topics of conversation at each campus in different ways. While I sat in dining commons or other open areas where the televisions were on during fall 2018, news coverage of these hearings was playing across Duke's and UNC's campuses. On North Carolinian campuses, I observed students organizing to support and protest his nomination; for some, protests were due to his conservative judicial record on civil rights, while others protested because of credible sexual assault allegations against him. Those supporting his nomination refuted these claims and ascribed disagreements over the nomination to different ideological and partisan commitments. Similar organizing took place at Berkeley

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and Stanford among students and professors, though I was not there to observe it myself (Gregory 2018; Weng 2018). Signifying a potential shift in the conversation around sexual assault and harassment, UC Berkeley released its first *Annual Report on Sexual Violence / Sexual Harassment* in November 2018 (most recently published in 2024) (Rodas 2018). Though professors did not speak about the judicial nomination in interviews, it was not surprising that some male Stanford professors were explicit that having fair policies on sexual assault and harassment were also critical for inclusion.

One key defining difference across the sample was the state context and how universities participated in local politics with respect to issues of racism, trans/misogyny, and colonialism that year. While professors claimed this had limited influence on hirability, this localized dimension of difference related to the specific campus culture around inclusion. For example, though rising housing costs and increasing poverty levels were concerns at each campus, the California campuses had a slightly different dynamic with their local community than the North Carolina campuses. The *Daily Californian*'s Editorial Board, the student-led, independent newspaper of UC Berkeley, argued that the chancellor had to acknowledge UC Berkeley's role in gentrifying the city (Editorial Board 2018). Internally, this extended UC Berkeley's ongoing efforts to address food insecurity by offering emergency food support through its Food Pantry and Basic Needs Center. Though a similar suite of programs and initiatives did not exist at Stanford, the university extended its financial aid program to cover costs for tuition, room, and board, especially for students from lower-income families. In contrast to Berkeley, Stanford's local community was able to dictate policy to Stanford rather than Stanford dictating policy to the local community, in part due to the differences in concentration of wealth and small population.

Additionally, though deportations of undocumented migrants and migrants of other legal statuses had been a national project for President Trump's first (and second) term, this national project was particularly evident in North Carolina's Research Triangle, where UNC and Duke are located. A May 2018 sheriff election became a referendum on the existing Democratic sheriff's support of a policy that allowed local law enforcement agencies to partner with the federal government to enforce immigration law (Speri 2018). The incoming sheriff vowed to end this partnership, and yet, throughout my year, US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers were conducting deportation raids across North Carolina.

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In February 2019, over two hundred individuals were arrested, and Sean Gallagher, the Atlanta director of the ICE field office, described this as "the new normal" (Wong 2019). Though ICE raids were present in parts of California and likely affected campus members with ties to those geographies, the discussion of immigration and deportations in local politics at the two California campuses did not directly mirror North Carolinian politics. If I were to replicate my study today, these immigration considerations would be even more critical as ICE implements President Trump's fascist deportation agenda.

Though my campuses did have organizational variation, historical specificities, and different inclusion initiatives, the 2018–19 historical context linked them to how the aristocracy was attempting to culturally modernize itself. This could change as each campus followed its own inclusion initiatives, but the 2018–19 context, my ethnographic observations, and interviews suggest that the biggest difference in lived experiences among professors occurred as a result of the state's partisan context. In this context, administrators were the primary decision-makers over campus activities since professors effectively functioned as advisors to administrators and the governing boards under this corporatized structure.

Contemporary Disparities in the Professorial Pipeline and Interrogating Eliteness

The study focuses on four universities and professors' decision-making around what constitutes hirability in their elite workplace cultures. I do so for two reasons. First, quantitative analyses of academic hiring in the United States have identified "eliteness" as predictive of hiring success. When looking at over nineteen thousand faculty career changes in the United States across 461 North American departments in computer science, history, and business, the top 15 percent of departments produced 68 percent of their own faculty, with only 7 percent of them being hired from outside the top 25 percent of departments (Clauset et al. 2015; Lee et al. 2021; Way et al. 2016). If existing faculty implicitly require candidates to have elite affiliations to be hirable, they must have a justification for doing so, especially as they publicize commitments to equitable inclusion. Yet, when they are criticized for double-talk of inequity, faculty resist using inclusion efforts to decenter elite affiliations as hirable accomplishments and assert that junior tenure-track positions at elite US universities *should be* filled with scholars from such institutions (Gasman 2022). This "should"

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Table 1.1 Percentage Distribution of Full-Time Academics in Degree-Granting, Four-Year Postsecondary Organizations by Academic Rank, Race/Ethnicity, and Binary Sex (Fall 2022)

Rank	White		Black		Latine		Asian and Pacific Islander		Indigenous
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Professors	53	27	2	2	2	1	8	3	<1
Associate professors	40	35	3	3	3	2	7	5	<1
Assistant professors	34	39	3	5	3	3	7	7	<1
Instructors	33	42	3	5	4	5	3	4	1
Lecturers	35	44	2	3	3	4	3	4	<1

Note: Indigenous and multiracial background are not disaggregated by binary sex due to cell-size in National Center for Education Statistics data; multiracial is not shown. Row values may not sum to 100 due to rounding (NCES 2023).

is the result of a series of justifications that professors have put together to naturalize white demographic overrepresentation in the aristocracy.

My second reason was the documented demographic homogeneity among the elite relative to the research system as a whole. While the overall US research and nonresearch system is demographically diversifying, the elite institutions have not been following a similar trend, even by 2022. For example, white professors made up no less than 73 percent of any tenure-track position, while white men maintained the vast majority of full professor positions (table 1.1); white women made up a plurality of associate and assistant professor ranks. At the same time, nonwhite people made up almost 30 percent of assistant professors, with 13 percent of them being from historically excluded backgrounds (i.e., Black, Latine, and/or Indigenous). While the pipeline to the professoriate may be diversifying, these trends are for the system of higher education, not the elite.

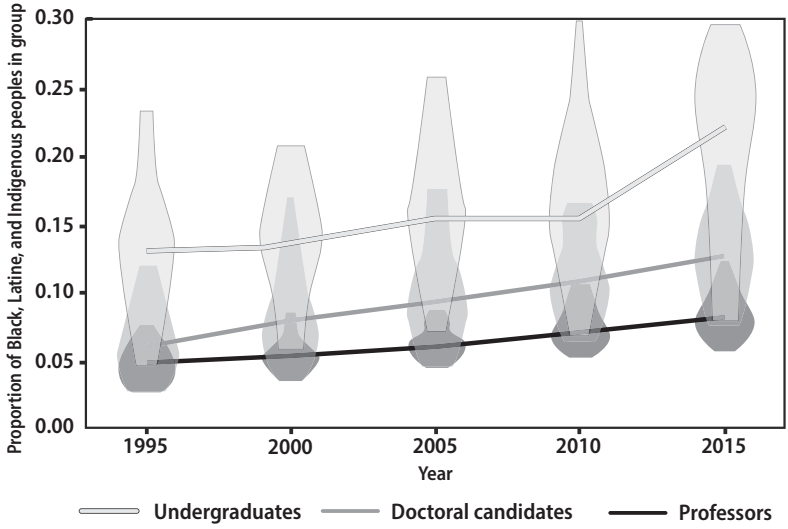
Figure 1.1 places the professoriate pipeline for the historical top twenty-five universities in the United States in a relational context with undergraduate enrollment and doctoral attainment for people from historically excluded backgrounds immediately before interviews were conducted (i.e., Black, Latine, and/or Indigenous). Even with increases in the median

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percentage of individuals from these backgrounds attaining elite undergraduate and doctoral credentials (between 1995 and 2015 relative to 2016), changes in the research aristocracy's demography did not follow. After two decades, the median percentage of Black, Latine, and Native American professors at these twenty-five universities was 7 percent; in 1995, it had been 5 percent. Characterizing the research aristocracy's demographic overrepresentation of white faculty as a problem of not enough nonwhite scholars being in the pipeline has limited efficacy when they justify elite affiliations as part of hirability. Furthermore, the workforce size has not grown substantially among the historical twenty-five (Kezar et al. 2019), creating aristocracy-wide constraints on how much demographic change can even occur since faculty are tenured for decades and new hires may only occur to replace retirees. While professors may value demographic diversity, their choice to tie elite affiliations to hirability has maintained a demographically white aristocracy. Researchers' analyses of the Survey of Earned Doctorates disaggregate doctoral graduation trends by discipline, revealing three elements about the hiring pool and pipeline. First, many disciplines produce more PhD holders of color than are represented among those disciplines' professorial ranks; second, non-US-resident PhD holders constitute 29 percent of PhD earners across all disciplines (over 50 percent among AAU PhD holders); and third, elite universities hire almost exclusively from among those institutions (Gasman 2022). These elements together suggest that faculty are using their evaluative discretion to include white candidates from the AAU and that the aristocracy is primed to internationalize if given the appropriate incentives, especially by nations and transnational political entities that may seek influence in the United States.

For my campuses, the faculty demographics reflect similar trends with the aristocracy (figure 1.1) as opposed to the overall postsecondary system (table 1.1), making them ideal cases for exploring the relationship between elitism, hirability, and inclusion. Table 1.2 displays the demographic trends for all tenured and tenure-track professors in the aggregate at these campuses during the time of study between 2015 and 2018. Since the aggregate patterns by rank were similar to the disaggregated one, I display the former for clarity. Most importantly, the total size of the tenure-track professoriate has not grown at any of my campuses between 2015 and 2018, and the demographic trends across backgrounds have not meaningfully changed. Professors from historically excluded backgrounds composed between 6 and 7 percent of tenure-track professors at private institutions

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I.1 Professorial pipelines are visualized based on three groups: (1) undergraduate education, (2) graduation from doctoral training, and (3) being employed as a professor at the historically top twenty-five universities between 1995 and 2015. While the shape of the violin shows the overall spread of each of these three subgroups, the trend line represents that specific subgroup's median percentage of individuals from Black, Latine, and Indigenous backgrounds. All values are weighted relative to 2016. Data is from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), with undergraduate enrollment data provided from the Fall Enrollment survey; doctoral completion data is from the completion survey (awards/degrees conferred by program), and faculty employment data is from the human resources survey.

and between 9 and 11 percent of those at public ones. Though both Berkeley and UNC have fewer total faculty workers, they have more professors from historically excluded backgrounds than the private universities. While Black, Latine, and Native American professors held 8.6 percent and women held 38.6 percent *more* appointments in 2013 than they did in 1993, for instance, these were concentrated among nontenured appointments (Finkelstein et al. 2016a). These trends suggest the workforce ranks have not grown at my campuses or in the aristocracy in the aggregate. In light of findings among quantitative network analyses, professors may be using elite affiliations to distinguish hirable inclusion and respond to the academic job market and campus-based cultural change processes. Given

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Table I.2 Demographic Composition of the Four Campuses

University	Year	Non-US resident	Indigenous	Asian	Black	Latine	White	Two or more races	Total
Duke University	2015	0%	0%	13%	4%	3%	79%	0%	1,584
	2016	0%	0%	13%	4%	3%	79%	0%	1,531
	2017	0%	0%	13%	4%	3%	79%	0%	1,526
	2018	0%	0%	14%	4%	2%	80%	1%	1,547
Stanford University	2015	10%	0%	12%	3%	4%	67%	1%	1,419
	2016	10%	0%	12%	3%	4%	66%	1%	1,410
	2017	11%	0%	12%	2%	4%	66%	1%	1,432
	2018	10%	0%	13%	2%	4%	64%	1%	1,444
UC Berkeley	2015	4%	0%	12%	3%	6%	66%	1%	1,353
	2016	3%	0%	13%	4%	6%	65%	1%	1,345
	2017	3%	0%	13%	4%	6%	64%	1%	1,345
	2018	2%	0%	13%	3%	6%	64%	1%	1,341
UNC-Chapel Hill	2015	4%	1%	9%	6%	4%	74%	1%	1,180
	2016	4%	1%	9%	6%	4%	75%	1%	1,317
	2017	3%	1%	9%	6%	4%	74%	1%	1,308
	2018	4%	1%	10%	6%	5%	71%	1%	1,289

Note: Data compiled from Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System. The "unknown" category is not shown; therefore, row values may not equal 100. Totals may also vary slightly due to rounding.

declining faculty power at my campuses and the aristocracy's history of segregation, there are two structural features to deal with for evaluating junior candidates: the hiring pool and corporatized governance. These structural features were not inevitable but are the result of resisting and reforming inclusion efforts since the abandonment of desegregation.

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Research Design

I approached this project as an institutional ethnographer wanting to understand the elite research system within the US university system (kehal 2025b). Institutional ethnographers explore the relations of ruling or coordinating and controlling relations "that we know as bureaucracy, administration, management, professional organization, and the media. They include also the complex discourses, scientific, technical, and cultural, that intersect, interpenetrate, and coordinate the multiple sites of ruling" (D. E. Smith 1990, 6). Interviews for institutional ethnographers do not aim "to reveal subjective states," but how an institution, such as the elite research system, is maintained and produced through the coordination of peoples' actions in different parts of the institution (DeVault and McCoy 2012). Hiring activities and knowledge are part of the "ongoing coordinating" of professors' work on campus and in their profession, or "a person's experience of and in their own work, what they do, how they do it, including what they think and feel"—and in relation to the work of others (D. E. Smith 2005, 151). When analyzing interviews, I focused on how professors used hirability as part of this coordination. My choice aligns with studies of elites analyzing how historical relations are restructured together during periods of change and how these relations are useful in coordinating social process across contexts (Fleming and Roses 2007; Keister et al. 2022; Stevens 2007; Karabel 2005; Herlihy-Mera 2015; Siegel 1997).

In addition to conducting an institutional ethnography and analyzing interviews, the study's qualitative research design used two axes of variation: organizational type (public versus private) and discipline (natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences) in two states. While the overall sample universe is elite public and private US research universities, I confined my sampling to two states to ensure that each such institution had an opposing pair in the same state. I focused on elite universities to enhance the professorial diversity literature that addresses semi-elite universities in midwestern and southwestern states (Turner et al. 1999, 2008). Given the gatekeeping nature of knowledge production, it is necessary to explore how academic aristocrats use hirability and distinguish inclusion (Posselt et al. 2020).

Though I made these choices around case and state selection, I do not generalize my claims regarding state dynamics; I wanted to account for any state-level and/or regional differences in the treatment of universities and professors' work lives that could influence how professors used hirability

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to distinguish inclusion. Even though universities may be elite nationally, the state and public/private dimensions each address the relational lived realities of people in these organizations. Public universities will necessarily be subjected to a different set of laws and political pressures than private universities in the United States, and these may impact how institutions use hirability and implement inclusion initiatives. California bans the formal consideration of race in evaluative decisions for public agencies, whereas North Carolina did not have such a legal ban during my fieldwork. Yet, despite this barrier, professors spoke of adopting similar, risk-averse practices of compliance across these different contexts. Similarly, I chose public and private universities to assess whether organizational wealth among the elites may influence how professors use hirability to distinguish inclusion. Though I do not discuss this at length, professors understood the issue of wealth differences as a matter of status distinctions between universities, reflecting perhaps US-Americans' lack of economic-class consciousness and reliance on eliteness as a proxy for class. Some professors were influenced by their university's perceived inability to compete in the aristocracy for candidates, but this did not fundamentally alter the terms of hirability, only professors' notions of scarcity and risk.

After choosing the campuses and states, I systematically interviewed professors across disciplines at each campus. While norms vary across disciplines, the evaluation cultures may not vary due to common principles shared among professors. I systematically chose the same three disciplines that were at each university and were in the humanities, social sciences, or natural sciences to interview humanists, social scientists, and natural scientists, respectively. At each university, I emailed all professors in those three departments and then snowball sampled to professors in other departments based on recommendations from those to whom I had reached out or with whom I had completed an interview. As a result of these outreach efforts, I reached out to 645 professors affiliated with twenty-five different types of disciplinary departments (e.g., biology, engineering, English, law, psychology, and sociology). Ultimately, sixty-four professors declined, 106 agreed to an interview, and 475 did not respond. Despite follow-up emails to the 106, eighty-eight interviews were completed; the sample's composition was 78 percent white, 63 percent male, 53 percent white and male, 88 percent heterosexual, and 100 percent cisgender (table 1.3).[8] I was unable to schedule more than a handful of interviews with Black women in the professoriate, even when introduced by others. Given that both my sample and the aristocracy fail to sufficiently include such

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Table 1.3 Sample Demographic Statistics

Demographic	Racialized background			Total
	White	Asian	Black, Indigenous, Latine	
Binary sex				
Male	47	2	6	55
Female	22	7	4	33
Sexuality				
Heterosexual	61	8	8	77
Homosexual	2	0	0	2
None	1	0	0	1
No answer	5	1	2	8
Academic rank				
Tenured full professor	40	4	5	49
Tenured associate professor	10	1	3	14
Tenure-track assistant professor	14	2	0	16
Non-tenure-track professor	5	2	2	9
Discipline				
Humanities	24	5	2	31
Social sciences	28	3	7	38
Natural sciences	17	1	1	19

Note: The table includes "none" as a sexuality option because that is how a respondent self-identified.

professors' perspectives, I engaged literature and scholarship written by Black female and nonmale scholars who had been faculty or were researchers to ground my analyses in the experiences and research of Black female and nonmale scholars in academia. This scholarship brought attention to the cultural foundations of inclusion.[9] To be clear, this is not a substitute for the absence of Black female participants. Rather, it was a necessary context to mark this sample as a product of the "relations of ruling" through misogynoir—structural anti-Black racism and misogyny. I include non-tenure-track professors when available in departments because they also contribute to the departmental culture. With evaluations of job talks (the final stage of hiring) being open to departmental professors, all voting-eligible professors had to engage their colleagues' justifications.[10] Through this systematic sampling across state, organizational, and disciplinary

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background, all my sites and all professors were enclosed in the US research aristocracy. My four sites shared similar prestige tiers across two states and were comparable public-private pairings within their own states.

Analysis Plan

Hirability norms and qualities have remained remarkably stable in the elite US academy. For that reason, I developed a mode of analysis to examine "power up" in order to follow how white male professors have historically and contemporarily coordinated their practices around hirable research to justify which labor and people they included. Traditionally, when studying racism or cisheterosexism under racial and colonial capitalism as professional academics, researchers will study groups marginalized by these systems of domination to understand the experiences of domination. This is a researcher studying power "from above" or studying power "down" since a researcher has resources available to them that marginalized groups in the United States generally do not (e.g., access to universities, credentials for accessing research funds). To study power up—studying from the above to the above—means to study domination from the perspective of dominators and investigate how their power is organized, negotiated, and coordinated to rule.

I interrogate this domination by interpreting historical and qualitative data in two ways. First, I ask how professors distinguish hirable norms of inclusion through the language of inclusion by analyzing secondary literature on these norms over research since their development in the 1860s until the 1980s. Second, I study relations among individuals and organizations from the 1980s until the present to understand how professors justify hirable qualities around job candidates and reproduce white, male, and elite domination. Though I do not study a specific racial, gender, or sexuality background, I use my sample's composition (table 1.3) to understand contemporary ruling relations. In contrast to studies of elites that focus on how boundaries are defended, I use an approach to analyze interviews both for these defenses and for how professors repurpose inclusion efforts to naturalize elite domination.

Queer Du Boisian Empiricism

To analyze the interviews and my ethnographic observations, I developed a queer Du Boisian empiricism (QDE). QDE is a mode of analysis seeking

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to understand people's practices and logics of reality-making and how their realities are embodied under racial and colonial capitalism. As an approach that deconstructs people's reality-making from queer and trans traditions, QDE understands racism and cisheterosexism through the negotiations that people make around desire. For instance, this includes how one imagines who they are and what they can do. Du Bois argued that Black Americans experience a twoness in the core of their being because they must confront the anti-Black racist subjectivities that white colonials have made of them as they seek to honor their own sense of self (Du Bois 1940; [1903] 2007). In a different but connected experience, queer and trans people in the United States must confront the cisheterosexist images that have been created of them, primarily through culture and medicine, as they/we seek the reality of full gender and sexual liberation (Gill-Peterson 2018; Compton et al. 2018). QDE combines a Du Boisian understanding of social relations being organized as a color line with queer and transgender traditions to investigate how people coordinate these relations to naturalize and stabilize their realities (Lynne 2021; kehal 2025b). This approach to investigation brings heightened focus to the ideological and cultural systems that maintain and perpetuate material systems. Thus, justifications—explanations and rationales for social action—become an important lens through which to deconstruct relations of power and realities.

Through QDE, I queerily explore this color line by using a historicized frame of US knowledge production. Specifically, I initiate my analyses in the historicity of racial, gender, and colonial segregation in the United States and how segregation became a crucial dimension organizing activities in the "US research university" as the research university form was created. I deconstruct how racism and cisheterosexism coordinate people's local activities around inclusion and hirability and how these activities naturalize and stabilize elites' distant, dominating relations. QDE is methodologically Du Boisian because of how it does deconstructive analysis—through focus on history, context, relationality, and standpoint (I discuss standpoint in the appendix). This approach to deconstruction—from the specificity of the Du Boisian color line and then expanding outward—takes historicity (segregation) and interprets it within its network of local and translocal relations (relationality) and in the activities people are doing around managing segregation (context) (Itzigsohn and Brown 2020; Crawley et al. 2021). QDE studies racism and cisheterosexism in a historicized context, deconstructing how people coordinate their activities based on what they believe is impossible or possible under a racial and colonial

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capitalism. Epistemically, QDE rejects limiting one's imaginations before one has begun changing one's social realities.

The Book at a Glance

Across five chapters, I identify examples of aristocratic inclusion throughout the US research university's history from the 1860s to the present. I find that when professors aristocratically include individuals by coordinating people's activity through hirability, it results in *producing an elite group*, *controlling the pace of change*, and *manicuring elite diversity* (table 1.4). Each chapter illuminates how professors use elite affiliations in the aristocracy's network of relations to practically negotiate power and inclusion between their local and extralocal contexts.

Chapter 1 enters into a history of how professors coordinated research labor and segregation through hirability with respect to local (within departments on campus) and developing extralocal (between universities, disciplines, associations) relations. It asks what factors administrators and professors used to identify hirable candidates whom they wanted to include during periods of segregation, desegregation, and integration. The chapter shows that, as professors used *schemas of prioritizing research over teaching labor*, they used elite institutional and associational affiliations to define research quality and include white male scholars while excluding Black and/or female scholars who did not fit with this labor shift. I argue that, by 1980, hirability was a justification by which elite professors created a white patriarchal aristocracy—or an elite, white, and male tenure-track, research academy. I make this argument through secondary analyses of the US research university's historical literature on racist, cisheterosexist, and colonial segregation. I bring together surveys to faculty, initial rankings made of graduate training and research quality, and research on faculty and academic norms from colonial settlement to present. Chapter 1 establishes that aristocratic inclusion, by professors privileging research over teaching labor, produced the research aristocracy as an exclusive social group based on elite affiliations.

Chapter 2 reveals how, in the contemporary context, professors respond to their campus's infrastructure for inclusion initiatives—a diversity architecture—to create a pre-search, labor context (local relations). I ask what schemas of inclusion professors develop when responding to their campus's inclusion efforts to distinguish a hirable candidate who is aligned

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Table 1.4 Aristocratic Inclusion of Junior Tenure-Track Hiring in the Elite US Research Academy

Discussed in chapter	Deconstructing hirability				Outcome of aristocratic inclusion
	Dimension of hirability	Schemas of inclusion	Stage of evaluation	Hirable inclusion	
1	Hirability norms	Research as priority (elite and organizational fit)	Historic creation	Candidates who prioritize research	Produce an exclusive group of researchers based on elite institutional and associational affiliation
2	Hirable qualities (attributes)	Diversity as surplus labor	Pre-search	Candidates who accept labor of cultural change	Control the pace of cultural change in a way that does not threaten their current status as professors
3		Diversity as fear and threat	Pre-search	Candidates who are not politically extreme	
4	Hirable qualifications (accomplishments)	Intellectual diversity as tenure risk	Narrowing applicant pool	Candidates who are tenurable safe bets	Manicure elite diversity around particular cultural expectations of researchers
5		Communication as behavioral	Narrowing finalist list	Candidates who can lead cultural change without rocking the boat	

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with these efforts. I bring the text narratively to the present by synthesizing the faculty diversity literature since the 1980s with contemporary analyses of what I call "diversity architectures," or the landscape of inclusion efforts at my sites. Probing how professors resist and reinterpret their campus's inclusion efforts, I argue that professors create *schemas of surplus labor* (preservationist and connective labor) and use hirability to justify distinguishing inclusion-aligning candidates as those willing to do this type of cultural labor. By using it to justify narrowly including individuals who could add diversity based on their prior experiences with cultural change efforts, they limit the pace of cultural change and maintain both aristocratic inclusion and the research aristocracy. Chapter 2 turns to my interviews to focus on the nuances of what professors value *before* a job search begins and show how professors ultimately control the pace of cultural change to their aristocratic hirability norms.

Now fully rooted in the contemporary context, I continue exploring the pre-search context to understand professors' feelings around diversity and how they understand inclusion initiatives' effect on their academic power on campus (local relations). Chapter 3 asks how professors interpret inclusion initiatives in their work and if they use their interpretations to distinguish inclusion-aligning hirability. While chapter 2 considered how professors justify their ideas of inclusion-alignment through cultural labor, this chapter focuses on what professors feel about the cultural change taking place on their campus. I argue that professors filter diversity through *schemas of fears* and interpret *inclusion initiatives as threats* to shared governance norms and historical hirability norms. Professors create a pre-search, political context, which seeks cultural alignment through political moderation. As such, includable candidates who contribute some form of diversity will have to navigate a hiring context in which professors can use hirability to negotiate their fears of academic power loss. This is significant as it frames the creation of the short list and who makes it to the job talk. By identifying how professors filter diversity through fears of academic power loss, chapter 3 shows that inclusion initiatives fall within the history of segregation in which professors can use the pre-search, political context to control the pace of cultural change to their shared governance norms and maintain their position as academic aristocrats. The chapter extends chapter 2's narrative on inclusion-aligning hirability and clarifies the political context in which professors use it to distinguish inclusion. In resisting inclusion initiatives, professors defend aristocratic inclusion and

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control the pace of cultural change in a way that does not threaten their current status as professors in the aristocracy.

Chapter 4 follows how professors use hirability to make distinctions when producing a short list from the applicant pool and how this narrowing is tied to maintaining the research aristocracy. I examine how professors narrow the applicant pool with respect to intellectual diversity (discipline-challenging research) rather than demographic diversity to explore what factors professors use to distinguish inclusion for the candidate short list. I show that *tenure risk*—verified through elite fit (productivity and legibility in the professions)—is the schema professors use to narrow the applicant pool for intellectual diversity, while privileging elite affiliations in order to distinguish perceived "less risky" candidates who were not tenure risks. Because professors use elite affiliations to determine inclusion, I argue they use hirability to justify these as accomplishments through elite fit (extralocal relations). Chapter 4 builds on the preceding chapters to show that professors limit the inclusion of scholars who are doing discipline-challenging research by choosing to interpret hirability so firmly through tenurability and use it to justify elite affiliations as hirable accomplishments. While professors may be open to intellectual diversity and scholars from any background, chapter 4 shows how professors justify privileging elite diversity around particular cultural expectations of researchers: research training with elite institutional and associational affiliations.

Finally, chapter 5 deconstructs who professors think is hirable in their local context as a way to determine who has elite diversity in their extralocal contexts through a desired cultural background. Chapter 5 asks how professors identify a "good" candidate in a job talk, the final round of hiring in the book. Explicitly using the gender-informed lens discussed earlier to conceptualize the white patriarchal expectations of appropriate behavior in the workplace, chapter 5 identifies which schemas professors use to determine to whom they want to make job offers. Chapter 5 moves toward how professors use identity with hirability and away from an explicit focus on how professors use specific inclusion initiatives with it. While professors state that they focus on communication, chapter 5 argues that the *schemas of hirable communication* they use to distinguish inclusion reflect cisheterosexist *behavioral expectations* that women typically confront during evaluation reviews. For instance, professors sought humble bridges who teach—people who offer themselves as connective pathways in the

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department, sufficiently instruct, and practice humility. Professors also wanted nondefensive citizens who protect, or people they felt were like them, who would not be confrontational and would protect the university's reputation. While these two sets of communicative schemas speak to the technical skills of presenting research, chapter 5 argues they together reflect that professors want to include someone who does not necessarily challenge them but gradually nudges them toward new domains. This nudging reflects how cisgender, white women ought to behave in a white boys' club or white patriarchal system.

In the conclusion, I tie together the book's arguments around hirability and aristocratic inclusion to reframe debates of inclusion initiatives, labor, and cultural change and imagine alternative realities. I contend that professors use hirability through the language of inclusion to maintain aristocratic inclusion. Through aristocratic inclusion, professors use hirability to justify narrowly seeking demographic diversity from *among* elites and defend using elite credentials as hirable accomplishments, safeguarding their status. I argue that professors must understand that their use of hirability produces this aristocratic rule due to the existing schemas they use through inclusion initiatives to conceptualize demographic diversity and reward labor (table 1.4). Rather than solely focusing campus policies to include more individuals from demographically marginalized backgrounds, policies must also empower professors to use them to evolve academic labor cultures away from elite domination. In doing so, professors would have to rechampion desegregation once again and directly target contemporary forms of segregation, such as labor-based (research vs. teaching) and cultural (elite vs. nonelite). In a cruel twist of irony, President Trump has been able to accelerate hollowing out the aristocracy because administrators and professors in the aristocracy became reliant on justifying their value to society through their research contributions, and by funding this research through foundation and federal grants. Trump was able to directly target his attack on higher education, and particularly the aristocracy, for becoming too liberal, progressive, leftist, and anti-American. While he is hollowing out the aristocracy in one sense, a more accurate understanding from this book's historical perspective and analysis is that he is realigning the settler colonial, aristocratic US college and university to its originating purpose: white American global domination. The conclusion outlines research, policy, and practical recommendations for professors, administrators, and practitioners to change the existing structure of academic labor. I discuss what might be worth scavenging from the ruins of the aristocracy.

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The appendix outlines the standpoint dimension of QDE and provides methodological details on data collection and analysis.

But what does *Aristocratic Inclusion* offer beyond a distressing diagnosis? A treatment plan. While Archie did get hired at the end of the day, according to him it was only due to his white male mentor's advocacy. But as I will argue, that advocate was not the only reason. Not every candidate will be so lucky to have such an advocate, and neither should we who wish to build democratic, equitable organizations require such an advocate tasked with bringing worthy candidates into organizations. Whether it is elite professions placing immense value on referrals to advance candidates further in hiring processes, or the aristocracy prioritizing candidates from their own elite networks, these are individualistic, piecemeal approaches to desegregation and integration *at best*. *Aristocratic Inclusion* reveals that such gradual approaches maintain and enhance elite domination because individuals who are different but sufficiently similar can always be included without the system being undermined. But more importantly, where do candidates who are worthy outside of aristocratic hirability norms go to do their research and share their knowledge? Aristocratic inclusion is a practice of domination and a liability for the public good.

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NOTES

Introduction. Elite Domination in Today's Age of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

1 *Woke* is an African American Vernacular English term for being politically conscious in order to stay alive amid societal racism; the oldest recording dates back to Huddie Ledbetter's 1938 song "Scottsboro Boys" (Montanaro 2023). The contemporary US-based, right-wing, fascist movement supporting Donald Trump pathologized the term to mean an essentialist concept of identity based on race and distributing societal benefits on the basis of identity. It is now *globally* used derogatorily to refer to making accommodations for equity; US-American cultural imperalism to other nations; and insulting nonwhite supporters of DEI, in particular Black, queer, and/or trans people.

2 Stephen Shapiro's (2009) theory of cultural capital is grounded in the exploitation of "intellectual" labor power (labor power in the context of knowledge institutions) in which the value of this exploitation is expressed as prestige. Prestige is "the social expression of the labor value given up by subjects to institutions and their agents in return for the perceived security of (occupational) privilege; it is the collective form of charisma" (250). Therefore, the rights and resources that faculty obtain through knowledge institutions (e.g., shared governance, hiring lifelong colleagues, collegiality as a norm, ability to research over teach, service expectations) are features of their prestige.

3 Though *cishetero*-is a contemporarily used prefix, I use it transhistorically to emphasize that patriarchal norms in a society that determine a person's gender or sexuality as "normal" are tied to binary notions of sex (Lugones 2016). Historians and scholars of gender, sexuality, racism, and colonialism have shown that social and academic debates on sexuality, gender, and gender variance in the early 1900s were concerned with defining a "normal" sex and gender in relation to a colonial binary system of sex and gender and a colonial racist system of white individuals at the top (Gill-Peterson 2018; Boag 2011; Sears 2014; Elledge 2018; Haley 2016; Vincent 2009; Laqueur 1992).

4 Studies of elitism focus on cultural capital when considering how classification systems can legitimate elite domination (Bourdieu 1988; Khan

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2012a). I diverge from capital to focus more on the practices and justifications around inclusion because my interest is in which practices and logics manufacture capital as valuable (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006).

5 I thank Professor Theresa Rocha Beardall for using the word *sinews* when describing the importance of my project to me.

6 My use of Sewellian schemas is tied to queer Du Boisian empiricism and is based on my collaborative research (2017) with Tina M. Park and my dissertation proposal's theorization (2017–18) (kehal and Park 2017; kehal 2018). I thank a reviewer for noting that my analyses have synergies with the popularized theory of racialized organizations (TORO), in which schemas are used for understanding organizational inequality and racialization (Ray 2019). My theorization is theoretically distinct because it is based explicitly in Du Boisian sociology, settler colonial studies, and queer and trans studies; TORO engages these traditions with a specific focus on race. Further, TORO provides four predetermined tenets that scholars apply to evaluate how an organization is racialized; these tenets are the schemas. Instead, my approach focuses on identifying schemas that are coordinative because overlapping systems of exploitation produce interlinked and distinct categories of domination, and these categories become justifications *for* domination. Together, our approaches show how durable and dynamic schemas coordinate organizational domination.

7 Though this study does not elaborate on this point given what professors shared, analyses of how languages, such as United States English, are part of the methodological homelandism would be consistent with this framing.

8 See the appendix for discussion on the racist-patriarchal-temporal effect associated with outreach using my name.

9 Inclusion's cultural foundations are key for distinguishing worth (Bailey 2021; Baldwin and Griffin 2014; Carroll 1973; Evans 2007; Gilks 1982; Hull et al. 1993; Joseph et al. 2021; Lerner [1972] 1992; McCombs 1989; Prescod-Weinstein 2020; S. S. Smith 2005; Thomas and Hollenshead 2001; Vigil-Fowler and Desai 2021).

10 For instance, of the nine non-tenure-track professors (across academic ranks) in my sample, eight shared that they were invited to departmental job talks, but they kept their evaluative comments to themselves because they had no decision-making authority to vote. The one non-tenure-track professor who did have voting rights said that they would not vote because they did not feel they had the right to influence department politics.

Chapter 1. Creating Hirability for Elite White Patriarchal Domination from Emancipation to Integration, 1860–1980

1 Charles L. Reason is also noted as the first Black male scholar to teach in 1849 at New York Central College, a mixed-race, abolitionist university

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