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Epistemic Exclusion: Scholar(ly) Devaluation That Marginalizes Faculty of Color

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Faculty of color experience a number of challenges within academia, including tokenism, marginalization, racial microaggressions, and a disconnect between their racial/ethnic culture and the culture within academia. The present study examined epistemic exclusion as another challenge in which formal institutional systems of evaluation combine with individual biases toward faculty of color to devalue their scholarship and deem them illegitimate as scholars. Using data from interviews with 118 faculty of color from a single predominantly White, research-intensive institution, we found that epistemic exclusion occurs through formal hierarchies that determine how scholarship is valued and the metrics used to assess quality, and through informal processes that further convey to faculty of color that they and their scholarship are devalued. In addition, there was variability in reporting these experiences by race, gender, nationality, and discipline. We found that faculty of color coped with epistemic exclusion by being assertive and by seeking validation and support outside the institution. Finally, participants described a number of negative work-related and psychological consequences of their epistemic exclusion. We discuss epistemic exclusion as a form of academic gatekeeping that impedes the recruitment, advancement, and retention of faculty of color and offer strategies to address this barrier.

Keywords: epistemic exclusion, faculty of color, diversity, higher education, gatekeeping

Racism, sexism, and other interlocking systems of oppression are persistent and palatable forces within higher education (Ladson-Billings, 2009). Directed at faculty of color, they may take the form of inequitable treatment, questions of credibility and competence, and social exclusion (Turner, González, & Wood, 2008). Researchers have begun to acknowledge the implications of these forces not only on the psychological well-being of the scholar (e.g., Diggs, Garrison-Wade, Estrada, & Galindo, 2009; Li & Beckett, 2006; Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2019; Tippeconnic, 2005; Turner et al., 2008; Zambrana et al., 2017), but also on the nature and trajectory of their scholarship. Researchers have theorized that structural forces and systems can undermine the production and interpretation of academic knowledge produced by marginalized individuals (e.g., people of color; Dotson, 2011, 2012, 2014). This inequitable treatment around the evaluation of scholarship may contribute to the underrepresentation of faculty of color (U.S. Department of Education, 2018).

In the present research, we integrate the literature on interpersonal bias and structural oppression to frame our understanding and investigation of epistemic exclusion. *Epistemic exclusion* is theorized to be an experience in which faculty of color are deemed illegitimate members of the academy, and thus their scholarship is devalued (Dotson, 2012, 2014). We put forth this construct as yet another barrier undermining the retention and overall success of faculty of color. Undergirding our conceptualization of epistemic exclusion is the assumption that systems of oppression are widespread, resulting in the selective exclusion of marginalized individuals. Through the analysis of interviews with 118 faculty of color, the present study examines both the nature and impact of epistemic exclusion.

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Challenges of Faculty of Color in Academia

Some faculty of color[1] characterize their experiences navigating academia as living in "two worlds"—highlighting the chasm between their racial/ethnic culture and the university culture (Jacob, 2012; Sadao, 2003; Segura, 2003). Cultural disconnect manifests for some as a sense of otherness in the academy (Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005; Holling & Rodriguez, 2006). In their call to action for the diversification of higher education's intellectual and pedagogical status quo, scholars of color specifically referred to themselves as "strangers." They used this labeling to signify how their identities (e.g., Chicana and Caribbean and working class), along with their intention to disrupt the existing state of affairs, differentiated their norms and values from those of their institution (Holling & Rodriguez, 2006).

Studies also indicate that faculty of color persistently experience the academic climate as inhospitable, discriminatory, and plagued with bias (e.g., Aguirre, Martinez, & Hernandez, 1993; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005; Parsons, Bulls, Freeman, Butler, & Atwater, 2018; Turner, 1994); this is especially the case for women of color who occupy (at least) two marginalized identity statuses (Kim, Hogge, Mok, & Nishida, 2014; Segura, 2003; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). In their study of Black faculty in science education, Parsons and colleagues (2018) noted how racism permeated faculty experiences; as a result of inequitable systems of institutional power and pervasive negative views of Black Americans, they found themselves unaware of the unspoken rules of the academy, overlooked for prestigious opportunities, and received poor teaching evaluations from students. A review of in-depth interviews with women of color faculty identified gendered racism in their interactions with students in the classroom, which manifested as challenges to their research and teaching competence, and even threats to their careers (Pittman, 2010). Further challenging for women of color faculty is the mistreatment they may receive from men of color faculty, a sentiment that was specifically highlighted in Segura's (2003) study of Chicana faculty. Unfortunately, the marginalizing experiences and negative perceptions of the campus climate found in studies today are not starkly different from those reported by faculty of color over 20 years ago (Turner, 1994).

Tokenism is a term used to describe situations when individuals with a specific social identity (e.g., women) are underrepresented, a consequence of which may be the invisibility of their accomplishments and contributions, as well as the hypervisibility of their social identity membership (which results in heightened surveillance and stereotyping; Buchanan & Settles, 2019; Kanter, 1977a, 1977b). Both invisibility and hypervisibility are common experiences of faculty of color due to both their token status *and* low social status of their race (and gender for women of color faculty; Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019; Seyranian, Atuel, & Crano, 2008; Turner, Myers, & Creswell, 1999; Yoder, 2002). For example, some faculty of color reported that they are highly visible because of their investment in advocacy and diversity issues, but invisible because they do not align with the campus culture "norm" (Turner et al., 1999, p. 44). Among Native American faculty, hypervisibility emerged in the form of institutional expectations to teach Native American content and serve as role models to all students sharing this racial background (Tippeconnic, 2005). Further, Constantine and colleagues (2008) noted that Black faculty were challenged with the hypervisibility-invisibility conundrum; that is, they were forgotten, dismissed, and literally unseen or unheard by White faculty, while at the same time being spotlighted as a faculty of color in a primarily White space—a positioning that predisposed these faculty to racial microaggressions. Although the aforementioned challenges have been found across faculty of color, it is also the case that because of differences in racialization and social location (predicated on race, gender, and other salient identities) faculty may experience these challenges in different ways.

An important consequence of the stated challenges is their effect on faculty of color's success and wellness. Faculty advancement and psychological well-being are closely intertwined, such that faculty who are most well (i.e., have high levels of social support/mentoring, enhanced sense of belonging within their department, and satisfactory work-life balance) are the most successful in the academy (Bean, Lucas, & Hyers, 2014; Freel et al., 2017; Stupnisky, Weaver-Hightower, & Kartoshkina, 2015). On the other hand, faculty who face institutional challenges (e.g., marginalization and tokenism) experience a variety of psychosocial and professional consequences, ranging from loneliness, race-related stress, decreased job satisfaction, and imposter syndrome (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Dancy & Jean-Marie, 2014; Niemann, 2011; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2011). Previous literature indicates that faculty cope with challenges using a variety of strategies, some of which are active (assertiveness and confrontation, using the system to one's advantage, focusing on one's long-term vision or goal, identifying a mentor, and even prayer) and others that are more passive (social withdrawal or coming to terms with the persistence of bias and oppression; Constantine et al., 2008; Kim et al., 2014; Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Faculty engagement in such strategies cannot fully alleviate the problems they aim to address. Institutional change in terms of recruiting, retaining, and advancing marginalized scholars remains a necessary goal.

Epistemic Exclusion

In this study, we examined *epistemic exclusion* as another challenge faced by faculty of color. Imported from Black feminist theorists to feminist philosophy, epistemic exclusion questions normative beliefs about what forms of knowledge (epistemology) are valued and which producers of knowledge are deemed legitimate (e.g., Collins, 1989, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989; Dotson, 2012, 2014). As applied to academia, Dotson, (2012, 2014) has proposed that two processes of bias work in tandem to create epistemic exclusion. First, epistemic exclusion reflects racial prejudice toward faculty of color who are viewed as illegitimate and without credibility as scholars. This is based in stereotypes of Black, Latinx, and Native Americans as unintelligent, lazy, and getting unearned advantages, and those of Asians as perpetual foreigners and outsiders (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Sue, 2010). This bias is covertly expressed as the devaluation of nonmainstream scholarship that is more likely to be conducted by faculty of color (Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Collins, 1986, 1999; Gonzales, 2018).

[1] We use the term *faculty of color* to refer to faculty who racially self-identify as African American/Black, Hispanic/Latinx, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander, or Native American.

Second, there is bias in the expectation that legitimate and valued research and researchers will follow disciplinary norms (e.g., objectivity, theory development is based on scholarship not experiential knowledge; Gonzales, 2018). Perhaps because of their outsider-within status, faculty of color are more likely than others to have diverse approaches to their scholarship and to study populations and topics that do not fit neatly within these disciplinary norms (Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Collins, 1986, 1999; Gonzales, 2018). Faculty of color who engage in scholarship that is outside of the center of their disciplines are more likely to be penalized in systems that define legitimate and valued scholarship as only that which fits mainstream disciplinary expectations. Further, faculty of color who engage in work within disciplinary norms are also affected, as their scholarship is more likely to be treated as if it is not mainstream, because of racial biases (Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). In sum, epistemic exclusion acts as a form of gatekeeping because bias regarding certain scholars and specific types of research prevents faculty of color from being valued as legitimate and credible knowers/scholars. This devaluation has consequences for the hiring, retention, and advancement of faculty of color (Croom, 2017; Griffin, Bennett, & Harris, 2013).

Consistent with the theory of epistemic exclusion, scholars from various fields have called upon their disciplines to broaden their borders and redefine what are considered valued topics and methodologies, and who is a legitimate scholar (e.g., Louis, 2007; Monzó & SooHoo, 2014; Stanley, 2007). Boundary broadening and definition is important as faculty of color and women are likely to engage in scholarship that is considered outside disciplinary norms, including scholarship on race and gender, interdisciplinary research, and applied work (e.g., Antonio, 2002; Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Gonzales, 2018). Although there has not been an empirical investigation of epistemic exclusion to date, some research supports the theory's assertion that faculty of color and their scholarship are devalued and perceived as illegitimate. For example, one study found that Black faculty perceived that their research was not valued by colleagues, particularly scholarship focused on race, ethnicity, or gender, and that their status as faculty members and academic qualifications were challenged (Constantine et al., 2008).

The Current Study

The current study builds on the limited empirical research on the devaluation of faculty of color and their scholarship through an examination of epistemic exclusion. This work extends and elaborates on a previous report on the invisibility and hypervisibility of faculty of color using these data (Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019). This study makes several contributions to the existing literature. First, as institutions of higher education seek to diversify their faculty, it is important to understand the experiences that hinder the success and retention of faculty of color, such as epistemic exclusion. In particular, our study investigates the multiple ways in which epistemic exclusion occurs, as well as identifies some of the ways in which it creates negative outcomes for faculty of color. Although there are many narratives recounting experiences of scholarly devaluation (e.g., Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Tippeconnic, 2005), no research to date has identified the various ways in which this devaluation is manifested. Second, a great deal of the research on faculty of color examines interpersonal experiences of racism or structural experiences of discrimination. However, epistemic exclusion theorizes a type of unfair treatment that is enacted through both individual biases *and* structural/institutional practices. As such, the results of the current study may lend themselves to insights regarding not only how to remedy problems of bias that occur at the interpersonal level, but also, and perhaps most importantly, at the structural/institutional level. Third, by engaging in a detailed examination of epistemic exclusion, we name and label the experience for individuals and institutions. Research has shown the importance of naming and labeling phenomena in order for change to take place (Harris & Firestone, 2010; Ménard & Cox, 2016; Yoder, Tobias, & Snell, 2011).

Our research was guided by three questions: (a) What is the nature of epistemic exclusion for faculty of color? (b) How do faculty of color respond to experiences of epistemic exclusion? (c) What are the consequences of epistemic exclusion for faculty of color? We examined these research questions using data from in-depth interviews with 118 tenure-track faculty of color who were drawn from across disciplines within a single predominantly White research-intensive university. By using a sample representing a wide diversity of disciplines and faculty backgrounds, we demonstrate that epistemic exclusion is a phenomenon spanning across individuals, racial/ethnic minority groups, and disciplines.

Method

Participants

Participants were tenure-track faculty of color ($n = 118$) at a research-intensive, predominantly White university. At the time of data collection, 19% of undergraduates, 17% of graduate students, and 24% of the faculty at the university were people of color. The distribution of faculty of color at the institution we studied (14% Asian, 5% Black, 4% Latinx/Hispanic, and 0.7% Native American) were comparable to national rates of faculty of color representation in higher education (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). Across the sample, participants varied in terms of gender, race, nationality (U.S. born or not), rank, and broad academic disciplines—science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields such as natural sciences, social sciences, and agriculture and natural resources, or arts and humanities (AH) fields such as literature, history, and philosophy (see Table 1 for sample characteristics).

Procedure

Data were collected in two phases, but for both phases the recruitment process followed the same steps. We sent an e-mail (with the institutional review board-approved consent form attached) to all eligible faculty members apprising them that we would be starting a qualitative study about "workplace and work-life experiences" of underrepresented faculty members. In Phase 1, all 176 Black, Latinx, and Native American tenure-track faculty at the institution were invited to participate in the study, of which 62 faculty agreed (35% response rate). Considering the larger number of Asian tenure-track faculty at the institution, Phase 2 consisted of stratified purposeful sampling with the goal of obtaining an Asian sample that varied by gender, nationality, and academic discipline (STEM vs. AH field). Using this process, we invited 244 of the

Table 1
Sample Characteristics

Characteristic	*n* (%)
Gender	
Woman	56 (47%)
Man	62 (53%)
Race[a]	
Asian	56 (47%)
Black	30 (25%)
Latinx/Hispanic	26 (22%)
Native American	6 (5%)
Nationality	
U.S. born	53 (45%)
Born outside the U.S.	65 (55%)
Rank	
Assistant professor	42 (36%)
Associate professor	35 (30%)
Full professor	41 (35%)
Academic discipline	
Science, technology, engineering, and math	42 (36%)
Arts and humanities	76 (64%)

[a] The Asian, Black, and Latinx/Hispanic racial groups include participants who were born within the United States and outside the United States.

261 Asian tenure-track faculty at the institution to participate, of which 56 faculty agreed (23% response rate). The Asian, Black, and Latinx participants included both U.S.-born and international faculty.

Interested individuals took part in a single semistructured, one-on-one interview that lasted 1–2 hr. The study was designed to assess a variety of faculty work environment and work-life experiences, and interview questions were derived from the literature on experiences of faculty in higher education and were aligned with particular areas of interest to the university. Questions covered a range of topics, such as the departmental environment, perceptions of departmental/university policies and procedures, strategies used to deal with career challenges, and factors contributing to or diminishing job satisfaction. Because the study was not designed to assess epistemic exclusion, none of the interview questions asked specifically about it. However, many of the responses related to epistemic exclusion emerged in answers to a question asking whether participants felt valued in their departments and within the university.

Interviewers were trained graduate students recruited from social science and education departments, many of whom had previous experience with interviewing and qualitative methods. To increase trust and rapport between the participant and the interviewer, they were matched along race and gender. We decided to use graduate student interviewers because they had little ability to influence faculty job outcomes and thus we anticipated that faculty would be comfortable discussing their workplace experiences with them. No faculty were interviewed by their own graduate students. In the case that faculty did not feel comfortable with a student interviewer they could also request a faculty interviewer (seven did so). All interviewers took part in a 2-hr long training (conducted by the first author) in which the study procedure was reviewed and interviewing strategies and best practices (e.g., arranging the space, building rapport, encouraging honest communication, and dealing with challenges during the interview) were discussed. Interviewers were encouraged to make note of any unusual circumstances or other important observations during and at the completion of their interviews.

With the permission of participants, interview audio was digitally recorded; for those who declined audio-recording ($n = 3$), interviewers took extensive notes during their interviews and the notes were used as the participant's data. Upon completion of the interview, audio-recordings were downloaded to a secure server, and reviewed by the first author to ensure they were of good quality. Audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim and then a second researcher from the team checked transcriptions for accuracy. Finally, identifying information was removed from the transcripts.

Methodology and Data Analysis

The methodology that guided our larger study was phenomenology, as we were interested in our participants' unique perspectives and interpretations of their experiences (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Further, the larger study sought to use the data from our interviews to determine whether there were common experiences among our faculty of color, or ways in which faculty of color held shared perceptions and meanings of those experiences. Data were initially coded and analyzed using NVIVO by nine members of the research team (see Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019, for more details) using thematic analyses.

For the current study, three team members (the first and last authors and a graduate student) recoded the data in NVIVO to determine whether there was evidence of epistemic exclusion, using a modified form of the constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 1996; Charmaz, 2008; Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Typically, grounded theory seeks to generate a theory inductively from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Our process modified this approach because we began with a working definition of epistemic exclusion, but using the data, we adapted and expanded the working definition into a theory. Further, our adoption of a constructivist grounded theory approach reflects our phenomenological methodology, in that we acknowledge the subjective meaning participants place on their experiences, as well as our own subjectivity as researchers interpreting the data, and we seek to present our findings as tied to a particular social context (Charmaz, 2008; Chun Tie, Birks, & Francis, 2019).

Consistent with a constructivist grounded theory approach, the coders engaged in a three-step coding procedure, during which comparative techniques were used (Charmaz, 2008). First, in initial coding, each phrase or sentence was coded for meaning. Next, the most relevant initial codes were selected, refined, and organized into more abstract categories with similar or related meanings, a process referred to as focused coding. These categories were documented in a coding manual, which was updated as the process continued. Third, during theoretical coding, categories were organized into higher order themes that represented abstract connections across different categories. At this stage, the theory is generated in the form of related constructs that can capture the experiences of many participants. In the grounded theory coding process, initial coding breaks the data into small, unrelated pieces, focused coding brings the data back together in an abstract, organized form, and theoretical coding organizes the theory fully in a way that explains the findings (Saldaña, 2013; Chun Tie et al., 2019). Throughout the coding process, the coders discussed and

refined the codes, categories, and themes to ensure their representativeness of the data and reduce redundancies.

Trustworthiness

To increase the trustworthiness of our data a number of steps were taken (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). At least two members of the coding team coded each transcript until a minimum interrater reliability of 85% was reached. Disagreements were resolved through discussion. Although individual member checks were not conducted, the results were presented throughout the university from which the participants were recruited. In this context, participants provided feedback that the results reflected their experiences. An audit trail was maintained detailing each step of the study and noting any relevant decisions made.

Trustworthiness is also enhanced through the reflexivity of the researchers, as we highlight the ways in which our own social positions influence our interpretation of the data (Morrow, 2005). All four authors are Black women academics, who identify as Black feminists; the second author was a postdoctoral scholar during our analysis and write-up of the findings and the other three authors were faculty members at the rank of associate or full professor. All four authors were born in the United States with English as their first language. The theory of epistemic exclusion was developed by the fourth author, a philosopher who studies Black feminist epistemology. The first three authors are psychologists studying the experiences of marginalized individuals, particularly Black women. We see our experience in academia as a strength, as it allowed us to have a depth of understanding regarding our participants' context. We could easily understand the jargon of academia, the unique process of career advancement, and the pressures experienced by faculty at a research-intensive university. At the same time, our own experiences of epistemic exclusion may influence our interpretations. We sought to guard against this possibility by checking our assumptions in our discussions, by looking for examples of negative cases, and by providing ample quotes so that readers may draw their own interpretations. In addition, our similarities may limit the extent to which we have insight into the unique experiences of some of the groups in our study (e.g., international Asian faculty). We have sought to counter this shortcoming by learning about faculty from other backgrounds through reading academic scholarship and conversations with faculty members from those groups.

Results

In the results, we present the themes that were identified in response to our three research questions (see Figure 1 for visual depiction of the themes and subthemes, their definitions, and relationship to each other). We provide quotations to illustrate the themes but do not provide identifying information (e.g., race, gender, field, etc.) about the speaker. We also use "they" in place of singular gender pronouns to ensure anonymity.

Research Question 1: The Nature of Epistemic Exclusion

In response to our first research question, we identified two broad themes, each with several subthemes. The first theme, *formal hierarchies*, described the ways institutions established a system of disciplinary norms denoting what scholarship and types of academic engagement were valuable, important, or significant.

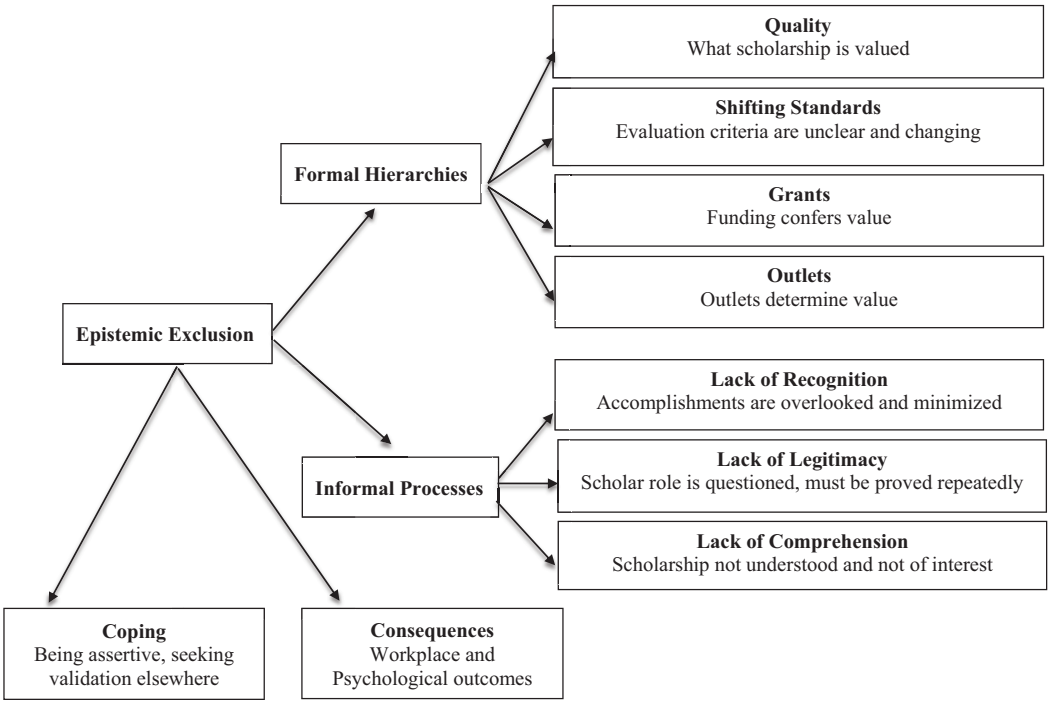

Figure 1. Epistemic exclusion themes and subthemes, definitions, and relationships.

Informal processes was the second theme, capturing mechanisms that were not codified within university procedures and hierarchies but nonetheless devalued participants' scholarship and cast them as illegitimate as scholars.

Formal hierarchies. Participants perceived epistemic exclusion via formal hierarchies around evaluation related to four distinct factors—quality, grants, journals/publishers, and shifting or unclear standards.

Quality. Most often, participants' discussions of epistemic exclusion were related to judgments about the quality of their scholarship. Faculty described that there were a number of bases upon which their work was devalued. Consistent with the theory of epistemic exclusion, faculty who did work outside of the disciplinary center felt their work was devalued:

> My unit tends to be very traditional in how they conceptualize what academia is and what scholarship is, very traditional in terms of fields. Like most of my colleagues do not recognize what I do . . . my home department basically doesn't care.

Faculty who focused their scholarship on race, ethnicity, and gender particularly felt this devaluation. One described this in relation to their teaching on issues of race and equity:

> I think that there are sometimes implicit kind of questions in the classroom that make it seem as if the work that is often done by faculty of color does not carry the same weight as the work of White faculty, right? So, we have our interest in diversity and equity and that's all cool, but that's just like a flavor, right? It's not really at the core of what I need to do in order to be a teacher.

Scholars who used methods considered less typical to their field or department were also perceived as doing lower quality research. Within our study, this was often qualitative research, consistent with the historical devaluation of qualitative methods in many fields (e.g., psychology: Kidd, 2002; public health: Baum, 1995). This is described by a faculty member who studies issues of race and class using qualitative methods:

> I don't feel valued in the department. I don't think people understand the kind of research I do. I don't think it's viewed as research because of the type of methodology I use. It's a very highly quantitatively inclined department.

Similarly, faculty in humanities occasionally felt that their creative work was also not viewed as research and accorded respect as important scholarship.

The context in which their research took place also became a source of devaluation for some faculty. This occurred for those who did community-engaged and international research. One faculty member conducting international research shared:

> When I was hired I made it very clear that international work is what I do . . . But within my own department and within my own academic program, there was very little support for international work. Actually at some point, you know my chair . . . told me very explicitly that, "we don't do international work here so you better find something else to do."

Another faculty member working in their local community noted, "I do a lot of stuff with community, and I think the university appreciates that *but* . . . they appreciate it, but it doesn't count the same as if somebody were to publish an article." These scholars perceived less support and appreciation for their work than that offered for the work of their colleagues engaged in traditional forms of scholarship.

Finally, faculty described devaluation of their socially-engaged scholarship, which is research intended to address practical concerns in society (Doberneck, Glass, & Schweitzer, 2012). The following quote reflects this and points to the interrelation of bias toward the scholar and the scholarship:

> Individuals who have research programs that are more problem oriented, less theoretical, that deal with social issues that are not the traditional theoretical questions of the field, are treated as second class citizens compared to those who do more traditional, theory based research. And there tends to be an overlap, an ethnic-racial overlap in this; people from underrepresented groups tend to want to do research that is relevant to some of these social problems (pauses). It's hard to say what's the cause and what's the effect—is the disdain for problem-directed research a form of channeling racial and ethnic prejudice or is it a true value system that differs in terms of valuing theory-driven research more than problem-oriented, applied research? It's hard to tell because there's an overlap in the individuals that tend to gravitate toward problem-oriented applied research—more persons of color go that way (pauses) for background reasons and for values that they're bringing even before they adopt an academic career.

In this quote, the participant explicitly draws attention to the difficulty of pulling apart the lower valuation of problem-oriented, applied research compared to theory-driven research and other more recognizable forms of race-based prejudice. This hindered disambiguation is consistent with epistemic exclusion which theorizes that the lower value often placed on scholarship conducted by faculty of color is difficult to differentiate from other race-based prejudices.

Grants. As institutions of higher education face financial challenges (e.g., decreases in state funding of public institutions), external grants become an increasingly integral factor to maintaining programs and funding students. To that end, grant-getting was another source of epistemic exclusion for faculty in STEM fields, as those who secured external grant funding were more highly valued than others, often in proportion to the size of their grants. When asked if they felt valued in their department, one faculty member said: "No, I can't be valued because I don't generate the revenue that is necessary for people to value you." Another faculty member noted how value is determined by the amount of funding one receives:

> It seems that the more grant money you have, the better the treatment. When I've had very large grants in the department, it just seemed like I could do no wrong and when you have modest grants or no grants, then you're not disrespected but you certainly don't have the same level of clout.

Thus, grants were discussed as one metric used to evaluate faculty research quality, and determined where individuals were placed on the academic hierarchy of success and prestige.

Journals/publishers. Another way that research quality was assessed was by the perceived quality of the publication outlet (i.e., journal or press), as determined by criteria like impact factor, rejection rate, and perceived prestige (Gruber, 2014). Because such criteria favor traditional disciplinary scholarship, those who engaged in research on topics like race, ethnicity, and gender, felt disadvantaged in the evaluation process.

> There is this deliberate change where they're trying to articulate what are the top journals and want everybody publishing in those top journals, which, once again always feels marginalizing because, you know, the top journals are not any of the specialty journals . . . the journals that are top for ethnic minority studies do not have the same impact factor cause they do not have the same circulation.

Another participant described how their department only valued research published in eight journals deemed top-tier, and publishing in these journals was required for tenure, promotion, and merit raises. If mainstream journals tend not to publish work on topics that faculty of color are more likely to engage in (Diaz & Bergman, 2013), and specialized journals are deemed less respectable, then an evaluation system that privileges only a few publication outlets results in epistemic exclusion of certain types of scholarship and scholars.

Shifting or unclear standards. The epistemic exclusion experienced by faculty of color around grants and publishing was further compounded by the fact that the standards around these requirements were often felt to be unclear or changeable. To be open to different types of scholarly activities, guidelines about tenure and promotion criteria are often vague (e.g., publish two "high-quality" journal articles per year, but without defining high-quality), which makes meeting standards difficult. Further, ambiguity in expectations can be used to exclude faculty of color by moving the bar so that it is always out of reach. Several participants in our study referred to shifting and ambiguous standards for evaluation and promotion as "moving target(s)" as illustrated by one faculty member's experience identifying the number of publications needed for promotion:

> The first year I was here, everybody I asked gave me a different number [of publications] and they were all bigger and bigger and bigger. And then I asked the same person again, they gave me a bigger number. . . . It was like . . . the carrot keeps moving (laughs). I decided that I had no other choice, besides to run and sprint, right? Get as much out as I could and do everything I could within reason and see where the chips fall.

Another faculty member shared a similar experience, but regarding the specific journals to publish in:

> There was an expectation that you would publish in certain journals, in certain areas. And so we asked [the Dean], "Well, what are those journals? You know, which are the ones that we should be shooting for? Which are the ones that we should avoid?" The Dean stated, "Oh, well, we can't answer that question." So you have an expectation that you cannot meet, essentially.

Not only did our participants perceive the standards to be vague and changeable, but also that higher standards were applied to them as compared to their White colleagues. One person noted that when clarity around expectations is requested, "academic jargon and ambiguous language is offered in response" and linked this to facilitating double-standards in which faculty of color and White faculty are differentially "viewed, assessed and treated, and promoted or not promoted." Another participant similarly noted that "the Dean and our chair applies different rules to different faculty" and continued to describe how they were told that a higher and higher number of grants were needed to be promoted to full professor. De la Luz Reyes and Halcon (1988) referred to these types of subjective decisions that exclude faculty of color from academia as hairsplitting, and conceptualize such behaviors as rooted in covert racism.

Informal processes. Three themes emerged that demonstrated how informal processes contributed to epistemic exclusion within the academy—lack of recognition, lack of legitimacy, and lack of comprehension.

Lack of recognition. The sense of invisibility that faculty of color experience in the academy is well-documented (Constantine et al., 2008; Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019; Turner et al., 1999). One of the primary ways faculty are made to feel invisible is through epistemic exclusion that occurs when their accomplishments are overlooked; for some, this lack of recognition (e.g., written or online mentions, verbal praise, promotion or tenure, or merit raises) persists even when they have met the formal standards outlined by their department. One faculty member described how despite acquiring grant funding, their achievements were downplayed. They stated, "The program that I run has been practically removed from the webpage. And you know, I have 5 times, 10 times the grant funding of the rest of the department combined. It's just, it's crazy." Another faculty expounded on this form of exclusion by mentioning:

> I will say my accomplishments have not been recognized very well here. When I go to conferences, go to other places, my colleagues all thought I'm already a full professor because my research was valuable. They're always surprised why they still [have] not given [me] tenure.

Lack of legitimacy. Because of stereotypes, biases, and prejudice, questions as to whether faculty of color have true intellectual skill persist (e.g., Constantine et al., 2008). To that end, faculty of color were subjected to epistemic exclusion through messages that they are not perceived as authentic academicians or as having scholarly abilities. As a consequence, faculty members were overlooked for professional opportunities, such as being put forward for promotion to full professor, being selected for program director, collaborating on large grants, or contributing chapters in books. One participant described their experience of perceived illegitimacy:

> These are all products of a type of racial experience where [racially minoritized group] people's competence is constantly questioned. You're ignorant until you prove yourself to be smart. You're guilty until you prove your innocence, and not the other way around. So, there's a privilege that my White colleagues enjoy, and that is the privilege of due process. They're innocent until proven guilty; they're competent until proven incompetent, right?

This participant felt similar questioning of their ability in the classroom, distinguishing their experience from that of White faculty who are assumed to be experts:

> The assumption for me is that I'm questionable, suspicious, I need to be tested. If I pass the test, they *might* listen to me, or test me again. And it's after that testing [that] I may gain some place of respect.

Other participants shared similar experiences of having to prove their ability and competence to others: "Little by little, people have recognized that, 'well gee whiz, maybe [they] know what [they're] doing and what [they're] talking about.' But it's been a fight." Thus, faculty of color felt that they still had to prove themselves

even after earning a faculty position in order to be granted legitimacy.

Lack of comprehension. Epistemic exclusion was also enacted through others' lack of comprehension for the scholarship conducted by faculty of color. Faculty spoke of how others not only did not understand their work, but also did not understand its importance or have interest in learning more about it. Several participants said that other faculty "don't really know what I do." This, at times, created distance resulting in feelings of isolation among faculty of color. Others were pressured to conform to mainstream disciplinary norms, with negative consequences for their productivity:

> I was given advice to change what I did to fit into these very traditional, mainstream, top-of-the-line journals. And so I spent *enormous* amounts of time trying to get my work into places that have *never* published anything like what I do and have never been interested in what I do and made it very clear that they still had no interest in what I do. A far better piece of advice would have been, "You publish where it makes sense for your work to be published, where your audience will see it, where you will make an impact with your area of field. And then we, upon *evaluating* you, will know, understand, and recognize those facts."

Others' lack of interest in learning about a new area of scholarship communicated to faculty of color that what they studied was not worth learning about, contributing to exclusion, devaluation, and sometimes negative career productivity as the previous quote illustrates.

Variability in epistemic exclusion. We were able to take advantage of our large sample size and examine whether subgroups of faculty of color were relatively more or less likely to have reported formal hierarchies and informal processes of epistemic exclusion. Specifically, we examined how race intersected with gender, nationality, and discipline. For four reasons, in our analyses we compared Asian faculty to the other three racial groups (i.e., Black, Latinx, and Native American), whom we refer to as underrepresented minority (URM) faculty. First, we found that fewer Asian faculty discussed experiences of epistemic exclusion through formal hierarchies and informal processes compared to Latinx, Black, or Native American faculty, suggesting that this experience is differentially relevant to the two groups. Second, by doing so, we were able to create two racial subsamples of approximately equal size (Asian $n = 56$ and URM $n = 62$). Third, whereas the URM faculty are numerically underrepresented in academia as compared to their representation in the United States, Asian faculty are overrepresented, showing the largest increase in their representation as faculty over the past 20 years (U.S. Department of Education, 1993, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Fourth, the stereotype of Asian people as the model minority group (and the accompanying beliefs that Asians are smart and hardworking) contrasts starkly with the stereotypes of the other three racial groups as lazy and unintelligent (Chou & Feagin, 2015; Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Kanter, 1977b). Because token status and marginalization experiences are tied to both numerical representation and status, Asian faculty may have qualitatively different experiences than URM faculty, who may have more shared experiences with each other. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that URM faculty are not a uniform group and that there are important distinctions among them.

Our analyses revealed that more URM women and men reported formal hierarchies and informal processes of epistemic exclusion than both Asian women and men. However, among URM faculty, more women reported informal processes of epistemic exclusion than did men. Examining race by nationality, we found that among URM participants, more U.S.-born faculty reported both formal hierarchies and informal processes of epistemic exclusion than internationally born URM faculty. Among Asian faculty, we found the opposite pattern; more internationally born Asian faculty reported formal hierarchies of epistemic exclusion than U.S.-born Asian faculty, although there were no nationality differences in reporting of informal processes of epistemic exclusion by Asian faculty.

Finally, examining race by discipline, we found that more faculty in AH reported formal hierarchies and informal processes of epistemic exclusion than faculty in STEM, with a higher rate of URM faculty in AH reporting both types of epistemic exclusion compared to URM faculty in STEM and all Asian faculty (URM faculty in STEM reported more epistemic exclusion than all Asian faculty). Thus, epistemic exclusion was an experience that was especially likely to be discussed during the interviews of URM faculty, particularly those who were U.S.-born or in AH fields, and URM women were particularly likely to describe informal processes of epistemic exclusion. Although epistemic exclusion was less prevalent among Asian faculty than URM faculty, for faculty in the Asian subsample, formal hierarchies of epistemic exclusion were more relevant for those who were internationally born. These results suggest important variability that may result from specific group stereotypes, which in turn influence faculty outcomes, all of which are findings we return to in the discussion.

Research Question 2: Coping With Epistemic Exclusion

Interviewees described two primary ways they coped with epistemic exclusion—by being assertive in addressing instances of epistemic exclusion or seeking validation and social support from others outside of their department or university.

Being assertive. Many faculty felt the need to respond directly to the epistemic exclusion they experienced. For instance, in response to being treated as illegitimate, one faculty mentioned, "Very often you're discounted . . . until you just absolutely say, 'Excuse me? This is my suggestion' and then if you're ignored, you just say it a little louder." Explicitly correcting misrepresentations is another form of assertiveness that faculty engaged in to counter lack of respect and recognition:

> I'm a lot less passive because now I know what's going on. You know, I just call it out. Today in our meeting, [a colleague] does these things where she begins to speak for me and I told her, "Don't speak for me. We're not speaking as a united front. You speak for you, I'll speak for me." You know, I've been firm or deliberate in doing stuff like that.

Faculty of color also used self-advocacy to deal with lack of recognition and lack of comprehension. For example, after serving on an award committee for their college, one participant observed "I'm feeling like I probably should have been nominated but I'm on this committee." When their committee work was completed,

and a call for nominations went out, they communicated their own value:

> The chair suggested that we should nominate somebody and I finally went to him this year and said, "Well what about me? You know, I look at this person [who the chair planned to nominate] . . . he's very deserving but he hasn't done nearly as much, especially externally, as I've done," and so I made them nominate me.

Participants found these assertive coping strategies to be effective and helped them to feel empowered and agentic in otherwise difficult circumstances.

Seeking validation. The other way faculty of color responded to epistemic exclusion was through seeking social support and validation, specifically outside of their institution. Interactions outside the institution provided faculty with a sense of worth that was missing from their department or university. One faculty member shared,

> Once I realized that the problem was here, I started talking to people *outside* of the institution altogether and came to realize that I didn't have to be here. . . . It became clear to me that other places would *love* to have me; when I would talk to people about my record, they were just blown over—". . . You've published more than half our faculty." And all of these things that then gave me some validation that I *was* doing a lot, I *was* doing good work, I was doing quality work and I was doing enough of it to be worthy of praise. It helped me reframe what happens here.

Another faculty member shared that skills they developed outside of the university provided them with feelings of worth: "I have conducted hearings at state-level entities . . . so it says to me that, 'Okay I'm not stupid,' that you do have the abilities and you are learning to do these kinds of things." Thus, positive experiences outside of the university were able to offset negative feelings and doubts about one's work and skills (i.e., impostor syndrome; Dancy & Jean-Marie, 2014), that were created by epistemic exclusion.

Research Question 3: Consequences of Epistemic Exclusion

Throughout the interviews, participants talked about the consequences of epistemic exclusion, and these were divided into two primary domains—work-related consequences and psychological consequences.

Work-related consequences. Some faculty described how epistemic exclusion forced them to limit the scope of their scholarship. This resulted in faculty pursuing research that was considered "mainstream," and forgoing projects that they personally found to be more innovative and meaningful. For instance, one faculty member described a discussion they had with colleagues at their professional organization's annual meeting about the conflict between their desire to do community-based, activist work and the university's values:

> And so, (sighs) making the university understand the importance of that work . . . and not just placing it in like service . . . So in this organization, there's people from the Ivy Leagues and from community colleges and I mean big universities; so we're all there just kind of talking about our work and how these conversations are happening on campus . . . If there's enough of us saying this, hopefully we can start turning that tide of having to sort of forgo our community work so that we can publish, publish, publish.

When faculty perceive limitations in the allowable scope of their scholarship, it often has an impact on their productivity. Further, parameters on what scholarship is deemed valuable can affect individuals' ability to foster successful and productive collaborations with others: "When your work is not valued, then people don't think about you as a potential resource or collaborator."

Faculty's sense of being stifled in terms of the work that is considered valuable and meaningful, coupled with its impact on scholarly productivity, are directly related to how faculty are perceived in the context of evaluation. Often biases infiltrate these processes (e.g., Diggs et al., 2009), thus undermining tenure and promotion for these faculty. One participant shared their experiences in faculty review meetings:

> If they like you or they think your work is good, then you get presented in a whole different way than if they are not so sure . . . and that taints how everybody else thinks about the candidate. So I think that it does matter whether or not your research is valued or whether they like you.

Decreased productivity, alongside biased reviews, unavoidably affects faculty financially, because raises are based on merit as determined by formal hierarchies: "No matter how you slice and dice it, you always see that the raises come down to publications and grants." Another faculty explained this more thoroughly by sharing,

> Well one of the ways you get valued is through merit raises because then you find out who is valued in the department . . . monitor the pay raises. Who gets the biggest pay raises tells you who is valued most. My Department Chair can say, "[Participant's name], you're doing a great job, you're doing a great job!" but if I always get the lowest quartile of the pay raises it means nothing. So I look at the behavior rather than the words.

Some participants also perceived that they were punished when they were successful to reestablish the status quo in which faculty of color were at the bottom of the performance hierarchy. In the context of having tremendous success securing large extramural grants, but still not being recognized, one participant said,

> I really think the people who are doing this are not aware that they're doing it. I really believe that. I think that this is how racism works or sexism or whatever the hell it is—that there is a kind of naturalness about certain people being successful and an unnaturalness about other people being successful and people are not comfortable with that. They function in the world that would make them more comfortable. And they do things insidiously to make that happen.

Similarly, another participant said "I don't think I am valued. I think it has nothing to do with who I am as a person. I think it has to do with the fact that, if I can be blunt, I'm probably the most famous person [the department] has and will ever have." Thus, for some, epistemic exclusion was seen as a form of backlash for defying racial group stereotypes by achieving success through traditional metrics.

One of the most problematic consequences of epistemic exclusion for institutions of higher education is the loss of talent (Settles, Jones, Brassel, & Buchanan, 2019). Faculty expressed a

desire to feel valued and when that was not present, they found offers from other institutions that recognized their value attractive and validating:

> I guess if I had to be honest, some part of me really looks forward to the idea of a fresh start—being somewhere where potentially what I do is recognized and valued, where the level of productivity that I have is seen as good and not like a slacker . . . you know, being treated as somebody who's very smart and has something to contribute.

Similarly, a junior faculty member mentioned, "I could see myself staying here for a long time if they actually valued me and offered me . . . the space that I need to grow as a professional." Thus, epistemic exclusion was associated with a number of negative job outcomes.

Psychological consequences. In addition to work consequences, participants described psychological consequences of epistemic exclusion. One faculty member shared an instance in which a department chair was disrespectful toward women faculty members, to the point of making one woman cry, noting, "I feel like he did target us, not just because of gender, but also because of the kind of [research] we do." This participant highlights the way that gender can also intersect with race to make women of color faculty especially vulnerable to epistemic exclusion. When talking about epistemic exclusion, participants talked about "dark times," being "unsatisfied" and "very unhappy" about the lack of recognition of their scholarship, suggesting that this type of devaluation can result in unhappiness and a lack of job satisfaction. Epistemic exclusion was accompanied by feelings of frustration, isolation, lack of control, and uncertainty; participants described having to work against messages that made them feel "crazy" or incompetent. These psychological challenges associated with epistemic exclusion, combined with negative job outcomes, likely hinder the advancement and retention of faculty of color by preventing feelings of belonging and acceptance, and by making success along traditional metrics more difficult.

Discussion

The current study contributes to the extant body of literature illustrating the experiences of faculty of color and their scholarship within higher education through a specific examination of epistemic exclusion. Building upon the works of Black feminist theorists (e.g., Collins, 1989, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989; Dotson, 2012, 2014), we broadly define *epistemic exclusion* as the combined impact of formal institutional systems, or established systems for the evaluation of scholarship, and individual biases in determining what knowledge is valuable and who is deemed a credible contributor to knowledge production. The results of our study have led to a preliminary theory of epistemic exclusion as occurring through two mechanisms: formal hierarchies within systems of evaluation that determine how scholarship is valued and informal processes that support these evaluative hierarchies by further conveying scholarly value. This theory is generally consistent with our initial working definition of epistemic exclusion; however, we note that this research necessarily provides only the perceptions of our faculty participants regarding individual biases and institutional systems. Beyond elucidating incidences of epistemic exclusion reported by our faculty participants, findings from the current study shed light on how faculty cope with such experiences and the toll they take on faculty's well-being and success within the academy.

Our first research question centered on the nature of epistemic exclusion across faculty of color. Faculty in our study reported experiencing devaluation of their scholarship that acted as gatekeeping through two mechanisms, formal hierarchies and informal processes. With formal hierarchies of epistemic exclusion, systems and structures of evaluation created artificial hierarchies that placed certain types of scholarship on the lowest rungs: scholarship that addressed marginalized social groups, used community samples, focused on international concerns, used methodology outside of the disciplinary norm, or had a social justice focus (i.e., seeks to address social problems; Antonio, 2002; Gonzales, 2018). Many of these areas of study were perceived as self-indulgent "me-search" or "brown-on-brown" research (De la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1988, p. 302) that did not contribute to their respective disciplines, was biased, and lacked objectivity. Gonzales (2018) noted that objectivity, along with "detachment, linearity, and generalizability" are perceived as 'gold standards' in determining the legitimacy of intellectual work (p. 681). She noted that White academics do not acknowledge that objectivity itself is a value and further, that White scholars assume that they are objective while faculty of color are not. Thus, faculty of color, by the nature of their scholarship, often find themselves to be disadvantaged by systems of evaluation that approach their work with biased assumptions.

The formal hierarchies of evaluation worked operationally by privileging certain journals or publishing presses as outlets for quality work with the belief (sometimes explicitly communicated) that work disseminated in other places was necessarily less important and of lower quality. Stanley (2007) noted that top-tier journals typically accept dominant research epistemologies (which she calls master narratives) and reject epistemologies that challenge them (i.e., counternarratives). Further, Diaz and Bergman (2013) noted that top-tier journals publish relatively little research addressing non-White populations. As such, top-tier journals serve as gatekeepers. Similarly, evaluations, particularly in STEM fields, relied heavily on grant funding as another proxy for research quality, without consideration of the ways in which granting agencies might also have racial biases in their awarding grant funds (Check Hayden, 2015). Reliance on outside indicators, such as journal impact factors and grants, as measures of scholarly quality and impact is especially problematic because the same disciplinary biases that devalue certain types of work in university settings operate in the contexts of publishing and grant funding. As a result, journals and funding agencies create opportunities for epistemic exclusion to occur, further instantiating the disparities faced by faculty of color and others engaged in work outside disciplinary centers (Gruber, 2014; Stanley, 2007). In addition to the biases built into using such metrics of quality, participants noted another challenge: the productivity needed to meet these metrics was perceived to be always shifting upward and was felt to be higher for faculty of color compared to White faculty. This uncertainty about the metrics needed for success created anxiety about the process and an urgency to "run and sprint," which may contribute to the negative emotional and physical consequences of epistemic exclusion we found.

Our participants described several ways in which the devaluation of their scholarship, and themselves as scholars, was ex-

pressed and enacted by others through informal processes. We refer to these informal processes as *The Three Is*: invisibility, illegitimacy, and incomprehensibility. Faculty of color described being invisible when they were not recognized for their achievements. Theories of visibility in organizational settings note that powerful groups often control the visibility of marginalized groups, and often deny them positive visibility and recognition as a means of maintaining existing boundaries and the status quo (Brighenti, 2007; Buchanan & Settles, 2019; Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). Instead, marginalized individuals are perceived mainly in terms of stereotypes about their group and may experience backlash (e.g., silencing and delegitimization) when they seek to expose disparities (Brighenti, 2007; Buchanan & Settles, 2019; Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). Our results were consistent with these conceptualizations.

Participants described experiences of illegitimacy, of not being perceived as competent, capable, and intelligent; and of incomprehensibility, of their work being difficult for colleagues to understand and thus unimportant. Their faculty positions and career successes were viewed as resulting from unearned opportunities and advantages due to their race (and in some instances gender). Others' claims that the work (and status) of faculty of color is illegitimate and incomprehensible are likely forms of backlash that punish them for these perceived unearned privileges and for challenging the truth of prejudices held about faculty of color. As a result, such claims may be a way to maintain disciplinary and racial boundaries that exclude faculty of color.

The parallel processes of exclusion via formal hierarchies and informal processes share many characteristics with conceptualizations of racism which require formal social structures/power in addition to less formal prejudice and stereotypes. Harrell (2000) defined racism as "a system of dominance, power, and privilege" that is used to oppress marginalized group members through "structures, ideologies, values, and behavior that have the intent or effect of leaving nondominant-group members relatively excluded from power, esteem, status, and/or equal access to societal resources" (p. 43). Our results similarly identify epistemic exclusion as a system of oppression that excludes marginalized groups. Because our results focus on perceptions of "targets" of exclusion rather than "perpetrators," we cannot be certain that epistemic exclusion results from individual biases toward faculty of color held by White faculty. However, we can say that at least some of our participants located their scholarly devaluation, as both formal hierarchies and informal processes, as being the result of such biases and prejudices.

In examining variability among faculty of color, we found three notable patterns. First, we found that race intersected with nationality such that URM faculty born in the United States were more likely to report both formal hierarchies and informal processes of epistemic exclusion; and among Asian faculty, those born internationally were more likely to report formal hierarchies of epistemic exclusion than U.S.-born Asians. These Race $\times$ Nationality Patterns may reflect who is perceived as belonging in the university context, with groups that "belong" being targeted for epistemic exclusion less frequently. Specifically, U.S.-born URM faculty may be perceived as not belonging in academia (and therefore experience more epistemic exclusion) because of race-related stereotypes casting them as unintelligent and lazy, qualities eschewed by academia (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). However, international URM faculty may be invisible or seen as exceptions (to some degree) to those stereotypes (Louis, Thompson, Smith, Williams, & Watson, 2017), protecting them somewhat from epistemic exclusion. In contrast, U.S.-born Asian faculty may be seen as suitable for academia, given that they are stereotyped as intelligent and hardworking, qualities consistent with norms for academia (Chou & Feagin, 2015; Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). However, international Asian faculty may be seen as outsiders because they are less likely to have English as their first language (and therefore may be perceived as lacking communication skills critical to academic success; Lai, 2013). It may also be the case that international Asian faculty are less acculturated, leading others to further perceive them as different and not belonging to the academy (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008).

Second, we found differences in Race $\times$ Discipline such that faculty working in AH fields, especially URM faculty, reported more epistemic exclusion than faculty in STEM. Altogether, U.S.-born Asian STEM faculty were least likely to have described experiences of epistemic exclusion in their interviews. This disciplinary pattern may be due to the increasing trend of devaluing AH fields (Belfiore, 2015), as well as to the greater variety of scholarship types in these fields (e.g., artwork, dance, popular literature, journal articles, popular books, academic books, etc.). Third, there were few Race $\times$ Gender differences; the exception was that women URM faculty reported more informal processes of epistemic exclusion than other groups. Some research suggests that women are more likely to develop research agendas based on personal experiences (Gonzales, 2018) which, combined with negative stereotypes about their intellectual ability (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013), may result in their being delegitimized as academics. Further, the lower power and status of URM women faculty may embolden others to target them with interpersonal expressions of epistemic exclusion. Taken together, these three patterns suggest that some faculty may be more vulnerable to epistemic exclusion, which may, in the long term, influence faculty diversity.

In response to our second research question, we found that faculty used a variety of coping strategies to respond to epistemic exclusion. The most commonly endorsed coping strategy was being assertive. Although epistemic exclusion contributed to faculty feeling invisible, illegitimate, and incomprehensible, many pushed back, and spoke up when their presence was diminished or ignored. Standing up for oneself in an environment structured to mute diverse perspectives can be one of the most difficult strategies to use. It can also be costly, especially for junior faculty, because it makes them hypervisible; research suggests that hypervisible faculty are more prone to critique, and susceptible to feelings of alienation and isolation (Buchanan & Settles, 2019; Constantine et al., 2008; Niemann, 2011; Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019). Faculty also sought validation outside of their department or institution to cope with epistemic exclusion. These spaces provided faculty with affirmation of their worth as scholars and social support, thereby mitigating feelings of isolation and marginalization experienced in one's department or institution. Social support, like mentoring, is most frequently cited as a means to combat isolation and facilitate success in the academy (Bean et al., 2014; Stupnisky et al., 2015). Our results suggest that departmental or institutional outsiders may be beneficial supports to faculty of color.

With respect to our third research question, we found that epistemic exclusion contributed to negative work-related and psychological consequences for faculty of color. Some of the work consequences our participants described were ways epistemic exclusion altered their scholarly behavior by shifting the focus of their research to fit disciplinary norms that negatively affected their productivity. Other work consequences reflected ways epistemic exclusion led to other forms of biased treatment, such as negative performance reviews, lower raises, and backlash. Psychologically, epistemic exclusion led faculty of color to feel like "outsiders within," (Collins, 1986, p. 14) which fostered feelings of unhappiness, frustration, and distress. Consistent with organizational literature, such negative work and psychological consequences were associated with thoughts of leaving the institution (e.g., Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000). These findings also support the contention that epistemic exclusion, whether enacted through formal hierarchies or informal processes, can undermine the advancement and retention of faculty of color.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current study provides a broad and in-depth overview of epistemic exclusion experienced by faculty, we acknowledge some limitations of our study. One limitation is that, because our participants were all drawn from a single university, it is unclear how broadly our results will transfer to faculty elsewhere, and particularly at less research-intensive universities. It is likely that at teaching-focused institutions, the devaluation of faculty of color would center more on their teaching—what they teach and how they teach, commensurate with the focus those institutions have on teaching as the primary activity that is evaluated. Furthermore, self-selection bias may have occurred, such that faculty with more negative experiences within the institution may have been more inclined to participate compared to those who had more positive ones.

In addition, our use of graduate student interviewers created an asymmetry in power such that the student interviewers held less power within the academic setting as compared to the faculty being interviewed, which contrasts with the greater power often felt to be held by the interviewer in an interview setting (Limerick, Burgess-Limerick, & Grace, 1996). We hoped that using graduate students, who lack evaluative power over faculty, would reduce participants' concerns that anything they disclosed could be used to influence their job outcomes. In acknowledgment that some faculty might feel uncomfortable with a graduate student interviewer, we offered participants the ability to be interviewed by another faculty member instead, and seven participants accepted this option. Further, we matched graduate student interviewers with faculty participants along race and gender to reduce informal power differences that may be created when a participant is interviewed by someone from a higher status social group, and to increase rapport (Marx, 2001). Nevertheless, it is possible that our participants inhibited their disclosures when speaking with graduate students, potentially moderating our findings.

Although the current study centers on epistemic exclusion, this concept was not a focus of the study when it was developed and as a result, the interview protocol did not directly ask about it. Our participants most often discussed epistemic exclusion in response to questions about whether they felt valued and supported by their departments, their experiences around promotion and tenure, and whether any faculty were treated differently from others. This may be considered both a limitation and a strength. Because experiences of epistemic exclusion were not targeted in the interviews, it is likely that we did not fully capture all of its nuances, consequences, or modes of coping with it. At the same time, the rich data gathered in this study suggests that epistemic exclusion is a pervasive and shared experience among faculty of color.

Future research should examine epistemic exclusion in other faculty samples, including faculty at liberal-arts colleges, historically Black colleges and universities, and Hispanic serving institutions. As proposed above, epistemic exclusion may look somewhat different or be less prevalent in those contexts compared to the predominantly White, research-intensive institution in which our participants worked. In addition, longitudinal studies would help decipher whether epistemic exclusion hinders the retention and advancement of faculty of color as theorized. Because we only interviewed faculty of color, we do not know whether some White faculty, such as women or sexual minorities, might also experience epistemic exclusion. This could be addressed through studies focused on these groups. Additional research on all faculty could address whether their perceptions of scholarly quality are associated with their implicit biases or explicit negative attitudes toward racial minorities and other minoritized groups. Finally, studies of faculty of color who experience epistemic *inclusion* might usefully highlight departmental and institutional practices that promote faculty belonging and faculty success.

Recommendations

Our results have implications for academic institutions seeking to reduce epistemic exclusion. A significant contribution of this work is that it suggests the need for systemic and institutional change and theorizes that seemingly objective forms of evaluation may reflect bias that disproportionately negatively affects faculty of color. We offer recommendations for institutional change in three main areas: heightening awareness of epistemic exclusion, realignment of values and practices, and accountability.

To gain awareness, it is critical for institutions and departments to have explicit conversations regarding disciplinary biases about the characteristics of "good" scholarship (e.g., objectivity, generalizability) that privilege mainstream research and researchers (Collins, 1986; Gonzales, 2018). Without such discussions, it may be difficult to see where "neutral" metrics of quality actually introduce systematic bias into the evaluation process (Croom, 2017). Disciplinary bias training could raise awareness of the implicit values (e.g., objectivity, generalizability, quantifiability, modernity) and dominant epistemologies (e.g., positivist, post-positivist, social constructivist) within a discipline, highlighting how they may exclude less traditional and more interdisciplinary forms of scholarship. Similarly, implicit bias training for faculty and administrators could be used to address the bias that undergirds epistemic exclusion, highlighting to individuals the ways their racial (as well as gender and other) stereotypes are expressed through academic devaluation. Recurring training and discussion of these types of bias (e.g., disciplinary and racial) should be formalized and required for hiring committees and those involved in faculty evaluation processes.

Once greater awareness of epistemic exclusion is gained, institutions can then work to shift their disciplinary and institutional norms and values, and subsequently their policies and practices. Institutions can make explicit the value and contribution made by scholarship on marginalized groups, communities, and global populations, and acknowledge how scholarship that addresses social problems is core to the mission of higher education. Doing so would then necessitate a shift in policies and practices, particularly those concerning performance reviews, tenure, and promotion (Buchanan et al., 2017; Settles, Buchanan, et al., 2019). Such shifts could include assigning equal value to publications in "specialty" journals and generalist journals, or considering indicators of societal impact (e.g., use of findings in the creation of public policy; general readership or class adoption of a book; advancement of technology; improvements in community outcomes) that may be more difficult to measure than traditional impact factors. Because faculty who experience epistemic exclusion are more likely to be working on the margins, departments may lack the in-house expertise to evaluate their work. Accordingly, institutions should formalize processes for utilizing outside faculty members on evaluation committees when departments lack the expertise needed to properly evaluate the scholarship.

Finally, accountability for reducing epistemic exclusion must be shared by all parties, including institutional leaders and all faculty members. Accountability can be aided by monitoring the hiring, retention, and advancement of faculty of color, and through surveys that longitudinally assess faculty perceptions of the institutional climate. In addition, departments could be incentivized to engage in the suggested processes to increase awareness of epistemic exclusion and realign their values and policies by considering these factors during internal and external reviews.

Conclusions

In sum, our study found empirical evidence for epistemic exclusion among faculty of color, especially URM faculty and scholars in AH fields. Formal hierarchies determined what types of scholarship were valued and many faculty of color perceived their work to hold a lower position within this hierarchy. Informal processes further sanctioned the devaluation of faculty of color by other faculty members, students, and administrators through (a) a lack of recognition of their achievements, (b) challenges to their academic and intellectual legitimacy, and (c) expressions of a presumed "incomprehensibility" of their work. Participants discussed the negative psychological and work-related consequences of epistemic exclusion, and as a result, responded to their experiences by asserting themselves as well as by seeking support and validation elsewhere. By naming this phenomenon and detailing the ways it operates, this research offers important insight into opportunities for institutional change. Epistemic exclusion provides a novel explanation for the lack of faculty diversity, as it offers a reason why faculty who are successfully hired may not be retained or promoted in their academic positions. Epistemic exclusion may thus contribute to the revolving door of faculty of color who feel unwelcome, devalued, and pushed to disciplinary margins. Reducing epistemic exclusion may therefore contribute to meaningful growth in faculty diversity.

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