

The Significance of Racialized Networks in Contemporary American Sociology

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in the Department of  
Sociology in the Graduate School  
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2022

ABSTRACT

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## **Abstract**

Research on inequality within disciplines in the academy has often focused on gender, rates of publication, geographic location, and other particularistic criteria; however, much less research has looked at race. Using sociology as a case study, this dissertation delineates the racialized nature of collaboration and research specialty areas in the field and theorizes on how this reproduces racialized sociological knowledge. In the first chapter I offer a brief introduction to the topic and discuss its relevance for sociology.

Chapter 2 examines the link between race and the structure of collaboration networks. Collaboration is a beneficial way that scholars can share publishing expectations by working together to create and disseminate new scholarship. In sociology, one of the effects of greater collaboration in publishing is that the overall structure of the discipline is becoming more cohesive and integrated. At the same time, work on race and publishing in sociology has uncovered differences between whites and people of color in their rates of coauthorship; however, it remains unclear how these differences are situated within the structure of the larger sociological field. I examine collaboration networks from a sample of U.S. black and Latinx sociologists ( $n = 171$ ) to investigate differences in the rates of racial integration in the structure of the discipline. I find that both black and Latinx sociologists tend toward racial heterophily in their personal collaboration networks, opposite to what the homophily literature suggests. When these networks are situated within the larger sociological collaboration space, I

find that the racial group with the greatest centrality depends on the measure used. I conclude by discussing these findings within the context of social capital and discuss what effects they might have on the career success of these sociologists.

Chapter 3 examines the link between race and specialty areas in sociology. Research on the structure of knowledge in scientific fields has recently focused on the increasing rates of area specialization and collaboration across subfields. In sociology, whites and people of color are concentrated in different specialty areas, but there have been no quantitative studies which link race and the structure of the discipline's subfield integration. When I compare the subfield spanning of a cohort of sociologists of color to the subfield spanning of the discipline as introduced by Leahey and Moody (2014), I find major differences between the networks, suggesting the discipline's subfield network structure is not an accurate representation of the work of sociologists of color. I conclude by discussing how this skewed depiction of sociological subfield spanning may impact sociologists of color and the conception of the cohesiveness of sociological knowledge overall.

Altogether this dissertation illustrates the need for network studies of sociology to consider the role of race and racism in its mappings. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I conclude with a discussion on the implications of the findings from this research for American sociology. Further, I offer several suggestions for future research on the topic of race and networks in sociology, in other disciplines, and in the academy more broadly.

## **Dedication**

For Carl, Casey, Keondre, David, Helen, Liann, Sarah, Karen, Robin, Sue Ann, Chrissy, D'Lena, and Tyler. I never would have gotten here if it weren't for you all.

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hold your students to a high standard, and I am forever grateful for being able to be counted among them.

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# 1. Introduction

In *The Chaos of Disciplines*, Abbott (2001) suggested that the structures of social science disciplines are like fractals. That is, if you take any given part of the structure of a discipline and compare it to a given larger or smaller part, you will find the same structure. For sociology, he said:

If we take any group of sociologists and lock them in a room, they will argue and at once differentiate themselves into positivists and interpretivists. But if we separate those two groups and lock *them* in separate rooms, *those* two groups each in turn will divide over exactly the same issue. (Abbott 2001:xvi)

Thus, Abbott suggests the structure of a discipline is that of self-similarity. On the other hand, critical sociologists argue that power dynamics and external social forces contribute to the structure of American sociology, suggesting the structure at the discipline level may not match the structure of historically marginalized groups in sociology. In 2018 at the American Sociological Association's (ASA) annual meeting, President Eduardo Bonilla-Silva encouraged sociologists to *feel race* and explore "the emotional toll of white rule in sociology" (Bonilla-Silva 2019:18). While some have since taken up this call (for examples, see Brunsma and Wyse 2019; Meghji 2021), there are still major (color-)blind spots in American sociology's study of itself. This dissertation seeks to fill the gap in the literature by bringing a critical race perspective to network studies of the structure of sociology.

The two studies in this dissertation are based on data from a sample of black and Latinx sociologists taken from previous research on underrepresented minority

sociologists.<sup>1</sup> The original dataset was constructed from unobtrusive sources including association membership lists, ProQuest dissertation information, curricula vitae, and the internet. The resulting sample I use in this dissertation (N = 171) is approximately 57% of the sociologists of color from their study, which was in turn about half of the sociologists of color who were listed in the ASA's *Guide to Graduate Departments* between 1995 and 2006. Importantly, nonacademic sociologists are not included in this dissertation. However, as the focus is on American sociology and the majority of sociological work comes from persons with some academic affiliation,<sup>2</sup> this should not have a large effect on the findings presented herein.

The first study describes the collaboration networks of the sample of black and Latinx sociologists discussed above. While there are several studies on collaboration networks in sociology (e.g., Hunter and Leahey 2008; Moody 2004), none have studied whether these networks are racially integrated. This is a limitation of our current understanding of the structure of sociology for two reasons. First, the sociology of knowledge highlights the role of social interaction in the production of new knowledge (e.g., Durkheim [1933] 1984; Kuhn 1970; Mannheim 1936; Simmel 1950), and research has demonstrated a relationship between scientists' beliefs in the validity of new knowledge claims and their social networks (Collins 2001; Crane 1972; Friedkin 1998; Martin 2002). Therefore, if collaboration networks are racially segregated, then research suggests belief consensus around new knowledge may be as well. Second, the existing

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<sup>1</sup> See Spalter-Roth et al. (2019) for more information on the sample and dataset construction.

<sup>2</sup> For example, of the 124 authors in the latest volumes of published articles in the *American Sociological Review* (volume 86) and the *American Journal of Sociology* (volume 126), only three authors, or 2.42%, lacked any university affiliation.

literature implies that sociology is becoming more cohesive (Moody 2004), but without an analysis of race it remains unclear if this is cohesion in the true sense of the word or if it is simply more interconnection.

The second study in this dissertation describes the specialty areas<sup>3</sup> of the sample. While research has uncovered which sociological subfields are more commonly co-occurring in the literature (Leahey and Moody 2014), there is again an important gap around the *structure* of these subfield relationships, that is how they relate to one another, and race. Sociology's history of racial exclusion and other power dynamics have meant that white sociologists and sociologists of color tend to specialize in different subfields (Hermaonwicz and Clayton 2020; Warczok and Beyer 2021); however, new research suggests that the field is becoming more intellectually cohesive with subfield spanning becoming more common (Leahey and Moody 2014). But, without an analysis that looks at race, it remains unclear if the reported subfield spanning of the discipline by Leahey and Moody (2014) is an accurate representation of the spanning being done by *all* sociologists.

The two studies included in this dissertation advance the literature on race, social networks, and the sociology of sociology in several ways. First, both studies provide insight into the different ways that sociology is or is not racially integrated. Second, this research extends the race and network segregation literature into the currently overlooked area of academic disciplines. Third, many theories on ethnic and racial relations take the stance that social networks are racialized and contribute to racial inequality in society

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<sup>3</sup> This dissertation uses “subfields,” “specializations,” and “specialty areas” interchangeably, as is common in the literature (see Leahey and Moody 2014).

(see Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi 2001); however, network methods are not often used in such research. To my knowledge, this research will be among the first to join this perspective on race in American sociology with quantitative network methods. Finally, this dissertation hopes to be a springboard for future research to continue to uncover the significance of racialized networks in contemporary American sociology.



## 2. Race and Collaboration in Sociology: A Network Perspective

Rates of collaboration have been increasing across organizations for several decades. In sociology, one of the effects of increasingly collaborative groups of researchers is that more subfields and theories are integrating, leading to an overall body of sociological knowledge that is more cohesive than in the past (Moody 2004). Further benefits of collaboration are that sociologists increasingly link to one another, forming networks that can facilitate a sociologist's access to resources necessary for success depending on their location in the network. But collaboration is partly a function of the culture of the profession (Parker and Hackett 2012) and since sociology has an intricate history of racial exclusion (Hunter 2002; Wyse 2014), we might expect differences in the rates of collaboration and the racial composition of that collaboration by racial groups.

Indeed, sociologists Hermanowicz and Clayton (2020) found significant differences between white sociologists and sociologists of color in their rates of *coauthorship*,<sup>4</sup> where African American and Latinx sociologists' coauthor less than white and Asian sociologists. However, the authors do not distinguish the *rate* of these sociologists' coauthorship from the *structure* of their coauthorship and their embeddedness in that structure. Moreover, this research has not determined the extent of cross-racial collaboration in sociology. These gaps are substantial for two reasons. First, the networks produced by sociologists' collaborations are an important form of social capital or a property of an individual that, if used, allows them some form of advantage

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<sup>4</sup> Coauthorship is the most common operationalization of collaboration, so I use collaboration and coauthorship interchangeably throughout the paper.

over others (Bourdieu 1986; Lin 2001). As access and mobilization of social capital are dependent on the composition and characteristics of relationships in the networks, sociologists' collaborations must be considered within the broader sociological collaboration space.

Second, there is a well-documented relationship of racial homophily, or the tendency of individuals to associate with others of the same racial background, in social networks at-large (for a review, see McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). However, sociologists of color comprise approximately 35% of the *American Sociological Association* membership compared to whites' 65% (ASA 2019), so it is more likely that sociologists of color will, by chance alone (also known as baseline homophily), find other-race collaborators. While we know that the discipline is becoming more conceptually integrative (Moody 2004), meaning more subfields are combining elements of one another to produce a more cohesive sociology, we do not know if the discipline is becoming more racially integrative via more cross-racial collaboration. Since the homophilous composition of networks results in unequal access to social capital and the further entrenchment of inequality (DiMaggio and Garip 2012), the structure of the collaboration networks of sociologists of color and their embeddedness in the wider sociological space can give valuable insight about both the extent of racial integration of sociological knowledge and the persistence of racial inequality in sociology.

To gain a better understanding of race and collaboration, I assess the extent of racial integration in sociological collaboration networks among a cohort of black and Latinx sociologists. In this chapter, I extend Hermanowicz and Clayton (2020) by using network analysis to situate the coauthored publications of my sample within a structural

framework, asking if the collaboration networks of black and Latinx sociologists are structurally similar to one another and to the discipline as a whole. This chapter begins to explore three broad research questions: (1) Do black and Latinx sociologists have similar measures of social capital and racial homophily when their collaboration networks are examined?; (2) What patterns emerge when their individual collaboration networks are situated within the larger collaboration space their networks generate?; and, (3) When compared to existing research on sociological collaboration networks, do the collaboration networks of sociologists of color look different than the discipline as a whole?

## **2.1 Background**

### **2.1.1 Networks and Race**

Race is often considered the biggest divide in social networks today. Broadly, social networks are more likely to have higher rates of racial homophily than homophily by gender, age, or education (McPherson et al. 2001). However, whether this homophily stems from exposure and opportunity effects (baseline homophily) or because of personal preferences for sameness (inbreeding homophily) remains difficult to capture. Further, most network-based explanations of racial homophily start from the network without understanding *why* or *how* those ties came to be formed (Borgatti and Halgin 2011; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994); thus, network studies can easily conclude erroneously that most racial homophily is “just the way things are.” Despite calls for both a theoretical and empirical disentanglement of racial homophily from other tie-formation mechanisms, most of the social network research on race has failed to do so (Wimmer

and Lewis 2010). However, qualitative research has shown that when whites and racial minorities share the same neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces, even whites who specifically state a desire for racially integrated networks do not form (or even attempt to form) meaningful ties with people of color (Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick 2006; Mayorga-Gallo 2014).

Furthermore, several studies have highlighted the role that network segregation plays in the (re-)production of inequalities in the United States. Most research has been concerned with the relationship between social capital, which is embedded in network relationships, and various labor market outcomes (for an overview, see Castilla, Lan, and Rissing 2013a, 2013b). For many social capital scholars (e.g., Bourdieu 1986; Burt 1992; Lin 2001), social capital is a structural entity and is embedded in relationships that allows a person to exert some form of power or ability to access resources that others lack. For example, informal recruitment processes in high-level jobs often occur through social networks and tend to be more effective for whites than for racial minorities (McDonald and Day 2010; Smith and Calasanti 2005). In academia,<sup>5</sup> social networks, of which collaboration networks are a part, are an important form of social capital as they are critical for productivity, career development, and the ability to secure a job and gain tenure (Chi and Glänzel 2018; Espino and Zambrana 2019). New research even suggests “there’s no career in academia without networks” (Heffernan 2021) as it increasingly difficult to succeed without them. Therefore, if racial segregation is common in

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<sup>5</sup> While there is overlap between disciplinary work and academic work, the two are not synonymous. However, there does not currently exist a robust literature on race and collaboration purely from a disciplinary perspective. In the absence of such literature, I am left to rely on literature on race and collaboration in disciplines as they relate to the academy.

predominant academic social networks, then access to the resources needed to succeed in the discipline is not equitably distributed, leading to the replication and further entrenchment of inequality.

### **2.1.2 Academic Collaboration and Race**

With the rise of coauthorship has also come a rise in the number of studies on the scientific collaboration process. These studies have asked questions about the growth patterns in scientific collaboration; the research impact of increasing coauthorship; how these patterns differ by discipline; and, how they relate to the uniqueness of the contribution (for a review, see Hall et al. 2018). While there are rich literatures that explore collaboration differences by institutional affiliation (Ye, Song, and Li 2012), geographic location (Pan, Kaski, and Fortunato 2012), gender (West et al. 2013), and career status (Zeng et al. 2016), relatively few studies look at race and/or ethnicity and collaboration. The studies that have analyzed this relationship found that people of similar ethnicities coauthor more than chance would suggest within a university (Dahlander and McFarland 2013) and in scientific publications in the Thomas-Reuters' *Web of Science* database<sup>6</sup> (Freeman and Huang 2015). These findings offer some support for the general empirical phenomenon of network homophily or clustering by similar attributes (McPherson et al. 2001). At the same time, however, other research has shown that African American and Latinx faculty are typically excluded from opportunities for collaborative research with whites (Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008; Wright II 2016). Further, when faculty of color leave their universities, they often cite toxic relationships

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<sup>6</sup> However, this study had several limitations in their operationalization of ethnicity, which makes their findings contentious.

with white colleagues as an essential reason (Turner, Myers Jr., and Creswell 1999). Since neither of the studies on race/ethnicity and collaboration has connected their findings with theories of race and racism to discuss *why* this pattern might emerge in researchers' collaborations, it is easy to assume that racial homophily in collaboration is due to personal preference and not a consequence of the racialized social system in which these collaborations take place. As most research published in sociology are created by faculty in universities, I next turn to a discussion of race in the academy to further contextualize race and collaboration.

### **2.1.3 The Academy and Race**

Across U.S. colleges and universities, faculty of color report experiencing microaggressions (Diggs et al. 2009; Solorzano et al. 2000), social marginalization (Diggs et al. 2009; Turner 2003), and a disproportionate number of requests for service and committee work compared to their white colleagues (Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson 2019; Zambrana 2018). New faculty of color often do not receive the mentorship from (largely white) senior colleagues that their white counterparts receive, leaving them to introduce themselves to the department and its culture (Harris, Sellers, Clerge, and Gooding Jr. 2017). Moreover, new faculty of color have reported encountering a (white) department culture where they are presumed to be affirmative-action hires, a part of a university diversity initiative, or are otherwise deficient in some way (Muhs et al. 2012; Stanley 2006). It is also more common for faculty of color to be excluded from collaborative research opportunities that are otherwise presented to their white colleagues (Turner et al. 1999; Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008; Stanley 2006). However, even

when white faculty minimize racism and diminish the concerns of their colleagues of color (Behar-Horenstein et al. 2012; Charbeneau and Chesler 2013; Scheurich 1993), it is largely the practices and behaviors of “regular White folks” (Bonilla-Silva 2021) within the academy that reproduces systemic racism.

Independent of “bad actors” or individual discretion gone awry, colleges and universities are not race-neutral organizations. In fact, most institutions of higher education should be considered Historically White Colleges and Universities, or HWCUs, where even the seemingly “race neutral” components (e.g., policies, curriculum, and climate) signify and reproduce whiteness and white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva and Peoples 2022). This perspective is further explained by racialized organizations theory which posits that race is constitutive of organizations in America, influencing how resources are distributed within organizations and how people in them are treated. This perspective moves research away from questioning if racism exists in the academy to beginning with the assumption that discrimination, racial segregation, and an unequal distribution of social capital are foundational to it (Ray 2019). The impact is that the agency and collective efficacy of students, staff, and faculty of color are simultaneously limited as the agency and collective efficacy white students, staff, and faculty are magnified. What effect does this have on the state of a discipline? In the next section, I briefly explore the history and structure of American sociology.

#### **2.1.4 The History and Structure of Sociology and Race**

Around the same time that Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that racial segregation was legal, sociology was institutionalized into

U.S. higher education. The racialized, white supremacist social system strongly influenced which sociologists and ideas from the two primary schools of American sociological thought – the Chicago school (1892) and the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory (1895) – were privileged to become canon and which were “othered<sup>7</sup>” (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Calhoun 2007; Wyse 2014). This racialized history also impacted the paradigmatic approaches to doing sociology, often referred to as white sociology and black sociology.

Black sociologists (and later Latinx sociologists) developed theories and methods that addressed their groups’ concerns and opposed the norms of white sociology. For example, the mainstream (re: white) sociological idea that an objective and value-neutral sociology exists has been long opposed by sociologists of color.<sup>8</sup> Instead, black sociology holds that (1) race is a central organizing component of society; (2) understanding social phenomena cannot be divorced from the historical context in which it exists; and (3) sociology is a tool to challenge racism and oppression (Brunsma and Wyse 2019; Ladner 1973; Wright II and Calhoun 2006). Over time, sociologists of color developed organizations, like the Association of Black Sociologists (1972) and the Association for Latino Sociology (1985), to support these approaches to sociology; however, despite their efforts, the hegemonic norms of logic and methods in sociology are still largely those of white sociologists (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008; Romero 2017).

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<sup>7</sup> For more on the history of sociology and racism, see Brunsma and Wyse (2019), Ladner (1973), and Wyse (2014).

<sup>8</sup> Not all sociologists of color subscribe to this paradigm, just like not all white sociologists subscribe to the positivist notion of a purely objective sociology. However, as Lipsitz (1998) pointed out “whiteness almost always comes to possess white people themselves unless they develop anti-racist identities, unless they disinvest themselves of their investment in white supremacy” (p. x) and sociologists are no different.



Given the racialized historical context of American sociology, we might expect the collaboration networks of black and Latinx sociologists to look different than the collaboration networks of sociology as a whole. However, network research on the structure of American sociology has neglected to look at race and the production of sociological knowledge. This chapter seeks to fill the gap in the literature by beginning to explore this relationship.

## **2.2 Data and Methods**

The data for this study comes from an existing research project conducted by Spalter-Roth et al. (2019) on a cohort of racial minorities who received their PhDs in sociology from 1995 to 2006. These years were selected because scholars from this period have well-established collaboration networks, whereas new PhDs will still likely be forming their collaboration ties. The most recently available curricula vitae (CVs) of the members of this cohort were downloaded from the internet along with their pictures and the pictures of their coauthors when found. Additional information was gathered from Thomson Reuters' *Web of Science*<sup>9</sup> to obtain more recent publications that might not have been on the authors' CVs, as well as information on the coauthors' collaborators. Once all relevant information was recorded, a panel of experts was employed to use the pictures from the internet to determine the race/ethnicity and gender categories of both the original sample and their co-authors in this study (See Table 2.1 for the outcome of this process). The resulting dataset includes the 171 original members, referred to as *egos*, and their 1671 coauthors, referred to as *alters*.

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<sup>9</sup> One limitation of this dataset is that not all published work is recorded in the *Web of Science*, so some coauthored works could be missing from this dataset.

The original sample (n = 171) is composed of 107 or 62.6% Black and 64 or 37.4% Latinx persons with PhDs. When their coauthors are included, the overall sample (n = 1842) consisted of: 127 (7.6%) Asian/Asian American members; 285 (17.1%) black members; 204 (12.2%) Latinx members; 5 (0.3%) Native American/American Indian members; 929 (55.6%) white members; and 121 members (7.2%) of undetermined race. While this is an overrepresentation of black people compared to their proportion in the U.S. population (13.4%), it is an underrepresentation of Latinx people (18.5%) (U.S. Census Bureau 2021). Nevertheless, this distribution is an overrepresentation of both black and Latinx sociologists in the *American Sociological Association*, 7.4% and 6.2% respectively (ASA 2020a). It is also an overrepresentation of both black and Latinx faculty in universities, which is 6% for each group (National Center for Education Statistics 2018). While the proportion of Native American/American Indian sociologists is accurately reflected in this sample, Asian and white people are underrepresented when compared to their proportions overall.

The original sample is further composed of 102 (59.7%) women sociologists and 69 (40.4%) men sociologists. When their coauthors are included, the overall sample includes 915 (54.7%) women sociologists, 738 (44.2%) men sociologists, and 18 (1.1%) sociologists whose gender could not be determined. As of 2020, women consisted of 53.9% of the ASA's membership, while men consisted of 44.2% and 1.9% of sociologists identified as trans\*, genderqueer, or non-binary (ASA 2020b). As such, this sample is a more accurate representation of the gender makeup of the sociological field as a whole.

**Table 2.1: Demographic Characteristics of Underrepresented Minority (URM) Sociologists and Their Coauthors**

	<i>n</i>	<i>% Total</i>
Original Sample (Egos)	171	
Race		
Black	107	62.57%
Latinx <sup>a</sup>	64	37.43%
Gender		
Men	69	40.35%
Women	102	59.65%
Coauthors (Alters)	1671	
Race		
Asian/Asian American	127	7.60%
Black	285	17.06%
Latinx <sup>a</sup>	204	12.21%
Native American/American Indian	5	0.30%
White	929	55.60%
Unknown	121	7.24%
Gender		
Men	738	44.17%
Women	915	54.76%
Unknown	18	1.08%

Note: <sup>a</sup>Afro-Latinx faculty were coded as Latinx.

### 2.2.1 Ego Network Construction

I use coauthorship networks as a measure of collaboration networks. While coauthorship only accounts for a portion of the collaboration that takes place, coauthorship is an easily measured form of collaboration unlike more informal kinds (e.g., casual conversations about research over lunch or at a small, informal group workshop). Additionally, coauthorship is particularly important for career success, as it increases a researcher's visibility, grant activity, and overall stock of knowledge (Rawlings and McFarland 2011). Further, coauthorship has been the standard

operationalization of collaboration in the science of science literature (Leahey 2016), making findings from this work comparable to prior research.

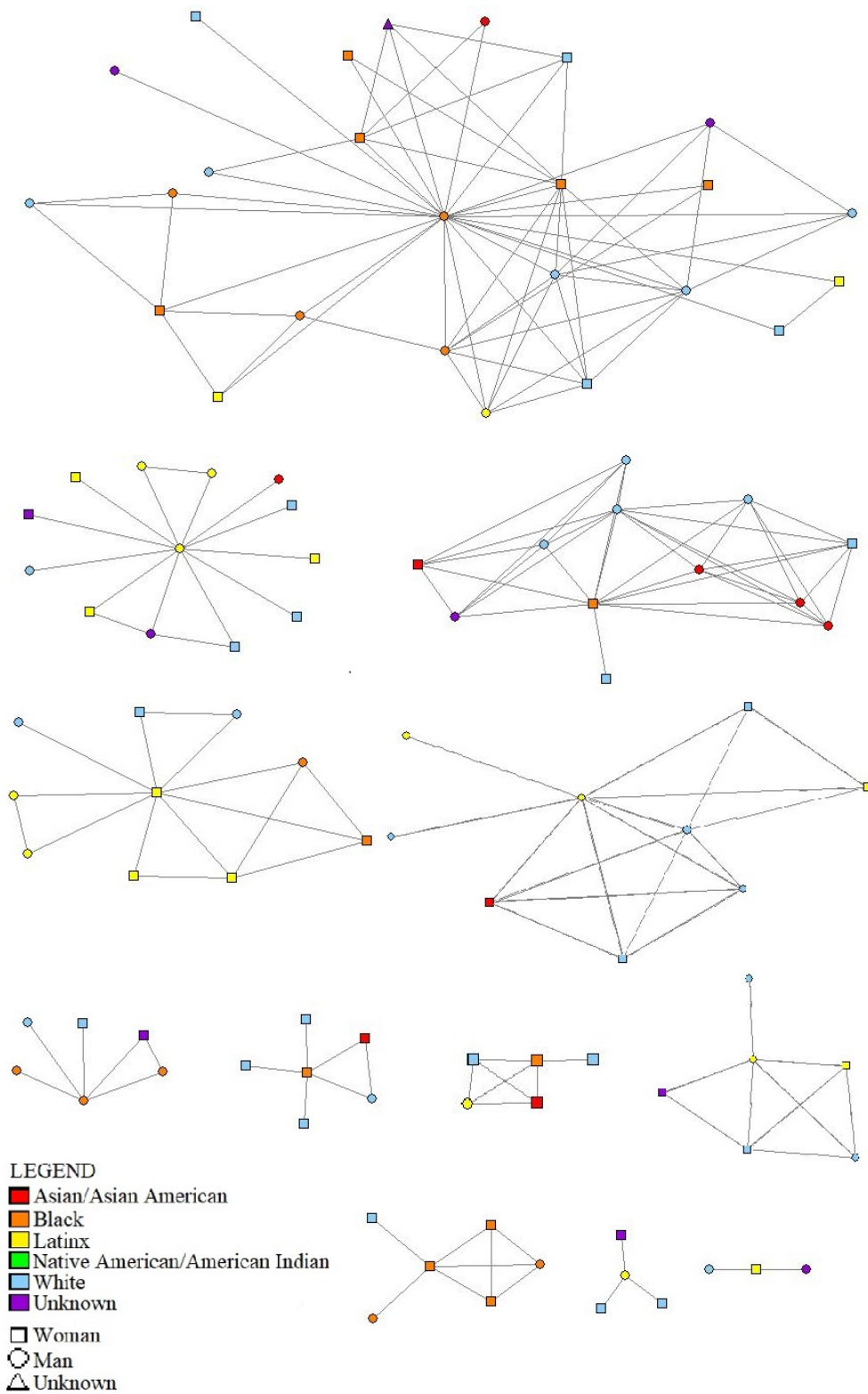
I construct ego networks for each of the 171 sociologists of color in my sample by assigning an edge between them and their coauthor (alter) if they have published a paper together.<sup>10</sup> To have a complete picture of the ego network of my sample, I also record if an ego's coauthor has collaborated with another coauthor in the pool independent of their collaboration with the ego. These are known as "alter-alter ties" and offer richer information about the structural shape of the ego's network. Further, the addition of alter-alter ties to the network ensures that all ego networks share the same network boundary: a distance of one degree from the ego (Wasserman and Faust 1994). Figure 2.1 shows a sample of 12 (6 black and 6 Latinx) of the collaboration networks created from the ego's published works.

### **2.2.2 Ego Network Measures**

To describe the collaboration networks of black and Latinx sociologists, I use multiple networks measures from each of the two primary "camps" of network comparison: social capital and social homophily (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013). However, both sets of measures are social capital in the Bourdesian sense as they are all measures of "the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (1986:248). Conceptually, social capital is embedded in (network)

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<sup>10</sup> For brevity, I use the word *paper*; however, these constructions include any published material from the faculty member's CV: original research article, book chapter, book, pedagogical paper, or encyclopedia entry.



**Figure 2.1: 12 Sample Ego Networks from the 171 URM Sociologists**

relationships and can either allow a person to exert some form of power or grant them the ability to access resources that others lack (Bourdieu 1986; Burt 1992; Lin 2001). I measure each ego network's social capital with three variables: degree, density, and constraint. Social homophily is the tendency of individuals with similar attributes (e.g. race, gender, grade in school) to associate with each other. Here, I measure *racial homophily* or the tendency of sociologists of the same race to collaborate with one another. I measure each ego network's racial homophily with Krackhardt and Stern's (1988) EI-Index, first using all racial categories and a second time, using a binary race variable (White-Nonwhite). All ego networks are binarized, meaning I do not take into account the number of times the ego and the alter collaborated together.

#### **2.2.2.1 Social Capital Measures**

The first measure of social capital, the ego's *degree*, is the simplest and is given by the number of unique coauthors an ego has. Having more collaborators is an indication that a sociologist has a clear place within an established research area, since otherwise they would not have as many publications with many coauthors. As such, the higher the degree of an ego, the more social capital they have.

*Density*, the second measure of social capital, refers to the proportion of all present collaboration ties over the possible ties in the network when the ego is excluded. The second measure, density, does not have a consistent association with social capital, however. Studies on research groups in firms have found three different results: the higher the density of the ego's collaboration network, the lower the innovation (Gonzalez-Brambila, Veloso, and Krackhardt 2013), the higher the innovation (Todo, Matous, and Inoue 2016), or there is a curvilinear relationship where a medium level of

density is best (Rost 2011). Consistent with Bourdieu (1986), these findings suggest that the effectiveness of density as social capital depends on its context.

The third measure of social capital I use is Burt's (1992) *constraint*.

Conceptually, constraint is a measure of the alternatives that the alters have to collaboration other than with the ego. If the ego's constraint is given by  $c_i$ , then constraint is calculated as follows:

$$c_i = \sum_{j \in N(i)} c_{ij}, \text{ where } c_{ij} = \left( p_{ij} + \sum_{q \in N(i)-j} p_{iq} p_{qj} \right)^2$$

where  $p_{ij}$  is the amount of energy actor  $i$  invests in actor  $j$ . Since my ego networks are undirected and binary, it is assumed that the amount of energy (or time invested in each collaboration) is equally divided among all the alters (sociologists). While the amount of energy a sociologist invests in each of their collaborations will naturally vary, assuming an even amount of energy across collaborations allows me to compare the 171 people in my sample more easily.

### 2.2.2.2 Racial Homophily Measures

The extent of racial homophily in a collaboration network is another important component of a sociologist's success and integration in the field. In these sociologists' collaboration networks, I calculate two measures of racial homophily using the EI index of Krackhardt and Stern. The EI index is calculated as follows:

$$EI = \frac{E - I}{E + I}$$

where  $E$ , or external ties, is the number of ties the ego has to alters that are in a different racial category than themselves and  $I$ , or internal ties, is the number of ties the ego has to

alters with the same racial category. First, I calculate this index using all my racial categories.<sup>11</sup> I calculate the measure again using a binary version of my racial categories: where internal ties are if the alter is nonwhite and where external ties are if the alter is white. While these measures are informative, they can be easily misinterpreted as they do not consider the relative size of the specific racial groups in the discipline overall (Rushton 2008). However, the EI-index is a practical way to start these analyses, and future studies should take into account the racial distribution of sociologists in the field. The EI-index ranges from -1 (perfect homophily) to +1 (perfect heterophily) where an EI score of 0 shows no racial preference in collaborators.

### **2.2.3 Overall Collaboration Network Construction**

I construct the overall collaboration network from this sample in the following way. First, I take all the vertices (name of coauthors) from the 171 ego networks to be the vertex set for my overall collaboration network for this sample. Next, I add all edges from the 171 ego networks to the edge set. However, this mapping does not necessarily give all edges (collaborations) between the vertices, since an alter from one ego network could collaborate with an alter from a different ego network and neither ego network would contain this tie. To account for this, additional information was again gathered from Thomson Reuters' *Web of Science* where every original alter's list of coauthors (n = 1671) was compared with one another to see if they ever collaborated. If they had, these

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<sup>11</sup> Since this calculation does not specify each racial category, I include the "Unknown" racial category and assume they are external ties. I get roughly the same results when these ties are ignored in these calculations.



edges were also added to the edge set. This resulted in a collaboration network with 1842 vertices and 4964 unique edges. The network was again binarized.

#### **2.2.4 Overall Network Measures**

To gain a general sense of the structure of the network, I use multiple measures of network cohesion: density, components analysis, Louvain community detection, and average path length. Density is calculated as the number of ties present in the network divided by the total number of possible ties in the network. The larger the density, the more cohesive the network. I also do a component analysis on the total collaboration network to get a sense of how disjoint the network is. A network component refers to the maximal set of vertices that can reach each other through a path of edges in the network. I employ the remaining measures, Louvain community detection and average path length, to either the total collaboration network if it is one connected component, or to the largest connected component from the network if it has multiple components. Louvain community detection determines where clusters with high modularity in large networks are by comparing the density of connection within potential clusters to the density among potential clusters until modularity cannot be further maximized (Blondel, Guillaume, Lambiotte, and Lefebvre 2008). The average path length is the average number of “steps” along the shortest paths between all pairs of nodes in the network. This measure is ill-defined when a network has multiple components and, hence, will only be employed on the largest connected component.

To answer questions related to racial group position in the collaboration space, I again turn to two sets of measures: social capital and homophily. To better characterize each group’s position in the whole network structure, I use four centrality measures to

measure social capital. Centrality describes the structural importance of the vertices (sociologists). Structural importance can take on a variety of meanings depending on the context in which it is used. For this paper, I use the four most common measures of centrality to compare each group's position: degree, eigenvector, betweenness, and closeness.

Degree centrality is the first and simplest measure of centrality as it is just the sum of the number of edges a vertex has. Since this information does not necessarily reveal where vertices are embedded in the larger network structure, some have argued it is not a "true" measure of centrality (Borgatti et al. 2013:165). However, for this paper, degree centrality does give some information about the status of collaboration per racial group in the network. For example, since this network is generated initially from the collaborations of black and Latinx sociologists, if the average degree of white or Asian sociologists is larger than either black or Latinx sociologists, it would show an imbalance in cross-racial collaboration.

The second measure of centrality, eigenvector centrality, considers how central each node's surrounding nodes are in its own calculation. Eigenvector centrality is given by the following formula:

$$x_v = \frac{1}{\lambda} \sum_{t \in M(v)} x_t$$

where  $x_v$  is the relative centrality score of node  $v$ ,  $M(v)$  is the set of neighbors of  $v$ , and  $\lambda$  corresponds to the largest eigenvalue of the adjacency matrix which represents the

network. Here, eigenvector centrality is interpreted as a popularity measure where nodes with higher eigenvector centrality are connected to other well-connected nodes.

The third measure of centrality, betweenness centrality, measures how often that particular vertex is on the shortest path (geodesic path) between two other vertices.

Betweenness in this context can be interpreted as a highly influential sociologist since others often have to “go through” them to get to other parts of the collaboration space.

This centrality measure is calculated by

$$b_j = \sum_{i < k} \frac{g_{ijk}}{g_{ik}}$$

where  $i, j, k$  are nodes,  $g_{ijk}$  is the number of geodesic paths connecting  $i$  to  $k$  through  $j$  and  $g_{ik}$  is the total number of geodesic paths connecting  $i$  to  $k$ .

The fourth measure of centrality, closeness centrality, is also related to the number of shortest paths, where the reciprocal is taken of the sum of the shortest paths between the vertex in question and every other vertex in the graph. The more central a node is, the greater its “closeness.” This centrality measure can be similarly interpreted as betweenness centrality, where a sociologist with high closeness will likely be a part of many collaborations.

I again use EI index of Krackhardt and Stern to gauge the extent of racial homophily in the overall collaboration network. Here, however, I will have enough information to calculate the EI-Index for 4 of my racial categories: Asian/Asian American, black, Latinx, and white. Unfortunately, I cannot calculate this for the Native American/American Indian group because their  $n$  is too small in this sample. The EI index will be interpreted the same as it was in the case of the ego networks.

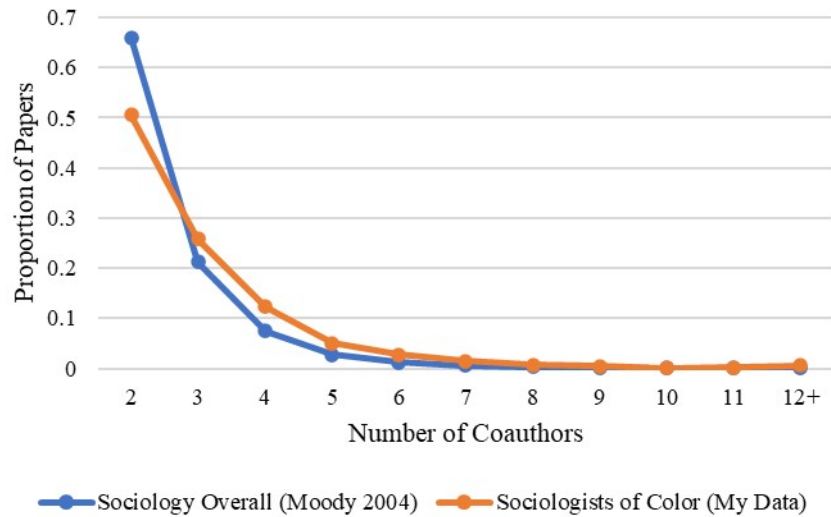
## 2.3 Findings

How does race relate to coauthorship patterns? Since the primary constraints on the shape of a collaboration network are the number of coauthors and the number of coauthored papers, I present statistics related to these elements for each racial group in my original sample (n = 171) in Table 2.2. On average, black sociologists have 11.38 (s.d. 15.33) unique coauthors and Latinx sociologists have 10.05 (9.00) unique coauthors. When I compare the average number of coauthored papers by race, I find that black sociologists have 9.04 (10.70) coauthored papers to Latinx sociologists' 9.12 (8.56). Further, the number of authors per coauthored paper is 3.21 (1.85) for black sociologists and 2.70 (1.16) for Latinx sociologists. When I compare black and Latinx publication patterns with another, I do not find any statistically significant<sup>12</sup> differences. This finding aligns with Hermanowicz and Clayton (2020) which did not suggest any differences between black and Latinx sociologists on these measures.

**Table 2.2: Measures of Coauthorship Rates and Patterns by Race**

<b>Race</b>	Number of Unique Coauthors	Number of Coauthored Papers	Number of Authors Per Coauthored Paper
<i>Black</i> (n = 107)	11.38 (15.33)	9.04 (10.70)	3.21 (1.85)
<i>Latinx</i> (n = 64)	10.05 (9.00)	9.12 (8.56)	2.70 (1.16)
<b>Total</b> (n = 171)	10.88 (13.30)	9.07 (9.92)	3.01 (1.64)

<sup>12</sup> The distributions of these variables are non-normal, so I run Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney tests for these hypotheses.



**Figure 2.2: Sociology Publication Patterns: Distributions of Coauthorship from the Discipline Compared to a Sample of Sociologists of Color**

However, the more important comparison is between the sociologists of color in my sample and the discipline as a whole. Figure 2.2 gives the adjusted figures for authors per coauthored paper for the discipline from Moody (2004) and for the sociologists in my sample. As shown, the discipline has a higher percentage of two-person coauthored papers (66%) than the sociologists of color (the ego and an additional author) have in this sample (51%), whereas the sociologists of color have higher proportions of 3-, 4-, 5-, and 6- person coauthored papers than the discipline. Similarly, the average number of authors per coauthored paper for the discipline between 1989 and 1999 was 2.70 (Moody 2004:221), while the average for the sociologists of color in this sample was 3.01. Both measures indicate that sociologists of color might have slightly more coauthors per paper than sociologists in the discipline as a whole. As publications are integral for career success in the academy, determining “true credit” for authorship on papers is being heavily discussed within academic circles right now. Various formulae for determining

how much credit to give each author on a multiauthored paper to combat overinflation of credit have been proposed (de Mesnard 2017), but no discipline has yet agreed to a method. However, the average authors per multiauthored paper in this sample do not approach what has been called “hyperauthorship” (Cropley 2017), so this is likely of less concern for this group. However, these figures do not consider the structure of these collaborations, which may provide further information about the relationship between race and collaboration in sociology.

Before examining the structure, however, 14 sociologists in this sample did not publish any work with coauthors. While these sociologists have no collaboration structure to analyze, their lack of this type of relationship with others in the field is still important information. Of these 14, ten were black sociologists and four were Latinx sociologists. Nine of these sociologists were women and five were men. Twelve of the 14 had publications, but they were only solo-authored papers. The two who did not have any publications were both in teaching roles in programs where other activities usually take precedence. Without talking to these sociologists, it is difficult to understand why they did not have collaborative publications; however, the literature points to several possibilities. As previously discussed, early career faculty of color do not get the same opportunities as whites for collaboration with their colleagues (Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008), so these cases could be further examples of the isolation and alienation that people of color experience in their fields (Alfred 2001; Verdugo 2003). Moreover, the academy’s individualistic value orientation places a greater emphasis on solo-authored works, and coauthored works allow for ambiguity in the interpretation of the skills, abilities, and contributions of each author. Faculty of color are acutely aware of

this possibility and have expressed concern about coauthoring for this very reason (Chesler 2013; Yamane 2019). As such, these 14 sociologists may have intentionally decided to publish alone so as to avoid this issue from the evaluation of their scholarship. Future research should be done to delve into explaining why this phenomenon occurred.

Having discussed the isolated sociologists, for the remainder of the chapter I focus on the remaining 157 sociologists (and their coauthors) who did have multiauthored publications and, therefore, have collaboration structures to analyze. I begin with descriptive information on the ego networks of the 157 sociologists from my sample. Ego networks typically depict either social capital or homophily (Crossley et al. 2015), so I use three social capital and two racial homophily measures to discuss the collaboration structures of these sociologists of color. However, as discussed above, both sets of measures are conceptually social capital in the Bourdesian sense, despite the different network measures' classifications.

Here, I measure social capital with three variables: degree, density, and constraint. The higher the degree of an ego, the more social capital they have. In this sample, black sociologists have an average degree of 12.6 (15.6) while Latinx sociologists have an average degree of 10.7 (8.9). The second measure of social capital, density, does not have a consistent association, however, and the effectiveness of density as social capital depends on the context in which it is used. In this sample, black sociologists have an average density of 0.160 (0.180) while Latinx sociologists have an average of 0.202 (0.208). Given the ambiguity of what makes an "ideal" density, I also calculate an ego's constraint as the third measure of social capital to gauge their alters' ability to collaborate without including the ego. The constraint for both black and Latinx sociologists is nearly

identical at 0.343 (0.259) and 0.334 (0.251), respectively. In all three measures of social capital, there are no statistical differences between black and Latinx sociologists in their personal collaboration networks. Theoretically, however, the more important comparison would be between sociologists of color and white sociologists. However, as no studies on the collaboration networks of sociologists have examined race, I cannot compare my sample's social capital measures with white sociologists. This is an important gap in the literature that future work should close.

I next turn to measures of racial homophily. Recall that racial homophily ranges from +1, indicating complete heterophily, to -1, indicating complete homophily, where a score of 0 indicates no tendency either way. Using all racial groups, I find an average EI score for black sociologists of 0.351 (0.527). This is significantly greater than 0 ( $p < 0.001$ ); thus, black sociologists are more likely to cross-racially collaborate than not. Similarly, I find an average EI score for Latinx sociologists of 0.427 (0.503), which is again significantly greater than 0 ( $p < 0.001$ ). Thus, both black and Latinx sociologists tend toward racial heterophily in their coauthorship. This finding is opposite to what the racial homophily literature would expect, but when compared to the distribution of sociologists by race, it is reasonable given the relatively small proportions of black and Latinx sociologists in the field overall.

Does this finding hold when race is recoded and we consider sociologists on a white/non-white binary? Here, this means that any two sociologists of color collaborating together would be considered an "internal" tie according to the EI index, while an "external" tie would be a person of color collaborating with a white person. The literature points to the academic culture of whites as being more individualistic, whereas



communities of color have a more cooperative or shared orientation to research, writing, and teaching (Chesler 2013). This opens the possibility that when race is dichotomized, we will see sociologists of color collaborating more with other sociologists of color than with whites. However, for this sample, the average EI score (with race set as white/non-white) for black sociologists is 0.090 (0.512) and 0.180 (0.484) for Latinx sociologists. While these results are much closer to 0 than the previous findings, both are still significantly larger than 0 with  $p$ -values of 0.029 and 0.002, respectively. Together these findings suggest that “birds of a feather” do not flock together, at least for black and Latinx sociologists and their academic collaboration.

When the homophily indexes for black and Latinx sociologists homophily are compared, there are no significant differences when all racial categories are considered ( $p = 0.374$ ) nor are there significant differences when race is dichotomized ( $p = 0.298$ ). This finding is again consistent with Hermanowicz and Clayton (2020) who found black and Latinx sociologists were more similar to each other than with white and Asian sociologists with respect to coauthorship. As the main argument of this paper is that coauthorship should be considered within the larger collaboration space, I next turn to a more global view of this sample’s coauthorship patterns to determine if sharper differences by race emerge.

The overall collaboration network created from this sample is disjointed with 55 separately connected components (see Table 2.4). After the largest connected component (see Figure 2.3), the 54 remaining components are ego networks from 54 members of the original sample of 171 sociologists. Thus, 117 (68.4%) of the egos from my sample are in

**Table 2.3: Ego Network Integration Measures by Race**

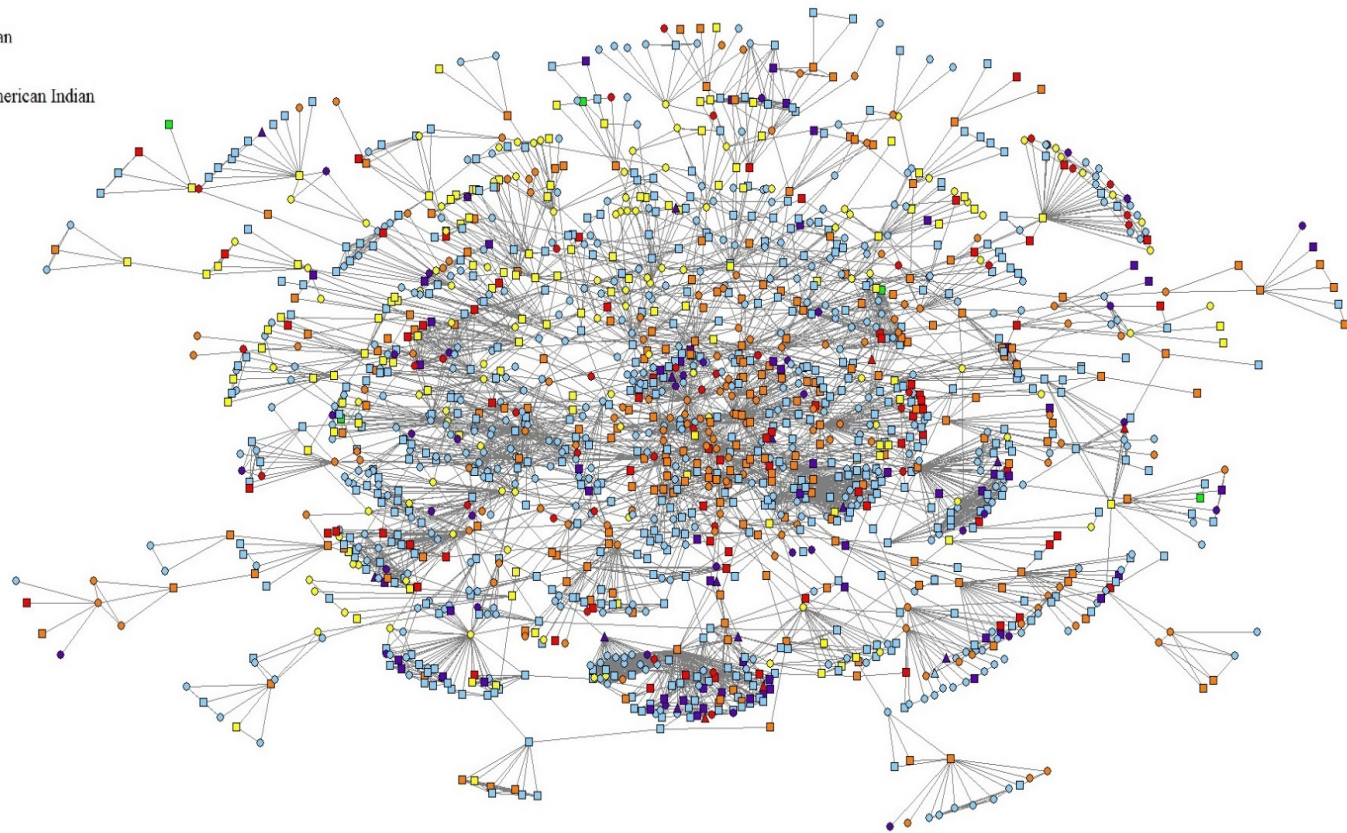
	<i>Black</i> (n = 97 <sup>a</sup> )	<i>Latinx</i> (n = 60 <sup>a</sup> )	<i>Total</i> (n = 157)
<b>Social Capital</b>			
Degree	12.6 (15.6)	10.7 (8.9)	11.9 (13.5)
Density	0.160 (0.180)	0.202 (0.208)	0.176 (0.191)
Constraint	0.343 (0.259)	0.334 (0.251)	0.339 (0.255)
<b>Racial Homophily</b>			
EI-Index with all Racial Categories	0.351 <sup>b</sup> (0.527)	0.427 <sup>b</sup> (0.503)	0.380 (0.518)
EI-Index with Race Binary (White-Nonwhite)	0.090 <sup>b</sup> (0.512)	0.180 <sup>b</sup> (0.484)	0.124 (0.502)

<sup>a</sup>There are 14 faculty (10 black and 4 Latinx) who did not collaborate with anyone. They are removed from the analyses presented above.

<sup>b</sup>Significantly racially heterophilous

the largest connected component. While this may seem highly fragmented, this collaboration network is not as divided as the discipline overall. Moody's (2004) study on sociological collaboration found that about 50% of collaborating authors were members of the largest connected component for the discipline, while this network's largest component contains 89% (1628 out of 1872) of the collaborating authors from the sample. Moreover, other disciplines have reported author collaboration network densities as low as 0.00022 (Yan and Guns 2014), nearly 10 times lower than that of both this sample's overall network density, 0.003 (0.054) and the density of the largest component, 0.002 (0.042).

LEGEND  
■ Asian/Asian American  
■ Black  
■ Latinx  
■ Native American/American Indian  
■ White  
■ Unknown  
□ Woman  
○ Man  
△ Unknown



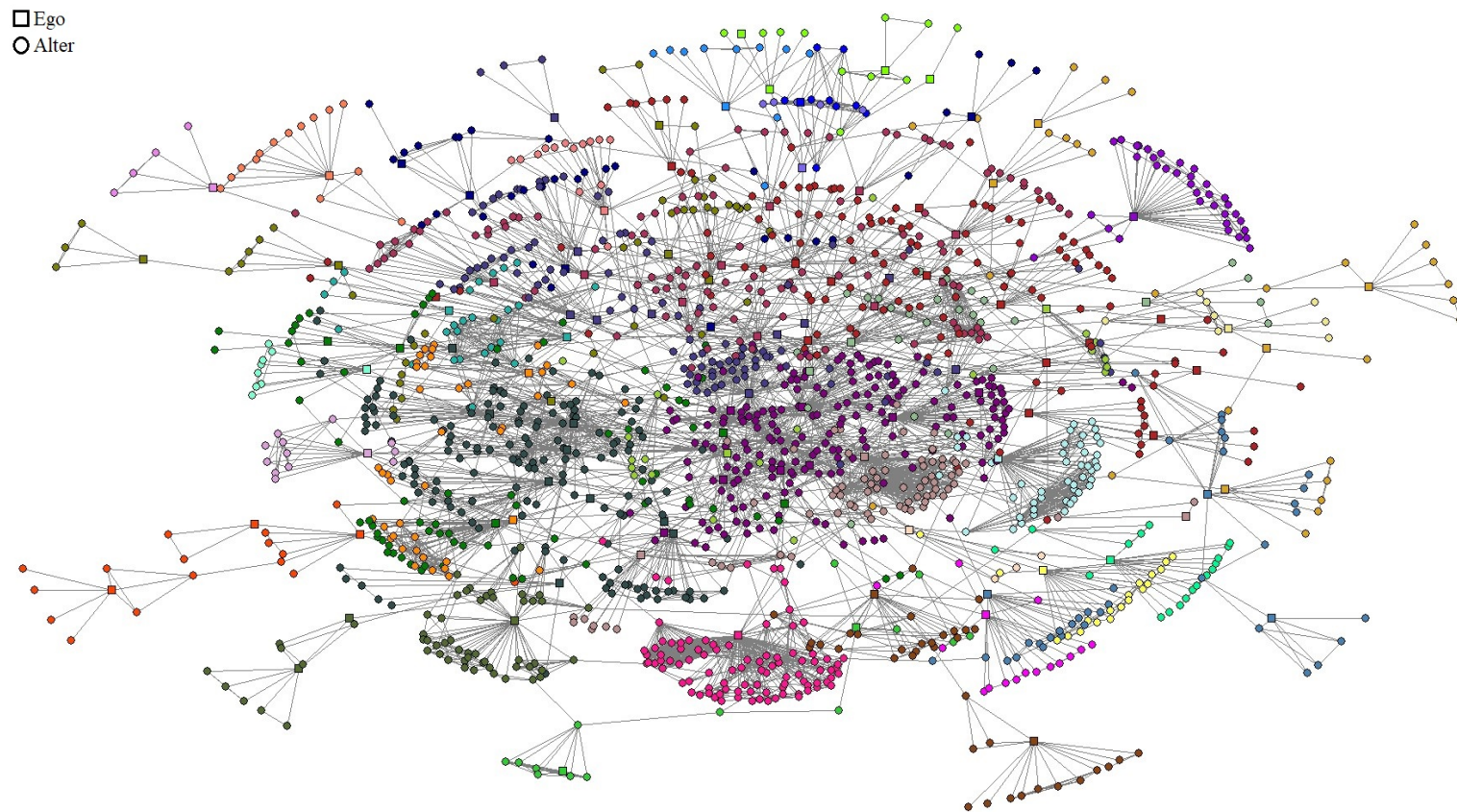
**Figure 2.3: Main Component of the Sample's Co-authorship Network by Race and Gender**

**Table 2.4: Size and Number of Components of the Sociology Collaboration Network**

<b>Component Size (Number of Authors)</b>	<b>Number of Components of this Size</b>
1628	1
25	1
13	1
12	1
10	1
9	2
6	5
5	4
4	7
3	8
2	10
1	14
<i>Total Number of Components</i>	55

To further understand the sample's collaboration cohesion, I employ Louvain community detection to the largest connected component of the network. Since this component is comprised of the ego networks plus coauthor-coauthor ties from 117 egos, I would expect that a highly fragmented network would produce 100+ communities. If the network is more cohesive, there will be fewer communities found by the Louvain algorithm. Once employed, I find 36 communities in the main component (see Figure 2.4).

Of the 36 communities, 19 (52.8%) do not contain an ego from the original sample. The community with the largest number of egos is sized 140, with 15 egos and 125 alters. However, the largest community overall is composed of 197 people, 8 of whom are egos from the original 171. The smallest community is composed of just 4



**Figure 2.4: Main Component of the Sample's Co-authorship Network Colored by Louvain Groups**

people, 1 ego and 3 coauthors. While there is not existing literature on the number of communities in the discipline's collaboration network overall, the relatively small number of Louvain communities found by the algorithm suggests that this group is fairly cohesive; however, future work should be done to compare these results.

As a final measure of the cohesion of the network, I look at the average path length in the largest connected component. Since average path length is not well defined for disconnected components, this measure is best interpreted when compared to similar networks. The average path length here is 6.469 (2.021), which implies that the average number of steps to get from one randomly selected node to another is 6.469 steps. Moody (2004:229) calculated an analogous figure for sociology's collaboration network and found the average path length to be 9.81 for its largest connected component. When compared, the sociologists in this sample have 3 fewer steps to connect any two random authors than the discipline as a whole. Taken all together, these facts suggest this sample's cohesion, while small in absolute terms, is much larger than that of the discipline as a whole.

To understand each racial group's embeddedness in the overall collaboration network, I next turn to measures of centrality and homophily. Which racial group is the most central in the collaboration space? Since 65% sociologists are white (ASA 2019), I would expect to find more white people in the central positions (regardless of the centrality measure) of the overall network than not. However, Table 2.5 shows that the answer to this question depends on the measure of centrality used. When looking at degree centrality, black sociologists are the most central with a score of 7.43 (10.50), followed by Latinx sociologists at 5.76 (6.45), white sociologists at 5.33 (4.89), and

finally Asian/Asian American sociologists with 5.05 (4.53). However, this finding is partially explained by the construction of the dataset. Since this space was generated from the collaboration ties of black and Latinx sociologists, there will likely be more absent white and Asian/Asian American collaboration ties than exist in this collaboration space because this network has a one-step boundary. That is, I only have ties between alters already in the dataset and not additional nodes and ties for alters' collaborators who were not among the 1842 people already in the network.

**Table 2.5: Centrality Measures by Racial Group in Largest Component**

<b>Race</b>	Degree Centrality	Eigenvector Centrality <sup>***</sup>	Normalized Betweenness <sup>***</sup>	Normalized Closeness <sup>***</sup>
Asian/Asian American (n = 112)	5.05 (4.53)	0.0129 (0.0807)	0.0016 (0.0046)	0.1590 (0.0281)
Black (n = 326)	7.43 (10.50)	0.0072 (0.0708)	0.0072 (0.0171)	0.1650 (0.0332)
Latinx (n = 223)	5.76 (6.45)	0.0070 (0.0733)	0.0047 (0.0106)	0.1550 (0.0222)
White (n = 853)	5.33 (4.89)	0.0184 (0.1080)	0.0021 (0.0066)	0.1590 (0.0256)

Note: The Native American/American Indian racial group is not given because the *n* is too small for this analysis.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.001$

When I turn to the other three measures of centrality, different patterns emerge. According to eigenvector centrality, where a higher score is indicative of being tied to more central actors, white sociologists have the largest scores, followed by Asian/Asian American sociologists, black sociologists, and finally Latinx sociologists. These are statistically significant differences where post hoc analyses (see Table 2.6) indicate that the Latinx sociologists are different from every other racial group on this measure. According to betweenness centrality, black sociologists are the most central, followed by

Latinx sociologists, white sociologists, and finally Asian/Asian American sociologists. These results are also statistically significant, and post hoc analyses show that every pairwise comparison is significantly different from one another except white and Asian/Asian American sociologists. Finally, closeness centrality indicates black sociologist are the most central, followed by a tie between white and Asian/Asian American sociologists, and finally Latinx sociologists. Statistical analyses indicate that the Asian/Asian American sociologists are not significantly different from any other racial group on this measure, but Black-Latinx, Black-White, and Latinx-White comparisons are statistically different from each other. These results offer mixed findings for whether black and Latinx sociologists, as groups, are central in this network.

**Table 2.6: Post-Hoc Analysis on Centrality Measures by Racial Group in Largest Component**

	Degree Centrality	Eigenvector Centrality	Normalized Betweenness	Normalized Closeness
<b>Pairwise Race Comparisons</b>				
Asian/Asian American-Black	-	-	$p < 0.001$	-
Asian/Asian American-Latinx	-	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.05$	-
Asian/Asian American-White	-	-	-	-
Black-Latinx	-	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.10$	$p < 0.001$
Black-White	-	-	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.05$
Latinx-White	-	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.05$	$p < 0.10$

Note:  $p$ -values are adjusted according to the Holm-Bonferroni method (1979) to counteract the problem of multiple comparisons.

I next turn to measures of racial homophily to answer the question of which racial groups are more homophilous in their collaborations. Table 2.7 shows the Krackhardt EI-Index scores for Asian/Asian American, black, Latinx, and white sociologists in the largest connected component of this network. I find an average EI score for Asian/Asian



American sociologists of 0.854 (0.289). This is significantly greater than 0 ( $p < 0.001$ ); thus, Asian/Asian American sociologists tend towards racial heterophily in the collaboration space. I find an average EI score for black sociologists of -0.111 (0.664). This is significantly less than 0 ( $p < 0.05$ ); thus, black sociologists tend toward racial homophily in the collaboration space. I find an average EI score for Latinx sociologists of -0.048 (0.765), which is not significantly different from 0, so I find no evidence that Latinx sociologists tend towards racial homophily or heterophily in the collaboration space. I find an average EI score for white sociologists of 0.141 (0.557). This is significantly greater than 0 ( $p < 0.001$ ); thus, white sociologists tend towards racial heterophily in the collaboration space.

**Table 2.7: Racial Homophily Measures in Largest Component**

	Asian/Asian American	Black	Latinx	White
EI-Index with all Racial Categories	0.854 <sup>a</sup> (0.289)	-0.111 <sup>b</sup> (0.664)	-0.048 (0.765)	0.141 <sup>a</sup> (0.557)

<sup>a</sup>Significantly racially heterophilous

<sup>b</sup>Significantly racially homophilous

Overall, these measures point to Asian/Asian American and white sociologists being more racially heterophilous than black and Latinx sociologists. However, this finding is also partially explained by the construction of the dataset. The coauthors in the dataset (who are mostly white) do not have collaboration ties present if they coauthored with people not in the 1842-person network space. Since this space was generated from the collaboration ties of black and Latinx sociologists, I would expect there to be more absent white-white collaboration ties than exist in the collaboration space overall. Given white sociologists' low heterophily score, if these collaborations were included, I suspect

the white sociologists' EI-Index score would not be statistically significant. While a similar argument can be made for missing same-same Asian/Asian American ties, their heterophily score is so large that I expect this finding is an accurate reflection of their ties in the whole sociology collaboration space.

## **2.4 Discussion**

While previous research has studied the structure of sociological collaboration or race and sociological publication productivity, no studies have examined the relationship between race and the structure of collaboration in sociology. In this chapter, I sought to open a discussion on this relationship using the publication data from a sample of black and Latinx sociologists. While I have shown that black and Latinx sociologists have similar personal collaboration networks on multiple measures, I did not have comparable information on whites and Asian/Asian American sociologists. While I was able to compare my sample's networks to existing findings on the discipline as a whole, having a similar sample of whites and Asian/Asian American sociologists would make for more informative analyses.

One important finding in this chapter is that, contrary to the racial homophily literature, both black and Latinx sociologists tend toward racial heterophily in their collaborations. One explanation for this finding could be that the proportion of available sociologists and/or faculty of color is too small and the chances of finding only coauthors of the same racial group too difficult. Alternatively, there may be a difference about the white sociologists with which these sociologists of color collaborate. Since I also found that these collaboration networks are more cohesive (having higher density and shorter

average path length) than the discipline overall, it may be that the collaborators of the original sample are different than the average sociologist. While this data cannot answer these questions, future research could examine why sociologists of color tend toward racial heterophily in their collaboration networks and what are the characteristics of the (white) sociologists with which they work.

Interestingly, I also found that when their networks are situated in the larger collaboration space, black sociologists as a group tend toward racial homophily while Latinx sociologists are not significantly racially homophilous or heterophilous. One limitation of this finding is that I do not have skin tone information. Research has shown that skin tone and colorism play important roles in the connections people make (Reece 2019; Roth and Marin 2021), so the racial homophily findings may be further explained when skin tone information can also be considered.

When comparing centrality scores of four racial groups in the larger collaboration space, I found white sociologists to have the highest rates of eigenvector centrality. Of all four measures of centrality, eigenvector centrality most strongly considers the well-connectedness of a node's neighbors. This finding suggests that while black and Latinx sociologists may have higher betweenness and closeness scores, they are not as well connected as white sociologists to "power collaborators." Since this research has not been explored and there are difficulties associated with assigning credit to multiauthored work, future research should consider whether this is an advantageous network position or not.

Furthermore, the findings presented in this chapter may be influenced by the construction of the dataset. The broader sociological collaboration network is missing the coauthors of the alters who did not collaborate with one of the original 171 egos. This

means the network is likely missing more white and Asian/Asian American coauthors than black and Latinx coauthors. These missing collaborators, for example, would alter the overall centrality and homophily scores of each racial group. Second, this collaboration space is generated from a sample of black and Latinx sociologists who received their PhDs from 1995 to 2006. The age of this cohort likely influences the findings presented here. Future work should take a longitudinal approach and see how the racial integration measures change over time.

Finally, this chapter sought to increase our understanding of race and coauthorship in sociology. Unfortunately, this data cannot answer the important question of *how* these collaborations came to be formed. In general, little research has been done to compare the experiences of whites and racial minorities in the process of their network formation. Given the importance of this topic and the implications it has on the future of the discipline and the academy overall, future qualitative research is a necessity if we want to understand the connections among race, publications, and inequality in the discipline.

### **3. Segregated Knowledge?: Race and Specialty Areas in Sociology**

Sociology is a discipline with many distinct subfields. Known as a low-consensus discipline, it has been referred to as an “archipelago of poorly connected islands of specialization” (Calhoun 1992:25), though this has slowly been changing. Research on the structure of sociological knowledge has shown that sociology developed an increasingly cohesive core over time, where subfield spanning is becoming more common (Clemens et al. 1995; Moody 2004). But the academy has begun to doubt how advantageous subfield spanning may be for the persons who do it, as most claims of the benefits of this work are unsubstantiated (Jacobs and Frickel 2009). The limited research on specialization in sociology has shown that specializing early in one’s career is not as helpful for tenure as is research on multiple topics (Leahey, Keith, and Crockett 2010). Furthermore, while research has uncovered which sociological subfields are becoming more commonly integrated in the discipline as a whole (see Leahey and Moody 2014), there has been little documentation on the subject of which sociologists are spanning which subfields. For instance, it remains unclear if there is a relationship between demographic groups (e.g. race, gender, or class) and the subfields that are being spanned. As a starting point for this research, I compare the subfield spanning structure of a sample of black and Latinx sociologists to the structure of this spanning for the overall discipline.

Why might race be related to subfield spanning in sociology? Research highlights that power dynamics and external social forces contribute to the structure of American sociological knowledge (Warczok and Beyer 2021). Sociology has an extensive history of racial elitism wherein white men sociologists have monopolized the power to

determine what kinds of sociological knowledge are legitimated, who has access to that knowledge, and who can contribute to it (Morris 2017; Stanfield II 2011; Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008). Thus, it is not surprising that, historically, white sociologists and sociologists of color have disproportionately contributed to different subfields of sociological knowledge. These effects are still seen today, as sociologists remain unevenly distributed across subfields by race. According to recent membership reports from the *American Sociological Association* (ASA), the national professional membership society for the discipline, white sociologists have the largest membership in such ASA sections as Sociology of Sex & Gender, Medical Sociology, and the Sociology of Culture, whereas black, Latinx, and American Indian sociologists all have the Race and Ethnic Minorities section in their top three sections among other section memberships specific to their racial group<sup>13</sup> (ASA 2020a). This chapter seeks to fill this gap in the literature by examining the relationship among race, specialty areas, and subfield spanning in sociology. Using curricula vitae (CV) data from a cohort of black and Latinx sociologists, I create each racial group's specialty area network and investigate patterns in their subfield integration to begin to address the research questions: Is there a relationship between race and subfield spanning? If there is a relationship, what impact does this have on the state of sociological knowledge as a whole?

To answer these questions, I first describe the specialty areas listed by a sample of black and Latinx sociologists and compare these to the discipline's distribution by

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<sup>13</sup> See Appendix A for a more specific breakdown of the top section memberships for each racial group in the ASA in 2020.

specialty area as given by the ASA. Next, I create what I call “observed” and “hyper-represented” specialty area networks which I compare to the work of Leahey and Moody (2014) who documented the discipline’s subfield integration from 1985-2004. I conclude with implications these findings may have on the state of sociological knowledge and on the persistence of racial inequality in the discipline.

### **3.1 Background**

#### **3.1.1 The Structure of Sociological Knowledge**

Sociology is a discipline with several schools of thought, each with different sets of underlying assumptions. The sociology of knowledge has illustrated that the school of thought a sociologist subscribes to is related to who they interact with (Crane 1972; Kuhn 1970). This makes sustainable, constructive debate across subfields in sociology difficult. While some have tried to unite the discipline theoretically – perhaps none more famously than Talcott Parsons, who was “bent on the reconstruction of European sociology, providing a synthesis which would eliminate the warring schools which had divided it” (Alexander 1987: 21) – none have succeeded. Given these difficulties, sociologists have instead turned to attempts to map the structure of sociological knowledge where sociologists can situate themselves within a consistent region of the field. Descriptions of the structure of sociological knowledge have ranged from a purely theoretical categorization (e.g., Dandeker and Scott 1979) to a quantitative one, using ASA section memberships (Cappell and Guterbock 1992; Ennis 1992), sociology PhD exchange networks (Burriss 2004), and, most commonly, bibliographic data (Hunter and Leahey 2008; Moody 2004; Sooryamoorthy 2020).

What is the structure of sociological knowledge today? Since the 1960s, sociology has slowly moved towards a structurally cohesive core where subfields have more permeable, overlapping boundaries; however, no subfields are dominating the core structure of sociological knowledge (Moody 2004). While this work suggests that no single subfield is over-influencing the direction of the field, most sociological work still falls into two common axes of distinction: a theoretical versus applied approach and a quantitative versus qualitative approach (Daipha 2001; Schwemmer and Wieczorek 2020). One of the main factors that influences the structure of this knowledge is publications. In sociology, a small number of “network stars” are particularly productive and influential within certain regions of the sociological knowledge network (Moody 2004). Further, male sole-authorship remains the most common form of publication in sociology (Hunter and Leahey 2008). However, the discipline has been steadily increasing the rates co-authorship, and the likelihood a publication is coauthored is related to the specialty area the publication is in (Moody 2004). Research has further shown there are no significant differences in collaboration rates by gender, and the importance of coauthors sharing a similar geographic location is declining (Hunter and Leahey 2008).

While these studies provide insight into the structure of sociological knowledge overall, they have little to say about the role of race in this context. First, the studies are largely based on the collaboration networks of researchers in the discipline and operationalized by published, coauthored work. Yet not all sociological work has equal chances of being published, especially in journals indexed in the bibliographic databases that comprise the data used in these studies. Researchers who work on paradigms outside



of the mainstream are disadvantaged when it comes to getting their work published (Siler, Lee, and Bero 2015; Wang, Veugelers, and Stephan 2017). As many sociologists of color develop theories and methods opposed to the norms of white sociology (Spalter-Roth et al. 2019; Brunnsma and Wyse 2019), their work has been less likely to appear in the data sets used in these studies. Second, not all published work is published collaboratively. In fact, recent research has shown that African American and Latinx sociologists are less likely to collaborate than are white and Asian sociologists (Hermanowicz and Clayton 2020). This absence will further impact the findings of the above studies. Third, research productivity is related to a variety of factors<sup>14</sup> (e.g., program size and university resources), and scholars of color have a documented “identity tax” which limits their productivity in ways not experienced by white scholars (Joseph and Hirshfield 2011; Zambrana 2018). Thus, the network “stars” who are remarkably productive are likely white sociologists. Fourth, the likelihood of coauthorship is related to specialty area, and the likelihood of working in certain specialty areas is related to race. Altogether, these studies are based on data that likely misrepresents the work of sociologists of color. Thus, further exploration of the intersections of race, specialty areas, and the structure of sociological knowledge is required.

### **3.1.2 Specialization, Spanning, and the Structure of Sociological Knowledge**

While no single subfield dominates the sociological knowledge space, some subfields are more likely to be integrated than others. That is, some pairs of subfields are

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<sup>14</sup> See Dundar and Lewis (1998) for some of the first work measuring determinants of faculty productivity and Wahid, Warraich, and Tahira (2021) for current determinants.

more likely to have papers that use substantial elements from both to create new knowledge than are others. However, sociology as a whole is actively encouraging the production of new research that connects otherwise separate subfields. For example, editors of sociological journals have been known to ask reviewers to consider the number of specialty areas an article would contribute to as one factor that determines whether it should be published (Roscigno and Hodson 2007). This may be happening because subfield spanning not only provides unique insights via recombinant innovation (Weitzman 1998), but it also prevents knowledge from becoming too abstract (Abbott 2001). A former editor from the *American Sociological Review* (ASR), the top journal in the field, was quoted as saying “one of the principal functions of a general sociology journal is to enhance the cross-fertilization of otherwise disparate specialties... [and to] ... serve as a counterweight against undue fragmentation and segmentation in the discipline” (Jacobs 2004 as quoted in Leahey and Moody 2014:246).

Thus far, studies explicitly on subfield spanning in sociology have primarily operationalized this spanning by papers with significant elements of two or more subfields. Although this is a useful operationalization, this does not have to be the only way we consider subfield spanning. Historically, research on joint membership in ASA sections has been one indicator of subfield spanning and integration, though it was not often referred to in this way. Using ASA membership information from the 1980s and 1990s, these studies have shown remarkable stability in the clustering of certain subfields in sociology at the time (Daipha 2001; Cappell and Guterbock 1992; Ennis 1992). Specializing in more common combinations of subfields can have benefits, since research on these areas will likely have an easier time getting published. However, research that

connects otherwise disjoint subfields can be highly valued for its innovation, even receiving more citations over time (Leahey, Beckman, and Stanko 2017; Leahey and Moody 2014). But the hurdles of publishing unique work can be particularly difficult, and faculty of color, who often find their knowledges invalidated by the mainstream academy (Delgado Bernal and Villalpando 2002), are disproportionately affected. Given the history of exclusion in American sociology, this may be particularly an issue for sociologists of color, but the studies on specializations, subfields, and the structure of American sociological knowledge have thus far ignored the role of race and racism in their analyses.

### **3.1.3 Race and the Structure of Sociological Knowledge**

Critical sociologists argue that American sociology has undertheorized the role of history in the development of the discipline. Though seldom recognized by the discipline, the structure of American sociological knowledge is inherently “racially gendered classed” (Wyse 2014). As such, the current state of sociological knowledge reproduces race, gender, and class inequalities through the privileging of the sociology curated by elite white men. These sociologists tend to advance a more positivistic, “value free” sociology than the reflexive sociology promoted mainly by minority communities, comprised of non-male-identified sociologists, sociologists of color, and LGBTQ+ sociologists, though not solely these communities (Morris 2017; Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008). When asked about the importance of reflexive sociology, Bourdieu stated that:

I believe that the sociology of sociology is a fundamental dimension of sociological epistemology. Far from being a specialty among others, it is the necessary prerequisite of any rigorous sociological practice. In my view, one of the chief sources of error in the social sciences resides in an uncontrolled relation to the object which results in the projection of this relation into the object. What

distresses me when I read some works by sociologists is that people whose profession it is to objectivize the social world prove so rarely able to objectivize themselves and fail so often to realize that what their apparently scientific discourse talks about is not the object but their relation to the object – it expresses resentment, envy, social concupiscence, unconscious aspirations or fascinations, hatred, a whole range of unanalyzed experiences of and feelings about the social world. (Bourdieu as quoted in Wacquant 1989:33)

Though I focus on racialized sociological knowledge in this paper, future research should investigate this point more thoroughly to include an intersectional perspective on the above communities.

It may not be possible to understand the full extent to which the discipline's knowledge base has been shaped by racial meanings and conflict. While several histories of sociology have been written (e.g., Calhoun 2007; Martindale 1976), there is still debate on whether any complete, full histories of American sociology exist (Sica 2007). Most notably, scholars are today trying to highlight the vast quantities of sociological knowledge created by sociologists of color in early American sociology, such as black sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois and his Atlanta Sociological Laboratory (Morris 2017; Wright II 2016). Despite this, the discipline as a whole continues to marginalize the work of Du Bois and other scholars of color, instead promoting a history and set of knowledges created by white men (Winant 2007; Wyse 2014).

This marginalization of the work done by sociologists of color is still evident today, as it is often derisively referred to as “me-search” (Harris 2021). However, most sociologists are inclined to study aspects of society to which they can personally relate. For example, women are much more likely to specialize in women's studies. This has been true historically (Skipper Jr., DeWolf, and Dudley 1987) and is still true today where over 70% of the membership in the “Sociology of Sex & Gender” section of ASA

is female (ASA 2020b). Further, sociologists have been known to study a particular population because of the special access they have from being a member of that subculture (for examples, see Baker and Kelly 2016; Mears 2015). However, the sociologists who produce this work have not been similarly stigmatized for studying “themselves” like people of color have. Thus, sufficient evidence exists for a relationship between the demographic characteristics of a sociologist and the specialty area(s) they study. This chapter enhances our understanding of this relationship by explicitly linking race and the *structure* of sociology’s subfield integration.

## **3.2 Data and Methods**

### **3.2.1 Sample and Source**

This research is focused on the discipline of sociology. This practice is in line with many other studies of inequality in knowledge production as different disciplines have variations in their stratification processes and have varying degrees of acceptance and/or suitability of subfield spanning. Sociology is an ideal discipline to study as research has shown that it sits “squarely in the center” of the body of social science research (Moody and Light 2006:82), meaning sociology intersects many disciplines and speaks to multiple audiences. Moreover, sociology tends to attract more African American and Latinx majors than do other social sciences such as psychology, economics, and political science (Spalter-Roth and Erksine 2007), making the study of race and subfield spanning in sociology particularly important.

The data for this study comes from an existing research project on a cohort (n = 171) of racial minorities who received their PhDs in sociology from 1995 to 2006. The

most recently available curricula vitae (CVs) of the members of this cohort, their pictures, and any information on their research and/or teaching specialties were downloaded from the internet. Scholars from this period were chosen because they have likely been in academia long enough to have well-established subfield specializations. A panel of experts was employed to determine the race/ethnicity and gender categories of the 171 members of this cohort. Table 3.1 presents the race and gender information of the sociologists in this study.

**Table 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of the Sample of Underrepresented Minority (URM) Sociologists**

	<i>n</i>	<i>% Total</i>
Sample	171	
Race		
Black	107	62.57%
Latinx <sup>a</sup>	64	37.43%
Gender		
Men	69	40.35%
Women	102	59.65%

Note: <sup>a</sup>Afro-Latinx faculty were coded as Latinx.

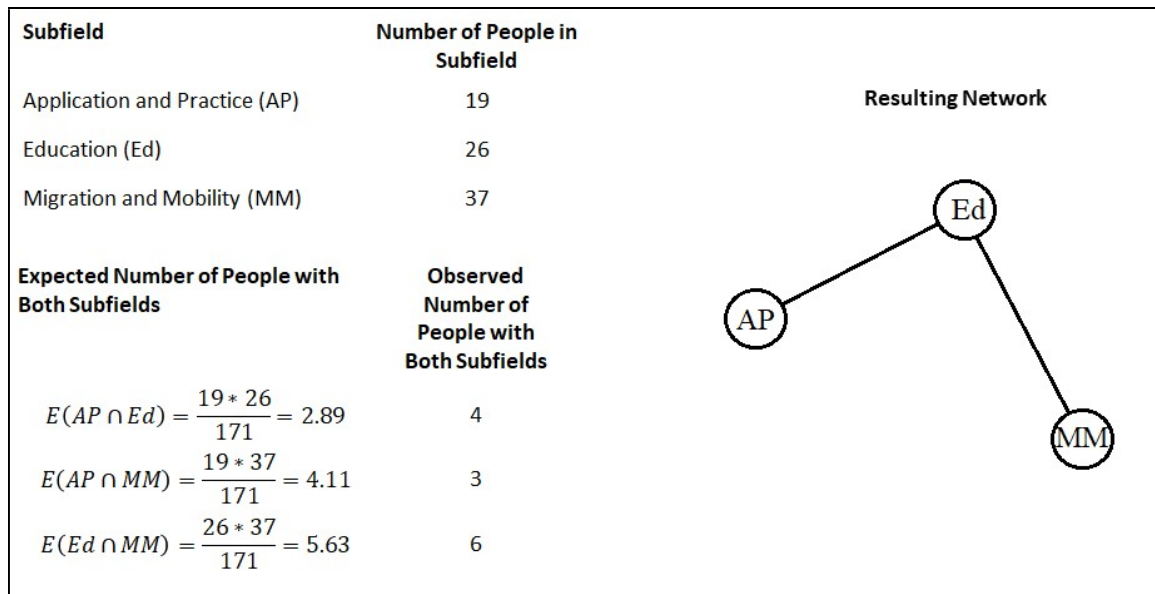
To gain an understanding of this sample’s specialty areas, I used the research and/or teaching interests<sup>15</sup> the sociologists listed on their CVs or online profile if needed. I recoded each sociologist’s list of subfields according to Hermanowicz and Clayton (2020). After this initial round of coding, I determined that five additional subfields were needed: Education, Migration and Mobility, Religion, Urban Studies, and a miscellaneous “Other.” I ended with 21 specific subfield codes and a 22<sup>nd</sup> “other” code.

<sup>15</sup> Some sociologists listed their teaching specializations in the same section as their research. While it is possible that some sociologists teach in areas they do not consider themselves specialists in, I assumed if it was important enough to list on their CV or website then it could be included in the specialty areas analyzed in this chapter.

### 3.2.2 Network Creation

Subfield integration in sociology has previously been operationalized using papers that have significant elements of two or more subfields within them (Leahey and Moody 2014); however, I argue that sociologists themselves can also be indicators of subfield integration if they specialize in two or more subfields. One advantage this operationalization has over existing studies is that it does not require publication and is not an analysis at the paper level. Leahey and Reikowsky (2008) found that 70% of coauthored papers tend to be written by “reinforcing generalists,” or sociologists who specialize in the same topic but who work together to add to a single research area. This suggests that published work that is subfield spanning is only a small percentage of the published work in sociology. By considering sociologists who specialize in more than one area as subfield spanners – as they likely bring elements of these specializations to their work – I have a better indicator of the kind of intellectual integration that is happening at the institutional level.

Consequently, I first create the “observed” subfield integration networks for the sample overall and for each racial group. Observed subfield integration networks are networks where specialty area nodes are connected by an edge if there is more than the expected number of sociologists who list both areas as their specialties. I calculate the expected number of subfield-spanning sociologists in the standard manner:  $E_{ij} = p_i p_j S$ , where  $p_i$  and  $p_j$  are the proportion of people in subfields  $i$  and  $j$ , respectively, and  $S$  is the total number of sociologists in the sample. For an illustrative example of this process, see Figure 3.1 below.



**Figure 3.1: Example of Subfield Integration Network Creation**

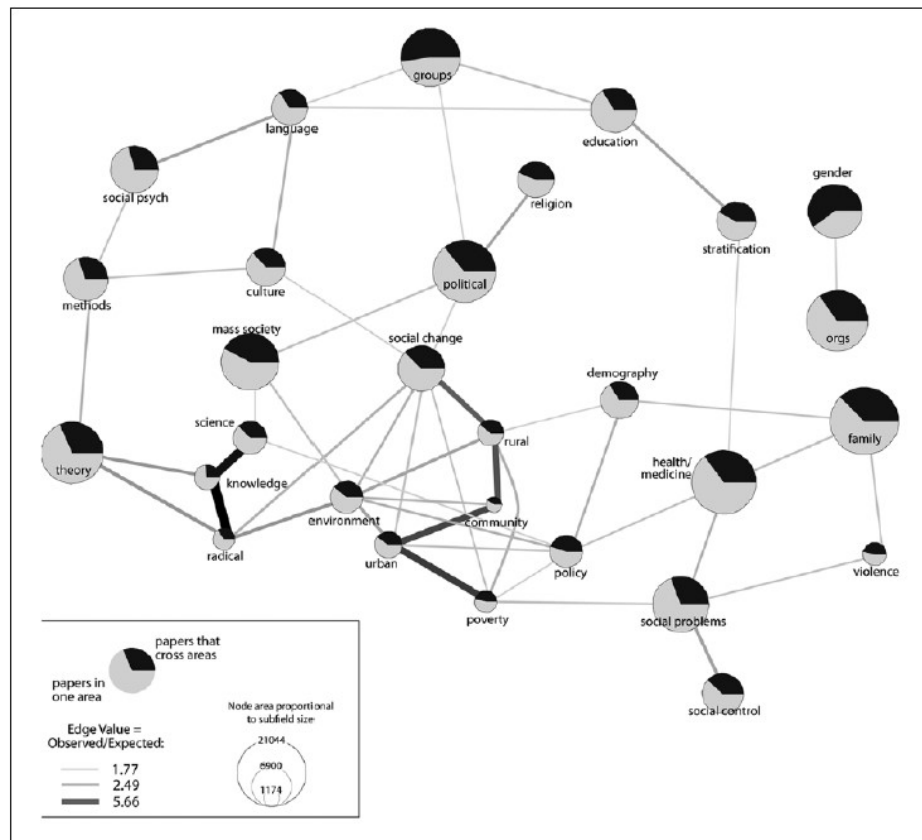
To further refine these networks, I create a second type of network which I call the “hyper-integrated” subfield (HIS) networks. Hyper-integrated networks are created in the same manner as described above, but HIS networks are ones where specialty area nodes are only connected by an edge if there is more than 1.75 times<sup>16</sup> the expected number of sociologists who list both areas as their specialties. These networks offer a richer description of subfield spanning because the only edges included are ones with many more people who span them than chance would suggest. This implies that the co-occurrence of these subfields is more likely to be easily identified by the field. What impact this has on the careers of the sociologists in the more commonly spanned subfields versus the more novel subfield pairings is something future research should uncover. Further, because these HIS networks have a stronger edge condition, they may

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<sup>16</sup> 1.75 was chosen as the cutoff to match the cutoff used by Leahey and Moody (2014) to make my networks comparable to theirs.



be more useful in predicting what subfield pairings are more likely to become one larger subfield or become its own subfield in the future.

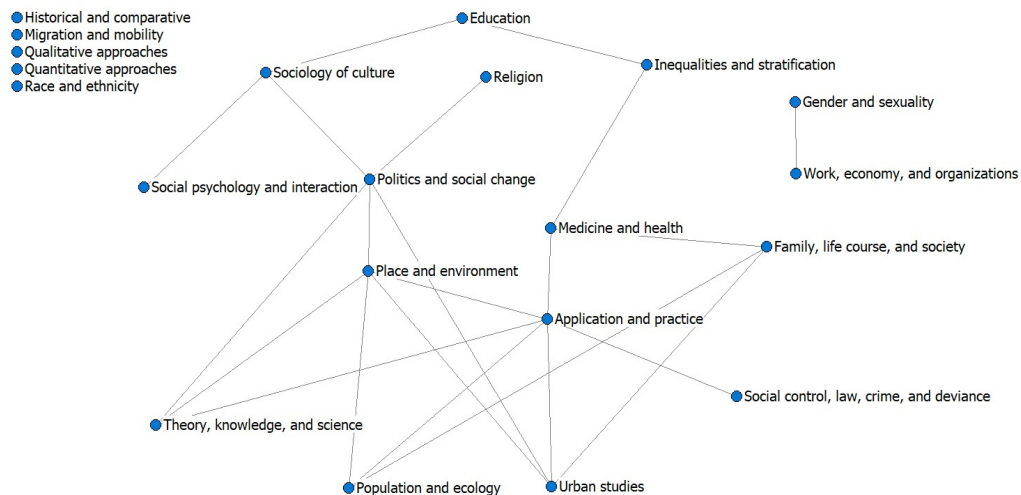


**Figure 2.** Observed subfield integration, 1985–2004.  
 Note. Edges present if subfields share more than  $1.75 \times$  (Expected value).

### Figure 3.2: Original Leahey and Moody (2014) Subfield Integration Network

The existing subfield spanning research in sociology comes from Leahey and Moody (2014). Unfortunately, their disciplinary subfield integration network uses slightly different subfields than my own (see Figure 3.2). To make our networks more comparable, I recode the Leahey and Moody (2014) network to better match the subfields I use throughout this chapter. I chose to update their subfields for two crucial reasons. First, Leahey and Moody’s (2014) subfields come from an outdated *Sociological Abstracts* classification system, and since its publication, new subfields have become

more common. For example, *Sociological Abstracts* did not have a distinct subfield for the sociology of race, which has seen tremendous growth in the last decade.<sup>17</sup> Instead, their classification system includes “race” in a vague classification code “social group identity, intergroup relations (race, age, and sexuality)” which Leahey and Moody recode into the subfield of “groups” (see Leahey and Moody 2014: Appendix B). Unfortunately, I cannot disentangle specifics from “groups,” so when I create the “race and ethnicity” subfield for the recoded Leahey and Moody (2014) network it will be disconnected from the rest. Second, several of the distinct subfields that were highly correlated in Leahey and Moody (2014), e.g., science and knowledge, are more often considered one subfield today, e.g., ASA’s section on Knowledge, Science, and Technology. So, I combine these subfields to match my subfield on “Theory, knowledge, and science.” I repeat this process as necessary until I have matching node sets (see Figure 3.3 below).



**Figure 3.3: Recoded Leahey and Moody (2014) Subfield Integration Network**

<sup>17</sup> Today, the sociology of race is commonly spanned with other subfields so much that Hirschman (2018) argues: “Going forward, it seems like the sociology of race is going to be less of a separate subfield, and more of a foundational approach or lens that sociologists apply to every aspect of study (at least or especially in sociology focused on the United States).”

### **3.2.3 Measures**

To measure the structure of each network, I offer several network-level descriptive statistics: density, average degree, component analysis, and analysis of the cliques of size three, four, and five. Density is a measure of the proportion of all present subfield spanning ties over the total possible number of ties in the network. A high density would mean that many subfields are being spanned. Average degree is the average number of edges per node in the network. A component is a maximally connected set of nodes in the network. A network with multiple components is highly fragmented. Cliques are the maximal complete subgraphs of a given network. That is, they are a subgraph of the network where every node in the subgraph is connected to every other node in the subgraph. A clique of size three, four, or five is a set of three, four, or five nodes, respectively, where all nodes are connected to one another. With this data, cliques are a measure of the strength of the spanning among these subfields. As a further check, I also employ Louvain community detection to each network to understand which sets of subfields are more likely to be spanned together than with others. Louvain community detection is an algorithmic way of determining clusters with high modularity relative to the rest of the network (Blondel, Guillaume, Lambiotte, and Lefebvre 2008). In this way, I can compare the clusters found by the Louvain community detection with the clique analysis for each network and across similar networks by race.

### **3.3 Findings**

A sociologist can claim as many or as few research specialties as they want on their CV. After recoding, three sociologists listed only one specialty area while others

**Table 3.2: Sample's Recoded Specialty Areas by Race**

<b>Specialty Areas</b>	<b>Black</b> (n = 107)	<b>Latinx</b> (n = 64)	<i>Total</i> (n = 171)
Application and practice	12	7	19
Education	13	13	26
Family, life course, and society	22	3	25
Gender and sexuality	26	10	36
Historical and comparative	9	3	12
Inequalities and stratification	32	21	53
Medicine and health	22	11	33
Migration and mobility	8	29	37
Place and environment	7	4	11
Politics and social change	17	13	30
Population and ecology	2	2	4
Qualitative approaches	38	17	55
Quantitative approaches	20	12	32
Race and ethnicity	78	43	121
Religion	6	2	8
Social control, law, crime, and deviance	18	12	30
Social psychology and interaction	10	4	14
Sociology of culture	12	4	16
Theory, knowledge, and science	10	5	15
Urban studies	25	3	28
Work, economy, and organizations	13	13	26
Other	14	3	17
<i>Total</i>	414	234	648

listed up to eight. On average, sociologists listed approximately four (3.789) specialty areas. As seen in Table 3.2, the most common specialty area for both black and Latinx scholars is in race and ethnicity. As sociologists of color in the 1970s were the ones who advanced a paradigmatic approach to sociology which emphasized race as a central organizing force in society (Elias 2009; Ladner 1973), the strong presence of race and ethnicity as a specialty area in this sample is to be expected. Similarly, the second most common specialty area for Latinx sociologists is migration and mobility. Latinx

sociologists are presently pushing American sociology to include more transnational perspectives on migration and globalization to move beyond the black-white binary that exists in race research today (Zinn and Mirandé 2021). Third most common for both groups of sociologists is the specialty area on inequalities and stratification. Again, it has been argued that faculty of color are more likely to engage in “public scholarship” or work that challenges the existing racial structure (Turner, González, and Wood 2008), so this finding was expected.

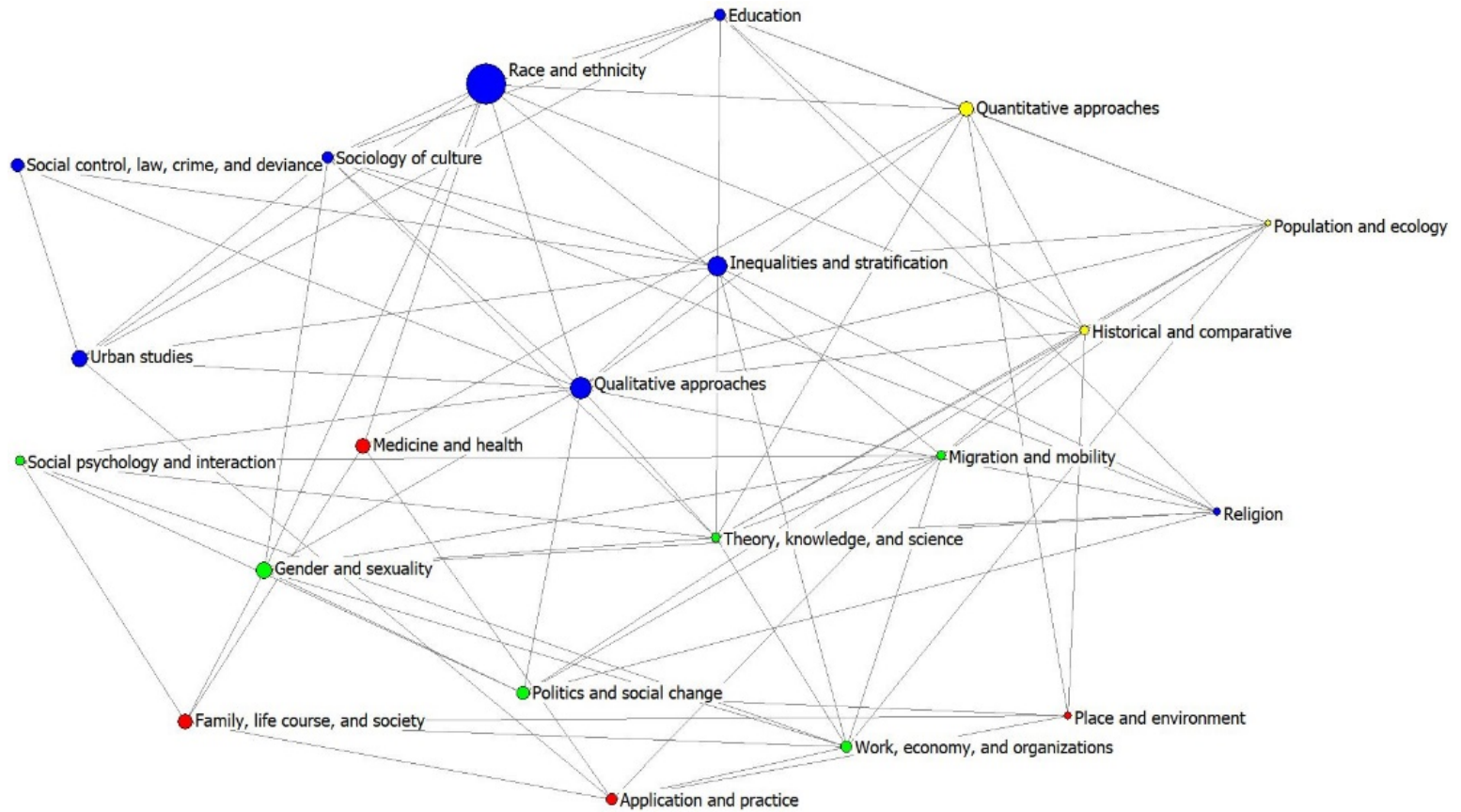
After these specialty areas are accounted for, we begin to see more differences between black and Latinx scholars in this sample. Black sociologists tend to have higher concentrations in certain specialty areas Gender and sexuality; Urban studies; Family, life course, and society; and, Medicine and health – whereas Latinx scholars are much more widely distributed over the specialty areas space. How does this compare to the discipline as a whole? For 2020, the top four ASA section memberships for black sociologists were Racial & Ethnic Minorities; Race, Gender, & Class; Medical Sociology; and, Inequality, Poverty, & Mobility. For Latinx sociologists, the top four sections were Latina(o) Sociology; International Migration; Racial & Ethnic Minorities; and, Race, Gender, & Class. After these four sections, Latinx sociologists are fairly evenly distributed throughout most of the remaining ASA sections (ASA 2020a). Thus, my sample’s specialty areas distribution closely mirrors that found in the discipline as a whole.

Qualitative methods are the most commonly listed methodological approach for both black and Latinx scholars in this sample. This approach is often more aligned with solo-authored book publications than multiauthored articles (Clemens et al. 1995), further offering support for the argument that studies of collaboration networks in sociology are

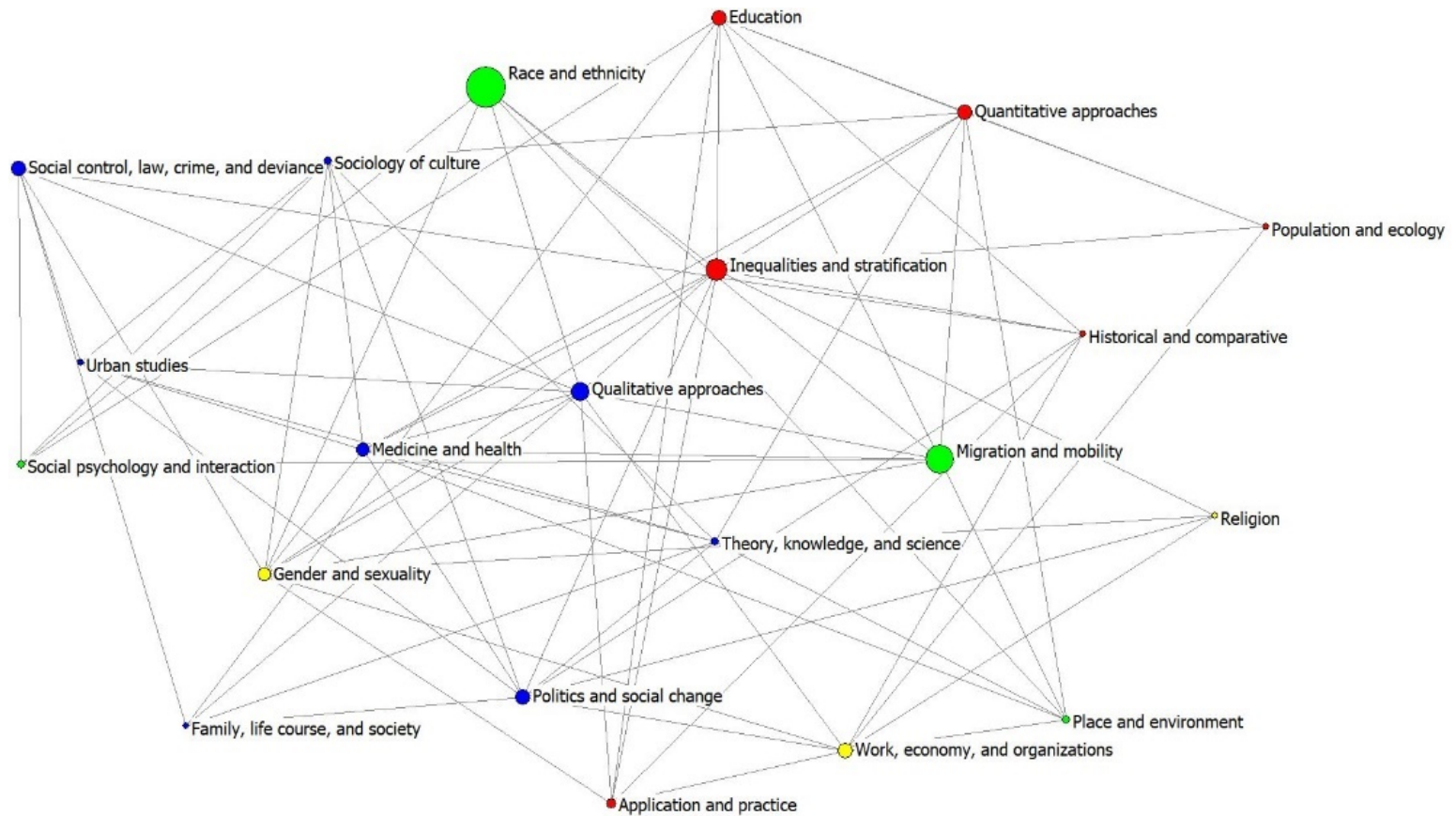
skewed to represent mainstream sociology. However, in this sample, the difference in the number of black and Latinx sociologists who claim qualitative methods over quantitative methods is relatively small. Moreover, purely methodological papers are not as common and are instead usually considered in combination with the topical area(s) with which the research is concerned (Schwemmer and Wieczorek 2020).

Are there some specialty areas that co-occur more often than others? To answer these questions, I turn to the observed subfield integration (OSI) networks (see Figure 3.4). Before describing the ties present in these networks, however, I will briefly mention the ties among subfields that were not included. I chose to exclude ties among subfields that had fewer sociologists spanning them than would be expected given the proportions of people in each specialty area. That is, I excluded between 57 and 134 edges between the overall, black, and Latinx OSI networks. Future research should be done to understand why some subfields are not being spanned as often as chance would expect. In some cases, this will likely be self-explanatory, e.g., if two subfields have vastly different theoretical approaches, there will not likely be sociologists who specialize in both regardless of the proportions of people in each subfield. However, there are other combinations of subfields that theoretically could be spanned but are not at the rate we might expect.

While this chapter does not focus on these relations, future research should look at the experiences of sociologists of color who do specialize in the subfield spanning of areas on the margins, and what, if any, effects there are on their career outcomes. The current literature on specialization and career outcomes is inconclusive. Some research has shown the best way to gain recognition in the field is to situate your research squarely

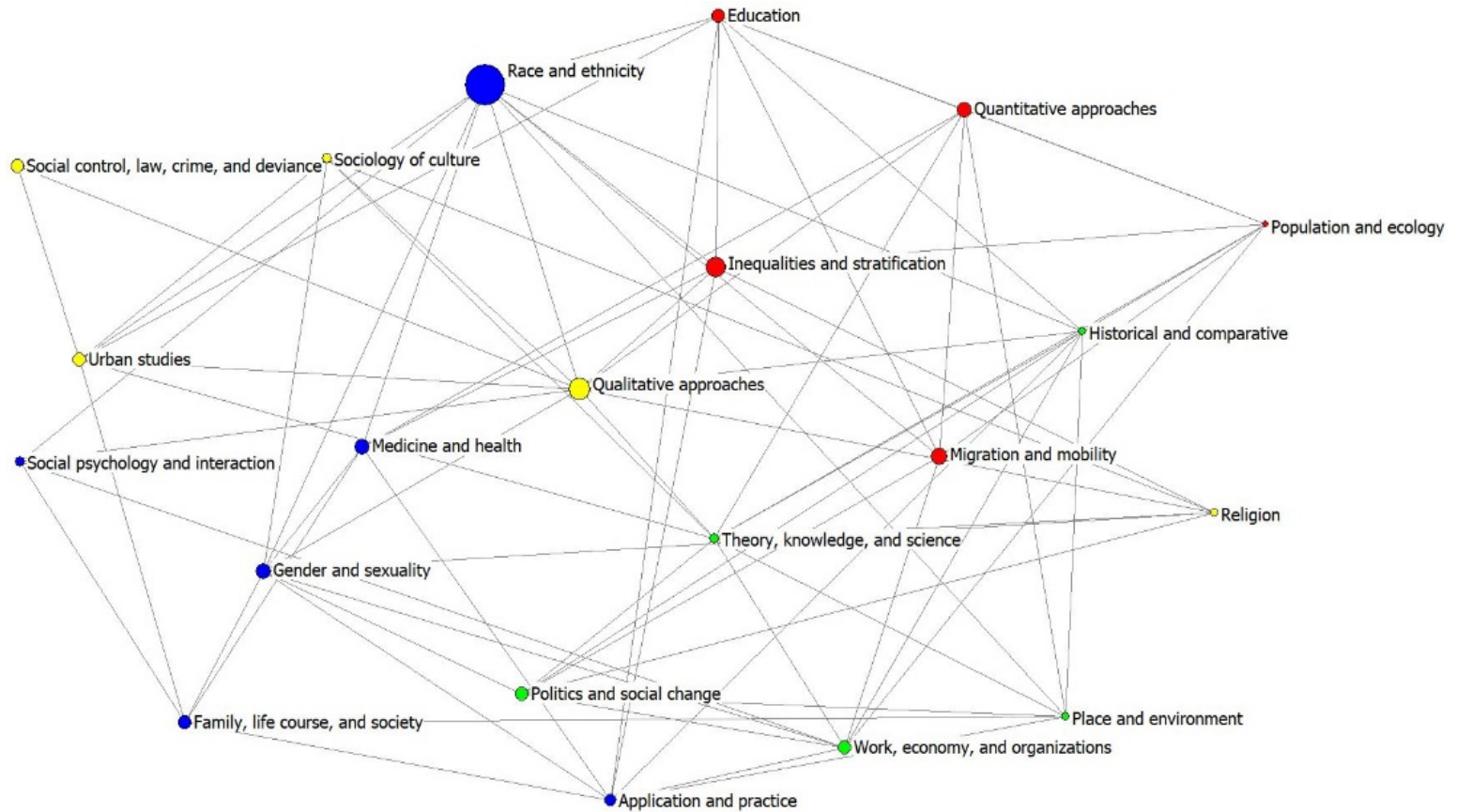


**Figure 3.4a: Black Observed Subfield Integration (OSI) Network**  
**Nodes sized by frequency named by each group, colored by Louvain community**



**Figure 3.4b: Latinx Observed Subfield Integration (OSI) Network**  
**Nodes sized by frequency named by each group, colored by Louvain community**





**Figure 3.4c: Overall Observed Subfield Integration (OSI) Network  
Nodes sized by frequency named by each group, colored by Louvain community**

in the middle of an established paradigm (Shi, Leskovec, and McFarland 2010). On the other hand, literature also points to novel integration as a better predictor of success in the academy (Leahey, Beckman, and Stanko 2017), with this path being described as a “high-risk, high-reward endeavor that often fails, but sometimes yields great success” (Heiberger, Galvez, and McFarland 2021:1169). As these literatures do not also consider the role of race and structural racism, this missing dimension could enhance our understanding of specialization and cohesion in the field of sociology.

Descriptive information on ties that were retained in the OSI networks is given in Table 3.3 below. While the observed network for black sociologists in the sample has four more edges, a slightly higher density, and slightly higher average degree than both the Latinx OSI networks, none of these differences are statistically significant.<sup>18</sup> However, the clique analysis does indicate differences in the strength of which subfields are spanned in the sample. The overall OSI network, for instance, does not have any cliques of size five, but the black and Latinx sociologists’ OSI networks both have cliques of this size. This difference indicates there are stronger relationships between pairs of subfields being spanned by both black and Latinx sociologists than would be considered just by looking at the overall OSI network. This finding further emphasizes this chapter’s point that race must be considered when studying subfield specialization and spanning in sociology.

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<sup>18</sup> The bootstrap paired sample *t*-tests were run on the density figures.

**Table 3.3: Descriptives of Observed Subfield Integration (OSI) Networks**

	Black OSI	Latinx OSI	Total OSI
Nodes	21	21	21
Edges	80	76	76
Density	0.381	0.362	0.362
(s.d.)	(0.486)	(0.481)	(0.481)
Average Degree	3.810	3.619	3.619
Cliques of Size 3	18	22	31
Cliques of Size 4	17	11	9
Cliques of Size 5	3	1	0

Moreover, I conduct co-membership analysis<sup>19</sup> of the cliques to determine which subfields are most central, e.g., are most spanned with other subfields. When the overall OSI network is analyzed, the four subfields that occur in the most cliques are Qualitative approaches, Race and ethnicity, Historical and comparative, and Theory, knowledge, and science (see Table 3.4). However, when considering the black and Latinx OSI networks, the Race and Ethnicity subfield is not in the top four of either group. This suggests two things: (1) as previously discussed, when sociological specializations consider race, different patterns emerge, and (2) while most black and Latinx sociologists specialize in race and ethnicity in some way, they, when considered one group, do not necessarily span it with all other sociological subfields. However, analyses with the strong definition of cliques (maximally complete subgraphs) are often too restrictive for social network data (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013); therefore, I next turn to Louvain community detection to further our understanding of clustering in subfield spanning networks.

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<sup>19</sup> The resulting hierarchical clusterings of these cliques are presented as tree diagrams in Appendix B.

**Table 3.4: Top 4 Subfields Spanned According to Clique Co-Membership Analysis**

<b>Overall OSI</b>	<i>n</i>	<b>Black OSI</b>	<i>n</i>	<b>Latinx OSI</b>	<i>n</i>
Qualitative approaches	12	Qualitative approaches	13	Gender and sexuality	11
Race and ethnicity	12	Historical and comparative	10	Inequalities and stratification	10
Historical and comparative	11	Migration and mobility	10	Medicine and health	10
Theory, knowledge, and science	10	Theory, knowledge, and science	10	Qualitative approaches	10

While some of the members vary from network to network, the Louvain algorithm finds four communities for all three OSI networks. Further, there is remarkable consistency within some communities. For example, all three networks have “Qualitative approaches,” “Social control, law, crime, and deviance,” “Sociology of culture,” and “Urban studies” in the same community. Similarly, the dyads of “Population and ecology” and “Quantitative approaches”; “Politics and social change” and “Theory, knowledge, and science”; and “Family, life course and society” and “Medicine and health” are in the same communities across all three networks. These results are similar to previous research on the social organization of the discipline (Cappell and Guterbock 1992; Ennis 1992; Daipha 2001), but after I account for these, there are important differences to examine when each racial groups’ specializations are considered.

“Race and ethnicity” is the largest specialization listed for both black and Latinx sociologists in this sample; however, it spans other subfields differently by racial group and then what the discipline as a whole suggests. For example, in the black OSI network, “Race and ethnicity” is in a Louvain group with seven other subfields, while in the overall and Latinx OSI networks it is in a Louvain group with only five and three other subfields, respectively. This suggests that black sociologists study race in conjunction

with other subfields more often than other combinations and, thus, supports Harris (2021) who similarly found that most black sociologists study race in some way but only rarely do so without intersecting other specializations.

Further, the work of Daipha (2001) and others<sup>20</sup> suggest the discipline's overall clustering of joint specialties puts the subfield of race and ethnicity with the sociology of gender and sexualities, the sociology of family and children, and the sociology of education. This data shows this pattern is fairly accurate for my sample of black sociologists. For my Black OSI network, the Louvain community that contains "Race and ethnicity" also contains "Education," "Inequalities and stratification," "Qualitative approaches," "Social control, law, crime, and deviance," "Sociology of culture," "Urban sociology," and "Religion" (see Figure 3.4a). However, this is not an accurate representation of the clustering of joint specialties for Latinx sociologists in my sample. The Latinx OSI networks (Figure 3.4b) show the Louvain community with "Race and ethnicity" is also with "Migration and mobility," "Place and environment," and "Social psychology and interaction." These differences further highlight the need for analyses that separate sociologists from a white/non-white binary and instead highlight the interests and scholarship of each racial group separately.

While an imperfect comparison, recent work on topic co-usage in sociological dissertations from 1980-2015 does split the topic of "Race and ethnicity" into "Race: Latinx" and "Race: African American" (Heiberger et al. 2021). This research shows that

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<sup>20</sup> The other studies that suggest this are also based on data from the 1980s and 1990s (Cappell and Guterbock 1992; Ennis 1992). Unfortunately, the more recent work specifically on sociological subfields, like Leahey and Moody (2014), do not include race and ethnicity as a subfield. Thus, I cannot accurately compare my sample on this dimension to more recent research.

sociology on Latinx populations tends to also be on immigration studies and identity, while sociology on African American populations tends to be related to qualitative methods, groups and status, urban sociology, and identity (ibid:1178). While Heiberger and colleagues do not identify the relationship between the racial identities of the sociologists and the topics on which their dissertations were based, their findings do mirror what the Louvain algorithm found with subfields related to race and ethnicity in the black and Latinx OSI networks. Together, these suggest that while sociologists of color tend to bring an explicit orientation toward race to their work, they also have similar interests in the subfields they are spanning as the discipline overall. To gain a better understanding of the subfields that are most commonly spanned, I next turn to analyses of the hyper-integrated subfield networks.

I create hyper-integrated subfield (HIS) networks by only retaining the ties between any two subfields if they had at least 1.75 times the expected number of people spanning them given the proportions of people in each subfield (see Figures 3.5a-d). This practice allows for a richer analysis of the subfields in which sociologists more commonly jointly specialize. Moreover, these “stronger” ties are also an indication of greater acceptance of the cohesiveness of the subfields.

Descriptive information on the hyper-integrated networks is presented in Table 3.5. There are fewer edges, and therefore a lower density and smaller average degree, in the overall HIS network than in the Black and Latinx HIS networks.<sup>21</sup> The reason why is

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<sup>21</sup> The bootstrap paired sample *t*-test was run on the density figures for black and Latinx sociologists and were again found not to be statistically significantly different from one another.

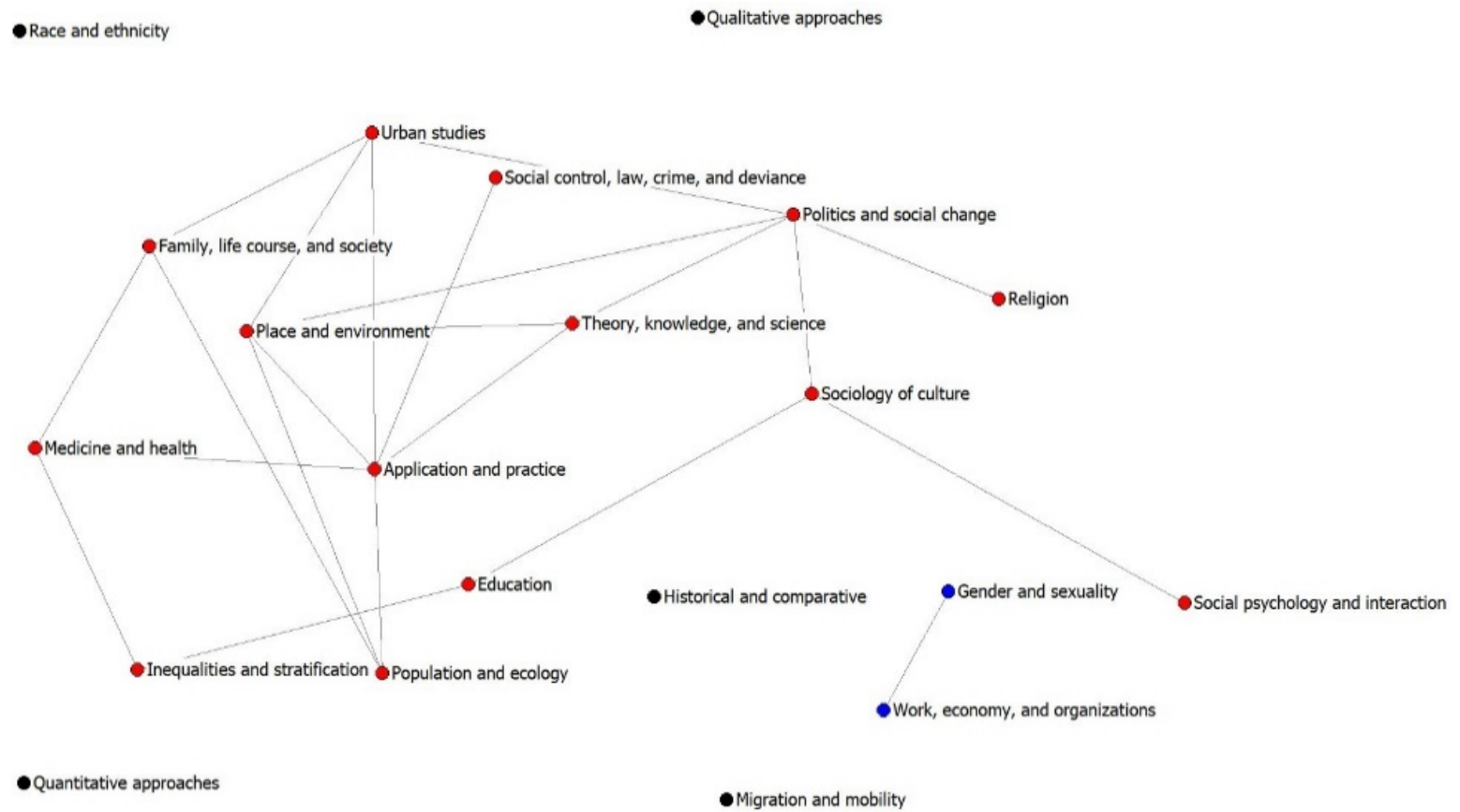
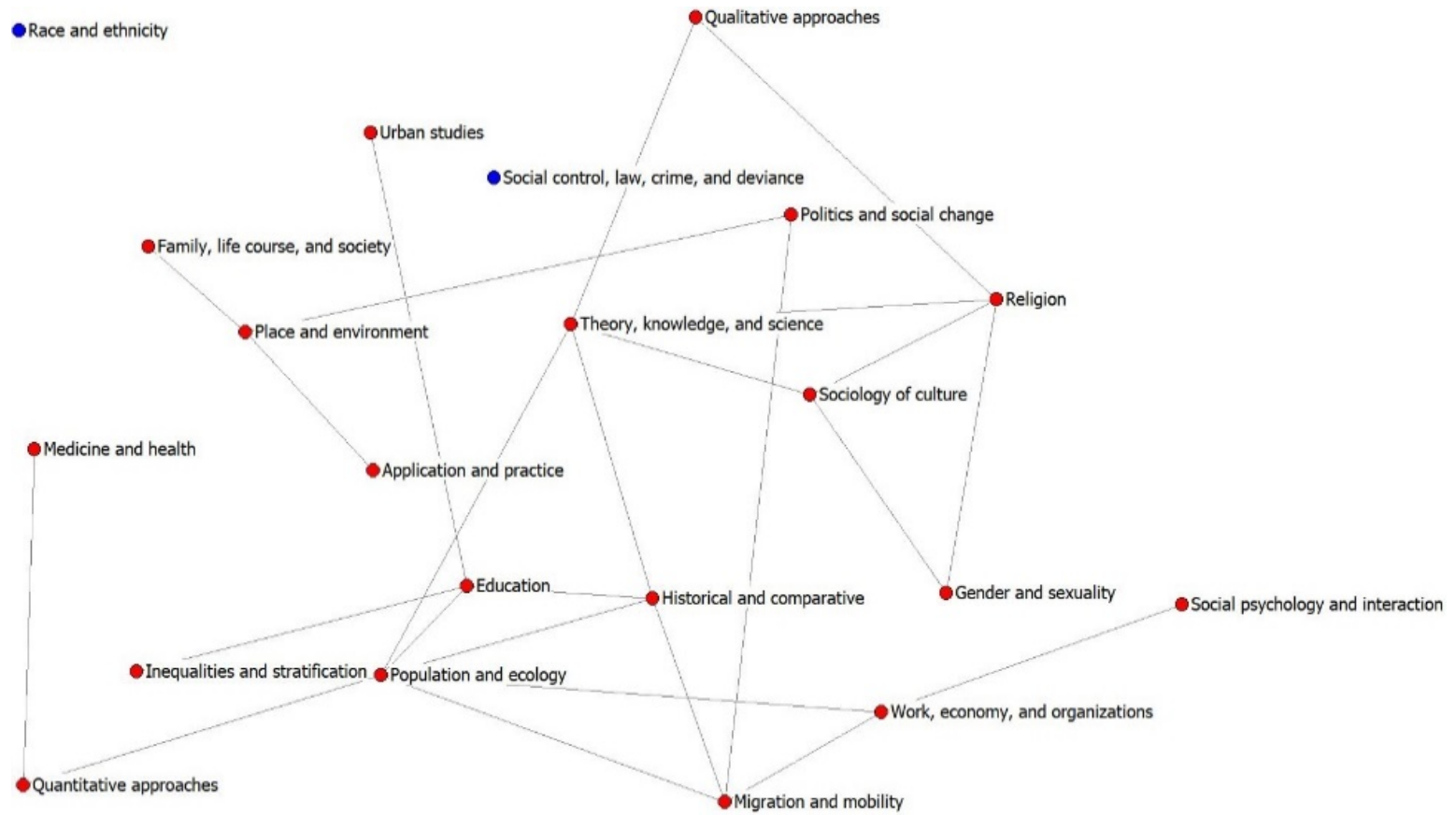
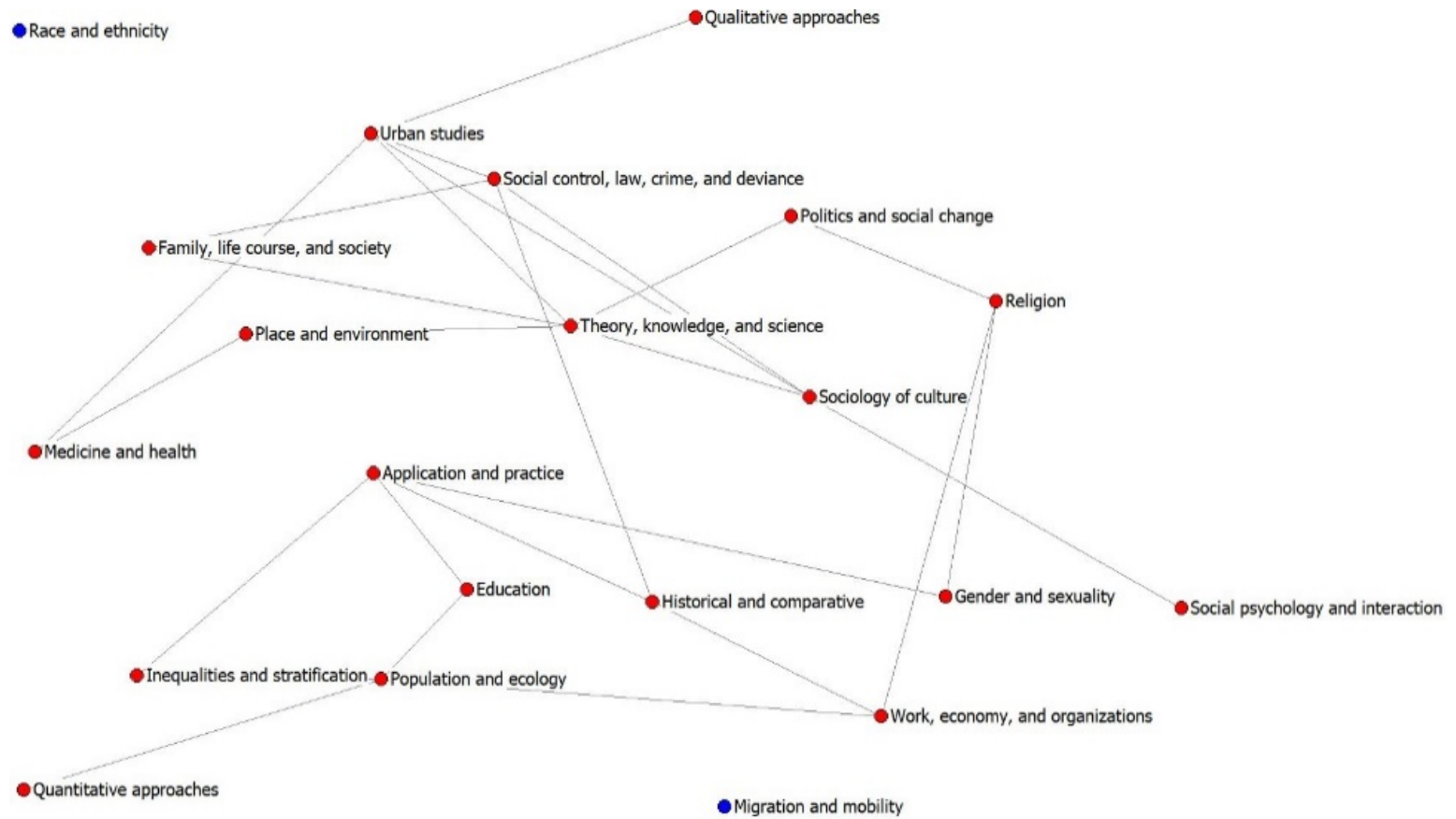


Figure 3.5a: Leahey and Moody (2014) Recoded



**Figure 3.5b: Black Hyper-Integrated Subfield (HIS) Network**





**Figure 3.5c: Latinx Hyper-Integrated Subfield (HIS) Network**

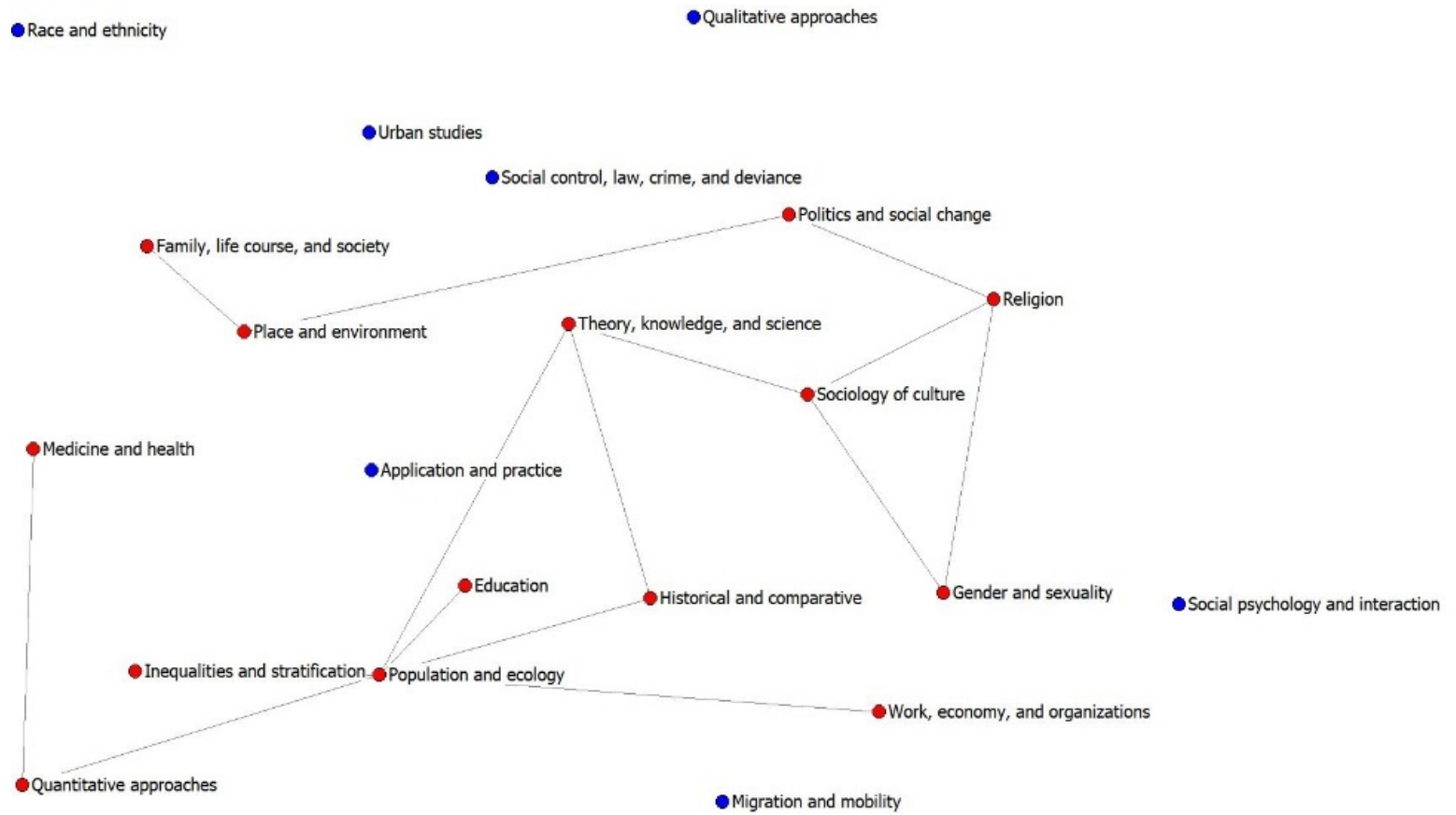


Figure 3.5d: Overall Hyper-Integrated Subfield (HIS) Network

similar as in the OSI networks but is more extreme when the 1.75 multiplier is added to the requirement that an edge is retained. While the cohesion measures are similar across the three networks, the edges contained within the networks are very different.

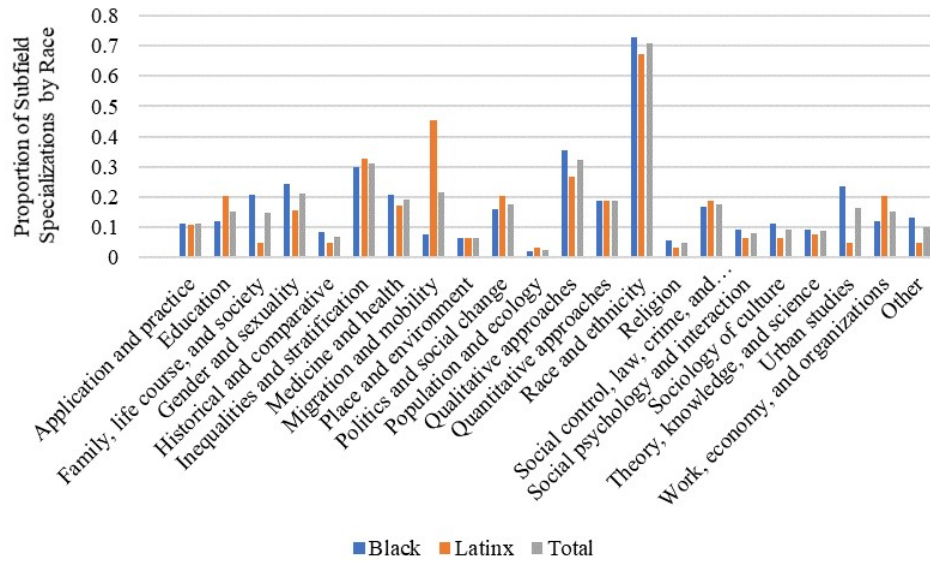
**Table 3.5: Descriptives of Hyper-Integrated Subfield (HIS) Networks**

	Black HIS	Latinx HIS	Overall HIS
Number of Nodes	21	21	21
Number of Edges	25	26	15
Density (s.d.)	0.119 (0.324)	0.124 (0.329)	0.071 (0.258)
Average Degree	1.190	1.238	0.714
Number of Components	3	3	8

By comparing the edges contained in the Black, Latinx, and Overall HIS networks, we see which pairs of subfields are being more commonly spanned by each racial group and when the overall sample of black and Latinx sociologists is considered. Table 3.6 lists the edges that are in common between each pair of networks. The Black and Overall HIS networks have 13 edges in common, and this is the greatest overlap of any of the pairs of networks compared here. The Latinx and Overall HIS networks have seven edges in common and finally the Black and Latinx HIS networks have only five edges in common. One important implication from this comparison is that the true subfield spanning by black and Latinx sociologists is misrepresented when they are considered one group. Black sociologists have different combinations of subfield interests than Latinx sociologists, and these differences are lost in the overall subfield spanning structure. This shows that it is not enough to study sociologists of color as one group, and further suggests that when race is not analyzed at all, as in Leahey and Moody (2014), the subfield spanning of the discipline is likely a distortion of what subfields are being spanned when sociologists are disaggregated into racial groups.

**Table 3.6: Common Subfield Pairings Across HIS Networks**

<b>Black and Overall HIS</b>	<b>Latinx and Overall HIS</b>	<b>Black and Latinx HIS</b>
Education — Population and ecology	Education — Population and ecology	Education — Population and ecology
Family, life course, and society — Place and environment	Gender and sexuality — Religion	Gender and sexuality — Religion
Gender and sexuality — Religion	Inequalities and stratification — Population and ecology	Population and ecology — Quantitative approaches
Gender and sexuality — Sociology of culture	Politics and social change — Religion	Population and ecology — Work, economy, and organizations
Historical and comparative — Population and ecology	Population and ecology — Quantitative approaches	Sociology of culture — Theory, knowledge, and science
Historical and comparative — Theory, knowledge, and science	Population and ecology — Work, economy, and organizations	
Medicine and health — Quantitative approaches	Sociology of culture — Theory, knowledge, and science	
Place and environment — Politics and social change		
Population and ecology — Quantitative approaches		
Population and ecology — Theory, knowledge, and science		
Population and ecology — Work, economy, and organizations		
Religion — Sociology of culture		
Sociology of culture — Theory, knowledge, and science		



**Figure 3.6: Proportion of Subfield Specializations by Race and Overall**

The differences in subfield specializations between black and Latinx sociologists are more easily seen by comparing Figures 3.5b, 3.5c, and 3.6. For example, the specialization “Urban studies” has a much higher proportion of black sociologists who list it as a specialty area than Latinx sociologists, thus putting the overall proportion in between. Any combination of subfields with “Urban studies” will have the highest expectation in the Black HIS network, an intermediate expectation for the overall network and the lowest expectation in the Latinx HIS network. This results in the Black HIS network only having one pair of subfields that meets the 1.75 times expectation, “Urban studies” and “Education,” while the Latinx HIS network has five pairs of subfields, “Urban studies” with “Qualitative approaches,” “Medicine and health,” “Theory, knowledge, and science,” “Sociology of culture,” and “Social control, law, crime, and deviance.” However, the overall HIS network does not show any subfield spanning with “Urban studies” due to their differences in proportions when the entire group is considered.

Further, the creation of hyper-integrated networks allows me to compare the subfield spanning of the black and Latinx sociologists in my sample to the subfield spanning network of the discipline as found by Leahey and Moody (2014). After transforming the Leahey and Moody (2014) network as described above, I report similar descriptive information on this network in Table 3.6 below and compare their results to the HIS networks from my data. The recoded Leahey and Moody (2014) network has more edges than the overall HIS network but fewer than the Black and Latinx HIS network. Again, none of these differences are statistically significant. However, when the subfields that are spanned are compared, I find notable differences among the networks.

**Table 3.7: Descriptives of HIS Networks Compared to Leahey and Moody (2014)**

	Black HIS	Latinx HIS	Overall HIS	Leahey and Moody (2014)
Number of Nodes	21	21	21	21
Number of Edges	25	26	15	22
Density (s.d.)	0.119 (0.324)	0.124 (0.329)	0.071 (0.258)	0.105 (0.306)
Average Degree	1.190	1.238	0.714	1.048
Number of Components	3	3	8	7

While standard network measures of cohesion are similar across these networks, the subfields that are spanned in each network are quite different. When I compare the overall HIS network to the Leahey and Moody (2014) network, I only find two edges in common: “Place and environment” and “Politics and social change”; and “Politics and social change” and “Religion.” Thus, the remaining 20 edges in the Leahey and Moody (2014) network and 13 edges in the overall HIS network are different from one another. This provides further evidence that subfield spanning in the discipline as a whole is different than that of sociologists of color.

This finding is further corroborated when the discipline's network is compared to the Black and Latinx HIS networks. When I compare the Black HIS network to the Leahey and Moody (2014) network, I find three edges in common: "Place and environment" and "Politics and social change"; "Place and environment" and "Application and practice"; and "Education" and "Inequalities and stratification." So, the remaining 19 edges in the Leahey and Moody (2014) network and 22 edges in the Black HIS network are different. For the Latinx HIS network and Leahey and Moody (2014) network comparison, there are 4 edges in common: "Place and environment" and "Theory, knowledge, and science"; "Politics and social change" and "Religion"; "Politics and social change" and "Theory, knowledge, and science"; and "Sociology of culture" and "Social psychology and interaction." Thus, the remaining 18 edges in Leahey and Moody (2014) and 22 edges in the Latinx HIS network are different. Ultimately, these comparisons show very little overlap in which subfields are being spanned when race is taken into consideration, suggesting that Abbott's (2001) conceptualization that the structure of sociology is like a fractal is not true when it comes to subfield spanning structures by race.

### ***3.4 Discussion***

In this chapter, I extend our current understanding of the structure of sociological knowledge by introducing analyses of subfield integration by race. Since the studies on the structure of sociological knowledge and subfield spanning have neglected this analysis, I argue their findings on the structure of knowledge in the discipline are skewed in a way that systematically misrepresents the work of sociologists of color. Using data

from their CVs and/or professional websites as needed, I examined the subfield specializations of a cohort of black and Latinx sociologists and created comparable subfield spanning networks to previous research. When race is considered, I find that the network structure of sociologists of color is vastly different than the structure presented by Leahey and Moody (2014).

There are several possible explanations for the differences found in this chapter. First, Leahey and Moody (2014) use papers that have been classified as subfield spanning to represent their network, while I use the sociologists themselves. Since research that spans subfields can have a more difficult time getting published (Heiberger et al. 2021; Leahey et al. 2017), some of the differences found in this chapter may be due to the difference in operationalization. Related, we know that black and Latinx sociologists tend to specialize in areas of research that more often lead to solo-authored work and books/book chapters (Hermanowicz and Clayton 2020), and the sociologists in my sample are no different. Since most of the existing studies on the structure of sociological knowledge and subfield spanning use such data sources as *Sociological Abstracts* or *Web of Science*, the work of sociologists of color is less likely to be included in the existing literature since these publications more systematically excluded (Singh et al. 2021). Future research should delve more thoroughly into how these patterns are altered according to the data used.

Further, when black and Latinx subfield spanning networks are considered separately, they have different patterns of subfield spanning than when they are considered as one group. Black sociologists were more likely to span subfields with historical and comparative work; migration and mobility; and theory, knowledge, and



science, whereas Latinx sociologists most spanned gender and sexuality, inequalities and stratification, and medicine and health. Future research on race and subfield spanning should consider the contributions of sociologists with more nuance than a binary white sociologists-sociologists of color. Further, my data were limited in that I could not study the subfield spanning of whites, American Indians, or Asian/Asian American sociologists. Future research on these groups would also enhance our understanding of subfield spanning in sociology.

With American sociology's history of racism, critical scholars have suggested the field continues to have a general "possessive investment in white sociology" (Brunsma and Wyse 2019). While research on the structure of sociological knowledge has shown that the discipline is more cohesive than it was in the past, I hope this chapter conveys the importance of asking the question: Cohesion by *what* dimension? This chapter has shown that subfields spanning in sociology is being done along racial lines. The important question for future research is then: Is it really that sociological knowledge is becoming more cohesive overall, or are we finding new ways of continuing racialized knowledge production?

## 4. Conclusion

While Abbott (2001) suggested that the various structures of social science disciplines are self-similar, scholars of color have long referred to the academy as a space with an “apartheid of knowledge” (Delgado Bernal and Villalpando 2002). While critical sociologists have called for analyses of American sociology that take into account how power relations shape its knowledge production (Bonilla-Silva 2019; Wyse 2014), there have not been any network studies on the structure of American sociology that considered the role of race and racism. This dissertation sought to open a dialogue on this topic by analyzing various networks of a sample of black and Latinx sociologists and comparing them to the discipline’s reported network structures.

In Chapter 2, I show that black and Latinx sociologists have similar personal collaboration networks on multiple measures, but, contrary to the racial homophily literature, each group tends toward racial heterophily in their personal collaborations. It is only when compared to their larger network structure that black sociologists appear to tend toward racial homophily, while Latinx sociologists do not tend toward either homophily or heterophily. Other notable findings are that each racial group’s embeddedness in the larger collaboration space varies according to the social capital measures I use (e.g., centrality and homophily). Combined, these findings offer evidence that discipline’s collaboration network structure is not self-similar when the race is taken into account.

In Chapter 3, I extend our current understanding of the structure of sociological knowledge by analyzing subfield integration by race. I examine the subfield

specializations of a cohort of black and Latinx sociologists and create comparable subfield spanning networks to previous research. When race is considered, I find that the network structure of sociologists of color is vastly different than the structure presented by Leahey and Moody (2014). Since the studies on the structure of sociological knowledge and subfield spanning have neglected this analysis, I argue their findings on the structure of knowledge in the discipline is skewed in a way that systematically misrepresents the work of sociologists of color.

With American sociology's history of racial exclusion, critical scholars have suggested the field continues to have a general "possessive investment in white sociology" (Brunsma and Wyse 2019). The substantive dissertation papers presented here broadly examine race in social networks in sociology. Each of the studies offers different perspectives on the extent of racial integration in sociology and offers new ideas about what impact such networks have on sociological knowledge and the field overall. While research on the structure of sociological knowledge has shown that the discipline is more cohesive than it was in the past, this dissertation conveys the importance of defining what is meant by cohesion.

This work offers several potential avenues for future research on the topic of race and networks. While this dissertation has focused on the field of sociology, similar analyses could be employed on any academic discipline. Further, universities are key institutions where disciplines' research is conducted and new knowledge is created. While increasing the racial diversity of faculty in higher education is a high priority for most universities, it remains unclear how racially integrated faculty of color are across

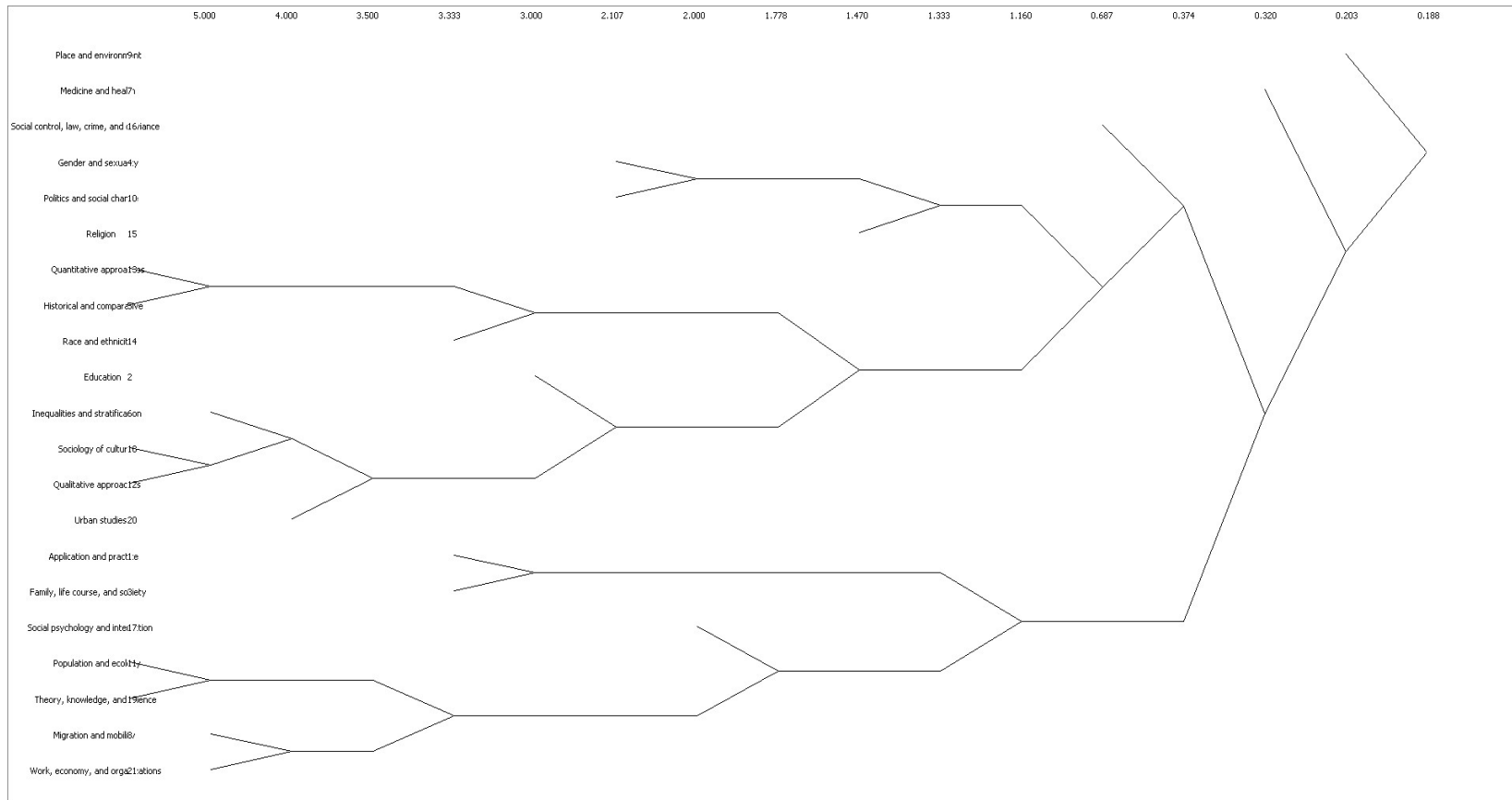
disciplines at their universities and how this affects their knowledge production and other career outcomes.

## Appendix A

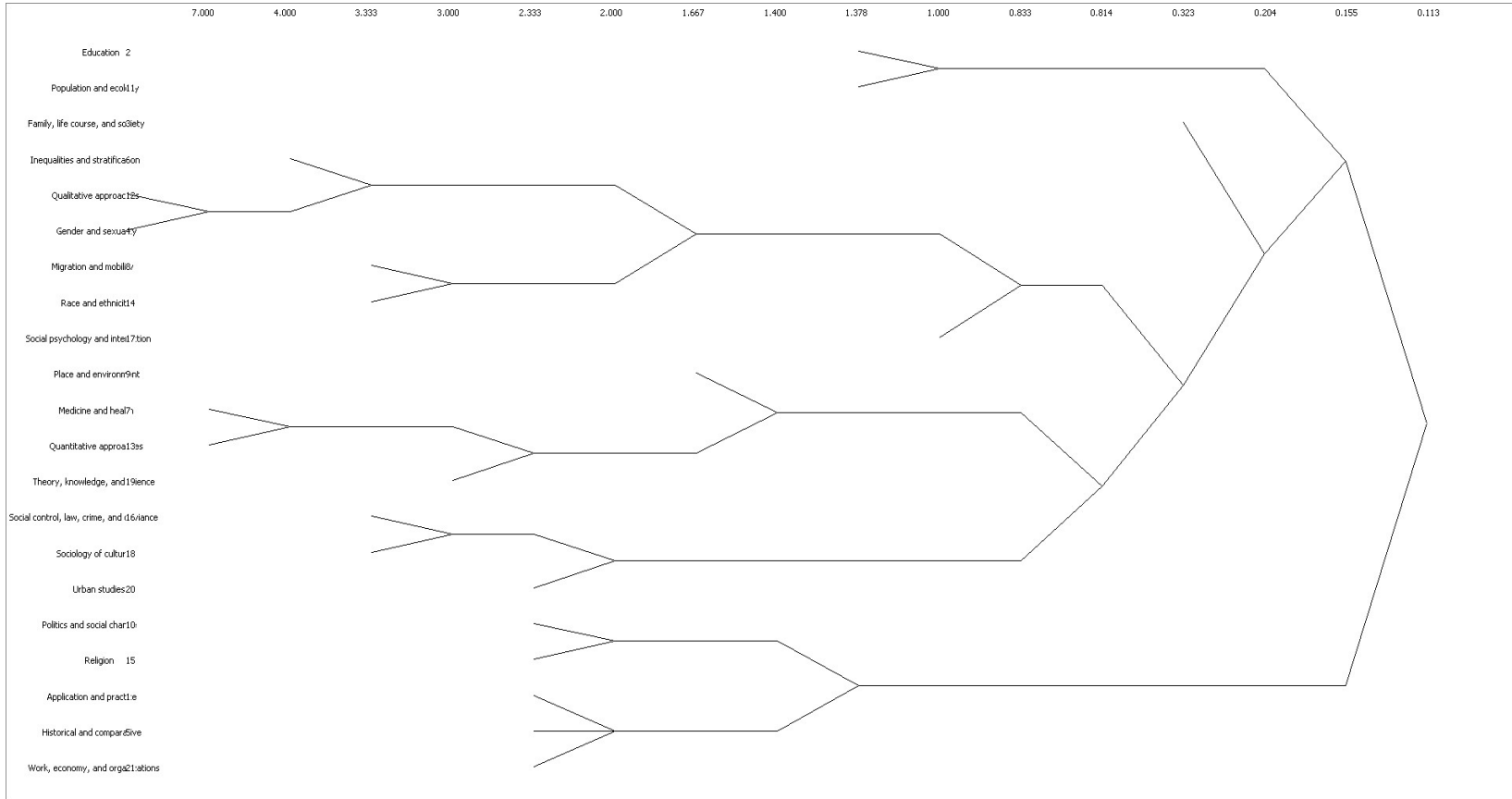
**Table A.1: American Sociological Association (ASA) Top 5 Section Memberships by Race in 2020**

<i>African American (%)</i>	<i>Asian/ Asian American (%)</i>	<i>Hispanic/ Latino(a) (%)</i>	<i>White (%)</i>	<i>Other Identity (%)</i>
1. Racial & Ethnic Minorities (40.26%)	1. Asia & Asian America (30.01%)	1. Latina(o) Sociology (42.11%)	1. Sociology of Sex & Gender (12.73%)	1. Global & Transnational Sociology (16.41%)
2. Race, Gender, & Class (29.50%)	2. Global & Transnational Sociology (16.03%)	2. International Migration (25.47%)	2. Medical Sociology (11.51%)	2. Theory (15.23%)
3. Medical Sociology (12.24%)	3. International Migration (12.57%)	3. Racial & Ethnic Minorities (24.21%)	3. Sociology of Culture (10.90%)	3. Political Sociology (12.89%)
4. Inequality, Poverty, & Mobility (10.76%)	4. Inequality, Poverty, & Mobility (11.81%)	4. Race, Gender, & Class (15.37%)	4. Organizations, Occupations, & Work (10.39%)	4. Collective Behavior & Social Movements (12.5%)
5. Community & Urban Sociology (10.39%)	5. Organizations, Occupations, & Work (11.70%)	5. Global & Transnational Sociology (10.11%)	5. Inequality, Poverty, & Mobility (8.97%)	4. International Migration (12.5%)
		5. Sociology of Culture (10.11%)		

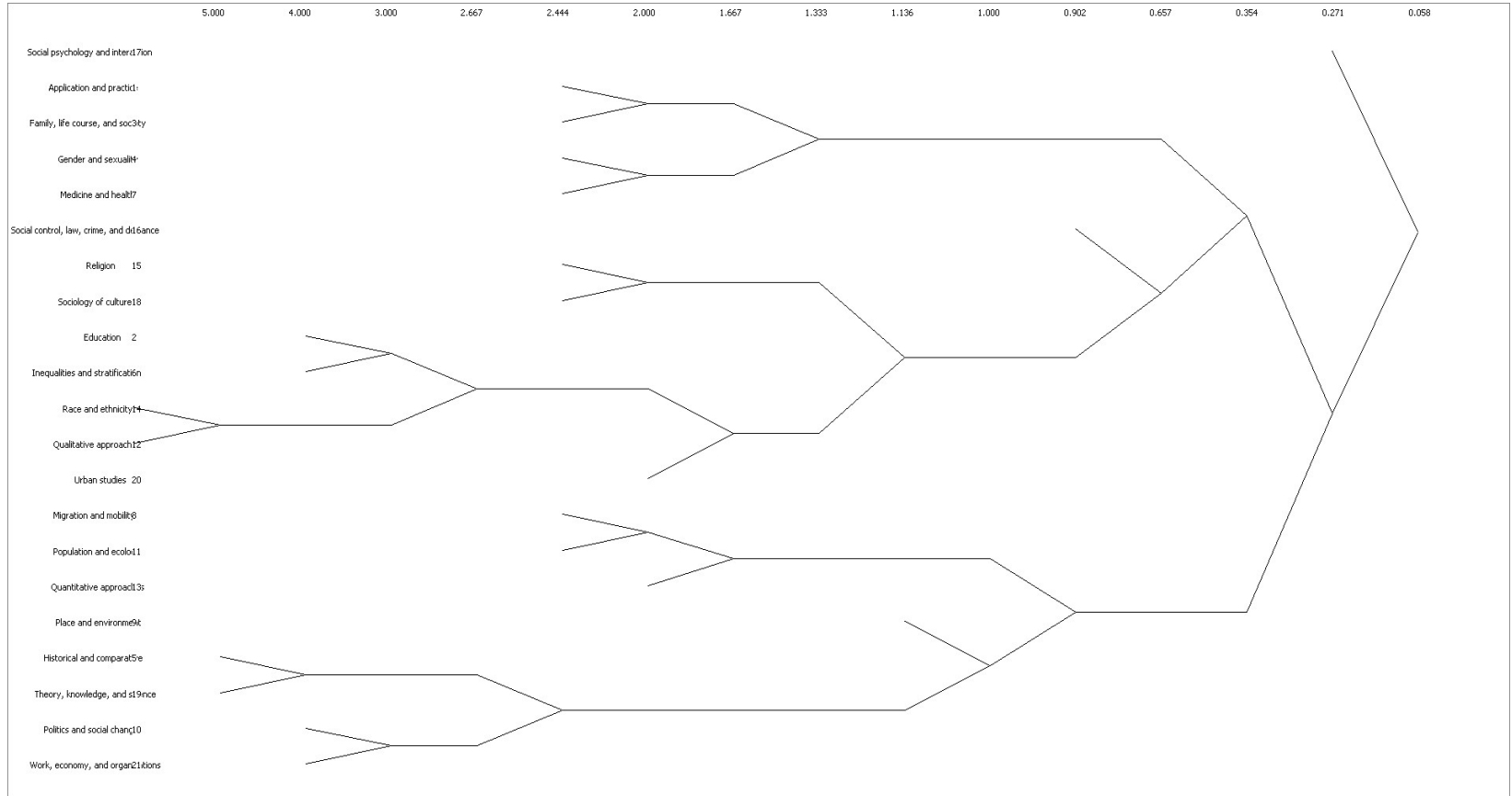
# Appendix B



**Figure B.1: Black OSI Network Tree Diagram of Hierarchical Clustering of Cliques**



**Figure B.2: Latinx OSI Network Tree Diagram of Hierarchical Clustering of Cliques**



**Figure B.3: Overall OSI Network Tree Diagram of Hierarchical Clustering of Cliques**



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## Biography

Crystal Peoples received a Bachelor of Science in Mathematics from Longwood University in 2012, a Master of Science in Sociology from Iowa State University in 2015, and a Master of Arts in Sociology from Duke University in 2018. She has published three peer-reviewed publications with coauthors: “HWCUs: The Unbearable Whiteness of (Most) Colleges and Universities in America” in *The American Behavioral Scientist*; “Gender, Friendship and” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition); and “Diagonalizing Hermitian Matrices of Continuous Functions” in *The International Journal of Contemporary Mathematical Sciences*. She received numerous scholarships, fellowships, and academic honors in her graduate career, including: the Duke Graduate Student Training Enhancement Grant which allowed her to help her undergraduate institution develop new strategies to increase the retention and success of racial minorities on campus; the Race and the Professions Fellowship from the Kenan Institute for Ethics which allowed her to learn about new strategies for implementing anti-racist practices in the academy; and her department’s Graduate Teaching Award which served to strengthen her commitment to meeting students where they are and make learning worthwhile.