



**"Race Doesn't Matter, but...": The Effect of Race on Professors' Experiences and Emotion Management in the Undergraduate College Classroom**

Roxanna Harlow

*Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 4, Special Issue: Race, Racism, and Discrimination. (Dec., 2003), pp. 348-363.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28200312%2966%3A4%3C348%3A%22DMBTE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J>

*Social Psychology Quarterly* is currently published by American Sociological Association.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/asa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

The JSTOR Archive is a trusted digital repository providing for long-term preservation and access to leading academic journals and scholarly literature from around the world. The Archive is supported by libraries, scholarly societies, publishers, and foundations. It is an initiative of JSTOR, a not-for-profit organization with a mission to help the scholarly community take advantage of advances in technology. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

---

## **“Race Doesn’t Matter, But . . .”: The Effect of Race on Professors’ Experiences and Emotion Management in the Undergraduate College Classroom\***

ROXANNA HARLOW  
*McDaniel College*

---

*Research has shown how black scholars’ experiences differ from those of their white counterparts in regard to research and service, but few studies have addressed the influence of race on professors’ teaching experiences. In this paper I examine how and to what degree race shapes professors’ perceptions and experiences in the undergraduate college classroom. I analyze how students’ social and cultural expectations about race affect professors’ emotional labor and management, shaping the overall nature of their jobs. The findings suggest that black professors’ work in the classroom is different and more complex than that of their white colleagues because negotiating a devalued racial status requires extensive emotion management. Social constraints affect the negotiation of self and identity in the classroom, influencing the emotional demands of teaching and increasing the amount of work required to be effective.*

Anyone who has taught at the college level probably can tell numerous stories about the rewards and exhilaration as well as the challenges and frustrations of teaching undergraduates. Many scholars have studied and discussed the college classroom in various ways (see, for example, Gallop 1997; Hendrix 1998; Jacobs 1999; Statham, Richardson, and Cook 1991); few, however, talk about it, other than anecdotally, as an emotional space where professors’ multiple status characteristics shape their affective experiences in the classroom as they negotiate roles, expectations, and power dynamics through interaction with students. In this research I examine how race shapes professors’ perceptions and experiences in the undergraduate college classroom, how they manage the emotional demands arising from these experiences, and how the management process affects the nature of their jobs overall.

Research has shown how black scholars’ experiences differ from those of their white counterparts, particularly in regard to role conflict, isolation, and a lack of respect and legitimacy as scholars (Aguirre 2000; Baker 1991; Banks 1984; Fields 1996; Menges and Exum 1983; Phelps 1995; Sinegar 1987; Smith and Witt 1993). Surprisingly little of the research, however, addresses the degree to which a professor’s race influences his or her experience in the classroom. When it is discussed, it is typically mentioned briefly and/or treated as a minor factor in the professor’s routine. Smith and Witt (1993), for example, found that African Americans reported statistically significant higher levels of stress than white professors in regard to service and research, but not teaching. The scale used to measure teaching stress, however, measured the *tasks* of teaching, not the qualitative experience connected to professors’ perceptions of the classroom climate, their relationship with students, their feelings about teaching, or the management of these views and feelings in order to teach effectively. Hendrix (1995), Rains (1995), and Moore (1996) found that black and white professors’ experiences in the classroom indeed are qualitatively different. Yet because of scope limitations and small sample sizes (with *N*s of 6 to 17), it is unclear whether these experiences are due to race or to gender, and the

---

\* This research was supported by a grant from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2001 annual conference of the Association of Black Sociologists, held in Garden Grove, CA on August 15–18. I thank Brian Powell and anonymous reviewers for comments on earlier drafts. Direct all correspondence to Roxanna Harlow, Department of Sociology, McDaniel College, 2 College Hill, Westminster, MD 21157; rharlow@mcdaniel.edu.

emotional component of teaching has been mostly unexplored.

As Goffman (1963) notes, race is an attribute that people consider when forming opinions about groups or individuals; therefore black professors may find themselves managing a racial stigma in the classroom. Such a stigma, as Feagin and Sikes (1994) explain, eventually can take an emotional toll. In this research I examine how the crediting<sup>1</sup> and the discrediting aspects of race differentially shape black<sup>2</sup> and white professors' experiences with undergraduate teaching and classroom emotion management. Because this area of research is largely unexplored, the answers to these questions provide greater insight into racial differences in faculty members' experiences in the classroom. They help us as well to understand how differences in emotional labor and management may create more and different work for professors, depending on their social status characteristics.

#### *Emotional Labor and Management*

Hochschild (1983) discusses emotion as a workplace commodity, and estimates that one-third of the American workforce engages in emotional labor. While most jobs require us to deal with our emotions in some way (e.g., holding back anger at the boss), she distinguishes between this type of emotion work and emotional labor. Emotion work is the process of handling our daily, personal emotions; emotional labor involves evoking, performing, and managing emotions that are a required aspect of a job or occupation. Emotion management is the process of handling emotions in both personal (emotion

work) and professional (emotional labor) spheres.

Emotional labor and management can be understood as a form of impression management (Goffman 1959; Wood 2000). According to Goffman (1959), impression management is the process through which people project a self-image that is consistent with how they want to be seen by others. Goffman believed that the ability to mask one's true emotions while providing the appropriate emotional display is the true test of a high-quality social performance. College teaching requires extensive emotional labor: professors try to perform and evoke emotions such as enthusiasm and excitement while also managing or suppressing their own immediate feelings and moods (Bellas 1999; Harlow 2002). These performances are affected, however, by the degree to which students and teachers begin their relationship with a mutual acceptance of the professor's status and identity.

#### *Identity and Affect Control Theory*

Identity theory states that a person's behavior is directly connected to her or his conception of self, and that these conceptions are shaped in part by responses from others through interaction (Stryker 1992). According to this theory, we all have multiple identities that are arranged hierarchically: that is, some identities are more relevant than others from situation to situation. For professors in the classroom, their identity as teacher tends to be one of the most central and most salient at that moment, and they perform in certain ways so as to reinforce that identity.<sup>3</sup> If it is not confirmed through interactions with students, a negative emotional effect may result. According to affect control theory, when our conception of self is not con-

<sup>1</sup> Goffman (1963) defines a stigma as a discrediting attribute. It is difficult to fully understand the process of devaluing certain characteristics, however, without discussing how we come to value other characteristics. Crediting attributes, then, add or have the potential to add value or credibility to a person or a group of people. This concept is useful for understanding the relational nature of stigma, and how the valued and the devalued are integrally tied together. Jason Jimerson originally named and conceptualized this idea in personal discussions.

<sup>2</sup> In this study, the terms *black* and *African American* are used interchangeably to refer to black people acculturated in the United States.

<sup>3</sup> An important aspect of identity theory is the concept of identity salience: the likelihood that an identity will be invoked at a particular point in time (Stryker 1992). I use the terms *central* and *salient* here because I am also referring to the concept of psychological centrality (Stryker and Serpe 1994). Psychological centrality pertains to the likelihood that an identity will be most important or most central for a person at a particular point in time. Centrality implies an awareness of the importance of the identity; salience does not (Stryker and Serpe 1994).

firmed, our emotions provide the cue that things are going wrong. We then adjust our definition of a situation or change our behavior so as to correct the emotional dissonance (Heise 1989).

Similar to affect control theory, Burke (1991) discusses "the control-system view of the identity process" (p. 838). He explains that when a person's understanding of her or his own identity (the identity standard) in a social situation is inconsistent with feedback from others in that situation (inputs), that person becomes distressed. To resolve this feeling, the person changes her or his behavior (outputs) in an effort to alter the external feedback in a way that is consistent with the internally defined identity. Burke notes that matching one's identity standard with others' inputs can involve a complex cycle of interactions. Ultimately, however, these two must match; otherwise high levels of stress result. In this paper I seek, in part, to explain what self-definitions professors are trying to establish with their classroom performances, and how these vary by race. If the definitions are not confirmed through interactions with students, what are the emotional consequences for professors, and how are they managed?

Race is what Cohen (1982) defines as a diffuse status characteristic: that is, even though a particular status may be irrelevant to a task, persons of high status are considered more competent. Therefore black professors' identity performances may involve providing "proof" in any number of ways to justify their presence in a high-status position. As Rakow (1991) observes, the statuses of white, male, and professor are all high, and thus are compatible and even anticipated. For African Americans, however, their racial status is inconsistent with their faculty status; therefore they may find themselves doing "tiring 'identity work'" (Rakow 1991:10) in order to reconcile students' perceptions with their own. The findings presented here show that race affects the amount of work professors do in the classroom; negotiating a racial stigma creates emotion work and labor for African American professors beyond that required of their white peers.

## DATA AND METHODS

From February through November 1999, I conducted 58 in-depth interviews with 29 white and 29 African American faculty members at a large Midwestern state university with a 91 percent white student population. Twenty-six respondents were female; 32 were male. They included 22 assistant professors, 27 associate professors, and nine full professors, ranging in age from 30 to 65 with a mean age of 44. Eighteen of the men and six of the women taught in traditionally applied fields such as business and health science; 14 men and 20 women were housed in the humanities or social sciences. I included only full-time tenure-track faculty members who taught at least one undergraduate course. I excluded professors in the School of Music because students were evaluated differently there. I targeted faculty members acculturated in the United States so that respondents' understandings of race and racial dynamics would be comparable.

The sample selection was based on the population of black professors meeting the above criteria; then I matched them with white participants of similar gender, rank, and department or area of study. Of the 30 black faculty members who qualified for the study, 29 agreed to participate. Of the corresponding white faculty members whom I contacted, only two did not participate. This response rate was extremely high (97% black and 94% white) in view of the time commitment asked of the participants.

The semistructured interview consisted of 37 open-ended questions and lasted, on average, 75 minutes. I (an African American) asked the professors about their anxiety on the first day of class, their teaching style, the level of students' energy in their classes, students' opinions of the respondents, how they would like to be viewed by students, and other subjects. Questions directly related to their social status were not raised until midway through the interview, when I asked about students' positive and negative views of the respondents, and whether they felt that their own race or gender affected any of those views. Because I kept the initial questions race-neutral (in regard to the professor), the race-related responses to those questions

were generated on their own, and were a product of what was most important to the respondents at that time. The remainder of the interview dealt with topics such as challenges to authority, how the respondents handled those challenges, concerns about teaching, and job stress. I ended the interview with a general question about racism and sexism.

## FINDINGS

### *Racial Differences in Faculty Members' Perceptions*

"Race doesn't matter, but . . ." The black faculty members in my sample were aware of the negative stereotypes associated with their racial group, and often commented on the continued existence of racial problems in society today. Although they had a sophisticated understanding of macro social processes and how they affected racial inequality, almost half of the black professors were reluctant to claim that their race mattered to students, or that race influenced their classroom experience in any negative way. Problems related to racial issues were often internalized ("It's my own fault for thinking about it too much") or downplayed altogether (see Table 1). For example, one professor stated, "Race is always an issue," but then went on to emphasize regional differences

that he felt were more important. He explained, "Just in general, getting over the, if you will, racial divide, I really haven't had any problems like that here. I just try to understand my students" (Respondent 25: black male).

Race was "always an issue" on a macro level, but this professor wanted to make clear that he personally had no problem with a "racial divide." Similarly, after pondering the effect of race on his teaching, another professor stated, "Uh, the race thing? In the sense that I'm aware that I'm black, but—I'm not sure . . . but I don't really think that it's going to make a difference in the classroom" (Respondent 23: black male).

Although these two professors expressed doubts about the significance of their race in the classroom, they also expressed an awareness of their subordinate racial status as well as their rarity in the academy.<sup>4</sup> They believed that as soon as they stepped into the classroom, students were surprised by their race and/or noticed it immediately (see Table 1).

<sup>4</sup> In 1997, black professors made up only 4.9 percent of the full-time faculty in degree-granting colleges and universities; 59 percent were at or below the rank of assistant professor. Whites made up 84 percent of the full-time faculty, with 53 percent at or above the rank of associate professor (National Center for Education Statistics 1997).

Table 1. Self-Reported Classroom Experiences, by Race and Gender

	% of African American Professors			% of White Professors		
	Men (n = 16)	Women (n = 13)	Total (N = 29)	Men (n = 16)	Women (n = 13)	Total (N = 29)
Initially Downplayed or Internalized Their Racialized Classroom Experiences <sup>a</sup>	50	31	41	n/a	n/a	n/a
Believe Students Immediately Notice Their Racial Status	75	92	83	6	0	3
Believe Students Question Their Intellectual Authority (Competency/Qualifications)	94	54	76	6	8	7
Feel They Must Prove Their Competence/Intelligence	56	54	55	6	15	10
Received Inappropriate Student Challenges to Intellectual Authority	44	23	34	0	15	7
Racial Double Standard (White Advantage)	50	77	62	25	8	17

<sup>a</sup> This experience is not applicable to white professors because, for the most part, they did not interpret their classroom work in a racialized way.

The data, then, produced seemingly contradictory statements about the effect of race on these professors' classroom experiences. After downplaying it initially, they then proceeded to explain how, in fact, race mattered significantly. Most of these professors felt that students stereotyped them: 76 percent of the black professors reported that students questioned their competency, qualifications, and credibility (see Table 1).

In essence, most black professors felt that their classes always contained at least some students who questioned their right to hold the status of professor. For example, immediately after Respondent 23 stated that he did *not* think his race made a difference in the classroom, he went on to explain that he *had* been concerned about his race because most of the students were white and had never seen a black professor before, especially in his discipline. As a result, he made an extra effort to appear qualified and knowledgeable:

I wanted them to know that I know what I'm talking about, and that I'm really well qualified to teach what I teach. And I want them to know that I'm here because of my skills and my ability and that I can do a really good job. And so it's very important to me that when I teach, that comes across, because people will try to challenge you. (Respondent 23: black male)

Similarly, after being asked, "Do you think your race or gender affects students' positive or negative views of you?" Respondent 25, who had said he had no problems with the "racial divide," added:

Undoubtedly. Now exactly how, I'm not totally sure . . . but I did have a very, very interesting experience, though, my first semester with a black student. . . . And he said to me after about the third lecture of the class . . . "Dr. [his name], I'm so glad that you're here. I've never had a black professor before. And you're competent too." Well, I was glad that he was glad to see me . . . but his statement "and you're competent too" was very interesting coming from him. Now if that was coming from him, just think of what maybe some white kid from some rural farm town in [the state] is thinking when I stand up in front of him, [who] doesn't know me from Adam. (Respondent 25: black male)

Like Respondent 23, this faculty member may not have had problems with the racial divide, but he believed that his race influenced how students viewed him and his ability to teach. Although these responses from black professors initially sounded contradictory, the contradiction is resolved when understood in the context of a management strategy (to be discussed later), which enabled them to function effectively day to day.

In contrast to the black professors, some white male professors downplayed their intellectual presence in order to seem more approachable to students:

I think that initially the main thing one's doing is not trying to make oneself seem knowledgeable because they're going to think that [I'll be that way] as a professor. I think it's a matter of trying to make oneself seem approachable and accessible, so for me there's a certain element of calculated self-deprecation. (Respondent 47: white male)

This difference in classroom reality for black and for white professors was illustrated in part by faculty members' reports of students' challenges to their classroom authority.

*"I really do know what I'm talking about."* Although few men of either race reported concerns about their physical authority in the classroom (the right to be in charge, organize the course, assign materials, and discipline students), black men reported that students resisted their intellectual authority—that is, their knowledge and competency (see Table 1). This was particularly the case for black assistant professors.

Black women also felt that their competency was questioned, but overall they were more likely to report challenges to their physical rather than their intellectual authority.<sup>5</sup> Young black women at the assistant and associate levels were the most likely to report challenges to both their competence and

<sup>5</sup> Describing the "cult of true womanhood," Hill-Collins noted that "'true' women possessed four cardinal virtues: piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" (1991:71). Thus, although black women (like black men) felt that students doubted their competence, they also struggled, in ways that the men did not, with issues of authority in regard to classroom presence (physical authority) as they tried to balance students' expectations of "submissiveness" and "domesticity" with power and control.

their control over the classroom. Explaining this dynamic, Respondent 34 (black female) noted that students do not usually see black people in positions of power, especially black women. As a result, they may doubt black women's academic and leadership capabilities. Commenting on the social structural factors shaping students' often unconscious attitudes about blackness, femininity, and intelligence, this professor went on to explain how looking young simply exacerbated the problem for such women.

This question of competency was an issue even for professors who taught predominantly nonwhite classes and/or classes on race-related topics. For example, when asked, "When students see you're their professor, what do you think they're thinking?" Respondent 32 (black female) replied, "So when I walk into the class, they know it's a class dealing with black people. I walk in as a black professor. I think to some degree it probably legitimates the content . . ." The remainder of her response was surprising, however:

And I think when I walk in there, other things go through their minds. Probably whether or not I'm good, whether or not I'm tough, whether or not this is going to be a blow-off class for them, whether I'm an affirmative action professor, whether I'm going to be one of these attitudes kind of professor, whether I'm going to be a racist professor, whether I'm going to be the kind of professor who makes white people feel bad about what has happened to black people in America.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the course topic, this professor believed that her race triggered for students negative stereotypes about black people (in regard to competence and browbeating about racism), and black women in particular (in regard to anger and attitude). Another professor similarly explained that his blackness gave him credibility in teaching race-related topics. He then added:

But then on the other hand there's always an undercurrent of "He's black, he couldn't possibly know what he's talking about." And a lot of that will come more from black students than white. 'Cause a lot of our people have internalized those kinds of ideas, you know. That's what they've been taught. (Respondent 30: black male)

He went on to explain how he states his credentials on the first day of class in an effort to counteract the negative stereotypes that students of all races have internalized.

The black professors' responses on these issues differed sharply from those of white faculty members. In reply to the question "When students see you're their professor, what do you think they're thinking?" one professor stated:

I don't know if I've ever thought about what they were thinking. . . . I suspect that there is some response to the fact that I am still pretty young and female. I suspect perhaps now there is some feeling of "Is this a graduate student or professor?" I don't know if I ever thought about that. (Respondent 21: white female)

Similarly, another professor responded:

I'm not sure I know exactly. I think I probably look a little young . . . but otherwise, I don't think that there's much about me that really makes me stand out specifically . . . I don't think I make a very striking first impression or anything. (Respondent 28: white male)

Responses such as "I don't know" or "I never thought about that before" were common among white faculty members answering this question; these were followed by comments on how their age (and, in the case of women, their gender) might play a role in what students thought. White professors usually did not have to anticipate students' reactions to phenotypic cues, though such anticipation was commonplace for black professors. In contrast to the black faculty members, most white faculty members, especially white males, took students' confidence in them for granted: 76 percent of black professors felt that students called their qualifications into question, in contrast to only 7 percent of white professors (see Table 1).

<sup>6</sup> Several black professors used the term *affirmative action professor* or *affirmative action hire* to indicate that students thought they were unqualified. This is not to say that they themselves equated affirmative action with a lack of qualification. They seemed aware, however, that many students viewed affirmative action as the hiring of unqualified people of color.

The white professors had hardly considered how their racial status might shape students' personal and professional evaluations of them. When asked, "Do you feel that your race or gender affects students' positive or negative views of you?" white women were most likely to focus on their gender alone. White men often overlooked the crediting aspects of both their gender and their race. When Respondent 20, for example, was asked if his race and gender shaped students' attitudes, he replied:

I don't think so. In my department, there's more women than men. . . . I mean there's a complex mix of faculty, and I don't think it makes any difference to any [students] really. . . . For example, we have black faculty, we have faculty from other countries, we have a lot of women [faculty], I told you. I think that for some of [the students] it's a fairly new experience, something they may not have thought about in their high school, especially, or their home towns. But . . . I don't think it matters a lot to them. (Respondent 20: white male)

In response to this question, another professor replied:

Ohhh, I don't think so. I don't think so. I mean, it probably helps to be a white male but it's really hard to know. You know, the only reason why it may help is that they see me in them. . . . they look at me and say, well, this guy is kinda like me, so—I have no proof of that and I really have no way of knowing if that's really even to any great advantage. (Respondent 31: white male)

Although these professors were skeptical that there was any benefit to being a white male, many of the black faculty members in my sample felt that in fact it was a great advantage.

#### *"That's Wrong": Challenges and Impression Management*

To resist negative stereotyping, the black professors in my sample often performed competence and authority by projecting a strict, authoritative demeanor, making students aware of their professional achievements, and (for black women) reminding students to call them Doctor or Professor rather than by their first name, Ms., or Mrs. Although women were more likely than men

to describe their classroom style as authoritative, this distinction broke down along racial lines: 69 percent of white female respondents reported that they were authoritative in the classroom, while all of the black women did so. Among the men, 44 percent of the black faculty members considered their style to be authoritative, in contrast to only 19 percent of the white respondents (see Table 2). In addition, 69 percent of black women felt that they had to remind students to call them Doctor or Professor, but only 31 percent of white women reported doing so.

In spite of their efforts to demonstrate competency, black professors reported more challenges to their intellectual authority than did their white counterparts (see Table 1). In most of these challenges, as described by the professors, students questioned their knowledge directly or indirectly in a way that was inappropriate or disrespectful. The challenges included arguments on basic points of the discipline (e.g., a student might argue that the sociological imagination is not defined as the professor defined it), questioning the validity of lecture material, and more indirect forms of resistance. Describing a challenge by a white student, one professor stated:

First of all, he simply thought he knew everything, and that he certainly couldn't learn anything from me. And [he] went so far as to say, when I was trying to explain something, . . . "That's wrong, that's just wrong, that's not true." . . . This is very, very difficult because at the same time, you can't go off on him because you've got to be respectful and you've got to be this professional person and stuff, but it's very, very hurtful, you know, particularly from someone who was not an excellent student. (Respondent 45: black male)

While this professor was trying to manage his anger, he was also managing the frustration and "hurt" caused by the doubts to his competency from a student he believed was not even particularly bright.

In addition to direct challenges such as this, black professors discussed how students challenged them in indirect ways. In the following account, as in the situation described above, a student doubted the veracity of the class lecture material. The professor recounted what the student did to confirm her information:



Table 2. Self-Reported Presentation and Evaluation, by Race and Gender

	% of African American Professors			% of White Professors		
	Men ( <i>n</i> = 16)	Women ( <i>n</i> = 13)	Total ( <i>N</i> = 29)	Men ( <i>n</i> = 16)	Women ( <i>n</i> = 13)	Total ( <i>N</i> = 29)
Authoritative	44	100	69	19	69	41
Reminds Students to Call Them by Their Appropriate Title	13	69	38	0	31	14
Evaluated by Students As Cold/Mean/Intimidating	0	62	28	0	15	7
Evaluated by Students As Too Hard/Demanding	44	62	52	19	38	28
Felt Physically Threatened by a Student	0	31	14	0	8	3
Validation Regarding Classroom Performance Is Internal	56	46	52	19	0	10
Classroom Problems Decline With Age	25	54	38	6	54	28

[The student] tells me that he was having trouble believing what I said, and that he went over to the [discipline] department to see if he could get that documented and validated. And I said, "And?" And he said, "Well, I asked some [discipline] professors and they said that such a document existed and that you were telling the truth." And I said, "Uh-huh." . . . Some students don't believe what I have to say and they will have to go and ask somebody white before they believe it. (Respondent 32: black female)

According to this respondent's account, although the student did not challenge her knowledge directly in class, the fact that he went to another professor in her discipline, specifically a white male professor, to confirm her information was an indirect challenge to her knowledge and intellectual authority over the class and the material. She added that she believed such double-checking of her material was quite frequent.

#### *Consequences of Racialized Classroom Experiences*

"I have to be perfect." For most of the black professors, one consequence of the challenges to their intellectual authority was a need to prove their competence to students (see Table 1). They were particularly conscious about doing well because they did not want to reinforce negative attitudes about

black people's intelligence. This pressure to be a racial model often manifested itself in overpreparation and in a hyperawareness of speech patterns or mistakes of any kind. One professor stated:

Given that I'm the only one [black female], you start to think, well God, you know, are people lookin' at what I do? And they've never seen a black female teaching in [the department]. [The discipline is] for white males. . . . So you always have that doubt. And it makes you a little nervous. Makes you want to do that much better so that you don't have to worry about it . . . (Respondent 19: black female)

Another professor explained:

When I first started teaching, I felt as though I had to be almost perfect. . . . And even the first couple of years here, if I would misspeak in terms of making a mistake, I always felt as though students would stereotype me, so I always felt as though I couldn't make a mistake. I always felt as though I had to be perfect in terms of the content of the lecture, the delivery of the lecture. . . . And I just think that if we have more black faculty members who are here, Latino and otherwise, I could feel increasingly the freedom to not be perfect. (Respondent 33: black male)

These professors felt pressure not only to prove individual competence, but also, as reflected in the above quotes, to be perfect

for the whole race because people might interpret any negative personal performance as a reflection on African Americans overall.

"If I were white . . ." In addition to the pressure to be perfect, black professors were coping with the frustration of receiving what they viewed as differential treatment by students: 62 percent of black professors raised the issue of a racial double standard (see Table 1). Overall they had the sense that white professors automatically commanded students' respect while black professors had to earn it. Respondents also felt that white professors were thought to be smarter, less biased, and more legitimate as faculty members. One professor explained:

I give my credentials the first day of class. And I do feel to some extent I have to, and I know nobody else [in this department] does. . . . So tomorrow I'll stand in front of class and tell them all that I've done and blah, blah, blah. . . . I've found if I don't do that, I don't get the respect that I would deserve. I'd get more people challenging what I say about [the discipline]. (Respondent 42: black male)

As the only nonwhite professor in his department, this respondent felt that the double standard lay in the need to prove his competence, unlike his white colleagues. The white professors in my sample tended to report that their intellectual authority over classroom material was assumed and taken for granted.

Another professor commented as follows on the double standard:

There are many black professors here at [the school] that think there's like a tax, OK—a black tax—on their course evaluations. So like say, if they got a 2.5 on their evaluation. That's equivalent to like a 2.8 for a white professor of comparable quality. That may be true and it may not be true; I don't really know.<sup>7</sup> (Respondent 25: black male)

Although he expressed his doubts about the actual existence of a "black tax," this respondent implied, at the very least, that the presence of a quantitative double standard was not implausible.

In addition to the frustration arising from a racial double standard, some black professors felt that their white colleagues did not understand how greatly their classroom experiences differed qualitatively:

[S]tudents expect the traditional hierarchy of society to prevail in the class. That is, white male on the top, and a black woman on the bottom. And they can't get ready for the fact that a black woman is teaching this class! And that the [white male teaching assistants] are not in charge . . . You know, I think that if I were white, that I wouldn't have to go through those sorts of things in my classroom . . . but at every turn I have to remind students that I am the professor. I'm not just the instructor . . . I have a PhD . . . I have to tell students, "Look. I graduated *summa cum laude*, I got my master's and my PhD . . . I published these books and these articles . . ." to let them know that, you know, I may be black, but what you think about in terms of what it means to be black is not necessarily what I am, if it's a negative perception . . . being uneducated and being illiterate and not able to think and basically being an affirmative action kind of a person. So those are the kinds of things that I think make my job more difficult. Much more difficult. And it's unfortunate that the so-called standardized evaluation process that we have been using in colleges and universities [does] not take these things into consideration. In fact, if you raise [the subject], the college will look at you like you're crazy because they don't deal with that. And they're actually being honest because they don't understand the sheer level of complexity on the part of the professor and the student in dealing with these kinds of issues. So I'm not blaming my colleagues. I'm just saying they're really very ignorant [pause] about what goes on in my classes, and the extent to which I have to use measures above and beyond what they have to use to even survive in the classroom. (Respondent 15: black female)

As stated above, some black professors sensed that people did not *get it*. They felt that people did not understand how being black made teaching a different job for them than if they had been white.

<sup>7</sup> At this university, the items on the course evaluations are scored on a scale from 0 (lowest) to 4 (highest).

*"The Angry Black Woman": Intersections of Gender and Race*

While research has shown that white female faculty members struggle for respect and authority in the college classroom (Baker and Copp 1997; Harlow 2002; Martin 1984; Statham, Richardson, and Cook 1991),<sup>8</sup> black women confronted the burden of negotiating both femaleness and blackness. One respondent replied as follows to the question "Do you feel that your race or gender affects [students'] positive or negative views of you?":

I definitely believe that there's something to this business about me being angry and not opening up. I'm just so aware of this whole black woman as, you know, angry person kind of myth. Somehow that we're like 70 percent attitude. . . . But at the same time, I'm like look, I'm not gonna be skinnin' and grinnin' Sambo every day. . . . I think they don't allow me the room to be serious, and I really do think that's about the "angry black woman with much attitude" myth, you know? . . . I do feel like some students expect that I'm gonna be more maternal, and if I don't live up to that, then the only place that's familiar to them that they can go in terms of judgments is "Oh, then she must have an attitude." So I'm not like "Oh come here, honey, let me hug you, feel my bosom" kind of thing, right . . . but I really do feel like I don't have options. That there are these sort of two caricatures of black womanhood that they're familiar with, and that somehow I have to work within those. (Respondent 9: black female)

In other words, in the case of black women who do not fulfill the "motherly" expectation and who spend time doing serious work in class, students may interpret their seriousness or businesslike approach within the framework of stereotypical images of black femininity: that is, that black women are angry and have an attitude. Although both white and black women reported efforts to avoid being seen as mean or cold, black female faculty members were more likely to report

actual evaluations by students as mean, cold, or intimidating. Black women also were more likely to report physical or verbal threats by students (see Table 2).

*Emotion Management Strategies*

For many professors, especially women, age and experience reduced some of the problems they faced in the college classroom (see Table 2). Negative constructions of blackness endure, however, so black professors had to rely on long-term strategies to manage the racial component of teaching.

"I don't have this problem, but . . ." As stated earlier, many black professors initially downplayed the effects of their race in the classroom; doing so helped them manage the overall frustration of a double standard due to racism. By reconceptualizing a group problem such as racism as a problem unique to an individual's pedagogical strategies, black professors gained a greater sense of control over their classrooms and felt less like prisoners of students' negative social conditioning. One professor explained that some of his black peers faced racial difficulties in the classroom, but he did not experience this problem:

And I say this from the perspective of some of my peers, particularly black professors that I'm familiar with from all around the nation. Quite frankly they have a difficult time, some of 'em, dealing with large white classrooms. . . . Some of that, in my opinion, is not just the problem of dealing with a lot of white students. The problem is themselves! If they would just be themselves and stop trying to live up to some ideal that they think other people are looking for, they'd be fine in a lot of occasions. . . . I know [that] a lot of the white majority students, [when] they see a young black professor, they're gonna try 'em, OK. It's just that simple. . . . The question is, you know, is there a center there? Are you centered enough to just know that you have a job to do, and just go ahead and do it, and be yourself, and that should be enough, and if it's not, well, you're probably in the wrong profession. (Respondent 25: black male)

On the one hand, this professor acknowledged the structural constraints that are placed on black professors because of the

<sup>8</sup> I also found that women's emotional labor in the classroom is more extensive than men's. Emotional labor due to gender, however, functions differently than emotional labor due to race. This paper focuses only on the racial differences.

stigmatization of blackness ("white majority students, they see a young black professor, they're gonna try 'em"). At the same time, however, he emphasized that such classroom dynamics did not pertain to him ("I say this from the perspective of some of my peers"). Thus it was a problem that ultimately depended on how an individual "centered" himself or herself, even though he heard such comments from black professors everywhere. Through this interpretation of the issue, he managed individually what would otherwise have been an insurmountable structural problem.

Similarly, when I asked Respondent 16, a black female, if she felt that her race or gender affected students' positive or negative views of her, she replied, "Oh I'm sure it does, but I don't know how. I'm sure it does. I'm certain it does." I then asked how she could be so certain if she was not even sure how students' views were affected. She replied:

Well, because in our society, race matters. It matters. And because it matters, then I think there are some students who probably do look at my race. However, I'm not a very race-conscious person. . . . I think I present myself such that people will see me as a friendly person, as an outgoing person, as a competent person, and for those reasons they would not then assume negative traits about me based on my ethnicity. And I think if I'm doing my work well in the classroom, that even though students might see me initially as being an African American teacher, that at the end they ought to see me as the professor, as a human agent in the classroom trying to bring about creative intellectual change. And I do think that I don't recall any of my students focusing unduly on my race. (Respondent 16: black female)

Once again, this professor acknowledged the social structural constraints of race ("in our society, race matters"), but then went on to exempt herself from these potential effects by saying that if she focused on doing her job well, students would not care about such things. Both by distancing herself from the structural impact of race and by not caring about what students thought (just "doing my work well in the classroom"), she alleviated some of the potential frustration of having to

deal with stereotypes, the fear of being perfect, double standards, and the rest.

*"I don't care what other people think."* The idea of "just doing my job," "centering," and "looking internally" was common among most of the black faculty members (see Table 2). Many explained that as long as they did their job well, what they looked like would ultimately be irrelevant to students. By adopting this attitude, they decreased the emotion management involved in worrying about stereotyping, credibility, and so forth. In explaining how he felt at the beginning of a new semester, one professor stated:

[W]hen I walk into the classroom, I'm excited to get things started, and I feel very, very confident about my skills. . . and I don't worry about other people's politics anymore. Kind of like I have an internal focus, rather than an external focus about what other people think about me. It's more important how I feel about me. *I finally came to rest with that* (emphasis added). (Respondent 8: black male)

This professor later expressed pride in his new degree of emotional control in the classroom. Not only did he have to learn to reject consistently negative images of himself, he also had to learn how to suppress his anger in order to teach effectively.

Another professor explained that she *wanted* to stop caring about students' perceptions, but was continuing to struggle with this difficult form of emotion management. In reply to a question about how much she enjoyed teaching, she stated:

I really try to do it the best way that I can do it. But sometimes it's pretty difficult because I just get tired of dealing with these issues. And I feel that I've been put upon. And I feel that [because] I have to deal with issues that other people don't have to deal with. . . . So I should just forget about it and go into the classroom and do the best job that I can. And that's what I try to do. But some days it is really a challenge. . . . Some of my colleagues just go into class and talk, and, you know, that's it. (Respondent 15: black female)

Frustrated by the fact that she could not, like her white colleagues, simply go into class and lecture without concerns about racism and stereotyping, this respondent realized

that she had to stop caring so much about students' views. At the same time, she observed that just doing the best job she could while ignoring her emotions was extremely difficult.

#### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Consistent with findings by Feagin and Sikes (1994), many black faculty members were reluctant to say that their race mattered in the classroom, and looked for other reasons to explain their racialized experiences.<sup>9</sup> Ultimately, however, they expressed frustration about what they considered to be students' challenges to their intellectual authority. Yet despite this frustration, black professors also discussed how their race was beneficial to them in the classroom: many noted that black students were often happy to see that they had a black professor. In addition, they felt that their race increased their legitimacy when they were teaching on racial topics.

According to their reports, however, this legitimacy had rigid boundaries. Students may have felt that African American professors brought their personal experiences to topics of race, thus providing an "authentic" understanding of the issue. Yet at the same time, these professors discussed how their race detracted from their credibility in regard to students' perceptions of their *intellectual* knowledge of the material: that is, the scholarly, "objective" assessment of racial issues. Thus, although students might accept as legitimate certain experiential knowledge transmitted by the professor, black professors simultaneously might face doubts of their competency regarding their intellectual interpretations of the course work. Adding to the professors' frustration was the fact that both white and nonwhite students doubted their academic abilities.

<sup>9</sup> Half of the black men at some point downplayed the effect of their race in the classroom, but only one-third of the black women did so. This difference may exist because black women faced both gender and race discrimination, and so were less likely to downplay racial factors when the gender issues they faced were so widely acknowledged. Therefore their discussion of gender difference also integrated race: they discussed the experience of being *black* women in the classroom.

Research by Chambers, Lewis, and Kerezsi (1995) adds credence to the view that students question black professors' competency. They found that white students generally continue to perceive African Americans negatively, particularly when "situations involve close social contact . . . or when African Americans are not cast in stereotypical roles" (p. 55). They argued that white students may view black professors as ineffective and may question their competency. In addition, after Hendrix (1998) interviewed students to explore the influence of race on professors' credibility, she found that overall, black professors were considered less credible than white professors, particularly when the course subject was not directly connected to their race.

Because of doubts about credibility, I found a heightened concern, particularly among black assistant professors, about making a mistake in class. Although some of this fear may have been due to lack of tenure, the junior professors stated explicitly that their concerns about tenure stemmed from their research, not their teaching. Their responses were consistent with findings by Aguirre (2000), who argued that because of nonwhite faculty members' small numbers and minority status, white students view them solely as affirmative action hires (which they interpret incorrectly as unqualified hires). These perceptions by students contribute to an environment in which faculty members of color may feel that they must "be overachievers in a context where [w]hite faculty are not themselves overachievers" (Aguirre 2000:72).

As a result of this pressure to overachieve, "minority faculty may perceive themselves as occupying a contradictory role in the academic workplace—outsiders but expected to be model citizens in academe," as they try to prove that they are equal to white faculty members (Aguirre 2000:51). The large amount of physical and emotional impression management involved in trying to convince students of their competence and their right to be in charge would be eliminated if students identified immediately with the professor and associated that identity with intellect and professionalism. In this study, most white professors did not mention challenges to their competency, an indication that they

did not need to constantly prove and project intellectual authority.

In contrast to their white colleagues, a mistake in class by black professors could be interpreted as incompetence; such an interpretation reinforces negative stereotypes and reflects negatively on black people as a whole. Not only did black professors carry the weight of knowing that their performance might symbolize the potential of an entire racial group, but many had white colleagues who might not have noticed or acknowledged the differences in their jobs due to race. Most of the white professors in the sample did not observe the possibility of racial differences in the classroom.

Being a credit to the race, while also experiencing the frustration of a racial double standard as well as denials from white colleagues that such a double standard exists, requires black professors to manage both personal and professional emotions far more extensively than their white peers. This is particularly the case for younger black professors: because they have less experience, they may struggle harder than their seasoned colleagues to win a sense of control over their ability to be effective. This challenge is intensified by the feeling that their knowledge as professors is already devalued because they are black. This dynamic is complicated further by gender: the black female respondents reported the effects of both gender and racial stereotypes as they worked to maintain their physical and intellectual presence in the classroom.

Hill-Collins (1991) discusses four cultural conceptualizations of black womanhood that historically have perpetuated black women's subordinate status. Two of these are relevant here. Probably the most common and most widespread is the mammy—the nurturing, obedient, asexual black woman. Another is the matriarch—the “overly aggressive, unfeminine women” (Hill-Collins 1991:74) who prevent the men in their lives from asserting their masculinity. According to Hill-Collins (1991), “the matriarch is essentially a failed mammy, a negative stigma applied to those African-American women who dared to violate the image of the submissive, hard-working servant” (p. 74). Thus the evaluations as mean, cold, angry, and atti-

tudinal that so many of the black female respondents reported receiving (see Table 2) are consistent with this matriarch image: that is, their gender is also racialized. Black female professors seem to be allowed even less “room to be serious” (Respondent 9: black female) than their white female counterparts, who also struggle against stereotypical gender expectations. For those black women who did not succeed in walking the fine line between masculinity and femininity, students were even more likely to interpret their serious and/or professional behavior as overaggressive and insufficiently subservient.

To be effective in the classroom, black professors had to learn how to manage the frustration of a racial double standard and the pressure of representing an entire racial group. Trying not to care about students' stereotypical views emerged as a key management strategy. If they could ignore this type of negative feedback, the professors could gain a greater sense of control over the emotional and physical labor of the classroom.

If (as stated by identity theory) our conception of self is shaped in part by responses from others through interaction, and if our behavior is often shaped by our desire to have our conception of self reinforced (Stryker 1992), then professors' classroom performances are in part an effort to reinforce, through students, an identity as a good, knowledgeable professor. Many black faculty members, however, reported that such an identity was not reinforced for them through students, in part because of broader cultural understandings of blackness as inferior. Therefore, to function effectively in the classroom, they had to diminish or even eliminate the importance of interaction with students for defining and confirming their identity as teacher.

Thus the data showed that more than half of the black faculty members engaged in *selective identity construction*. This process can be defined as selectively incorporating responses from interactions that confirm conceptions of self, while rejecting responses that conflict with such conceptions, regardless of the significance of that interaction in defining a highly central or salient identity. For example, in spite of the centrality of the

teacher identity in the classroom, many of the black professors learned to ignore identity cues from interactions with students that challenged their professorial identity. Instead they developed and reinforced their teacher identity through other means: positive interactions with students, interactions with friends, family, and peers, and internal strength. They emphasized selecting out interactions that contradicted their self-perceptions; meanwhile they maintained an internal focus so that their professor status was validated from within, not by students.

This process of maintaining an internal focus, however, involves extensive emotion management. According to affect control theory, as stated earlier, when our conception of self is not confirmed, we adjust our definition of a situation or change our behavior so as to relieve the resulting emotional tension (Heise 1989). The black professors who were the most satisfied with teaching, however, worked to ignore those emotional cues altogether instead of paying attention to the cues and trying constantly to change their behavior in order to correct students' perceptions of them. These professors learned to suppress and (in some cases) ultimately eliminate feelings of frustration, anger, or inadequacy in order to diminish the importance of those nonconfirming interactions; thus students' responses would no longer be integral to shaping their conceptions of self or their professorial identity.

Instead of adjusting their actions or the definition of the situation to change how they felt, as affect control theory would predict, these professors learned how to change how they felt in an effort to change, at some point, the definition of the situation. That is, by ignoring emotional cues from negative interactions with students, and by focusing solely on confirming their identity internally, they hoped, through their display of confidence and competence, to ultimately change how students viewed them and regarded black professors in general. Respondent 45 (black male) explained that this process required a movement from "conventional thinking" and "conventional reality" to "the new way of thinking."

For this professor, "conventional thinking" occurs when black professors accept as

important the stereotypical ways in which students may view and/or interact with them. By changing their behavior in response to these interactions—by overpreparing, citing credentials, dressing up, or growing frustrated—professors give power and validation to that "conventional reality" and "conventional truth": that is, students will doubt the competence of black professors, and blackness will be stigmatized. The "new way" of thinking, however, requires such a firm grounding in one's sense of self and identity that interaction with students no longer serves to shape that identity. In other words, ideas about black inferiority ("conventional truth") are marginalized in that individual's reality and ultimately lose power.

Once this emotion management has been accomplished, the emotional labor in the classroom becomes much easier because one can focus on projecting excitement, enthusiasm, and friendliness without the need also to manage fear, frustration, and anger. When a professor can focus solely on the traditional aspects of the job, her or his feelings of enjoyment, relaxation, and confidence can increase, with the effect of potentially undermining students' negative stereotypes about blackness. Contrary to Burke's (1991) notion of the identity process, selective identity construction saves professors from experiencing high levels of stress, even when students' perceptions do not match professors' self-concepts.

Although these black professors acknowledged racism as a systemic problem, by constructing their professorial identity selectively they were able to lessen the individual-level effect of race bias in order to function effectively in the classroom. When one professor was asked how racism and sexism influenced the way he thought about life in general, he replied:

I think it influences it a lot. You know, despite my point that it seems silly to spend a lot of time and energy worrying about these things, these things do matter, especially in America. . . . So I think it matters a great deal, but it doesn't much matter to me. (Respondent 35: black male)

As this professor stated succinctly, people's preconceptions have the power, on a societal

level, to affect the life chances of entire groups of people, and therefore are critically important. Yet although people are not insulated from the social and cultural effects of such judgments, they must live their lives as individuals. In that respect, in order to avoid paralysis by racism, other people's opinions must "not much matter."

### CONCLUSION

When black and white faculty members teach, they function in disparate realities. White professors operate in a social space where whiteness is crediting and privileged, but is invisible and thus is taken for granted; African American professors function in a space where blackness is discrediting and devalued. The findings reported here suggest that these cultural and structural understandings of blackness and whiteness consequently shape the way in which black and white professors experience the college classroom and understand, interpret, and manage those experiences. Because these results are based on faculty experiences at a large, predominantly white university, further research is needed in settings that differ in size, region, and racial composition. In addition, an exploration of the classroom experiences of other nonwhite and international faculty members would be instructive.

The reality for many African American professors is that there will always be students who question their competency, credentials, and ability to teach and assess students' work. This reality, combined with the weight of representing the entire race, can be emotionally draining, particularly for young faculty members who may spend hours poring over lectures so as not to be anything less than perfect or totally prepared. To manage the frustrations resulting from a racial double standard, and to be effective in the classroom, my black respondents learned to stay cognizant of existing macro-level racial barriers while diminishing the importance of those barriers on the micro-level in order to prevent racism from debilitating them in their everyday lives.

### REFERENCES

Aguirre, Adalberto. 2000. *Women and Minority*

- Faculty in the Academic Workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Baker, Fostenia. 1991. "A Study of Black Faculty Perceptions of Hiring, Retention and Tenure Processes in Major White Universities." PhD dissertation, Department of Educational Leadership, George Washington University, Washington, DC.
- Baker, Phyllis and Martha Copp. 1997. "Gender Matters Most: The Interaction of Gendered Expectation, Feminist Course Content, and the Pregnancy in Student Course Evaluations." *Teaching Sociology* 25:29-43.
- Banks, William. 1984. "Afro-American Scholars in the University." *American Behavioral Scientist* 27:325-38.
- Bellas, Marcia L. 1999. "Emotional Labor in Academia: The Case of Professors." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 561:96-110.
- Burke, Peter. 1991. "Identity Processes and Social Stress." *American Sociological Review* 56:836-49.
- Chambers, Tony, Jacqueline Lewis, and Paula Kerezi. 1995. "African American Faculty and White American Students: Cross-Cultural Pedagogy in Counselor Preparation Programs." *The Counseling Psychologist* 23:43-62.
- Cohen, Elizabeth G. 1982. "Expectation States and Interracial Interaction in School Settings." *Annual Review of Sociology* 8:209-35.
- Feagin, Joe and Melvin Sikes. 1994. *Living With Racism*. Boston: Beacon.
- Fields, Cheryl. 1996. "A Morale Dilemma." *Black Issues in Higher Education* 13:22-23, 25-26, 28-29.
- Gallop, Jane. 1997. *Feminist Accused of Sexual Harassment*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- . 1963. *Stigma*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Harlow, Roxanna. 2002. "Teaching As Emotional Labor: The Effects of Professors' Race and Gender on the Emotional Demands of the Undergraduate College Classroom." PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Heise, David. 1989. "Effects of Emotion Displays on Social Identification." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 52:10-21.
- Hendrix, Katherine. 1995. "Professor Perceptions of the Influence of Race on Classroom Dynamics and Credibility." Presented at the annual meetings of the Western States Communication Association, February 10-14, Portland, OR.



- . 1998. "Student Perceptions of the Influence of Race on Professor Credibility." *Journal of Black Studies* 28:738–63.
- Hill-Collins, Patricia. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. 1983. *The Managed Heart*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jacobs, Walter. 1999. "Learning and Living Media Culture in the College Classroom: An Autoethnography of a Possible Postmodern Space." PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Martin, Elaine. 1984. "Power and Authority in the Classroom: Sexist Stereotypes in Teaching Evaluations." *Signs* 9:482–92.
- Menges, Robert and William Exum. 1983. "Barriers to the Progress of Women and Minority Faculty." *Journal of Higher Education* 54:123–44.
- Moore, Valerie Ann. 1996. "Inappropriate Challenges to Professional Authority." *Teaching Sociology* 24:202–206.
- National Center for Education Statistics. 1997. *1997 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, Fall Staff Survey*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Phelps, Rosemary. 1995. "What's in a Number? Implications for African American Faculty at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities." *Innovative Higher Education* 19:255–68.
- Rains, Frances. 1995. "Views From Within: Women Faculty of Color in a Research University." PhD dissertation, Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Rakow, Lana. 1991. "Gender and Race in the Classroom: Teaching Way out of Line." *Feminist Teacher* 6:10–13.
- Sinegar, Lee Alton. 1987. "Coping With Racial Stressors: A Case Study of Black Professors in White Academe." PhD dissertation, Department of Counseling, George Washington University, Washington, DC.
- Smith, Earl and Stephanie Witt. 1993. "A Comparative Study of Occupational Stress Among African American and White University Faculty: A Research Note." *Research in Higher Education* 34:229–41.
- Statham, Anne, Laurel Richardson, and Judith Cook. 1991. *Gender and University Teaching*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Stryker, Sheldon. 1992. "Identity Theory." Pp. 871–76 in *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by Edgar Borgatta and Marie Borgatta. New York: Macmillan.
- Stryker, Sheldon and Richard Serpe. 1994. "Identity Salience and Psychological Centrality: Equivalent, Overlapping, or Complementary Concepts?" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 57:16–35.
- Wood, Elizabeth Anne. 2000. "Working in the Fantasy Factory: The Attention Hypothesis and the Enacting of Masculine Power in Strip Clubs." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 29:5–31.

**Roxanna Harlow** is an assistant professor of sociology at McDaniel College, with interests in race and ethnicity, education, and pedagogy. Her current research explores the intersection of race, gender, and identity in various social situations.

## LINKED CITATIONS

- Page 1 of 3 -



You have printed the following article:

**"Race Doesn't Matter, but...": The Effect of Race on Professors' Experiences and Emotion Management in the Undergraduate College Classroom**

Roxanna Harlow

*Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 4, Special Issue: Race, Racism, and Discrimination. (Dec., 2003), pp. 348-363.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28200312%2966%3A4%3C348%3A%22DMBTE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J>

---

*This article references the following linked citations. If you are trying to access articles from an off-campus location, you may be required to first logon via your library web site to access JSTOR. Please visit your library's website or contact a librarian to learn about options for remote access to JSTOR.*

### [Footnotes]

<sup>3</sup> **Identity Salience and Psychological Centrality: Equivalent, Overlapping, or Complementary Concepts?**

Sheldon Stryker; Richard T. Serpe

*Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 1. (Mar., 1994), pp. 16-35.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28199403%2957%3A1%3C16%3AISAPCE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>

<sup>3</sup> **Identity Salience and Psychological Centrality: Equivalent, Overlapping, or Complementary Concepts?**

Sheldon Stryker; Richard T. Serpe

*Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 1. (Mar., 1994), pp. 16-35.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28199403%2957%3A1%3C16%3AISAPCE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>

### References

**NOTE:** *The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.*

## LINKED CITATIONS

- Page 2 of 3 -



### **Gender Matters Most: The Interaction of Gendered Expectations, Feminist Course Content, and Pregnancy in Student Course Evaluations**

Phyllis Baker; Martha Copp

*Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 1. (Jan., 1997), pp. 29-43.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-055X%28199701%2925%3A1%3C29%3AGMMTIO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>

### **Emotional Labor in Academia: The Case of Professors**

Marcia L. Bellas

*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 561, Emotional Labor in the Service Economy. (Jan., 1999), pp. 96-110.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-7162%28199901%29561%3C96%3AELIATC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

### **Identity Processes and Social Stress**

Peter J. Burke

*American Sociological Review*, Vol. 56, No. 6. (Dec., 1991), pp. 836-849.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-1224%28199112%2956%3A6%3C836%3AIPASS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J>

### **Expectation States and Interracial Interaction in School Settings**

E. G. Cohen

*Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 8. (1982), pp. 209-235.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0360-0572%281982%298%3C209%3AESAIH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-L>

### **Effects of Emotion Displays on Social Identification**

David R. Heise

*Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No. 1, Special Issue: Sentiments, Affect and Emotion. (Mar., 1989), pp. 10-21.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28198903%2952%3A1%3C10%3AEOEDOS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H>

### **Student Perceptions of the Influence of Race on Professor Credibility**

Katherine Grace Hendrix

*Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 6. (Jul., 1998), pp. 738-763.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-9347%28199807%2928%3A6%3C738%3ASPOTIO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q>

**NOTE:** The reference numbering from the original has been maintained in this citation list.

## LINKED CITATIONS

- Page 3 of 3 -



### **Power and Authority in the Classroom: Sexist Stereotypes in Teaching Evaluations**

Elaine Martin

*Signs*, Vol. 9, No. 3. (Spring, 1984), pp. 482-492.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0097-9740%28198421%299%3A3%3C482%3APAAITC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>

### **Barriers to the Progress of Women and Minority Faculty**

Robert J. Menges; William H. Exum

*The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 54, No. 2. (Mar. - Apr., 1983), pp. 123-144.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-1546%28198303%2F04%2954%3A2%3C123%3ABTTPOW%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>

### **Inappropriate Challenges to Professorial Authority**

Valerie Ann Moore

*Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 2. (Apr., 1996), pp. 202-206.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-055X%28199604%2924%3A2%3C202%3AICTPA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

### **Identity Salience and Psychological Centrality: Equivalent, Overlapping, or Complementary Concepts?**

Sheldon Stryker; Richard T. Serpe

*Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 1. (Mar., 1994), pp. 16-35.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28199403%2957%3A1%3C16%3AISAPCE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>