

Teaching While Black-Navigating Emotional Labor and the White Waters of Academia

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Abstract

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In this qualitative study, I examine the experiences of eight self-identified Black graduate teaching assistants (BGTAs) engaged in racialized emotional labor while teaching at a historically white institution (HWI). University instructors engage in emotional labor and other caring work, which requires managing their own emotions as well as those of students (Bellas, 1999; Hochschild, 1983). It is invisible labor that often goes uncompensated and unnoticed. Understanding how white institutions shape organizational emotional display rules, which guide the emotional labor required of people color, illuminates the ways in which BGTAs navigate and negotiate this labor. Using the theoretical frameworks of emotional labor (the process and labor required by individuals to manage, reduce, and/suppress felt emotions in order to align with organization expectations), Critical Race Theory (CRT), white racial frame, and Hypervisibility I argue that emotional labor is occurring in both the instructor work position, but also in the BGTAs' roles as students. I also argue that emotional labor is also happening based on social identity characteristics which influences interactions and the extent one can show up authentically. Thus, this dissertation

qualitatively examines through in-depth interviews and audio diaries, the racialized nature of Black GTAs emotional labor while teaching at historically white institutions (HWI). How do they negotiate this labor, and how is emotional labor shaped by white institutional spaces to create a challenging working and learning environment where BGTAS are required to navigate racialized narratives and ideologies, while trying to successfully perform and fulfill their duties as instructors and graduate students. The findings demonstrate the current expectations of emotional labor in higher education institutions are due to racialized institutional structures that benefit whites at the expense of Black and other people of color (POC). They also demonstrate how racialized emotional labor is a required process to navigate interactions with others in higher education. They show the unequal burden of racialized emotional labor and hypervisibility due to constant negotiation of being underrepresented in higher education, everyday racial incidents (i.e. microaggressions), and dominant white ideologies that deny the realities of race and racism experienced by people of color. Also, the findings reveal the ways in which BGTAs were able to find ways of responding to racial incidents that protected them from emotional injury and exhaustion and promoted counter narratives. Lastly, the findings showed how BGTAs found ways of resisting dominant white racially framed emotion rules and expressing genuine felt emotions. Understanding the multilayered and nuanced process of negotiating racialized emotional labor of BGTAs allowed me to examine racist systemic structures in higher education. It also afforded a deeper understanding of the significance of social positioning and its connection to preconceived assumptions about people of color that shape interactions that required emotional labor.

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#RedGoldenRetrieversRule #Luna

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Dedication

To all the Black and Indigenous people of color (BIPOC) in Academia, I/we see you. Los veo.

Stay Strong. Stay Vigilante. Keep Shining

Chapter 1: Introduction

Systemic racism in the United States has excluded people of color and people of the Black diaspora, from participating in various institutions, including higher education. Black students and instructors entered higher education while experiencing everyday racism and exclusion. They have been trailblazers who have helped make new pathways, helped challenge the status quo and contributed to changes we notice in higher education today.

While there has been a rise in graduate students of color enrollment trends in higher education, some racial groups such as Black and American Indian/Alaskan Natives are experiencing lower rates of attaining graduate degrees (Okahana & Zhou, 2017). In 2017, there were 188, 838 of Black students enrolled in graduate programs across the United States. However, according to the *Survey of Earned Doctorates (2019)*, U.S. universities granted 55,703 doctorate degrees, and of these 3,095 or 5.5 % were earned by Black students.

There is a racial gap between Black student graduate enrollment and doctoral degree attainment for Black students. While focusing on increasing the enrollment of racially diverse doctoral students is an ongoing and essential effort, researchers must strive to expand the understanding of the experiences of Black doctoral students. Graduate students are being socialized into their respective disciplines, the university, and towards becoming future faculty members. GTA positions are central preparatory experience towards the professoriate. Thus, understanding Black GTAs lived experiences with race and emotions and how that is being

negotiated in white¹ spaces provide a more nuanced perspective to better understand how to support GTA identity and persistence.

Graduate student TAs occupy a unique position in the academic system where they are both student and teacher (Kuther, 2003), constantly transitioning between the varied expectations of being students, academics (Jazvac-Martek, 2009) and instructors (Andrews, 1997; Golde, 1998; Park & Ramos, 2002). Within this complexity, GTAs are provided a varying range of support, held to high expectations, and are concurrently responsible for both the education of undergraduates as well as their own development (Allen & Rueter, 1990; Bettinger, Long, Taylor, 2016; Kuther, 2003; Darling & Dewey, 1990). Teaching support for GTAs expanded in the 1980's and 1990's where state governments required and provided funding for TA training (Nyquist, Abbot, & Wulf, 1989). Unlike their white peers, graduate students of color experience racism, even with TA training support, both while working towards degree completion and in their teaching contexts (Duncan, 1976; Gomez, khurshid, Freitag, and Lachuk, 2011; Hendrix, 2007).

Research reveals that both students and faculty of color experience racism on their university campuses (Gay, 2004; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Gonzalez, 2006, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1998; Museus & Truong, 2012; Rodgers and Summer, 2008; Solórzano, 1998; Pittman, 2010; Pittman, 2012, Spraggins, 1998; Walkington, 2017). And while there are some studies examining graduate students of color and their experiences related to race and racism

¹ I capitalize “Black” and not “white” for reasons outline by the Associated Press (Bauder, 2020)

(Brunsma, Embrick, & Shin, 2017; Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Gomez; Khurshid, Freitag, and Lachuk, 2011; Hurtado, 1994; Solórzano, 1998, Truong & Samuel, 2012;), there is far less research specifically examining graduate students of color (and specific racial groups') teaching experiences related to race and racism (Duncan, 1976; Gomez, Khurshid, Freitag, & Lachuk, 2011; Henderson, 2007). Furthermore, none of this research examines the emotions involved in teaching. On the other hand, there is an abundance of scholarship on race and racism in higher education focusing on the experiences of undergraduate students (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007). These studies demonstrate how negative campus climates influence people of color's persistence, sense of belonging, identity, and retention.

Unlike undergraduate students, Graduate Teaching Assistants of Color (GTACs) not only have to constantly transition between the varied expectations of being both students and academics (Jazvac-Martek, 2009), but also as people of color who must manage their racialized identities and experiences within the context of historically white² institutions that promote race

² I use the term historically white institutions instead of predominantly white institutions to point out that whiteness is still operating and maintaining historical and contemporary race neutral policies, racial infrastructures and race ideologies, regardless of the numbers and percentages of white students. These current institutions still benefit white individuals while disadvantaging people of color, regardless of the number of white students currently enrolled. Predominantly white can be used to indicate that more white students are enrolled at an institution than students from systemically underrepresented racial groups.

neutral ideologies and invalidate their racialized experiences. That is, they may experience underrepresentation in graduate programs and TA roles where they are victims of tokenization and oppression. In addition to feeling unseen while being hypervisible, they often experience: cultural mismatch between student of color viewpoints and mainstream white curricula; intellectual inferiority stereotypes; racial and cultural isolation; microaggressions while teaching; a lack of belonging; the burden of representation; stress; limited meaningful or purposeful intellectual activities and interaction with faculty mentors; racism that leads to self-censorship; and self-doubt (Duncan, 1976; Gay, 2004; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Gomez, khurshid, Freitag, and Lachuk, 2011; Solem, Lee, & Schlemper, 2009; Solórzano, 1998; Truong & Museus, 2012). While experiencing these racialized interactions and the varying emotions that may arise, GTACs are faced with an additional burden of managing both their own emotions as well as the emotions of their students.

Teaching is an “emotional practice” (Horschild, 1983) in that it involves social relationships and depends upon “emotional understanding” (Denzin, 1984) that people must construct to communicate with others. “The emotions that teachers experience and express are constructed in social relationships and systems of values in their families, cultures, and school situations. These relationships and values profoundly influence how and when particular emotions are constructed, expressed, and communicated.” (Zemblyas, 2004, p. 1986). In addition, research indicates that people of color must engage in specific forms of emotional labor, or the management of feeling to ““create a publicly observable facial and bodily display,” as a consequence of the contradiction between racialized space and abstract liberalist ideology that is deeply embedded within the culture of white institutional spaces (Hochschild 1983:7).” (as cited by Evans & Moore, 2015, p 441). This disconnect creates a context in which people of

color who try to speak out against racial inequities are seen as overly emotional and/or problematic before any emotional reaction to racist organizational dynamics occurs (Ahmed, 2014; Evans & Moore, 2015; Harlow, 2003; Stockdill & Danico, 2012; Wingfield, 2010). As a result, those who do not follow the organization's feeling rules may be subject to negative evaluations, informal or formal sanctions, and in extreme cases, termination.

Teaching is an emotional practice that requires educators of color to follow not just feeling rules for their roles as teacher, but also feeling rules that are unequally ascribed to people of color that construct them as overly emotional and problematic. Research indicates that people of color in white institutions often have to prioritize and care for the emotions of others, in this case white folks. This then places an additional burden for people of color that ranges from emotional and physical impacts, such as high anxiety and stress (Evans & Moore, 2015).

These experiences highlight the racial dynamics that people of color must navigate as they participate in work settings and learning environments. However, it is important to recognize that the term "people of color", although important, does not reflect the levels of complexity and differences amongst different racial groups. For instance, Asian and Black are identified as peoples of color, but have very different racialized experiences with racism in the U.S. (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). That is, GTACs are not a monolithic group, and I will therefore propose to pursue a narrower analysis, focusing on Black GTAs (BGTAs).

At an early age, American youth are taught and conditioned to recognize racial stereotypes through interactions in their cultural contexts. According to researchers Nasir, McKinney De Royston, O'connor and Wischnia (2017), middle school appears to be a key milestone for a majority of youth's awareness that racial stigmas might be applied to them. Findings revealed that youth of color had varying responses, some students of color perceived

these stereotypes as inconsequential and did not focus on them. Some had internalized these racial stigmas and found them personally consequential and saw themselves as change agents. However, students who were aware, saw them as consequential, and “did not have strong counternarratives or sense of group agency fared much worse academically (p. 519).”

Black students and faculty in historically white institutions are socialized at an early age about racial stigmas. Thus, they often find their experiences with racism challenging and emotionally taxing (Acuff, 2018; Evans 2013; Evans & Moore, 2013, Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Harrow, 2003; Perry, Gary, Moore, Edwards, Acosta, & Frey, 2006; Pittman, 2010; Smith, Solorzano, & Yosso, 2006; Wingfield & Wingfield, 2014; Wingfield 2010; Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 2006). Specifically, Black graduate teaching assistants (BGTAs) must negotiate their racialized identities in tandem with their student and teacher identities. For instance, a student identity represents the privilege of accessing higher education (Jones, Perrin, Heller, Hailu, & Barnett, 2018). A teaching assistant role corresponds with an expectation of content knowledge and supporting the learning of other university students (e.g., undergraduate education (Bettinger, et al., 2016). A Black identity encapsulates a history with lived experiences of racism (Jones, et al., 2018). Situated within a racialized U.S. context that perpetuates white privilege and marginalization of people of color, Black students report feeling like exhausted, invisible outsiders, who are often encouraged to drop classes or withdraw from their programs (Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso 2000).

Research reveals that Black students have felt invisible and ignored in the university, while at the same time being hyper-visible, as white faculty calling on them to be the representatives of all Black individuals (Cleveland, 2004; Feagin, 1992; Hurin & Nagda, 2006). According to Jones et al., (2018) Black graduate students reported feeling like imposters and

found it “difficult to express themselves authentically”, while internalizing feelings of incompetence (p. 70). For these Black graduate students, such feelings can influence their self-esteem, and cause anxiety and depression (Cozzarelli & Major, 1990; Ross & Kruskowski, 2003). Black individuals in institutions of learning are dehumanized in their interactions with institutional structures in society such as education (Leonardo, 2005; Nasir, Ross, McKinney de Royston, Givens, & Bryant, 2013). Thus, scholarship examining race and identity in education should include how education and society has operated to dehumanize and humanize, privilege, those who have been considered “Other” (Anderson, 1988; Kluger, 2004, as cited in Langer-Osuna & Nasir, 2016).

Scholarship indicates that these experiences and perceptions by Black students and other students of color have implications for retention and persistence (Rodgers & Summer, 2008). While we know this for Black undergraduate and graduate students, there is scant literature examining Black graduate students teaching experiences (Woods, et. Al., 2021) and/or their emotional labor as they manage both their own and their students’ emotions.

Expectations to maintain a workload as full or part time staff with little teaching support, can lead graduate assistants to feel not just overwhelmed, but considering leaving the degree program (Nonnamaker & White, 2011). This is consistent with the stress, anxiety, burnout (Hunt, Boyd, Gast, Mitchell, & Wilson, 2012) that, coupled with racism (Rodgers & Summer, 2008), and a lack of social involvement, sense of belonging (Cooke, Sims, & Peyrefitte, 1995) and feelings of alienation (Daugherty & Lane, 1999) lead to many college students’ departure. Black individuals historically have had to engage in white spaces with white institutional norms that govern policies and structures developed by white European society that they did not create. Yet, Black people are required to work within this imposed white racial frame (ideology) or engage in

uncompensated invisible work at times to the point of exhaustion to challenge and resist it (Acuff, 2018). BGTA's constant negotiation of racialized narratives, identity, and microaggressions in their simultaneous roles as Black students and Black educators, can lead to "stress associated with racial microaggressions [that cause] African Americans to experience various forms of mental, emotional, and physical strain" (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006, p. 300).

As higher education stakeholders seek to diversify the professoriate and improve graduate education and TA instructional development, an updated examination of Black GTAs' multiple identities and racialized emotional labor related to their interactions with others via teaching and academic studies in white institutions is warranted. This updated examination supports a better understanding of the nuanced ways of negotiation and coping. It can also address any challenges and possible feelings of stress, anxiety, racial fatigue, and burnout which could result in exiting the program and promote learning and working environments that support diverse ways of being and knowing.

This study examines the racialized nature of Black GTAs' emotional labor while teaching at HWI. Investigating the role of emotional work in Black GTAs' learning workspaces as well as professional (teaching) workplaces can provide valuable information in understanding how to best support and retain Black graduate students, while also promoting inclusion goals of the university. This study attempts to understand the interconnectedness between white institutional spaces, identity, and emotional labor. It also creates counter spaces for BGTAs to center their lived experiences with racism, express their feelings in response to race and racism, and elevates marginalized voices to counter the dominant narrative by asking:

- 1) What is the racialized nature of Black GTA's emotional labor while teaching at PWI?
- 2) How do they negotiate this labor?
- 3) How do they resist/challenge emotional feeling rules and emotional display rules?

This study will generate theoretical contributions to scholarship on emotional labor, graduate education, and teaching in higher education studies by expanding the focus to emotional experiences related to teaching across gender and racial differences. Another significant contribution will be the expansion of the emotional labor framework beyond the customer service model, to include informal normalized expectations and values about emotional expression in the lives of Black GTAs. Theorizing emotional labor from a CRT lens also offers opportunities to better explicate structural and systemic forms of racism that shape daily racialized interactions and emotions in white spaces. As a result, this allows for the expansion of emotional labor framework to include racialized emotional labor, situating it in racialized GTA contexts. This study will expand beyond the knowledge of Black graduate students who are TAs. Since teaching and learning is a social process, understanding the emotional labor of Black GTAs can also help support the learning experiences of the students they teach.

Chapter 2: Literature Review & Conceptual Framing

Historical white institutions of higher education mirror race relations in the larger U.S. (Aguirre, 2000; Alex-Assenoh, 2003; Smith, Altbach, & Lomotey, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000). In other words, the university is a microcosm of larger social power structures occurring in society. Universities perpetuate racism which both students and faculty of color experience (Gay, 2004; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Gonzalez, 2006, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1998; Museus & Truong, 2012; Rodgers and Summer, 2008; Solórzano, 1998; Pittman, 2010; Pittman, 2012, Spraggins, 1998; Walkington, 2017). Despite an increase in numbers, faculty and graduate students of color are still underrepresented and marginalized in their institutions (Turner, 2002) and hypervisibility (Constantine et al., 2008; Settles et. al., 2019; Tuitt & Carter, 2008).

Now that more Black graduate students are enrolled in graduate school (National Science Foundation, 2019), likely resulting in more BGTAs, a review of related literature and critical frameworks is needed to understand how they are experiencing, managing and negotiating white institutions. Further examining the experiences of graduate students of color is important due to the continuous evidence of their marginalizing experiences across various disciplines (Gardner, 2007; González, 2006; Sowell et al., 2015).

In this chapter I examine the scholarship and literature regarding the intertwined areas of systemic racism in HWIs of higher education, Critical Race Theory (CRT), a white racial frame, hypervisibility framework, and racialized emotional labor while teaching. I specifically locate this discussion of hypervisibility and emotional labor in the literature of people of color, specifically students of color and instructors of color, participating in white institutions and experiencing everyday racism. CRT informs the overall conceptual and methodological framing of this study. This approach engaging in an interdisciplinary analysis while centering the

experiences of people of color to understand how racism and white racial frames intersect. A critical understanding of CRT, systemic racism, and a white racial frame offers a means of examining the relationship among race, racism, gender, other forms of oppression and social structures. Universities are institutions with social structures rooted in systemic racism that perpetuate dominant white ideologies that contribute to inequities in higher education (Bourke, 2016). The academy's structures and social spaces are not neutral spaces. A critical racial lens is required to understand the context in which BGTAs are experiencing hypervisibility in their learning and working environments in graduate education. Theorizing emotional labor from a CRT perspective challenges us to better articulate structural and systemic forms of racism that function in the everyday racialized incidents and interactions of BGTAs.

Using CRT and a white racial framework allows me to extend the existing conceptualizations of emotions, emotion work, and teaching. They also provide a lens to further understand BGTAs' teaching experiences as being situated in "social, political, and historical context while considering issues of power, privilege, racism, and other forms of oppression" (Daftary, 2020). Given that BGTAs' teaching experiences are situated within historical white contexts and systemic racism, the combined use of these frameworks offers an in-depth understanding of the links between current and historical realities of racial bias and oppression and how these forces shape inequitable distribution and need for racialized emotional labor. Using CRT and a white racial framework allows for a countering of the dominant white narrative of race neutrality and racial color-blindness in the academy; and a critical analysis of the contextual factors and dynamics in BGTAs teaching contexts as well as coping and resistance strategies.

Then, I will examine the literature and frameworks regarding hypervisibility, (racialized) emotional labor and teaching. I will demonstrate how these frames afford the opportunity to investigate how underrepresented Black Graduate Student TAs experience and manage heightened visibility and racialized emotional labor in their dual roles. An emotional labor framework analyzed through a CRT lens and coupled with the aforementioned frameworks, also allows me to theorize the racialized context of Black GTAs and how it shapes racialized interactions and emotions. First, I will discuss systemic racism in white institutional spaces of higher education and its interconnection with CRT, and a white racial frame.

BGTAs' teaching and learning contexts are not neutral spaces absolved of power dynamics. Rather, their learning and teaching is situated within racialized contexts where they experience inter and intrapersonal interactions that are a microcosm of larger societal systems of power. Institutions of higher education are situated in local, state, and national communities and are shaped by them (Feagin, Vera, and Imani, 1997). There is an inextricable link between the everyday racialized experiences and bias faced by People of Color, "with institutional racism (i.e., structures and processes), and ideologies of white supremacy that maintain racial subordination." (Perez & Solorzano, 2015, p. 298). Using CRT and other critical theories will afford deeper analysis of BGTA study participants' interactions and experiences which are situated within systems of power and oppression. It helps us to understand racialized norms grounded in U.S. social structure as well as in the university.

Systemic Racism & Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Institutions of learning in the U.S. reflect the larger social power structures that perpetuate inequities in society (Bourke, 2016; Gonzalez, 2007; Feagin, Moore, 2008; Solorzano & Perez, 2020). Institutions of higher education have social structures rooted in systemic racism

that perpetuate dominant white ideologies that contribute to inequities in higher education (Bourke, 2016). The university is a white institutional space situated in a racist society, and contributes to the systemic racism that people of color must endure. Systemic racism functions through a white racial frame (Wing Sue, 2010), a dominant ideology rooted in white superiority and inferiority of people of color (Feagin, 2020). This frame and systemic racism operate in tandem to perpetuate racial inequities in society and within institutions like higher education. Sturn (2006) emphasizes that to understand and respond to issues of exclusion and marginalization, structure needs to be understood because “structure regularizes human interaction, establishes value hierarchies, steers information flows, frames perception, and channels movement and status within social systems. It creates the social context that influences how people understand themselves, what they perceive, and what they value. It determines whether the norms we espouse will match the decisions we make. As such, structure profoundly affects patterns of inclusion and exclusion (p. 411).”. For example, a micro level interaction within a specific system such as a classroom is influenced by the institutional structure, such as the leadership selection process which is in turn influenced by the larger social systems in which it is situated (Sturn, 2006). For Black GTAs, the university and the classrooms are spaces that reflect racialized practices and policies present in larger society.

Critical race scholars have shown how the university, both inside and outside the classroom, are institutional spaces situated within society’s white racial frame and systemic racism, in which people of color, students of color experience (Evans & Moore, 2015; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 201; Gonzalez, 2007; Turner, Gardner, Stone, Hixson, & Dissassa, 2019; Lewis, Ginsberg, Davies, & Smith, 2004; Roberts, Gutierrez, Gibbs Grey & Stanbrough, 2020; Walkington, 2017) and instructors of color are experiencing racism and bias

(Acuff, 2018, Daniel, 2019; Gay, 2004; Johnson, 2003; Harlow, 2003; Pittman, 2010; Solorzano, 1998; Stanely, 2006). According to Feagin (2010), today's systemic racism, much like in the past, includes:

The complex array of recurring exploitative, discriminatory, and other oppressive white practices targeting Americans of color; 2. the institutionalized economic and other social resources inequalities along racial lines (the racial hierarchy); and 3.the dominant white racial frame that was generated to racialize and ensure white privilege and dominance over Americans of color (Feagin, 2010, p. ix).

These racial oppressive realities have historically been institutionalized and manifested across social institutions in the U.S. (e.g., education, politics, health, economy, the family, etc.) (Feagin, 2010). Racism is inextricably linked to the concept of race. Race is a social construct, but as Omi and Winant assert, "we consider race to be real because it is real in its consequences" (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 963). The social construction of race has been employed as a social marker forced onto "bodies of People of Color today and historically to justify structure of domination in the United States and abroad" (Solorzano & Perez, 2020, p.329).

Race and racism are enduring and pervasive characteristics in the U.S. that perpetuate social inequities between dominant and marginalized racial groups. This study is grounded in a CRT framework where I centered BGTAs racialized experiences both theoretically and methodologically by examining the emotional labor experiences of BGTAs. In doing this I sought to shift power dynamics and amplify BGTA voices to challenge dominant white narratives and ideologies.

Solorzano & Perez, 2020, define CRT as

The work of scholars and practitioners who are attempting to develop an explanatory framework that accounts for the role of race and racism in education and that works toward identifying and challenging racism as part of a larger goal of recognizing and disrupting all forms of subordination (Solórzano, 1997, 1998a).” as cited by Solorzano & Perez, 2020, p. 34).

In other words, CRT is a framework that takes into accounts the role of race and racism in education and seeks to challenge racism and other forms of oppression (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Huber & Solorzano, 2015). Theorizing emotional labor from a CRT perspective affords a more nuanced framing and analysis of structural and systemic forms of racism that function in the everyday lives of BGTAs. CRT scholarship is guided by five specific tenets:

- 1). Race and racism are defining characteristics in the U.S. that perpetuate social inequities between dominant and marginalized racial groups (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).
- 2) CRT challenges traditional research paradigm and theories, dominant ideologies, and deficit perspectives about People of Color (POC) and Communities of Color (COC). It also challenges and educational practices that assume “race neutrality” and “Objectivity (Perez & Huber, 2020).
- 3). CRT centers research and practice on the lived experiences of POC and COC and views them as sources of strengths. The experiences of POC are understood as legitimate and valuable experiential knowledge. Centering the lived experiences and narratives from people of color is an

effective method to identify the “structures, processes, and practices that contribute to racial inequality (Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2010, p. 5).

4). CRT affords interdisciplinary and intersectionality analysis by recognizing other forms of intersecting oppressions are not mutually exclusive and isolated (Crenshaw, 1989; Perez & Solorzano, 2020).

5) “CRT challenges ahistoricism, acontextualism, and aracialism, expanding the boundaries of the analysis of race and racism in education by using contextual, historical, and interdisciplinary perspectives to inform praxis.” (Perez & Solorzano, 2020, p.33).

Approaching an examination of hypervisibility and emotional labor from a CRT perspective means that this study engages in interdisciplinary analysis that focuses on the lived experience of Black graduate student TAs/ instructors (BGTAs) to understand how everyday bias, racism and other forms of oppression intersect and shape their experiences in the university. CRT also is a useful tool for identifying, examining, and challenging ongoing racism in white institutional spaces such as higher education and reveals the racial inequities still occurring. For example, CRT scholars reveal how instructors and students of color experience and navigate everyday racism and microaggressions from white instructors, peers, students, and administrators in white institutions that benefit white individuals (Bonilla- Silva & Forman, 2000; Bowman & Smith, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1996; Smith, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Other research demonstrates that both instructors of color and graduate students of color experience racialized experiences at institutions of higher education which have been noted to be stress inducing and emotional taxing (Acuff, 2018; Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006). However,

to my knowledge there is no literature examining the experience of hypervisibility and racialized emotional labor of Black Graduate student TAs/instructors (BGTAs) in general, nor one utilizing a CRT framework. Using a CRT framework and centering the voices of Black GTAs in my study served as important resources and counternarratives to the dominant white narrative in the academy that often assert race color-blindness and presents marginalized groups from a community deficits model. Both ideologies perpetuate racial stereotypes and racist structures.

Scholarship examining the experience of Black individuals in the United States demonstrates that many experience marginalization and racism by dominant white frames (Coats, 2015; Kendi 2016; Feagin, 2020, Moore, 2008). Institutions of Higher education that are historically white perpetuate anti-Black ideologies that permeate learning and social spaces (Woods, Chronister, Grabow, 2021, Moore, 2008, Feagin, 2013). Black students experience marginalization, isolation, heightened visibility, microaggressions, and racialized messages that they are inferior to whites, do not belong, and are aggressive and overly emotional (Johnson-Bailey et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2016; Sue et al., 2007). These experiences can lead to feelings of hypervisibility, exclusion, fatigue, lower self-esteem and self-doubt (Kelly, Gardner, Stone, Hixon, Dissassa, 2019; Lige et al., 2017; Stone et al., 2018), or feeling like “space invaders” (Kelly et al., 2019 p. 3).

Scholarship also reveals that Black graduate students experience racism and marginalization in their programs (Gardner, 2007; Gonzalez, 2006; Johnson-Bailey, et al., 2008; Sowell, et., 2015; Woods, et al., 2021). For example, Gildersleeve et al., 2011 explained Black and Latino graduate student experience in relation to graduate socialization practices and racialized experiences and interactions. Their findings demonstrated how these practices and racialized interactions contributed to ‘self-doubt professionally and academically, questioning of

their self-efficacy, and experiences of self-censorship for graduate students of color. The argued that this ongoing self-analysis was a burden imposed on students of color that also makes their persistence in doctoral education an ongoing struggle. Although the findings are important, this study did not specifically focus on teaching experiences, which is another important component of graduate students' socialization to the discipline, academy, and the professoriate.

Wulff and Nerad (2006) assert that there are three significant influences that contribute to the ways in which students experience their time in graduate and doctoral education: influences that are “outside the institution . . . within the institution . . . [and] within an individual program” (p. 90). These influences contribute to graduate student’s socialization into their fields, disciplines, the academy and as future faculty members. Black graduate student instructors are being socialized into their dual roles of both student and instructor. During this socialization process, BGTAs must negotiate their racialized identities and assumptions in tandem with their student and teacher roles. For instance, a student identity represents the privilege of accessing higher education (Jones, Perrin, Heller, Hailu, & Barnett, 2018).

A teaching assistant role corresponds with an expectation of content knowledge and supporting the learning of other university students (e.g., undergraduate education (Bettinger, et al., 2016). A Black identity encapsulates a history with lived experiences of racism (Jones, et al.,2018). Situated as both graduate student and graduate student instructor, within the academic hierarchy they are in a transitional stage. Undergraduate students are relying on BGTAs and faculty for their learning. BGTAs are like undergraduate students in that they are dependent on faculty for knowledge gains for a period of time, until they transition to independence (Gardner, 2008). However, BGTAs are not undergraduate students. As doctoral students, BGTAs are in the process of transitioning from being “consumers of knowledge, such as they have experienced

within the classroom, to creators of knowledge through their original research (Bargar & Duncan, 1982; Delamont, Atkinson, & Parry, 2000; Egan, 1989; Lovitts, 2001, 2005; Rosen & Bates, 1967)” as cited by Gardner, 2008, p. 328). Unlike undergraduate students, they are in the process of transitioning into independent scholars and researchers, culminating in a dissertation (Council of Graduate Schools, 2004).

BGTAs have not yet achieved status as independent scholars, researchers, or faculty members, but are participating in the socialization process of graduate education. Their transitional role mirrors both characteristics of being an undergraduate student-consumer of knowledge and a faculty-independent researcher/scholar. However, because this is coupled with their positionality as a Black individual, they are required to manage racialized expectations that align with the norms in their in-between roles that may constrain the ways in which they navigate racialized dynamics in white institutions. Centering the lived experiences and stories of Black graduate student instructors, which are situated within systemic racism and a white racial frame, aligns with CRT. It affords the opportunity to examine racialized power dynamics that occur within graduate education in historical white institutions. Using a CRT approach to examine BGTAs racialized teaching experiences requiring racialized emotion work means engaging in interdisciplinary analysis to challenge systemic racism. Theorizing racialized emotional labor from a CRT perspective also affords a closer look at an important component of BGTA’s socialization process into the professoriate, especially in the context of historical white institutional spaces.

CRT scholars posit that within the U.S. race is a significant factor shaping educational inequities (Ladson Billings & Tate, 1995) and perpetuating racism. In this study, CRT is used as both a theoretical framework where I centered the everyday experiences with race and racism

and as a methodology where I examined the emotional labor experiences of BGTAs. In doing this I also sought to shift power by amplifying BGTA voices to challenge dominant white narratives and ideologies. I further addressed CRT's tenets and challenged dominant ideologies by using the concept of a white racial frame (Feagin, 2010; 2020) which will be discussed in the following section.

White Racial Frame

CRT scholars note that systemic racism is endemic in U.S. Society and permeates the micro, meso and macro levels, and is pervasive across U.S. institutions, including higher education (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solorzano & Perez, 2020; Solórzano, 1997, 1998a; Sue, 2010). Within U.S. society, a white racial frame is foundational to systemic racism (Sue, 2010). A white racial frame is a dominant white ideology rooted in white superiority and inferiority of people of color (Feagin, 2020). This perspective provides the mental frames for dominant groups' justification of marginalization and oppression of others. This frame is embedded in society's structures and is directly connected to institutionalized power and privileged that benefits whites (Chubbuck, 2004; Lipsitz, 2006) and provides a basis for systemic structural racism. Employing a white racial framework for this study affords the opportunity to further challenge racism and further address the tenets of CRT.

Race, racism and other forms of oppression play a salient role for students and instructors of color at historically white institutions. “[T]he academy has a history of exclusivity [and] racism ... that works against people of color . . . to preserve the status quo” (Gonzalez, 2007, p. 298). Systemic racism and a white racial frame are embedded within larger U.S. society and

permeate white institutions (Feagin, 2020; Moore, 2008; Sue, 2010). A white racial frame functions to perpetuate systemic racism and maintain social inequities (Feagin, 2020; Moore, 2008). These dynamics are present in the various contexts where BGTA's learn and teach. Their learning and teaching contexts are not neutral spaces absolved of power dynamics. Rather, they teach in racialized and gendered contexts where they experience inter and intrapersonal interactions that are a microcosm of larger societal systems of power and oppression. Using the white racial frame as a theoretical tool for analysis affords a further understanding of how race and racism are embedded within higher education and shape racialized emotional labor.

The dynamics of systemic racism function through a white racial frame, which is characterized as a white dominant view of the world that has continuously included a "racial construction of social reality by white Americans." (Feagin, 2020, p. 4) to legitimize and "insure white privilege and dominance over people of color." (Feagin, 2020, p. 4). By analyzing BGTA's racialized interactions and experiences with this framework, it helps contextualize their experiences with everyday racism, hypervisibility and emotional labor required to navigate in historical white institutions. Employing the concept of a white racial frame as an analytical tool supported addressing CRT's first and second tenet regarding the centrality of race and racism in BGTA's lived experiences with racialized emotional labor and hypervisibility. Using a white racial framework allowed for a deeper understanding of the relationship between the intrapersonal, interpersonal and institutional (Feagin, 2013), and how race relations are shaped within graduate education. It also allows us to understand racialized norms grounded in U.S. social structure and the norms mirrored in the university context. This analysis adds to our understanding of social frames woven into U.S. society and institutions of higher education. It

allows for an in-depth understanding of how BGTAs navigate those racialized frames and engage in racialized emotion work.

Given that many racialized interactions that occur in the society and the workplace stem from frames (i.e., stereotypes) associated with people of color, BGTAs experiences are contextualized by institutionalized white racial frames. I used a white racial frame framework to understand the university context in which these racialized interactions and emotions occur. This framework, coupled with CRT, allowed me to theorize the context that Black GTAs are in and how it shapes racialized interactions and emotions. It also afforded the opportunity to better understand the relationship between the interpersonal and institutional level and how racialized interactions and emotional labor are shaped within BGTAs learning and teaching contexts, thereby contributing to their hypervisibility and racialized emotional labor.

The lived experiences with racial oppression have historically been institutionalized and manifested across social institutions in the U.S. (e.g., education, politics, health, economy, the family, etc.; Feagin, 2010; 2020). One mechanism for the reproduction of systemic racism is the practice of developing racially segregated spaces, historically white institutions, which in turn reproduces racial disparities and institutional racism while normalizing white privilege (Moore, 2008). Systemic racism also operates via a white racial frame, as

...the dominant racial frame that has long legitimated, rationalized, motivated, and shaped racial oppression and inequality in this country. This white racial frame is a centuries-old worldview that has constantly involved a racial construction of societal reality by white Americans. (Feagin, 2020, p. 4).

Elements of the White Racial Frame

According to Goffman (1974), frames are the “principles of orientation” that people use to interpret the world around them. These interpretations are often unseen because they have been normalized, and so they “remain latent in minds of individuals” (Feagin, 2020, p. 26). A white racial frame functions in shaping how individuals view, interpret, and interact, and behave in their social worlds. It also serves as a guide for legitimizing and structuring racialized interactions and inequities. A white frame includes “a set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, conceptual ideologies, interlinked interpretations and narratives, and visual images.” (Feagin, 2020, p. 5). The frame also consists of racialized emotions and reactions to accents that are inherently found in languages. Another element within this frame is the inclination to engage in discriminatory actions/behaviors (Feagin, 2010; 2020).

A central theme of this social frame is group superiority and outgroup inferiority. In terms of superiority, this assumes that whites are "more American, moral, intelligent, rational, attractive, and/or hard-working than other racial groups, and especially than African Americans and other dark-skinned Americans." (Feagin, 2020, p. 106).

This social frame is rooted in centuries old ideologies and guided by profound emotions and intense negative feelings towards non-white “others”. For example, the frame is negative toward racial others and specifically rooted in emotionally laden anti-Black stereotyping and imagery such as animalistic imagery, criminality, gendered racist images of Black women and men, and strong racial emotions. In this dominant framing, Black individuals are constructed as violent, aggressive, criminals, lazy, oversexed, unintelligent. In this frame, black individuals are othered. According to Feagin (2020), anti-Blackness is a prominent negative racial framing within the white frame which has been actively and consciously used throughout history to

institutionalize anti-Black racism. A white racial frame helps make sense of racial oppression. As such, this ideological frame also addresses CRT's tenet of challenging race neutrality and colorblindness.

This dominant frame rationalizes the social arrangement and positioning of dominant groups over non dominant groups that lead to inequitable structures and acts of racial subordination. A white racial frame supports CRT in challenging dominant ideologies of race neutrality, racial colorblindness and deficit perspectives. This frame furthers our understanding of how dominant white ideologies have historically been created to legitimize racialized stereotypes, social structures and racialized feeling rules that are applied differently based on racial identity.

In addition to racial stereotypes, a white racial frame includes, "deep negative emotions" (Feagin, 2020, p. 22) and visual images about people of color which shape how whites interact and engage with others, despite liberal claims of race neutrality. The frame extends to emotion rules and emotional display rules which categorize and construct people of color's emotions negatively. This frame which stems from racial bias and hatred also constructs people of color's display of emotions as a perceived threat. This socially dominant frame functions across the intrapersonal, interpersonal, community, and institutional areas of society (Feagin, 2010; 2020). According to Feagin (2020, p. 26) the white frame operates by:

...providing widely shared racialized understandings, images, narratives, emotions, and action inclinations that routinely shape a patterned array of family and other small- group realities and behaviors...Once learned, it guides and rationalizes much discriminatory behavior, from small-scale interpersonal interactions to larger group

and organizational settings, to the yet larger macro legal, political, and economic institutions of society (Feagin 2020, p. 26).

The white racial frame is perpetuated by dominant racial groups at the micro, meso and macro level. In other words, dominant group members with racial biases within institutions can assume the power of institutions and receive institutional backing when they act in ways that disadvantage and advantage others based on race. For example, the interpersonal racial biases that occur during hiring in university settings, has contributed to lower numbers of faculty of color (Omeara, et al., 2020; Sensoy & Diangelo, 2017). Thus, interpersonal racialized practices at both the individual and institutional level work in tandem to perpetuate systemic racism (Moore, 2008). For instance, a 2017 report by the American Council on Higher Education, found that Black faculty members represented four percent of all full professors, five percent of all associate professors and six percent of assistant professors on faculty at degree granting institutions. Historically white colleges and universities are white institutional spaces rooted in racism which shape the experiences that people of color must negotiate (Feagin, Vera, and Imani 1997). Using a white racial framework allows for the examination and understanding of how “advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned in distinction between whiteness and non-whiteness (Moore, 2008, p. 27). Moore also argues that “focusing on non-whiteness does not capture the various and different lived experiences and histories of different communities of color, but a common factor is the denial of accessing privilege that corresponds to a white racial identity.” (p. 26). Moore (2008) urges focusing on whiteness in organizations (because it still implicitly includes non-whiteness) as source of oppression and marginalization of people of color in order to better understand the

origins and its reproduction. It helps us understand the ideological mental frames/perspectives dominant groups

As a result of these historical exclusions, white individuals have constructed a white focus that has guided institutional norms, expectations, objectivity, values of equal opportunity, race neutrality, and color-blindness (Ahmed, 2012; Bonilla-Silva, 1997, Moore, 2008). A white racial frame perpetuates white privilege and marginalization of people of color. This frame creates a disconnect between the institutions' dominant ideology of race neutrality and racialized dynamics experienced by people of color due to the reality of institutional practices that reproduce inequities (Evans & Moore, 2015). In turn these dominant ideologies also extend into feeling rules, which "are the norms and guidelines that govern emotion work or emotion management—individuals' efforts to achieve the appropriate emotional state. Feeling rules are also structured by the environment in which they are enacted." (Wingfield, p. 252). For example, the flight attendants and law students in Evans and Moore's (2015) study expressed their understanding that the feeling rules of their job environments necessitated that they suppress rather than express their irritation with negative racial dynamics. Using a white racial framework affords a critical analysis of how white ideologies have historically and currently shaped racialized feeling rules and thus racialized emotional labor.

The Black experience in the United States is emotionally laden with negative racial stereotypes about Black individuals that have been used to legitimize and perpetuate racism and marginalization by dominant culture (Coates, 2015; Kendi, 2016). When whites are presented with information, people, experiences that "do not fit this dominant white racial frame, whites tend to ignore or reject those facts." (Feagin, 2020, p. 25). For example, emotionally laden negative racial assumptions about the "other", in this case Black individual's intelligence coupled

with the low representation of Black students and instructors in universities, creates racialized interactions that manifest as subtle to overt forms of bias and oppression. For instance, when Black individuals are in positions of power within the academy (i.e., doctoral student and/or faculty) it can obstruct expected frames of Black individuals as inferior and incompetent. This thwarting can lead to dissonance for whites and non-Black people of color which can manifest as a subtle (i.e., microaggression) to overt form of bias. A white racial frame, rooted in deep anti-Black sentiment, shapes how whites and non-Black people of color interact with Black individuals (Feagin, 2020). This social frame guides the interactions of people based on perceived racial identity. Race is an attribute that people consider when constructing opinions about groups and individuals (cite). In institutions of higher education, Black individuals often experience Black students and instructors often find themselves managing and negotiating racial stigmas in the classroom (Acuff, 2018; Barker, 2016; Gildersleeve, Croom, and Vasquez 2011; Lander & Santoro, 2017; Woods, Chronister, Perez Grabow et al., 2021). These experiences can extend to instances of marginalization, tokenism (Felder & Barker, 2013; Johnson-Bailey, et al., 2008; Taylor & Antony, 2000), hypervisibility (Barker, 2012; Kelly, et al., Wingfield & Wingfield, 2014; cite more and racialized emotional labor (Buckingham,2018; Evans & Moore, 2015; Harrow, 2003, Kelly et. al, 2019; Smith, Alves, Weathersby, & Yi (2020). Utilizing the concept of the white racial frame allows for an in-depth analysis of racialized emotional display rules dictated by this dominant frame and how BGTAs negotiate their emotions and racialized assumptions in their dual roles.

White Racial Frame and Colorblindness

Another example in which the white racial frame rejects lived realities of race and racism is by perpetuating race neutrality, race colorblindness (Feagin, 2010; 2020). The color-blind ideology is a mechanism of racism (Feagin, 2010; Bonilla-Silva, 1997) and race neutrality (Feagin, 2010) and is an element of the white racial frame (Feagin, 2020). This ideology can be categorized as consisting of two interconnected domains: color avoidance- denying racial differences by promoting the notion that everyone is the same or equal and power evasion- denying the existence of racism by asserting everyone has an equal opportunity regardless of race (Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, Bluemel, 2020). This ideology asserts that society does not have differential social or legal treatment based on skin color or race-

In other words, a color-blind ideology refers to a prevalent belief that skin color does not limit one's social opportunities nor that it has any impact on interpersonal interactions, and that those interpersonal interactions along with systemic racism subsequently do not exist anymore in U.S. Society (Neville, Gallardo, Miguel & Sue, 2016). It becomes a tool that perpetuates a dominant white racial frame that reproduces white privilege and white institutions which results in ignoring racial oppression. Utilizing a white racial frame and examining how it operates to perpetuate stereotypes, social structures and racial inequities and the myth of race neutrality supports CRT in challenging stereotypes, racial inequities and racial colorblindness.

For instance, A color blind approach serves as a way to minimize the existence and impact of race and racism on people of color's lives (Bonilla-Silva, 2019; Feagin, 2020; Moore, 2008) interpersonally and institutionally. Therefore, this ideology ignores social structures that perpetuate racial inequities and thereby perpetuates whiteness. Subsequently, color-blind racism minimizes the realities of people of color, such as Black Americans. Invisibility refers to an

absence of, or false representations of marginalized groups or individuals (Fryberg & Townsend, 2008); a failure of whites to “recognize African American students as full human beings with distinctive talents, cultures, interests, and problems (Feagin, et al., 1997, p. 14).

In researching Black women, Sesko and Bernat (2010) posited that invisibility was a gendered form of discrimination. Their study found that Black women experienced intersectional invisibility – belonging to multiple marginalized identity groups (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach, 2008) which contributed “to their not being recognized or correctly credited for their contributions.” (p.360). Black students continue to experience stigmatization both at the interpersonal and institutional level. Black students experience simultaneous invisibility and heightened visibility due to their minoritized status on campus and their encounters with microaggressions and bias in university contexts (Chang, Eagan, Lin, and Hurtado (2011); Williams and Nichols (2012).

All individuals participating in the academy are “professionalized to conform to dominant norms that reinforce social inequality, and those who disrupt the status quo typically face negative sanctions, including harassment, stigmatization, and discrimination in retention, tenure, and promotion.” (Stockdill & Danico, 2012, p. 2). Black GTAs are at the nexus of negotiating and performing the varied expectations of being people of color, students, academics, and teachers within a white institutional space. Coupled with these varied role expectations, they may have to manage and suppress their own emotions to meet the racialized and gendered feeling rules and emotional display rules produced by the university.

People of color must engage in certain forms of emotional labor, or the management of feeling to ““create a publicly observable facial and bodily display,” as a consequence of the contradiction between racialized space and abstract liberalism ideology that is deeply embedded

within the culture of white institutional spaces (Hochschild 1983:7).’ as cited by (Evans & Moore, 2015, p. 441). This ideology operates on the notion of race neutrality or race color blindness which refers to widespread views that skin color does not limit someone’s social opportunities nor affect interpersonal interactions. Likewise, those interactions and dynamics in tandem with systemic racism subsequently no longer exist (Nevelle, Gallardo, Miguel, Wing, 2016). This disconnect creates a context in which people of color who try to speak out against racial inequities are seen as overly emotional and/or problematic before any emotional reaction to racist organizational dynamics occurs (Ahmed, 2014; Evans & Moore, 2015; Harlow, 2003; Stockdill & Danico, 2012; Wingfield, 2010). As a result, those who do not follow the organization’s feeling rules may be subject to negative evaluations, informal or formal sanctions, and in extreme cases, termination.

Utilizing a white racial frame, which is in line with all of the CRT tenets, allows for a deeper understanding of the historical context of whiteness and how it has constructed and reproduced race neutral ideologies that unjustly dictate how people of color must participate and experience the burdens of racialized emotional management due to race and racism. Acknowledging how this frame historically and systemically shapes racialized experiences afforded the opportunity to situate BGTAs experiences within a larger racialized context and challenge racism and dominant ideologies of race neutrality that are prevalent in U.S. higher education. It affords a critical investigation of the sources of people of color’s experience in education with everyday racism, racialized emotional labor, and other forms of oppression. Since I am examining race as it relates to Black GTAs, I will also use Hypervisibility as a theory to inform my study by making the invisible experiences of emotional labor and hyper visibility visible.

Hypervisibility

Hypervisibility refers to constantly being exposed, observed, noticed, surveilled, under scrutiny, as an oddity/token, consistent with being displayed or under a white gaze (Fryberg & Townsend, 2008). According to Evans (2013), Hypervisibility refers to being “observed (and pointed out) as an anomaly, consistent with being on display.” (p. 28). It also is characterized as scrutiny based on perceived difference and otherness.

Recent studies have examined hypervisibility as it relates to stress and tokenism (Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2018), identity shifting strategies (Dickens, Womack, Dimes, 2019), gender (Lewis & Simpson, 2010) race and gender (Mowatt, French & Malebranche, 2013; Wingfield & Wingfield 2014), racial microaggressions (Wilkins-Yel, Hyman, & Zounlome, 2019) and LGQBT identified individuals (Corrington, Nittrouer, Trump-Steele, & Hebl, 2018). Research reveals that people of Color are subjected to heightened visibility (Wilkins-Yel, Hyman, & Zounlome (2019) when they occupy spaces in which they are constructed as the ‘other’ (Matias and Zembylas 2014; Edgeworth 2015). Students of color are constructed as others in white institutional spaces of learning by Anti Black messaging that permeates institutions of higher education (Johnson-Bailey, et al., 2008). Hypervisibility has been examined in various contexts including university instructors and graduate students in higher education (Block, Bairley, Harel-Marian & Roberson, 2018)

Lander and Santoro (2019) found that Black university instructors experienced marginalization and everyday racism that contributed to them being perceived as outsiders to the academy, thus simultaneously constructed as hypervisible and invisible. The authors acknowledge the emotional toll this may have taken but did not focus on emotional labor or emotion management. Examinations of emotional labor and visibility of students are scarce. In

one of the few such studies, Turner and colleagues focus on visibility and emotional labor experienced by Black undergraduate women (Turner, Paige, Joakina, Hikson, & Di-Tu, 2019).

To address this gap in the literature, I focused this study on BGTAs and their experiences, including possible hypervisibility, while pursuing graduate education in a white racial frame that constructs people of color as problematic and deviating from a white norm (Settles, Buchanan, Dotson, 2018). These negative racial assumptions about “others” stem from a white racial frame (Feagin, 2020) and increase the chances of being scrutinized, judged, and excluded by the dominant group (Wilkins-Yel, Hyman, & Zounlome, 2019). Frankenberg (2009, p .519) notes that whiteness is a standpoint from which 'Others' are observed. Colorblindness is a tool used by white individuals and within the white racial frame to erase the identity and lived experiences of the people of color and which aspects should be suppressed. Colorblindness serves to normalize whiteness, sanitize racism, and spotlight people of color. Negotiating hypervisibility as a BGTA requires significant emotional labor, which is often hidden, but in plain sight.

Black students experience marginalization, exclusion, tokenism, messages that they don't belong, and everyday racism (Kelly et al., 2019; Harlow, 2003, Gildersleeve, Croom, and Vasquez 2011; Smith, Yosso, and Solorzano 2006) and may experience lower self-esteem (Lige, Peteet, & Brown, 2017). Tokenized individuals within a white institutional space experience hypervisibility because of their underrepresented numbers and systemic marginalization (Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2018). BGTAs are underrepresented in both their student and instructor roles in higher education. This combination of roles and responsibilities increases their scarcity and thus they may be likely to experience numerical tokenism and hypervisibility more frequently in a historically white institution. Contextualizing their experiences through a

hypervisibility lens exposes the subtle ways in which the white racial frame perpetuates racialized expectations that contribute to the emotional labor on the part of BGTAs.

Examining hypervisibility in relation to white racial frame, tokenization and emotional labor allow us to more clearly highlight how people of color are “othered.” Subsequently, this othering, “it is used to spot- light the ethnic ‘Other’ by making him or her hypervisible in an attempt to ‘normalise’ whiteness.” (Lander & Santoro, p. 1012). Whiteness is normalized and not easily identified by those in dominant racial groups. Such normalization makes “non-white bodies feel uncomfortable, exposed, visible, different” (Ahmed 2007, p. 157) when they occupy spaces in which they are constructed as the ‘Other’ (Matias & Zembylas 2014; Edgeworth 2015).

When groups are made hypervisible, it can be disempowering and constraining (Brighenti, 2007; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). This perception of difference is due to an individual being recognized for their “otherness” (Ryland, 2013). Thus, there is a negative perception rooted in racial bias within a white racial frame which shapes how others (e.g., students, faculty, TAs as peers) perceive and react to BGTAs. These negative racial assumptions can also create experiences of hypervisibility and invisibility. Marginalized individuals may aim to manage their visibility by negotiating and making decisions about which aspects should be performed and on display in public and which aspects should be suppressed (Clair, Beatty, MacLean, 2005). This negotiation and decision making invokes a range of emotions and reflection, requiring emotional labor.

Emotional Labor

In her seminal piece, *The Managed Heart* (1983), Arlie Russell Hochschild's provides an insightful analysis to the ways in which emotions, which have been shaped by cultural and social norms, have been determined and monitored by employers such that these emotions have become structured forms of unpaid labor in work settings. The emotional labor framework argues that organizations require their employees, when interacting with others, to perform emotions in ways that align with their occupation and the goals of the organization. In other words, emotional labor requires an employee to constrain and perform their own feelings to provide a space that is satisfactory for their clients/customers. The employees perform the goals of the organization to ensure client satisfaction. The customers also are positioned to have power over the employee by being able to evaluate the employees work performance based on their satisfaction and perception (Groth, Hennig-Thurau, & Walsh, 2009). Further, this framework is grounded on the premise that "Social interactions at work are structured by two types of emotion rules." (Holman, Martinez-Inigo, & Totterdell, 2008, p. 2). First, feeling rules are the normalized expectations by the organization about how employees should feel when interacting with customers; Hochschild, 1983). Second, emotion display rules, refers to the expressive requirements of the job (Thoits, 2004) and govern the kind and extent of emotional expression allowed (Ekman, 1973). While these emotion rules operate within work settings, it's important to note that they also "describe societal norms about the appropriate type and amount of feeling that should be experienced in a particular situation" (Wharton, 1993, p 149).

Hochschild (1983) argued that one's social positioning contributes to individual and society's expectations about feelings. She found with the flight attendants and bill collectors, there were different feeling norms based on gendered stereotypes. In other words, there was an

imbalance of power in jobs requiring emotional labor where high power (usually male) customers were allowed to display emotions more freely than lower power (usually female) employees (Hochschild, 1983; Thoits, 2004). Similarly, Pierce's (1996) study, which examined the gendered dynamics of legal professions, found that feeling rules are regulated and stratified by gender and status. Pierce (1996) illustrated that male attorneys were allowed and expected to openly display emotions such as anger and frustration while women attorneys and paralegals, were discouraged from doing so and expected to be calm and nurturing. Both studies reveal that organizations determine the appropriate emotional displays which vary by job status and gender.

In the same way legal organization's structure emotion rules for employees, institutions of education such as universities dictate gendered emotional norms that instructors, including BGTAs, should adhere to in their role as university employees. People of color participating in white institutional spaces often have to negotiate racialized assumptions about themselves and consider whether or not to respond, and how they should respond in light of these stereotypes and dynamics at the possible risk of negative consequences and retaliation (Pierce, 2012). An emotional labor framework allows for an examination of how feelings are constructed by societal stereotypes regarding different social groups.

Another important component to the emotional labor framework is the idea of emotion management, which describes the everyday process that occurs as people try to accommodate societal feeling norms. When this emotion management moves from the private to the public domain of work, it becomes emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild (1983) describes the first emotion management (e.g., emotion regulation) process as deep acting, which describes the attempt of aligning one's personal feelings (i.e., changing what one personally feels) with the social norms set by the organization. Grandey (2000) has linked deep acting to antecedent-

focused emotion regulation strategies where individuals cognitively reassess events to modify their feelings before they are present. The second process, surface acting, refers to trying to change public display of emotions where the worker either suppresses, magnifies, or fakes their outward display of emotion (Holman, Martinez-Ingo, & Totterdell, 2008; Wharton, 2010). Like other employees, BGTAs are likely to need emotion management in their working role as educators as they try to accommodate their own feelings in tandem with higher education's racialized emotional norms. Racialized feeling rules refers to a distinct set of stereotyped feeling rules applied differently to members of different racial groups. In other words, people of color are expected to follow racialized feeling rules that require suppressing negative emotions and display contentment. Meanwhile, white colleagues are allowed to display a range of emotional expressions (Wingfield, 2010). For BGTAs, their racialized identities, awareness of racialized stereotypes projected onto Black academics, and academic rank may influence their emotion management and displays. The awareness of deviating from the expected emotional norms and the negative consequences, rooted in systemic racism, can shape how they cognitively reassess events. For example, being one of a few Black academics in the program challenges whiteness. Then, speaking up against racism or expressing one's feelings against a racist interaction as a Black academic further challenges the white dominant colorblind (race neutrality) ideology. The awareness of possible negative consequences can influence the emotion management decisions, interactions, and teaching strategies for instructors of color belonging to a marginalized identity group.

Engaging in this type of emotion management, (i.e., emotional labor) has been noted to have consequences for employees. When employees' emotions do not align with the feeling and emotional display rules determined by the organization, employees must suppress their feelings

related to a negative customer interaction in order to achieve the expected organizational goal (e.g., the customer comes first). This is what Hochschild (1983) refers to as “emotive dissonance” (p. 7). Trougakos, Jackson, and Beal (2011) demonstrated that requiring workers to suppress negative emotions is linked to negative wellbeing outcomes. The greater the degree of emotional dissonance, the greater the degree of alienation, dehumanization, and depersonalization (Ashforth and Tomiuk, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Lewig and Dollard, 2003). Although many of the early emotional labor studies examined gender, recent important studies (Cottingham, Johnson, and Erickson, 2018; Evans and Moore, 2015; Harlow, 2003; Kang, 2003, Mirchandani, 2003; Wingfield, 2010) have emerged to examine race and emotions. Engaging in specific forms of emotional labor, or the management of feeling that aligns with the organization's goals while suppressing emotions, creates a disconnect between emotions, experiences, and identity and adds an additional burden for people of color.

The need to conform to the feeling and emotional display rules in white institutions potentially impacts the success of graduate students of color. Costello (2005) argues that dissonance and assonance-alignment of students’ self-represented identity and personal goals with the practices of graduate programs-- are predictors of student persistence in graduate education. Specifically, if “the practices and behaviors within programs are in alignment with the social identity of a student (by race, class, or gender, or a combination of these), then that student will persist and complete the program.” (Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013, p. 233). Therefore, understanding the role of emotion work in the lives of Black GTAs professional workplaces, where they teach, can provide valuable information in understanding how to best support and retain Black graduate students, while also promoting the goals of the university-- undergraduate student achievement.

Emotional Labor and Teaching

Teaching is an emotional practice and involves accommodating and controlling one's feelings to support academic outcomes in the school/university. Thus, teaching involves emotional labor. Similar to employees in other organizations, educators must manage their emotions for the sake of achieving organization goals (student achievement). "As at other levels, post-secondary teaching involves far more than simply imparting knowledge. Professors help students mature intellectually and emotionally; they motivate and stimulate student interest. In short, professors nurture young minds." (Bellas, 1999, p. 98). Unlike other service professions, educators are interacting with customers more frequently, on a weekly or daily basis, over an extended period of time. In addition, there are learning outcomes that educators are required to facilitate to support student learning. Meanwhile, they are also required to manage their own emotions, regardless of the interactions that occur in their role as instructors/educators. Continuous interactions and management of one's own and customers' (i.e., students') emotions can be more tiresome than just a one-time interaction. Each interaction becomes a product of the previous emotions experienced by all. If a teacher expresses anger to students, it can contribute to negative interactions throughout the entire course.

However, unlike their white counterparts, the behaviors of Black instructors are also evaluated through a stereotypical lens. Racialized interpretations are constructed and imposed upon instructors (Daniel, 2019). Black academics are expected to perform Blackness in ways that align with white expectations and norms (McGhee and Kazembe 2015) of race neutrality and color blindness while making sure to avoid being "hypersensitive" or "angry". This likely requires them to navigate racialized emotions, such as anger, and associated stereotypes (i.e., being perceived as the angry black woman or angry black man) inscribed on Black bodies.

Systemically and historically, these characterizations of Black womanhood and masculinity and emotions can result in the minimization of oppressed realities for Black folks (Henry and Tator, 2010). Therefore, displaying certain emotions as a Black person in a predominantly white space may lead to retaliation or sanctions.

The emotional labor framework allows for an examination of power dynamics by shedding light on how organizations socially construct and implement racialized and gendered emotions norms. Specifically, it will shed light on the academy's feeling and emotional display rules as well as the intra- and interpersonal emotion management process of Black GTAs.

In this chapter, I described the conceptual frameworks and literature review that I drew upon to frame my dissertation study: Critical Race Theory, white racial frame, hypervisibility, and Emotional Labor and Teaching. Using an emotional labor framework within teaching contexts, in tandem with the relationship between hypervisibility and racialized and gendered teaching, helps me examine how BGTAs manage emotions in response to race and racism in the learning and workplace. Lastly, it will help me understand the various contexts in which BGTAs teach and how it may shape emotional dissonance and to what extent does it shape BGTAs perception of the academy.

Black graduate students are required to manage interactions with a variety of different individuals, students, peers, professors, and staff members. Through these interactions, significant amounts of emotional labor may be occurring in higher education. Thus, BGTAs must participate and perform (in their dual roles as students and educators) working and learning in spaces that are predominantly white. These BGTAs have spent considerable time, energy and resources in being accepted in competitive doctoral programs and teaching positions. BGTAs

engage in a dual role: being one of the many front-line workers in the academy dedicated to supporting the learning of undergraduate students and supporting the knowledge production system of the academy. BGTAs engage in numerous interactions with their peers, professors, students, and staff members, this study examines the significance of the emotional aspects of their dual occupations. To reveal the invisible work of BGTAs, I asked the following research questions:

- 1) What is the racialized nature of Black GTA's emotional labor while teaching at historical white institutions?
- 2) How do they negotiate this labor?
- 3) How do they resist/challenge emotional feeling rules and emotional display rules?

Chapter 3: Research Methods

This study aimed to answer the following questions: (1) What is the racialized nature of Black GTA's emotional labor while teaching at HWI? (2) How do they negotiate this labor? (3) How do they resist/challenge emotional feeling rules and emotional display rules?

In this chapter, I will discuss the methods I used to conduct and analyze this study. I will start by providing an overview of the methodology and my rationale for using it in the study, and the types of data collected. I will then discuss setting, participants, and sampling selection followed by a discussion about the two phases of data collection. Lastly, I will explain the method by which I analyzed the data.

Research Design and Methods

In order to examine the nuanced experiences of Black GTAs racialized and gendered emotional labor while teaching, I conducted a qualitative case study, at a historically white institution (HWI) in the Pacific Northwest Region of the United States. Utilizing a CRT lens shaped my methods of inquiry to collect and analyze data. This critical racial lens allowed me to situate BGTA's experiences within a larger racial context and amplify their experiences with racialized emotional labor. This study took place over the course of three to four months and involved various qualitative data methods to gather rich descriptions of Black GTAs emotional labor as teachers. Qualitative research is multi-method in focus and utilizes important tools for generating rich descriptions and attaining in depth understandings of the phenomena (Merriam, 2009) which help "explain problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives." (Denzin and Lincoln, 2004, p. 2).

Given that this study is rooted in examining the phenomenon of emotions, a case study approach was used to better understand the meanings, essence, and basic structures of BGTA's

emotional labor experiences in their specific teaching contexts. Qualitative case studies facilitate an in-depth exploration of a phenomenon over time within its real-life context utilizing a variety of data sources with the researcher being the primary instrument of data collection and analysis (Baxter and Jack, 2009; Feagin, 2001; Merriam 2009, and Yin, 2003). Similarly, case studies recognize the importance of context, and offer knowledge that is rooted in context (Stake 1981).

Using case studies as a methodological approach for this study was suitable for situations in which the phenomenon of interest (hypervisibility and emotional labor) were closely interconnected with white institutional context and the racial identity of BGTAs. This directly aligns with situative theories that assert that an individual's identity is shaped by contexts (Nolen, Horn & Warn, 2012). It also aligns with CRT theories that aim to situate people of color's lived experience with racism. In this study, BGTAs departmental context situated within academia had specific emotional display rules and practices which BGTAs negotiated hypervisibility and emotional labor.

Emotions are socially constructed in various contexts, variable, and can be challenging to measure (Gross, 2008; Hochschild, 1983; Stets & Turner, 2008). There can also be varying perceptions, that are context dependent which is why case study is an appropriate research method. Alike, using a case study approach is appropriate because White institutional spaces such as higher education classrooms are contexts with implicit and explicit norms shape the feeling norms (Moore, 2008 and Wingfield, 2010) for teaching and thus emotional labor required of teachers. In this study, each BGTA's respective teaching context had norms and expectations in which the BGTAs negotiated their emotional labor.

According to Merriam (2009), case studies are distinguished by three specific features: particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic. By particularistic, the case study focuses on a particular

situation or phenomenon. This feature was represented in the central focus of examining and understanding of emotional labor experienced and negotiated by BGTAs while teaching. By descriptive, the case study allows the phenomenon to be examined from multiple perspectives over an extended period of time which can reveal a more holistic, rich, and thick description of the phenomenon. This study took place over the course of three to four months and drew up on various data collection methods and variables to understand how BGTAs experienced emotion work. Lastly, case studies are heuristic, which means that they bring about the discovery of new meaning and “illuminate the readers’ understanding of the phenomenon under study” (p. 44).

Rather than analyzing one case, which can provide detailed understanding about emotional labor, using a cross case study-collecting and analyzing data from several cases, provides greater opportunity to generalize across several representations of the phenomenon (Borman, Clarke, Cotner, and Lee 2006, p. 123) and increase external validity of findings (Merriam, 2009). Each case in this study depicts the similarities and differences that each BGTA experienced regarding emotional labor within and across their varying teaching contexts.

Research Time Frame

Data collection began after Human Subjects approval. Participants were recruited by distributing a brief questionnaire via email. Through this questionnaire, I introduced myself and the purpose of my study. Of those who filled out the questionnaire, five Black GTAs were invited to participate in the study based on criteria mentioned earlier. I contacted those who met the criteria and indicated on the questionnaire that they were interested in being part of the study. I ensured that their information would be kept confidential, and an informed consent form would be signed that included the purposes and procedures of the research, compensation and benefits, the use of findings, non-

disclosure agreement, risks and discomforts, and participants’ rights. Participants were informed that they would be identified using pseudonyms in all transcriptions and field notes.

I also provided a \$50 Amazon gift card to participants who completed all activities of the study (two interviews, one classroom observation, and submission of weekly audio diaries).

Participants who completed some of the activities were compensated a proportion for the total \$50 relative to the number of activities completed.

Table 1. Research Timeframe

Month	Tasks
November, 2018	Obtained Committee and Human Subjects approval
December, 2018	Recruited research participants via email/letter, obtained participants and consent forms for research.
April, 2019	Conducted first set of semi-structured interviews and classroom observations Transcribed classroom observations as obtained
April 2019-June, 2019	Participants submitted audio diary entry weekly Transcribed audio diary entries as obtained and begin analyzing
May 2019- June 2019	Conducted second set of semi-structured interviews
July, 2019	Began transcribing interviews and remaining observation data
April 2019- May, 2019	Completed transcription and preliminary analysis of the data.
July-September, 2019	Intense analysis of the data
September, 2019	Wrote a report of the findings. Wrote an outline of the dissertation
October 2019- February 2020	Wrote Dissertation
March, 2020	COVID-19 Pandemic
December 2020	Wrote Dissertation
June, 2021	Defended Dissertation

Data Collection Strategy and Sampling Procedures

Setting, participants, and sampling decisions.

I sought to explore and further understand the racialized and gendered nature of Black GTAs emotional labor while teaching at a historically white institution (HWI), how they made sense of this in their teaching contexts, and how they negotiated this labor. Thus, this study was situated within a HWI in the Pacific Northwest Region of the United States, whose total student population in Fall 2016 was 46,081, consisting of 45 % Caucasian students, 15 % international students, 24 % Asian students, and 13% Underrepresented Minorities (Quick_Stats_Aut2016_Seattle. (n.d.)) Furthermore, graduate student enrollment at UW in Fall 2016 had 13,590 graduate students, 367 African American graduate students, 61 American Indian, 1,393 Asian American, 7,242 White students, 24 Hawaiian, 850 Hispanic, and 286 "Unknown". Research demonstrates how PWI claim to be post racial and race neutral but perpetuate racism and thus furthering the marginalization of people of color (Ahmed,2014; Bonilla Silva, 1997; Evans & Moore, 2015). Along similar lines, scholarship reveals that people of color are required to engage in specific forms of emotion management in such institutional settings, (Cottingham, Johnson, and Erickson, 2018; Harlow, 2010; Evans and Moore, 2015; Moore, 2008; Wingfield, 2010). Therefore, situating this study at a PWI was appropriate to further examine how white institutions shaped the organizational feeling rules which guided the emotional labor required of people of color. I also believed that this setting provided powerful insights into the experiences of Black GTAs on a campus where they are not only marginalized due to their racial/ethnic identity, but are also a minoritized group, in terms of numbers as both graduate students and as teaching assistants at a PWI. Thus, for this study the unit of analysis were the individual BGTAs.

Participant Selection

Utilizing a CRT approach, this study focused on recruiting Black graduate students to examine and amplify the lived experiences of BGTAs. Recruitment of BGTAs began upon IRB approval and this was done through purposeful sampling of BGTAs at a state university in the Pacific Northwest to maximize possibilities for answering my research questions by selecting information-rich participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). I also used a criterion sampling (Patton, 2002) to access participants that meet some criteria to assure the quality of sampling people.

Specifically, I recruited Black GTAs who identify as Black/African descent; were currently enrolled and employed as TAs at the University of Washington; and had at least 1 term of TA experience at UW that consisted of having had (or would have) experience with some facilitation/lecturing throughout the course, had/would have opportunities in their classes to conduct/host small discussions in class or had/would meet with students during their office hours outside of class, and/or were teaching in a department where they were one of a few Black GTAs. This selection criteria were intended to ensure access to information-rich participants who could help to discover, understand, and gain insight on the phenomena to be studied. It was the most appropriate for the following two reasons: First, working with Black GTAs who have had prior teaching experience at UW would allow for a common criterion regarding teaching experience and would be more likely to have learned their respective departments' feeling norms and could elaborate on the phenomenon. Lastly, having Black GTAs from various disciplines would provide maximum variation.

Participants were recruited by distributing an online recruitment form over the internet, via email informing them about the study and its aims, participant criteria, and a link to a brief Qualtrics questionnaire. Prospective participants filled out the online questionnaire (Appendix A) which included questions related to the sampling criteria mentioned above and the research questions. After questionnaires were submitted, I reviewed the responses and followed up via email with participants who met all criteria and said they were interested in being contacted to participate in the study.

Eight BGTAs (three women and five men) participated in this study and all students taught in their own academic departments, except one male who taught a course for the graduate school. All BGTAs were teaching and interacting with undergraduate students. The following represents study participants' academic departments and how many of them were in each department: Chemistry (1), Communication (N=2), Education (N=1), English(N=2), Gender, Women, & Sexuality Studies (1), and the Graduate School (1). Although all BGTA's were teaching undergraduate students, their class content ranged from content rooted in social, political, and historical processes and interactions to molecular bonding theories and chemistry. Each BGTA's classroom context had a distinct environment due to its disciplinary norms, expectations, department, and classroom demographics, as well as classroom content. This variation allowed for rich contextualized analysis and explanation of emotional labor.

Table 2. Participant Information

Participant	Pseudonym	Racial Identity	Gender Identity	PhD Department	Course
Participant 1	Mariah 2 interviews	Black	Woman	Social Sciences	Social Justice Oriented Course

	Classroom Observation Audio diaries				(Women studies)
Participant 2	Janine 2 interviews Classroom Observation	Black	Woman	Social Sciences	Social Justice Oriented Course (Education)
Participant 3	Claire 2 interviews Classroom observation	Black	Woman	Social Sciences	Social Justice Oriented Course (Education)
Participant 4	Anthony 2 interviews Classroom Observations Audio Diaries	Black	Man	Social Sciences	Social Justice Oriented Course (Cultural Studies)
Participant 5	Derreck 2 interviews Classroom Observations Audio Diaries	Black	Man	Humanities	Social Justice oriented Course (Composition)
Participant 6	Jeremy 2 interviews Classroom Observations Audio Diaries	Black / Multiracial	Man	Humanities	Composition Course

Participant 7	Elijah 2 interviews Audio Diaries	Black	Man	Social Sciences	Applying to Graduate School
Participant 8	Joshua 1 interview	Black	Man	STEM	Chemistry Lab

Data Sources

Using a CRT approach, this study was conducted in two phases and data were collected from multiple data sources to center the lived experiences of people of color. The primary source of data was semi-structured interviews (Appendix B), augmented by classroom observation data used to deepen contextual understanding (not to question BGTAs’ narrations of their experience), (Appendix), and audio-diaries (Appendix C) .

The first phase of the study occurred during the first part of the term and the second phase at the end of the academic term. Phase one centered on examining the racialized and gendered nature of emotional labor of teaching for BGTAs and how they negotiated this labor. One-hour semi-structured interviews, one classroom observation, and ongoing audio diary entries were collected. The second phase focused on similar things, but also explored changes and shifts in perceptions of emotional labor in comparison to the beginning of the term. A second set of one-hour semi-structured interviews, and ongoing audio diary were collected in this phase. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed for data analysis. Observation data was re-typed and audio diaries were transcribed once submitted by BGTAs.

I triangulated across the multiple data sources to develop a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon (Patton, 1999) and to confirm the emerging findings (Merriam, 2009). Data

triangulation via multiple methods, interviews, audio diaries, and researcher memos allows for in-depth analysis of cases which revealed different dimensions of the phenomenon. By cross checking using multiple data sources, I verified findings and increased data validity within and across cases (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014).

The interview protocol consisted of several topics related to BGTAs emotional labor related to teaching. The questions from the first semi-structured interview sought to understand the participant's lived experiences growing up as a person of color and while teaching at a PWI. Likewise, the questions aimed to further understand BGTAs racialized and gendered experiences and interactions with students they taught, their peers, and faculty/lead instructors, as well as the feelings norms and expectations, and emotional labor in their departments where they taught. Also, semi-structured interviews allowed for "spontaneity, flexibility, and responsiveness to individuals." (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014, p. 546).

In this interview, I also aimed to further comprehend how BGTAs perceived their emotional labor, their department's support for BGTAs and race, and how BGTAs negotiated/responded to challenging teaching situations. With a CRT and white racial frame framework, the questions also aimed at understanding their racialized teaching experiences within the context of higher education. The interviews were a form of counter storytelling, where BGTAs could share their experiences with race and racism. Sharing of counter storytelling is a form of challenging dominant white narratives, which aligns with CRT methods. Interviews were conducted on campus, but outside of the BGTA's teaching department.

I conducted one classroom observation (Appendix C) in each participant's classroom where I sat for approximately at least one hour to better understand the context in which BGTAs are teaching (physical context of the classroom, classroom set up, arrival time of students, how

students were arranged, where the TA positioned themselves, interactions between students and BGTAs, power dynamics, teaching strategies, level of engagement amongst everyone, etc.).

Observations included “fieldwork descriptions of activities, behaviors, actions, interpersonal interactions, organizational or community processes, or any other aspect of observable human experience” (Patton, 2003, p. 2). The observational data along with audio diaries, and the first interview contributed to the interview questions for the second phase, allowing me to further probe for any interactions and power dynamics observed in the classroom context.

Observational data was not intended for cross-checking BGTA accounts, but rather used to deepen my understanding of BGTAs’ accounts of being in those classroom spaces. The second interview had similar questions as the first one with the goal of observing and changes in experiences and negotiations with racialized dynamics and emotional labor.

Given that this study is grounded in CRT, audio diary methods (Appendix D) were also used to center and amplify BGTAs racialized experiences. This method allowed Black GTAs to further reflect on their teaching experiences and racialized experiences in an open-ended and relatively unfiltered manner (Monrouxe, 2009; Worth 2009). Audio diary methods can help “capture participant’s sense-making in action’ as they share their stories both to themselves and the researcher (Monrouxe, 2009, P. 44). I utilize Monrouxe’s (2009) definition of an audio “diary entry as a self-recording or group of recording by one individual in a single day.”(p. 45). Participants were instructed to record at least one audio diary entry on their cell phones once a week after their teaching shift or one-on-one office hours which they will then upload to a secured online drive (google drive or dropbox). For the audio diary prompts, participants were instructed to be as real and frank as they reflect on how they felt during their Teaching session (or one-on-one office hours) and to describe who and what influenced their emotions, and how they responded to the emotions of others (e.g., students, faculty, other TAs). They were asked to reflect on whether any challenging

situations came up, the role of race and gender in their experience, and how they coped/resisted. Diary data can provide insight into the processes of reflexivity (Rosenberg, 1990), cognitive processing involved in making sense of stressful experiences (Crozier & Cassel, 2016), and more “spontaneous” experiences of emotion (Theodosius, 2008) which may be difficult to access with survey or interview instruments. Audio diaries gave more power to BGTAs and aligned closely with CRT by centering and amplifying BGTA voices, which are often silenced in larger society. It also created a counter storytelling space to share their racialized truths in an open and unfiltered manner. Another benefit is the minimization of researcher influence over participants response (Monrouxe, 2009).

I also utilized another research method, researcher reflexivity, where I continuously reflected on my positionality and my experiences as Black Latinx woman in the United States and as a graduate instructor at a PWI throughout all research phases, beginning with the formulation of the research problem to data analysis and writing (Hesse-Bibber and Piatelli, 2012). According to feminist scholars, researcher reflexivity generates pathways for creating transformative knowledge, asking new questions, deconstructing power, self-discovery, co-creating knowledge, new hypotheses about research questions, and engaging in new kinds of discourse (Collins, 1998, 2000; Harding, 2003). Unlike other researcher reflexivity methods, this approach is not meant to neutralize the researcher’s bias and social positioning like positivist scientific inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 2000; Bourdieu, 2003). Rather, this method challenges the notion of objectivity in research arguing towards “layered subjective understandings” (Lather as cited in Hurd, 1998, p. 202) which recognizes that research involves human interpretation of the process, content, and findings. Humans are situated in various contexts and bring their own values when reading and interpreting data (Herd, 1998). Therefore, it is important for researchers

to engage in researcher reflexivity to understand the researcher-participant dynamic that influences knowledge production.

Likewise, engaging in researcher reflexivity allowed me the opportunity to reflect on my positionality continuously and critically, and who I am (at the intersections of my race, gender, class, etc.) in relationship to people with more and less power than me in my teaching, research, institutional, and social contexts. In other words, I examined how the various social, cultural, and systemic contexts positioned me, the researcher and participants' experiences and knowledge and the shifting of power relationships.

Continuous reflection allowed me to better understand how I negotiated, questioned, and challenged my position, in relation to my participants and various contexts throughout the entire research process. It also helped me understand the researcher-participant dynamics that shapes knowledge production. For example, I wrote research memos before and after interview and classroom observations, keeping track of the similarities and differences of experiences between me as a researchers and study participants. This included writing notes about the actual events and background observations to the events -what I noticed and how I felt during the interview or observation. In instances where BGTAs expressed racialized and gendered experiences like my own, I engaged in vulnerability and shared with them. I found varying degrees of similarities and differences related to racialized and gendered experiences of emotion work while teaching. This reminded me of the shifting nature of researcher and participants where I was both an insider and outsider at times. I kept track of the similarities and differences between our experiences which helped shaped some of the questions I asked in the second interviews. I also wrote down emerging themes, changes, and processes that I noticed occurred over time and I kept track of

questions or things I noticed that may be relevant for later. Additionally, I sketched possible links of my experiences to theoretical frameworks, concepts, and literatures.

By engaging in this holistic reflexivity throughout the research process I was able to reflect on my positionality which allowed generated clearer awareness and understanding of my own assumptions and possible biases as well as the opportunity to explore similarities and differences between myself and the research participants. This relational analysis illuminated the relationships between me and the participants and how it evolved through interactions situated in larger social processes. Correspondingly, this supported me towards being more accountable to my participants and their experiences.

A reflexive methodology can also lead to the “development of critical consciousness of both researcher and participants, improvement of the lives of those involved in the research process, and transformation of fundamental societal structures and relationships” (Maguire, 1987, p. 29). For instance, many of my study participants expressed their appreciation for the opportunity to participate in interviews and audio diaries to critically reflect on their positionalities and experiences while teaching. They also acknowledged the significance of the dissertation study by creating space for Black voices and situating their/our experiences within a racialized context which counters the dominant white racial frame, a dominant narrative of knowledge in the academy.

This chapter provided an overview of the rationale and methodology used to design, collect, and analyze data. Decisions about sampling and types of data collected was also outlined. The theoretical frameworks used in this study guided the methodological decisions.

Chapter 4: Findings 1: Hypervisibility Experienced While Teaching and Being a Student

BGTAs navigate multiple roles and expectations as both graduate students and TAs/instructors. In these chapters, I will discuss the themes that arose from each BGTA narrative regarding how they experience and manage racialized emotional labor in their roles as both instructors and graduate students at a White Institutional Space. This multi-dimensional process consisted of (1) the ways in which some experienced the burden of hypervisibility inside and outside the classroom, (2) how teaching is a performative practice requiring various amounts of racialized and gendered emotional labor while managing problematic racialized stereotypes and (3) how the emotional labor required was amplified greater in social justice courses dealing with race. This process also included the need for BGTAs to manage ideological and discursive assumptions about their problematic emotional characteristics and the ways in which that influenced their decisions regarding reactions during interactions and the ways of resisting, pushing back, coping, and managing/negotiating interpersonal institutional racism.

Specifically, I will focus on five cross-case findings that address my research

Questions:

- 1) What is the racialized nature of Black GTA's emotional labor while teaching at PWI?
- 2) How do they negotiate this labor?
- 3) How do they resist/challenge emotional feeling rules and emotional display rules?

Hypervisibility refers to constantly being observed, noticed, surveilled, under scrutiny, as an oddity/token, consistent with being displayed or under a white gaze (Fryberg & Townsend, 2008). This scrutiny is based on perceived difference of non-white individuals which can be constraining and disempowering for marginalized group members (Brighenti, 2007; Simpson &

Lewis, 2005). Marginalized individuals may aim to manage their visibility by negotiating and making strategic decisions about which aspects should be performed and on display in public and which aspects should be suppressed (Clair, Beatty, MacLean, 2005). This negotiation process can invoke a range of emotions and reflection, requiring significant emotional labor, which is often hidden, but in plain sight.

Hypervisibility Experienced and Attributed to Race in a Predominantly white Context

All eight participants expressed their recognition of being one of few, and sometimes the only Black graduate student in their departments. Five out of eight participants reported that race played a significant role in their teaching experiences while interacting with their students, graduate peers, and faculty members in three different settings: in class, in meetings with students, professors and/or departmental meetings, and in departmental activities such as conferences and welcome events. These five participants also recounted moments in which they were numerically underrepresented and yet highly visible and surveilled due to their Black racial identity within a predominantly white context.

As Black individuals, BGTAs narratives described the ways in which they are constantly negotiating, evaluating and comparing their racial identities, affective experiences and interactions with racism and microaggressions, and white dominant ideologies in the situation that construct Black people as overly emotional, a threat, and problematic (Evans and Moore, 2015; Evans, 2013).

Hypervisibility Experienced as a Graduate Student (Outside the Classroom)

BGTAs spend considerable time and energy participating and performing in both their roles as graduate students and instructors which are competitive positions they have been

accepted into. Their student and teaching experience, which is linked with graduate funding, contributes to their socialization into academic departments and becoming future faculty members (Gay, 2007). Examining the role of emotion work in both of these professional workspaces which contribute to academic socialization, **can** provide valuable information in understanding how to best support and retain Black graduate students, while also promoting the goals of the university-- undergrad student learning and achievement.

The following examples reveal how BGTAs experience and negotiate hypervisibility and racialized interactions with others that overexpose and scrutinize them in their roles as Black graduate students. BGTAs narratives attribute this to being the only or one of few Black students, in a predominantly white context. BGTAs described specific experiences in which they felt overexposed or because of their underrepresentation within white institutions. Mariah, a second-year student in her social science department, described a series of incidents in which she experienced this hypervisibility.

Interviewer: Thinking about your experience T-A-ing, what has that been like for you and what role do you feel that race has played while teaching?

Mariah: That's so funny, because actually TAing, I haven't thought about it honestly until this quarter, the hypervisibility of being the only Black student in my department. When I don't show up to shit, or when I do show up, or when there's another Black student that comes along like [Gene] or maybe a guest visitor that's Black, there's a certain expectation of me that I hadn't realized was being factored into how I'm being viewed as a TA.

Mariah's account indicates how being the only one, "the only Black" graduate student makes her noticed more by others. She describes being over exposed and noticed regardless of whether she is present. This demonstrates how the Black Body is always "on" and noticed by others. Mariah's account describes a shift in becoming more aware of race based stereotypes and expectations attributed to her racial identity that she hadn't realized was being factored into how she is being constructed as a Black individual in the role of a TA. This shift in her awareness is further described by Mariah in the example below.

My friends have kind of made me aware that it's like, Yo, this is a game. You got to play this [departmental politics] shit like a game, like this type of stuff...Yo, you're the. You're the only Black student here, and so there are ways in which they're looking at you that is going to suck.

Mariah's description demonstrates the role that her friends had in contributing to her awareness of her hypervisibility and emotional labor that she will have to negotiate and contend with because of the racial stigmas attributed to being a Black individual that will inform how others will negatively perceive and notice her which "is going to suck." Mariah's friend's comment suggests that Mariah needs to be prepared and aware of the "game" and the racialized expectations that are projected onto her to navigate the academic department and graduate school. This narrative also highlights others' awareness of hypervisibility, racial stigmas, and emotional labor required of the Black body. Hypervisibility is connected to power where dominant groups over notice and judge marginalized groups through a white racial lens that constructs people of color as the other. Her peer's recognition of hypervisibility indicates their possible awareness of racial and social power dynamics associated with the "game." Through her

interactions with her friends, Mariah seems to be learning how she is and will be positioned in a subordinate status and scrutinized when interacting with others across different settings in her multiple roles in graduate school.

Hypervisibility Experienced As a TA/Instructor (inside the classroom)

The classroom is an emotional space where instructors' characteristics shape their affective experiences as they negotiate and contend with instructor roles, expectations and power dynamics in light of being constructed as problematic and deviating from the norm. BGTAs reported experiencing and negotiating racial stigmas, their hypervisibility, and racialized interactions with others who scrutinized their job performance. Their awareness of racial stigmas against Black individuals was linked to their awareness of hypervisibility.

Derreck, a Black male BGTA in a social sciences department, was one of few Black BGTAs in his department. When I asked what role race played during his teaching experiences he stated:

Quite a bit. I mean, like I've said before, like, I'm sure you're tired of hearing this, my positionality as a young Black man talking about Black matters in a classroom full of mostly either white or Asian American students... It's kind of just the thing that sticks out the most.

Derrick's response indicates his awareness of being highly visible to his students due to his social positioning in that context. He reports that his racial identity stands out the most when teaching in a room that is mostly white or Asian. His description also refers to his positioning in that context in relation to the course content about Black concerns. Derrek described how,

regardless of how a BGTA presents themselves in the classroom, his positionality and his behaviors are “up front” and center stage due to racial stereotypes.

It's every little thing that you do. You might have the best teaching persona, ever, but your positionality is up-front. If you see a young Black man or a young Black woman wearing glasses, wearing a dashiki, wearing a head-wrap, whatever it is, they see that, and it brings up assumptions. I didn't start growing my hair out until after my first year of teaching. I was like, "I wonder how students are going to react to it."

Derrick's description demonstrates how he is experiencing hypervisibility and being scrutinized while being “up-front” and center stage in the classroom due to his racial identity and the racial stigmas and “assumptions” associated with being a Black man or a Black woman. He states that even if a BGTA has a very good teaching approach, “the best teaching persona,” or what attire a Black person wears such as “glasses” or a “headwrap,” racialized assumptions are being made about him and others who are Black. His narrative suggests a high level of stigma consciousness, which is characterized by the “expectation that one will be stereotyped, irrespective of one's actual behaviors” (Pinnel, 1999, p 115). People with high levels of stigma consciousness do not assume the racialized stereotypes about their group are true. However, this awareness, and anticipation of how one is being constructed in racialized ways requires emotional labor: processing, reflecting and anticipating racial stigmas. Many BGTAs suggested such awareness is a survival strategy to cope and navigate racism in white institutions. In Derreck's account, it even influenced his decision to time growing his hair out “after my first year of teaching.”.

Unlike Jeremy, Anthony, a third year Black male BGTA in a social sciences department, discusses feeling overexposed in his role as a TA due to his racial identity, along with the course content and classroom demographics.

Part of the lecture I'm talking about is scripting you know and inscribing certain racialized identities or certain identities onto other bodies. So when I am in front of the classroom, I am also conscious of how I'm being read as a Black male talking about [Black cultural studies] in a classroom of white students and other students of color. In some ways you feel you are also performing but at the same time the scripting or inscribing is happening as you are lecturing.”

Anthony's account about feeling overexposed due to his positionality is similar to other BGTAs who were expressed high levels of awareness of their racial identity and therefore able to recognize how he is being positioned in society due to racialized stigmas. This narrative also demonstrates how teaching while Black is a performative practice where BGTA's bodies are visibly “in front” and center stage, requiring conscious reflection and anticipation (cognitive effort), while managing problematic racialized stereotypes. He describes that teaching feels like one is simultaneously “performing” while racial assumptions about him as a Black male are being constructed by his students. This indicates having to contend with performing in their role as teachers, but also performing as Black teachers within a white racial frame that constructs people of color as problematic and deviant from the “white norm.” The negotiation of being overexposed and scrutinized while teaching, demonstrates how hypervisibility requires emotions

labor because it requires internal processing and managing of emotions, thoughts, and racial stigmas about Blackness, while simultaneously being “on” and performing while Black.

The examples from participants highlighted how BGTAs experienced hypervisibility-overexposure and scrutiny- which they attribute to being either one of few or the only Black graduate student and Black instructors in their departments. Their narratives also demonstrated how they negotiated and reflected on the ways in which they were being constructed as problematic and “other,” different from the dominant white norm. This also highlighted the ways in which BGTAs conceptualized the saliency of their racial identity and the awareness of racial stigmas attributed to BGTA’s racial identity in their roles as both educators and students. This constant negotiation of processing, reflecting, and anticipating being highly visible due to one’s Black racial identity, regardless of what one does coupled with performing the expected roles and responsibilities of instruction that prioritizes learning and comfortability of students requires additional emotion and cognitive work for BGTAs.

Hypervisibility Experienced and Attributed to Tokenism in a Predominantly white Context Increases Emotional Labor

The following examples reveal how five out of eight BGTAs experience and negotiate hypervisibility and how they attribute it to racism, problematic racialized assumptions, and tokenization. BGTAs described ways in which they anticipated a normative white gaze that anticipates a performance rooted in negative racial stereotypes about Blackness. Participants also describe their awareness and anticipation of how their actions are misperceived and attributed these misperceptions to racist ideologies or assumptions held by dominant group members that construct Black individuals as less than and problematic. Their narratives also demonstrate a possible high level of awareness of stigma consciousness which is characterized by the “expectation that one will be stereotyped, irrespective of one's' actual behaviors” and which can increase emotional labor (Pinnel, 1999, p 115). The following examples highlight how BGTAs experience a range of emotions due to hypervisibility attributed to racism and tokenism.

Hypervisibility Experienced and Attributed to Racism/Tokenism and Increased Emotional Labor as An Instructor (Inside the classroom)

For Claire, who is co-teaching a course with two other graduate instructors, one Black male and one white female, recalls feeling hypervisibility in her role as co- instructor. Specifically, she describes a class experience in which she had invited her friend, colleague, who is a Black critical scholar on critical education to be a guest speaker. During the talk, Claire describes how her colleague had suggested that white teachers who often go and work in Black and Brown communities should also consider making time to work in their white communities.

Claire describes the experience following this comment and a white male student's reaction to the Black woman guest speaker:

One white dude in the class who turns out to be very fragile he like walked out.

And I guess afterward he spoke with the white instructor, and he said "Who is she to tell us who our communities are?! I grew up around Black and white people, so I don't have to go back to...". So, he really had a problem with it and I was like taken aback.

Claire's description of the event demonstrates that she was surprised and "taken aback" by the white male students' behavior in class and his response about the guest speaker to another instructor. The act of a white person walking out because they are upset at what a person of color in the room has shared, can be possibly interpreted as having created a negative "spotlight" on the guest speaker of color. Claire's description of the white male student questioning the Black guest speaker's expertise and authority, "Who is she to tell us who our communities are? could be interpreted as an act that invisibilized a Black woman scholars' expertise by questioning her suggestion. This aligns with scholarship that explicates Black academics are over noticed and scrutinized in predominantly white spaces, and experience resistance from white students while their expertise and authority are challenged (Daniel, 2019, Harlow, 2003).

When Claire was asked how she felt at hearing about this white male student's comment to the white instructor about the guest speaker of color, she responded with:

I was so exhausted at the end of the day yesterday when I found out about this. And so now being here, I'm still trying to figure out how to best navigate that.

Like how much energy to give to things and for him, I was so exhausted.

Within this narrative, Claire demonstrates the feelings associated with this incident and she reports feeling “exhausted” while processing and questioning how much “energy to give.” This demonstrates that she is still engaging in emotion work as she is still reflecting and processing decisions about the amount of energy she should invest. People of color often are required to engage in emotional labor during and after a racial incident occurs. Claire continues to describe how this situation magnified her feeling of hypervisibility and influenced her response to the white male student.

I made a choice to not address it directly part of it was because I was upset and I’m part of it was also like, if you are reacting this way to a colleague of mine who I really look up to I don’t know how you really would do me if I came into the space completely 110% who I am every single day. Or they had already been doing me hypervisible as a Black teacher who also spoke pretty openly about issues of whiteness and white supremacy as well. So, I think that’s a moment where I did feel hypervisible.

Due to the previous racialized interactions, Claire anticipated a similar negative reaction and scrutiny in her role as a Black instructor from the white male student. This reflection and processing of hypervisibility in the past and anticipating hypervisibility in the future requires emotional work and decision making. Her decision to not “address it” was due to her feeling “upset” and also the effort involved in considering how she would be perceived and scrutinized as a Black teacher. It is possible that not addressing the situation and sharing her feelings may

have been a coping strategy to preserve her emotional and cognitive energy. In her description we also see her reflecting and considering whether or not she could enter the space as her authentic “completely 110 %” of who she is or whether he had already been scrutinizing her as a “Black teacher who spoke open about issues of whiteness.” Claire’s account also indicates an awareness of the mistreatment against her Black colleague, and of her own racial identity and the possible racialized stereotypes and stigmas associated with being a Black educator speaking about “issues of whiteness.”

The anticipation and experience of feeling hypervisible because one’s racial identity adds to the emotional labor performed by BGTAs. Anthony, a third year BGTA teaching a Black studies course discusses his experience with having to anticipate hypervisibility, racialized stereotypes, risk of confirming to assumed stereotypes and job scrutiny in his role as an instructor due to his positionality as a Black man.

There is emotional investment but you also gotta be professional and do the job [teaching] university, dept has course guidelines for courses (requirements, objectives, assignments, show up on time, all logistical things...) Those are all things that are tied to your consciousness about stereotypes about Black people always being late and being unprofessional and this and that...and making sure the information is clear and that you are not, making sure students are not going to leave thinking you are not as capable as say a white faculty member who get perceived to be on point and professional, without all this kind of baggage that Black instructors and women of color often have to deal with.

In his narrative, Anthony points out the racialized departmental norms and expectations for the role of an instructor. Stereotyped expectations about the BGTAs' ability to meet and or deviate from "professional" expectations places an extra burden on them. Anthony demonstrates an awareness of his own racial identity and racialized stereotypes and stigmas attributed to that identity. He also demonstrates an awareness of how white instructors get positioned in a more positive light than Black instructors. Anthony's reference about how these stereotyped expectations about Black individuals are "tied" to his "consciousness" and awareness of racial stigmas suggest the ongoing weight "baggage" of this emotion and cognitive work that he and other Black instructors have to "deal" and negotiate with. Subsequently, in his role as an instructor he aims to avoid confirming any negative racialized stereotypes that others may hold about his racial group/identity by stating he has "gotta be professional."

Janine described a racialized experience in her role as an instructor in which she felt hypervisible and scrutinized publicly in an online discussion by one of her white female students.

She posted a public discussion post to the class where she basically was like, "This article was terrible. I'm so tired of all you elitist people and the academy making us read this blah, blah, blah." So she basically just disintegrated Stuart Hall, which already was like, "Bitch please." And then, after she basically disintegrated it, talked about us being elitists and trying to use all these fancy words, whatever, then she proceeded to give me suggestions on what I think the readings should be. This was a white girl.

According to Janine, the white female student is challenging her credibility as the class instructor and minimizing her expertise. This public display of scrutiny puts the "spotlight" on Janine, even in an online setting. This "spotlighting" is similar to Claire's classroom experience

with her colleague of color being challenged by a white male student. Both interactions as described by BGTAs highlight how Black academics, compared to White instructors, are more often challenged in white spaces, such as the classroom, by white students, even when presenting the same content. This example also highlights racial power dynamics with a white student exerting white privilege and constructing an instructor or colors' teaching approach.

Janine later describes the white female student criticizing Janine for being an "elitist" instructor but then herself "uses all these fancy words" and proceeds to give Janine the Black instructor suggestions on how to teach. Being challenged in a white classroom, requires managing one's own emotions and reactions in front of others, all which requires managing a lot of emotions.

Considering how much thought and processing BGTAs must navigate while teaching, Janine continues to describe the double standard and racialized stereotyped expectations that are different for Black and white instructors.

...but if Black people talk like that, we trying to be white or we talking elevated. So why don't you give us some real Black stuff to read not this, is basically what she was saying.

Janine's description of how Black people are perceived if they speak a certain way reveals hypervisibility and the different racialized stereotyped expectations/norms and stigmas projected onto people of color regardless of what they do or say. Being challenged in an online public space by a white student magnified Janine's visibility. This appears to have called into question her teaching approach as an instructor. Managing and considering racial stigmas, double standard of stereotyped expectations, and hypervisibility requires effort. During the interview Janine mentioned how frustrating this situation was which indicated that this was a lot to deal and manage with cognitively and emotionally.

Not all BGTAs reported feeling hypervisible when teaching, despite their numerical underrepresentation. Jeremy, a multiracial (Black and white) BGTA in Derreck's department, indicated a different level of saliency of his racial identity in his role as a TA. When asked about his role as a TA and experience teaching in regard to race he was unsure:

Jeremy: I don't know. Quite honestly, I thought about that when I was filling out your thing [survey]. I don't ever really think about it.

Interviewer: Think about what?

Jeremy: Like, my identity when I'm in front of a classroom. I just walk into a classroom, do stuff. Now, I do when I do supply stuff... I mean, the theme of our class, I may not give them things to read but any images I bring in, any videos we tend to watch, anything, it's normally centered around disenfranchised peoples. I like to bring in different ones from across different cultures because I used to do just a lot of Black American stuff...

Jeremy reported that in his role as a TA, his race is something he doesn't "ever really think about," he just "walks into a classroom." He then qualifies this when he references bringing in course content related to "disenfranchised people," but he does not state that his racial identity is tied to that content nor that he is thinking about it while teaching. Probed about whether the content about people of color in his course shaped how he thought about his racial identity, he again expressed that he did not focus on his racial identity in connection to content that focuses on "Black and Brown folks."

Interviewer: ...when you're talking about or bringing in, like Black and Brown folks' experiences [in the classroom], do you think about your identity in relation to the Black and brown folks that you're talking about?

Jeremy: Maybe at some point I did, I think... I don't know, maybe it was because I'm older. I don't think like that...

In this second example Jeremy reports no connection between his racial identities and the course content which focused on the experiences of “Black and Brown folks,” which are racially situated experiences. In contrast to Derrek’s experiences in the same department, Jeremy’s description suggests that he may not be experiencing hypervisibility and the negotiation work involved since he did not report thinking of his racial identity while teaching, but rather that he “did not think like that.” Hypervisibility is associated with the awareness that one is being negatively recognized and “othered” due to an attribute and/or social identity that is stigmatized and deviates from the norm. Jeremy’s narrative suggests that his racial identity was not salient for him in his role as educator.

Elijah, a male BGTA in a STEM department described during his interviews and audio diaries, that his racial identity was not salient in his teaching. During interviews he described his awareness of racism and that he learned that through media and school when he began to live in the U.S. as a teenager. However, when probed about the role of race and racism currently in his teaching settings he reported:

Elijah: No, I haven't felt it. Like why I haven't felt anyone be racist to me, maybe I don't see it, or I just don't care. His response indicated that he has not experienced race or racist interactions, and questions why he has not experienced it. This seems to indicate a

possible shift in his interpretation. In another example, when asked if he thought about his Blackness Elijah responded: I think more about my background, that fact I'm not from here. I am not American born and I didn't grow up here. That has more implications on me. Yeah. I mean, I don't want people [students] to think that person from Africa came in and is teaching them right there.

Interviewer: What is wrong with Africa?

Elijah: Well, I mean the perception most people have is. Well not everyone, but that is like a dark country on a dark continent where like, you know, people are starving and education is just not good or not even exist and compared to here. So like, I don't want people to have that impression, but I don't Yeah, I don't. I'm saying. I'm being honest. That that affects me more than my Blackness. Yeah. Cuz I know that, you know, urban areas. Guys, I see a lot of Black people. Normally, you know...

Elijah's description demonstrates that he has a high level of awareness of stigmas associated with the African continent and African countries. This example also reveals he is more concerned with being stigmatized as African, which he explains has been constructed in a negative stereotypical manner, than with his Blackness. It appears that he is also conceptualizing Blackness and as being separate and different from the stigmas associated with Africa. This separation could possibly be a strategy to distance himself from Black stigmas.

During one of his audio diaries, he described not experiencing race or emotions related to race in his role teaching during lab:

...The guy talking to me, and he was a Caucasian guy, and I don't think people cared about my race in general. Um, that's that's what I thought. Because I didn't see any weird or absurd, or like, you know, some behavior that you don't expect from a student. Haven't seen any of those. They just did their lab, ask questions... Race emotions were not, well there was no race involvement or any race issue. If there was one, I wouldn't be able to see it. There was no. People will show that in general. Um emotion-wise, I was feeling ok, I didn't feel any different, my goal was to finish the lab help them understand it. I wanted to leave. At the end I was tired.

In his audio diary he described that race did not play a role during his interactions in the lab with students and that others did not notice his racial identity. When it came to his emotions related to race, he describes that he did not experience feeling any particular emotions due to his race. However, the feeling of being tired was reported, but that appears to align with expected duties and labor required of teachers, attending and monitoring lab/lecture and answering student questions to help them understand the content. Elijah's description reveals emotional labor, but not racialized emotional labor. Recall that emotional labor is managing emotions for "work for which you're paid" and expected to do (Hochschild, 1983). In the case of educators, this includes managing teaching responsibilities such as grading, meeting with students, and developing lessons while managing one's emotions and students' emotions. Racialized emotional labor is rooted in critical and racial theoretical frameworks, that take into social identities and larger structures of power require additional uncompensated labor for people of color. This labor is not required of white individuals due to a white racial frame. Joshua's example is not racialized emotional labor as his felt emotions were not related to race. Similarly, his descriptions of race

not playing a role in his lived experiences, and not experiencing racism, race, or racial bias further indicate that he did not experience hypervisibility nor racialized emotional labor.

Joshua, a male BGTA in a social science department, described being unsure of whether or not race played a role in his teaching experiences:

Umm I don't. Umm I think how I approach the course that. I don't know if I were to say.. yes. I think marginalized people pose questions that other people are not... you know what I mean. No one questions one sense of belonging, having to argue your space. I mean I guess me. the questions that...

His description demonstrates uncertainty about the saliency of race in his teaching experience. It is possible that he may have also been attempting a strategy of distancing himself from the topic by talking about marginalized people, which may be a type of labor. It was interesting to note his distancing of himself in relation to marginalized people when he says, "I guess me." Throughout the interview, he referenced the labor that he engaged in regarding the expected teaching duties, but he did not report experiencing any racist interactions or feelings associated with race and racism. His example, like Elijah's demonstrates that he did not experience hypervisibility nor racialized emotional labor.

Hypervisibility Experienced and Attributed to Racism/Tokenism and Increased Emotional Labor as Graduate Students (Outside the classroom)

Similarly, BGTAs are navigating hypervisibility and tokenization not just in their role as TAs/instructors but also in their roles as Black graduate students. By tokenism, I am referring to the practice of making a passing effort to be inclusive of members from marginalized groups to project the appearance of diversity and inclusion.

Claire describes feeling fear of being hypervisible and tokenized by the department due to her racial identity.

I feel like they do appreciate like the insight I can share, not just because I'm a Black woman, but because of my particular experiences as a teacher. And as someone who's been in like teaching, like organizing spaces around different things. But at the same time, I have this kind of like fear that I'm maybe tokenized as well just because there are no other Black women.

Although Claire has an optimistic view about the department, it is coupled with worry that the department may be tokenizing her to showcase their commitment towards diversity.

Mariah also described experiencing hypervisibility and tokenization in her role as a graduate student due to her racial identity. During her second year, she was unable to attend her department's welcome reception for new incoming students (including new students of color) because of a previous commitment of which she had already informed her respective department.

Later, she was shocked to hear from an out-of-state faculty mentor of color from her master's program, who said, "Hey Mariah. I heard you weren't at the department reception. It's really important that you welcome the new students." Mariah replied to her mentor saying:

Oh, I was at a wedding. She was like, Did you tell [your advisor]? And I'm like, ya I told [Advisor]! I also have welcomed and been hanging out with [new incoming student 1] and [new incoming student 2] most of the time. I told Dr. [out-of-state mentor], I said, "I'm actually really close with [new student 1] and [new incoming student 2]. But I told [my friend] later on about it, and she was just like, so we have to look like we're ... There's a certain way we have to perform and look like we're welcoming the students? And I was just like ... It was like, fuck! I was at a fucking wedding. I said, "Why does it matter that ... Why do I have to be at this fucking reception welcoming them in for you guys to know that I actually care about it? I felt like a part of the reason ... And I realized the reason why it was so noticeable that I wasn't there is because I'm one of the only Black students. I'm the only Black student.

In Mariah's description above, she is made aware of the saliency of her racial identity and of being highly visible to her peers as a Black graduate student by another person in a position of power. Her mentor's awareness of her being absent further confirms Mariah's feelings of hypervisibility and scrutiny in her role as a graduate student due to her racial identity. This is due to a white racial frame that perpetuates systemic racial stereotypes about Black bodies and places unequal responsibility on people of color having to be the "tokens or the ones to do diversity work, such as welcoming the students of color at the department reception. As Mariah describes,

there is a different racialized expectation that as one of the few Black people in the department, she is expected to “perform” and gets over noticed regardless of whether she is or is not present.

Mariah’s reported that this experience shifted her awareness of her positionality within the department, requiring additional emotional labor to process:

...it's just shit like that when I was like ... When it was pointed out to me that, "You're the only Black student so they just notice you in certain ways," I just started thinking about that moment at the reception of why, if you all [individuals from the department] are trying to say, "Look at our department, look how diverse we are! Look, we're welcoming everybody!" and the only Black student ain't there. It's just not a good look. [for the department], I had never thought that that was something that they cared about.

Her description demonstrates an awareness of her identity and assumptions associated with her racial identity influence the saliency of hypervisibility experienced in her role as a graduate student. In this role she feels tokenized and expected to be a representative of diversity efforts for the department. She appears to be processing, considering, and reflecting on racialized events that tokenize, hypervisibility and scrutinize her based on her racial identity requires emotional and cognitive effort.

Unlike Mariah, Jeremy, a multiracial identified BGTA male in the humanities, mentions how his department has asked him to take on an additional task as a graduate student. He appears

to distance this task's relevance to race, but he attributes the additional task to a general burden rather than linked to his identity and tokenization.

Interviewer: Why do you think they call you?

Jeremy: Because we have the "same research interests."

Interviewer: you showed me a gesture indicating air quotes...?

Jeremy: Well people saddle me with stuff, people of color stuff.

Interviewer: Oh. Okay.

Jeremy: Because I'm kind of... myself and then there's another graduate TA. [Derreck], he's like, a year ahead of me. And then... I don't care anymore. The first year I didn't know what was going on, because that was the first year. I was like, why are they calling me? I've been here like a quarter. But also, I know that I'm very... people in the department know me because I'm pretty outgoing and stuff.

In Jeremy's description above, he acknowledges the additional burden of having to mentor other students of color, but he appears to be shifting his perception away from racial stereotyping and attempting to come up with an alternative explanation--that he is "pretty outgoing." Moreover, he mentions Derreck, the other BGTA in the same department, but does not identify Derrick's racial identity/positionality nor what identities they may share in common. Also, unlike Mariah's department experience with hypervisibility and tokenization (being expected to connect with students of color because she is Black, Jeremy appears to be shifting his perception away from racial stigmas.

Even good intentioned advice from faculty of color may increase feelings of hypervisibility and thus, emotional labor. Mariah recounts talking with her Black faculty advisor who is trying to explain to Mariah how it is for women of color in the department. Specifically, Mariah recounts talking to her advisor about another incident regarding the faculty of color blaming Mariah for submitting grades late for a class she was TAing for her. She describes the conversation with her advisor:

Advisor: Hey, you know, [faculty member T] was really frustrated that you didn't finish grading, and she's really upset about it, and she had a lot to say about it." And she's like, "So.... what happened?"

Mariah: I was like, well I told her about the Google Doc, because at first I was like, "[faculty member T] just doesn't ..." I briefly explained it to her. Then she [the advisor] said something like, "Well, [faculty member T] just doesn't communicate well." I was like, "I had a Google ... I followed the Google Doc she sent me." Basically [my faculty advisor of color] gives it to me in the best way possible, just like, basically telling me I got to be hyper aware of how my visibility as a Black woman in the department. She's like, "People are going to ..." What did she say? People are going to treat you how they ... People are going to interact with you with their expectations of you as a Black woman, or some shit like that. Basically, the way that [faculty member T] was talking about me being late, I guess it was ... I don't know. But that's what [faculty advisor of color] said, basically like, "You need to ... people are going to treat you the way that ... Of their own expectations of Black Women."

This narrative reveals how someone with more power is raising the issue of hypervisibility to Mariah by telling her she “got to be hyper aware” of her visibility as a “Black woman in the department.” It appears that Mariah’s advisor is attempting to inform her of this so she can anticipate and consider how she is behaving to reduce conforming to a racialized stereotype. The advisor’s explanation as described by Mariah appears to be well meaning, but also seems to contribute to Mariah’s awareness and emotional labor. Mariah’s awareness/perception about her hypervisibility is socially constructed through the interactions with others and what they know about the world and how society positions racialized groups. Her interaction with others and her advisor, highlights the increased salience and scrutiny of being Black and having to anticipate that her actions and behaviors will be generalized as being attributes for an entire race and gender social group (Holder et al., 2015; Sekaquaptewa, Waldman, & Thompson, 2007). This generalization occurs within white spaces due to a white racial frame that constructs people of color as problematic and other.

The BGTAs themselves sometimes found themselves on the other side of well-meaning advice. Like Mariah’s advisor who is aware of her own and her student’s social positioning based on racial ideologies and the surveillance of Black bodies and behaviors, Janine in her role as a TA is also aware of how her Black male student’s tardiness risks confirming to a negative stereotype about one’s group (stereotype threat). She can be honest with her students of color about her concerns about their hypervisibility.

Janine: I also feel like I can be real with my students of color. I got one student that's a Black male comes in late all the time. I'm like, "Look, y'all. Stop. Stop coming in the

class late. First of all, you a Black male and ain't that many of y'all. You walk into class late, 20 minutes, of course we notice you. Do not go on with that stereotype, right? Do not do that.

Janine's example demonstrates how a BGTA who holds more power than an undergraduate student, is also raising the issue of hypervisibility and racial stigma awareness with her Black students. She tells them to “not go on with that stereotype” in what seems like an effort to warn but support. Janine appears to be trying to support Black students by teaching them about their visibility and associated racialized stereotypes about being Black and late to avoid confirming that racial stigma. Her interaction with her students demonstrates the increased salience and scrutiny of being Black and having to anticipate that their actions and behaviors will be attributed to being one of few and being Black.

In another account, Mariah explains another experience navigating hypervisibility with the same faculty of color from the previous example who she graded for. She discusses how this faculty member tokenizes her and how others validate the tokenized positioning...

This professor, she has this fucking conference every fucking year, [name of conference]. One year they hosted this woman from [Latin American Country] named [Guest Speaker A]. I got to meet and hang out with [Guest Speaker A] a couple times, and it turns out it was because [faculty member T] really wanted me and [Guest Speaker A] to bond, because [faculty member T]] ... because we're both Black... it never even crossed my mind. But [Guest Speaker A] was like, "I think [faculty of color] trying to make us hang out because we're both Black."

According to Mariah, the professor made assumptions and moved forward without checking in with Mariah or Black Mama. Black Mama saying “ I think [faculty of color] trying to make us hang out because we're both Black" demonstrates another person in a different position of power bringing up the issue of hypervisibility and tokenization.

Mariah described how she perceives her department as trying to co-opt the presence of Black bodies to signal to others that they are embracing or doing diversity work, but without addressing systems of power and positionality they run the risk of perpetuating racism and hierarchies.

Because of my hyper visibility as the only Black student, she wants to look like she has courted me or she has like, "Look, I have a relationship with the only Black student!

Look at the work we're doing!"

Black academics experience hypervisibility and tokenism when departments use them to perform and represent diversity and inclusion efforts so that the departments appear to be doing inclusion work. BGTAs' hypervisibility often results in having to contend with how they are being perceived and how they should show up and can result in stress and negative emotions about the experiences and thus, additional emotional labor.

BGTAs are underrepresented in white institutions and often over noticed and judged in racialized stereotyped ways in their roles as students and instructors. All of the BGTA participants reported that they were either the only one or one of few Black graduate students and Black instructors in their departments. However, five out of the eight reported that their racial

identity was salient in their interactions with others. The experiences of the five BGTAs demonstrated that they had high levels of racial stigma awareness pertaining to how they would be viewed as problematic Black individuals regardless of their actions. This awareness seemed to contribute to their awareness of experiencing hypervisibility-being exposed and surveilled which they attributed to racism and tokenism. Their experiences managing and negotiating hypervisibility and tokenization regardless of their actions and if they are present or not, indicates the power of white racial framing that has constructed the Black body as the other, deviant from the norm which shapes how BGTAs are perceived in their dual roles. Strategically negotiating and thinking about hypervisibility and tokenization demonstrated how much time and effort they had to process, reflect and consider how they are being constructed in racially stereotyped ways, regardless of their interactions and presence takes an emotional toll and requires emotional labor.

Chapter 5: Findings 2: Teaching While Black Requires Performing Racialized Emotional Labor

When asked if Black individuals have to work harder in managing their emotions than others

Anthony said:

I would say definitely. Um and again that goes back to all the ways in which we have been scripted and prescribed and um read with all these different violent notions of who we are, our sexual notions of who we are, stereotypes that have lasted 400 years that we have to be conscious of when we are in front of classroom, and when we are with colleagues and when we are interacting and those things are always playing in my head. Thinking about even being in a close space with a white woman student or you know... all these things. Always on my mind. I have to navigate and think about how I move through space.

Anthony's description of how Black individuals have to expend more effort to manage their emotions than non-Black individuals also highlights the racial dynamics that people of color participating in white institutions must often navigate and expend energy processing. These dynamics represent racial patterns in larger society. His narrative detailing the "violent" racial assumptions ascribed to Black individuals reveals how a white racial frame, embedded within white institutions, has constructed and maintained a binary racial construction. This social categorization constructs people of color, as the "other" and viewed as the opposite of the dominant group (Bonilla-Silva, 2019). This framing then reifies the exploitation and oppression

of racialized “others” and racial “others” are exploited and oppressed. This socially constructed white frame,

“infuses dominant actors with beliefs and emotions about selves (e.g., good, beautiful) and Others (e.g., bad, ugly) that produce, for example, “negrophobia” (Whitney 2015).

Let me illustrate this point: Whites fear Blacks in interracial encounters and many people of color experience anxiety and discomfort when entering “white spaces” (Anderson 2015).” (As cited by Bonilla Silva, 2019, p. 3).

In other words, a white racial frame-white ideology of emotions have constructed racialized stereotypes about Black people that view their emotional characteristics as problematic, overly emotional and rooted in white fear and white anxiety. Once a group is racialized as “dangerous” its members are perceived with fear and seen as having to need supervision (Feagin, 2010;2020).

Anthony’s narrative demonstrates how due to white ideologies constructing people of color in this way, he has to anticipate and consider/manage his emotional response not just if/when a racial incident occurs, but he also to expend considerable amount of cognitive energy and consider a situation that has not even happened yet but could such as being in the same space as a with a white woman. His thought process reveals that he is cognizant of white emotions and must anticipate the emotional reactions/responses of white people, white women. There are certain feeling rules ascribed to people of color when having to interact in white institutions, that are not ascribed to racial group members in the same way. There is a direct link between the “angry Black man” stereotype and danger. These emotional responses become racialized in white spaces due to white racial frames. So, this results in BGTAs having to manage their

emotions and emotional expressions in response to racial incidents when they happen, before they happen, and after they happen while having to manage the emotions of white people BUT they also must anticipate reactions of white people

In this chapter I will examine how BGTAs in white institutions negotiate and contend with racialized assumptions/stereotypes about their “inappropriate” emotions and how they contend with managing their own emotions and display of emotions in response to racial incidents, before, during, and after they have occurred while also having to anticipate white emotions/reactions to any of the emotions they express. I will also examine the range of strategic decisions made to manage their emotional responses and reactions to racial microaggressions in everyday racial encounters (ex: suppression, avoidance/ignore, confront, lean in, talk to someone, vent, etc.). These productive, but laborious strategies utilized by BGTAs demonstrate the amount of cognitive effort and calculations involved not just after a racial incident occurs, but before and even after a BGTAs has responded to the incident and must evaluate and process their responses.

Treading Water: Managing Your Own Emotions While Managing White Emotions

All BGTAs experienced and performed emotional labor that is inherent in the job of teaching. However, there were five BGTAs who experienced additional emotional labor which was racialized due to their awareness of racial stigmas. The five BGTAs who discussed their experiences with everyday racism and racial microaggressions described how they had to work to manage their responses to these encounters because of the racialized stereotypes of Black people being exceedingly emotional. Derreck described several experiences, ranging from people who were shocked that he was adopted, and his parents were Black and not white, to students

challenging him and his course content. In his role as a TA, Derreck describes an experience with one of his male Asian students, who held conservative views and pushed back against a lot of the course content, social justice, Black mobility, and the myth of meritocracy. Derreck said:

So, I was like getting angrier and angrier as the quarter went on. This kid just doesn't get it. It's a fundamental thing

He described his frustrations and anger accumulating due to the situation, as well as the process he engaged in when the incident occurred, assessing his reaction/response while bearing in mind how he would be constructed as a stereotyped angry Black man.

When asked whether or not he [Derreck] could express his anger/emotions he explained the following:

No. I had to.. no. I just locked that away. I don't want to be looked at as the angry Black man...

When asked why he shouldn't get too emotional he responded with:

Anyway, young Black men are constantly painted as being angry, or they express emotions in an unfamiliar way that makes white people feel uncomfortable. I don't want my students to feel at all uncomfortable, so I have to put some of my emotional setbacks on the back burner.

Derreck's narratives demonstrate a direct link between the "angry" Black man stereotype and danger which are racialized assumptions perpetuated by a white dominant ideology about the

“other,” specifically Black individuals. He anticipates that his expression of genuine human emotions would be constructed negatively. He is aware of the emotional display rules inscribed onto him due to his positionality as Black man and must manage his emotions, place them on the “back burner” and suppress his expression so that he does not make others “uncomfortable.” In other words, the white racially framed emotional display rules, requires Black individuals to not express and display genuine felt feelings and prioritize white emotions. Derreck’s narrative demonstrates his awareness of emotional display rules and how he must abide by them to mitigate/avoid conflict.

Anthony noted a similar calculation but highlights another dimension that requires him to manage his internal felt emotions and emotional displays, so they are in line with departmental stereotyped norms for educators, which are racialized. Recall that in the previous chapter, he recounted his experience with hypervisibility in his role as TA due to racialized assumptions linked to his racial identity. He contrasted needing to “be professional” with

...stereotypes around Black people always being late and being unprofessional and this and that...and making sure the information is clear and that you are making sure students are not going to leave thinking you are not as capable as say a white faculty member who get perceived to be on point and professional, without all this kind of baggage that Black instructors and women of color often have to deal with.

When there is a problematic event, he has to keep his response and display of emotions “professional” to make sure he aligns with the organizations feeling rules which are rooted in the white ideologies. Within white institutions, people of color carry the additional burden of having

to consider the work expectations in light of how they are being already constructed as problematic and or unable to perform as well as white instructors.

Janine, a woman BGTA describes the difficulties of expressing her genuine emotions when discussing course content that focuses on the violence and injustice against Black Bodies in her role as a TA. Her experience offers insight into another dimension of emotional labor that involves negotiating racialized gendered assumptions due to a white racial frame and anticipating the potential reactions and emotions of white students in the learning environment -- constructing her as not credible and knowledgeable about the content. She said:

So, it's some moments we get emotional, but we try not to show it, but it's hard to talk about people you love being murdered and being killed and then be okay with it. But when you get emotional, they take that as, "Oh, this is not real knowledge. This is just how you feel about a particular topic." But I mean, it's hard for me not to be emotional when I'm talking about what I'm talking about.

Janine's experience illustrates the paradox of negotiating her own emotions within a white institution that ascribes certain feeling rules and emotional display rules to racialized bodies. Such that when Black and Brown bodies emote, they are perceived as problematic and exceedingly emotional due to a white racial frame, in response to discussing course content regarding Black Lives and Oppression which evokes normal human emotions such as frustration and sadness. As a BGTA she contends with the racialized assumptions about displaying genuine emotions of frustration and sadness, even when the content focuses on the experiences of her community. This further reveals the racialized emotional display rules, colored by a white racial

frame, that dictate and guide what is acceptable behaviors and emotional responses, even when teaching content that focuses on Black lives and evokes a lot of human emotions. She also anticipates the potential reactions of white students in the learning environment and constructing her as not credible and knowledgeable about the content.

Recall that, “social interactions in the workplace are guided by two types of emotion rules; feeling/emotional rules and emotional display rules (Eckman, 1973) (as cited by Holman, et al., 2008, p. 302). These rules are meant to regulate and control interpersonal interactions (Wingfield, 2010) as well as intrapersonal processes. Emotional display rules are not neutral, but they are racialized in ways that constrain and impede Black professional/Black educators from displaying genuine expressions of emotion (Wingfield, 2010).

Janine’s felt emotions and display are not deemed appropriate in this learning environment. Thus, these expectations regarding felt emotions and the display of those emotions are not equally applied to all workers of all racial identities. Black educators in the university engage in emotion work that involves contending with racialized classroom dynamics where their intellectual capabilities and authority are often challenged (Harrow, 2003) by their white students who project racialized stigmas stereotypes about their intellect and emotional characteristics. In Janine's examples we see her negotiating her response and reaction to course content that’s about her Black community and identity, in light of anticipating students’ projection of problematic emotional characteristics.

Similarly, in another example Janine recounted why students had already constructed her as aggressive even before any racial incident occurred

“ ...because I’m Black, they [the White students] they already feeling fucking attacked.”

Racialized stereotypes cast people of color as overly emotional and unsafe, even before the BGTA has responded by pushing back and resisting these racial stigmas. In this context, emotion rules like “do not show negative emotions while teaching” constrain Black educators from genuinely emoting and responding to racial incidents. They privilege the emotions of white, non- Black students while further marginalizing the experiences of BGTAs.

Mariah also recounted that regardless of what she does or where she is, she will have to negotiate Black stereotypes and stigmas even without a racial incident occurring. She noted that even while performing her role as an instructor or anywhere else she goes, students will construct her as abrasive.

I think no matter where I go, there are things I’m going to have to contend with, I'm going to have to play into or contend with like bring a Black woman in these spaces that just weren't built for me...So I think when I’m teaching some of the stuff I say may come off as abrasive to them [the students] or brash], but it's just plain speak.

This example highlights the direct link between the “Black angry” stereotype and danger, but across gender. It represents the differences of power across gender which contributes to different levels of access and experiences. Subsequently, Black women may in fact have to resist and express themselves differently, due to systems of power and privilege that subjugate Black women’s experiences. The example also reveals the racial and gendered emotion management that again Black professionals within white institutions contend with when they resist and

pushback against racism and emotion norms. Their pushbacks are refuted before an incident even occurs. Mariah is having to contend with students' perceptions that she is "abrasive," which deviates from the expected emotional rules a teacher "should model." Teachers, as well as women generally, are expected to be caring and nurturing. Considering the intersections of race and gender, women of color have to "negotiate the mothering-yet obedient "mammy" stereotype (Moses 1997; TuSmith and Reddy 2002, as cited by Pittman, 2010, p 185). Being constructed as abrasive forces Mariah outside of the "acceptable norms" of teaching and femininity. According to Harrow (2003), Black women instructors cope with this image by strategically doing emotion management that allows them to maintain a sense of professionalism while experiencing racialized and gendered student perception.

Needing to also maintain professionalism, Derreck recounted another experience he had with his colleague, a Black woman BGTA in the same department both had to engage in emotional work to negotiate racialized assumptions even when wanting to bring in humor while teaching. Since the white racial frame/ideologies construct people of color displaying emotions as overly problematic, BGTAs must anticipate and tend to white student's emotions over their own. Derreck said:

So an angry Black woman is one thing and an angry Black man is another thing.

We both feel that we can't do that [express anger] because if we do that could be read as hostility to students. I'm constantly worried about like, making an offhand joke or saying something in a way that is sarcastic, and they don't get ...read it like that... And then I get in trouble...

These stories illuminate how BGTAs in these white institutions recognize the emotional display rules Black individuals are expected to follow: Do not display emotions of frustration or anger because it “could be read as hostility”. This emotional display rule is colored by a white racial frame and is not applied equally to whites because they are constructed as the norm. Although teaching has implicit emotional display norms requiring teachers to manage their emotions, if a white teacher were to express the same emotions as a Black individual, it would be perceived less threatening because they are white. The same behavior performed by a Black individual is more likely to be perceived as problematic and threatening. This requires BGTAs to engage in additional labor than their white counterparts, and it that has become racialized due to racial stigmas. Moreover, the narratives illustrated that there is a direct link between the gendered racism stemming from the “angry Black woman/man” and danger. Moreover, Derrick's description of both himself and his Black woman colleague as not wanting to be perceived as hostile demonstrates this idea of problematic emotions becoming racialized and gendered in white spaces. In other words, BGTAs have to manage their own emotions and emotional expressions in response to racial incidents, but they also have to anticipate the possible reactions of white people to any emotions they may convey (Bell 2014). These stories also highlight the tension between resisting everyday racism and the projection of racial stereotypes and stigmas in white spaces.

Accumulation of Emotional Labor Induces Racial Battle Fatigue

The following example arose with one participant in the study who courageously described the fatigue of facing everyday racism and sexism. Some of these oppressive experiences are overt while others are more subtle and repeated (microaggressions), resulting in Black individuals feeling exhausted (Pierce, 1995; Sue 2010). When Black individuals experience the accumulated effects of racism, this is referred to as Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF) (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007). Although other participants did not report experiencing Racial Battle Fatigue, it was important for me as Black Latina BGTA scholar and anti-racist practitioner to bring awareness to Mariah's experience with this exhaustion. Also, this directly relates to research that reveals RBF is often experienced by Black individuals in institutions of higher education (Smith, Mustaffa, Jones, Curry, & Allen, 2016; Quaye, Karikari, Carter, Okello & Allen, 2020) and can have "cumulative psychosocial and physiological impacts on racially marginalized targets." (Smith et. Al., 2016, p. 4). Mariah's experience demonstrates the emotional tax that gendered racism can have on the Black body and we should create awareness about.

Mariah recounted in the following examples the negative felt emotions experienced in response to the gaslighting of racism and sexism experienced at two different institutions of higher education while also expressing doubts of graduate school. Racial gaslighting is a form of manipulation where one's reality with oppression (i.e., racism) is being questioned due to a racial color-blind ideology perpetuated by white institutions. This form of manipulation can lead to self-doubt of one's own lived experiences with oppression, which in itself is constructing people of colors' emotions and experiences with racism as suspicious and invalidating. While describing her experience, Mariah said:

...I think I'm in the process of becoming disillusioned with it [graduate school].. It just hurts right now. I'm frustrated. I'm frustrated with my whole fucking department, because it's like, we're supposed to be ... It's like we're a [social sciences] department and they love saying that they want us to push back and be radical and be different. But they don't. It doesn't feel like it. I feel like I'm being gaslit the same way I'm being gaslit by racism and sexism and all these other things. I feel like my department is just as much a part of that and it's frustrating to become disillusioned with that has been really hard this year. This year has been really hard. I didn't realize it until now, honestly. Until talking about it. All these emotions, and I think it's also from talking about my master's program [the racism and emotional labor experienced at masters and current institutions].

In this narrative Mariah is describing the emotional injuries due to racism and sexism that she has experienced over time and across different institutional contexts in her role as a graduate student. These experiences have accumulated from the previous master's program to her current doctoral program. She mentions the difficulty, the frustrations, and the pain that these institutions have caused. Additionally, she notes how “frustrated” she is with these institutions, and her specific department, is perpetuating emotional injury (i.e. racism and sexism) when “gaslighting” her. Mariah’s experience with gaslighting from her department is minimizing and invisibilizing her experiences with racism and other forms of oppression. This gaslighting example also demonstrates invisibility which denies Mariah recognition and legitimacy. The departments’ failure to recognize oppression and the oppression that they are perpetuating and instead engage

in racial gaslighting when oppression is pointed out (resisted), are elements of colorblind racial ideologies, perpetuated by a white racial frame.

These colorblind racial ideologies, which perpetuate the white racial frame, are characterized by perpetuating myths of race-neutrality and the goal of maintaining post racial ideologies (Mueller, Williams & Dirks, 2018). Mariah's experience with gaslighting by her department appears to further marginalize Mariah's racialized and gendered experiences. Scholarship shows that people of color may disengage after repeated incidents of being gaslit and that multiple encounters of this can lead to negative health effects characterized as racial battle fatigue, including but not limited to anxiety, stress, headaches, sadness, withdrawal (Cortina, 2008; Pierce 2012) and increased swearing (Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006).

Mariah's description of fatigue due to the burden of constant emotion management, was coupled with increased swearing and sadness. Mariah's experience with gendered racism and shed light to the emotional injuries she endured. This is directly related to research that posits that RBF can cause emotional injury to the Black Body, a body that Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa (2016) notes is already constructed and perceived as aggressive and threatening.

As Mariah reflected on her emotional labor during our interview, she reflected on her history with graduate school, beginning with her master's program, and the reasons for her growing disillusionment. This kind of fatigue supports the claim that racial battle fatigue is a type of race based emotional and psychological trauma (Acuff, 2018) that can contribute to people of color losing confidence in themselves and questioning their motivations and purpose in life and in work (Smith, Yosso, and Solorzano, 2006).

Here we have Mariah questioning her graduate program and experience due to the accumulated stressors related to the intersections of gendered racism she as a Black woman is

experiencing. She continued to process her experiences with positionality, realizing how invisible and yet hypervisible she was due to her racial identity and the emotional injury that realization and those experiences have caused her.

The way I talk about it now, a year ago I wasn't talking about it like that. Two years ago, I wasn't talking about it like that. To really think about how invisible, I was in that department, and to know that it was because I was a Black woman, that shit devastates me. To think about all these students getting offices, conferences, publications, and them completely ignoring me. But when I got accepted into the University of [Graduate School], they loved telling everyone about me. They loved bragging about it. The professor [white male professor at the previous institution] that didn't want to work with me. He apologized to me. That's when I knew that he [white male professor at previous grad program-masters] was doing it because he was being racist, but all of that, and then talking about my experience here [in this interview], I didn't realize how much it was affecting me until now. I knew it was affecting me, but I didn't realize how much I was still carrying it in my body. All of that that I didn't realize how much I was still carrying until I started crying about it just now.

While courageously describing her experiences, she continued to express her genuine pain with me. She said that she was so invisible due to her race and gender, "because I was a Black woman, that shit devastates me." Mariah's display of anger and sadness while sharing tears suggests a deep awareness/ personal revelation for her about the accumulated emotional injury of gendered racism she has endured from multiple actors across two white institutional

spaces. This aligns with research that shows that RBF, is emotional, physical, and mental stress of coping with continuous racism and microaggressions for people of color (Arnold, et al., 2016) is a significant stressor (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999).

She expressed genuine authentic emotions which is an act of resistance and pushing against the emotional feelings and emotional display rules established by a white racial frame that perpetuates colorblind racism (race neutrality) and requires people of color to suppress their genuine emotions in response to racism and subtle forms of discrimination in order to take care of emotions of white individuals (Diangelo, 2014), which has psychosocial (emotional and physical) consequences, such as anxiety and high stress for people of color (Evans & Moore, 2015). Although only one participant reported experiencing this type of fatigue which she described was contributing to feeling disillusioned with graduate school, it was important to name and center her gendered racist experience as a Black woman and counter the dominant norms of whiteness. Her experience as a Black woman matters and requires attention in order to better understand the range of experiences among Black individuals.

Emotion Work and Strategic Coping Strategies

White institutions perpetuate white privilege and racialized relations of power where feeling rules are established and dictate the ways in which emotions are performed by people of color. These racialized emotion dynamics occur when the feelings of whites are normalized, producing “hegemonic emotional domination” (Matias 2016), whereas the feelings of marginalized individuals are constructed as suspicious (Turner, 2015). As we have seen in the experiences of BGTAs, Black academics are faced with the dilemma of having to manage their emotions and the emotions of others, specifically white students.

The narratives in this section examine the nature of emotional labor performed by BGTAs, the emotion management strategies BGTAs developed before, during, and after a racial incident occurred as well as the amount of time and energy expended before, during, and after a racial incident. The following narratives demonstrate the ways in which BGTAs manage their emotions and emotional expressions in response to racial incidents and racial perspectives of others. This management can impede their possible responses because of the socially constructed racial tropes associated with being Black and expressing anger. Many of the BGTAs describe a range of experiences where they anticipate the possible consequences of resisting racist practices and discussions and demonstrating genuine emotions in white spaces.

I return to Claire's story about co-teaching a [multicultural studies] course with two other graduate instructors, one Black male, and one white female. Claire described her experiences contending with racial dynamics in the classroom and with feeling hypervisible in her role as a BGTA and with her woman Black colleague who was a guest speaker for the course. Claire recounts how she had spoken to other people of color in the department who had previously taught the class and they informed her that there would be a lot of emotion management while navigating white students pushing back on the course content as well as her credibility. This reveals that there exists a shared understanding of emotional labor required of BGTAs in this context. Other TAs of color expressed that they too had to engage in the additional burden of managing their emotions.

Claire reported that she made a conscious decision early on that she would set boundaries and try to ignore some of the problematic encounters to conserve her energy.

I just kind of set myself up and was like, "I'm not going through that." Like and by saying that, by saying I can't control what these [students] bring at me, but I know how much of my

energy I'm going to give to it. ...I kind of have still set some boundaries around, I'm just not going to go home angry about what [white male student name] says to me in class today.

Because that's not going to determine how much sleep I get. kind of just tell myself like it's not even just like it's not worth it, it's just like... a lot of energy...

Claire's strategy suggests that she made a strategic choice early on when teaching the course to resist and reject problematic encounters and avoid confrontation, a decision that was informed by the shared knowledge and experiences and warning from other TAs of color. It appears that Claire used this strategy to conserve her emotional energy and the time it takes to process and manage her emotions after a racist incident in order to offer some emotional protection. This protective and strategic choice allowed her to resist the racial battle fatigue of emotional injury from racial incidents in white spaces so that it did not consume other areas of her life like getting rest.

When a white "fragile" male student challenged the Black woman guest speaker who was Claire's friend and colleague by questioning her presentation in front of everyone and then walking out of the classroom, Claire put this strategy into practice.

I made a choice to not address it directly part of it was because I was upset and I'm part of it was also like, "If you are reacting this way to a colleague of mine who I really look up to I don't know how you [the white male student] really would do me if I came into the space completely 110% who I am every single day.

Claire made a conscious choice to use inaction as an emotional strategy in order to prevent further exhaustion and hypervisibility. She was aware of the display rules being applied

differently to white and people of color. She witnessed the white male being granted space to share his emotional response in order to challenge the credibility of a Black woman professional in a white space but did not feel that same space for herself. She decided to remain “professional” and not say anything because of the possible consequences of white male reactions. If a white male was given airtime to challenge a Black woman professor in public and was “reacting this way to a colleague” of Claire’s, then it is possible he could react in a similar challenging manner to her.

Thus, Claire’s strategic decision to not respond (i.e., speaking directly to the white male student) is advantageous in that it appears to help conserve some of her energy and cognitive effort. She decided not to engage in the situation and let the white instructor navigate and address it with the white male student. However, in the following quote, Claire describes how much emotional labor is involved in processing how to navigate the incident, even after it happened.

I’m still trying to figure out how best to navigate that. Like how much energy to give to things and for him (the white male student), I was so exhausted at the end of the day yesterday.

Additional emotional labor is required of BGTAs even before an incident occurs, and boundaries are often drawn/used as a coping strategy to conserve the amount of emotion work done and maintain professionalism to align with white feeling rules and display rules. In an example from Derreck, when he was recounting working with a white male student who wrote a problematic paper challenging the entire course content (e.g. Blackness, Black Mobility, systems

of power etc), he decided to change how he perceived the racial encounter and redirect his attention and focus on grading for the technicality of writing to minimize the harm from racism.

I just like laughed at some of the things and I said, you know what ...his writing is pretty good. I got to grade him on the technicality of the writing itself because it's a composition course first and not on the topic. So, I as a teacher faced it all the way through.

Derreck also goes on to mention that he received an end of year evaluation from him that challenged his credibility and suggested his pedagogy was problematic. His approach for managing his emotions in response to the problematic evaluation was focusing on the rest of the student evaluations which Derreck described as positive evaluations:

“I’ve gotten some really good evaluations. His was just the one evaluation we earned in class that wasn't necessarily useful... Alright. Cool for you [the student}. You got your jabs in. I’m done. At Least the rest of us got something out of it. “

Derrick's strategy involved looking at the situation from another perspective and bringing into focus the other students in his class who had reported they had appreciated the course content and his teaching strategies tried to see if from another perspective and focus on other students who had shared that they had appreciated the course content and his teaching strategies.

BGTAs described strategies for preventing the invocation of negative racial stereotypes in their students. Janine described modifying her clothing choices:

I'm rocking these earrings right now because Avengers just came out, so they can't try to say, "Oh, my teacher's a little too Blackity Black for me." So, my sister makes a lot of African pride earrings, but I'd be afraid to wear them because these kids [the students] may be like, "Oh, I don't feel comfortable because she's just Black." And they really mean, "She's Black." Like I'm pro-Black this, I am about Black Lives Matter, I'm about Trans Women. So I think because of what I'm saying and because I'm Black, they already feel fake attacked.

Janine's description about how students may perceive her as "too Blackity Black" demonstrates her awareness of the emotional display rules expected of Black instructors which is to avoid deviating from whiteness and avoid being "too Blackity Black". Subsequently, Janine made a conscious effort, a strategic decision, to not wear earrings that represented African/Black pride in order to prevent further constructions of her as "angry" and reify white racial framing of people of color as overly sensitive/emotional. As a person of color, she felt fear in wearing a certain pair of earrings which would be attributed to a negative racial stigma about Black individuals. She engaged in emotional labor to "create a publicly observable facial and bodily display," (Hochschild 1983, p. 7) which required anticipatory reflection and processing while making the decision to not wear earrings. This protective strategy, albeit energy consuming, aims to reject racialized assumptions/stigmas constructed by white institutions and a white ideological frame. Yet, this protective strategy also impeded sharing aspects of her identity and showing up as her authentic self with her students. Within a white racial frame, white emotions and ways of being are normalized, while the experiences and emotions of people of color are deemed inappropriate, negative or overly emotional. Within white institutions, individuals are

racially “branded” (Preston 2010), and once branded recognize that racial status affords privileges to some and disadvantages to others. Additionally, these institutions also exclude based on gender, which exclude and marginalize women of color at the intersections of both race and gender.

Janine is aware of the racialized branding and how it has constructed her as someone to be feared, even when it comes to just showing up as your authentic self. Due to a white racial frame, she is already racially constructed, before a racial incident occurs, in a way that places her outside of the acceptable norms of teaching, which suggests that women BGTAs should not express themselves in ways that represent or bring attention to Blackness (e.g African Pride Earrings). In turn, this type of emotion labor in white spaces centers/privileges the emotions of white individuals and suppresses the emotions experienced by people of color in order to align with feeling rules. This labor also highlights how a person of color can also experience marginalization due to their position at the intersections of race and gender (Collins, 2000).

The majority of BGTAs in this study described employing strategies to manage their emotions. avoid being viewed as emotionally problematic and to protect their emotional bandwidth. Another example of distancing and avoiding for protection was mentioned by Derreck as he also recounted considering the consequences of emotional display across incidents.

I feel like I could, and probably would have. I think I told you about this in a couple of the diary journals, and also in our conversation, I have to kind of temper a lot of my big emotions so that way students don't get the wrong message...understanding that if I freaked out or wiggled out it would cost me a job, so I was like you know what it's not

worth it. I got double cross hairs because I'm Black. So, I'm not going to do it. It was tempting. Like I really wanted to shut everything down immediately and as harshly as I could, but It was not worth it. I want to continue teaching, I need to continue teaching otherwise I can't afford this, this graduate school.

Derrick is making a decision of suppressing big emotions in order to reduce/avoid being perceived as a racial stereotype. He anticipated the consequences of revealing his emotions and notes that it would cost him a job which could impact his funding and thus participating in graduate school. Thus, he chooses to not reveal his emotional distress to preserve his job.

Many of the BGTAs described engaging in emotional labor, or the management of feeling to “create a publicly observable facial and bodily display.”. They made decisions to disengage from racial incidents in various ways to protect their emotional bandwidth and also reject racialized assumptions. BGTAs successes as TAs, continued employment and participation in the academy depends on performing their expected roles, and managing the relationship with others (students, peers, and faculty) who often deploy racial tropes, adds an additional burden into the decision and negotiation process of how to emotionally respond. Further, these narratives indicate that regardless of the many ways BGTAs decide to manage and cope with the racial incidents and racial bias, they still have to manage their emotions and racialized assumptions while in these spaces. This reflects an additional layer of emotional work required of BGTAs who are expected to perform their teaching responsibilities and graduate student responsibilities while managing their and other emotions in ways that do not incite conflict (Evans, 2013 and Wingfield, 2013).

Chapter 6: Findings 3: Social Justice Teaching While Black Requires Additional Racialized Emotional Labor

When teaching courses that have content rooted in the Black experience and oppression, many BGTAs described the particular difficulties of managing their negative felt emotions in their dual roles of being graduate students and instructors while managing the emotional injuries experienced by suppressing in the previous section. Those examples represented instances of not being able to display their authentic emotions, which led to inauthentic expressions of emotions. Despite those experiences, many of these BGTAs also reported pushing back against emotion display rules and showed more of their authentic selves by expressing their genuine felt emotions (including negative felt emotions) to others.

In this findings chapter, I will first examine the various ways in which BGTAs engage in additional racialized emotion work due to their positionality (racial identity) and when teaching race related content. Then, I will examine how their narratives demonstrated the importance of counterstorytelling and counterspaces of authenticity for BGTAs which appeared to afford a practice of self-care and resistance by challenging racism and emotion rules. These spaces also appear to be a counter space to recover depleted resources from racialized emotional work by releasing what has been suppressed.

Social Justice Teaching While Black Requires Additional Racialized Emotional Labor

The classroom is an emotional space where instructors' characteristics and perceived racial stigmas shape their affective experiences in the learning environment as they negotiate identity, roles, expectations, emotions, and power dynamics through interactions with others. This directly relates to research that reveals Black instructors have to manage racial stigmas in

the class (Harlow, 2003; Pittman, 2010 Quaye et al., 2020). BGTAs dual roles as instructors involve managing feeling and emotional expression rules within white institutions and this negotiation requires even more emotion work when course content is connected to race and racism. Teaching multicultural and social justice content relates to the personal and lived experiences of power, privilege, and oppression among both instructors and students. Specifically, when class discussions and lecture relate to race and racism, instructors of color may experience students' reactions ranging from "polite indifference to open hostility from students (Chesler & Young, 2007; Samuel & Wane, 2005; Turner, 2002), resulting in feeling fatigued by their classroom interactions (as cited by Smith, Kashubeck-West, Payton, & Adams p. 652). These reactions and responses are expressions of perceived threat and dissonance from individuals with privilege who are experiencing racial discomfort (Grehame, 2004) and /or white fragility (Diangelo, 2014). Thus, instructors of color must not only engage in racialized emotional labor inherent when teaching in general, but that labor is exacerbated when teaching content related to race and other forms of oppression. The following narratives in this section highlight the additional emotional burden for BGTAs to negotiate when course content is connected to race/identity.

Anthony describes experiencing positive and negative emotions when teaching a class that centers the Black experience, but also requires engaging in a lot of racialized emotion work due to his positionality as we have seen in previous findings chapters), but the burden is compounded when his identity is closely tied to the course content he is expected to teach.

....some days this class is exciting to teach, a class with Black in the title with it because... it's closely tied to my identity and I feel the lecture are exploring various

aspects of my life and I can relate to material and I can also I feel a close connection to materials, BUT on flipside its struggle, you are constantly reminded of how violent the history, the violence surrounding Black history in the United states is. It's exciting, but it takes a lot of emotional investment because material on a given day can trigger experiences, I may have had throughout my life are constant reminders of the systemic oppression experienced.

BGTAs described the additional emotional work that is involved in negotiating the course material which is tied to aspects of their own identity and lived experiences with race and racism. While Anthony notes his appreciation for having a course that centers Blackness, he also recognizes the “struggle” or the amount of effort required of him and the weight of experiencing the topics discussed in the class, but also the struggle of having to teach those topics while managing how he is being constructed in the course. This reveals how he must negotiate not just teaching but also, he is negotiating his identity through all of this emotion work in front of students and off stage all within a white institution that constructs people of color in racialized assumptive ways. In this case, having to teach a course as a BGTA requires a lot of emotional labor, and the emotional investment is compounded when the course content being taught is linked to BGTAs positionality and the identities of students.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Janine who was also teaching a course with content rooted in systems of power and closely tied to her identity and the identity of others in the classroom.

I think, because of what I teach, I think it's harder for me. If I taught math or science, I feel like it would be a little bit easier because I get push back because of what I'm saying, right? First week, second week we talk about All Lives Matter and Black Lives Matter, right? So, it's like-versus if I go to geometry and they're like, "This is what an isosceles triangle is." I'd just be like, "Cool, that's an isosceles triangle." It's not going to shake my whole world. The way that I get them to think about these topics makes them feel like their whole identity is being crushed and picked on because they bought into mainstream culture."

This example illustrates Janine's awareness that when she is teaching content that centers Blackness, "it's harder for" her than if she taught a "math or science" course. She explains that this is because of the feelings aroused in her students, Teaching course content that focuses on situated social identities, such as Blackness, in relation to other systems of power and oppression, connects students to their own social identities and experiences with privilege and marginalization. These courses can make the abstract more real and relevant. The course content becomes connected to their identities, and some students may feel like their identity is "being crushed and picked on" due to a dominant white racial frame which perpetuates "mainstream culture...."

Janine's narrative demonstrates the amount of emotional labor involved as a BGTA, having to manage the emotions that arise for students due to the content as well as her own emotions due to the content being connected with her experiences. As discussed in previous chapters, BGTAs reported that they must negotiate performing their teaching responsibility while

managing and suppressing their emotions, in order to prioritize the emotions of white students in the learning environment and in order to avoid conflict and white fragility.

Participants' audio diaries provide an immediate narration of the emotional labor engendered by BGTAs as they negotiate their roles as Black graduate educators. Mariah's audio diary reflection demonstrates the exhaustion of balancing her own emotions and the heightened pressure to perform her role as an instructor in delivering content to a white student audience:

This week we were talking about [social identity] and medicalized bodies, which was interesting, because most of my classes, most of my sections are all white. And I worry about their understanding of how race works. And I thought this week was particularly important to talk to make sure that they understood how bodies of different races are medicalized differently. And so, I felt more pressure this week to deliver the concepts that we wanted them to learn. But also, I felt relieved when it was over. I always feel relieved with my teaching, when my teacher sections are over. Like, I survived another day. I think this. It's, it's we're already in week seven. And so not only am I tired, but the students are also tired, and you can feel that. So yeah, this week it just. I was just mostly worried about like. There's this thing that the professor does whereas a teacher you're supposed to like, lead them to certain concepts and ask certain questions to get them thinking critically on their own. And I wanted to skip that shit this week on to just straight up tell them. *This is what it looks like when bodies are racialized differently*, but it just felt like the stakes were too high. It's week seven.

Mariah's diary entry highlights how much emotion work is involved when teaching courses related to people's social identities and larger systems of power, "gender and medicalized bodies" as well as the challenge in "leading" white students to understand the concepts and "get them to think crucially on their own." It was challenging, in part, because Mariah wanted to just express herself in a way that deviates from the feeling rules and emotional display rules expected of a teacher in a higher education classroom. Scholarship has noted that neutral teaching and learning can support student learning in higher education classrooms (Gates, 2000), however, this suggests emotion suppression of the teacher. Ongoing engagement of emotional labor and the suppression of one's emotions can cause burnout and/or racial battle fatigue, feeling like one is constantly in a racial battle/conflict. We see in Mariah's explanation of feeling "relieved" every time she is done teaching and that she has "survived another day" the additional burden that BGTAs of color experience when teaching content that is connected to social identities and systems of power.

Derreck's account also emphasized the amount of emotional investment, "stress" and emotional "pain" required as a BGTA teaching a course in which the content is intimately tied to his experiences with oppression and marginalization:

You have to monitor so much then the class is about us, and it's taught by us...To teach a class about us was kind of painstaking. Teaching a class about us or about Black people, Blackness, and the struggles that come along with that is a lot of introspection that goes on. I got to think about who I am, what makes sense to me, and what will make sense to this group that probably doesn't think about these things but four or five times a year when MLK Day pops up, or Black History Month gets mentioned. Yeah, teaching a class

about us is kind of stressful in the sense that there's a lot of introspection, but also very rewarding when I see the light bulbs go off.

This example illustrates the excessive emotion work that is involved and required of BGTAs when they are teaching a class about “us or about Black people” and the high level of reflection and cognitive energy involved behind the teaching scenes that are is a lot of reflection and emotion work that is involved behind the scenes of teaching that are tied to one’s racialized identity. Derreck went on to mention that once the class was over, he felt like a

Massive weight is kind of off my shoulders, because my connection to the material is so intimate and my positionality is just on the line. So now that classes are over I feel calm.

Like Mariah’s feeling of relief when done teaching the class, Derreck's experience with the weight and fatigue while teaching, illustrates the continuous emotions involved in teaching a course which is tiring for BGTAs.

Anthony describes experiencing feelings with anxiety every time before he lectures due to his positionality and hypervisibility due to having to perform his role as a teacher but also considering how he is being constructed/inscribed while performing as a Black male BGTA.

“Before every lecture I am always anxious. Um you know. There is a little bit of anxiety because you really, Part of the lecture I'm talking about is scripting you know and prescribing inscribing certain racialized identities or certain identities onto other bodies.

So when I am in front of the classroom. I am also conscious of how I'm being read as Black male talking about Black cultural studies in a classroom of white students and other students of color. In some ways you feel you are also performing but at the same time the scripting or inscribing is happening as you are lecturing.

This example reveals the feelings of anxiety experienced on a continuous basis due to his positionality and his personal connection to the course content. This requires a lot of emotional labor before, during and post the classroom experience, as he must contend with negotiating how he is being constructed and “being read as a Black male” teaching/talking to an audience of white students. There is an element of performing when teaching as you are required to keep an audience (students) engaged, managing their emotions and one's own emotions, while performing your role as a teacher, but also as a Black man. This constant negotiation of identities and roles can evoke a lot of emotions for people of color in white institutions which feel rules that center white feelings.

Teaching is an emotional practice that requires instructors to manage and oftentimes suppress their own emotions, and manage the emotions and reactions of students, specifically non-Black students of color and white students' racial discomfort. These reactions and responses are expressions of perceived threat and dissonance from individuals with privilege who are experiencing racial discomfort (Grehame, 2004) and /or white fragility (Diangelo, 2014).

Not only do BGTAs have to negotiate their identities and while teaching, they also must negotiate students' racial stigmas and racial discomfort when course content represents personal experiences with power and privilege for both students and instructors. This constant negotiation requires an excessive amount of racialized emotion work and coping before, during, and after a

racial incident. Their coping strategies do not rid BGTAs of the everyday racial incidents and subtle forms of discrimination. However, they engage in emotion expression strategies that allow for some comfort and resolution when emotions evoked from racism cause emotional harm. The following section will demonstrate the ways in which BGTAs engaged in strategies that appeared to have offered an outlet to deal with the fatigue, exhaustion, and everyday racism. These strategies afforded opportunities to express genuine emotions either in class or in other spaces where they are supported, validated, and can be more of their authentic selves.

CounterSpaces and Climate of Authenticity: Expressing Genuine Felt Emotions While Black

The everyday experiences with racism, sexism and other forms of oppression for people of color requires engaging in copious amounts of cognitive and racialized emotion work due to their social identities. This is exhausting as it requires constant negotiation of self and racial stigmas. BGTAs have to continuously reflect and strategically whether to not respond and suppress their emotions or respond and demonstrate genuine felt emotions. However, responding runs the risk of being perceived by their students, peers, and professors as “too sensitive” (Yosso et al., 2009, p. 661) or problematic (Evans & Moore, 2015), which has consequences in relationships, collaborative academic work, and intellectual response (Charleston, Adserias, Lang & Jackson, 2014 as cited by Ong, Smith, & Ko, 2017) p. 2010).

BGTAs in white institutions have to contend and negotiate additional layers of stress in addition to the intrinsic challenges of succeeding in graduate education. The following BGTA narratives demonstrate the ways in which they engaged in *counterstorytelling* (Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Yosso, 2006) and challenging/responding to racism by sharing their genuine felt emotions in response to racial incidents in both social and academic counter spaces where

they felt safe to vent, be their authentic selves, and felt that their experiences were validated and viewed as critical knowledge (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998).

Scholars have noted that racism is a significant stressor for many people of color (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999). Recall in the previous chapter that Mariah described her experience with racism, sexism, and being gaslit across different institutions and the realization of the accumulating emotional toll on her body. She had not realized the amount of emotional injuries she was still carrying until she started crying about it during our interview. This represented the impact of racial battle fatigue. Also, she bravely described this experience openly and expressed genuine emotions and pain by crying in the space with me.

Her genuine expression of the emotional tax she had accumulated is an act of resistance that challenges emotional feeling rules established by a white racial frame that requires racialized emotional labor of people (i.e. suppression). This practice of expressing genuine emotions due to racism challenges colorblind racism which aligns with CRT scholarship that asserts the importance of marginalized people to express their experiences and participate in counterstorytelling (Yosso, 2006).

Despite the level of frustration with oppression she recounted and had not expressed before, the interview appears to have been a *counterspace* for her to vent and “to talk about it” and receive validation. She shared “All these emotions” and openly discussed her experiences with racism while negotiating her multiple roles as a BGTA. This was a *counterspace* for her to participate in counterstorytelling, reflect and process some of her emotions at a deeper level which appears to have to have been a catalyst for realizing that those experiences influenced the difficulty she has been feeling while in graduate school, but also highlights how it has made her become “disillusioned” with graduate school.

The interview also appears to have possibly afforded a space of authenticity for Mariah. She refers to the physical toll of racialized emotion work by referencing how she has been “carrying it and it has been in her body. Her experience reveals that excessive and painful experiences related to racism she has experienced by shedding tears, appears to have offered a release of the accumulated stress and emotional injury of racism. She released some of her emotions in the interview space which perhaps may have also been perceived as a climate of authenticity. This type of an authentic space refers to a counter space that one feels valued and encouraged expressing felt emotions, especially negative ones (Grandey, Foo, Groth, & Goodwin, 2012). Research shows that an environment of authenticity affords the “opportunity to recover depleted resources from the self-regulation of emotional labor (Grandey et al., 2012, p 3). In other words, employees who are required to suppress their felt emotions to align with workplace feeling norms experience more “depletion and perform worse on self-regulatory tasks compared to people who have been informed that they can be their authentic selves (Baumeister, Vohs, & Tice, 2007; Goldberg & Grandet, 2007).

Mariah’s expression of emotions by crying appears to also be a practice of resistance against a dominant white world/institution that requires people of color to abide by certain feeling rules (suppress) that are coded by a white racial frame and a race neutrality notion that “racism doesn’t exist.” This notion subsequently dictates emotional rules and emotion display rules for people of color that undermine their experiences with oppression and results in suppression. Within a white racial frame, the emotions of people of color are deemed suspicious and racism is a thing of the past. Thus, people of color who mention that they have experienced race and racism are constructed as deviant and overly emotional. Their emotional responses are also constructed as suspicious. Despite those emotional feeling rules, Mariah centered her lived

experiences with oppression during the interview by expressing authentic negative felt emotions. This practice of centering aligns with CRT's focus on counterstorytelling which emphasizes the significance of Black Feminist "self-definitions" as a practice of challenging stigmas and stereotyped assumptions others may inscribe onto them (Collins, 2000, p. 113; Collins & Blige 2016).

Mariah later mentioned that after the interview that she was going to continue this conversation with her therapist because it was something that needed more work/processing. This highlights the amount of emotional labor, which is a coping strategy that she must engage in as a person of color, which can manifest as exhaustion and frustration and to some degree influence her sense of what graduate education is.

Considering the ways in which BGTAs show up as their authentic selves and display genuine felt emotions, the following example from Anthony reveal how he challenged and coped with racism in this class by showing up as his authentic self (expressing genuine feelings in response to racial incident) in front of a group of people, his students. Anthony reveals that despite having to engage in multiple forms of emotional work, he has been able to resist subtle forms of racism/discrimination and display genuine felt emotions. During our conversation he describes a moment in which white students were perpetuating a microaggression that communicated the minimization of both Black experiences with oppression and the course content, (because course content is connected to Black identity) and how he pushed back and showed up as his authentic self.

Something that is annoying [in his course], I have some students that sit in the back, this is a group of white male athletes, and they do a good job, but a couple of them are always on their laptops, they are smiling and laughing. And you know when I'm talking about enslavement

of Blacks [in the course] and I can see that obviously whatever it is they [the students] are looking at isn't related to what the class discussion is about because there is nothing funny talking about enslaved Blacks. I think that has been one of the big issues for me, those of the moments of laughter or someone in the back being on the laptop and not being engaged in the discussion. I addressed that in the class. I addressed that um last week by going over classroom norms and just calling it out in front, just calling it out letting them know how much of an emotional investment that I put into the course and how much this course means to particularly Black students. When people are not present and people are not mindful of these very complex modes of Blackness, they are leaving early or they are laughing or doing all these other things, just taking into consideration how powerful that is impacting students trying to explore these issues especially for the Black students [in his course]. So, I had to set the tone for that to let them know it is not ok.

In this narrative, we learn about the racial microaggressions enacted in class by white male students by the subtle, yet harmful gesture of “laughing” and not paying attention to the course content and classroom discussion regarding the enslavement of Black bodies, illustrates a racial microaggressions, and act of racism that devalues the experiences of people of color, Black individuals. Anthony noted that the white students’ behaviors were bothersome because it was disrespectful to him as an instructor and a Black man and to the other Black students in the room. Anthony also points out the amount of “emotional investment” he is required to engage in as a Black man, teaching about Black studies and culture to a predominantly white audience. Then, this emotional work is compounded with having to directly experience a racial microaggression and then respond.

As Anthony described he decided he had to, “set the tone for that to let them know it is not ok.” Revisiting the community norms and being transparent in what occurred and why it was problematic/disrespectful by letting them know “it is not ok” is a practice of resistance. This practice of resistance appears to have helped create a public counterspace where he could also vent and challenge racism publicly. This resistance is illustrated by Anthony calling attention to the problematic racial microaggression. It is important to note the additional and invisible emotional labor and energy that is invested when a Black person centers their experiences/emotions in a white space that often requires people of color to suppress their genuine felt emotions. In this case, Anthony was not protecting the feelings of white students, but actively counterstorytelling while creating a counterspace by centering his and other Black students’ emotions and experiences of feeling disrespected.

When I asked if he could bring his full self and express his emotions in that moment, he said that he felt that he did to some degree.

“I believe I brought enough that was me speaking from a personal standpoint but also being professional, but definitely making sure they understood it was how I also felt. Black students afterwards said thank you. I appreciate that. I don't ever get that. Don't get Black professor who have my back like that. Black students were appreciative and some of the white students too.

Anthony’s example reveals that he felt he could bring “enough” of himself speaking from his positionality and “standpoint” while also “being professional” but making sure the classroom understood the negative impact. Although unable to express himself fully in many other

situations as noted in previous chapters, this instance was one in which he showed up authentically centered his feelings publicly which requires a significant amount of emotion management, but that resulted in validation and appreciation from both students of color and white students in which he said their responses/feedback “made him feel great!”

The validation he experienced after challenging racism in the classroom, aligns with scholarship that posits counterspaces and climates of authenticity are spaces in which people can be authentic, express themselves in ways that counter dominant narratives, and experience a release of emotions and/or reprieve. This also demonstrates the power of being able to show up and express one genuine felt emotions, including the negative felt emotions, and call people in and create a learning opportunity for everyone (modeling how to call people in). It appears that this may have provided some reprieve afterwards, however it required a lot of emotional investment and cognitive effort to engage in this type of emotion work in front of many.

Two of the BGTA participants' experiences highlighted the significance of this project as it allowed them to express genuine emotions that had been suppressed and also afforded a space to be reflective about their positionality teaching as a BGTA at a predominantly white institution. Derreck said:

I would have gone into teaching this class probably more scared and not as reflective if it weren't for your survey and your study. I just felt like I need to really think about this because like I said, I never put myself out there this much. I'm like, "What does it mean to be a Black guy teaching about slavery to a bunch of white kids at [Name University] of all places. Thanks to your dissertation work and the project you brought me on to I feel more comfortable in my skin up here than I ever have if that makes any sense. Thanks to

your dissertation work and the project you brought me on to I feel more comfortable in my skin up here than I ever have if that makes any sense...

To feel comfortable in one's own skin, suggests the significance of being vulnerable and able to show up as your authentic self, rather than suppressing aspects of oneself. Also, having the space to reflect about one's identity, "what does it mean to be a Black guy teaching about slavery to a bunch of white kids." and the amount of emotion work and negotiation involved appears to offer a reprieve. Derreck also describes how he felt more "comfortable in my skin" while teaching, which is a stark contrast from the many situations he and other BGTAs have experienced where they experienced a lot of negative emotions and had to suppress them in order to prioritize white feelings to avoid being constructed as a threat.

Recall earlier in this section that Mariah had bravely shared your experience with racism while expressing her genuine pain, she was able to share more of her authentic self in the space. The project/space perhaps have offered a reprieve from the accumulation of racism and suppressed emotions/expressions by crying and releasing that tension and talking about it. Also, the act of sharing genuine deep felt negative emotions, is a form of resistance and pushing back against a colorblind ideology in white institutions that perpetuate the notion of race neutrality and racism no longer exists. Mariah then described her appreciation for this dissertation work

It means so much for us to be here, and to be doing research about ... Like your research about emotional labor as a grad student, as a Black grad student. That shit matters, and it's impactful, and I think those are one of the many ways that we can push back, ...

BGTA narratives illustrate how having a counterspace, including a dissertation project, for them to vent their difficult experiences negotiating racialized emotional labor is a practice of resistance and resistance. These counterspaces of authenticity can afford a space for Black participants to also resist dominant white norms by safely expressing their genuine emotions and emotional injuries, which is a form of vulnerability. This vulnerability also provides a space of agency where BGTAs decided to be more visible and center their experiences.

Given the ongoing emotion work experienced as a BGTA, before, during, and after a racial incident occurs, and the management of social identities and stereotypes as well managing one's emotions, BGTAs were able to find moments in which they could express genuine emotions, be more of their authentic selves whether in front the classroom, to a peer, or during the interview. All which also requires investment of energy in being reflective and vulnerable. This suggests the importance of having counterspaces, and spaces/climate of authenticity in which a BGTA feels safe to be more of their authentic selves, vent about frustrations with oppression, challenge oppression, and experience validation and that their experiences are critical knowledge. Having counter spaces of authenticity where BGTAs do not have to worry about whether or not they are going to be constructed as overly emotional or a danger, can reduce the emotional tax of navigating the white waters of academia. These can be spaces of empowerment that also challenge the status quo.

BGTAs That Did Not Experience Racialized Emotional Labor

This study included 8 BGTAs from different disciplines, teaching at the same predominantly institution of higher education, however, 5 out of the 8 BGTAs reported having experienced hypervisibility due to their positionality, racial stereotypes, and discrimination in their role as educators and teachers. And such, these 5 BGTAs described the copious amount of emotion work required as they contended with hypervisibility, processing and making decisions of whether or not to respond and how to respond to racial incidents in light of being negatively constructed as an overly emotional and angry Black person. Their narratives indicate a possible high level of awareness of stigma consciousness, which is characterized by the “expectation that one will be stereotyped, irrespective of one's actual behaviors” (Pinnel, 1999, p 115). People with high levels of stigma consciousness don't assume the racialized stereotypes about their group are true. However, this awareness, and anticipation of how one is being constructed in racialized ways--which many suggested was a survival strategy to cope and navigate racism in white institutions, requires a lot of emotional labor.

Unlike the five BGTAs who described experiences with racialized emotional pain and exhaustion, there were three BGTAs who did not describe having experienced saliency of race, hypervisibility, prejudice, stereotypes, or discrimination in their roles as both graduate students and teachers. These three also did not express experiences of dealing with racialized emotional labor and managing their emotions to align with white dominant emotion rules. Recall that racialized emotional labor relates to managing or suppressing one's emotions due to experiencing race saliency, hypervisibility, bias, and discrimination. Although the three participants did not describe having experienced racialized emotional labor, recall from findings 1 that they did describe emotional work, performing and managing emotions required of the

teaching position/occupation. Scholarship has revealed that targets of stereotypes do not experience their stereotypes status in similar fashion, and that there is within group variability needs to be taking into account, “whether the variability stems from individual or situation induced differences”, (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Crocker, 1999; Crocker & Quinn, 1998; Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998; Mendoza-Denton, Downie, Davis, Purdie, & Pietrzak, 2002; Schmader, Major, Eccleston, & McCoy, 2001; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Pinel, 1999; Sechrist, Swim, & Stangor, 2002; Swim & Mallett, 2002, as cited by Pinel 2004, p. 39). Considering this approach, stigma consciousness has been identified as one factor/origin of variability that shapes how targets experience their “stereotyped status” (Pinel 2004, p. 39).

One possible explanation for these three male BGTAs not describing experiences with discrimination and stereotypes is that although they were aware of negative racial stereotypes about Black individuals, they did not believe their stereotypes status as a BGTAs at a HWI pervaded their interactions with non-Black individuals. In other words, they may have had lower levels of stigma consciousness, which” refers to o individual differences (either dispositional or situationally induced) in the extent to which targets believe that their stereotyped status pervades their interactions with members of the outgroup.”(Pinel, 2004, p. 39).

Stigma consciousness does not refer to awareness of one stereotyped status, but instead is characterized by one’s focus on one’s stereotyped status. In other words, it represents a form of self-awareness regarding how much they pay focus on that (Pinel, 2004). The three male BGTAs could have had lower stigma consciousness, because research findings point out that individuals with lower stigma consciousness recall less concrete experience with discrimination as opposed to people high in stigma consciousness (Pinel, 1999). Although the 3 male BGTAs who did not

report experiencing prejudice, and discrimination, made effort to focus on it less and may have had lower levels of stigma conscious and. However, this does not rule out the possibility that they may have experienced prejudice and discrimination but decided not to discuss it.

Another possible reason, for why three males identified BGTAs from different disciplines (humanities, social science, and STEM), may not have expressed experiences with navigating emotions in the work place, nor hypervisibility, discrimination, emotional labor due to their positionality is due to socially constructed gender norms. These norms are learned through socialization and interactions in society. That being said, masculinity perpetuates a “restrictive emotionality” (Levant, 1995) where people who identify as masculine are taught that they do not experience sadness and must suppress their emotions (Lakoff, 2003, p 163). It socializes individuals to avoid expressing emotions and vulnerability.

Thus, it is possible that the three male BGTAs may have experienced types of emotion work and negative felt emotions when teaching but decided not to express or report that in the survey, interviews, or audio diaries data. It is possible that they also may have felt uncomfortable sharing that information and perhaps even focusing on emotions or racial stigmas. Another possible interpretation is that two of the male BGTAs, Elijah and Joshua were born in a different country, but raised in the U.S. during high school chose to distance themselves from American Black people as a coping mechanism. Further, my positionality as a cis-gender woman of color, may have also shaped their level of comfort in sharing personal information about their emotions with me due to gendered feeling rules.

Several of the BGTAs described multiple experiences that represented a painful reality teaching in predominantly white space that involved engaging in a lot of emotional work and management. When teaching courses that are inextricably tied to BGTAs’ and students’

identities, the emotional investment is heightened and requires copious amounts of emotional labor in order to create a counter narrative in their working and learning environments.

Social identity cannot be removed from teaching experiences and thus amplifies the amount of emotion work and negotiation of identities required. The ongoing emotion work involved while teaching as a BGTA, can result in an accumulation of suppressed emotions and stress/fatigue when BGTAs are required to perform their teaching and positionality in ways that privilege the emotions of their students, and specifically white students, over their own emotions due to a white dominant framework. Suppressing one's emotions can reduce feelings of authenticity which could lead to more stress and possible burnout.

Despite the many instances of suppressing negative felt feelings, BGTAs experienced positive emotions and found ways to authentically express their genuine emotions to others. Their authentic displays of emotions counter the dominant white paradigm/colorblind ideology of race neutrality and are modes of resistance. These approaches of genuine emotional expression were ways of showing up as their authentic self, but also required emotional work because it's resisting the dominant white paradigm of people of color being constructed as overly emotional. Showing up as their authentic selves, and expressing genuine felt emotions, was a form of resistance to racist institutional structures of higher education in that the dominant ideology frame has constructed people of color as overly emotional and a threat to any actual emotional response to racist organizational dynamics. And yet, showing up as your authentic self and centering your emotions associated with painful reality of racism requires a lot of emotional and cognitive work, deciding if/when you should respond/express emotions and then deciding to what extent you will respond/express emotions, then the act of that behavior also involves emotion work and despite the arduous experiences with racism, BGTAs express genuine felt

emotions. This all shows the burden of BGTAs having to choose between participating in their own marginalization within white systems or resisting and expressing genuine felt emotions in response to racism, which requires a burden of labor for people of color.

Summary

The white racial frame/white ideologies of emotions have constructed racialized assumptions/stereotypes about Black folk in viewing their emotional characteristics as problematic, overly emotional and rooted in white fear and white anxiety. Once a group is racialized as “dangerous” its members are perceived with fear and seen as having to need supervision. The previous findings chapters demonstrated the ways in which BGTAs experienced and navigated multiple roles and feeling rules/expectations as both graduate students and TAs/instructors of color in white institutional spaces. This multi-dimensional process consisted of the ways in which some BGTAs experienced the burden of hypervisibility inside and outside the classroom, how teaching is a performative practice requiring various amounts of racialized and gendered emotional labor while managing problematic racialized stereotypes. This process also included an examination of how BGTAs in white institutions negotiate/contended with racialized assumptions/stereotypes about their “inappropriate” emotions and how they contended with managing their own emotions and display of emotions in response to racial incidents, before, during, and after they have occurred while also having to anticipate white emotions/reactions to any of the emotions they express. Along similar lines, we also examined the range of strategic decisions made to manage their emotional responses and reactions to racial microaggressions in everyday racial encounters (ex. suppression, avoidance, ignore, confront, lean in, vent to someone, etc.). These productive, but laborious strategies utilized by BGTAs demonstrate the amount of cognitive effort/calculations involved not just after a racial incident

occurs, but before and even after a BGTAs has responded to the incident and must assess and process their response (also before even making the choice to respond).

Lastly, the last section of results revealed the ways in which BGTAs resist and push back against white ideologies via responding and expressing their genuine felt emotions in response to racism and show up as their authentic selves. And yet, this does not lessen the pain of racism, but it reveals resistance and coping by engaging in emotional labor. People of color are constantly “on” and anticipating the possibility of being constructed in negative racialized ways, discriminated, hypervisibilized, or challenged due to their positionality.

This type of emotion work is not equal and remains visible, while it is occurring in plain sight, and it is unrecognized in the learning and working environments. However, this remains a significant aspect of the type of emotional labor performed by Black graduate students who are also teachers in white institutions of higher education. Considering the larger context in which this emotional labor is occurring, BGTAs are managing their own emotions, the emotions of their students, social identity negotiation, in order to survive and thrive in their roles as both educators and graduate students in white institutional spaces.

Chapter 7: Discussion

In this multiple case study, I sought to make visible the often-invisible racialized emotional labor required of Black academics, BGTAs, at a HWI. CRT scholars posit that within the U.S. race is a significant factor shaping educational inequities (Ladson Billings & Tate, 1995) and perpetuating racism. I used CRT as both a framework where I centralized BGTAs' experiences with race and racism and as a methodology where I examined the racialized emotional labor experiences of BGTAs. Theorizing emotional labor from a CRT lens afforded the possibility of engaging in interdisciplinary analysis to center and amplify the racialized experiences of BGTAs. It also provided a better explanation of structural and systemic forms of racism that shape daily racialized interactions and emotions in white spaces. As a result, this allowed for the theoretical expansion of emotional labor to include racialized emotional labor and the centering. I also aimed to understand how BGTAs negotiate, challenge and/or resist racialized emotional feeling and emotional display rules in their dual roles as graduate students and instructors. I utilized the concepts grounded in Critical Race Theory, white racial frame, Hypervisibility and Emotional Labor to analyze how BGTAs experience and negotiate being over-noticed and surveilled due to their racial identities and racial stigmas which construct people of color as problematic and deviant.

White institutions such as the university, are founded on a history of exclusion that has led to racially complex, nuanced, and emotionally injurious environments that people of color must navigate and negotiate to participate and access the resources and benefits those institutions like the university afford. Within the university, Black individuals are underrepresented in student, instructor, and faculty roles. These positions are disproportionately occupied by white individuals (cite), perpetuating the assumption in white spaces that these positions are primarily

for whites. Thus, white institutional spaces perpetuate a white racial frame that racially constructs whites as the norm and superior and racially constructs non-whites as inferior, dubious, and deviant (Feagin, 2010; 2013). This white racial ideology is embedded in white institutions and renders the racialized experiences of people of color as unimportant and false.

In universities, the graduate student experience is meant to prepare graduate students for future professional careers and roles. For doctoral students, the graduate student experience aims to socialize and prepare them for the professoriate. However, many will be employed outside the university instead of becoming faculty (Austin, 2002). Graduate student instructors/GTAs are one of the many front-line workers in the academy dedicated to supporting much of the learning of undergraduate students and the knowledge production system of the academy. In their unique position as both student and instructor, GTAs are constantly transitioning between the varied expectations inherent in these roles which can require emotional labor. However, Black GTAs (BGTAs) are negotiating these expectations inherent in their dual roles while also negotiating racial stigmas and their racialized identities. For instance, a Black identity encapsulates a history of lived experiences with racism (Jones, et al., 2018). These racialized experiences may also occur in institutions of higher education as they mirror the social relation and power dynamics that occur in larger society. Situated within a white institutional context that perpetuates white privilege and marginalization of people of color, BGTAs are required to engage in additional emotional labor beyond that required of white GTAs.

Other racialized assumptions that BGTAs in the university must navigate is the assumption about university instructors. This position is assumed to require extensive amount of training, intellect, and experience required of doctoral students and instructors/faculty. Yet, due to a white racial frame that constructs people of color as problematic (Settles, Buchanan, Dotson,

2018) and less intelligent than whites (Feagin, 2020) the role of an instructor is assumed to be held by whites. These negative racial assumptions about “others” coupled with the low numerical representation of Black instructors and Black graduate students, can increase the likelihood of being scrutinized, judged, and excluded by the dominant group (Wilkins-Yel, Hyman, & Zounlome, 2019). In other words, the othering that occurs under the white gaze, is used to spotlight people of color, by making them hypervisible is an attempt to normalize whiteness (Lander & Santoro, 2017). Such normalization makes “non-white bodies feel uncomfortable, exposed, visible, different” (Ahmed 2007, p. 157) when they occupy spaces in which they are constructed as the 'Other' (Matias & Zembylas 2014; Edgeworth 2015).

Race becomes an attribute that people consider when constructing opinions about groups and individuals. Black instructors often find themselves managing and negotiating racial stigmas the classroom (Harlow, 2003). A racial stigma refers to when one is perceived negatively due to negative assumptions attributed to one’s racial identity. It also refers to negative racial perceptions attributed to people of color (i.e., Black individuals) (Lenhardt, 2004; Loury, 2003).

This awareness of racial stigmas can be difficult to keep out of focus and coupled with problematic racialized interactions can evoke feelings of anxiety, fear, fatigue, frustration, and stress for people of color. These negative feelings are often suppressed to conform to white racially framed emotional display rules. In addition to the emotional labor required to manage these feelings, people of color (BGTAs) carry the burdensome weight of engaging and negotiating racial stigmas, racial bias/microaggressions, hypervisibility, and emotion rules, whether or not they are present and regardless of if or how they carefully respond. This labor is not equally distributed to their white colleagues. BGTAs narratives demonstrate how they as Black academics experience and negotiate their visibility in white context by consistently

reflecting, processing, considering, and making choices about which emotions and behaviors should be performed and on display and which should be suppressed (Clair, Beatty, MacLean, 2005). This strategic negotiation and decision making requires emotional labor for BGTAs in white institutions.

By strategic negotiation I am referring to the continuous emotional and cognitive processing of racial microaggressions, racial incidents, racial stigmatizations (how one as Black person is being negatively constructed), coupled with the evaluation and decision-making regarding whether or not to respond and whether or not to display genuine felt emotions. This process of negotiation aims to mitigate conflict such as white fragility and tokenization despite the awareness that one may still be constructed as problematic due to a white gaze. It also seeks to diminish hypervisibility and conforming to racial stigmas. I draw upon Ralina Joseph's Critical Black Feminist Media scholarship on strategic ambiguity (2018), to inform my use of the term negotiation.

Strategic ambiguity refers to when a privileged minoritized person, such as a BGTAs who are working towards an advanced graduate degree at a university, resists, and challenges racism by using certain strategies that do not incite white fear and fragility. These decisions and strategies are not a "safe" choice, as they require a decision involving a response strategy that is intended to be a "necessary subtle resistance and risk." (Joseph, 2018, p.3). This form of ambiguous negotiation requires emotion work. However, I use the term negotiation as it pertains to the management and suppression of emotions and the decisions about how to respond to microaggressions. BGTA narratives demonstrated that their processes for reflection and decision making both required a significant amount of emotion management and racialized emotion work in white spaces. According to BGTA's narratives, BGTAs negotiations and decisions carried

across interactions and settings and were forms of self-care and self-preservation. BGTA narratives contribute to the complexity and additional racialized emotional labor required of people of color in PWI.

Hypervisibility

In this study, I argue that BGTAs experience and negotiate hypervisibility, which increases the amount of emotional labor required in their roles as instructors and graduate students. The underrepresentation of Black academics coupled with the white racial frame embedded within white institutions which constructs people of color as problematic and “other”, contributes to the hypervisibility experienced and the emotion work required of BGTAs. This social frame operates in shaping how individuals view, interpret, and behavior in the world and is guided by profound negative racial stigmas (stereotype), emotions and intense negative feelings and negative racial stigmas towards non-white “others”. For example, the frame is rooted in negative racial stigmas about people of color. It is specifically rooted in emotionally laden anti-Black stereotyping and imagery such as animalistic imagery, criminality, gendered racist images of Black women and men, and strong racial emotions (Feagin, 2020). Black individuals are constructed as violent, aggressive, criminals, lazy, oversexed, unintelligent. These negative racialized assumptions (i.e. racial stigmas) are attributed to Black individuals and further distinguish them different and deviating from the white racial framed norm. In this frame, Black individuals are othered. In other words, the othering and stigmatization that occurs under the white racially framed gaze, is used to spotlight people of color, by making them hypervisible to normalize whiteness (Lander & Santoro, 2017). Black instructors in historically white spaces find themselves faced with managing and negotiating racial stigmas in the classroom (2003).

This awareness of racial stigma can be difficult to keep out of focus and coupled with problematic racialized interactions can evoke feelings of anxiety, fear, fatigue, frustration, and stress for people of color.

Similarly, BGTAs' narratives demonstrated how they as Black individuals experienced and negotiated their heightened visibility in white contexts by consistently reflecting, processing, considering, and making choices about which emotions and behaviors should be performed and on display and which should be suppressed (Clair, Beatty, MacLean, 2005). This strategic negotiation and decision making requires considerable emotional labor for BGTAs in white institutions. Many BGTAs described being aware of the racialized emotional display rules expected of Black instructors. They also recognized that these rules meant avoiding displaying negative emotions because it could cause discomfort to non-Black students. Thus, a major contribution of this study is that BGTAs find the working and learning environments are not neutral spaces but are racialized in ways that position Black individuals and their emotional characteristics as problematic, inferior, and threatening.

BGTAs in this study described that significant emotional labor was required to manage feelings and experiences of hypervisibility. This extends the literature on hypervisibility and employee experiences in the workplace, which has focused on strategies used by marginalized group members to improve positive visibility of their group and alter perceptions (Bennett, Hennekam, Macarthur, Hope, & Goh, 2018; Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2018; Settles et al., 2018), without examining how hypervisibility requires racialized emotional labor to be used a tool to combat racial stigmas by people of color. Settles et al., (2018) demonstrated that faculty of color experienced hypervisibility and experiences with exclusion due to racial stigmas about Black individuals. These experiences for faculty of color indicated that it caused them emotional

distress. However, the research presented in this study extends their conclusions and indicates that the white racial frame perpetuates hypervisibility, and it informs feeling and emotion display rules that requires people of color to engage in emotional labor as a strategic tool to mitigate racial stigmas and interpersonal conflict. These findings also extend the literature on white racial frame and hypervisibility framework, which are both central to CRT and its tenants: center race and racism and challenging dominant (white) frameworks by centering marginalized voices and experiences to counter power and privilege. The study challenged dominant ideologies of colorblindness by analyzing how the white racial frame is embedded in white institutional spaces and dictates certain emotional display rules for people of color. The findings related to hypervisibility requiring additional racialized emotional labor contributed to the literature on emotional labor required of people of color (Evans & Moore, 2015; Acuff, 2018; Harrow, 2003; Smith, Alves, Weathersby, & Yo, 2020; Wingfield, 2010).

Hypervisibility Experienced and Requiring of Racialized Emotional Labor

BGTAs reported expending emotional and cognitive energy in their roles as graduate students and instructors trying to manage how others (students, peers, and faculty) experienced them negatively and constructed them in problematic racialized stereotypes, while being surveilled due to their racial identities. Racial stigmas that otherize BGTAs, coupled with being numerically underrepresented as Black graduate students and Black instructors/TAs contributes to experiencing hypervisibility. Hypervisibility is an identity-based stressor and an important factor that contributes to additional stress for individuals belonging to stigmatized groups (Meyer, 2007). Emotional labor was a tool used by BGTAs to manage and negotiate their overly visible identity and the racial stigmas associated with that identity. Recall Mariah's experience with hypervisibility which she attributed to race, racism, and tokenism, where she was over

noticed, scrutinized, and tokenized when she was not in attendance at a student welcome event, but she was also expected as a Black woman graduate student to be at the event and connect with students of color. Her heightened visibility, due to a white racial frame that constructs Black individuals as “others,” placed unequal responsibility on having to be the “token” person of color to do diversity work - such as welcoming the students of color at the department. This is directly related to when Black employees experience tokenization--” the practice of doing something (such as hiring a person who belongs to a minority group) only to prevent criticism and give the appearance that people are being treated fairly” (Merriam-Webster, 2021) --by their employer.

Hypervisibility is rooted in power (Lewis & Simpson, 2012), where dominant groups over notice, judge, and magnify any errors or mistakes thereby giving them increased significance (Wingfield & Wingfield, 2014). Experiencing hypervisibility creates an emotional response that has to be constrained via racialized emotion work. Some BGTAs in this study described the different racialized expectations placed onto the few Black individuals who are expected to “perform” inclusion work on behalf of the department. Other participants also acknowledged experiencing hypervisibility and tokenism and they attributed it to racial biases and stereotypes, which established stereotyped expectations BGTAs felt they had to follow. This created an additional layer of emotion and cognitive work related to being mistreated due to their identities. In this study, Janine described the difficulties of not being able to display her genuine emotions when discussing course content that focuses on the violence and injustice against Black Bodies in her role as a TA. Her narrative indicated her awareness of the gendered and racialized emotional display rules inscribed onto Black woman instructors which require them to not display genuine feelings of sadness nor frustration. It also demonstrated how Janine was strategically abiding by those racialized emotional display rules, even when talking about the

oppression of Black individuals. She followed these emotional display rules in order to avoid being constructed as a Black instructor who was not knowledgeable nor credible due to her racial identity. This is in line with research that suggests identity-based mistreatment contributes to additional anguish and stress because it challenges one's sense of self. One is required to engage in strategic decision making regarding whether or not one expresses or suppresses aspects of their identity (Meyer, 2007).

The stressors of hypervisibility require additional emotional labor for BGTAs where they are faced with internally calculating how to handle being constructed in racially negative ways while maintaining a sense of self. This hypervisibility can render people of color in a Catch 22; their performance as effective instructors and successful graduate students is difficult to achieve because their achievements are often ignored, downplayed or expected to fail. In this study, Derreck described experiences where he was unable to display his genuine emotions because he would be constructed as an angry or a threatening Black man. This is directly in line with scholarship that asserts that "The Black body is something that has long been feared, and as such, white people have perpetuated their racist beliefs that Black bodies are threatening and aggressive and that Blackness is inferior (Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa, 2016, as cited in Quayle et al., 2020, p. 610).

Derreck also described that even making a joke could be interpreted as aggressive and scary and have negative consequences. This demonstrates how hypervisibility can render people of color in a Catch-22 where regardless of what they do or say they will be constructed in a negative racial frame.

Furthermore, failure is magnified due to increased surveillance and BGTAs' hypervisibility as people of color. For instance, Anthony described racialized departmental

norms and stereotyped expectations for the role of a Black instructor and a white instructor. He also explained how he must work harder as BGTA than a white individual, to maintain professionalism, meet instructor expectations that support student learning and avoid mistakes. His narrative also demonstrated his awareness of racial stigmas projected onto Black individuals which have constructed Black instructors as incompetent and less successful than white instructors. Due to racial stigmas stemming from a white racial frame, any mistakes he might make as a BGTA would not be afforded the same grace as a white instructor. Stereotyped expectations about the BGTAs' ability to meet and or deviate from "professional" expectations places an extra burden on BGTAs. This directly relates to assertions made by scholars that when hypervisibility is experienced by people of color, they may experience stressors (Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson 2017, cite one more) and experience a sense of vulnerability (Lander & Santoro, 2016). BGTAs experiences and concern with hypervisibility and tokenization indeed resulted in vulnerability, insecurity, and precariousness within white spaces. These feelings originated from their positioning as "other," and is in line with scholarship that asserts how marginalized bodies - such as the Black body - have been constructed as "space invaders, outsiders, others" (Lander & Santoro, 2016, Puwar, 2004).

This study also extends the literature on hypervisibility and racialized bodies that are magnified and overly noticed in white spaces (Puwar, 2004; Ahmed, 2007; Lander & Santoro, 2016). Specifically, the results of this study suggest that hypervisibility is an important factor in BGTAs experiences as students and teachers, which is perpetuated by white racial ideologies. It positions certain bodies as inferior and others as superior and requires emotional labor. Recall Anthony's experience with feeling he was overly noticed while teaching as a Black man, and simultaneously being perceived in racially problematic ways due to associated stigmas in a

predominantly white classroom space. This directly relates to scholarship that asserts that “spaces acquire the shape and skin of the bodies which inhabit them.” BGTAs engaged in spaces that were predominantly inhabited by white bodies (Ahmed, 2007). Those white bodies define that space and ascribe white racial frames and norms about who may participate and to what extent. Those who are part of the dominant racial group may do a double take and “appear disoriented by the ‘space invader’” whose presence may be perceived as deviant (Lander & Sontoto, 2016, p. 1012). As a result, this makes a space that was once familiar, now a strange space (Ahmed, 2007). BGTAs presence in a predominately white space, with white norms, set the tone for how they would be perceived through a white gaze that constructs them as problematic and invaders of spaces (Puwar, 2004). Many of the BGTA participants reported experiencing a range of emotions due to being overly visible, exposed, and different which required cognitive and emotional energy to manage. Being hypervisible created an emotional response that had to be constrained due to white normative rules that prohibit people of color from expressing genuine emotions. This is consistent with prior research, but this study extends existing conceptualizations of hypervisibility by revealing how its interconnected with a white racial frame and emotional labor. Specifically, this study shows how a white racial frame otherizes people of color, contributing to hypervisibility, and thus requiring additional racialized emotional labor.

Their narratives also demonstrate a possible high level of awareness of stigma consciousness which is characterized by the “expectation that one will be stereotyped, irrespective of one's actual behaviors” and regardless of the situation (Pinnel, 1999, p. 115). People with high levels of stigma awareness/consciousness do not assume the racialized stereotypes about their group are true. However, this awareness, and anticipation of how one is

being constructed in racialized ways can evoke feelings of fear and worry of being characterized as problematic Black individuals regardless of their actions. This requires emotional work. For example, negotiating how one is being perceived and scrutinized can lead to efforts or preserving one's identities and sense of self (i.e., sense of who they are in the world and how they want to be perceived by others), which can lead to increased levels of stress in stigmatized individuals (Cochran, Mays, & Sullivan, 2003; Meyer, 2003; Wright & Perry, 2006).

Teaching while Black Requires Performing Racialized Emotional Labor

Teaching is an emotional practice and involves accommodating and controlling one's feelings to support the academic outcomes of the school/university. Thus, teachers manage their own emotions for the sake of achieving organization goals (student achievement). Teaching within white spaces, means teaching within a microcosm that reflects the same societal power dynamics occurring in larger society. Racism is perpetuated within white institutions through white racial ideologies that are inscribed onto Black and Brown bodies, which requires Black individuals to perform teaching, and their Blackness in certain ways that don't make white individuals uncomfortable. This results in a lot of emotional and cognitive effort expended when BGAs are working to deconstruct racism, racial stigmas, negotiate a sense of self and resist everyday racism in subtle or overt ways.

The results of this study extend emotional labor literature to show how people of color carry the unequal burden of having to choose between responding by either resisting/challenging marginalization or participating in their own subjugation. These decisions are made while anticipating the possible consequences of losing one's job, exclusion, being pinned down as the aggressive and problematic Black person and evoking white fragility. As BGAs experience hypervisibility and scrutiny due to their social positioning, emotions such as frustration, sadness,

and anger can occur regardless of whether or not they respond or are present. However, feeling rules established and maintained by white racial frames in white institutional spaces prohibit genuine feelings and emotional displays for people of color.

In the workplace, social interactions are shaped by two types of emotion rules; feeling rules (internally felt emotions) and emotional display rules (Eckman, 1973, as cited by Holman, et al., 2008, p. 302). These rules are meant to regulate and control interpersonal interactions (Wingfield, 2010) as well as intrapersonal processes. In the context of white institutional spaces, such as the university, these feeling, and emotion display rules are colored by a white racial frame. BGTAs reported feeling genuine feelings of frustration, anger and sadness despite emotional rules that suggest people of color should not feel those feelings. However, BGTA narratives described their awareness of racialized emotional display rules which were unequally required of instructors of color and the consequences of not abiding by the rules. In addition, BGTAs knowledge of racialized emotional displays revealed how they shaped racialized interactions between others and how negotiating the rules was emotionally taxing. As Boler's (1999) research asserts, these racialized emotion dynamics occur when the feelings of whites are normalized, producing "hegemonic emotional domination" (Matias 2016), whereas the feelings of marginalized individuals are constructed as suspicious (Turner, 2015).

These emotional display rules are not neutral, but they are racialized in ways that constrain and impede Black educators from displaying genuine expressions of emotion (Wingfield, 2010). Black educators in the university engage in emotion work that involves contending with racialized classroom dynamics where their intellectual capabilities and authority

are often challenged (Harrow, 2003) by their white students who project racialized stigmas stereotypes about their intellect and emotional characteristics.

The findings of this study illuminated how BGTAs in white institutions are aware of the direct link between the racist and gendered depictions of the angry Black woman/man and danger being projected onto them. BGTAs must manage their own internal feelings and emotional displays/responses to racial incidents, in light of being viewed as problematic. They also must anticipate possible reactions of white people to any emotions they convey (Bell 2014). Results revealed that BGTAs utilized strategies for preventing the invocation of negative stereotypes, racial stigmas, in their interactions with others.

Derreck described multiple instances in which he felt he could not express his anger and emotions and had to “lock that away” because he did not want to be perceived as the “angry Black man” and make white students “feel uncomfortable.” BGTAs must consider the emotional display rules and the consequences of breaking them. BGTAs are required to manage their own emotions and emotional expressions in response to racial incidents, but they also have to anticipate the possible reactions of white people to any emotions they may convey (Bell 2014). Emotional labor becomes taxing and places BGTAs in vulnerable positions. BGTAs must constantly process discrete optimal strategic responses for interactions, protect their sense of self, and decide which way they want to approach conflict or incidents in predominantly white spaces. Evans and Moore (20015), characterize this as “emotional gymnastics,” in which people of color have to develop skills to perform and navigate white space and make many strategic decisions. Determining first whether to engage or avoid racially motivated conflict, and then how to respond for the best outcome while having to fulfill expectations of their job descriptions becomes taxing on an individual over time.

For example, Claire described feeling exhausted and unsure about how much energy to invest during a problematic encounter with a white male student in the classroom who was not reprimanded nor held accountable for his actions by the co-instructors. These examples demonstrated the power dynamics of whiteness and privilege in which white individuals do not have to think about how their biased actions may be negatively constructed or affect BGTAs. This directly relates to research that asserts that a white racial frame constructs white emotions and ways of being as normalized (Bonilla Silva, 2019; Feagin, 2013). Within white institutions, individuals are racially “branded” (Preston 2010), and once branded recognize that racial status affords privileges to some and disadvantages to others. The white racial frame reinscribes feeling norms that construct the experiences and emotions of people of color as inappropriate, negative, or overly emotional.

In another example, Janine considered the racialized stereotypes that would be projected onto her if she wore a pair of earrings that would be perceived as African/Black pride, which has a negative connotation. She made a strategic decision to wear a different pair of earrings to avoid being further perceived as problematic and too Black. This strategy resulted in her suppressing her feelings of pride while she tried to avoid being perceived as “angry” and reifying white racial framing of people of color as threatening and overly sensitive and emotional. Due to a white racial frame, others have racially constructed assumptions about Janine’s before any racial incident occurs. Subsequently, this already places her outside of the appropriate and acceptable norms of femininity, “which suggest that women should be nurturing and caring (Wingfield, 2010). Likewise, Black women must contend with managing racial-gendered constructions of the “mothering-yet-obedient” mammy trope (Tu-Smith and Reddy, 2002). Her narrative detailing how she is already being constructed as aggressive due to her Black identity reveals how a white

racial frame has created a binary racial gendered frame where people of color, and women of color, are perceived as deviant and less than the dominant group (Bonillas-Silva, 2019).

Teaching Social Justice Content While Black Requires Performing Additional Racialized Emotional Labor

Teaching involves emotional labor. Like other organizations, educators must manage their emotions for the sake of achieving organization goals (student achievement). “As at other levels, post-secondary teaching involves far more than simply imparting knowledge. Professors help students mature intellectually and emotionally; they motivate and stimulate student interest. In short, professors nurture young minds.” (Bellas, 1999, p. 98). Unlike other service professions, educators are interacting with customers more frequently, on a weekly or daily basis, over an extended period. In addition, there are learning outcomes that educators are required to facilitate to support student learning. Teaching as person of color within white spaces means teaching within contexts that mirror the racialized power dynamics in society. Due to white racial frame, problematic racial stigmas are cast onto non-white individuals resulting in racialized dynamics and feelings rules that require BGTAs to engage in additional emotional labor than their white counterparts. BGTAs engage in additional racialized emotional work in order to minimize conflict, everyday racism, white fragility, and combat racial stigmas. However, teaching social justice related courses as a person of color exacerbates the racialized emotion work in addition to the emotion work inherent in teaching courses.

Social justice content relates to the personal and lived experiences of power, privilege, and oppression among both instructors and students. Specifically, when class discussions and lecture relate to race and racism, instructors of color may experience student reactions ranging

from “polite indifference to open hostility from students (Chesler & Young, 2007; Samuel & Wane, 2005; Turner, 2002), resulting in feeling additionally fatigued by their classroom interactions (as cited by Smith, Kashubeck-West, Payton, & Adams p. 652). Thus, instructors of color must not only engage in racialized emotional labor inherent when teaching in general, but that labor is exacerbated for people of color when teaching content related to race and other forms of oppression.

Educators’ racial identity shapes their affective experiences in the classroom and the ways in which others perceive and interact with them (Harrow, 2003; Bella 1999). BGTA narratives revealed how their racial identities, and racial stigmas associated with their identities shaped their teaching experiences. Their experiences demonstrated the emotion work involved in negotiating and processing their sense of self when teaching a course where the content is represents BGTA’s racial identity and lived experiences. Anthony described the amount of “emotional investment” and burden required of BGTA’s when their identities are rooted in the course content. BGTA’s are expected to teach from a neutral standpoint but also create spaces that do not invoke conflict for white students. Teaching requires instructors support the learning and academic success of the university’s customers--the student. Meanwhile, they are also required to manage their own emotions, regardless of the interactions that occur in their role as instructors/educators. Continuous interactions and management of one’s and customers (i.e. students) emotions on a frequent basis over extended period of time can be more tiresome than just a one-time interaction. Each interaction becomes a product of the previous emotions experienced by all. If an instructor expresses anger to students, it can contribute to negative interactions throughout the entire course. However, the behaviors of Black instructors are evaluated through a stereotypical lens. Through this lens, racialized interpretations are

constructed and imposed upon Black instructors (Daniel, 2019) which are not imposed on white instructors. Black academics are expected to perform Blackness in ways that align with white expectations and norms (McGhee and Kazembe 2015) of race neutrality and color blindness while making sure to avoid being “hypersensitive” or “angry”. This likely requires them to navigate racialized feeling, such as anger, and associated racial stigmas inscribed onto the Black body. It requires them to consider the emotional display rules and the consequences for breaking them. For instance, Derreck described suppressing his emotions and emotional displays of anger to make white student comfortable. Janine had also described having to teach content to support student learning but that she was unable to show emotions of sadness. This revealed the emotional display rules required of instructors of color, teach from neutral emotionless standpoint even when teaching about oppression. This type of racialized emotion management also requires BGTAS to negotiate their identities and emotional responses to everyday racism. Teaching as a profession, requires expressing emotions that align with the goals of the organization and discourage expression of negative felt emotions. (cite). Teaching is an emotional practice requiring additional racialized emotional labor of BGTAs. However, BGTA narratives demonstrated how teaching social justice content while Black also required additional emotional labor. This expands the literature on emotion work by demonstrating the link between emotional and cognitive effects of emotional labor when teaching social justice content.

Counter Space and Climate of authenticity: Expressing Genuine Felt Emotions While Black Authenticity Resisting and Showing Up Authentically

Social identity cannot be removed from teaching experiences and thus amplifies the amount of emotion work and negotiation of identities required. BGTA's ongoing emotion work involved while teaching and being a graduate student, can result in an accumulation of suppressed emotions and stress/fatigue when BGTAs are required to perform their teaching and positionality in ways that privilege the emotions of their students, and specifically white students, over their own emotions due to a white dominant framework. Suppressing one's emotions can reduce feelings of authenticity which could lead to more actress and possible burnout. Despite the many instances of suppressing negative felt feelings, BGTAs experienced positive emotions and found counterspaces to authentically express their genuine emotions to others. Counterspace are environments in which individuals feel safe to share stories and experiences with marginalization and receive validation where their experiences are constructed as critical knowledge. These counterstories and practice of resistance/self-care further extends CRT, by situating BGTAs emotions and authenticity in the landscape of higher education and white institutional spaces.

These authentic displays of genuine emotions (*counterstorytelling*) were practices of self-care and resistance, against colorblind ideology and dominant white frames that require people of color to abide by certain feeling rules (suppression) and colorblind/race neutrality. These practices of resistance emotion rules that require people of color to challenge the status quo and countering the dominant narrative by *counterstorytelling*. Through this, BGTAs were able to show up more as their authentic self, but it still required racialized emotional work because it's resisting the dominant white paradigm of people of color being constructed as overly emotional.

They engaged in *counterstorytelling* (Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Yosso, 2006) and challenging/responding to racism by sharing their genuine felt emotions in response to racial incidents in both social and academic counter spaces where they felt safe to vent, be their authentic selves, and felt that their experiences were validated and viewed as critical knowledge (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998).

BGTAs were able to name racism and oppression they experienced. This is directly linked to CRT, which emphasizes the significance of naming racial injustices, which is a practice that “disrupts the normalized existence of racism and white supremacy in everyday life and calls attention to structural inequities and individual pain they cause.” (Solorzano & Perez, 2020p. 36). My goal was to create a space through interviews, audio diaries, and this writing to make visible the institutional challenges and barriers that may have emotional tolls and impact BGTAs and that create complex layers of racialized emotional labor.

The everyday experiences with racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression for people of color requires engaging in copious amounts of cognitive and racialized emotion work due to their social identities. This is exhausting as it requires constant negotiation of self and racial stigmas. BGTAs must continuously reflect and strategically whether to not respond and suppress their emotions or respond and demonstrate genuine felt emotions. However, responding runs the risk of being perceived by their students, peers, and professors as “too sensitive” (Yosso et al., 2009, p. 661) or problematic (Evans & Moore, 2015), which has consequences in relationships, collaborative academic work, and intellectual response (Charleston, Adserias, Lang & Jackson, 2014 as cited by Ong, Smith, & Ko, 2017) p. 2010).

Showing up as their authentic selves, and expressing genuine felt emotions, was a form of resistance to racist institutional structures of higher education in that the dominant ideology

frame has constructed people of color as overly emotional and a threat to any actual emotional response to racist organizational dynamics. And yet, showing up as your authentic self and centering your emotions associated with the painful reality of racism requires a lot of emotional and cognitive work: deciding if/when you should respond/express emotions and then deciding to what extent you will respond/express emotions. As others have noted, Black individuals have to choose between participating in their own marginalization within white systems or resisting and expressing genuine felt emotions in response to racism (Acuff, 2018; Evans, 2013; Evans & Moore, 2015; Smith et al, 2020, Wingfield, 2010).

This study revealed some of the ways in which BGTAs use strategies to resist and push back against white ideologies, emotion rules and racial microaggressions by responding and expressing genuine felt emotions in response to everyday racism. Although this did not reduce the emotional harm or effort, it revealed resistance and coping mechanisms. Faced with a racial microaggression enacted by white male students in his class, Anthony described how he strategically decided to respond in the moment by calling attention to what occurred and why it was problematic. In this case, he was engaging in a practice of resistance, creating a space for himself by centering his own feelings and how he was negatively impacted by the interactions. He centered his emotional experiences and other Black students' experiences of feeling disrespected while bringing his full self and expressing emotions into that space. He was met with student support and a validating display of appreciation that made him “feel great!” and affirmed him in his decision.

Expressing emotions, even negative ones, in a climate of authenticity can provide relief from emotion regulation strategies, (i.e., managing and suppressing emotions). It can help recover/replenish depleted resources from emotion work by releasing what has been suppressed

(Muraven & Baumeister, 2000). When Mariah described her experiences with racism and emotional labor, she expressed genuine sorrow and emotional pain by openly crying. This appeared to offer a reprieve from the accumulated weight of her emotional labor. The findings of this study suggest the importance of BGTAs having a space in which they feel they can push back against emotional display rules and show more of their authentic selves

This narrative illustrates how having a space, including a dissertation project, for BGTAs to share their difficult experiences negotiation emotional labor while teaching, is a form of resistance while it also can afford a space for Black participants to also push back by expressing their genuine emotions and emotional harm which is a form of showing up as one's authentic self- experienced at predominantly white institutions. This study contributes to scholarship on Critical Race Theory, hypervisibility, white racial frame, and emotional labor by showing how BGTAs experienced should be considered in the context of race and racism, to understand the ways in which white institutions and a white racial framework perpetuate racism. Subsequently, this creates expectations for which bodies are visible and invisible and which bodies are allowed to express certain kinds of emotions. These expectations contribute to the amount of, and type of racialized stressors and emotion work unequally required of Black and Brown bodies.

Understanding how white institutions perpetuate a white racial frame is a critical step in understanding how it manifests on the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and institutional level. A white racial frame affords and disadvantages certain racial groups access to displaying genuine emotions due to racial stigmas. This social framing contributes to everyday interactions across diverse groups of people. Without understanding how white institutions perpetuate a white racial frame it will be hard to understand how BGTAs and other people of color are constantly doing uncompensated invisible labor, but in plain sight. There is considerable time involved in

deconstructing racism, accumulating counter-narratives, and actively or subtly resisting racism. Much of this emotional labor remains invisible, except to those that perform it on a consistent basis. Experiencing racism is cumulative and uses an extreme amount of emotional energy, both physical and emotional.

Lastly, the last section of results revealed the ways in which BGTAs resist and push back against white ideologies via responding and expressing their genuine felt emotions in response to racism and show up as their authentic selves. Although this does not lessen the pain of racism, it reveals resistance and coping by engaging in emotional labor. People of color are constantly “on” and anticipating the possibility of being constructed in negative racialized ways, discriminated, hypervisibilized, or challenged due to their positionality.

Implications

This study asserted the complexity for many BGTAs regarding their experiences in predominantly white space with hypervisibility in their simultaneous roles as graduate students and instructors and having to engage in significant emotional labor as a tool to combat stereotypes and self-preservation. Using a CRT lens to examine racialized emotional labor of BGTAs provided an in depth understanding of historically marginalized groups. They also demonstrated that although there are ways in which Black Graduate Teaching Assistants cope and resist, this required expending additional labor that require them to manage and suppress their genuine felt emotions to avoid being constructed as problematic and be successful in their positions. BGTAs are susceptible to emotional and cognitive exhaustion, isolation, exclusion, tokenism, and being over visible and scrutinized. This research demonstrated that some BGTAs were not encouraged nor supported to be their authentic selves as graduate students nor as instructors and that dominant emotional display rules perpetuated and reified power dynamics.

For instance, Mariah described many accounts in which some of her graduate faculty and mentors perpetuated gendered racism. Similarly, Derreck had described attending a TA training in which the idea that problematic racial encounters may be experienced by GTAs was mentioned by staff, but no strategies or solutions were provided. This has implications for the ways in which the disproportionate emotional labor of BGTAs can be decreased.

First, institutions of higher education must recruit and retain more Black doctoral students and hire more full-time faculty of color. Diversifying the workforce and student body in the academy creates more access to people of color and supports disrupting whiteness as the norm. It also can reduce experiences of hypervisibility and the ongoing reminder that the Black body does not have access to the white institution. Having Black bodies equally represented and able to serve on hiring and admissions committee support.

Second, institutions of higher education must create more spaces that center authenticity in teaching and scholarly activities and are more inclusive and affirming for Black academics, ranging from undergraduate to graduate students and faculty and staff. Ensuring that those who are creating those spaces are Black individuals and allies, and people who hold differing ranks of power in the university will be in a position that will afford them an easier opportunity for creating direct institutional changes. As the tenets of CRT and the findings of this study indicated, racial bias, incidents and interactions exist in higher education that create a disconnect for BGTAs and created additional racialized emotional labor. Creating spaces that value and support a climate of authenticity and encourage vulnerability could possibly show to BGTAs that their experiences and emotions are valid and should not be separated from their experiences as both students and instructors.

Research shows that silencing of experiences with marginalization can exacerbate racial battle fatigue and other stressors for teachers of color (Acuff, 2018). Instead of “requiring educators of color to be disconnected from their authentic selves and perform in deracialized ways...” (Acuff, 2018, p. 177) academic departments should create accessible spaces that value authenticity and lived experiences with oppression. The responses of BGTAs in this study suggest that a climate of authenticity can promote a reprieve from emotion regulation strategies, (i.e., work involved in managing and suppressing emotions). Such a space where individuals can share and openly discuss experiences with oppression and privilege can help recover/replenish depleted resources from emotion work by released what has been suppressed (Muraven and Baumeister, 2000). It can help BGTAs place their racialized experiences as truths that counter and challenges dominant white racial frames. Encouraging vulnerability for instructors of color can “heal the effects of traumatic events that produce guilt, anxiety, resentment and injustice that persist and distort individual and national well-being” (Hattam, 2004, as cited in Keet, Zinn, & Porteus, 2009, p. 109).

Third, these spaces of authenticity should include Black faculty and/or Black graduate students to provide affinity groups related to teaching and learning. Of course, it is important to note that the people of color who are present in these spaces and acting as facilitators should be compensated for their time and efforts. They should also be individuals with the emotional bandwidth who are participating voluntarily. When participation is voluntary, it is less likely to tokenize faculty and/or graduate students of color and so less likely to reinforce oppressive power dynamics that increase emotional labor.

Fourth, it is recommended that doctoral students, faculty, and administrators participate in continuous ongoing training that helps them understand and identify the complexity of

systems of power and privilege. Training that includes social identity development and how one's social positioning shapes one's biases and interactions can strengthen one's understanding of how social frames manifest to shape racialized interactions. This type of ongoing training can improve the support they are able to provide Black students and Black academic. These trainings should also provide opportunities for individuals, Black and Non-Black to understand how Black academics experience racism, hypervisibility, and emotional labor within white institutions. Similarly, these trainings should offer affinity spaces for Black individuals to engage in these conversations while having a counterspace for counterstorytelling. This study demonstrated the ways in which white privilege and white racial frames operated within the university, constructing Black individuals as problematic and constraining their emotional expressions. According to Bonilla Silva, (2010; Bonilla-Silva & Gianpolo, 2008), educators who comprehend how whiteness operates and functions to maintain systems of oppression through history and culture, spaces and building, power, and policies that are driven by bias can interrupt these systems (Feagin, 2006; Lipsits, 2011; Moore, 2008).

Strengths and Limitations

To understand the complex and nuanced experiences with hypervisibility and emotional labor of BGTAs at PWIs, this project examined a small sample of cases at one institution. Understanding the ways in which BGTAs experienced and negotiated hypervisibility and emotional labor in their respective and yet predominantly white academic departments afforded a rich description of their lived experiences with race and racism and strategic modes of resistance. This small subset of participants was residing in a city in the Pacific Northwest of the United States and are but one subset of Black academics. It is important to note that we cannot assume that every person of color, or even every Black person, or in this case every BGTA, will

experience hypervisibility and emotional labor in the same ways. Examining BGTAs' experiences with race and emotion work can serve as a powerful way to understand nuanced ways in which BGTAs are impacted by whiteness and ways they resist. We cannot essentialize all members from one racial group as being the same and thus it is important to recognize the variety in those participants in this study who experienced and did not experience hypervisibility and racialized emotional labor.

Methodologically, the use of both interviews and audio diaries to collect data strengthened this study. This allowed an in-depth exploration of immediate post teaching thoughts and reflections from those who experienced and did not experience hypervisibility and racialized emotional labor. Despite, some difficulties ensuring that participants completed all weekly audio diaries, the audio diaries that were completed, coupled with the interviews, provided nuanced information regarding BGTAs teaching experiences. Challenges in completing all audio diaries may possibly have been due BGTA's demanding personal, professional, and academic responsibilities.

This study also only lasted for a short period of time, roughly 12 weeks, while BGTAs were teaching a course to understand their current experiences teaching. This only afforded a sample of the experiences and process of navigating and negotiating emotional labor and hypervisibility in their roles as graduate students and instructors. However, it was important to understand how BGTAs conceptualized their racial positioning in their roles as educators and students.

This study demonstrated how visibility concerns were experienced by many of the BGTAs in predominantly white contexts and sheds light on how hypervisibility and emotional labor occur and function. The study also demonstrated how the white racial frame is embedded

in white institutions and perpetuates whiteness and power dynamics by otherizing non-Black individuals in an attempt to normalize whiteness. Subsequently, this otherizing spotlights Black individuals, and other people of color, which contributes to their scrutiny and heightened visibility. Due to the white racial frame constructing people of color as inferior and white individuals as superior and the norm, it has contributed to racial stigmatization of Black individuals, and not applied to white individuals. These problematic racial stigmas applied to people of color justifies BGTA's surveillance and justifies white privilege and white emotions. Hypervisibility is a form of identity based experiences related to identity based mistreatment that impacts marginalized group members such as BGTAs. While this study afforded rich descriptions of these processes, this research did not focus on a larger sample case study, multiple institutions, nor different racial group. Despite these factors which limited the scope of this study, the findings and implications of this work make visible the emotional labor experienced and negotiated by BGTAs at predominantly white space. The finding of this study also extends the growing literature on visibility studies, CRT, and racialized emotional labor as it relates to Black graduate students' socialization experiences in graduate education.

Future Research

This study is only part of a larger body of critical race and emotion research that is needed to address emotional labor and hypervisibility in both predominantly white working and learning environments. First, more research examining a larger case sample from different predominantly white institutions could offer a larger and more generalizable picture regarding the dynamics of whiteness and emotional labor required of people of color.

Secondly, examining different racialized groups and their experiences with hypervisibility and emotional labor, a closer look at other identity dimensions, both dominant

and marginalized identities, can shed light on the different experiences related to power. Some individuals may find themselves more visible or less visible depending on which social identities are most salient in specific context. Broadening this analysis could provide opportunities to more deeply understand the ways in which racism operates to perpetuate whiteness and how it constructs different racialized groups and how that shapes their affective experiences.

Lastly, because BGTA participants conveyed the importance of this study and centering the lived experiences of Black academics, it would be important to examine more deeply the spaces in which BGTAs are able to express themselves and be their more authentic selves. Understanding the factors that shape and contribute to BGTAs affective experiences in both their roles as graduate students and instructors may shed light on positive aspects of these spaces that could perhaps be replicated in order to better support BGTAs and their social identities and reduce their emotional labor in both working and learning environments.

Conclusion

Racism is perpetuated within white institutions through white racial ideologies that are inscribed onto Black and Brown bodies, which requires Black individuals to perform teaching, and their Blackness in stereotyped ways that prevent white discomfort and fragility.

Subsequently, Black individuals are required to suppress their genuine emotions in response to racial incidents and subtle forms of discrimination. BGTAs' narratives illustrated the ways in which white institutions perpetuate a dominant white ideology rooted in the notion that people of color are a threat to whites. Their narratives demonstrated having to negotiate colorblind ideologies that perpetuate race neutrality. BGTAs had to strategical negotiation and consider whether to genuinely respond to racial microaggressions they found to be offensive, in light of still being constructed as aggressive and overly sensitive. This then places an additional burden on BGTAs on having to decide if and how to respond/reveal genuine emotions and risk being constructed as the issue, due to the direct link between the "angry" Black man/woman stereotypes and danger.

These racialized incidents required a process of emotion work and emotion management that includes continuous negotiation of one's identities as well as the decision of whether to respond and/or express emotions. BGTAs engaged in emotion work by also having to consider how and when to respond, and an awareness of how their displays of emotions will be absorbed into a white racial frame. Their emotional work also included deliberate decisions about how a BGTA will feel about the process after responding--all prior to even deciding to respond to racist incidents by non-Black individuals.

BGTAs' narratives demonstrated the difficulties of managing their negative felt emotions in their dual roles of being graduate students and instructors, while coping with the emotional

injuries experienced by suppressing themselves. Participants reported frequently restraining themselves from displaying their genuine felt emotions with everyday racism. Despite those laborious experiences, some of the BGTAs navigated white emotional norms and showed up as more of their authentic selves by expressing genuine feelings (including negative felt emotions) in a manner that prioritized their feelings over the feelings of white individuals to make visible Black individual's experiences with racism.

Grounding this study in Critical Race Theory afforded space to center race and racism, examine how white racial frames perpetuate privilege and power dynamics that hypervisibilize marginalized individuals and hide whiteness. It is important that we keep challenging dominant white norms and center the lived experiences of marginalized individuals to create spaces where we can feel bravely seen. Paulo Freire argues that being able to recognize and name oppression is a tool for empowerment and one of the steps towards liberation for oppressed peoples. In line with this and CRT, my goal with this study was make the invisible labor that is happening in plain sight visible. I sought to create space for myself and participants, to disrupt education and disrupt whiteness and racism by creating counter/authentic spaces to name oppression and the inequities being experienced and perpetuated by white institutional spaces. I also sought to create spaces in which BGTAs could express themselves and possibly experience community, learning about self, and a reprieve from our shared, but different, experiences with marginalization and emotional labor.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A. ELECTRONIC RECRUITMENT AND ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

Hi my name is Elba Moise and I am a doctoral candidate at University of Washington. I am asking that you share this opportunity with Black graduate teaching assistants that you work with and that may be interested in participating in a study about race, emotion management, teaching, and experiences with discrimination on campus. Requirements for participating in the study are:

1. Complete an online questionnaire [link]
2. Must identify as Black/African Diaspora
3. Must be currently enrolled and employed as TA at the University of Washington
4. Must have had at least 1 term of TA experience at UW that consists of having had (or will have) experience with some facilitation throughout the course (lecture, discussions) or have/will meet with students during office hours

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to participate in two interviews, one classroom observation, and audio diaries over the course of a term. I will be asking you questions related to how you experience your role as a TA and how you navigate the emotions that arise in the context in which you are teaching.

The study will take place over winter term 2019. Your identity will be completely confidential. I, as the researcher, will be the only one who will know your identity. Upon completion of the study, participants will be compensated via a \$50 Amazon gift card.

It will never be revealed or published. You will be identified with a pseudonym when needed. The significance of your participation in this study would be working towards understanding the racialized experiences of Black graduate teaching assistants in order to improve graduate education and TA professional development for students of color.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please fill out the online questionnaire [GOOGLE FORM LINK TO BE INCLUDED]. Participants will be contacted via phone or email to find a time to discuss study participation details. Please note, participating in this questionnaire and study is completely voluntary. Participants can stop at any time, and all information is confidential.

Thank you,

Elba Moise

Moisee@uw.edu

ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for considering to be a part of this study. Please fill out the questionnaire below.

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. How do you identify racially/ethnically?
4. How do others identify you racially/ethnically (e.g. Black, Biracial, Black/white etc.)
5. Are you an international student?
6. Are you a Masters or PhD student?
7. What department are you in enrolled in?
8. What department are you currently TAing for?
9. Please explain your current TA responsibilities (e.g. grading, facilitating, co-instructors, etc.)
10. What is your previous experience as a TA at the University of Washington?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR THE PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts with me. As you know I am interested in learning more about your teaching experiences as a Black Graduate Teaching Assistant at the University of Washington. In particular, I am interested in understanding the racialized nature of emotional labor (i.e. emotion work and emotion management) involved in teaching at a Predominantly White Institution and how it is negotiated and navigated. I am also interested in examining how, if at all, is emotion work gendered in teaching. More specifically, this study seeks to understand the experiences of Black graduate students in a teaching assistant role, power dynamics in the classroom, the ways in which they cope and resist. Everything you say will be kept confidential, and all information will be de-identified. Please feel free to share your thoughts as honestly as possible. Your candid responses will help me understand more about your experience.

Date & Time of Interview:
Interviewee's Pseudonym:

/ Location:

1. Before we get started, could you tell me a little bit about your backgrounds (place of birth, where were you raised, how did you choose your phd program, and how you came to be a TA in this department?)
2. What is your prior experience with teaching or serving as a TA?
3. On average, how many hours do you spend weekly on teaching/prep work?
4. In your current role as a TA, what are your specific tasks when it comes to teaching in the college classroom?
5. What has your experience been teaching as a BGTA at a PWI?
 - a. What about in your classrooms?
6. What role does your racial identity play while TA'ing/teaching in the classroom?
 - a. [Probe: What is their assumption that students are making about them? How is that influencing student learning/engagement? Consider asking for specific examples]

Experiences

7. What are some things you like or appreciate about being a BGTA for your department?
8. What are some of the things you dislike about being a TA for your department?
9. How does your department define the role of a GTA?
10. How does your department define professionalism for GTAs in their role as teachers?
 - a. [Probe: To what extent can BGTAs express emotions such as anger, frustration, irritation, confusion, etc.? What about positive emotions?]
11. Can you recall a moment as a BGTA that involved a challenging student? If so, how would you describe them?
 - a. Have you ever had to deal with difficult students?
 - b. How do you feel after dealing with difficult students?
 - c. What do you normally do when you have a difficult passenger?

12. How do you think other departments sees the job of a BGTA? Does your department perceive it to be a high valued position? Why?
13. Now, what are some things you dislike about your TA role (probe)?
14. Can you tell me about any experiences you have had in this TA role (and/or previous) that upset or disappointed you? (probe)
 - a. How did you usually address these situations (what do you do and where do you go for support)?
15. Have you ever had to manage or suppress your emotions while at work? (probe)
 - a. Stories?
 - b. Is managing your emotions easy or hard thing to do? Why?
 - c. How have you learned to manage your emotions in TA role?
16. Have there been moments where you felt you did not manage your emotions successfully or positively? What happened? What did you do?
17. Are Black GTAs expected to handle their emotions differently than other TAs (GTACs and White TAs)? Why?

Racialized experiences

18. Consider your current TA position, what are the racial demographics of your coworkers? (TAs, reader/graders, faculty, etc)
19. While interacting with students, have you ever had any memorable experiences you believe to be based on your racial identity? (probe)
 - a. What about with other TAs or faculty?
20. Have you felt that a student has treated you a certain way due to your racial identity? Examples/stories?
 - a. What about other TAs and Faculty?
21. Have you ever felt that race mattered to your students while teaching? Examples/Stories?
22. Has your credibility or authority as a TA been questioned or challenged because of your racial identity?
23. To what extent do you think it is different being a Black GTA?
24. Do you think students interact differently or in specific ways with Black GTAs?
25. Have you experienced racial microaggressions as a Black GTA? Examples?
 - a. How did it make you feel? How did you respond? What would you have liked to have happened differently and why?
26. Have you ever had students (or TAs and faculty) either directly or indirectly talk negatively about your racial identity? What did they say?
 - a. How did you feel about it?
27. Given what stories you have shared with me, how do you manage your emotions/feelings when you feel mistreated by a student (TAs or faculty) because of your racial identity (probe)
 - a. What do you do?
 - b. Do you share your experience with others? If you do share, whom do you share with and why? If you don't share, why is that?
28. To what extent do you feel that because of your racial identity, there are things you have to worry about at your job that other Non-Black POCs don't have to worry about?
 - a. What about white individuals?
29. Have you ever experienced racial discrimination at work (by students, TAs, Faculty, etc) because of your racial identity?

- a. If so, how did you feel about it?
- b. How did you address/navigate this?
- c. What did you do?

Gendered Experiences

30. What are the gender demographic of your coworkers (women, men, non binary, etc.?)
31. To what extent do you feel your TA position is emotionally exhausting? When?
 - a. What does emotionally exhausting/draining mean to you?
32. Do you think being a TA is “women’s work”?
33. Do you feel it is easier to relate to male, female, gender non binary, gender non-conforming? Explain.
34. Has your credibility or authority been challenged by students, TAs or faculty because of your gender?
 - a. Explain why or why not. Stories?
35. In what way does your gender influence interactions with students? TAs and Faculty?
36. Are Black women GTAs expected to handle their emotions differently than other TAs (GTACs and White TAs)?
 - a. What about with Black male GTAs ? Why?
 - b. Probe about Black Nonbinary GTAs.
37. Do you think Black male GTAs are challenged less because of their gender? Why? Examples?

APPENDIX C. OBSERVATION GUIDE

Researcher's field notes will be recorded during all classroom observations, with a focus on the following information: Black GTAs (BGTAs) interaction with students and lead instructor, classroom discussions, large/small group activities, delivery of course content (i.e. andragogy), seating arrangements, the number of presumed students of color in the class vs. white students, etc.)

Classroom Observation

Context:

Date and Time _____

Class Topic _____

Site: _____

Location in building: _____

BGTA: (name/role) _____

Lead Instructor: (name/role) _____

Demographics of BGTA (race, gender, age, pronouns, program/home dept., years of experience teaching the course) _____

Number of students in classroom _____

Student Demographics (race, gender, undergrad majors, freshmen, sophomores, etc.)

Purpose of the lesson and agenda and how is it carried out/explained to students?

Physical Classroom Setting:

How is the room arranged? (Rows, circle, clusters?) _____

How is the space designed for teaching (seating arrangement, tables, chairs, positions of each)?
How many students in class? _____

How do students arrange themselves? Where is the BGTA's (and lead instructor) position when teaching? _____

Other descriptions of physical classroom space (colorful, temperature, music, light/windows, basement, furniture, classroom, cafeteria etc.) _____

Arrival:

Who is greeting and welcoming students?

Arrival time of BGTA and Students?

What do people (BGTA and students) do before class starts?

Class Structure:

What is the purpose of the lesson and agenda and how is it explained to students?

Do students get up and move or stay stationary?

How does the class end, is there reflection, feedback, recapping, or next steps?

What is happening after class? Are GTACs debriefing? Are students continuing discussions? Do students leave immediately?

BGTA and Student Interactions:

How does the BGTA introduce themselves?

How are students invited to collaborate or participate in the class? (WHOLE GROUP DISCUSSION/PAIR SHARE/SMALL GROUP? REFLECTIONS?)

What is body language between students and BGTA? (is there laughter, silence, checking phones, eye rolling, fidgeting, crossing arms?)

What norms of behavior and conversation (related to emotions/display of emotions) seem to operate in this class?

How comfortable does the BGTA seem while teaching/interacting with students? (i.e. Do they move around the classroom, stay in one spot, sit/stand, etc.?)

Are some students speaking or sharing more than others?

How does this BGTA language reflect their perceptions for teaching and learning? How do these perceptions show up in his or her actions?

How does the BGTA seem to perceive the students and vice versa?

Intra BGTA Interactions:

What kinds of questions do BGTAs ask the students?

How does the BGTA respond to student questions?

How much eye contact is observed between BGTAs and others?

How much smiling is observed between BGTAs and others?

Does one facilitator (BGTA vs. Lead instructor) seem to speak more than the other?

Personal observations

How is your role as an observer or participant affecting the scene you are observing?

What do you say and do? Why?

What do you say and not do? Why?

Analytic Question

What are the power dynamics (race, gender, teaching status) among BGTAs, students, and lead instructor/professor?

Observation Guide Version 1 (10-24-18)

APPENDIX D: AUDIO DIARY PROMPTS

Your audio diaries will be an opportunity for you to reflect on your teaching experiences as a Black graduate teaching assistants in an open ended and unfiltered manner. Please feel free to use an electronic device to record your audio (e.g. phone, laptop, recorder, etc.).

I encourage you to use the reflections as an opportunity to be as real and as honest with your experiences. It does not have to be organized in any particular order, but I encourage to give me real talk, *keep it 100*. When you talk about your experiences of the Black graduate teaching assistant you can make your audio recording whatever length you choose parentheses the longer the better. I would like to hear not only about your current experiences but also how your experiences may have changed overtime. I've included some questions you might like to start with, but feel free tell me about what you feel is important.

1. Record date and time.
2. Tell me about your teaching experience today (e.g. prep work, in class, after class, meetings with others, etc.).
 - a. How did you feel during and after your teaching shift?
 - b. Describe who and what influenced your emotions during or after that teaching shift.
3. Were there any challenges related to your race and gender?
 - a. How did you feel during and after your teaching shift?
 - b. Describe who and what influenced your emotions during or after that teaching shift.
3. How did you respond/deal with your emotions or the emotions of others?

Once you are done recording, please save your file and upload your audio recording to the following google drive: [folder to be created]

Thank you,
Elba Moise