TEACHING UP: DEVELOPING AN INTERSECTIONAL ANDRAGOGY

by

Celesta Evonne Atkins

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation
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_____   Date: May 6, 2021
Regina Deil-Amen

_____   Date: May 6, 2021
Z Nicolazzo

_____   Date: May 6, 2021
Lisa Elfring

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I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend
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_____   Date: May 6, 2021
Regina Deil-Amen
Dissertation Committee Chair
Educational Policy Studies & Practice

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I am the woman, the mother, the sociologist, the academic, the researcher, and the educator I am because of all of you, and I pledge to spend more time with you all now, whether you like it or not!

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family.

My grandmother **Eva Windham**, descended from enslaved African Americans, with only an eighth-grade education, she created the foundation for my father, and then for me, to achieve things never thought possible for Blacks in her small Alabama town. Her life was hard, and she died with very few material possessions, but she left a legacy of drive, determination, and a "take no shit" attitude that lives on in myself and my daughter. She also left behind beautiful artwork in the form of handmade quilts. Her quilting is a tangible reminder that you can make something amazing from almost nothing.

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Abstract

This qualitative study uses in-depth interviewing to illuminate the experiences of nineteen faculty and build on my own experiences "teaching up" – teaching as faculty from a traditionally marginalized group(s) about privilege – to understand how faculty experience these situations and make meaning of them. Findings revealed racialized gender differences with regard to student resistance. Men of color reported more subtle resistance from students while women, particularly women of color, faced disrespect, harassment, and even death threats. Impression management was particularly salient for faculty of color and most important at the beginning of their career. Racialized gender differences emerged in terms of faculty preferences for how students addressed them and whether feminist pedagogy was appropriate. For Black faculty it was important to bring their culturally authentic selves to the classroom. This was expressed in multiple ways including modeling culturally authentic dress and modes of speaking and sharing reflexively about their own privilege and oppression.

The literature on teaching about privilege is written primarily by Whites for Whites. This study addresses that gap by adding marginalized voices as well as moving beyond the one-dimensional current focus of race-based White privilege. Most research emphasizes race, but by utilizing a more multi-dimensional intersectional analysis, this study expands our understanding about teaching about privilege beyond concepts of race to discuss gender, sexual orientation, and ability. It further exposes the inherent racial bias in feminist pedagogy. This study also adds to the research on marginalized faculty by specifically focusing on teaching and classroom experiences from an intersectional perspective. It extends the concepts of controlling images (Collins, 2000) and

circumscribed agency (Deil-Amen & Tevis, 2009) by illuminating how they operate in the lived experience and teaching practices of marginalized faculty. Additionally, I add to the funds of knowledge literature by shifting the focus from the students to marginalized faculty and asserting that instead of a deficit-based approach, institutions should focus on the specific funds of knowledge that marginalized faculty have to offer. Finally, I offer a framework for understanding how faculty academic identity is shaped for marginalized faculty who work within hegemonic academia. I show how controlling images are used as a mechanism to reinforce hegemonic ideas, how faculty's hyperawareness of those controlling images leads to a sense of double-consciousness (DuBois, 1903), and how that awareness is relevant to the ways they attempt to enact agency by shaping their impression management techniques and their faculty academic identity.

This study provides concrete suggestions for faculty in terms of classroom management, personal demeanor, teaching about privilege, institutional context, and dealing with student resistance. I propose expanding the funds of knowledge framework to include the unique perspectives and life experiences traditionally marginalized faculty bring to the classroom. I propose that a focus on the funds of knowledge offered by marginalized faculty will allow them to express more freely their culturally authentic selves, model a multiplicity of ways of being a professional academic, and allow them to create holistic faculty academic identities. Finally, I posit a paradigm shift from the innumerable pedagogies being offered in various disciplines to a focus on an intersectional andragogy.

Chapter 1: Prelude – Teaching Up: Teaching as a Big, Black, Ciswoman

"It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One feels his two-ness" – DuBois (1903)

These powerful words, written in 1903 by W.E.B. DuBois speak to the powerful and oppressive sensation of navigating life in the United States as a marginalized individual. DuBois illustrates how marginalized individuals enter situations knowing those in the dominant group believe that they are deficient simply due to the color of their skin, no matter what their individual accomplishments might be. In DuBois' time, there was an actual color line where Blacks were segregated to separate schools and marginalized to the worst jobs. This dissertation, written over one hundred and twenty years later explores both how far we have come and how far we have yet to go to achieve true equity, inclusion, and equality in the United States. It shares my experiences and the experiences of nineteen of my fellow sociologists, all of whom have marginalized identities in some way, and how we still face double-consciousness in our lives as academics.

I am a second-generation college student. My father, a Black man, was born and raised in rural Alabama by my single grandmother who had an 8th grade education. He was in community college on a music scholarship when he was drafted into the Vietnam War and made the Army his career, earning a master's in public administration and the rank of full Colonel before retiring. My mother, a White woman, was put into the foster system as a teenager after my grandmother was murdered and became the first in her family to earn a college degree and become a teacher. My parents raised me to

understand that as a Black woman I had to work twice as hard to be seen as just as good as my White peers. No use crying about it, just do it. They also convinced me that I was brilliant and exceptional and had the ability to achieve anything with hard work. College was an expectation for me, not a choice, and I excelled in school.

The most influential people in my life have been educators. My mother who taught special education for much of my life. My aunt, Melissa Everett, who taught children on the autism spectrum. My band coach, Rick Klein, whose band room was my safe haven during my parent's divorce and the only part of high school I enjoyed. My first community college instructor, Dr. Linda C. Rillorta, who introduced me to sociology, became my role model, then mentor, then family. My mentor at CSUSB, Dr. Mary T. Texeira, an educated Black woman who taught me how to move through the world with that identity. She is my othermother and Nana to my daughter. My mentor at USC, Dr. Angela James who showed me it was possible to be my authentic self AND a scholar and who backed my decision to research what was important to me even if she was not interested in that topic. These people are still a part of my life to this day; most, I consider family.

Although by the end of my first semester of community college, I wanted to teach sociology at the community college level, I took a long and winding road to that dream. Twenty years later, I began my career as a sociology instructor at Cochise College. My beloved Dean, Chuck Hoyack, taught me what true leadership is, and helped me smooth out my rough edges without losing the core of who I was. Through his mentoring, I learned to embrace the assertiveness and humor that were core to my personality but also how to phrase things in a way that was more palatable to others while not feeling

hypocritical to me. He encouraged me to strive for leadership positions and was central

to my application to the PhD program in 2017. Chuck left a huge rift in my life when he

passed away during my graduate school years. Dr. Regina Deil-Amen welcomed me

back to academia after a long absence, saw my potential, and nurtured me back into the

rigors of academic research by becoming both my advisor and my friend. She also spent

the past three years writing innumerable letters on my behalf. Dr. Lisa Elfring, a

supervisor several layers up when I was a graduate assistant, built upon the leadership

lessons Chuck gave to show me how to create a culture of inclusiveness where mistakes

are ok, and inclusion, acceptance and learning are paramount. My advisor and friend, Dr.

Erin Galyen, introduced me to faculty development and started me on my path to my

second career. Without these people, I would not be who I am, as a teacher, as a scholar,

as a mother, as a person. I start with this so that you understand my commitment to

education, and that teaching – to me – was not just a career, it was a calling that I deeply,

truly believed in. For me, teaching was my way to "be the change I wanted to see in the

world."

I was drawn to sociology due to my experiences as a square peg in a world full of

round holes. All of my life I was an outsider-within (Collins, 2000) in many different

ways, moving through a world in which I was tolerated but also not an insider. I was an

Army brat who lived off base. I was a "mixed" kid before it became passé. I was a fat

kid during the 80s obsession with thinness. Sociology in many ways saved my life by

helping me understand my life. My empirical paper for my master's degree explored the

intersections of weight, race, and gender, in the lives of "overweight" women. It was part

of my journey of self-acceptance and rejection of what Naomi Wolf (2002) refers to as

"the beauty myth." It was during that research process that I came to understand how much the sociological *is* the personal *is* the political. My experiences and socialization are both unique and indicative of greater societal issues.

Intersectionality and the social construction of reality resonate with me personally and have profound effects on how I understand the world around me. I watched the body positivity movement evolve from White women reclaiming "fat" to the idea that all bodies (abled/disabled, fat/thin, cisgender/intersexed) are beautiful. Now seeing Lizzo being celebrated for parading around half-naked in her voluptuousness, reaffirms for me my assertion in my master's thesis that societal perceptions about weight are socially constructed. More importantly, as a sociologist who seeks connections to help illuminate different perspectives for her students – intersectionality is key to understanding our diverse and complex Westernized world. Take, for example, DuBois's (1903/2007) notion of double consciousness. My students of color immediately recognized what it meant, but it also resonated with my queer students and non-binary students who also struggled with the way the world perceived them. These theories shape my outlook on the world, as a student, as a teacher, as a researcher, and as a Black cisgender woman from the United States.

My research agenda is not just about understanding social phenomena. It is about understanding the way society affects my life and the lives of people like me, and more importantly how to minimize that negative impact on my daughter and her generation. In that vein, my approach to this dissertation honors my Grandmother Eva Windham and her artwork – quilting. In this work I integrate bits of my personal experiences with bits of my participants' experiences like blocks in a quilt, pulling those blocks together using

theory and sociological perspective to create something that is both personal and academic, and that intrigues while it teaches.

I begin with my own personal and painful teaching journey of first being embraced and subsequently being pushed out of teaching. Janet Miller (1998) argues for the use of autobiography as a "queer curriculum practice" (p. 301). She shares,

> *I had been wanting to work with autobiography in ways that defamiliarized, or queered static categories and versions of my academic, woman, teacher, researcher, lesbian selves. I wanted to use autobiography in ways that shifted autobiography in education from its modernist emphasis on producing predictable, stable, and normative identities and curricula to a consideration of "selves" and curricula as sites of 'permanent openness and resignifiability." (p. 302)*

This approach excites me, for I see uses in autobiography beyond the boundaries of what is currently referred to as autoethnography in social scientific research. This study is viscerally important to me, beyond my striving for a doctorate. This is my life, my calling, my professional self being wrecked upon the rocks of hegemonic academia. These are my friends brought to despair by the sexist, racist, homophobic rants of their students. This research illuminates our love/hate relationship with teaching and academia in a place where many can never fully be themselves.

Miller (1996) asserts "Strategically producing a difference out of what was once familiar . . . cannot happen by 'telling my story' if that story repeats or reinscribes already normalized identity categories" (p. 103). Herein lies the importance of autobiographical stories embedded in intersectional research. It allows the reader to experience the nuance and subtleties that are missing when one focuses on singular social groups. Therefore, in my dissertation, I embed my experiences along with those of my participants to increase the nuance and provide a broader intersectional perspective of

teaching about privilege. Keep in mind, my story and their stories are not unique; versions of these experiences play out on college campuses across the country every day.

I endeavor to be what Patricia Hill Collins (2013) refers to as an intellectual activist in that I strive to both "speak the truth to power" as well as "speak truth directly to the people." However, unlike Patricia Hill Collins, I am not a tenured well-known academic, I am a doctoral candidate whose faculty journey began as a sociology instructor at a rural Arizona community college. This was my dream job! There was no need to publish, just to teach. I was full of enthusiasm, full of ideas, excited and delighted to finally do the work I was meant to do. Even better, it turned out I was pretty damn good at it. Teaching sociology was extraordinarily rewarding. I was mentored by my dean to listen to and learn from students but to also know and defend my boundaries. I had exceptional students who taught me more about the world than I taught them about sociology and who came back after taking my class to share their knowledge and experience with my other classes. I was encouraged to try new things and take risks, so with a colleague I created a seminar series to encourage other faculty to share their interests and knowledge. I participated in learning communities with reading and English faculty to help students learn more holistically. I was promoted to department chair while still in my two-year probationary period and was able to lead the movement to create the first meta-degree at our college – Social Sciences – combining sociology, anthropology, history, and political science. I was in my element and loving life.

One aspect that challenged me was student feedback which repeatedly referred to me as intimidating, aggressive, or domineering. These adjectives had followed me my

whole life as a zaftig (fluffy) Black woman. Patricia Hill Collins (2009) refers to these stereotypes and expectations of Black women as controlling images. She explains,

> *as part of a generalized ideology of domination, stereotypical images of Black womanhood take on special meaning. Because the authority to define societal values is a major instrument of power, elite groups, in exercising power, manipulate ideas about Black womanhood. (p. 76)*

For many students, I was not just their instructor, I was this big Black woman "playing the race card" as I taught well-established sociological theories of race and white privilege. Furthermore, my passion and enthusiasm were often perceived and interpreted as anger which reinforced the controlling image of the "angry Black woman." I had to carefully choose my words and always be aware of my mannerisms so as to not reinforce this idea of me. Overall, however, I really loved teaching and being department chair. I thought I would spend the rest of my career at this college.

The change started when the administration began dismantling our department, the Social and Behavioral Sciences Department. I had endeavored for five years to build this department into a unified team staffed with wonderful instructors. Our new direct supervisor was a dean who played favorites and actively undermined those she did not like. This new dean arbitrarily decided to demote me from department chair even though our department had a 100% compliance record and was functioning well, and our department faculty wanted me to be chair. Soon after, she left and a competent dean took her place; however, by then the damage was done.

I now had a "reputation" with the upper administration as a troublemaker because I openly disparaged her decision to demote me. Again, I was haunted by the "angry Black woman" controlling image. The person she replaced me with did such a horrible job that not only was the sense of community in the department ruined, everyone –

including my replacement – wanted me back as chair. However, since I had been removed from that position by the previous dean, the administration would not approve my return to the chair position.

Meanwhile, I had a White man student complain to all the deans on campus (except my woman dean) that as an Administration of Justice student he should not be forced to take my Sociology of Race class. I had another woman who was so incensed that I would not accept her racist rants (with no connection to sociology) as A papers that she and her husband scheduled a meeting with my dean, to which they wore MAGA gear from head to toe. My dean diplomatically suggested that another class might be better for her – sad because she too was an Administration of Justice student. At this point, I began actively looking for another position which I shared with both my dean and my department chair.

Then the pandemic hit and with it the renewed outrage against police brutality and increased social media presence of the Black Lives Matter movement. Protests were held across the nation, and colleges and universities along with academic organizations such as the American Sociological Association began to speak out in solidarity. I waited for a statement from our college and when one was not forthcoming, I spoke to the Dean about my concerns. She stated that the Board of Governors were the ones who had to make the statement, so I began a letter writing campaign to the Board of Governors. Several letters were sent and in response the President of the College issued a letter that stated, "We acknowledge that there are differences in how people of color are treated and call on every citizen to support equal justice under the law for all." As the only full-time Black

faculty member, I was outraged. Black and brown folks are being MURDERED, and my institution that I give my heart to, really did not care.

Over the summer of 2020, I was offered an instructional designer position with the Digital Learning team at the University of Arizona. I began my new position, and although I had planned to leave Cochise, I did not want to add to the stress of my department chair by resigning so close to the beginning of fall. I had planned to work remotely through fall and put in my resignation in October. I had shared this information with my department chair but not with the dean as, at that time, yet another new dean I had never met was onboarding. Somehow the Cochise Administration found out that I had accepted a job at UA, and instead of reaching out directly to their employee of nine years, the president of the college called my new UA supervisor to ask her if I was working for her – thereby risking my new position. Once they had spoken, an HR representative called me and without asking for any explanation, asked for my resignation. When I stated that I was not resigning and asked if they were firing me, he was stumped and indicated we would speak again. I spoke with my department chair, and we discussed the best way to handle the fall as there was no time to hire a new faculty member. I advised her that I would teach three classes and that she was free to share my prepared class with another adjunct to teach and that I would be willing to teach four classes, if necessary, as an adjunct. I spoke with the Provost and the VP of HR who had worked with me for years and explained the situation to them and handed in my resignation with the understanding that I would continue to teach as an adjunct.

During the fall semester, I dropped a student from my intensive writing class (according to my policy) because she had four zeros and an 11% score in the class. She

complained directly to the dean, and I was asked to meet with HR and the dean. The HR rep stated that I had followed policy but suggested that I take a "civility" class due to a single student complaint stating: "The instructor needs to be more respectful. I had informed the instructor that I was having trouble [getting into the LMS] and she was very rude back to me saying that she is not technical support. The instructor's attitude towards the student was very rude. The instructor never talked with the student about her papers. The instructor is very insensitive. The instructor set up the student to fail – because the student said she was 'Mormon.'" Anyone who has taught a class will recognize sour grapes from a student when they see it. The student had no evidence of any of the things she was accusing me of. The HR rep then brought up a complaint that was six months old from an Administration of Justice student who felt that he should not have to take Sociology of Race because "professor and the course materials are blatantly biased against conservatives and whites," and are an "attempted indoctrination of the liberal agenda." Although this complaint had been handled and the student went on to complete the course with a passing grade, I was instructed to "Please explain further how to respond to students who make this or similar complaint, using a civil or sensitive tone." Instead of exploring why conservative students might see the curriculum as biased, the HR rep focused on taming the "angry Black woman."

Incensed by the expectation to justify the curriculum that was created by the department, I had had enough and responded, "Perhaps what is needed is cultural sensitivity on your part to help you understand the biases I face as a Black woman teaching about race and gender, especially since I am the ONLY ONE in the entire college. . . . Moreover, your directive to rewrite my words reeks of cultural insensitivity.

I am a doctoral student with an excellent grasp of the English language who has been published multiple times in peer-reviewed texts and journals. I do not need help with expressing myself, nor am I going to change the way I speak and write because it's not the way you would do it. . . . I say what needs to be said directly. That's not rude, it's efficient."

I then received word that I had been removed from the spring schedule. I was not only removed from the face-to-face class, but also from the online classes that I had been scheduled to teach. This was not the decision of my department chair who was my direct supervisor and who oversaw the schedule. I reached out to the dean to ask why I was being blacklisted and he just referred me to Human Resources. I advised the Dean and VP of HR that I felt that I was being discriminated against and that I was going to explore my options for a discrimination complaint.

During this graduate school journey, my professional academic identity has evolved along with the changes in my social context. I moved from community college sociologist/faculty to faculty/graduate assistant to educator/faculty developer at a Research 1 institution. Sadly, as I grew in my skills and knowledge, Cochise College also changed and grew in a way that was less welcoming to me. Although I entered graduate school with the hope of both growing my career at Cochise and providing research that would benefit the students I loved, I became resigned to the fact that Cochise was no longer where I belonged. I wanted to move into faculty development and still teach as an adjunct at Cochise with the students and colleagues who were so central to my life. Unfortunately, instead I was forced to walk away from what became a toxic environment. I could no longer fight for my humanity, justify my existence, and retain my dignity. At

that time, I came across a piece about Leslie Lokko's resignation and her words resonated with me as they summed up my situation perfectly, **"I suppose I'd say in the end that my resignation was a profound act of self-preservation"** (Architectural Record, 2020).

I share this story in detail to illuminate how I experienced "teaching up" – teaching about privilege from the positionality of a member of a group with a marginalized identity – and why those experiences led to me leaving full-time teaching. It is a story about why I had to walk away from students and colleagues that I loved and a career that was core to my identity. I share this to help you understand how the controlling image of an "angry Black woman" haunts me, limits me, and eventually derailed me. Every time I stood up for myself or attempted to advocate for myself reinforced their perception of me as an "angry, aggressive Black woman."

My story ends on a positive note. I have transitioned into faculty development and work with a team that I adore who allows me to be me. I have supervisors who are not only interested in but encourage my feedback and input on issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. I still teach part-time as part of a social-justice focused sociology department at Pima Community College. However, I walked through fire to get here and it affected my health, my relationships, and my soul. Oftentimes research is positioned as objective, and reduces participants to numbers, percentages, and outliers. I share my story so that as you read through the findings below, you remember that these are dedicated individuals trying to make their corner of the world better. I share my story so that you remember their humanity.

Chapter 2: Introduction – Teaching Up: Sociology from the Margins

For over a decade, I taught sociology in college classrooms both virtual and face-to-face and as full-time faculty and adjunct faculty. Due to my specialization in the areas of race, gender, and sexuality, I focused on these forms of inequity in the classes that I taught – Introduction to Sociology, Human Sexuality, Sociology of Race, and Sociology of Gender. I experienced a great deal of resistance from students, particularly in the form of evaluations that stated I was racist, unprofessional, and misandrist. Through discussions with other sociology colleagues in various environments, I learned that I was not the only one dealing with student push-back based on my status as a member of a traditionally marginalized group. This begged the question, do students respond to all faculty from traditionally marginalized groups in the same manner, and if not, what differences might there be? Moreover, how does faculty identity affect pedagogy/andragogy?

A Note About Andragogy versus Pedagogy

A quick note here to discuss terminology. I encourage faculty and researchers in the scholarship of teaching and learning to think critically about the terminology – and the paradigm – we use when discussing postsecondary education. The default term used in most of the literature is pedagogy, which Britannica Academic defines as

> *the study of teaching methods, including the aims of education and the ways in which such goals may be achieved. The field relies heavily on educational psychology, which encompasses scientific theories of learning, and to some extent on the philosophy of education, which considers the aims and value of education from a philosophical perspective. (Pedagogy, n.d.)*

However, this definition does not include the root meanings of the term. Mews (2020) shares that the term "andragogy" was coined by Kapp in Germany in the 1830s and then gained popularity in the United States through Malcom Knowles in the 1960s (p. 65). As Mews (2020) explains, the word andragogy "was developed from the Greek *andr*, meaning 'man,' and *agogus*, meaning 'leader of' – and contrasting with *pedagogy*, from the Greek *paid*, meaning "child" (p. 65). Pedagogy, I argue, should be limited to K-12 education where the focus is on the education of children.

Mews (2020) asserts that andragogy has specific benefits for adult learners which is increasingly the postsecondary demographic. Students between the ages of 25 to 34 increased enrollment in higher education by 35 percent from 2001 to 2015 and enrollment of students older than 35 increased 13 percent (Mews 2020). I propose that while some college students, particularly those who were once considered "traditional age" may be in the gray areas between adolescence and adulthood, the majority of college students are adult learners and should be treated as such. In my experience teaching at community colleges, even the students who were "traditional age" were often balancing outside responsibilities such as a car, a child, or other family obligations. The idea that students can go off to college and focus solely on their studies and social life is a class-based notion that is quickly becoming outdated.

An Overview of My Study

The following study seeks to understand how sociology faculty from traditionally marginalized groups teach about privilege and inequality. It explores how each faculty member's social identity affects their approach to teaching, particularly in the areas of privilege and inequality. It also identifies how student resistance varies based on both faculty identity and student/campus demographics. Fundamentally, I seek to expand the

literature on teaching about privilege by centering the voices and experiences of marginalized faculty, as well as identifying ways that faculty might overcome or forestall student resistance in the classroom along with ideas for increasing institutional support for marginalized faculty.

The discipline of sociology, as it is practiced in recent years, demands that students discuss and explore issues of identity, social groups, and privilege (be it White, heterosexual, male, class, or cisgender privilege). These issues are extremely challenging to teach as they push students from their comfort zones and force them to face the reality of their own privilege (or lack thereof) and how inequality is built into the foundations of our societal institutions. This is especially true for those of us who teach at PWIs (predominantly White institutions), but even those whose students are primarily non-White still teach students who have been socialized to believe (for the most part) in the colorblind American dream.

Issues of privilege and oppression are central in any sociology curriculum, but who are the faculty teaching these concepts? Messner (1996) introduces the idea of "studying up," which "in sociology . . . refers to studying 'up' in the power structure" (p. 222) by focusing in on those who benefit from positions of privilege rather than solely studying those oppressed. This concept led me to reframe my ideas about teaching about privilege in a predominantly White setting as a person from multiple marginalized groups. Here, I borrow from Messner in my conception of "teaching up" teaching about privilege as marginalized faculty. In higher education, faculty are overwhelmingly White (not to mention cisgender, heterosexual, and abled) which is a mismatch with our increasingly diverse college student populations (Ndandala, 2016).

While race is, arguably, the most salient area of social oppression in the United States, it is by no means the only area of oppression. Intersectional theorists posit that one cannot understand issues of race without exploring how race intersects with other social identities such as gender, sexual orientation, ability status, age, and socioeconomic status, among others, to affect the life chances and experiences of the individual (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2015; Ferber, Herrera, & Samuels, 2007). The purposefully diverse sampling I use in this research creates the foundation for an intersectional analysis. Intersectionality is used here to explore the classroom dynamic and rethink the social construct of education. The focus on faculty of color in this chapter fills a clear gap in the scholarship by also including other core aspects of their social identity such as gender, sexual orientation, and ability status.

I propose that by shifting institutional perceptions of faculty diversity and embedding them across all levels and offices on campus, we have a better chance of achieving true institutional and systemic change. I suggest expanding the funds of knowledge framework (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017) to include the particular perspectives and life experiences traditionally marginalized faculty bring to the classroom increasing the richness of the educational experience for all students. The original concept of funds of knowledge was intended to shift the focus from the deficit-based approach the literature took to students from underserved communities and instead acknowledge the specific skills that students brought to the classroom based on their experiences within their families and home communities. These skills include life lessons, household maintenance and repair, caretaking, reciprocity in services, and financial responsibility among others (Kiyama, 2008). I posit that a focus on the funds of

knowledge (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017) offered by marginalized faculty will allow them to express more freely their culturally authentic selves, model a multiplicity of ways of being a professional academic, and allow them to create holistic academic identities. Faculty who are their authentic selves provide a richer, more diverse learning environment for students and, I argue, create space for students to create their own authentic holistic academic identities. Finally, I propose a paradigm shift from the innumerable pedagogies being offered in various disciplines to a focus on an intersectional andragogy that builds on the foundation of hooks' (2009) idea of engaged pedagogy along with the many important pedagogies to create an andragogy – adult-centered learning approach for the college student of the future.

      This study contributes to the literature on intersectionality research, the scholarship of teaching and learning, and the literature on faculty of color, and women faculty, in important ways. First, it begins to address a gap in the literature on teaching about privilege by moving beyond a perspective written mostly by Whites for Whites and centering an intersectional approach on marginalized faculty. By doing so, it provides needed insight to the challenges facing marginalized faculty in teaching about privilege. Furthermore, by focusing specifically on classroom experience – again in an intersectional way – this research expands our knowledge of marginalized faculty, adding to what we already understand about their career experiences by specifically focusing on teaching and classroom experiences.

      In the next section, I review the literature most salient to this research. I begin with an explanation of hegemonic academia, including the concept of whiteness as permeating higher education and creating an interlocking system of oppression (Stewart

& Nicolazzo, 2018). I then explore the literature on teaching about privilege. Next, I

move into the literature on marginalized faculty. This research, for the most part,

artificially disaggregates faculty into neat groups – faculty of color, women faculty,

disabled faculty, queer faculty. I end this section by exploring the literature that is

focused on intersectional understandings of the experiences of marginalized faculty.

Next, I turn to the concepts of impression management and connect those to ideas about

academic identity. I end the literature review with my original conceptual framework of

intersectional racial realism in racialized social systems and the caveat that I replaced this

framework with a revised and different paradigm through the course of my research.

Literature Review – Teaching Up: Voices from The Margins

This study explores what it means to be a person who identifies as part of a

traditionally marginalized group (i.e., racial minority, woman, LGBTQ, differently abled,

non-Christian) and who teaches about privilege as a sociologist at the college level. Most,

if not all institutions of higher education, have been implicit in reifying notions of white

supremacy and hegemonic ideals of what an academic professional should be. This

leaves faculty who are not part of the dominant group to forge a path in academic

environments where they are often isolated and tokenized (Pittman, 2010; Stanley, 2006;

Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008). This isolation begins in graduate school as found in

Harris and Linder's 2018 study exploring the experiences of students of color in student

affairs and higher education programs. Harris and Linder point to four themes in the

experiences of these graduate students, 1) the need to educate White peers, 2) having

their identity(s) and experiences invalidated, 3) dealing with racial stereotypes, and 4)

isolation (2018, p. 148). Harris and Linder also found that isolation and tokenism led to

graduate students having fewer opportunities, being excluded from informal social occasions and "inhibited [their] professional growth and personal exploration[s] of identity" (2018, p. 153).

Although there is a plethora of literature about various marginalized faculty groups, very little of it focuses on the experiences of teaching. Furthermore, I was unable to find any literature about any of the marginalized groups below that explored teaching about privilege beyond the couple of articles specifically about race. In the research about faculty of color (Pittman, 2010; Stanley, 2006; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008), the literature focuses on issues of faculty experiences with isolation, tokenism, and tenure. In the literature about women faculty (Amey, 1996; Gardner, 2013; Greene et al., 2010; Kelly & Fetridge, 2012; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996), the focus is primarily on job satisfaction and barriers to success. In the disability studies literature, there is a focus on accommodation (Smith & Andrews 2015; Stone, Crooks, and Owen, 2013), isolation and lack of institutional support (Beagan & Weinberg, 2018), and systemic barriers to academic success (Neal-Boylan 2012, 2014), but not about their experiences teaching. Furthermore, while there is literature on teaching ABOUT disability (Baldwin & Jeffress, 2017, Cypher, 2017; Miner, 2017), I was unable to find literature about teaching WHILE disabled. Queer studies research was the one area I found to have a focus on the experience of teaching among those with a queer identity, and that involves the work of scholars who focus on queer pedagogy (Waite, 2018; Wermers & Lunn, 2018). While queer pedagogy suggests that it is being taught by queer individuals and while some researchers share their experiences as outwardly queer individuals (Nichols, 2018), I was unable to find research about teaching about privilege as queer faculty. How do these

faculty navigate and find success in academic institutions and social contexts arguably not designed for them in the first place?

Hegemonic Academia

Academia has long been a bastion for upper-middle class, White heterosexual cisgender privilege and the reproduction of that privilege for future generations (Bell, 1992; Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Bourdieu, 2000; Garrison, Rice & Liu, 2021; Perry, Moore, Edwards, Acosta, & Frey, 2009; Stewart & Nicolazzo, 2018). Bourdieu teaches that education has a "hidden curriculum" which requires cultural capital that must be acquired through family socialization that not all individuals have access to (Bourdieu, 2000). This creates an educational system designed to serve and elevate those in the dominant social groups (Bourdieu, 2000). In this system, marginalized individuals are underserved or are pushed out, which then upholds the myth of the society as a meritocracy (Garrison, Rice, & Liu, 2021) where success is based on individual effort.

Central to this cycle is hegemonic Whiteness. Stewart and Nicolazzo (2018) provide a concept of "Whiteness" as "an ideological container in which various interlocking systems of oppression operate in higher education" (p. 133). They further explain that frameworks, policies, and practices throughout higher education "are complicit in promoting an ideological whiteness throughout higher education research and practice; an ideology that has deleterious consequences for marginalized students" (p. 134). They provide a succinct way to understand how racism, sexism, heterosexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, etc. operate in our world. This ideological whiteness goes beyond race to create controlling images of what an academic should look like, sound like, and act like that are not only racialized, but gendered, abled, and

heteronormative. Many White academics experience privilege within this academic

context leading to what DiAngelo (2018) terms "White equilibrium," defined as

> *a cocoon of racial comfort, centrality, superiority, entitlement, racial apathy, and*
> *obliviousness, all rooted in an identity of being good people free of racism.*
> *Challenging this cocoon throws off our racial balance. (p. 113)*

How does this affect faculty from marginalized backgrounds? Perry et al. (2009)

argue that the classroom and academia in general reproduce systems of racial oppression

for faculty of color (p. 83). They further assert that "contentious micro classroom

experiences often result from inappropriate acts of student opposition framed by distorted

stereotypic belief systems that are inextricably and negatively linked to the instructors'

outsider within status" (p. 83). In other words, faculty of color, and faculty from other

marginalized identity(s), experience what is often seen as the high-status position of

professor in ways that can be isolating, dehumanizing, and challenging, due to the

perception that they do not belong in the hallowed halls of academia. Moreover, Kynard

(2015) warns,

> *In more pessimistic terms, many of us unknowingly contribute to a kind of 'race-*
> *management science' if we accept academia's (our home institutions and our*
> *field) embrace of our scholarship on race but do not speak or write against the*
> *ways our institutions actively reproduce inequality. (p. 3)*

How might faculty work to counteract the reproduction of inequality embedded in

their institutions? One way is through social justice education. Osei-Kofi, Shahjahan,

and Patton (2010) explain that social justice in education seeks to

> *respond to a range of issues in social inequity, including the growing economic*
> *gap between rich and poor, the rise in militarism, global migration due to*
> *inequitable trade policies, the persistence of human trafficking, and the*
> *transnational perseverance of racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, ableism,*
> *and classism. (p. 327)*

This is what drew me to the field of sociology. Sociology is where I began to understand that these systems of inequality were built into the very fabric of our social institutions. Sociology is where I began to debunk notions of White supremacy. Through such concepts as intersectionality and the sociological imagination (Mills & Mills 2000), I employ sociology as a tool to expose and unravel hegemonic ideas of how the world works for my students. One concept particularly rife with strive and student resistance is privilege.

Teaching About Privilege

While performing a search of the literature for "teaching and privilege," I found more than twenty books and articles written by White educators, almost exclusively female, and only three articles by faculty of color. This literature on teaching about privilege – which I assert is, in large part, written for Whites by Whites – also focuses heavily on racial oppression to the exclusion of other forms of systemic oppression. The two pieces on teaching about privilege by faculty of color are again focused on race.

Teaching about issues of privilege and inequality are integral to social justice in education. While many academics from a range of marginalized groups (Osei-Kofi, Shahjahan, and Patton, 2010; Stewart and Nicolazzo, 2018) address social justice education on a variety of topics, the literature about privilege primarily focuses on the experiences of White faculty (e.g., Davis, Mirick, & McQueen, 2015; Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; Messner, 2011), with a few exceptions (Brooms & Brice, 2017; Sue et al., 2011; Yancy & Davidson, 2014).

Messner (2011) has written about how he "as a white, male, heterosexual, tenured professor [can] teach in a critical and self-reflexive way about privilege" and

acknowledges the ability to reflect on that is a privilege in itself (p. 4). Messner describes

how he utilizes the technique of telling privilege stories, "telling stories from my own

life, stories intended to illustrate the less-than-fully visible scaffolding underlying my

own privilege" (pp. 4-5). He uses his personal experiences to illustrate not only his

unearned privilege, but also the fact that he was, on some level, aware of that privilege.

Messner explains:

> *Talking about privilege as 'invisible' is a good strategic starting point for*
> *teaching about it, but perhaps also it is the flip-side of viewing subordinates as*
> *dupes who suffer from false consciousness. After all, it is in the interests of the*
> *privileged to appear to be blind to the sources and consequences of our privilege:*
> *But maybe I did see the unfair treatment. . . . How, really, could I not have seen*
> *it? . . . My sense of entitlement to unearned privilege allows me to look the other*
> *way. (p. 6)*

Messner asserts that it is important to understand what he terms the "sincere fiction of

individual merit," the student belief that they (and the people they know) earned

everything that they have achieved through determination and hard work. More

importantly, Messer illustrates how this belief is grounded in the societal ideologies of

meritocracy and individualism (p. 6). Messner then speaks to how privilege works to

extend him even more privilege in his act of teaching about privilege. He uses Peretz's

idea of "the pedestal effect" which is "when men openly support feminism, [they]

benefit" (Messner, 2011, p. 10). Messner (2011) finds "I reinforce my own white male

heterosexual tenured professor privilege in the very act of being so 'open minded,'" (p.

10). He asserts that this is another way that structural privilege works in his favor.

Furthermore, the literature on teaching about privilege is about White privilege

and largely ignores the other forms of social oppression. Lawrence and Bunche (1996)

studied the effect of a one semester multicultural education class on five undergraduate

White future teachers using Janet Helm's model of racial identity development. They posit that White persons must "alter their color-blind perspective and work through the feelings of guilt and shame" (p. 532) in order to effectively teach in a multicultural setting. Lawrence and Bunche (1996) found that while all five students made progress along the racial identity model, none reached the final stage and two were still unable "to abandon their racist personas" (p. 540). They assert, "We have much work to do in designing effective multicultural teacher education programs that can assist our white students" (p. 541). The current literature which is largely by Whites and for Whites in teaching about privilege abandons faculty of color, trans* faculty, and faculty from other traditionally marginalized groups to traverse the rocky terrain of facilitating student understanding of their own privilege and structured systems of privilege without any sort of road map. Fortunately, a few voices of color have recently addressed the issue of teaching about privilege.

Faculty of Color

When faculty of color do enter the conversation, the discussion centers on race, such as Brooms and Brice's (2017) discussion of teaching about race and White privilege as Black men. This piece, utilizing an autoethnographic inquiry method, explores their experiences teaching both an introduction to sociology and a race and ethnic relations course at predominantly White institutions (PWIs). Brooms and Brice argue "Whiteness is like a ubiquitous force that influences or is the standard by which all racial identities are framed" (2017, p. 151). They assert that as faculty of color, they too are immersed in that force, while trying to introduce students to concepts such as White privilege.

Sue et al. (2011) interviewed faculty of color in PWIs about their experiences discussing racially charged issues that emerged in the classroom. They found that

> *(a) faculty of color experience unique teaching challenges that make their classroom experiences less than positive, (b) they have learned to develop valuable teaching strategies to facilitate difficult dialogues on race, and (c) the impact of the professor's race on students is an important factor that influences racial dialogues. (p. 32)*

It is unclear whether these faculty of color teach directly about privilege and oppression as almost all sociology faculty do. The authors compiled a list of what their participants felt were effective strategies to discuss racial issues. These include 1) self-disclosure 2) bringing in concrete examples from personal experience, 3) facilitating the exploration of student experience, 4) checking in with students, and 5) being aware of their own impact on students (Sue et al., 2011, p. 337). The work done by faculty of color provides us with strategies for teaching about White privilege, particularly at PWIs. In this study, I expand that literature by extending beyond a single mode of oppression – race – to explore both teaching about other issues of inequality and oppression as well as teaching from other marginalized identity(s) or the intersection of more than one marginalized identity such as my own as a Black woman faculty.

Women Faculty

The vast majority of the teaching about privilege literature was written by White women. Here I turn to the literature about what women faculty in general experience. There is a great deal of research on women faculty (Amey, 1996; Gardner, 2013; Greene et al., 2010; Kelly & Fetridge, 2012; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996), but this research tends to focus primarily on job satisfaction and barriers to success. In one outlier, Kelly and Fetridge (2012) explored how student interactions affected job satisfaction for tenure

track women. They found that for many women, students were a source of joy; however, some reported that their biggest drawback to teaching was pushback from students and challenges to their authority in the classroom, mainly by men students. This resonated with me as the most overt resistance and pushback I received was from White men. Moreover, it was done in ways that I perceived as extremely disrespectful to me.

Much of the focus on diversity is about trying to "include" traditionally marginalized students. By its very nature, this research assumes a privileged faculty member. This is evident in feminist pedagogy. Weimer (2013) asserts that feminist pedagogy "finds that most teaching is too authoritarian" (p. 19) and argues that radical pedagogy "challenges teachers to explore ethically responsible ways of sharing power with students" (p. 19). As I stated in a previous paper on feminist pedagogy:

> *As a woman of color teaching sociology, a subject often not seen as a 'real science' by many students, teaching challenging and uncomfortable subjects such as racism, sexism, and white privilege, I frequently found my biggest struggle was getting students to see me as a subject matter expert and an authority. As a woman of color with very little power to begin with, it felt simplistic and frankly, a very middle-class White feminist approach, to talk about 'sharing power.' (Atkins, 2018, p. 4)*

Shrewsbury (1987) considers feminist pedagogy an engaged style of teaching that includes being reflexive about one's own "sexism and racism and classism and homophobia and other destructive hatreds" (p. 6) which assumes one is teaching from a privileged standpoint. Feminist pedagogy to a large extent is actually WHITE feminist pedagogy. Although Black women faculty and women of color faculty are beginning to publish on issues specific to them (Collins, 2000; Comer, Medina, Negroni, & Thomas, 2017; Farmer-Hinton, Lewis, Patton, & Rivers, 2013; Griffin, 2012; Kelly, & McCann 2014) and some are addressing their experiences within the classroom, the literature still

lacks an intersectional approach that centers the work of marginalized faculty across a range of identity(s) and intersections of identity(s). For instance, what might be the experience of Black women faculty who are disabled?

Disabled Faculty

I turn now to the literature on disabled faculty, another area in which academia is sorely lacking in faculty representation. Smith and Andrews (2015) assert that while access and accommodations are provided to students, many colleges do not make the same effort to meet the very different needs of disabled faculty (p. 1521). Smith and Andrews (2015) discuss barriers, which they have labeled "fear factors" to institutions hiring disabled faculty. These include the perception that arranging for accommodations will be difficult and/or complex, that accommodations will be costly, that differences – particularly for deaf and hard-of-hearing faculty – will negatively affect collegiality, that accommodations will change the faculty role, and that institutions open themselves up for lawsuits by hiring a disabled faculty member and not fully meeting their needs (pp. 1526-1529). A case study of disabled academics in Canada found barriers similar to those faced by women and faculty of color; namely not being welcomed and included, lack of institutional support, a perception that they had to "prove" themselves, and feeling isolated and unable to participate in important aspects of their careers (Beagan & Weinberg, 2018, p. 327-328).

Studies have shown that disabled professionals face systemic barriers to success (Neal-Boylan 2012, 2014) and that faculty often do not ask for accommodations due to the stressful, negative, and often inconsistent responses of institutions (Stone, Crooks, and Owen, 2013). Beagan & Weinberg point to Morrissey's (2013) work to illustrate

how "through neoliberal discourses of productivity, individualization, and competitiveness, administrators create 'regimes of performance' (2018, p. 331). They further assert, "while neoliberal performance standards are increasingly affecting all academics, they affect disabled academics uniquely because they are encoded with ableism" (Beagan & Weinberg, 2018, p. 329). This is strikingly familiar to faculty of color who face performance standards encoded with racism, queer faculty who face heterosexism, and women who face standards encoded with sexism.

Seibers (2008) articulates the social model of disability which sees disability not as an individual medical issue, but rather as a social injustice "that requires not the cure of elimination of the defective person but significant changes in the social and built environment" (p. 3). With this in mind, disability becomes one of a myriad of social forms of oppression that must be addressed in an intersectional approach to teaching about privilege and inequality. However, while the literature had instances of teaching about disability (Baldwin & Jeffress, 2017, Cypher, 2017; Miner, 2017), I was unable to find research about teaching about privilege as disabled faculty. This is in clear contrast to the literature on queer faculty.

Queer Faculty

Many faculty members self-identify under the gender/sexuality umbrella as queer, most likely embracing a definition similar to that of Eve Sedgwick (1993) who claims queer "is the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or *can't* be made) to signify monolithically" (p. 8). While queer faculty are as diverse and intersectional as any other traditionally

marginalized group, some have created and embraced the notion of queer pedagogy. Wermers & Lunn, in their 2018 edited text *Mapping Queer Space(s) of Praxis and Pedagogy,* assert that queer pedagogy has the ability to "destabilize hegemonic conceptions of the *status quo* or the normal precisely because it can push both learners and teachers to think about the grounds on which their own identities are constructed" (p. 3).

Scholars and educators must take and debunk these hegemonic notions of the status quo and expose it for the racist, sexist, heterosexist, homophobic, transphobic, ableist construct that it is. Nichols (2018) argues "white supremacy and heteropatriarchy are not promoted *as* ideologies but, rather, as natural and self-evident, a move that makes it deliberately difficult to challenge and dismantle them" (p. 45). Nichols further asserts that when folks from traditionally marginalized communities fill classrooms in both instructor and student roles, this creates a contested space and encourages faculty to "seek to identify the marginal spaces in our classrooms" (p. 50). Nichols (2018) believes that in current U.S. classrooms instructors are expected to

> *maintain an 'objective' and dispassionate space between themselves and their students, allowing students little glimpse into their personal lives, with no acknowledgement of the passions and preoccupations that must necessarily blur the lines between the instructor and their other identities beyond the classroom. The instructor exists solely as the conveyor of information/knowledge. (p. 43)*

For Nichols, he deliberately outs his sexual identity as a gay man each semester (2018) and states

> *When I do this, I sometimes sense a shift in the physical and emotional dynamics of the classroom. Many times, the 'front and center' students become more comfortable challenging me or calling out my 'agenda' as a queer teacher. (p. 51)*

Waite (2018) expands on this notion by the assertion that "There is no bodiless pedagogy, no disembodied scholarship to represent disembodied students and teaching" (p. 226). If this is the case, if a more diverse classroom leads to a more contested space, then faculty who model embracing their unique intersectional perspectives in the classroom benefit not only themselves but the students they teach.

Intersectional Understandings of Faculty Experience

Research on faculty tends to divide faculty into neat little groups – women faculty, faculty of color, disabled faculty – as in the literature reviewed above (Pittman, 2010; Stanley, 2006; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008). More troubling, this research often takes a deficit perspective ignoring the structural barriers facing minoritized faculty. The deficit perspective is often used to critique research on underserved students (Patton Davis & Museus, 2019). I propose we shift the focus to marginalized faculty. Patton Davis & Museus advise that deficit perspectives "serve as tools that maintain hegemonic systems and, in doing so, fail to place accountability with oppressive structures, policies, and practices within educational settings" (2019, p.2). This analysis rings true for the experiences of underrepresented faculty in academia as well.

While research on specific marginalized groups is important, it serves to disguise the layers and nuances of real life. So often faculty identities intersect across multiple groups – faculty of color who are women, women faculty who are queer and Latino/a/x, faculty who are trans* and disabled. Our lives are shaped not by our individual identities, but the intersection of those identities. In the United States, Lori Patton Davis' work (Croom & Patton, 2011; Harris & Patton, 2019; Patton Davis & Museus; 2019) looks not only at faculty through an intersectional analysis but explores intersectionality as a

conceptual framework as well. In their article, *The Miner's Canary* (Croom & Patton, 2011) the authors assert that centering marginalized and understudied faculty – in this case Black women full professors – allows both an understanding of inherent barriers in the tenure process and provides insight into the social context of academia. They assert that this research "calls to question how racialized and gendered hegemony exists to maintain the status quo in the professoriate and the academy" (Croom & Patton, 2011, p. 14). Bhopal's work in the *British Journal of Sociology of Education* argues the need for intersectionality in the sociology of education. Bhopal (2020) states that "gender, perpetuated by White privilege, continues to play a key role in the positioning of Black and minority ethnic (BME) staff, students and pupils within a range of stereotypes that operate to marginalise their life trajectories" (p. 808). This is true; however, Harris and Patton (2019) offer several ways in which social justice focus of intersectionality is "undone" in the literature including using intersectionality as a buzzword, centering it in feminism and erasing its roots in anti-racism work, and reducing it to a focus on individual intersecting identities without connecting to structural oppression (pp. 352-354).

　　While it is vital to study marginalized groups to understand the forests of academia, it is just as necessary to study the complicated intersectional trees that are faculty in the United States. Bhopal (2020) further asserts that this type of intersectional analysis "would document and account for different intersectional identities and provide more nuanced understandings of diverse experiences" (pp. 807-808). According to Bhopal (2020) intersectionality is "a methodically rigorous process that brushes aside the

popular and folk wisdom that is increasingly promoted as substantive matters of fact" (p.

808). For example, Kynard (2015) states

> *The very theoretical paradigms in which we work often operate from a space that*
> *requires the displacement and denigration of black women. . . . many of us do not*
> *have the luxury of overlooking such violence because we are its targets. (p. 3)*

Harris and Patton Davis (2019) provide three assumptions of intersectionality. First, that

it includes both who/what are/is being researched, methodology, and citation practices.

Second, that the research should be used to transform higher education. Third, that

misuse of intersectionality serves to work against social justice reforms (pp. 354-355).

Although there are some intersectional studies, particularly those on women faculty of

color (Patton, 2011; Kelly & McCann, 2014; Turner, 2002; Vargas, 2002), this research

highlights experiences mainly outside of the classroom, and none that I have found look

explicitly at teaching about privilege and inequality – what I am referring to as teaching

up.

Kelly and McCann (2014) assert that one of the themes permeating research on

women faculty of color is being "othered" in an academic environment built for White

men. Vargas (2002) found that not only were women faculty of color perceived as

"bashing" Whites by White students, but this perception was also reinforced by White

faculty members. Turner (2002) further describes how women faculty of color perceive

their authority as limited by their race/ethnicity and gender. I posit that the understanding

of how they are stereotyped and perceived in their intersectional identities (e.g., Black

women, Latino gay men) leads to a focus on impression management for faculty from

traditionally marginalized groups.

Impression Management and Faculty's Professional Academic Identity

Impression management is how individuals tend to try to control how others perceive them. Rosenfeld, Giacalone, & Riordan (2012) offer the following definition.

Impression management refers to the many ways by which individuals attempt to control the impressions others have of them: their behavior, motivations, morality, and a host of personal attributes like dependability, intelligence, and future potential. The impression management perspective assumes that a basic human desire is to be viewed by others in a favorable manner. (p. 602)

Rosenfeld et al. (2012) go on to imply that impression management can be particularly important for traditionally marginalized groups and individuals who are often judged and subordinate to more powerful dominant groups in society. In the United States, people of color are stereotyped and represented as lower-status, less intelligent, and less competent than the White majority (Swencionis, Dupree, & Fiske, 2017). Swencionis and colleagues further argue that there are many similarities in how impression management occurs across status and race. Research by Bergsieker and colleagues (2010) demonstrated that Blacks and Latinos seek to be respected in interracial interactions while Whites seek to be liked. McCurn (2018) found that Black girls and young women used "aesthetic performance" of impression management as a "buffer against routine 'microaggressions'" as well as a way to gain respect and recognition (p. 135). The research above suggests that faculty may seek different interactions with their students based on both the race of the faculty and the race of the student. Moreover, how is this focus on respect relevant for faculty in their presentation of self, professional identity, and impression management?

To explore how faculty see themselves professionally, we turn to the work of Ziska-Strange (2020). Ziska-Strange defines professional identity as

a separate identity based on the enduring professional attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences of an individual who was a knowledgeable actor in a specific field or specialty. (p. 26)

She then goes on to discuss how for faculty in higher education a specific type of professional identity – academic identity – is formed (Ziska-Strange, 2020). She provides the following definition

the potentially evolving beliefs, values, motivations, experiences, and narratives of those with the same professional academic role. This definition assume[s] that a faculty member's identity can and will be influenced by broader social contexts that occur within the department, college, faculty, institution, and discipline, as well as by more extensive social processes external to academia. (p. 29)

This idea of a professional academic identity among faculty provides a reference point from which I explore how in response to controlling images faculty find a way to establish themselves and earn the respect of students and colleagues, particularly with the understanding that professional identity is not something that exists completely separate from one's personal identity (Waite, 2019). For faculty with marginalized identities, this means that their raced/gendered/(dis)abled/sexualized selves are inextricably intertwined with their professional selves. I am also interested in how the experiences of disabled faculty having to overcompensate to prove that they are on par with their colleagues (Waterfield, Beagan, & Weinberg, 2018) might be mirrored in the experiences of other marginalized faculty.

In conclusion, the current literature provides ample explanation for what I term here hegemonic academia – a social context in which White, middle-class, heterosexual, cisgender (often male), abled ways of acting and being are normalized – which serves to further "other" faculty from marginalized groups. In the literature, the concept of privilege is often limited to issues of race and ethnicity which further silences the

experiences of other oppressed groups and those at the intersections of multiple

oppressed identities. Furthermore, the literature artificially divides faculty into neat little

boxes – women, faculty of color, disabled, queer – which ignores the nuances of the

experiences of those faculty who fit into more than one of those boxes. My study

responds to Bhopal's (2020) call for more intersectionality in the sociology of education.

It expands literature on the teaching of privilege to include women of color and men of

color as well as queer and disabled faculty. Moreover, my research expands upon the

current impression management literature and connects it in new ways to Ziska-Strange's

(2020) work on professional academic identity. In the next section, I outline my original

conceptual framework for this study, with the caveat that throughout the course of data

collection and analysis that framework was shifted. My final conceptual framework is

introduced in Chapter 7.

Original Conceptual Framework – Intersectional Racial Realism in Racialized Social Systems

When I first proposed my dissertation research plan, I outlined a conceptual

framework that explored teaching about privilege with an intersectional analysis and

assumed that marginalized faculty worked in the racialized social system (Bonilla-Silva,

1996) of academia which limited or circumscribed their agency (Deil-Amen & Tevis,

2009) through the use of controlling images (Collins, 2000) resulting in their navigating

their careers through a lens of racial realism (Bell, 1992). In this section I explain those

concepts in more detail. In my final analysis, I continued to utilize and expand upon the

concepts of circumscribed agency (Deil-Amen & Tevis, 2009) and controlling images

(Collins, 2000). I attempt to expand beyond a specific race-based paradigm (racialized

social systems (Bonilla-Silva, 1996) and racial realism (Bell, 1992)) toward a more

intersectional focus on impression management and faculty's professional academic

identity (Ziska-Strange, 2020). Racial realism and racialized social systems remain a

valid foundation as paradigms for understanding teaching about privilege; however, due

to my intersectional focus, I felt the need to expand beyond those conceptual lenses.

Crenshaw (1991) explains how the "embrace of identity politics . . . has been in

tension with dominant conceptions of social justice" (p. 1242). She further proposes that

the "problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference . . . but rather

the opposite – that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences" (p. 1242).

Therefore, a focus on social justice in education is often distilled to speaking of students

of color, or women, or first-generation students, which ignores the special circumstances

of those who fit into more than one of those categories. Crenshaw (1991) offers as an

example how

> *Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they*
> *seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. And so, when the practices*
> *expound identity as a woman or person of color as an either/or proposition, they*
> *relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling. (p. 1242)*

This is very important when we are trying to understand how marginalized faculty, who

as a group, cross and meet on multiple axes of oppression – what Collins (2000) calls the

Matrix of Oppression. For each individual, we must explore their raced, gendered,

sexualized, (dis)abled self in context within the academic environment.

Although many claim to take an intersectional perspective in their research, there

is tremendous variation in how intersectionality is defined, conceptualized, and employed

in praxis (Harris & Patton, 2019). Collins (2015) conceptualizes intersectionality as both

"an overarching knowledge project whose changing contours grow from and respond to

social formations of complex social inequalities" as well as a "constellation of knowledge projects that change in relation to one another in tandem with changes in the interpretive communities that advance them" (p. 9). Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013) propose that intersectional studies

> *can be usefully framed as representing three loosely defined sets of engagements: the first consisting of applications of an intersectional framework or investigations of intersectional dynamics, the second consisting of discursive debates about the scope and content of intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological paradigm, and the third consisting of political interventions employing an intersectional lens. (p. 785)*

This study falls within Cho et al.'s (2013) first approach – investigating faculty experiences through a prism of intersectional dynamics – with the hope of the third – a change in how marginalized faculty are understood and evaluated in higher educational institutions. Moreover, this study utilizes Stewart and Nicolazzo's (2018) "conceptualization of [whiteness] as a container in which interlocking systems of domination and oppression create treacherous environments through which those who are most on the margins must navigate," (p. 141) to understand how these faculty navigate their environments. Finally, Harris and Patton (2019) assert that intersectionality's use must be broadened "to analyze all facets of power, privilege, *and* oppression embedded throughout postsecondary contexts" (p. 361, emphasis in original).

  Intersectionality as a conceptual framework is useful in that it "rethinks work, family, identity, the media and similar core constructs" (Collins, 2015, p.11). Here, it is used to explore the classroom dynamic and rethink the social construct of education. Intersectionality can move our lens beyond "race, class, and gender to incorporate sexuality, nation, ethnicity, age, and ability as similar categories of analysis" (Collins, 2015, p. 12). Here it is used to "think about how power operates in tacit ways to mediate

various peoples' life chances *across identities* in parallel ways" (Stewart & Nicolazzo, 2018, p. 141). In this study, sociology faculty who self-identify as part of these traditionally marginalized groups, offered their perspectives and experiences teaching about various types of privilege. This is particularly relevant from an intersectional framework, as identity has been central to many intersectional analyses "studying how intersecting identities produce distinctive social experiences for specific individuals and social groups" (Collins, 2015, p. 12). Intersectionality has also been used as a way to "rethink violence and similar social problems" (Collins, 2015, p.12). Here it is focused on rethinking issues of tokenism, access, and inclusion both for faculty and for students. Finally, Chela Sandoval (2000) declares intersectionality of particular use to feminists as a "methodology of the oppressed." This research studies those faculty "teaching up" (those who speak *to* power as well as speaking *from* power) as the faculty are *in* power as the teacher over student grades, however they are speaking *to* power as the students are often in the dominant group while faculty from marginalized groups are speaking against the dominant whiteness. Therefore, an intersectional framework seems fitting as a way to understanding the academic environment and "the role of [whiteness] as an incubator for the (re)production of cisnormativity, heteronormativity, patriarchy, trans-misogyny, transmisogynoir, compulsory able-bodiness, and religious hegemony" (Stewart & Nicolazzo, 2018, p. 140) in the lives of marginalized faculty.

I used an adaptation of grounded theory methodology and an intersectional theoretical perspective with the intention of inductively creating some new building blocks for a theory around teaching about privilege. Much of the literature on teaching about privilege focuses on practices and techniques without a developed theory, and

certainly without a theory from an intersectional perspective. Maxwell (2013) explains

that the concept of "grounded theory" introduced by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, "does

not refer to any particular level of theory, but to theory that is inductively developed

during a study (or series of studies) and in constant interaction with the data from that

study. This theory is 'grounded' in the actual data collected" (p. 49). In "pure" grounded

theory generation "the concepts out of which the theory is constructed are derived from

data collected during the research process and not chosen *prior* to beginning the

research" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 7 emphasis in the original). While I embarked

upon this research with no hypotheses formulated and no expectations beyond the

assumption that all faculty who teach about privilege face challenges, I originally created

a conceptual framework combining the concepts of ***racialized social systems*** (Bonilla-

Silva, 1996), ***controlling images*** (Collins, 2000), and ***racial realism*** (Bell, 1992) to

explore the social context within which these social interactions occur.

     I came into graduate school and this research with a sociological perspective. I

have been engaged in what is referred to in higher education studies as "critical" research

focusing on issues of race and gender from an intersectional perspective and offering in

my unpublished master's thesis an explanation of why societal attitudes about weight are

socially constructed and an area of social oppression. This research, while not conducted

from a specific critical race theory paradigm, began with a race-based perspective. I

situated my understanding of marginalized faculty within my sociological understanding

of the world at large, which was focused primarily on race. As I sought to understand

how marginalized faculty taught about race, I began with the assumption that academic

institutions are racialized social systems (Bonilla-Silva, 1996). I imagined that these

institutions were also ageist, gendered, ableist, religionized, and heterosexualized social

systems that forced marginalized faculty to both confront and overcome controlling

images (Collins, 2009) about their social identity(s). I further believed that their sense of

agency in combating these controlling images and being effective teachers, many with a

social justice bent, might also be impacted by what Bell (1992) refers to as racial realism

and these processes combine to contribute to their academic identity and their

pedagogical approach.

Racialized Social Systems

As most of the prior research on this topic centers on issues of race (Brooms &

Brice, 2017; Davis, Mirick, & McQueen, 2015; Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; Messner,

2011; Sue et al., 2011), race seems to be the most salient axis of oppression when

teaching about privilege. This does not discount other axes but suggests that race is

arguably the most problematic. With this in mind, I turned to the research of critical race

theorists to better understand how I might frame this study. Bonilla-Silva in his 1996

article *Rethinking Racism* proposes "the more general concept of *racialized social*

systems" (p. 469). He explains that this concept "refers to societies in which economic,

political, social, and ideological levels are particularly structured by the placement of

actors in racial categories or races" (p. 469). In other words, race, while socially

constructed and not biologically valid, has an immense impact on individual life chances

at all levels. This is expanded by Stewart & Nicolazzo's (2018) definition of whiteness

that includes multiple axes of oppression. Furthermore, according to Bonilla-Silva

(1996),

> *Although processes of racialization are always embedded in other structurations*
> *. . . they acquire autonomy and have 'pertinent affects' . . . in the social system.*

This implies that the phenomenon which is coded as racism and is regarded as a free-floating ideology in fact has a structural foundation. (p. 469)

By this Bonilla-Silva means that the racism, which is often viewed as an individual, personal issue, is actually embedded into the very foundation of our social systems, including the higher education system. This is evident in the racialized social interactions, social expectations, and discriminations at work within that system. For example, dress and speech that are considered proper and appropriate (i.e., professional) are also racialized and often gendered. Bonilla-Silva explains,

In all racialized social systems, the placement of people in racial categories involves some form of hierarchy that produces definite social relations between the races. . . . The totality of these racialized social relations and practices constitutes this racial structure of a society. (1996, pp. 469-470).

One of the central social systems in the United States is the educational system. Deil-Amen & Tevis (2009) assert that for "the past half-century, the U.S. school system has functioned as a highly rationalized and vertically integrated mechanism for socializing and sorting students into the existing social and economic structure" (p. 141). Much has been written about the racial "achievement gap" (Consortium on Chicago School Research, 2008; Deil-Amen & Tevis, 2009; Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012) and many posit that racial inequality is built into the educational system. I assert that the U.S. educational system, and higher education in particular, is a racialized social system that provides us an entrée into the social context within which these sociologists are teaching. As Stewart and Nicolazzo (2018) explained this concept of higher education as a hegemonic academia, which they refer to as "whiteness," includes a multiplicity of other axes of oppression and creates a hostile environment for those of us who are not White, not cisgender, not men, not

heterosexual, and not abled. One of the ways this hostility is expressed is through controlling images.

Controlling Images

To better understand how sociology faculty from traditionally marginalized groups navigate the social context described above, I turn next to Collins' (2000) concept of controlling images. Collins' asserts that "Intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, and sexuality could not continue without powerful ideological justifications for their existence" (2000, p. 69). She proposes that Black women's "status as outsiders becomes the point from which other groups define their normality" (p. 70). She argues that stereotypical portrayals of Black women as welfare moochers, mammies, matriarchs, and "hot mamas" allows for the justification of continued oppression of Black women in the United States (2000, p. 69). She further explains, "These controlling images are designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life" (Collins, 2000, p. 69).

While the idea of controlling images began with Patricia Hill Collins' specific references to Black women, the concept has been expanded to include controlling images of space for Latina teachers (Flores, 2015), Latino responses to controlling images across the life span (Vasquez-Tokos & Norton-Smith, 2017), controlling images of women as consumers, among a whole host of others. In this study, I look at how gendered, racialized, ableist, and other controlling images affect marginalized faculty. Jerald, Cole, Ward, & Avery (2017) propose that "perceiving gender-specific racism" in the form of controlling images (which they refer to as stereotypes) "diminishes Black women's health and well-being" (p. 487). They further found that Black women's awareness of

these controlling images leads to mental-health issues, lack of self-care, and increased use of drugs and alcohol (Jerald et al., 2017). How does this play out for faculty in higher education?

Sociology faculty members who identify as being part of a traditionally marginalized group are embedded within the racialized (and genderized, Christianized, sexualized, and ableist) social system of higher education. Therefore, while as faculty members it would seem that they have agency to teach their classes however they may choose, the controlling images which color how marginalized faculty are perceived may lead to issues such as isolation, tokenism, and struggles attaining tenure (Pittman, 2010; Stanley, 2006, Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008), as well as limit options as to how they teach about privilege and/or address student push-back, challenges, or microaggressions.

Moreover, based on my own experiences with students perceiving me through the controlling image (Collins, 2009) of an "angry black woman," I posit that other faculty will be aware of the stereotypes, misperceptions, and controlling images they face as members of traditionally marginalized groups. For example, lesbian faculty may face perceptions of "man-hating" or faculty of color face arguments of "playing the race card." As the faculty members in this study are sociologists, one might assume that their understanding and sensitivity to these controlling images is heightened by their training and background. I assert that sociology faculty, due to their specialized training and education, are acutely aware of how their agency is circumscribed by their group's controlling images. This dissertation explores how they navigate that social context particularly as it pertains to teaching about privilege.

Racial Realism

Derrick Bell (1992) asserts that for Black Americans, "Racial equality is, in fact, not a realistic goal" (p. 363). He argues for a new approach as a "legal and social mechanism on which [B]lacks can rely to have their voice and outrage heard" (p. 364). In what may be perceived as a pessimistic opinion, Bell argues:

> *Black people will never gain full equality in this country. . . . We must acknowledge it and move on to adopt policies based on what I call: 'Racial Realism.' This mind-set or philosophy requires us to acknowledge the permanence of our subordinate status. That acknowledgement enables us to avoid despair, and frees us to imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph.* (1992, pp. 373-374)

He further proposes that the continuing quest for racial equality "perpetuates our disempowerment" and argues that Racial Realism is a way to both recognize the subordinate status of Blacks in America and to be liberated by the understanding that "the struggle for freedom is, at bottom, a manifestation of our humanity that survives and grows stronger through resistance to oppression, even if that oppression is never overcome" (1992, p. 378). This is a refreshing reality check in an era of colorblind liberalism, for as Crenshaw (2011, p. 1277) reminds us "conceptions such as colorblind merit operat[e] to obscure the continuing patterns of racial power in presumptively race neutral institutions."

As with the previous concepts of racialized social structures and controlling images, I assert that this idea of racial realism can be expanded to a sense of minority realism in that women, people of color, sexual minorities, gender nonconforming individuals, differently abled individuals, and non-Christians must at some point come to the realization that in the United States they are second class citizens, stereotyped, seen as

lacking, otherized by the dominant majority (whomever that may be). I posit this as an updated version of what DuBois (1903/2007, p. 34) referred to as double-consciousness in which "one ever feels his two-ness." This has often been my experience when teaching undergraduate sociology – my knowledge of my expertise at odds with my knowledge of how students perceive a large, funny Black woman. When discussing double-consciousness with my students, the concept resonates with those who are differently abled, queer, and nongenderconforming, so I expect this will also apply to faculty with those identities.

This understanding of the racialized system in which they operate shapes (or circumscribes) their agency within a racialized, genderized, religionized, sexualized, and ableist social system of higher education. Deil-Amen & Tevis (2009) define circumscribed agency as the intersection where "individuals enact agency to direct their decisions and behaviors but do so in a way that is limited and bounded by the layers of social context within which individuals are situated" (p. 143). In their study, Deil-Amen & Tevis researched high school students whose agency was circumscribed by their lack of awareness about where they and their high schools stood in relation to the broader social context of college-going and standardized text performance. For their students, their lack of understanding about standardized test scores, the social standing of their high school, and the realities of the competition for acceptance to college limited their ability to set themselves up for success. Their limited understanding led to limited agency in terms of making themselves marketable in the college application social context. Here in this dissertation, I apply this notion of "circumscribed agency" to a very different phenomenon, that of marginalized faculty. While marginalized faculty are

arguably in a position of dominance as faculty, in a neoliberal, market driven higher

education context where students are increasingly perceived as consumers, faculty from

traditionally marginalized groups are subject to censure and often in jeopardy of losing

their jobs based on student complaints. This dissertation explores if and how they are

aware of the role hegemonic academia and its racialized realities play in their teaching

and how it shapes their response to it as they attempt to enact agency within this context.

In this study, I sought to understand how faculty who identify as part of

traditionally marginalized groups navigate the social system of hegemonic academia,

how they contend with controlling images, and if/how a sense of minority realism comes

into play in their approach to "teaching up" about privilege in college classrooms. I

hypothesize that sociology instructors come to teaching with their individual identity(s)

including but not limited to: their age, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, religious

identity, and ability status. This individual identity intersects and interacts with the social

context – the institutional context and the ageist, racist, gendered, ableist, religionized,

and heterosexualized social system within which they work and teach. Therefore, they

are forced to face and overcome controlling images about their particular social group in

order to succeed. I further hypothesize that their sense of agency may also be affected by

a sense of "realism" which indicates the understanding of how they may be oppressed by

their age, race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and ability status. These factors

combine to affect the instructor's choice of resources, including technology, readings,

activities, assignments, rapport with students, and power dynamics within the classroom

which then affects how the instructor teaches about privilege. Furthermore, their

teaching about privilege may also be affected by student factors which include classroom

and campus demographics, individual student identity(s), how open students are to new ideas, students' personal experiences, students' biases, students' previous knowledge, and the students' characterization of the instructor. I was unsure how these factors might interact to compel faculty with marginalized identities to formulate a particular approach to teaching privilege in college classrooms and how this approach might vary based on instructor factors and student factors, but the goal of the study was to uncover this process and explore those meaning-making moments. However, as I embarked on the study and followed the themes and patterns emerging from the data, my conceptual framework shifted considerably. As briefly outlined above, I shifted from a one-dimensional race-based paradigm to a more intersectional exploration of impression management and faculty academic identity. I explain my updated framework in Chapter 7, following my findings.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the scholarship of teaching and learning, the literature on faculty of color and women faculty, and intersectionality literature in several ways. First, it fills a looming gap in the literature on teaching about privilege by centering voices of marginalized faculty from diverse backgrounds and by moving beyond teaching about race to explore other issues of privilege. Concepts of privilege and inequality are central in many classrooms in the current political climate, and often deeply embedded in many areas of teaching sociology. However, most research has emphasized White faculty's approach to teaching about privilege. By focusing on an intersectional analysis, this study centers the experiences and perspectives of marginalized faculty and expands our understanding about teaching about privilege beyond the dominant group. It provides

needed insight into the experiences of traditionally marginalized faculty as they tackle these issues. Furthermore, this research adds to the literature about faculty in general, particularly faculty of color and women faculty, by focusing not on tenure, promotion, or inclusion, but on the classroom experience. Teaching, while it may be valued differently based on the institution, is one of the primary roles of higher education faculty along with research and service. This study sheds light on some of the challenges faculty face in the classroom. Finally, this study adds to intersectional analysis by utilizing a version of Deterding and Waters' (2018) flexible coding technique to conduct an intersectional qualitative analysis of faculty experience.

Chapter 3: Methodology - Teaching Up: Centering the Perspectives of Marginalized Faculty

Research Questions

As this research takes an intersectional perspective, it was important to hear the voices of as diverse a group of individuals as possible. I sought the experiences of sociology faculty from a variety of traditionally marginalized groups, who taught in various sectors of higher education across the country in order to address four main research questions:

1. What is the experience of traditionally marginalized sociology faculty as they teach about privilege?

2. How does the meaning-making of their experience vary across different intersecting social identities?

3. How are these experiences and meanings reflected in their teaching practice?

4. What implications do these findings have for retention and support of traditionally marginalized faculty?

Currently, the literature on teaching about privilege focuses on issues of race, with any other social oppressions addressed in passing. It seems that in the current literature it behooves us to ask, "Which oppression is privileged?" when it comes to exploring privilege. While there is some mention of gender, there is very little reference to disability, religion, gender expression, and trans* identity. Furthermore, the research on teaching about privilege primarily assumes a White audience. What would it mean to center the experiences of non-White faculty and other faculty from traditionally marginalized groups? How might we expand our understanding of how best to engage students around issues of privilege if we look beyond race? How might this affect the

"sincere fiction of individual merit" (Messner, 2011, p. 6) that students bring into college classrooms? Only by employing a broader lens will we be able to explore these possibilities.

Research Design

The research design, due to the use of qualitative methodology, was less straightforward than might be found in a quantitative project. Maxwell (2013, p. 4) asserts that an interactive research design in which "the different parts . . . form an integrated and interacting whole . . . rather than being linked in a linear or cyclic sequence" is the best approach to qualitative research.

Taylor, Bogdan, and DeVault (2016) assert that as a methodology, qualitative research is inductive, using the data to lead to insights and understandings instead of approaching research with a firm hypothesis (p. 8). Qualitative methodology is particularly appropriate in a project that centers on traditionally marginalized individuals, as the "goal of qualitative research is to examine how things look from different vantage points" (Taylor et al., 2016, p. 10). As this is an inductive approach using a grounded theory design, there is not a linear process proceeding from a research question through data analysis. Instead, I follow Maxwell's (2013) advice:

> *The activities of collecting and analyzing data, developing and modifying theory, elaborating or refocusing the research questions, and identifying and addressing validity threats are usually all going on more or less simultaneously, each influencing all of the others. (p. 2)*

Instead of postponing data analysis until the end of the data collection period, data analysis was both ongoing and periodic.

My goal was to interview between 10-15 sociologists including faculty of color, white women, and those who identify as one or more of the following: gender or sexual

minorities, non-Christian faculty, and disabled. I reached saturation with a total of 19

participants. Data gathered through interviews led to further questions and further review

of the literature which pointed me to new questions for future interviews. Moreover, I

was actively writing and publishing as I did the research. The data led to themes, the

themes lead to more questions which led to more literature and more data in a cyclical

pattern. Moreover, my research design was impacted by my pilot study in which I

observed a transwoman teach and subsequently interviewed her. As I had watched her

teach, I was able to ask about specific teaching approaches and techniques that did not

come up in the original interview questions. After this experience, I added additional

questions to the interview schedule to explicitly explore teaching techniques as I knew I

would not be observing the faculty in the study.

While researchers such as Charmaz have created very specific grounded theory

methodology (Charmaz & Keller, 2016), my approach is more in line with the original

1967 Glaser & Strauss approach as outlined by Maxwell (2013) in that my modified

grounded theory approach was guided by the data and themes emerging from the

research. The data led me to explore and synthesize sociological concepts in new ways

that extended current theories. While I did not develop a complete theory, hopefully this

work will lead to full theorization on issues around teaching while part of a marginalized

group. According to Maxwell, grounded theory "does not refer to any particular level of

theory, but to theory that is inductively developed during a study . . . and in constant

interaction with the data from that study" (2013, p. 49). In a grounded theory approach,

the theory and concepts emerge from the data as patterns and themes become apparent

across interviews. Given the approach of Glaser & Strauss and Maxwell's interpretation

of it, my study led to the creation of a new conceptual framework synthesizing previously independent sociological concepts to develop a partial process of faculty academic identity creation. Furthermore, I borrowed from Beagan and Weinberg's (2018) approach, with the understanding that as one can almost never generalize based on qualitative research, my goal was not to define the overall experiences of traditionally marginalized sociology faculty, rather the aim was to open up discussion and expand the literature on teaching about privilege in sociology by illustrating the intersectionally nuanced perspectives of my participants (p. 335).

Research Relationships

I embarked on the research by creating a list of possible participants from my own social network within the field of sociology. I created a list of approximately fifty potential participants with whom I had a friendship, collegial relationship, or good acquaintanceship. There were many advantages to this approach. First, since I lacked the funding to travel, this made it easier to create rapport over video-conferencing because I had previously had some face-to-face interaction with them and/or varying amounts of interaction over social media. Secondly, it reduced my anxiety as an interviewer as most of them have been quite supportive of my goal of attaining my doctorate. Finally, as they are all sociologists, they have done their own research and are supportive of the goals of sociological research in general; therefore, it is logical to assume they would be more open to volunteering their time for sociological research.

The challenge with this approach is that I have already formed my own opinions about these individuals, so I had to be extra reflexive and cautious about interjecting my own biases and perceptions into the research. I purposefully entered into the interview

with an open mind as if the participant was a stranger to me, listening carefully to how they described and perceived themselves which might or might not match how I perceived them as individuals and sociologists. The other challenge with this approach was status differentials. Many of my participants had PhDs and were in tenure-track positions at Research 1 institutions, whereas in academia someone such as myself, with a master's degree teaching at a community college is seen as more junior and less as a peer.

Finally, in order to find the intersectional perceptions that I sought, I needed to venture beyond my own social network. Therefore, I asked sociologists and academics that I knew to refer me to other sociologists in their social networks. My hope was to be able to find multiple queer, disabled, and trans* individuals, but unfortunately that was not the case. In the end, two of my participants identified as disabled in some way, two identified as gay/lesbian, and I was unable to find any trans* identified participants.

Setting and Participant Selection

Participants were solicited through Facebook posts and individual emails. I purposefully cast a wide net aiming to create a nationwide sample of sociologists and not just concentrating on my Southwest context. I utilized purposeful selection to ensure that "persons . . . are selected deliberately to provide information that is particularly relevant to [my] questions and goals" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 97). Utilizing a snowball sample approach – "getting to know some informants and having them introduce you to others," I identified participants who taught in all areas of higher education (research universities, teaching four-year institutions, and community colleges) in diverse areas of the country, who were a variety of religions, racial identities, ages, and genders, with a vast range of teaching experiences (Taylor et al., 2016, p. 108). After the interviews, I asked

participants to refer me to possible future interviewees within their professional and social networks. This approach to participant selection was how I endeavored to uncover similarities and differences based on identity(s), social context, and other factors.

Data Collection

Data were gathered through semi-structured, in-depth interviews with nineteen sociology faculty from a diverse variety of institutions of higher education who identified as part of a traditionally marginalized group such as woman, non-White, non-heterosexual, or disabled. Interviews were conducted over Zoom video conferencing and were recorded with the permission of the participants. The audio recordings were transcribed and all identifying information was changed in the transcripts.

Corbin & Strauss (2015, p. 39) explain that semi-structured interviews "enable researchers to maintain some consistency over the concepts that are covered in each interview." Interviewing as the primary means of data collection was a deliberate choice. Seidman (2013) asserts "stories are a way of knowing. . . . Telling stories is essentially a meaning-making process" (p. 7). He goes on to explain that, "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (2013, p. 9). The focus of this research is the lived experiences of sociology faculty and that data is best excavated through careful in-depth interviewing. While some may argue that multiple data points provide "information about different aspects of the phenomena that you are studying" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 102) or that "observation can enable you to draw inferences about [the subject's] perspective that you couldn't obtain by relying exclusively on interview data" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 103), Seidman (2013, p. 10) responds that "if the interest is in what

Schutz (1967) calls their 'subjective understanding' – then it seems to me that interviewing . . . may be the best avenue of inquiry" (p. 10).

I considered observation as a way of obtaining another data point and as a way to triangulate the data; however, upon reflection, the risk of student and faculty reactivity and serious concerns about the Hawthorne Effect – "frequently referred to by researchers to account for unexpected outcomes which are believed to depend on the fact that the subjects in a study have been aware that they are part of an experiment and are receiving extra attention as a result" (Merrett, 2007) - outweighed the possible benefits of observational data. Moreover, Maxwell (2013) points to Greene's argument "that the use of triangulation to simply confirm a conclusion has been overemphasized and overrated" (p. 104). Therefore, I choose to focus on a single method of data collection.

In order to be able to utilize Deterding and Waters' (2018) flexible coding approach, participants were asked to fill out a demographic questionnaire before the interview which asked them about their official title, years of teaching experience, and classes taught. It also asked about the institution at which they taught, requesting that they share the type of institution as well as the student demographics. The questionnaire then moved on to racial/ethnic identity, nationality, gender identity, sexual orientation (and public sexual orientation – with the understanding that some individuals may not share their sexual orientation in all social contexts), religion, first language, age, ability status, and marital status.

I took a collaborative approach to this research, understanding that my participants were all sociologists, many with higher statuses and much more research experience than myself. I asked participants to choose their own pseudonym. While this

was surprising to many, I found it illuminating to hear their pseudonyms and the reasoning for it. I had a concern that any pseudonyms that I picked for recipients would reveal more about my own perceptions and biases about them and asking them to choose their own both added to the interesting diversity of pseudonyms and negated any research bias.

Interview Questions

In Appendix A, I have included the demographic questionnaire that participants were asked to fill out before the interview. Furthermore, in Appendix B, I have included the final set of semi-structured interview questions. In the interview schedule, I began with what Glesne (2015) refers to as grand tour questions which are "a request to verbally take the interviewer through a place, a time period, a sequence of events or activities, or some group of people or objects" (p. 101). These types of questions start the interview in a relaxed way by "asking for experiential detail that a respondent can easily, comfortably, and readily answer" (Glesne, 2015, p. 102) before we move into the more challenging questions about their teaching experiences. Based on my pilot interviews, I added several questions aimed at understanding the respondent's approach to teaching and techniques for creating a specific learning environment. Although I did have one question about this in the pilot interviews, I realized that many of the smaller nuanced teaching choices were not discussed until I asked about them specifically.

Ethics

Kilbourn (2006) stresses the importance of "acknowledge[ing] any potential ethical problems beyond common everyday risk" (p. 559). He encourages social scientific researchers with human subjects to:

(1) not be naïve concerning issues of power and privilege, (2) thoroughly understand . . . the implications of ethical concepts such as risk, no intent to harm, informed consent, and the right to withdraw, (3) adhere to the formal ethical protocols of the university and . . . (4) most important, act ethically. (p. 559)

Seidman (2013) reminds us that "Issues of equity in an interviewing relationship are affected by the social identities that participants and interviewers bring to the interview" (p. 101). Although issues of power and privilege are at play in any social context, the risk in this study was minimized by several factors including my own status as a community college faculty member (arguably close to the bottom of the status hierarchy in academia), my approach to participants as co-creators of knowledge instead of research subjects, and my feminist/humanist approach to interviewing.

In terms of risk to participants, I acknowledged that these in-depth discussions of campus climate and classroom interactions involved sensitive issues such as race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and/or discrimination. It was my hope that participants benefitted from the validation that others have faced (and overcome) similar obstacles. Moreover, unlike many other research studies, the participants will receive a list of techniques and approaches that have worked for their peers and may be able to increase their own skill set and best practices around teaching about privilege. As all participants are trained sociologists, they are well-versed in the concepts of informed consent and the right to withdraw; nonetheless, this was explicitly discussed before each interview. Furthermore, I completed all required steps in the Institutional Review Board process at the University of Arizona (protocol #1802271979, approved March 5, 2018).

Finally, my intent was to conduct ethical, responsible, and honest research. Every possible step was be taken to protect confidentiality and anonymity of participants.

Seidman (2013, p. 108) states "Each participant or interviewer may have different boundaries for what he or she considers public, personal, and private." While I am interested in exploring the experiences and meaning-making occurring in the lives of sociology faculty, I am also committed to respecting their boundaries. I endeavored to honestly and clearly portray their experiences in a truthful manner.

I also believe that a more equitable form of reciprocity is built into this research design than in many others. Seidman believes reciprocity "is the most problematic aspect of interviewing" (2013, p. 110). He offers reciprocity through "my interest in participants' experience, my attending to what they say, and my honoring their words when I present their experience to a larger public" (2013, p. 110). I intend to do the same in addition to offering a tangible list of best practices and techniques assembled from the interviews for their benefit as well as the benefit of the reader.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was ongoing and recurring as I wanted to be led by the data. Corbin and Strauss (2015, pg. 86) remind us that qualitative inquiry should be flexible and responsive to going where the data leads. In my approach to data analysis, I wanted to be fully present during the interviews, so I took very few notes; however, I did pay attention to particular phrases that jumped out at me so that I would go back and review them in context. In the initial coding phase, I used transcription software to transcribe each interview. I then went through and made corrections where the automated transcription used incorrect wording, reading each transcript holistically and looking for themes and patterns.

Deterding and Waters (2018, p. 14) offer a novel approach to coding which allows researchers to "communicate the logical steps underpinning their argument and report these as they write up their study findings." Their flexible coding begins with indexing the transcripts (connecting content to the interview questions). As researchers work through this process, they start to develop an idea of how concepts may be related through memoing (Deterding & Waters, 2018, p. 15). In the second stage, analytic codes are applied only to applicable sections of interview transcripts (as indicated in the indexing) and in the third stage, computer software is used "for conceptual validation, model building, and the testing and refinement of the data-based theory" (Deterding & Waters, 2018, p. 15).

In this study, I used a variation of this methodology by indexing the transcripts to illuminate relevant answers to research questions and utilizing data from the demographic questionnaire to isolate "the salient personal characteristics of the interviewees" (Deterding & Waters, 2018, p. 17). This allowed me to do an intersectional analysis illustrating themes and patterns across and among institution types and social groups. Coding then focused on the relevant sections of transcript, as indicated by the indexing, which discuss participants' experiences teaching about privilege, how they make meaning of these experiences, how those meanings are reflected in their teaching practices, and any implications for support and job satisfaction. This approach allows for reanalysis or secondary analysis focused on different themes in the transcripts.

In subsequent rounds of coding, I aggregated participants into social groups to further explores similarities and differences. This allowed me to expose greater

intersectional nuances. Rounds of coding included women faculty, faculty of color and

Black faculty, and Black women faculty.

Validity

Validity is not a focus for all qualitative researchers; however, this study

addresses validity as defined by Maxwell (2013, p. 122) "to refer to the correctness or

credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of

account." He refers to validity threats which are "often conceptualized as alternative

explanations or interpretations" (2013, p. 123). Maxwell (2013) goes on to explain that:

> *Validity, as a component of your research design, consists of your
> conceptualization of these threats and the strategies you use to discover if they
> are plausible in your actual research situation, and to deal with them if they are
> plausible. (p. 123)*

Two of the main validity threats are researcher bias (or subjectivity), "how a particular

researcher's values and expectations may have influenced the conduct and conclusions of

the study" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 124) and reactivity which is the "influence of the

researcher on the setting or individuals studied" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 124).

My interest in this research grew from my own experience over ten years of

teaching sociology at the college level. I have been the subject of student hostility,

microaggressions, and outright disrespect as I struggled to develop techniques to

introduce these hot-button topics to students in a way that did not immediately cause

them to be defensive. My passion for teaching, for sociology, and my desire to be a more

effective teacher drives my thirst for increased knowledge in this area. Glesne (2015)

speaks to the merit of:

> *practitioners as researchers (e.g., teachers, nurses, social workers) who, with
> others in their community, investigate their own 'backyard' . . . develop
> collaborative reflective data collecting and analysis procedures for their own*

practices or communities and thereby contribute to the sociopolitical context in which they dwell. (p. 26)

My active participation in the national community of sociologists provides me with an "in" and provides an easier pathway to establishing rapport based on shared experiences. Moreover, I believe that my personal stake in this research helped me persevere through the inevitable challenges of data collection and dissertation writing.

I came to this research with two major *a priori* assumptions: 1) sociology faculty address issues of privilege no matter what specific classes they teach and 2) all faculty who teach about privilege face challenges. I suspected that the challenges facing individual faculty vary based on the demographics of the student population as well as the faculty member's identity in various social groups. I was aware of the risks of imposing my own biases on the research and strove to maintain critical subjectivity as defined by Reason in 1988:

a quality of awareness in which we do not suppress our primary experience; nor do we allow ourselves to be swept away and overwhelmed by it; rather we raise it to consciousness and use it as part of the inquiry process. (quoted in Maxwell, 2013, p. 45)

It is impossible to eliminate researcher bias or subjectivity. Each of us, as individuals, come into every situation with our own preconceived notions, expectations, beliefs, and values, and as Maxwell (2013, p. 124) reminds us, we cannot "deal with these issues by *eliminating* the researcher's theories, beliefs, and perceptual lens." Corbin & Strauss (2015) advise that "when it comes to analysis . . . perspectives, biases, and assumptions can have their greatest impact" (p. 46). They offer two strategies that have been incorporated in the research design of this study: 1) using constant comparisons

between data points, and 2) finding differing opinions. Corbin and Strauss (2015, p. 47) argue:

> [t]he first thing a researcher can do is be aware. . . . make an effort to get in touch with those different aspects of self and think through how these might impact the research projects.

I am aware of my bias and perception that women, people of color, and those who do not fit in the gender binary or who are not Christian and/or heterosexual may face greater difficulty in the classroom. I have a perception that faculty who are men, no matter their race, have it easier than faculty who are women. I have a perception that White men faculty can say exactly the same thing that I say, in exactly the same tone and students believe them and do not contradict them. That has been my experience. However, I endeavored throughout to remind myself that my experience is my own and not necessarily indicative of general patterns in society. I actively worked to prove my perceptions wrong and looked for the uniqueness of each participant's experience as well as themes across experiences.

Within the grounded theory methodology some of the "built-in checks and balances" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 47) help researchers control for biases. One particularly useful method is the use of

> constant comparisons that are made throughout the research where data is matched against data not only for similarities and differences but also for consistency, with researchers being able to check into how they give meaning and conceptualize. (p. 47)

This technique was utilized throughout the data collection and analysis. Finally, as a safeguard against researcher subjectivity, I sought outside opinions on my analysis including those of my participants, advisor, and committee members.

In terms of reactivity, or how I, as the researcher, might affect the participants in the study, I turned to the work of Seidman (2013) for best practices in interviewing. The most important quality of a good qualitative researcher is the ability to listen. "This type of active listening requires concentration and focus beyond what we usually do in everyday life. It requires that, for a good part of the time, we quash our normal instinct to talk" (Seidman, 2013, p. 82). The use of active listening techniques reduces the risk of the interviewer inserting their ideas or opinions into the interview. I utilized Seidman's technique of

> *compar[ing] the relative length of the participant's [transcript] paragraphs with the interviewer's. If the interviewer is listening well, his or her paragraphs will be short and relatively infrequently interspersed among the longer paragraphs of the participant's responses. (2013, p. 82)*

I also made sure to ask questions when I did not understand instead of assuming or placing my own interpretations on what participants stated (Seidman, 2013). Finally, I avoided leading questions that "influenc[e] the direction the response will take" and focused on asking open-ended questions that "establi[sh] the territory to be explored while allowing the participant to take any direction he or she wants" (Seidman, 2013, p. 87).

The Participants

This study is focused on the experiences of nineteen sociology faculty in the United States. The participants came from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds, but all identified as cisgender. Over half of participants (10) were Black which makes sense considering my racial identity as a Black woman and the fact that I utilized snowball sampling, reaching out first to my social network. The rest of the sample was made up of 5 Whites, 2 Latino/a/x, 1 Asian American, and 1 Mixed Race individual. The majority of

participants identified as cisgender women (15) with fewer than one quarter of

participants identifying as men (4). In terms of sexual orientation, the majority of

participants identified as straight (16) with two individuals identifying as gay/lesbian, and

one as heteroflexible (including under heterosexual). When it came to ability status,

again, the majority of participants identified as physically abled (17) with two individuals

identifying as disabled in some way. As this is an intersectional study, instead of

providing the usual pie charts of participants by race, participants by gender, etc. I have

attempted to illustrate the complexity of the intersectional identities in two ways. Figure

1 is a complex Venn Diagram of participant identities and Figure 2 lists the participants

by pseudonym with colored arrows grouped by intersecting identities, with colored

arrows connecting them to those identities.

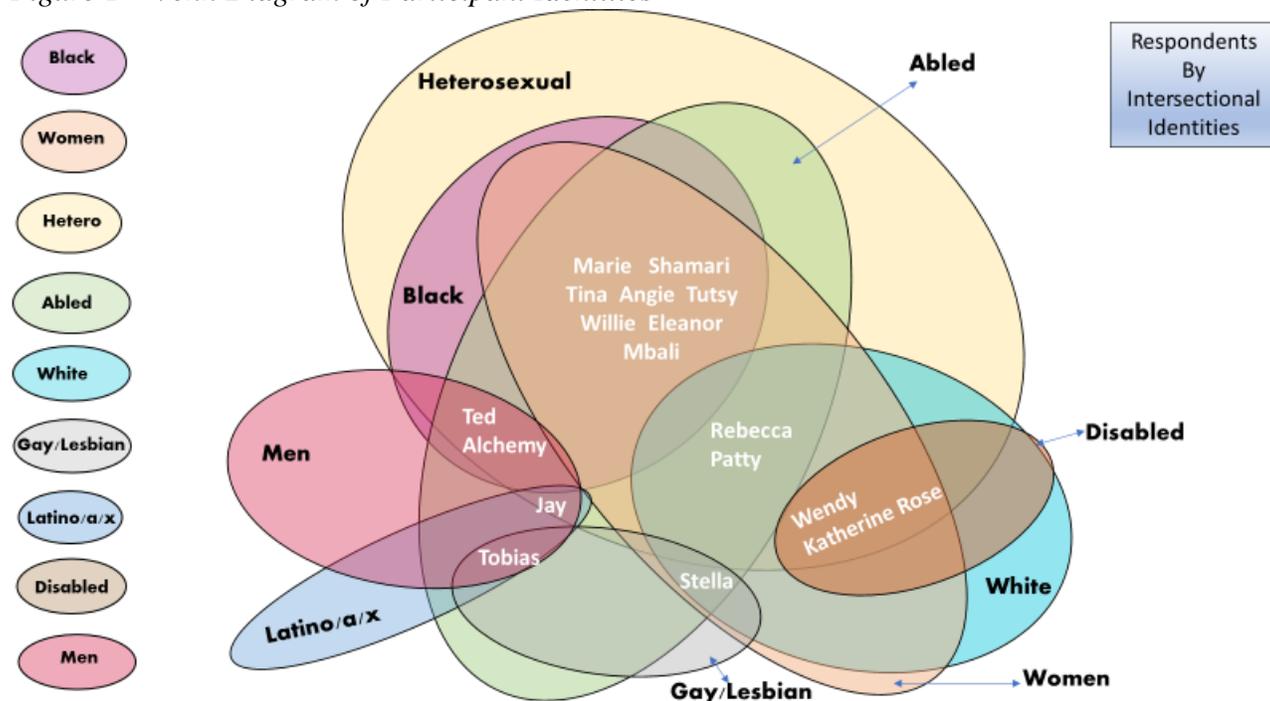*Figure 1 – Venn Diagram of Participant Identities*

Figure 2 – Participants by Intersecting Identities
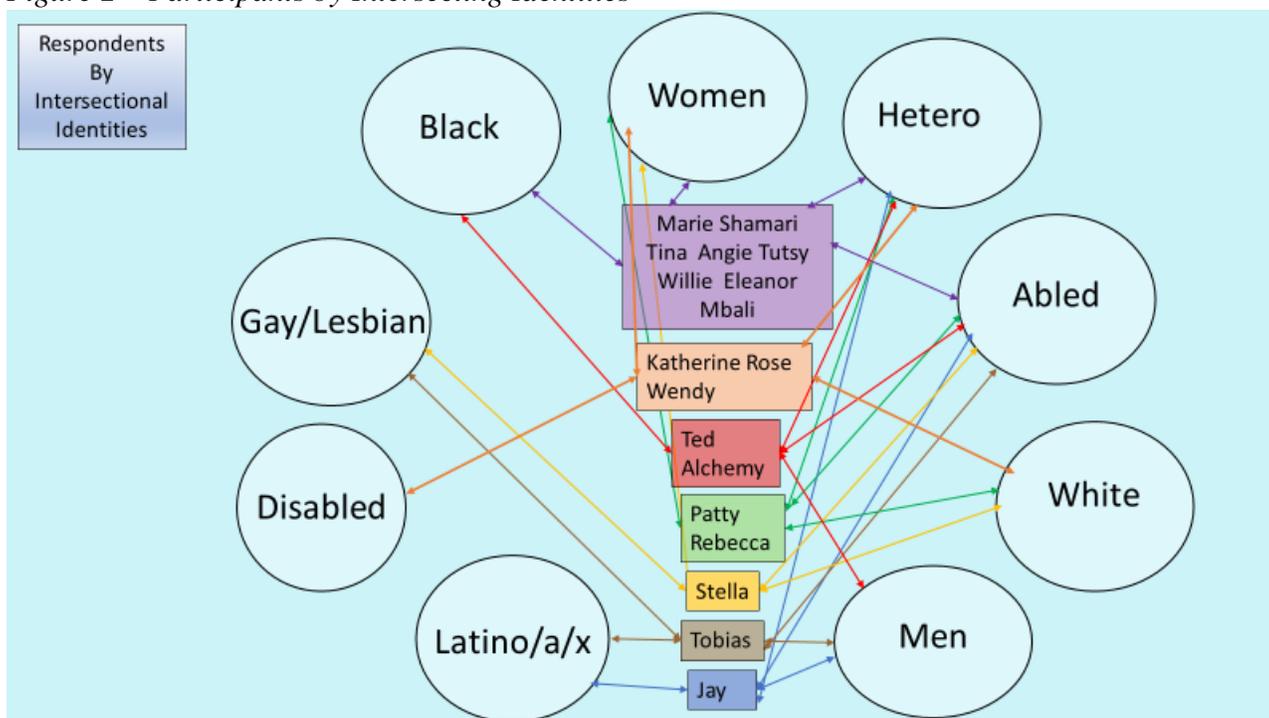
Turning to the institutional context, approximately one quarter of participants taught at community colleges (5) and approximately one quarter of participants were employed at public teaching universities (5). Almost another quarter were faculty at Research 1 institutions (4) with the rest split between private 4- year institutions (3) and public 4-year institutions (2) – see figure 3.

Figure 3 – Participants by Institution Type
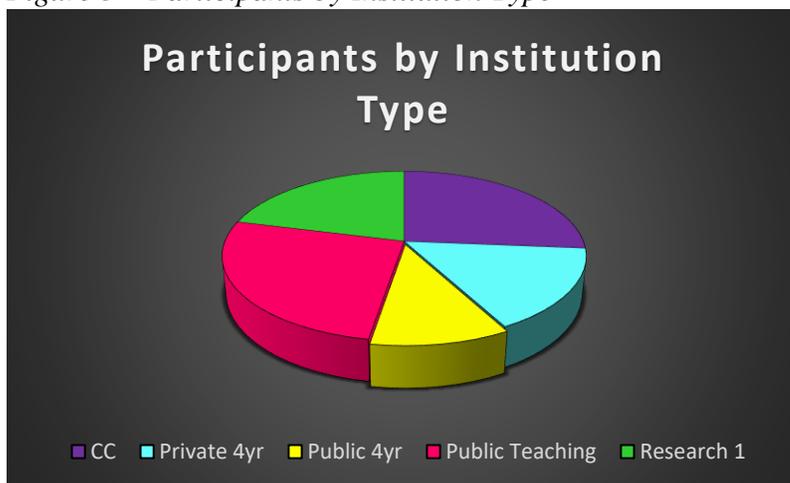
Although almost half of participants held the rank of full professor (8), there was a range of faculty ranks including associate professor (5), assistant professor (2) adjunct (2) along with one lecturer and one grad student who was teaching – see figure 6.

Finally, participants varied greatly in the number of years of teaching experience they had with the largest group having 15-20 years of experience (7), some having 20-30 years of experience (4), two having over 30 years of experience, two having 10-15 years of experience, 1 having 5-10 years of experience, and 3 being new to teaching with less than 5 years of experience – see figure 4.

Figure 4 – Participants by Teaching Experience
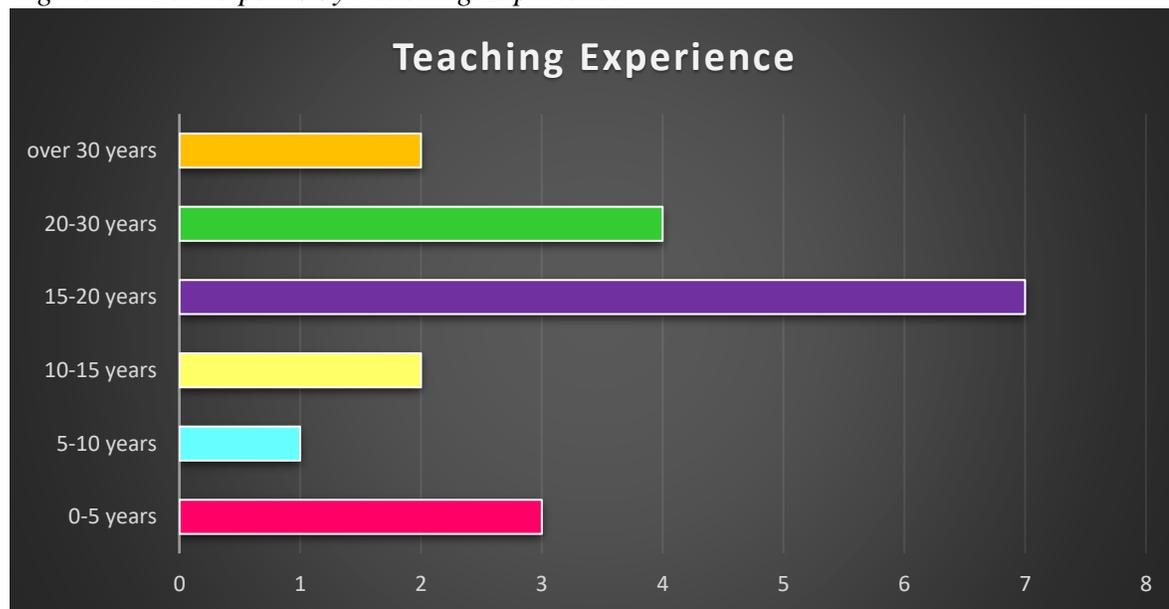
Overall, the sample consisted of the most diverse group possible across a range of social characteristics in order to create the best possibility of a nuanced intersectional analysis.

Participant Demographics

This research was conducted through an intersectional lens. Therefore, in the findings and discussion sections to follow participants are grouped and regrouped based on various aspects of their social identities. I am providing this overview of the

participants as a reference. In the following sections, I provide parenthetical information

to remind readers of the salient intersectional identities of the respondents.

Figure 5 – Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	*Race*	*Gender*	*Sexuality*	*(Dis)Ability*	*Institution Type*	*Title*	*Years Teaching*
Lori	Mixed	Woman	Hetero	Able	Private 4 yr	Adjunct	15-20
Kavita	Asian	Woman	Hetero	Able	Private 4 yr	Assoc Prof.	15-20
Marie	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Comm College	Prof.	20-30
Shamari	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Public Teaching	Assoc. Prof.	5-10
Wendy	White	Woman	Hetero	Disabled	Public Teaching	Prof.	15-20
Stella	White	Woman	Lesbian	Able	Comm College	Prof.	15-20
Rebecca	White	Woman	Hetero	Able	Public 4 yr	Prof.	30+
Patty	White	Woman	Hetero	Able	Research 1	Lecturer	20-30
Katherine Rose	White	Woman	Hetero	Disabled	Private 4 yr	Grad Student	1-5
Tina	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Comm College	Assoc. Prof.	15-20
Angie	Black	Woman	Hetero-flexible	Able	Research 1	Asst. Prof.	1-5
Tutsy	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Public Teaching	Prof.	20-30
Willie	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Research 1	Prof.	10-15
Eleanor	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Public Teaching	Prof.	30+
Mbali	Black	Woman	Hetero	Able	Public 4 yr	Prof.	20-30
Jay	Latino	Man	Hetero	Able	Public Teaching	Assoc. Prof.	10-15
Ted	Black	Man	Hetero	Able	Research 1	Assoc. Prof.	15-20
Alchemy	Black	Man	Hetero	Able	Comm College	Asst. Prof.	15-20
Tobias	Latino	Man	Gay	Able	Comm College	Adjunct	1-5

Limitations

As this research is based on a limited snowball sample, the findings are not generalizable. While purposeful sampling was employed in order to reach faculty across the United States across a range of institution types and with a variety of marginalized identities, the experiences of nineteen faculty and my own cannot be indicative of the wide diversity in lived experiences of marginalized faculty. Moreover, this research focuses on faculty in the discipline of sociology. While the implications go beyond the discipline, important differences might be discovered if this research were replicated in a different discipline. Furthermore, due to a lack of representation in my sample, I was not able to look at the intersection of race/gender/sexuality, but I would posit that for openly gay faculty of color there would be additional "controlling images" and different forms of resistance, even from students of color. Finally, due to my initial interest specifically in the areas of teaching about privilege defined generally, leaving space for participants to offer their own interpretation of what that meant to them and what aspects of that experience were most relevant to them. As a result, my prepared interview questions did not directly address specific areas of privilege such as disability, sexuality, race, or gender if not mentioned by the participant. Instead I asked questions about identity as a whole and about teaching about privilege in general so that respondents would share what stood out to them in terms of their own meaning-making around these two core topics. This resulted in a focus on race for the majority of participants. For most respondents, the area that they were challenged about teaching was identities in which they were oppressed. Patty (White, adjunct faculty woman) articulates this notion, "I think any of the any of the statuses that I embody, I have the hardest time teaching about because I

sometimes feel like students will be dismissive of it because of the messenger from whom the message is coming." After collecting and analyzing all the data, I think there are several reasons why race emerged so prominently in my findings. First, as the majority of faculty in my study identified as non-White, this was an area of social oppression that they inhabited. Second, this research was conducted during the Trump administration when racial tensions were at the forefront of the American consciousness. Third, with shifting national consciousness in areas of sexuality and gender, race remains a controversial topic and White privilege a polarizing topic.Further research that delves more intentionally into specific areas of oppression and privilege is needed to add to our understanding. The research on teaching and teaching about privilege must move beyond race or gender or sexual orientation into the more complicated, but necessary intersectional analysis of diverse faculty identities if we are to truly understand the experiences of marginalized faculty in higher education.

Chapter 4: Teaching Up: Findings

First, a note about how the findings are organized. In writing this, I struggled to find an organizational approach that was intersectional and flowed well. Socialized to group participants by social identity, I started with women faculty, faculty of color, queer faculty etc.; however, that just illuminated the difficulty of intersectional analysis. There was so much overlap that I found it impossible to know which findings to put under which group. Instead, the findings are organized by the themes that emerged during the research, and each theme is explored with an intersectional analysis. I further divided the findings into two chapters. The first chapter focuses on specific themes in data. The second chapter focuses on more specific recommendations for individual faculty that emerged from the data. Each findings chapter is followed by a discussion chapter.

This first set of findings illustrates six major themes. First, teaching about privilege and inequality is embedded in the approach to teaching about sociology for most of the faculty in this study. Second, faculty spent time and effort preparing for, responding to, and dealing with student resistance particularly for those at PWIs. Third, impression management was a key area of concern due to an awareness of controlling images and student perceptions, particularly at the beginning of one's career. Fourth, women faculty adamantly refused the title of "Mrs." even those who were married, but women of color insisted students use their titles. Fifth, women faculty of color found feminist ideologies about teaching unrealistic. Finally, for Black women faculty in particular, being their culturally authentic selves and modeling for students Black ways of being professional and academic rather than conforming to raced (and gendered)

hegemonic perceptions of "professionalism" were core to their teaching style and professional identity.

Teaching About Privilege is Central to Sociology
"No matter what . . . you have to always be talking about privilege"

It is clear from this research that issues of privilege and inequality were central to teaching in any sociology classroom. Most participants expressed this belief. Patty (White woman adjunct faculty) explains: "I feel like it's so woven into my orientation to the discipline . . . my definition of sociology is the causes and consequences of socially patterned inequality . . . that entails being able to talk about privilege." Eleanor (Black tenured woman) concurs: "Well, it's really got to be central to what I do, because I'm, you know, working against social injustice and oppression. And obviously, that means they have to understand, you know, how these systems are relational, and that privilege is created through oppression." Angie (Black tenure-track woman) explains further:

> *as a sociologist, I feel like privilege and discrimination are two sides of the same coin . . . only talking about discrimination . . . you're missing a whole other side of the way the world is working. A more insidious side of the way the world is working because it's super easy to tell people to quit beating that person over there, but it's much harder to quit hiring Becky with the bad grades.*

In this quote, she points to the necessity of "studying up" or looking at the privilege as well as the oppression. If we only focus on the oppression, it allows those who benefit to see themselves as not part of the problem. Tina (Black tenured woman) agrees, "I'm always trying to get them to think about not only disadvantage, but the flip side. . . . It's a relational thing. You can't have one without the other." This is echoed by Eleanor (Black tenured woman) with over 20 years of teaching experience, "They have to understand, you know, how these systems are relational, and that privilege is created through oppression, right? And oppression exists to create privilege."

For many participants, part of their teaching philosophy and reason for being in the classroom is about social justice. This has been my experience as well. In teaching at the community college level, I was less concerned with students mastering sociology than opening their minds to how different life experiences lead to different perceptions of the world. My focus was on facilitating a sense of cultural competence and the sociological imagination.

The faculty in this study not only teach about inequality and privilege in classes that are focused on these areas such as race, whiteness, or gender, they also – in the words of Tobias (Latino newly tenure-track man) – "try to have [privilege] at the forefront in all my classes." This sentiment is echoed by Alchemy (Black tenured man) who has been teaching at community colleges for 10 years and who believes, "[in] every aspect of life, we have to understand that people are coming from different types of conditions . . . this might help with understanding." These examples illustrate how faculty who themselves have been marginalized, understand the importance of intersectionality and personal perspective for helping their students grasp these complex concepts. The fact that so many participants' teaching centers aspects of privilege, oppression, and inequality supports my underlying assumption that these themes are central to the discipline of sociology and are taught not only in classes that are specific to marginalized groups or inequity, but also embedded in all sociology classes to some extent.

This finding suggests that, as with many other disciplines, sociology tends to attract a certain type of scholar. The 19 scholar teachers interviewed here, along with me, have a focus on equity and inclusion and increasing access for marginalized groups. This

may prove important when exploring student resistance as, often, classes such as Race &

Ethnicity, or Introduction to Sociology are offered as General Education classes to a wide

range of students who have different perspectives or understanding of the world. For

many students, these concepts are perceived as opinions based on perception rather than

rigorous social scientific inquiry, and therefore are easily dismissed and/or combatted.

"Indirectly, it's about privilege"

Among the minority who felt that privilege was not a core element of their

teaching, explanations varied. Katherine Rose (White newly tenure-track woman) stated:

> *Well, it's probably implicit in everything I do. I could do a better job of teaching it explicitly. . . because I worry about coming across as too liberal . . . so I want to get them to the idea of privilege via the structural idea.*

In contrast, Marie (Black tenured woman) asserts, "I would say power is what I

teach most about . . . sometimes they go hand in hand, I talk about power and privilege."

She further explains that this is partly due to the student demographics as she teaches at a

campus where Latino/a/x and African American students are a majority: "and it's also

partly due to me, my kind of philosophy . . . how fundamental I think power dynamics

are."

Mbali (Black tenured woman) teaching at a predominantly White institution, feels

that "it's somewhere in the middle. And I say that, because everything I teach tends to

have some Marxism in there." Finally, Rebecca (White tenured woman) with many years

of teaching experience who teaches mainly graduate students, shares:

> *I do teach a lot about inequality. So indirectly, it's about privilege. . .. Explicitly, you know, that's like, not on the agenda, so to speak, as a topic, privilege for me, but it comes up all the time.*

These findings show that issues of privilege, inequality, and power are addressed broadly--both directly and indirectly in a variety of sociology classes that span institutions and class levels. For these sociologists, as well as for myself, teaching is a way to fight for social justice by increasing awareness around these issues. This analysis is illustrated by Eleanor (Black tenured woman) who explains, "I'm, you know, working against social injustice and oppression." Tutsy (Black tenured woman) who has been teaching over 25 years, shared how inequality is "the essence of sociology." Ted (Black tenured man) elaborates stating:

> *But that's what draws me to sociology, theoretically, is explanations of these patterns of difference, and inequality in particular . . . That's the core of it. And as a faculty of color, and in teaching students of color, I feel like it helps to affirm what our perspective is, and that we're not crazy for thinking that race is important, gender is important too, class is important. And so that's, that's core for me as core of who I am and how I've experienced the world. And its core in terms of affirming our students' perspectives, and those that we are most interested in helping.*

Student Resistance is Inevitable

Student resistance takes many forms. For some faculty it can be expressed in subtle ways such as rolled eyes, side conversations, and lack of attention when discussing certain concepts. From there, faculty may experience student resistance on a continuum from less overt to completely hostile. For example, I have had a student note on a test question about colorblind racism "I know this is the answer you want, but I still don't think it's racism." Students have skipped class on the days scheduled to discuss race or gender. In more overt resistance, participants had students walk out of films, say offensive and racist things in class or online discussions and question/argue with the instructor. A more insidious form of student resistance is student feedback surveys. Students often take this opportunity to malign the instructor and the class in an

anonymous way which leaves the instructor no opportunity to defend themselves. Finally, several of us deal with student resistance in the form of student complaints on any number of issues.

When exploring the idea of student resistance to learning concepts such as White privilege and systemic racism, here I observed more of a gender influence. Faculty who are men faced subtle or less direct pushback from students, if any. In contrast women faculty, particularly those of color dealt, with resistance such as students talking back, being reported to administrators, and even death threats. While I, thankfully, did not endure death threats in my teaching career, more than one dean has pointed out to me that I received more student complaints than other faculty in the department. These complaints ranged from insisting that my grading policy was too strict, to insisting that I was trying to indoctrinate students into my "liberal agenda," to insisting that I had it out for – fill in the blank – White students, men, psychology majors, Mormons, you name it. My perception is that students did not afford me the respect that my White male peers received and that they felt comfortable complaining about me due to fact that I was a Black woman, often the only Black woman faculty at the school.

"Thankfully, nothing has happened . . . yet."

A few participants have stated that they have not dealt with what they consider to be serious student resistance, such as Tobias (Latino newly tenure-track man) who shared that in his three years, "Thankfully, nothing has happened yet. But you know, I'm already ready for it." Or Mbali (Black tenured woman) who admits:

> *If they are in certain departments, they're probably never going to take a course by anybody who's of color. . . . It might be something that's new to them to have me as a professor. I've not really been challenged. I think I've come across as somebody who was quite an authority . . . I also make it clear that there are*

certain standards that I have and there are certain ways that I want my students to behave in the class. So, I don't think I've ever really had a problem.

It appears that even without having students act out in class, professors of color prepare for students to treat them differently by either being prepared as Tobias is or setting the tone from the start as Mbali does.

Alchemy and Ted (both Black tenured men) differ in their experiences, as Alchemy states that he has not faced student resistance, "not big enough to know. They're just not problems, that is not even a challenge" while Ted shares "nobody pushes back in person." Ted argues that he does not face student resistance but admits to negative feedback showing up in less confrontational ways such as evaluations and response papers. Ted also experiences students skipping classes when the topic is race. However, these four participants are the exception not the rule.

Ted and Alchemy are both athletic, masculine-presenting Black men. Ted is very aware that his women colleagues of color face resistance that he does not because, "They're not my height, they're not my size. I just don't get a lot of confrontation." While stereotypes about Black men may work against him in many ways, being perceived as potentially volatile, violent, or at the very least intimidating, works to quell possible student confrontations for Ted in a way that is different from his colleagues. Alchemy who teaches at a college of predominantly students of color does not face the same issues of White student resistance that occur in predominantly White institutions. However, Alchemy admits, "I definitely had to soften them up. Even my students, I have to soften them up to the idea that there's more out there than what they see." This suggests that not only the social identities of the faculty, but also the social identities of

the students are at play here. Overall, while only a small number of men were interviewed, findings indicate that men of color still benefit from male privilege in terms of the level of respect awarded them by their students. As men, they are seen as more competent and intimidating and therefore face less direct student challenge and confrontation. With only one non-heterosexual man participant it is not possible to ascertain if sexuality plays a part in this; however, as gay men of color face both racism and heterosexism (Patrick, 2014), it seems likely that homosexuality may lessen the benefits of male privilege, particularly when dealing with students.

"It's exhausting!"

For the rest of the participants – most of whom are women of color – students resist and challenge the ideas being taught, particularly around race. Shamari (Black, newly tenure-track woman) believes that students of color who claim to not experience racism have a need for self-preservation and a sense of control over their lives. Willie (Black tenured woman) shares:

> *I had the students of color kind of articulate . . . how they are so tired of having to do the additional emotional work to train and educate White folks about terms that they shouldn't be using in the first place. And like, it's exhausting . . . everybody is exhausted.*

Fore Tutsy (Black tenured woman), her experience is:

> *They [students] become very defensive. . . . Why is it always about White people? Well, that's the way racism manifests itself. And it's not about White people it's about White supremacy. And so, you've got to go into those differences. So yeah, it's usually just in terms of just defending themselves, I feel guilty. I feel this, I feel that.*

Eleanor (Black tenured woman) sums it up beautifully from a sociological perspective:

I think that what happens, certainly to me, and certainly to Black women, is that we experience anti-Black racism that has a gendered flavor to it, right? And so, the narrative around is that we're intimidating and angry and hate White people, you know, all these kinds of things.

Faculty of color, particularly women faculty of color, learn quickly from experience to anticipate these responses. This is important because the writing and research about teaching about intersectionality, power, privilege, and social justice focuses on the experiences of White faculty. We must remember, one size does not fit all.

These findings on the degrees of student resistance, especially how they vary across gender/race and student demographics, point to the vital need for an intersectional perspective when exploring student resistance. When we focus solely on the experiences of faculty of color, we miss important nuances – such as clear gender differences among people of color. Men of color, in this study, were more likely to experience subtle student resistance whereas the women of color faced overt harassment and complaints as well as poor student evaluations. Another issue that affects student resistance is the demographics of the campus. Those who worked at PWIs reported much more student resistance (from Black tenured man Ted's students' subtle skipping of classes and poor student evaluations to Eleanor (Black tenured woman) facing death threats).

While faculty from marginalized backgrounds often face more student resistance, it seems that the subject matter of sociology with its focus on issues of privilege and inequity may increase the occurrence of resistance particularly for faculty at PWIs. This adds to the knowledge that student evaluations are already unfairly biased against marginalized faculty and suggests the need for alternate forms of faculty evaluation. It is much harder for students to claim bias from a faculty teaching mathematics than a faculty

who holds a mirror up to their privilege and exposes the uncomfortable truths of our society.

Another interesting finding is the lack of data around issues of sexuality and disability. While participants did include both GLBT and disabled faculty, none of the faculty reported major pushback or student resistance around issues of ability or sexuality. There are several possible reasons for this. One, due to the political climate at the time, race issues were extremely volatile and therefore came to the front and overshadowed other issues. Due to the success of the Gay Rights and Disability Rights Movements, students may be more open to these issues, or at the very least, less willing to appear openly homophobic or ableist. This points to the need for further intersectional research that includes faculty who identify as queer and disabled across race and gender identities.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the limitations above, the interview guide focused on privilege and oppression holistically and did not specify specific areas of privilege and oppression, which may have been a missed opportunity. The intersectionality was expressed more through sampling technique and less in specific questions about race, gender, sexuality, religion, and ability. While I asked about student responses to Katherine Rose's wheelchair, for example, it seemed a non-issue for her. I did not ask about structural barriers or ableism on campus which may have elicited a different response. Similarly, for the three non-heterosexual respondents – Stella (who identifies as lesbian) Angie (who identifies as heteroflexible) and Tobias (who identifies as gay) sexuality did not become a focus of the interviews. Again, this might be due to the reasons outlined in the paragraph above, or due to the lack of specific questioning on

structural homophobia. My expectations were that these issues would surface in response to questions about students' stereotypical expectations of the respondents, or student resistance, however; this was not the case. This speaks to the challenge of engaging in truly intersectional research, it seems that some areas of oppression and privilege come to the forefront as others are pushed aside. This speaks to the nature of how particular dimensions of marginality might be more salient when it comes to teaching about privilege as a sociologist and the professional identity management and student resistance that it entails. Future research should explore more directly what types of student resistance occur around issues of sexuality, gender, gender expression and ability status. Moreover, there needs to be a focus on structural barriers and institutional biases.

Impression Management is Key

Newman defines impression management as an "act presenting a favorable public image of oneself so that others will form positive judgments" (2012, p. 195). All individuals in a society perform impression management to an extent, particularly in the workplace. As all faculty do, these sociologists manage their students' impressions of them. What is important to note is that, for many, their race in combination with their gender and/or sexual orientation is pivotal to how and why that impression management takes place. In this study, an interesting pattern began to emerge when discussing how faculty manage the impressions of their students and colleagues. Impression management as central to a teaching career emerged as a key issue for the faculty of color.

"I have to be mindful of what I say and how I dress."

It also appears that impression management is much more important in the early phases of one's career. Tobias (Latino man), who just transitioned to full-time faculty, admits, "I'm presenting myself in the classroom completely different to how I'm presenting myself like in private and among my friends." As an openly gay professor, he admits that in a homophobic society, "I have to be mindful of what I say and how I dress because sadly, you know, I may be perceived stereotypically." In retrospect, this was a missed opportunity to delve further into what he meant by this comment, however, at that time I had not come to the theme of impression management in the data. To my way of thinking, what he meant was that as an openly gay professor, he did not want to play into or reinforce controlling images of gay men - presumably as flamboyant, hyperfeminine, and less intellectual than heterosexual men. More research is needed, specifically looking at gay men across intersections of race, class, and academic discipline to unpack this further. Stella (White lesbian), who also teaches as a community college, did not share Tobias' concerns about reinforcing stereotypes about lesbians. One reason may be that they lived in different states. However, I suspect that as a White woman, Stella has more leeway in her gender expression than a Latino man might. While it is difficult to generalize from single cases, these findings point to a major barrier for faculty of color in hegemonic academia – the hegemonic definition of professionalism as White, middle-class and heterosexual. Another factor might be where faculty are in their career. Stella is well established and has received de facto tenure while Tobias has just transitioned from adjunct to tenure-track at his institution.

For participants who were further in their career, a common theme was a lessening of focus on impression management through outward appearance after

receiving tenure or seniority. Willie (Black tenured woman) share that after she received

tenure:

> *I walked into class the next day . . . wearing a pair of designer jeans, a tank top and a blazer. That is my uniform now. And I wore my hair natural. I have not worn a business suit since and will not wear a business suit. . . . I did that for six years straight.*

Tina, who is also Black and tenure-track, had a similar experience:

> *When I was first starting out, I'm making sure that I was looking professional . . . and I always dressed professionally in a more masculine way because I thought that would make an impression more so of like authority and a person in power. So, lots of slacks and button-down shirts and stuff like that.*

This theme was echoed in the experiences of two of the four men. Jay (Latino tenure-

track) states, "I used to wear button-down shirts and slacks and leather shoes. Now I'm

just more relaxed." For Ted (Black tenured man) his attire is, "pretty much your jeans, a

nice t-shirt or a button-down sport coat if the weather kind of permits. This last year I got

to where I kind of didn't even care about that." So, it appears that while impression

management is vital and an area of focus at the beginning of an academic career, for

many they shifted to a more relaxed and authentic self-expression through dress as their

careers progressed.

For some women, age along with tenure/seniority was a factor. Lori (Mixed Race

long-term adjunct faculty) remembers being brought to tears by course evaluations as a

graduate teaching assistant:

> *because the only comments were about my body . . . that really shook me, because I was like, I'm the teacher, like why are they commenting on my butt, you know. . . graphic kind of gross stuff. . . . I was like, I've been teaching you all semester, and to kind of have this flash of like, they didn't see that. They didn't see me as a teacher at all.*

Lori admits that her style changed with her seniority on the job and the students' shift in perception, from seeing her as a body to seeing her as more a mom figure. Willie (Black tenured woman) received specific instruction from her superior about her dress as a new faculty member. She wore business suits as she worked toward tenure because, "When I first started my job, my woman chair said to me, like, you know, you look young and you have like a jovial kind of personality, so you probably should wear business suits to work." When I started teaching over a decade ago as a woman in my late thirties who looked to be late twenties, I found it really challenging to established classroom management with adult learners – many of whom were older than me. I, too, found that dressing in a more stereotypically "professional" manner seemed to increase the amount of automatic respect I received from students. Now as I have matured, and learned better classroom management techniques, I no longer need that crutch to help establish my authority.

It appears that multiple factors are at play for these faculty in choosing their teaching attire. For many new faculty members, especially those who are younger, dressing in what is perceived as a stereotypically "professional" manner helps to establish their authority and gain the respect of students. This seems particularly salient for younger women who are seen as contemporaries of their students and therefore subject to sexualization and objectification as Lori (Mixed Race long-term adjunct woman)was. Older woman faculty whether or not they actually have children tend to be seen more as parental figures and are accorded respect on the basis of age.

Another issue faculty of color must consider are stereotypes and biases based on race. Although cornrows (braids that lay close to the scalp) are a traditional African

American hairstyle and are a much cooler way to wear my hair in the summer, I worried about wearing them at my job. When I brought these concerns to my White man dean, he laughed them off, but it is a valid concern. Traditional Black hairstyles have been banned in school dress codes and by the military. Cornrows are often connected with gang culture in film and television. Faculty must find ways to stay true to their personal style while being cognizant of how that style will be perceived by students. This is even more evident with intersecting minoritized identities, as is the case with Tobias (Latino, newly tenure-track man) who works hard not to appear "stereotypically" gay.

"Establishing my authority and experience"

For others it was less about clothing and more about setting a tone. Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman) who teaches solely online provides students with her bio and achievements in the class. "So, they can click on the link and then they can read what I published . . . that gives me I guess, some legitimacy in their eyes." Marie (Black tenured woman) is very clear about the boundaries in her classroom. "I kind of already knew the difference centrality makes in a classroom." Marie believes that she as faculty must be the center of the class, which is antithetical to the shared community model espoused by the feminist classroom approach. She explains, "I kind of set a tone so it's hard for people. I don't think that many are really comfortable challenging me directly . . . but I'm very serious in terms of shutting stuff down." Ted (Black tenured man) states, "So I'm very much about being in control and saying, 'Hey, I'm up here, I got this space.' You know, this is my space." He goes on to explain that he "definitely present[s] a coolness . . . I take advantage of this kind of Black masculinity and I can play it into

bravado. Or I can play it into, you know, we can be very vulnerable. . . . So, I really try to be me and expressive and vulnerable and truthful."

Tutsy (Black tenured woman), feels that women of color must set a tone in order to get respect, "you've got to come across as confident and assertive. And, you know, I'm not taking any bullshit. If I tell you to put your phones away, that's exactly what I mean." Although most college classrooms have policies about cell phones, in my experience few faculty enforce them. However, for Tutsy, myself, and other faculty it is necessary to draw a hard line in the sand and hold one's ground in order to command the respect of students. Particularly in the soft sciences, often perceived by students as "just opinions," it is important for a woman of color to establish her authority and power in the classroom.

My own experiences coupled with the experiences of faculty in this study suggest that a one-size-fits-all approach to best teaching practices is impractical and often fails to take into account not only individual style as well as cultural differences. There are real differences in how students react to faculty based on the faculty's membership in socially constructed groups. Patton (2009, p. 721) explains how "cross-racial communication is often misread, prompting the emergence of stereotypes that construct African Americans as more aggressive and posing a threat to White people." These very real misperceptions by students should be taken into account when mentoring and evaluating faculty of color. Teaching as a person of color brings with it specific challenges from students, not experienced by White men.

It is clear from this study that, for the sociologists of color, impression management is a key part of their andragogical approach. They are often one of a handful

of professors of color, if not the only one in their department or at their institution. They have been socialized by a White supremacist society that to be professional one must erase cultural and socioeconomic markers from one's speech, attire, and mannerisms. Furthermore, faculty at the beginning of their careers, often based on explicit feedback from supervisors and mentors, tend to dress in what is perceived as more stereotypically "professional" attire. This serves to both establish their authority and increase the respect given them by students and peers. There also seem to be generational factors in that some, like Mbali (Black tenured woman) and Alchemy (Black tenured man), grew up in a time when professional attire was expected and feel uncomfortable in an academic setting without that attire. For them, their attire is part of their faculty academic identity and they would no more dress casually on campus than they would wear sweatsuits to church.

Again, however, we must explore what is missing and that is findings that focus on disability and sexual orientation. Both of the respondents who identified as disabled also identified as heterosexual White women. Intersectionality teaches us that different aspects of our social identities become more or less salient in different social contexts. One possible explanation is that straight White womanhood trumps any possible negative repercussions of disability in their academic environments. Another possible explanation is that without questions that directly addressed institutional and structural barriers and inequities these issues did not come up in the interviews.

While Tobias (Latino newly tenure-track man) spoke of not wanting to appear "stereotypically gay" we did not unpack this in our interview, and as discussed above, this was not an issue that came up in the interview with Stella (White lesbian). Again, while my assumption was that he was referring to common controlling images that paint

gay men as feminine, flamboyant, and flighty, as we did not directly discuss this further I cannot be sure. This may have been due to his tenuous position as a newly hired tenure-track instructor and his previous lack of long-term stability as an adjunct while Stella was well established. This may be due to the intersection of race and sexuality in that as a Latino man he was at higher risk of controlling images than was Stella as a White woman. Altogether, this points to the need for more research with LGBTQ participants across a range of gender and racial identities. I suspect that had the interview questions focused more directly on sexuality, gender, and disability interesting themes might have emerged around expectations by colleagues and supervisors. Overall, we can deduce from the findings above that the hegemonic middle-aged, White, middle-class, heterosexual, masculine notions of "professionalism" within hegemonic academia prove challenging to a number of respondents, at least at certain times in their career, and that new and/or younger/younger looking faculty may be at higher risk.

Currently, there is a push across social media to expand notions of professionalism to include more racially diverse modes of dress and hairstyle. While in some contexts like the military, those who wear religious headgear such as the Sikh have been allowed leeway in hairstyle, there has also been a specific push to ban African American hairstyles such as cornrows and locs, calling them unprofessional. At the same time, there is increasing outrage from communities of color at cultural appropriation such as Kim Kardashian wearing cornrows or Justin Beiber wearing locs. The anti-Black racist logic is exposed when Whites have no problem with other Whites wearing these hairstyles but deem them unprofessional in Blacks. This supports the idea that culturally relevant definitions of professionalism are necessary. With time and experience many

participants found that they can be successful and still be their authentic selves. I assert that students need to see differing gendered, cultural, and regional examples of professionalism to expand societal notions of professionalism.

How Students Address Faculty Matters

Similarly, the issue of what students called them seemed to emerge as particularly salient for women faculty, with an interesting racial dynamic.

"After I got that sheet of paper, everyone's calling me doctor"

For many of the women in this study, titles are important and necessary as a way to combat sexism. Eleanor (Black tenured woman) states, "Oh I make them call me professor or doctor . . . and I refuse to let them call me by any kind of marital designation . . . We do not do that to the other gender." She shared that she used to let students call her by her first name, "But I found that only the White students were doing this . . . And the students of color were respectfully using my title." Once that happened, she decided to use her title because "I'm going to be that for the students of color." Similarly, Angie (Black tenure-track woman) "asked the White man, 'Do you ever get called by your first name? Or Mr. So and So instead of Dr?'" When he responded that 100% of his students called him Dr., she "integrated into my class how women, in particular women of color, are not given that title because it . . . jars their stereotypes" and decided "everyone's calling me doctor." Mbali (Black tenured woman) stated:

> *Oh, they have to address me as doctor or professor. Seriously, I put that out there the first day . . . I understand that there are people who have no problem with students calling them by their first names. I also find very interesting that a lot of people start doing that [when] there's an increase of folks of color who become professors. So, I'm not having it.*

Willie and Tina (both Black tenured/tenure-track women)started by "wanting to be cool" and having students call them by their first names, but they "got rid of that real quick." Willie shared, "Honey, the first time somebody called me [Willie], I was like, I'm gonna have to put something in front of that . . . that thing hit deep. I was like, I ain't that cool." This really resonated for me as at Cochise faculty had the title of "instructor" not "professor." Coming from California schools where all faculty were called professor, I asked students to refer to me as Professor Atkins. This caused a controversy that followed me throughout my career, even after getting permission from the president of the college to have students call me professor as long as I did not use it as my "official title." It seemed impossible to explain to the (mostly men) peers complaining that I needed a genderless title so that students would stop referring to me as Mrs. Atkins or why being referred to as Mrs. Atkins was so offensive.

"I am no one's Mrs."

For others it is less about what they are called and more about what they do not want to be addressed as. Lori (Mixed Race adjunct faculty woman) states, "I do not want to be addressed as Mrs. Period." She explains, "I have students . . . that I've had, you know, consistently every semester, and I do have some students who by their senior year are calling me by my first name." She reiterates, "I would actually rather be called by my first name then Mrs." Patty (White adjunct faculty woman) shared, "I have never required my student to refer to me by anything . . . I am no one's Mrs. So, I am not Mrs. my last name. But aside from that, I really don't care." She goes on to say, "it is not what they refer to me as but rather how they interact with me that matters."

Wendy (White tenured woman) agrees, "It's not super important to me at this point . . . like all woman faculty just avoid Mrs. or Miss." She shares, "it usually doesn't come up. My students are unfailingly polite." Katherine Rose, (White newly tenure-track woman) who just earned her doctorate, stated that her students call her by her first name. When asked why she stated, "Um, I don't know? It's my name. I don't feel like it diminishes the respect they have for me." However, once she starts her tenure-track position in the fall, "apparently the convention is doctor or professor last name. So, I will apparently be changing that."

"If you don't know if they have a PhD, call them professor."

An interesting phenomenon appears when one looks more closely at who is giving which answers. For the Black faculty, they are overwhelmingly adamant about being called by their proper title. As stated above, for Angie (Black tenure-track woman) once she found out that her White men colleagues did not have to address the issue at all, she drew the line in the sand. Tina (Black tenure-track woman)also stated, "I think if I was not a Black woman, I would not feel compelled to say that on the first day of school."

Tutsy and Marie (both Black tenured women), who have taught twenty-five and fifteen years respectively and are nearing retirement, do not find it necessary to tell students how to address them. Marie states, "so most of them will say, Doctor." The only time she corrects students is when they address her by her first name. "Yeah, that seemed to come from a couple of students that probably are not Black on my online classes." Tutsy has had "I would say, maybe half a dozen students over the past twenty-five years call me by my first name and other students kind of look at them." For her, "that's not where I get my respect from . . . students have been very respectful in the way they

address me." It seems that Black women, particularly at the beginning of their careers, feel the need to establish that respect through the title, although once they are established in other ways that may lessen.

In contrast, the focus for the White women was more about not being designated by marital status. Patty (White adjunct faculty, woman) jokes with her students "my mother was Mrs. my last name, as well as her mother-in-law before her. But I am no one's Mrs. so I am not Mrs. my last name." For Wendy (White tenured woman), Mrs. comes up, but she realizes that the students are attempting to be polite. "We usually more address it in a group . . . Remember, you want to address your woman professors as doctor or professor, if you don't know if they have a PhD, call them professor."

The Feminist Classroom is Not For All

Another key race/gender intersectional difference was illuminated when the theme of the feminist classroom arose. White feminists such as Maryellen Weimer, Ada Sinacore, and Karyn Boatwright argue for a shift in power in the classroom as part of a feminist, learner-centered approach to teaching. For example, Sinacore and Boatwright (2005) assert, "Principles and activities that define a unified feminist pedagogy include (a) addressing power and authority [and] (b) establishing equality" among others (pp. 109-110). Weimer (2013) believes:

> *When students share power in the classroom, when they are entrusted with some decision making and feel a sense of control, there is less disruptive behavior. When they don't feel powerless, they have fewer reasons to challenge authority. Power sharing redefines the teacher-student relationship, making it less adversarial. (p. 97)*

Several of the white women in this study discussed being fairly informal or casual in their classrooms. Katherine Rose (White newly tenure-track woman) describes her teaching style as "very discussion based . . . for two reasons. One, I want them to take ownership of the knowledge. And, second, I think the discoveries are more powerful if they make them themselves." Patty (White adjunct faculty woman) believes, "You can get A's in my classes, even if you haven't passed exams. But you've got to keep doing the rewrites and gotta bring it too, you gotta do that."

In contrast, Tutsy argues that this brand of White feminism will not work for Black women. This belief is echoed in Kavita (South Asian, tenure-track woman)'s words: "I think it's more about establishing my authority and experience and getting respect at first . . . I realized it matters to students . . . that gives me . . . some legitimacy in their eyes." Angie (Black tenure-track woman) finds her administration unsupportive when it comes to her policies. She is accused of being too rigid and inflexible. Angie retorts,

> *[Administrators] don't understand that they're trying to get over on me because I'm a Black woman . . . students are skipping [my tests] and thinking I should just come in any time of day and let them have a makeup. They're not doing that to the White man over there. I know because I asked him.*

For the Black women it seems to be an issue of respect that has cultural roots. Angie states, "You know why I'm so inflexible? The reason is that I'm constantly barraged with students who are being disrespectful . . . it's not me being inflexible, not being a doormat is different." Marie (Black tenured woman) shares, "I feel very comfortable keeping control in a classroom . . . I had to make sure everyone understood. This is my class."

Tutsy (Black tenured woman)remembers discussions with her White feminist colleagues: "They know I'm a feminist, but I'm just not the kind of feminist they are." She believes that her colleagues' brand of feminism will not work for her because "there is less respect for Black women in the classroom. And unless you plant your feet and assert that yeah, I have a PhD. So, don't ask me what my sources are . . . That's disrespectful, disrespectful." She goes on to say, "You've always got to prove yourself." This finding reveals that perhaps the multiracial feminist classroom, or the Black feminist classroom, may look very different from the (White) feminist classroom advanced in the literature.

Authentic Teaching is a Priority
"Bringing my Black Womanness to the Classroom"

Most of the Black faculty talked about their Black identity and being a rarity on campus even though that was not a focus of the interview. Most felt that students, colleagues, and administrators had biases, prejudices, and preconceived ideas about them solely based on race and gender. Alchemy (Black tenured man) shared that for his students, "I'm not even sure they're used to seeing [Blacks]. So, I think when they see me, the first is like, 'Oh, am I in the right place?' Who is this?'" For Ted (Black tenured man), "there was the perception that somehow I wasn't as qualified. And those would come out in questions of do I have a PhD . . . and the presumption that I'm an athlete . . . those kinds of things." His experiences reinforce findings in the literature that faculty of color are "presumed incompetent" (Onwauachi-Willig, 2012, p. 146-147).

For the woman faculty, Eleanor (Black tenured woman) who has faced extreme issues, including death threats, in her teaching career explains that "the narrative around that is that we're intimidating and angry and hate White people." Eleanor's experience

resonates for me as I have dealt with similar accusations. Shamari (Black newly tenure-track woman), who has very light skin and hazel eyes states that she "get[s] the White people pass until they realize that I'm Black, the BLACK, Black for real. And then they're betrayed and so deeply hurt and upset." Tutsy (Black tenured woman) states, "from the jump there, they don't respect us, anyway." It seems that while responses from students were varied, lack of respect, qualification questioning, and stereotypes were common.

In academia, the focus is often on objectivity and impersonality. However, for these sociologists whose job it is to teach some of the most challenging and at times, controversial subjects, the trick was to strip away objectivity and share themselves as suggested by Boylorn (2010). For Ted (Black tenured man), "I . . . think that the discipline is about helping to reveal these other voices, to give power to those of us of color. [To enhance] our voices and create that kind of knowledge." Eleanor (Black tenured woman) states one must "be clear on kind of who you are, as a teacher, how your teaching fits with the other aspect of yourself and your career, because you have other things you're called to do." Tutsy (Black tenured woman) agrees, saying, "you need to start with where you are, what are your experiences . . . talk about what your privilege is. I'm Black . . . but I speak Standard English. I'm light skinned, I'm thin . . . these are my privileges." Teaching through the lens of your personal perspective models not only intersectionality, but inclusion and reflective thinking to your students.

Additionally, there is a desire to show the strengths and pride of Blackness, such as Angie (Black tenure-track woman), who dresses to highlight her race. "I suppose if I dig deep down . . . I do wear my hair natural and in my Afro wig . . . [to] communicate

that I am Black." This is echoed by Willie (Black tenured woman) who shares her personal journey. "And I'm unapologetically Black . . . Honey, I wouldn't trade my hips, my skin nor my hair for anything in the world now. But I had to go through that experience to really appreciate and value who I am now." But there is more to it, there is a sense of letting the students know that it is possible to travel from where they have been to where the faculty are, as suggested by Harris and Linder (2018). Shamari (Black newly tenure-track woman) deliberately breaks away the mystique of being a Ph.D. "I talk to them about how I am the same chick, who up until four years ago was in section eight housing . . . I'm the same chick that I was two months ago. And now all of a sudden, I'm Dr. Somebody and people are treating me different."

Veteran faculty are already expanding the idea of professionalism. Eleanor (Black tenured woman), who was chastised by a Black man for her attire not being professional, remembers "looking down at my pants . . . kinda like an animal print form fitting pant, which I looked good in, . . . and I said, 'you know why it is? Because I'm a professional, and I'm wearing it.'" Tina (Black tenure-track woman) addresses this idea even more explicitly.

> *So definitely over time, I've . . . brought more my authentic self, which is bringing elements of my culture with me to work. . . I have made a conscious decision to bring my Blackness and my Black womanness to the classroom, really for them [Black woman students]. So that they can see like you can be yourself and be professional . . . express yourself in ways that we do, in terms of like our head movements and our . . . hands . . . that is professional who's to say it's not? . . . I've made a more conscious decision to bring it so that they can know they can bring it and to bring it into the space so that it can start to be seen as professional.*

Again, these faculty's approaches and experiences resonated with me. I started my teaching career trying to dress "professionally" including wearing makeup every day.

Once I received my first student complaints, I tried to emulate the softer-voiced,

"approachable" White women faculty. However, this style was obviously foreign to me,

I felt uncomfortable and constrained and students responded to me as if I were being

disingenuous. What worked for me was being my authentic self. I straight-forwardly

addressed the "elephant in the room" at the beginning of each semester, stating that some

students would be intimidated by me because I was a big Black woman, but that I saw

myself as funny and I was teaching because I wanted to help students succeed. When I

started sharing my racial perspective and my honest experiences as well as those of

individuals I knew, students responded more positively because they knew it was the real

me. As I became more comfortable in my career, and particularly after I had a daughter

for whom I wanted to model self-love, I began to wear my hair in more Afrocentric styles

and to find my own brand of professional attire – which now means natural hair, maxi

dresses, and comfortable shoes.

Chapter 5: Discussion – Teaching Up: Intersectional Teaching from the Margins

Overview of the findings

This grounded theory study explores the experiences of nineteen sociology faculty teaching at a range of higher education institutions across the United States and intersperses them with my own experiences in over a decade of teaching to explore how faculty from traditionally marginalized groups teach about privilege and inequality. In this first discussion section, I explore answers to the first three of my four research questions.

1. What is the experience of traditionally marginalized sociology faculty as they teach about privilege?

2. How does the meaning-making of their experience vary across different intersecting social identities?

3. How are these experiences and meanings reflected in their teaching practices?

The findings pertinent to the final research question, "What implications do these findings have for retention and support of traditionally marginalized faculty?" as well as a discussion exploring that question are in the following sections. In my research, I was interested in the experiences of marginalized faculty teaching about privilege in sociology classrooms, as well as how the meaning-making of their experiences varied across intersecting social identities. I began with a conceptual framework that reflected what I expected to find as a result of my study, and that entailed how marginalized faculty were trying to enact agency in a racialized system (Bonilla-Silva, 1996) of hegemonic academia which was circumscribing their agency (Deil-Amen & Tevis, 2009) through such means as controlling images (Collins, 2000). In contrast with the high

school students in Deil-Amen and Tevis' (2009) study whose agency was limited by a lack of knowledge and awareness of the implications of their test scores, my findings illustrate somewhat of the opposite situation. These faculty displayed a hyperawareness of the controlling images about their particular marginalized group(s) or intersectional identity(s) in hegemonic academia. Consistent with my own experiences, rather than a *lack* of awareness shaping their decisions and actions, these faculty moved through hegemonic academia with a heightened awareness and, in fact, what resembled a sense of double-consciousness (DuBois, 1903) in which they were actively trying to disprove and negotiate controlling images while simultaneously trying to enact their agency within the social context of hegemonic academia. Therefore, based on how my data collection was developing, my research examined this element extensively regarding how these particular meanings and experiences were reflected in their teaching.

From this data, six major themes emerged as explained above. First, teaching about sociology is tantamount to teaching about privilege and inequality for most of the faculty in this study. Some faculty, however, focused more on power or Marxism, or less directly addressed privilege and inequality. Second, preparing for, responding to, and dealing with student resistance was a primary concern, particularly for those at PWIs. Third, an awareness of stereotypes and student perceptions led to a preoccupation with impression management, particularly at the beginning of one's career. Fourth, for women faculty, how students address them is important, but the details varied by race. Women of color insisted on the honorific of doctor or professor, and all women faculty were clear that they did not want to be called "Mrs." Fifth, feminist ideologies about teaching are raced as well as gendered as those approaches, such as "sharing power,"

were perceived as unmanageable for women faculty of color. Finally, for Black women faculty in particular, being their culturally authentic selves and modeling for students Black ways of being professional and academic rather than conforming to raced (and gendered) hegemonic perceptions of "professionalism" were core to their teaching style and professional identity.

Intersectional Racial Realism in Racialized Social Systems

When I began this research, I was looking through the conceptual framework of intersectional racial realism in racialized social systems. In other words, my thinking was that I would use intersectional analysis to explore the classroom dynamic and expand on the social construct of education by inductively creating some new building blocks for a theorizing on teaching about privilege. This was based on my own experiences as a Black woman teaching in a conservative military town. I was utilizing a race-based paradigm combining the understanding that higher education in the United States is a racialized social system (Bonilla-Silva, 1996) in which marginalized faculty are stereotyped by and face barriers due to the prevalence of controlling images (Collins, 2009) which color the perceptions of their colleagues - and more importantly their students - and make it doubly difficult to teach about issues such as privilege and inequality. For me, this played out in perceptions of me as an aggressive, angry Black woman who was intimidating and unapproachable. Reinforcing my own experiences, I found that my participants, entered the classroom with a double-consciousness (DuBois, 1903) hyperaware that while they are highly educated sociologists and researchers, the controlling images about the traditionally marginalized groups to which they belong shape the perceptions of their peers and students. This awareness leads to a sense of

racial realism that these controlling images and perceptions are not going away, and marginalized faculty must find ways to teach despite them. I believed that these factors combined would affect faculty choices in terms of resources, power dynamics, and building rapport with their students. I further hypothesized that the demographics of the institution and their students would serve as intervening variables further affecting choices of materials and teaching approaches.

Teaching Up: A New Intersectional Conceptual Framework

While the above approach has merit, as I continued my research, the data pointed me in a different direction. Research through an intersectional lens is becoming more important as the field of education becomes increasingly diverse. Bhopal (2020) argues "the sociology of education needs to adopt an intersectional approach . . . to remain valid." This intersectional analysis led me away from the race-centered paradigm to a more holistic conceptual framework. As I was focused on an intersectional perspective, I found the race-based concepts of racialized social systems (Bonilla-Silva, 1996) and racial realism (Bell, 1992) somewhat limiting because I was exploring multiple axes of social oppression including gender, sexual orientation, and (dis)ability as well as race. This led me to more intersectional ways to expand my theoretical framework to include other marginalized groups. While racialized social systems (Bell, 1992) speak to the systemic and omnipresent racism in academic environments and Stewart and Nicolazzo's (2018) concept of whiteness speaks to multiple systems of oppression in a social environment, here I utilize the term "hegemonic academia" to describe specifically an academic environment rife with racism, sexism, heterosexism, homophobia, ableism, transphobia, xenophobia, and other forms of social oppression.

The theory emerging from my data in the grounded theory approach is an explanation of how impression management, controlling images, and circumscribed agency interact to shape marginalized faculty's academic identity within hegemonic academia. While I began with a conceptual framework, the data led me to synthesize formerly independent sociological concepts to create a different and new conceptual framework that I believe offers a partial explanation of how faculty academic identity is shaped for those who are marginalized by hegemonic academia. In hegemonic academia, ideas about how faculty should look, speak, interact with others and dress are shaped by a White, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, heterosexual, (male) ideal. To explain how faculty who do not fit this ideal navigate this environment, I turned to the concepts of impression management and faculty professional academic identity. I found that teaching in hegemonic academia forced faculty to negotiate an environment in which they were constantly facing controlling images about their particular marginalized group. Faculty then experienced hyperawareness of these controlling images which led to a sense of double-consciousness in which they had to negotiate and negate those controlling images and respond to various micro (and macro) aggressions through impression management techniques. At the same time, faculty were enacting their agency on both the classroom environment and their career paths in a way that was circumscribed (Deil-Amen & Tevis, 2009) by hegemonic academia. I found that these experiences shaped the formation of their faculty academic identities in ways that both conformed to hegemonic social norms and diverged from them, often in culturally specific ways. While expanding or elaborating the racialized social systems and racial realism framework is certainly a task for an analysis of a portion of this data or for other future research, I chose here to limit

my discussion to the intersectional and impression management aspects of controlling images.

Revisiting Hegemonic Academia

As discussed in the literature review, academia was created for, catered to, and centered upper-middle class Whites – primarily men – from its inception. (Bell, 1992; Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Bourdieu, 2000; Garrison, Rice & Liu, 2021; Perry, Moore, Edwards, Acosta, & Frey, 2009; Stewart & Nicolazzo, 2018). Stewart and Nicolazzo (2018) in their conception of "whiteness" share how policies and practices in higher education promote this ideological whiteness which reinforces what DiAngelo (2018) terms white equilibrium. White equilibrium, defined as "a cocoon of racial comfort, centrality, superiority, entitlement, racial apathy, and obliviousness" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 113) is particularly evident in higher education where the majority of faculty are White and cisgender (Kelly & McCann, 2014). This was experienced by Mbali (Black tenured woman) who is transitioning out of the role of department chair because her male colleagues formed a coup to force her out even though she is the most senior person in her department. Eleanor (Black tenured woman) experienced death threats and a campaign where individuals were placing leaflets on cars encouraging the campus to "run the mud-colored professors off."

Faculty from marginalized backgrounds are expected to assimilate into hegemonic academia and not make waves. This can cause emotional distress (Turner, 2002; Vargas, 2002) as in the case of Willie (Black tenured woman), who felt as if she sold her soul in the process of earning tenure, or for Mbali and Marie (both Black tenured women) who had to be "that voice" speaking up against inequity and thereby earning a

reputation as outspoken or White bashing (Vargas, 2002). My findings validate Kelly and McCann's (2014) assertion that women faculty of color perceive themselves as "othered" in a hegemonic academic environment. Furthermore, the experiences of Alchemy, Ted, and Tobias illuminate that this happens to men of color as well, thereby expanding the literature and increasing our intersectional understanding of how faculty of color navigate hegemonic academia.

The presence and increasing voice of traditionally marginalized faculty across the hallowed halls of academia creates tension in white equilibrium in multiple ways. First, it serves to disprove the controlling images of disabled faculty, women faculty, and faculty of color as less intelligent, less capable, and less deserving. The increasing presence of these highly educated, capable, talented, faculty disproves the assumptions behind the myth of "White supremacy." Furthermore, critical studies (i.e., race, gender, queer, (dis)ability) serve to expose systemic oppression and inequality and the ways in which racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, and ableist ideas are embedded into social institutions including higher education and the majority of faculty – particularly the faculty of color – are devoted to exposing these issues for their students. Moreover, culturally specific and gendered ways of speaking, teaching, researching, and writing are expanding the boundaries of academia beyond traditional hegemonic Western White ways. This is illustrated in how Eleanor (Black tenured woman) speaks poetically and theatrically connecting sociology to poetry and theater. Or in Ted's (Black tenured man) bringing his DJ background into his classes to create a sort of engaging performance. Finally, as these ideas permeate academia, faculty and students are becoming more empowered to speak out against microaggressions, unsafe learning environments, and

inequitable practices as in Mbali and Marie (Black tenured women) being "that voice" when injustice arises. This is forcing the "old guard" to change the way that they speak to and interact with others and in the best-case scenarios forcing them to confront the harms that they have inflicted on their students and peers for decades. This shifting paradigm demands veteran tenured faculty with privilege to examine their actions and understand that while they may see themselves as "good people," they too are complicit in the racist system that serves to privilege them while it oppresses others. In fact, they play an active part in this system.

While White social justice advocates such as Messner, DiAngelo, and Tim Wise have had great successes addressing these issues, the responses to a woman – a woman of color at that – sharing the same insights are often derisive and derogatory. Members of the dominant group(s) protect their "cocoons" by dismissing the sociological facts as "playing the race card," "having a chip on your shoulder," or by being openly disrespectful in a way that is seldom, if ever, experienced by White men faculty. Messner (2011) illuminates the way that teaching about privilege enhances his own privilege as a White, heterosexual, cisgender man – known as the "pedestal effect." My research illustrates that in direct contrast to the pedestal effect, teaching about privilege for marginalized faculty, particularly faculty of color, serves to enhance the controlling images through which they are perceived by students. This effect is most severely felt by women of color. The findings illustrate that faculty who embody racialized and gendered identity(s) face more frequent and overt student resistance. Messner (2011) asserts that structural privilege works in his favor by reinforcing his privilege via the pedestal effect. My findings show that structural privilege actually serves to undermine the agency of

traditionally marginalized faculty and the most prevalent way that occurs is through the mechanism of controlling images.

Controlling Images as a Mechanism to Reinforce Hegemonic Academia

Researchers have been using the idea of controlling images to help untangle the factors leading to the oppression of marginalized groups(Collins, 2000; Flores 2015; Vasquez-Tokos & Norton-Smith, 2017). In this research, I explore how gendered, racialized, ableist, and other controlling images affect marginalized faculty. While often perceived as just stereotypes, controlling images are mechanisms with which to justify discrimination and oppression and identify Black women as "the Other" (Collins, 2000, p. 70). Below I illustrate how controlling images are used to tell marginalized faculty both overtly and subtly that they do not truly belong in academia and in the next section I discuss how these controlling images serve to circumscribe the agency of faculty in specific ways. Neither Deil-Amen & Tevis (2009) nor the literature on controlling images (Collins, 2000; Flores 2015; Vasquez-Tokos & Norton-Smith, 2017) addresses the connection between controlling images and agency among marginalized faculty in their teaching practices; therefore my study expands our understanding of both concepts and their dynamic interaction.

Controlling images are deployed against marginalized faculty in ways that ensure that much of their time and energy is focused on proving their worth and that they belong in academia. In the literature on disabled faculty, Waterfield and colleagues (2018) discussed how the academic environment, particularly in terms of perceptions and lack of accommodations, "hinder[s] their [faculty's] ability to participate fully within all aspects of their work lives" (p. 329). This study extends that notion by both illuminating how

controlling images are a part of that process and by expanding it beyond disabled faculty to look at how marginalized faculty are hindered in similar ways. For Waterfield and colleagues (2018), respondents spent a great deal of their time and energy proving their worth. Waterfield et al.. (2018) did not connect the hindering of faculty ability to participate fully to controlling images. In this study I reveal more about that dynamic by illustrating how navigating and disproving controlling images serves as a mechanism to sap the time and energy of faculty that would be better served in research and teaching pursuits.

These faculty members engage with the controlling images about their identity(s) in various ways, from Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman) providing her "bonafides" at the beginning of each semester to prove to students that she has the knowledge and training to teach the class, to Tina, Marie, and Mbali (all Black tenured/tenure-track women) establishing their authority and control in the classroom from the first day. For these women of color, they must prove to students that they belong in the classroom, that they are deserving of the students' respect, and that they can teach effectively. White men faculty do not face these same barriers. Furthermore, while there is work on Black women faculty, my study expands upon that research to explore other race/gender intersectional identities as well as race/gender/sexual orientation and race/gender/disability.

Moreover, marginalized faculty understand the double bind of walking through hegemonic academia in a state of double-consciousness, in that the very act of engaging with these controlling images may have the unintended consequence of reinforcing them in the minds of students. For example, as a Black woman, I state very clearly in my

classroom that I will not tolerate disrespect, nor will I accept late papers for any reason. While this does increase the level of respect I receive – at least to my face – it also reinforces the image of me on campus as an "angry, intimidating, inflexible, big, Black, woman." Similarly, Ted (Black tenured man) who admits to playing up the "coolness" aspect of being an athletic, well-dressed, Black man, also understands that this image takes away from how seriously he is perceived as a scholar. He also brings his background as a DJ to provide a lively and entertaining class experience for his students, which was used against him in his tenure case because the perception from his colleagues was if the students are entertained then his class must not be rigorous.

In this research, I expand the concept of controlling images (Collins, 2000). I expand on Collins' (2000) assertion that controlling images serve as "powerful ideological justifications" for racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, and other forms of social oppression (p. 69). She explains that controlling images serve to make inequality seem "to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life" (Collins, 2000, p. 69). Not only does my research illuminate how controlling images are a mechanism to reinforce hegemonic academia, it also provides concrete examples of how marginalized faculty make meaning of these experiences from a range of unique intersectional perspectives. Furthermore, my research illustrates how controlling images and hegemonic academia place marginalized faculty in a double-bind situation in which they are forced to negotiate controlling images in a way that may actually serve to reinforce other controlling images. This social context and faculty awareness of hegemonic academia serves to circumscribe their agency.

Circumscribed Agency within Hegemonic Academia

Once faculty are aware of these controlling images, how does this affect their teaching and classroom management? Findings reveal that faculty engage with these controlling images of both what is and is not "proper pedagogy" or "academically rigorous" by moving through academia with a sense of double consciousness (DuBois, 1903). These faculty, part of the elite 2% of the country's population who have a PhD, are subject to higher scrutiny and expectations to conform to narrow images of what an academic, faculty member, and researcher should be as well as hegemonic ideals about how they should act by their peers and supervisor. As marginalized faculty, they are not "White enough," or "man enough," or able/willing to meet these hegemonic ideals. Furthermore, they are also expected to disprove the controlling images of their particular intersection of social identities. Moreover, they are viscerally conscious of the power students hold to define them within a hegemonic academic context. Therefore, marginalized faculty find themselves often isolated and tokenized in higher education (Pittman, 2010; Stanley, 2006; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008) moving through a social context in which they are often judged and found lacking before they speak based on appearance alone. This creates a sense of double consciousness, of knowing that they are capable, intelligent, and great at what they do, but also that they will be forced to prove this over and over while having to prove false the stereotypes about their identity group(s). This double consciousness leads to circumscribed agency (Deil-Amen & Tevis, 2009) in which faculty have some agency to create their own ways of teaching and being within hegemonic academia, but that agency is limited (circumscribed) by controlling images about their identity(s), and the social context of hegemonic academia.

In their 2009 article, Deil-Amen and Tevis describe how high school students' lack of understanding of the higher education system served to limit their ability to effectively prepare themselves for college and compete for college admissions. Deil-Amen and Tevis (2009) define circumscribed agency as the intersection where "individuals enact agency to direct their decisions and behaviors but do so in a way that is limited and bounded by the layers of social context within which individuals are situated" (p. 143). In this study, I extend the concept of circumscribed agency to describe the ways in which faculty, who are hyperaware of the social context and the controlling images about their social group, enact agency. My theorizing adds a fuller race and gender analysis that Deil-Amen and Tevis do not elaborate. In contrast to the students who were limited by their lack of understanding, it is the very deep understanding with which faculty enter hegemonic academia that serves to create the double-consciousness (DuBois, 1903) to which I referred in the prelude. Navigating a social context in which they are "othered" and seen as needing to prove themselves, marginalized faculty enact agency to create classes and careers in a way that is limited by hegemonic expectations and often in response to controlling images. One way in which they do so is through impression management.

Impression Management in Response to Circumscribed Agency

Impression management "refers to the many ways by which individuals attempt to control the impressions others have of them" (Rosenfeld et al., 2012). Previous literature has explored the connection between impression management and subordinate social groups who are represented as less competent and lower status than the dominant group (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Rosenfeld et al., 2012; Swencionis, Dupree, & Fiske, 2017). My

study expands that research by illuminating the dynamic between impression management and circumscribed agency. McCurn (2018) found that Black girls and young women used "aesthetic performance" of impression management as a type of "buffer against routine 'microaggressions'" as well as a way to gain respect and recognition (p. 135). The respondents in McCurn's (2018) study were seeking to navigate controlling images about race and class. My findings illustrate that this is also true of for other intersecting identities. In my study, participants actively worked to disprove racialized controlling images about Blacks and Latino/a/x and their ability to be academics, gendered controlling images about women, and controlling images about queer individuals. Think back to Tobias (Latino newly tenure-track man) who presents himself in the classroom completely differently than he does in his personal life, admitting to being especially mindful about controlling images of gay men. Or to Tina (Black tenure-track woman) who dressed more masculine in the beginning of her career to "make an impression . . . [of] authority and a person in power." Ted (Black tenured man) and Jay (Latino tenure-track man) had similar experiences. Moreover, my study reveals an important aspect of the relevance of the *timing* of impression management and how it serves as a way to enact agency within hegemonic academia in particular ways at the beginning of one's faculty career.

Impression management is also evident in how faculty command respect in the classroom. Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman) teaches solely online and manages students' impressions by providing her bio and achievements in the introduction to her class as a way to legitimize herself and her right to teach them. Marie (Black tenured woman) creates a classroom in which she is central and makes it difficult for students to

directly challenge her. Ted (Black tenured man) similarly controls the classroom. This is also illustrated in my own career as I establish my classroom as a "queendom" where all are respected and expected to engage, but where I rule. These findings illuminate another way in which traditionally marginalized faculty enact agency within hegemonic academia and navigate controlling images.

A third form of impression management was particularly salient for women – the way in which students address them. For many of the women in my study, titles were an important and necessary way to combat sexism or racialized sexism. None of the women allowed students to refer to them as "Mrs." This was a consistent theme throughout the interviews. White women were comfortable with students calling them by their first name; however, the majority of women of color insisted upon professor or doctor. This illustrates the importance of an intersectional analysis when studying faculty of color because there were significant nuances in resistance to sexism.

Willie (Black tenured woman), Tina (Black tenure-track woman), Ted (Black tenured man), and Jay (Latino tenure-track man) all speak to relaxing impression management through their dress and presentation as they moved further into their careers. In other words, their agency within hegemonic academia increased with seniority, reducing the need for impression management through attire. My findings also show a similar effect of age, particularly for women, on impression management. Willie (Black tenured woman) was told by her department chair to wear business suits to counteract her youthful appearance and upbeat personality and Lori (Mixed Race adjunct faculty woman) received course evaluations focusing primarily on her appearance in a sexually graphic way, objectifying her. Both women experienced a lessening of these issues with

age and seniority. Similarly, Tutsy and Marie (Black tenured women) who are veteran teachers and nearing retirement were the only women of color not concerned with students addressing them by their honorific. Marie only corrects students when they call her by first name, and Tutsy says that's not where she gets her respect from but mentions that in her twenty-five years of teaching "maybe half a dozen students" called her by her first name. My research fills a gap in the literature on impression management and marginalized groups (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Rosenfeld et al., 2012; Swencionis et al.; 2017) by illuminating important intersectional nuances in impression management. It further illustrates how traditionally marginalized faculty enact agency within hegemonic academia. This builds on McCurn's (2018) research on the use of impression management as a type by lower-income Black girls to proactively discourage microaggressions and command respect.

Circumscribed Agency Shaping Faculty Academic Identity

In the preceding paragraphs, I discussed how controlling images were used as a mechanism to reinforce hegemonic academia. I then illustrated how this served to force traditionally marginalized faculty to spend much time and focus on impression management as a way to enact agency within hegemonic academia, particularly in the earlier stages of their careers. Here, I turn to the effects of that process on shaping their faculty academic identity. Ziska-Strange (2020) defines faculty academic identity in part as "the potentially evolving beliefs, values, motivations, experiences, and narratives of those with the same professional academic role." She uses this definition with the understanding that faculty academic identity can and is "influenced by broader social contexts" both within and external to academia (p. 29).

In academia, faculty are presumed to be impersonal objective researchers. However, the respondents in this study, whose job is to teach some of the most challenging topics in academia, have found that they reach their students better by taking a more personal approach, as is encouraged by Boylorn (2010). While navigating a hegemony in academia reflected in dominant assimilationist norms that encourage strict adherence to hegemonic White ideals of professionalism and professional dress and thereby limit their personal and professional expression, many have resisted by creating faculty academic identities that are based on being culturally authentic. Ted (Black tenured man) is deliberately vulnerable in his classes and believes that sociology is about "helping to reveal those other voices, to give power to those of us of color." These faculty teach, in part, by reflexively revealing their personal perspective and privileges such as Tutsy (Black tenured woman) who starts with her experiences. This faculty academic identity models for students inclusion, reflexivity, and intersectional analysis.

A second way that this dynamic plays out is through modeling positive aspects of culture and to tear away the mystique of academia as discussed by Harris and Linder (2018). Shamari (Black tenure-track woman) addresses the intersection of class and race by sharing with students that she is "the same chick, who up until four years ago was in section eight housing." Eleanor (Black tenured woman), who was called out by a Black man for unprofessional dress due to her form-fitting animal print pants, modeling for students that what you wear as a professional is professional attire. Angie (Black tenure-track woman) does this by deliberately dressing to highlight her race with wearing her hair natural and in Afro styles. Willie (Black tenured woman) echoes this notion by being "unapologetically Black." My findings show that for these faculty, modeling for

their marginalized students that they too can be successful in academia and be themselves is an important aspect of their faculty academic identity.

Finally, Tina (Black tenure-track woman) explains this approach to faculty academic identity more explicitly when she discusses making "a conscious decision to bring my Blackness and my Black womanness to the classroom . . . so that they can know they can bring it, . . . so that it can start to be seen as professional." She shares how her raced/gendered identity is key in how she approaches modeling for her students, particularly those with the same raced/gendered identity "you can be yourself and be professional." She deliberately expresses herself in cultural ways unique to Black womanhood "in terms of like our head movements and our . . . hands" to again show "that it is professional, who's to say it's not?" In this way, her faculty academic identity includes modeling cultural authenticity as professionalism.

My study expands upon previous literature by Harris and Linder (2018) which discusses the need for marginalized students to have peers and mentors who are also from marginalized groups to help with career development. It further builds upon Boylorn's (2010) work about stripping away objectivity by illustrating that these techniques are actually part of the faculty academic identity. Moreover, my study adds to the nuance of faculty academic identity as defined by Ziska-Strange by illuminating the importance of cultural authenticity and modeling for marginalized students. For these faculty, sharing their experiences, being reflexive, and being culturally authentic in their dress and demeanor are purposeful andragogical approaches and teaching philosophies which color every aspect of their classroom presence and connect with other aspects of faculty

identity – particularly for the Black faculty in this study. I turn now to the final specifically raced/gendered finding in this study, the notion of the feminist classroom.

The (White) Feminist Classroom

The feminist classroom is an increasingly popular approach to college teaching (Shrewsbury, 1987; Sinacore & Boatwright, 2005; Weimer 2013). In this approach, faculty are encouraged to turn away from traditional teaching approaches deemed "too authoritarian" (Weimer, 2013, p.19). Instead, faculty are encouraged to share power with students (Weimer, 2013) and be reflexive about their own "sexism and racism and classism and homophobia and other destructive hatreds (Shrewsbury, 1987, p. 6). For several of the White women in this study, while not explicitly mentioning feminist pedagogy, their approaches seemed in line with that perspective. Katherine Rose (White newly tenure-track woman) speaks about wanting students to take ownership of the knowledge. Patty (White adjunct faculty woman) allows her students multiple attempts to get As by allowing them multiple rewrites.

In contrast, I found this approach – which was highlighted in my college teaching minor – troubling and problematic. In the focus on learner-centered teaching as an inclusive approach to postsecondary education, feminist pedagogy is often centered. This approach, as described above, encourages faculty to share power with students (Weimer, 2013) and to reflexively engage with one's own privilege. While this approach was embraced enthusiastically by (and seemed to work well for) White women, I found it short-sighted. In my ten years of teaching, my constant battle was to assert my authority, expertise, and ability in an effort to gain respect. Turner (2002) explains how, women faculty of color's authority is limited by their race/ethnicity and gender. This is very

evident in the classroom, particularly when teaching about privilege and inequality.

Secondly, Shrewsbury (1987), who speaks of getting over one's racism, and Weimer

(2013), who speaks of sharing power, assume that one is teaching from a privileged

standpoint. Tutsy (Black tenured woman) adamantly believes that the feminist classroom

approach is not appropriate nor useful for Black women. She argues

> *White women . . . this is a gross generalization, but they come across as just wanting you to be nice, you know, the feminist classroom . . . which is bullshit!. . . I don't believe in the feminist classroom for women of color because women of color are treated differently in the classroom.*

Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman)has similar issues as she finds herself needing

to gain legitimacy in the eyes of her students. My findings illustrate that there are

important racial differences in the feminist classroom. In fact, the feminist classroom is a

White feminist classroom, assuming White privilege and speaking to a White woman's

ability to navigate hegemonic academia. This study exposes important limitations in this

popular pedagogical approach.

Furthermore, my findings suggest that not only is the feminist classroom an

unreachable ideal for women of color, it is in fact becoming part of hegemonic academia

in a way that further limits the agency of women of color faculty. Angie (Black tenure-

track woman) discusses how her administration is unsupportive with her policies and

accuses her of being too rigid and inflexible. In comparison with White women such as

Patty (adjunct faculty) who allow multiple rewrites, Angie perceives her students as

"trying to get over on me because I'm a Black woman . . . students are skipping [my

tests] and thinking I should just come in any time of day and let them have a makeup."

Angie has asked her White male colleagues and found that they do not experience similar

treatment. Tutsy (Black tenured woman) recounts being a feminist but not in the way her

White women colleagues are because "there is less respect for Black women in the classroom." These finding illuminate important intersectional differences in feminism and the feminist classroom and point to a need for an explicit articulation of the Whiteness inherent in current feminist pedagogy.

Summary

The proceeding discussion outlines my understanding of how teaching up is experienced by traditionally marginalized faculty. Utilizing an intersectional analysis, I explore how marginalized faculty navigate hegemonic academia in which controlling images are used as a mechanism to reinforce hegemonic ideals. I illustrate how faculty's hyperawareness of controlling images and hegemonic academia serves to create a sense of double-consciousness in which they are both aware of their individual merit but aware that others perceive them through specific stereotypes and deficit perceptions. I explore how this serves to circumscribe their agency by forcing them to spend time and energy navigating through and disproving these controlling images through various types of impression management. Finally, I explored how these experiences shaped their faculty academic identity by modeling for their students inclusion, reflexivity, intersectional analysis, and perhaps most importantly for Black faculty, cultural authenticity.

My research adds to the literature in multiple ways. It expands the concept of controlling images to illuminate how controlling images are a mechanism reinforcing hegemonic academia and by providing concrete examples of how marginalized faculty make meaning of these experiences from a variety of unique intersectional perspectives. It further illustrates the way in which controlling images within hegemonic academia place faculty in a double-bind situation in which they are forced to negotiate controlling

images in ways that may actually reinforce those or other controlling images. I expand upon Deil-Amen and Tevis' (2009) concept of circumscribed agency to show how it can occur within a context of hyperawareness, and not just from a *lack* of knowledge by illustrating how faculty's understanding of the controlling images facing them in hegemonic academia serves to both limit and shape the ways in which they are able to enact agency. My research also illustrates important intersectional nuances about impression management. It further expands the concept of impression management by exposing how impression management is utilized by faculty to enact agency within hegemonic academia. Furthermore, I illustrate how the focus on impression management serves to rob faculty of time and energy that would be better spent elsewhere. Moreover, my research illustrates how the experiences of circumscribed agency within hegemonic academia shape faculty academic identity to focus more on sharing personal experiences, being reflexive and modeling intersectionality for students as well as a focus on cultural authenticity for Black faculty. My research also exposes the need for a critical exploration of the notion of feminist pedagogy to illuminate the racial assumptions inherent in this approach to teaching. Finally, through the grounded theory approach, the data led to the creation of a new conceptual framework synthesizing previously independent sociological concepts to develop a partial process of faculty academic identity creation.

Chapter 6: Findings – Teaching Up: What Works in the Classroom

In this second set of findings, I distill from the interviews some of the key suggestions provided by the participants on how to maneuver through hegemonic academia as a marginalized faculty member, particularly when it comes to addressing matters of privilege, power, and inequality. As a reminder, some of the most salient findings were that in the discipline of sociology – issues of privilege and inequality – were central to all of the classes taught by most of the participants. For those faculty in the minority who did not address topics of privilege and inequality directly in their classes, these issues were 1) addressed indirectly, 2) addressed through a lens more focused on power, 3) addressed through a lens more focused on Marxism. Almost all of the participants of color, save for Alchemy (Black tenured man) who taught in a predominantly Latino/a/x setting, faced some sort of student resistance. However, for the men in the sample, this resistance was less direct and more subtle. It was expressed in such ways as skipping class on race discussion days, walking out of films, or in teacher evaluations. For the women of color, particularly the Black women, most expressed a need to exert their authority from the beginning to discourage student combativeness. One way they do this is by insisting upon the use of the honorific of doctor or professor. This contrasts with the White women for whom being called Mrs. was abhorrent but were fine with students addressing them by their first name. Finally, for the Black women, particularly those further along in their careers, there was a focus on bringing their culturally authentic selves into the classroom and modeling ideas of professionalism that broke the middle-class, masculine, White norms.

In this chapter, we explore specific advice given by participants in five main areas. These are approaches and techniques that these marginalized faculty have found increase their effectiveness and decrease student resistance. Here we address what works in terms of 1) classroom management, 2) personal demeanor, 3) teaching about privilege, 4) being aware of the institutional context, and 5) dealing with student resistance.

Classroom Management Cannot Be Emphasized Enough
"After I put my foot down . . . then no topic seemed hard anymore."

One of the most important lessons for faculty seems to be that effective classroom management can do a lot to dissuade the more overt types of student resistance. Faculty members who have years of experience teaching have found ways to circumvent student disruptions and challenges. For many, they first endured a painful period of trial and error with many hurtful student evaluations. Angie (Black tenure-track woman), who is five years into her career, shares that these experiences:

> *caused me to start like shifting technically how I teach. Not my philosophy, but my technique. When I tried to do that whole lofty, the classroom's that open space and everyone can learn and . . . if we have discussion we're going to learn. And then I quickly learned, absolutely not. . . . I changed the techniques and just disavow that whole let's make the classroom like an open space . . . this is a social science class. . . . Opinions may be stated, empirically incorrect ones may not.*

In my own ten years of teaching, I gradually learned ways to, in the words of Alchemy (Black tenured man), "soften up" the students or present issues of privilege in ways that were perceived as less threatening and attacking by White students. I also greatly reduced the number of student confrontations in class by shifting my classroom management techniques. Every semester I ask students what they have heard about me

or the class and the responses all fall along the line of I am a fun and engaging teacher who "doesn't take any crap."

Similarly, Angie (Black tenure-track woman) found that "because I've now put my foot down, empirically accurate information is what we're going to be talking about . . . I got a reputation . . . it just kind of lifted away and became not hard to teach and make sense." Marie(Black tenured woman) also shared her students are not "really comfortable challenging me directly, because maybe through humor or whatever, but I'm very serious in terms of shutting stuff down." Shamari (Black newly tenure-track woman) echoes those sentiments, stating that after seven years, "I think that at this point, thus far, I have had a reputation of being a hard-grading, high expecting, very fun professor to have." Her students have gotten the message, "No, no, I'm not gonna mess with her. And other students will tell them like, why you try?"

Bergsieker et al. (2010) assert that Blacks and Latinos seek respect over being perceived as warm and approachable. I agree but posit that this issue is more complicated than just trying to dispel stereotypes. Black and Latino cultures, as well as other non-White cultures hold respect and esteem as paramount in interpersonal relationships. Woman faculty of color are not only facing much more disrespectful student interactions than their White colleagues but have a cultural history and worldview that makes respect much more important to them personally.

Walk in With Confidence and Authenticity
"Look, you belong here"

For Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman), one challenge she faced was "just addressing that imposter syndrome or inferiority complex" and she encourages faculty to remember "You've put in the years of work and study and blood, sweat and tears to be

here you have something to teach them." Marie (Black tenured woman) feels that "comfort and being true to yourself is important. So, make sure . . . even if you're in institutions that are oppressive . . . you have to still be true to what you teach, who you are, and how you interact with folks." Stella states, "To me, it's important to be visible as a queer woman." Her philosophy is "you should try as hard as you can to own who you are." However, she warns, "at the same time, you don't owe that to people, you don't have to share any parts of yourself." She reminds us that:

> *people who have less privilege shouldn't be the ones who have to be a prop for learning . . . maybe a guide . . . maybe a co-learner. But it should never be tell your sad story to make other people understand.*

Stella also wants her students to know she came from a working-class background "to make it a little less scary for them." Tina (Black tenure-track woman) reiterates trusting one's expertise and asserts "teaching is not . . . something that you just learn how to do and you do it, it's something that's developed over time."

Another issue with being a marginalized individual is advocating for oneself. Marie (Black tenured woman) talked about her experiences in this regard:

> *I think you have to keep it real. What I dread all the time . . . that means that, you know, there's some issues that sometimes you feel like, 'Oh I don't really want to be that voice again.' But you know, I got to be that voice because maybe other people aren't willing . . . You have to own your own strength and own what you believe and feel. . . Where there aren't spaces create them.*

Mbali (Black tenured woman) agrees, saying that one needs to hold others accountable and gives the advice, "don't be afraid to actually be contrary." Willie (Black tenured woman) concurs, encouraging new faculty to be sincere and honest about their experiences.

I did not do that. . . And in some ways, I really wish that I would have been a little bit more vocal about my experiences . . . because if not, you might feel like you sold your soul.

For faculty from marginalized groups who are often isolated or tokenized it may seem easier to assimilate in order to fit in. However, these faculty members argue for keeping one's sense of self and finding ways to fit in without being inauthentic or losing oneself. This may mean calling out sexist and racist behaviors and microaggression when they occur.

Share Your Privilege and Self-Reflection
"Tell your story"

Several participants discussed the importance of being reflexive in their teaching, particularly about privilege. For Tutsy(Black tenured woman) , "I would say start with where you are, tell your story." She believes the students need to see you, not a mystique. She advises, "Talk about what your privilege is. I'm Black, but I speak English, I speak Standard English. I'm light skinned. I'm thin. . . these are my privileges." Lori (Mixed Race adjunct faculty woman) asserts that it is important to "know who you are first . . . reflect on your own privilege, and those spaces where you have it or don't have it." Lori believes "the more you can insert yourself as a real person into the story and, you know, give real world examples, I think it makes it that much more accessible for the students."

Patty (White adjunct faculty woman) exhorts new faculty to "be firm in what your comfort zone is and knowing that you've examined it." She further explains "don't be afraid about speaking about things you know to be real." What works for Shamari (Black newly tenure-track woman) is to "talk about how I have privilege in which ways and how that works . . . Because I find when I put the privilege within myself and how it functions in different ways, I also always teach privileged intersections."

Finally, Katherine Rose (White newly tenure-track woman) speaks specifically about being disabled:

As a group with disabilities, we can deploy disability as a way to identify in ourselves as an example, an identity that is less privileged. . . . We can show our students sort of that vulnerability and open up the invitation to them.

The consensus is that effective teaching often includes sharing one's own experiences and vulnerability in order to help students see how it affects them.

Mind the Context
"Base your pedagogy on who is in that classroom"

Another important issue in teaching, particularly teaching about privilege and inequality, is the social context. For Eleanor (Black tenured woman):

I think you really have to base your pedagogy on who is in that classroom. If I've got a classroom full of very privileged people, I'm going to have them reading some novels or autobiographies to bring them inside the experience.

Mbali (Black tenured woman) agrees, stating "I would actually say, you know, learn your audience, get to know your audience. Don't assume one size fits all . . . Try to understand the environment that you find yourself in." She argues, "That matters on how you learn to teach your subject matter, because you need to know who your students are." Rebecca (White tenured woman) reminds faculty:

not to assume that the starting point of students is the same as their own . . . There's, you know, a huge distance between the two. And that's a really challenging thing to break through that and get people to see what's going on.

What worked for Marie (Black tenured woman) at a school that is primarily students of color did not work for her at a predominantly White institution. Patty (White adjunct faculty woman) admits:

If I were teaching at a more diverse school, I would have to learn all of this all over again, I'm only able to do a lot of what I do so relatively comfortably because I've been in this environment now, I've put down my roots for twenty

years. But pick me up and put me some place in a city put me in a place that is, you know, more diverse, put me in a place that has different types of populations that I hadn't worked with. And I'd have to learn it all over again.

Not only do we have to realize that teaching is different based on the social identity(s) of the faculty member, but it is also vital to consider the demographics and social context of where you are teaching.

Be Prepared for Pushback
"I've got receipts"

The reality of teaching about privilege and inequality in today's social context is that one must be prepared for students to challenge and pushback. Patty (White adjunct faculty woman) states:

> *Be real and expect that you may get pushback. But if you come from a place where you're genuine and you have your facts on your side, any challenge that you may get, you will be able to more easily withstand.*

Tina (Black tenure-track woman) asserts that one "not be intimidated to talk about it and to challenge the students to think about their own privilege." Tutsy (Black tenured woman) encourages faculty to "be real, be concrete, be data driven." She goes on to say, "You have to think about how people are much more interested in stories, but you can tell stories in lots of different ways." For Tutsy:

> *I think in sociology, it's really critical to sort of show that link between the personal lived experience and that larger data . . . both how it's working in a social structural way and also here's how it's impacting the lived experiences of individuals in ways that are profound and impactful.*

Angie (Black tenure-track woman) gives more practical advice, urging faculty:

> *Document everything! I mean, I document everything because that way I've got receipts when people make complaints. Because know that they will make complaints either in your class or behind your back to your chair or on rate my professor.*

In sum, teaching about privilege and inequality is never easy. According to the participants, one should expect a measure of disbelief and challenge, particularly from students who claim to not see or experience privilege. However, by using a combination of proactive classroom management techniques, clear boundaries and expectations, reflexive teaching, personal storytelling, sharing one's own privilege, and connecting large scale data to individual experiences one can effectively introduce these concepts in a meaningful way. At the same time, one should also make sure to keep good records in case a student does lodge a complaint. In the next chapter, I discuss these findings in connection with the current literature and in connection with an alternative approach to teaching I am calling intersectional andragogy.

Chapter 7: Discussion – Teaching Up: Intersectional Andragogy

In this second discussion, I explore ways to turn the specific advice, and more holistically, the experiences of the faculty interviewed in this study, into new ways of thinking about teaching up. In the previous chapter, faculty gave advice in terms of classroom management, personal demeanor, teaching about privilege, paying attention to the institutional context and demographic makeup of the students, and dealing with student resistance. Rather than connect these suggestions directly to praxis previously elaborated in great deal in the scholarship of teaching and learning, I instead want to explore what this tells us more holistically about marginalized faculty and their experiences. In doing so, I introduce new literature on diversity in higher education in an effort to expand on the influential concept of Funds of Knowledge (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017).

The first struggles for diversity and inclusion in higher education were focused on providing previously excluded groups (women, racial minorities) access to a college education. The argument here was that exclusion was discriminatory. These marginalized individuals deserved access to the same benefits of education as did upper-class, White men. Researchers then started focusing on the benefits of diversity for the White majority students (Whitt, Edison, Pascarella, Terenzini, & Nora, 2001) and the benefits of LGBT safe zone training for heterosexual students on campus (Evans, 2002). However, few asked what might be the benefits of segregated schooling, particularly for racial minorities who were then attending school in predominantly White settings. Despite the perception of a lower quality education offered by Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), one study found that overall HBCUs better prepared

Black students for professional life by having higher rates of retention, higher rates of

graduate studies and higher aspirations for professional careers (Wenglinsky, 1996).

A recent *Chronicle of Higher Education* article asserted that faculty diversity is

largely "a zero-sum game" (Patel, 2021). Patel (2021) argues until the number of

underrepresented doctoral recipients increases, faculty diversity will largely consist of

higher prestige and wealthier institutions raiding diversity faculty from less prestigious

institutions. Furthermore, Patel points to the problem of "the leaky pipeline" in which

underrepresented minorities shift away from academic trajectories at each level of

postsecondary school (2021). When there is a focus on faculty diversity, much of the

perception is that increasing minority faculty will then attract more minority students.

This no doubt has some basis in fact, faculty diversity was an important factor for me my

first time choosing a graduate school, and Levin, Walker, Haberler, and Jackson-Boothby

(2013) report that a "critical mass of Latino faculty increased Latino student retention (p.

312) However, based on my findings and professional experiences, I assert research

needs to shift from how increasing faculty diversity impacts student diversity to a focus

on what marginalized faculty have to offer all students and the campus as a whole.

Research is needed that provides a more intersectional, holistic, approach to diversity,

equity, and inclusion rather than the current approach which center race and gender above

all other social identities.

Levin et al. (2013) point out that faculty of color enrich campuses by bringing diverse

perspectives, technologies, and approaches that "challenge traditional epistemologies and

explore new frontiers in research and in the classroom" (p. 312). They also found that

faculty of color were more likely to teach in learner-centered ways, interacted with

students more often, and had students participating in more higher order cognitive activities than their White counterparts (Levin et al.., 2013, p. 312).   While I found it challenging to find the research to prove it, I posit that similar benefits are offered by women, disabled, and queer faculty and, of course, these are also offered by those with more than one of these marginalized identities.

By shifting institutional perceptions of faculty diversity from solely a way to help increase student diversity to a way to improve the institution overall, we improve the chances of having time and money devoted to this important cause. Levin et al. (2013) offer two possible ways to increase faculty diversity 1) making hiring committees more diverse even if that means bringing in staff or faculty from outside the department, and 2) increasing the number of women and people of color in upper administration (p. 319). This resonated with my research because Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman) shared that her Dean of Students (who was a man) was unsympathetic to her fears about her student, while a different Dean who was a woman proved much more helpful. She also believed that increasing the number of women and administrators of color would improve the situation for marginalized faculty. Moreover, this cause must be promoted by White men faculty and administrators to countereffect the possible ramifications for marginalized faculty. Johnson and Hekman (2016) found that marginalized individuals, including women, who are actively advocating for diversity are penalized and perceived as less effective and competent, while White men do not face the same penalties. This is true even in organizations which prioritize diversity. One way to understand what marginalized faculty have to offer is by exploring the idea of Funds of Knowledge (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017) and expanding it to include the unique contributions of

marginalized faculty. For example, marginalized faculty bring to the classroom their experiences of successfully negotiating systemic oppression in various forms. They are able to model for students ways of being professional that resonate with students' own identities and push back against the controlling images that seek to limit students based on their social groups. Finally, marginalized faculty in their everyday interactions with students and peers provide continuing experiences to help counter the controlling images, stereotypes, and perceptions of deficiency surrounding their social identity(s).

Funds of Knowledge and Forms of Capital

Funds of Knowledge was introduced by Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González in 1992 as an attempt to create more culturally inclusive forms of K-12 teaching by "capitalizing on household and other community resources" (p. 132). While subsequent important research followed, this section focuses on Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar's 2017 book, *Funds of Knowledge in Higher Education: Honoring Students' Cultural Experiences and Resources as Strengths.* In that book, Rios-Aguilar and Kiyama discuss applications to postsecondary settings and how funds of knowledge can complement the framework of the forms of capital. They explain that social capital is "concerned with the resources that individuals (and organizations) can access, which both result in, and are the result of collective and socially negotiated ties and relationships" (p. 8). They further explain "social capital can be thought of as any resource that facilitates individual or collective action, generated by networks of relationships, reciprocity, trust, and social norms." (p. 8). From this they conclude "actors occupy distinctive positions in social space and, therefore, have different opportunities to access and activate social capital" (p. 8). They further assert, "marginalized groups of students are only going to be academically (and,

we argue, occupationally) successful if they adhere to prescribed norms" (p. 10). In other words, social capital is based in large part on economic and political power which either expands or limits an individual's access to social capital; furthermore, for those who are marginalized politically or economically in order to gain social capital, they must assimilate to the hegemonic norm. This is exactly what the participants in my study argue against when they put forth culturally authentic models of themselves as professional academics. If education is to no longer be a vehicle for the maintenance of inequality (Bourdieu, 1977), then we must break the bonds of hegemonic academia and make ways for culturally specific and culturally authentic forms of dress, hairstyle, and expression.

Rios-Aguilar and Kiyama (2017) then turn to theories of cultural capital which they explain as "the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies, knowledge, and dispositions that are passed from one generation to another by way of the class-located boundaries of their family" (p. 11). They further discuss how cultural capital exists in three forms, embodied as an "essential component of the individual," objectified as the "possession of valued cultural goods," or institutionalized which "predisposes value and qualifications for possession" (p. 11). In other words, the way in which standard English, certain hairstyles, certain forms of dress, particular forms of knowledge, and particular forms of art (e.g., opera, classical music) are valued as proper (or elite) culture is institutionalized. Therefore, those who have access to possess, understand, or embody those attributes are seen as having higher value than those who do not. More importantly having money leads one to be able to buy and embody cultural capital which then increases access to social capital which in turn leads to more economic capital in a

vicious cycle that excludes marginalized individuals and groups (Rios-Aguilar &

Kiyama, 2017).

The authors take time to explain how social and cultural capital work in order to

clarify that funds of knowledge – or the "subaltern forms of cultural practice"– while

worthy and worthwhile do not have the same impact as hegemonic forms of cultural and

social capital due to the power dynamics in the educational context (Rios-Aguilar &

Kiyama, 2017, p. 12). While it is impossible here to delve into the intricacies and

nuances of their argument, I am drawing on their assertion that "scholars need to pay

closer attention to the evolving practices that produce funds of knowledge [and]. . .

continue elaborating on a funds of knowledge approach by carefully examining how

students (and their families and communities) respond to changes in their social

conditions for living" (p. 18). I propose that the current study offers two ways in which to

expand the research and impact of the funds of knowledge framework.

Funds of Knowledge and Marginalized Faculty

The first opportunity to expand on the funds of knowledge framework is by

shifting the perspective from students to faculty. Not only does academia need to move

from a deficit-based approach to traditionally underserved students, it must also shift

away from a deficit based approach to traditionally marginalized faculty. Faculty, who

by their very rank and position in academia serve as role models, bring to the classroom

their own life experiences and perspectives. Sharing these perspectives with students

including honestly owning and reflecting on one's privilege as well as sharing personal,

sometimes painful experiences with structural oppression can be both rewarding and

immensely effective as a teaching approach. Reflexive teaching can reduce students'

instinctual defenses against concepts such as White privilege by illuminating that all individuals have privilege in some ways. Furthermore, college may be the first opportunity for students to interact in a meaningful way with individuals from marginalized groups such as trans* individuals, disabled individuals, openly gay individuals, and individuals from other racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. I assert that diverse faculty, just by their presence on campus, add to the educational experience for all students in ways that are often overlooked.

Furthermore, if we begin to value faculty for all that they bring to the table, both in their academic training and in their life experiences, we can again expand ideas of faculty academic identity. For the Black scholars in this study, their race was intertwined and central to their academic identity. They were not just sociologists; they were Black sociologists. This understanding of how their personal identity affected their academic identity is valuable in bettering the social environment for marginalized faculty. Levin et al. (2013) found that in response to the experiences of double consciousness, faculty began to depersonalize their identities by consciously excluding aspects of their personal lives, such as their race and ethnicity from their professional lives" (p. 321). In contrast, the Black faculty in this study in particular, embraced their racial identities and made them central to their teaching approach and professional style as well as their academic identity(s). My data show that a deliberate focus on funds of knowledge for traditionally marginalized faculty will allow more faculty to embody their culturally authentic selves in the classroom. Moreover, if institutions begin to value and embrace the funds of knowledge that marginalized faculty bring, they can begin to find ways of assessing

faculty that reduce the impact of implicit bias and increase the value of culturally

authentic academic identity.

Chapter 8: Implications – Teaching Up: What's Next?

In this implications chapter, I explore the more micro-level themes that emerged from this study and connect them with concrete ways that individuals and institutions can proactively and effectively move towards more inclusive learning environments in which faculty from all marginalized groups will have a true seat at the table and flourish. This, I argue, will lead to a more holistically inclusive learning environment for marginalized students and start to address the issue of diversity as a "zero-sum game" (Patel, 2021). I also address here the idea of intersectional andragogy. My implications fall into three main areas 1) implications for marginalized faculty, 2) implications for institutions, and 3) implications for future research. I then delineate the limitations of this study before turning to the conclusion.

Implications for faculty
Don't reinvent the wheel

In Chapter 12, I highlighted some of the most prominent advice for faculty from the participants. Let me begin with some advice of my own. Most of us in this study found out what works the hard way. Do not try to recreate the wheel, reach out to other faculty with marginalized identity(s) and ask them what works for them. When you are dealing with student issues, or microaggressions from colleagues, find someone safe to share them with because I guarantee you, not only are you not the only one dealing with these issues, but you probably are also not even the only one dealing with them that day. A lot of the most effective ways to deal with student resistance is to take an offensive approach (offensive in terms of sports and offense/defense rather than offensive in terms of Andrew Dice Clay offending everyone). By thinking out your strategies for classroom

management, being firm and transparent about your rules and expectations, and setting clear boundaries, you can forestall many uncomfortable instances.

A safe space is not necessarily a comfortable space

I have learned to tell students that while my classroom is a SAFE space for learning, where everyone's opinion is valued, that does not make it a COMFORTABLE space for learning. Most learning is done in those hard spaces that really make you think. If you are prepared for pushback whether it is Angie (Black tenure-track woman)'s approach of not allowing opinions only empirically proven facts, or my Aretha Franklin inspired insistence on respect, having ground rules in place will not only forestall student combativeness, it also provides fair and consistent ways of dealing with it. For example, in my classes I have students sign a contract the first day of classes. In this contract, they agree to abide by the policies outlined in the syllabus. If further outlines that disrespect towards anyone else in the class will not be tolerated and if they break those rules they will be asked to leave. It is also important to enforce those boundaries if you expect students to take you seriously.

Own that space

Marie (Black tenured woman) shares that she owns the space in her classroom, she centers the space around her. I used to joke with my students that my classroom was not a democracy it was a queendom. Now some might find this approach counter to learner-centered teaching which suggests abandoning the "sage on the stage;" however, there is a myriad of ways to center yourself in that classroom without being a lecturer speaking at students. I have had multiple students across my career thank me for both being engaging and not allowing the large personalities to dominate classroom

conversations. Owning the space also applies to the campus at large. As Kavita (South Asian tenure-track woman) reminds us, you belong here. You have earned your place in academia. Furthermore, it is important to hold others accountable for creating a non-toxic environment in which you can thrive. While, it can be exhausting to have to be the voice that points out what for us may be the obvious, I find it helpful to remember that I am an educator and if I need to educate my peers and even my supervisors, so be it.

Teach for where you are with who you are

Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the demographics, dynamics, and institutional culture where you are teaching. Teaching about race at an HBCU is vastly different than teaching about race at a PWI. Make sure you are adjusting your teaching for the context. For example, a technique that I learned from Tutsy (Black tenured woman) was in order to help students be open to the idea of White privilege, I approached it from the vantage of light-skinned privilege first. I would have a panel of Black community members come in a share their experiences with light-skinned privilege. When students would state, "See, Blacks are racist too" that would allow me to shift the focus to the larger context of White supremacy which allowed them to start to see White privilege without having to face it head on. Lori (Mixed Race long-term adjunct faculty woman) advises reflecting on your privilege and inserting your story and yourself as a real person into the lesson. She has learned that real world examples make the concepts more accessible to students. This approach is echoed by Tutsy as well. Katherine Rose (White newly tenure-track woman) talks about deploying her disability to show students that vulnerability and to identify herself as an example.

Finally, while it is not a fully-fleshed out approach, I encourage faculty of all identities to consider taking the best of critical pedagogy, engaged pedagogy, queer pedagogy, disability pedagogy, and find ways to create an intersectional andragogical approach. I believe that there are ways to center different marginalized identities and intersections of marginalized identities in a way that brings to light the ways in which all of these systemic oppressions are connected and intertwined. I also believe that as college educators, we must stop talking about "kids" and "students" and instead think about the adult learners that we work with and learn from every day and afford them the respect they deserve as adults. College teaching should be based in andragogy, leaving pedagogy in the K-12 context. Let's turn now to the implications for institutional shifts in perspective.

Intersectional Andragogy – the possibilities

Work on intersectional pedagogy already exists, for example Case's (2017) text *Intersectional Pedagogy* claims to be "the first academic text to extend intersectional theory into the domain of pedagogical praxis . . . to aid faculty in promoting complex critical dialogues about systems of privilege and oppression" (p. i). Harmat (2020) offers an intersectional pedagogy for gender and peace work which centers emancipatory critical pedagogy; however, the focus is on helping young people navigate the world. I assert that this study provides additional resources with which to expand (and rename) the field to intersectional andragogy.

Much of the scholarship in higher education focuses on pedagogy (Baldwin & Jeffress, 2017; Cypher 2017; Kellinger, 2019; Wermers & Lunn, 2018). In the literature today, there are innumerable pedagogical approaches – feminist pedagogy (Weimer,

2013), critical pedagogy (Giroux, 2011), radical pedagogy (Bracher, 2006), anti-racist pedagogy (Kyoko, 2018), pedagogy of the disabled (Pohl, 2013), intersectional pedagogy (Case, 2017; Gal, 2020) – the list goes on and on. I propose that we move beyond these critical pedagogy(s) – each with a specific focus – to create an intersectional andragogy. I envision building upon the foundation provided by hooks' (2009) engaged pedagogy and the vast multiplicities of pedagogies in intersectional ways. Focusing on intersectional analysis, I hope to form an andragogy that empowers faculty, researchers, and students to explore structural forms of oppression and privilege, power and inequity and how those work both on the macro level as well as how they impact the lives of individuals. I assert that we must find a way to shift the lens and center multiple identities and intersections of identities while holistically focusing on a more just society.

Implications for Institutions

This research, while not directly focused on institutions of higher education, provides some implications for how colleges and universities can better improve the experiences of and environment for traditionally marginalized faculty. Here I address five areas of improvement including 1) approaches to diversity work, 2) perceptions of professionality, 3) reducing isolation and tokenism, 4) mentorship, and 5) pathways to leadership. While some of these suggestions come directly from the participants, others have percolated and blossomed from years of discussions with peers and colleagues about the challenges facing marginalized faculty and my own frustrations in the college context.

Make diversity inclusive and intersectional and create a call-in culture

I assert that diversity work is not done well in higher education. First, diversity and inclusion work is seen as something separate, outside of the purview of individual colleges. This is a mistake. Until a concrete goal of achieving diversity, inclusion, and equity is embedded into the focus of each and every college, department, division, and office on campus, it will continue to be work mainly done by marginalized individuals who face reinforcing stereotypes and controlling images (e.g., the angry Black woman, playing the "race card") and who then face professional penalties for such work (Johnson and Hekman, 2016). While it makes sense to have a central office overseeing diversity, equity, and inclusion work – similar to the provost who oversees teaching – a focus on diversity, equity, and inclusion should be the charge of every office, every division, and every department. This needs to be part of their mission statement to provide a safe, inclusive learning environment for all individuals. Moreover, each office, college, and division must be willing to earmark funds for that work. Unless diversity, equity, and inclusion work are institutionalized within offices, they will be individual-focused and efforts will die off when a specific faculty or staff member leaves.

Moreover, diversity work, as with most academic focus on diversity, artificially disaggregates individuals into neat little boxes (Black, disabled, queer) and therefore largely ignores those of us with multiple and intersecting areas of marginality. Institutions need to find a way to both provide for individual safe spaces for those with a shared identity to come together and heal and validate each other as well as create intersectional spaces for marginalized groups to learn from each other and come together in a collective voice for change. Until we are all equal, no one is equal.

Finally, I assert that the current "call out" culture is both ineffective and harmful particularly in an educational environment. As a returning graduate student who had been an educator for close to a decade, I was appalled by the self-identified social justice advocates in my cohort and their approach to social justice. As I wrote in a previous paper,

> *dealing with these graduate student activists, I came to the conclusion that I am not an activist, particularly not as this specific cohort seems to define it. My interpretation of their goal is to call out and shut down anything they perceive as wrong or racist or inappropriate. They are the radicals, the agitators, the marchers, the "flip the table over" protestors, as my professor referred to it. In contrast, I am an educator. While both they and I work toward a more socially just world, my approach is to focus on collaboration, tolerance, understanding, and communication. My goal is to help individuals learn, become more open-minded, and think critically about the world around them. As activists, they insisted that intent is not important; however, for me, individuals who make racial faux pas while they are trying to learn or understand intent is key. While I will not hesitate to address intentional discrimination and racism, when individuals genuinely are seeking to learn, understand or connect, I want to "call them in." (Atkins, 2018, p. 10)*

Change is not created by calling people out, publicly humiliating them and making others frightened to say or do anything wrong. Change is created through education, and education is best done in an environment where mistakes are understood as inevitable and an opportunity to learn. We all have biases; we all have privilege and aspects of oppression that we are blind to. I assert that it is the job of institutions to create environments through which we explore those issues and learn from each other. Currently, as a diversity educator, I find myself mostly "preaching to the choir." Those who truly need diversity training either 1) think they are social justice gurus and do not need to learn or 2) think that everything is equal and diversity training is a waste of time. Higher education needs to find ways to make diversity important to those individuals and

to help those who think they know everything to take a step back with some humility and actually listen to others.

Expand the notion of "Professional Attire"

We also need to look critically at ideas about what is professional and who is held to those ideals. On my campus, White men tenured professors walk around in cargo shorts and t-shirts while women and faculty of color are dressed in suits or business casual wear. This creates a double-bind where women and faculty of color must dress in certain ways to be taken seriously by colleagues and students; however, by adhering to a White, mostly masculine hegemonic ideal of what is "professional" they then are modeling for their marginalized students the need to conform to be successful. I assert that institutions must first acknowledge the social construction of "professionalism" and then find ways to make it more inclusive of a range of culturally valued modes of dress and hairstyles. Even more importantly, institutions need to grapple with the social construction of how an academic should sound. Gesturing, passionate speaking, and the use of common vernacular does not detract from one's intelligence nor one's academic ability. I argue that in some cases it actually makes professors more accessible and more effective in their teaching. These "color-blind" ideas of what an academic should look and sound like are actually another way of forcing marginalized individuals into a hegemonic academic mold and stripping from them that which makes them unique. Higher education must find ways to embrace a multiplicity of professionalisms to have a truly diverse campus.

Connect people

For institutions to find ways to retain marginalized faculty, they must work on finding ways to reduce the feeling of isolation and tokenism. One way to do that is to create intersectional spaces for connection. Create a faculty of color group, or a women faculty group, or an intersectional we're not cisgender, heterosexual, White men faculty group and allow faculty a safe space to come together and validate each other's experience and feel heard. One way to do this is through new faculty cohorts. When I joined the faculty at Cochise, they had one or two events for all of the new faculty in our division. It was during those events that I created connections to individuals who would become my closest friends at Cochise. Now, we made an interesting group – the big Black woman, the White Northern Californian librarian woman, the big White guy from Arkansas, the Thai librarian woman, the world-traveled vegetarian Ceramics teacher woman, and the former cop, body-builder Black man. However, we all had an interest in social justice and an openness to learning about and from each other. While none of them knew what it was to teach as a Black woman, they supported me and validated me in my struggles with students. I argue that these spaces should be created more intentionally for faculty.

Finally, I assert that we must hire more diverse faculty, purposefully. I was discussing this with a White woman, who had spoken to her supervisor about concerns that their entire team was White. I found it both amusing and wonderfully inspiring that in the course of that conversation, they concluded it would be fine if they never hired another White woman. I am not arguing for excluding White women, but it is a big step

to systematically look at the ways in which your seemingly unbiased hiring processes favor White women and find ways to change those processes.

The response that is often heard, and the one that I heard when I brought up at a former place of employment that the upper management were all White, is that we cannot help that those are the people in the applicant pool. Yes, yes, you can. Stop advertising positions in the usual places and get creative. If you want to increase Black applicants, advertise at HBCUs. If you want to increase Latino/a/x applicants, advertise in Latino communities and in Latino newspapers. Reach out to women's professional associations. Furthermore, we should follow the directives of Levin et al. (2013) and make hiring committees more diverse even if that means bringing in staff or faculty from outside the department. It is vital to increase the number of women and people of color in upper administration (Levin et al., 2013, p. 319). Those who would argue that demographics are not important, that what is important is that the individuals have the skills to do the job, are only partly correct. Having a diverse staff but an all-White administration sends the message that you are welcome here, as long as you stay in your place.

Create mentoring programs

I often would tell my students when they were in community college and at the beginning of their career journey, that the most important advice I had to offer was – find a mentor. Find someone doing what you want to do and learn from them, and if they look like you, all the better. While I acknowledge that those working in higher education are spread thinly as it is, I assert that in order to build more diverse leadership we need to create pathways for mentorship. Moreover, we need to create multiple pathways for mentorship including peer mentors. I learned early in my career to actively seek out

mentors. Sometimes that meant finding a Black woman to show me how to navigate as a Black woman; other times that meant finding someone with a skill set that I did not possess. However, never have I been offered mentorship in a formal way from an employer. Higher education has a habit of looking outward for new hires, focusing on a nationwide search. I assert that institutions might be better served to groom from within creating new pathways to leadership.

Create new pathways to leadership

The final implication for institutions is to find ways to create pathways for advancement. Deliberately create ways to empower faculty and staff to lead from where they are and connect with others. While at Cochise, I participated in a President's Leadership Academy. This was an excellent opportunity to spend time learning from outside consultants and leadership gurus. I was able to network across the campus and build relationships with individuals I would not have had an opportunity to interact with. Unfortunately, in that case, the end result was to learn that our leadership actually led in the opposite way of how we were being taught which was disheartening, but this was still a powerful opportunity. One of the best ideas from that academy was that past participants were able to nominate future participants. That allowed the only other Black woman on campus to nominate me. This is a way to have movers and shakers identified by their peers rather than by administration.

Another option that I am currently exploring is new ways to think about career pathways. I transitioned out of teaching and into my current positions approximately nine months ago. However, I spent three years prior to that trying to find a position at my current university. Through my graduate assistantship, I met a White woman working in

a very different area of assessment and instruction and we hit it off. She was instrumental in helping me find and win my current position, from reading endless drafts of cover letters to keeping an ear to the ground for upcoming opportunities. She and I found ways to collaborate across our silos and found that we worked really well together as our strengths are complementary. I hate editing, she is great at it, but she hates writing from nothing and that's where I shine. Technology hates me but she is a whiz at it. However, we are both passionate about diversity, equity, and inclusion and high quality, relevant, engaging education for all students. More importantly, we push each other to try things that we would not have considered separately and together we have done some really good work. We just submitted a proposal to a women's leadership conference about alternative career pathways and our idea of creating collaborative leadership pathways. Now again, this idea is not fully fleshed out, but what might it look like if instead of cutthroat competition and pitting individuals against each other, career pathways were collaborative? This might be a way to break through the idea that there is only room for one. We already have a woman on the board; John is disabled so we have diversity covered. No one ever says, we have enough White men.

Implications for future research

This research begins to address gaps in both the literature on marginalized faculty and the scholarship of teaching and learning. The scholarship on marginalized faculty tends, to a large extent, to group faculty into one identity thereby ignoring the realities of intersectional identities on individual experience. Although it is not possible to generalize from this study, I assert that it illustrates the importance of intersectional analysis, particularly in the areas of teaching up specifically and teaching as a

marginalized faculty more generally. Moreover, my research was limited by a lack of

participation from the LGBTQ community and disabled faculty. More research is needed

to explore their experiences as faculty from an intersectional analysis. This research also

led me to wonder about the differences between hidden versus overt marginalized

categories. For example, how might the experiences of LGBTQ faculty who are not

publicly out, or faculty with "hidden disabilities" be different. I hypothesize that there

will be issues of if and when to share, but this is an area ripe for exploration.

Finally, I assert that there is much to be learned from taking on the concept of

intersectional andragogy. First, by shifting our focus and our language in postsecondary

education from pedagogy – teaching children, to andragogy – instructing adults. This is a

simple shift in language, but for many a huge paradigm shift. I argue that a focus on

adult-learners leads faculty to approach teaching with more respect for what individual

students bring to the classroom in terms of life experiences and to see ourselves as co-

constructing knowledge with our students rather than dispersing it to them. Moreover,

while specific pedagogies (e.g., critical pedagogy, engaged pedagogy, disabled pedagogy,

queer pedagogy) have much to offer, they are limited by their narrow focus. I posit that

as higher education educators, we would be better served by finding ways to incorporate

the teachings of these individual pedagogies into an adult-learner focused intersectional

andragogy.

Summary

In summary, the experiences of the faculty in the current study, along with my

personal experiences in higher education provide us with multiple areas of improvement.

For faculty, the suggestions include 1) reach out to other faculty and learn from their

experiences, 2) create a safe space, but do not make it comfortable, 3) own the space you teach and research in, and 4) teach for where you are with who you are. For institutions, I propose that they 1) make diversity inclusive and intersectional and create a call-in culture, 2) embrace a multiplicity of ways to be an academic professional, 3) proactively create ways for marginalized faculty to connect, 4) proactively create mentoring networks both with peers and superiors, and 5) create new pathways to leadership. Finally, future research should address more categories and intersections of marginalized faculty both in terms of faculty experience in general and teaching up in particular. One specific area of future research should be in exploring hidden versus overt marginalized identity(s) and how that affects faculty experiences. Intersectional andragogy is a burgeoning idea that I invite other researchers and faculty to contribute to. I believe that this is a paradigm shift that has the potential to profoundly influence diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education.

Chapter 9: Conclusion – Teaching Up: Summing Up

This dissertation employs the sociological imagination by quilting my personal story and life experience together with my research on the experiences of nineteen other sociology faculty to explore how faculty from traditionally marginalized groups teach about privilege and inequality, or as I term it "teaching up." Beginning with a conceptual framework of intersectional racial realism in racialized social systems and utilizing a grounded theory approach combined with a variation of Deterding and Waters' (2018) flexible coding, this qualitative study uses in-depth interviewing to illuminate the experiences of nineteen cisgender sociology faculty across the United States from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds. These faculty taught across all levels of postsecondary education and ran the gamut from newly tenure-track to approaching retirement.

I set out to understand the experiences of traditionally marginalized sociology faculty as they teach about privilege, how the meaning-making of their experiences might vary across different intersecting social identities, how these experiences and meanings might be reflected in their teaching practices and the implications of such for the retention and support of such faculty. I found that for these sociology faculty, teaching about privilege and inequality is central for most, and important for all. I found racialized gender differences with regard to student resistance with men of color reporting subtle less overt resistance while women, particularly of color, faced direct disrespect, harassment, and even death threats.

As my initial focus was on teaching about privilege, I purposefully left space for participants to offer their own interpretation of what that meant to them and what aspects

of that experience were most relevant to them. Therefore, my prepared interview questions did not directly address specific areas of privilege such as disability, sexuality, race, or gender if not mentioned by the participant. This resulted in a focus on race for the majority of participants. Many respondents shared that it was most challenging to teach about identities in which they, personally, were oppressed. As the majority of faculty in my study identified as faculty of color, race was an area of social oppression that they inhabited. Their marginalized identity allows students to dismiss their teaching as "playing the race card," or "personal bias," or "personal opinion." In my over ten years of teaching, these and similar complaints have been level against me. Furthermore, as this research was conducted during the Trump administration when racial issues were increasingly polarized, particularly along political lines, students felt able to dismiss sociologically sound racial theories as "liberal propaganda." Often, students came into the classroom disgruntled that they were mandated to address these issues at all. Finally, in the United States, ideas about sexuality, gender, gender expression, and disability have changed dramatically just in my lifetime. Homosexuality went from a "mental disease" to a sexual orientation, ideas about gender shifted from a binary to a continuum, and the socially acceptable range of gender expression increased exponentially. Moreover, the Disability Rights Movement has increased public awareness of the capabilities and needs of disabled individuals. Therefore, while homophobic, transphobic, sexist, and ableist discrimination persists, it is no longer socially acceptable to publicly express these views, particularly in academia. However, race and ideas about White privilege continue to polarize and divide us, particularly along political party lines.

In the area of impression management, I found that while all of us perform impression management, it was particularly salient for faculty of color and most important at the beginning of their career. An important site of racial difference was in the focus on how students referred to faculty. This was not a big issue for the men, however, all of the women expressed great disdain for being referred to as Mrs. Interestingly, White women (and the Mixed Race woman) were not opposed to being called by their first names by students while the women of color almost all insisted on the honorific of professor or doctor. Another racial difference was in the idea of the feminist classroom with many women faculty of color stating that due to the lack of respect and student attitudes towards them, the feminist ideal of sharing power was inconceivable and not conducive to effective teaching. Finally, I found that for many of the more established faculty, particularly those with tenure, it was important to bring their authentic selves to the classroom. This was expressed in multiple ways including modeling culturally authentic dress and modes of speaking, to sharing reflexively about their own privilege and oppression.

My research also led to more concrete suggestions for faculty in terms of classroom management, personal demeanor, teaching about privilege, institutional context, and dealing with student resistance. Participants shared that when teaching about issues such as privilege and inequality, one should be prepared for some amount of student resistance, particularly from students who claim not to see or experience privilege. Furthermore, with proactive classroom management techniques, clear boundaries and expectations, reflexive teaching, and personal sharing connected with

statistical data, it is possible to teach these subjects effectively. They also cautioned faculty to keep good records in the event of student complaints.

Although I began with a race-based paradigm of intersectional racial realism in racialized social systems, my focus on intersectional analysis led me through a grounded theory approach to a more holistic conceptual framework in which faculty's impression management and academic identity were shaped in response to controlling images and circumscribed agency within a hegemonic academia. I found that while for White faculty, such as Messner (2011) teaching about privilege serves to enhance their privilege, for marginalized faculty it may serve to enhance our oppression. I posit that by shifting institutional perceptions of faculty diversity and embedding them across all levels and offices on campus, we have a better chance of achieving true systemic and institutional change. I suggest expanding the funds of knowledge framework to include the particular perspective and life experiences traditionally marginalized faculty bring to the classroom increasing the richness of the educational experience for all students. Furthermore, I propose that a focus on the funds of knowledge offered by marginalized faculty will allow them to express more freely their culturally authentic selves, model a multiplicity of ways of being a professional academic, and allow them to create holistic academic identities. Finally, I propose a paradigm shift from the innumerable pedagogies being offered in various disciplines to a focus on an intersectional andragogy that builds on the foundation of hooks' (2009) idea of engaged pedagogy along with the many important pedagogies to create an andragogy – adult-centered learning approach for the college student of the future.

This study contributes to the literature on intersectionality research, the scholarship of teaching and learning, and the literature on faculty of color, and women faculty, in important ways. First, it begins to address a looming gap in the literature on teaching about privilege by moving beyond a perspective written mostly by Whites for Whites and centering an intersectional approach on marginalized faculty. By doing so, it provides needed insight to the challenges facing marginalized faculty in teaching about privilege. Furthermore, by focusing specifically on classroom experience – again in an intersectional way – this research expands our knowledge of marginalized faculty adding to what we already understand about their career experiences to specifically focusing on teaching and classroom experiences. This study extends our understanding of controlling images to illustrate how they are a mechanism to reinforce hegemonic academia through multiple concrete examples of varied intersectional perspectives. It further expands the understanding of controlling images to illuminate how navigating controlling images places faculty in a double-bind situation in which they unintentionally reinforce other controlling images. Moreover, I expand Deil-Amen and Tevis' (2009) concept of circumscribed agency to include hyperawareness of the social context. In this study, I add to the funds of knowledge literature by shifting the focus from students to marginalized faculty.

Finally, this research begins to expose how teaching up works for marginalized faculty. Although more research is needed, findings illustrate that marginalized faculty are ensconced within a social context of hegemonic academia. Within that context, controlling images are used as a mechanism to reinforce hegemonic ideals. Faculty's hyperawareness of those controlling images and the overall context of hegemonic

academia serves to create in them a sense of double-consciousness in which they are aware of their talents, skills, and training which enabled them to achieve this position but simultaneously aware that students, peers, and administration perceive them through the lenses of controlling images leading to a deficit perception. This awareness serves to circumscribe their agency forcing them to expend time and energy on multiple forms of impression management, particularly early in their careers. Therefore, these experiences also serve to shape their faculty academic identity by emphasizing the need to model for their students inclusivity, reflexivity, intersectional analysis, and cultural authenticity. Finally, this study illustrates the importance of a critical exploration of the inherent Whiteness in feminist pedagogy.

This research grew out of my experiences trying to teach about privilege and inequality and the realization that, although the microaggressions may be different, the end result was similar for many of my peers. I teach my students that the idea of "objectivity" in scientific research is misguided. Innumerable decisions from what to research to where to publish are all based on subjective reasoning and my focus is no different. I did this research, in the beginning, to understand my situation and those of my colleagues. Now, I look to publish this research to find ways to prevent good teachers such as myself being pushed out of the classroom. While few individuals will read a dissertation, my hope is to transition this text into an accessible book for aspiring faculty and scholars, particularly those from traditionally marginalized groups. I hope that administrators and decision-makers will take the time to learn from research that centers those whose voices are too often silenced or ignored. More importantly, I hope

that they will make institutional and systemic changes to create more inclusive and

equitable campus environments at all levels of higher education.

Appendix A – Demographic Questionnaire

Name:_____

Title:_____

Years of Teaching
Experience:_____
_

Institution(s):_____

Type of Institution(s):

_____

Classes Taught:

_____

_____

Student Demographics at Your institution(s):

_____

_____

Racial Background:

_____

_____

Racial
Identity:_____

Ethnic
Identity:_____

Nationality:

_____

Gender
Identity:_____

Sexual
Orientation:_____

Public Sexual
Orientation:_____

Religion:

_____

First Language:

_____

Age:

_____

Ability Status:

_____

Marital Status:

_____

Please choose a pseudonym:

_____

Do I have your permission to contact you should I have follow-up questions? ☐ Yes ☐
No

Email address:

_____

Phone number:

_____

Would you like to read a draft of the paper? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Would you like to receive a list of best practices for teaching about privilege culled from this research?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Appendix B – Interview Questions
Teaching Up Interview Questions

Question 1: Please tell me a bit about yourself and your background.

Question 2: Please tell me about how you came to be a sociologist and a bit about your area of expertise.

Question 3: Would you please tell me the story of how you came to be a college professor.

Question 4: Please tell me about your current position. How long have you been teaching?

Question 5: What type of institution do you teach at? What state is it in? Is it in a rural, suburban, or urban area? What are the student demographics?

    Question 5a: If I were to walk into your class and observe your students, what would I see?

Question 6: Would you please explain for me your teaching philosophy or your approach to teaching?

    Question 6a: If a student were to walk into your class and see you, what would they see?

Question 7: As a sociologist, what issues do you find the most challenging to teach about and why?

Question 8: I'm interested in how instructors teach about privilege; would you say that this is a major or a minor part of your job? Why?

Question 9: Do you find that students have any particular perceptions or stereotypes about you?

Question 10: Do you find yourself dressing, speaking, presenting yourself a particular way to address those perceptions or stereotypes?

Question 11: What techniques or approaches have you utilized to managing student perceptions of you?

   Question 11a: Some individuals have spoken about using profanity strategically as part of their classroom management. Is that a technique that you have used?

Question 12: What particular challenges have you experienced when teaching about privilege? Do you think that those were due to your membership in a traditionally marginalized group(s)?

Question 13: Would you walk me through a specific situation in which you experienced a student pushing back or challenging you about privilege?

Question 14: Do you share or discuss student push-back or challenges with your peers on or off campus? If so, how do your peers react when you share challenges you face when teaching?

Question 15: In what ways are your supervisor and your institution supportive when it comes to challenges you face in teaching about privilege? What is lacking in your supervisor/institution's responses that you wish were there?

Question 16: Have you come up with any ways to teach about privilege that have been more successful than others? If so, please describe them.

Question 17: Do you have any particular approaches to teaching or techniques that you use to "set the tone" of the class or to create a certain environment?

Question 18: If you were addressing a group of graduate students who shared your traditionally marginalized identity(s), what advice would you give them about teaching about privilege?

Question 19: Is there anything we haven't covered about teaching sociology or teaching about privilege that you would like to add?

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