Nippert-Eng, Christena. 1996. *Home and Work: Negotiating Boundaries Through Everyday Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Park, Shelley N. 1996. "Research, Teaching and Service: Why Shouldn't Women's Work Count?" *The Journal of Higher Education* 67(1):46–84.
Patton, Michael Quinn. 2001. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods.* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Philipsen, Maike Ingrid, with Timothy Bostic. 2008. *Challenges of the Faculty Career for Women: Success and Sacrifice.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Sandler, Bernice R. 1991. *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students.* Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges.
———. 1992. *Success and Survival Strategies for Women Faculty Members.* Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges.
Sandler, Bernice R., Lisa A. Silverberg, and Robert M. Hall. 1996. *The Chilly Classroom Climate: A Guide to Improve the Education of Women.* Washington, DC: National Association for Women in Education.
Silverman, David. 2010. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook.* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Smith, Dorothy E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.
———. 1990. *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.
Spalter-Roth, Roberta, and Janene Scelza. 2009. *Sociology Faculty Salaries AY 2008–09.* Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.
Thornton, Saranna. 2009. "On the Brink: The Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession, 2008–09." *Academe* 95(2):14–44.
West, Martha S., and John W. Curtis. 2006. *AAUP Faculty Gender Equity Indicators 2006.* Washington, DC: American Association of University Professors.
Williams, Joan C. 2000. *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Winslow, Sarah. 2010. "Gender Inequality and Time Allocations Among Academic Faculty." *Gender and Society* 24(6):769–793.

11

NOT THE IDEAL PROFESSOR

Gender in the Academy

Laura Hirshfield

Gender socialization and rules of gender performance influence men's and women's choices about their education, careers, and behavior in the workplace. By interacting with others, we display, "do," or perform our gender so often that we begin to see these performances as who we ("naturally") are (Butler 1990; Goffman 1976; West and Zimmerman 1987). Additionally, expectations about which choices are gender appropriate and which are not cause men and women to be understood and evaluated differently by their colleagues, superiors, and students (Valian 1998). I argue that the role of professor, inside and outside of the classroom, is gendered and that its gender is masculine. This gendering of key positions in academia may lead to inequities for women such as unequal compensation or promotion compared to men peers.

Two major consequences of gender in the classroom most frequently examined are gender bias in students' evaluation of their instructors (Basow and Silberg 1987; Crombie et al. 2003; Feldman 1993; Sprague and Massoni 2005) and sexual harassment of instructors by students (Berdahl 2007; Champion 2006; DeSouza and Fansler 2003). The data in these empirical analyses have been mainly students' ratings and reports about professors' behavior. Faculty voices are less commonly analyzed. Researchers have

discussed the *effects* of gender norms (Berdahl 2007; Sprague and Massoni 2005), but few, if any, have explored how gender norms and gender performance *produce* and *constrain* faculty choices. In my study, I address this gap by exploring the gendered nature of the profession.

Gendered Organizations

Acker (1990) describes how organizational structures are gendered, directly contributing to marginalizing women within them. She stresses the gendered nature of organizations as seen through a "hypothetical or universal worker," which she argues is that of a man/boy "whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children" (190).

This hypothetical or universal worker is similar to Salzinger's (2003)[1] concept of interpellation, used to express how individuals are turned into subjects in the process of a person recognizing himself or herself as something or someone as a result of the way another person describes that person, such as as an employee, a prisoner, or a friend. In her research on manufacturing plants along the U.S.-Mexico border, Salzinger (2003) explains how managers came to imagine specific, embodied workers in the positions they were hiring for, and how the workers came to embrace the stereotypes that matched managers' expectations. Employers particularly valued submissiveness, agility, and lack of family. Similarly, in her research on toy stores, Williams (2006) uses the concept of interpellation to analyze how jobs were gender typed. She identified some roles gender typed as masculine, and discussed the difficulties that men faced when asked to perform jobs gender typed as feminine.

In academia, the concept of the hypothetical/universal worker surfaces in several ways. First, research demonstrates that identical research portfolios and curricula vitae identified with a man's name are evaluated more positively than those with a woman's (Steinpreis, Anders, and Ritzke 1999; Wenneras and Wold 1997). Seemingly, evaluators imagine a hypothetical academic man that women academics cannot live up to. Such studies suggest that people may have lower expectations for men than for women, which may be related to gendered ideas regarding what it means to be a professor. Second, women professors receive harsher assessments from students than men professors (Anderson and Smith 1995; Basow 1995). Third, students judge professors more harshly when they deviate from gender-specific expectations (Andersen and Miller 1997; Sprague and Massoni 2005). When students describe their best and worst professors, often they praise funny, entertaining men professors and caring, warm women professors, while criticizing men professors who are "boring" (i.e., not entertaining) and women professors who are "mean" or "bitchy" (i.e., not warm) (Sprague and Massoni 2005).

Thus, we can see how the concept of the "ideal worker" in academia affects how others (especially students) evaluate professors. However, a knowledge gap exists regarding how professors experience this construct in their lives and how race and other intersectional identities (e.g., age, sexual identity) impact ideas about the hypothetical/universal professor. To address this gap, I asked: How do faculty members make sense of what it means to be an "ideal professor"? How is this concept of the ideal professor gendered? and How does the gendering of the ideal professor impact their experiences?

Data for this analysis come from the Faculty Members and Diversity Classrooms project, a long-term study at a large, predominantly white Midwestern public university, which sought to explore how faculty members' social identities impact their university experiences.[2] The research team (two faculty members and several advanced graduate students) identified and recruited faculty in two ways. First, respondents were asked to participate if they had been awarded distinguished teaching or service honors from the university. Second, others were recruited via snowball sampling, using colleagues' recommendations of highly talented faculty committed to diversity. Our goal was not to gather a representative, generalizable sample; rather, it was to find an articulate and sophisticated set of respondents to speak about diversity, pedagogy, and the academic experience. Recruitment techniques resulted in 66 faculty interviews that were diverse by gender (34 men, 32 women), race (18 white, 20 African American, 13 Asian American, 9 Latino/a, 4 Native American, and 2 Arab American), and discipline (26 social science, 22 natural science, and 18 humanities). The response rate was 90.4%.

Researchers interviewed participants for approximately one to one and a half hours using a semistructured format. The primary goal of the faculty diversity project was to examine how race and ethnicity influenced teaching experiences and relationships with colleagues in the university. As the project developed, the team's focus shifted to how race and ethnicity and other social identities affected faculty experiences. The final interview protocol centered on these themes: (a) racial/ethnic biography, (b) teaching/academic career path, (c) pedagogy, (d) thoughts about the effects of social identities on teaching, (e) racialized/gendered experiences with the academy, and (f) diversity in higher education.

The semistructured interview format allowed interviewers to touch on the same themes while also giving them flexibility to follow the interviewee

in a conversational format.[3] Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed except for those of participants who requested that they not be.[4] My analytic strategy involved open and focused coding (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995). Specifically, I began noting recurring themes in close readings of each transcript. Next, I coded the transcripts inductively and deductively, with the help of a qualitative software program (NVivo). Themes I noted involved gender in the classroom and those related to peers, emotions, authority, and conflict.

The Ideal Professor Construct

Though most of the participants did not use the terminology of ideal *academic* or *hypothetical/universal professor,* they invoked this construct throughout their interviews to describe their experiences in class and with their peers. Several respondents, especially the natural scientists, described the role of "professor" as something shaped by history. As Howard[5] said, "I do have to recognize and say, way up front, we're talking about a discipline that has been white, male" (white, natural sciences). Howard explained that his department and discipline are largely made up of (white) men; he believed that this affected the tenor of conversations in faculty meetings and in social interactions with peers. Ellen described the stereotype of science as largely performed by men, and how this impacted the way her colleagues evaluated her and her students. When asked if her research group was looked at differently because it was all women, Ellen replied,

> Well, sure. It's never going to be as good as if it was all men. . . . This is science, you know. I mean, science . . . males do science and they're the ones that do it right. But my students . . . it's also recognized that I do train my students very well. And my colleagues know that. And the other students know that. (white, natural sciences)

Ellen was resigned to the knowledge that people may think less of her lab because of the stereotype that men are better at science. She did not address why her lab was made up entirely of women students, but there is evidence suggesting that women students seek out women mentors, especially when they are in the minority. Thus, this was more likely to be a common experience for Ellen given her men-dominant field (Hirshfield and Joseph 2012).

Phyllis recounted what she believed an "ideal" professor looked like, and how she did not feel that she, as a woman of color, could ever attain those qualities:

> My ideal of a teacher is somebody, something, that I don't think I could physically ever approach. . . . I always admired professors who were kind of older, senior men. . . . They had a lot of authority in the classroom, precisely because they were big people. They were big in many senses, right? . . . They . . . have a lot more authority, but also they're able to be kinder in the classroom. . . . Because students in some way kind of fear them a little bit. . . . There's something like a power issue that they're aware of, that the professor can then kind of use to make himself seem a little bit less intimidating. . . . Whereas I'm kind of a small person, right? And, a woman, and Asian, right? . . . But oftentimes, I feel like . . . the only way that I can do that is if I appear very old. So I . . . [think] trying to appear old is a way to kind of offset those things.
>
> Interviewer: Interesting. As age is . . .
>
> Phyllis: You know, that's the only way I think I can change my appearance, because I feel like no matter what I do, I'm still perceived as not this other ideal teacher. But I also think the students also have expectations of what they think is an ideal professor. . . . So I'm still working with that, I'm really hoping that I'll look old at some point, really old, you know. So that . . . those things will just kind of be offset. (Asian American, humanities)

Phyllis described the additional flexibility that older men professors have in the classroom because they induce fear in the students because of who they are; thus, they are able to use less psychological intimidation or be more sympathetic without losing their authority like she might as a small, Asian woman. In her view, because Phyllis did not look like the prototypical, "ideal" professor, she felt that she was not automatically granted the same authority in the classroom as her men colleagues. Phyllis endeavored to attain an image closer to the ideal professor; yet this ideal directly contradicted the usual youthful and attractive ideal for women in our society. Although Phyllis was the only participant to explicitly discuss student conceptions of the ideal professor, others described experiences in which they felt aware of their peers' views of what professors should be like: older, white, and male.

Challenged by Students

Phyllis's belief that her size, race, age, and gender might affect how students grant her authority was echoed by many of her women colleagues. For example, Rebecca thought the issue of having less authority and being challenged by students might be common to most women faculty. She explained:

> Oh, yeah . . . I think women as a whole, women faculty, and women of color faculty, it seems to me are [an] easier target. And I think a lot of times it's very . . . unconscious on the part of the students. It's a socialization process. And in a situation where there are male faculty and female faculty, a student may call male faculty Dr. So-and-So . . . [but] we try to not be called by, uh, first name. Well, I get a lot of e-mail . . . [with] "Hi, [Rebecca], Dr. So-and-So suggested that I talk to you." . . . That's sort of their socialization. They don't say, "Okay, let's call [Rebecca Rebecca], let's call [him] Dr. So-and-So." But it's a very natural part of how they perceive things and people. So it's pretty stressful. (Asian American, social sciences)

Rebecca described one of the ways that students undermine women faculty members' authority in ways that she did not see men colleagues experiencing. When students use titles to address faculty, they acknowledge their authority and expertise. When students highlight men's credentials but not women's, women may feel disrespected compared with men peers (Messner 2000).

Women faculty described not being taken seriously by students when they started as professors. Brenda counterbalanced this by acting tough;

> I have had students, particularly where I had larger classes, I had them say that I was really tough, and I kind of like that. I took pride in that because I see myself as a softie, and getting students to sort of take me seriously when I started out when I was younger, now I'm feeling older, but looking young and being a woman, and being a woman of color, there are always these issues of "How are you qualified to teach me?" (African American, humanities)

Being "tough," a characteristic often associated with men, gave Brenda a sense that she had more control and power. As Phyllis described earlier, getting older has boosted her authority but her gender still affects her ability to fully garner the respect and authority she feels that she deserves.

Jessica has avoided dealing with authority issues by changing her classroom authority structure to a more egalitarian approach. She sees this as her best strategy, given her identity as a woman professor of color:

> Well, the big thing is kind of reconstituting authority in the class. You know, because like I said, if you're a white guy, you can get this kind of unearned authority, essentially by virtue of who you are. And you can't get that if you're not. So the response seemed to be to insist on even more authority, like, to be more of a hard-ass. And I just felt like, well, I've asked why are we giving the profession that much authority to begin with? . . . [But] if you don't put yourself on a pedestal, you can't get knocked down. . . . So I'm not going to play those authority games with you. This is

> your class. Then you become less of a target and then it becomes more of their focus on their own learning. (American Indian, humanities)

Jessica challenges the structure and concept of what it means to be a professor. However, her comment identifies an important tension for women faculty. They can continue as they are within the system as it is, maintaining that women faculty can be just as successful as men. Or, they can argue that the system is flawed, that women do not have to be like men, and that women's styles of teaching may be better.

The "Ideal Professor"

Respondents do not see the role of professor as gender neutral, race neutral, or age neutral. Instead, as the logic of gendered organizations (e.g., Acker 1990) suggests, respondents understand that men, generally older white men, have held those positions. That legacy means that those who are not older white men must work harder and differently to achieve authority and respect in the classroom. Women faculty do not feel that they can ever achieve the same degree of authority and respect as older white men and, thus, the flexibility to be lenient with their students. Further, women differ regarding whether achieving traditional "authority" in the classroom is a useful goal. Several have chosen other routes, such as democratic, nonhierarchical classroom structures that create dynamics where their authority is questioned less. The research about the consequences of this type of classroom for students' evaluations is limited; it is difficult to predict how this type of professor strategy might affect women's promotion and tenure. However, alternative teaching styles are more likely to be accepted in teaching-oriented colleges and universities, which tend to have lower salaries, less prestige, and higher teaching loads than research-oriented universities, as well as an overrepresentation of women.

Respondents embraced gender, race, and age expectations of the "ideal professor" and provided examples of interpellation, as described by Salzinger (2003) and Williams (2006). Because student evaluations play an important role in faculty members' promotion and tenure, their expectations about the "ideal professor" must be taken into account when committees make decisions about faculty members' teaching effectiveness (Hirshfield and Joseph 2012). Research demonstrates that students have limited knowledge about the effects of student evaluations; however, for faculty, evaluations may influence significantly their chances for promotion and tenure, and are a major concern (Sojka, Gupta, and Deeter-schmelz 2002).

This intersectional analysis of gender, race, age, and the academy contributes to literature on women faculty, as well as to the general literature on identity in the academic workplace. These findings highlight the importance of using a qualitative approach, given that most previous studies on gender in the classroom have been quantitative. These studies have focused largely on students' thoughts about the classroom and have overlooked the experiences of professors. The Faculty Members and Diversity Classrooms project, which did not originally emphasize gender, demonstrates the need for additional research focusing specifically on identity to understand how identity impacts classroom and peer dynamics for faculty. My analysis highlights the need for more work on intersectional identities, particularly on intersections of age, race, and gender, to explore how these influence students' and faculty members' judgments and evaluations of professors who may not fit perfectly within the construct of the "ideal professor." In addition, it suggests the need for further research into alternative methods of evaluation of faculty, such as through peer observations or more comprehensive, qualitative evaluations by students. Using these (and other) metrics, promotion and tenure committees may be better able to avoid the pitfalls of gender and racial bias and begin to combat stereotypes and consequences of the "ideal professor."

Notes

1. Salzinger was not the first to develop the concept of interpellation; however, her application of Althusser's concept fits closely with the interpellation I describe.
2. For more details about the methods used for the overall study, see Chesler and Young (2013).
3. Thus, respondents were not asked consistently about the effects of social identities other than race.
4. In those cases, extensive field notes were taken during and after the interviews.
5. All names have been changed.

References

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, and Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender and Society* 4(2):139–158.

Andersen, Kristi, and Elizabeth D. Miller. 1997. "Gender and Student Evaluations of Teaching." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 30:216–219.

Anderson, Kristin J., and Gabriel Smith. 2005. "Students' Preconceptions of Professors: Benefits and Barriers According to Ethnicity and Gender." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 27(2):184–201.

Basow, Susan A. 1995. "Student Evaluations of College Professors: When Gender Matters." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 87(4):656–665.

Basow, Susan A., and Nancy T. Silberg. 1987. "Student Evaluations of College Professors: Are Female and Male Professors Rated Differently?" *Journal of Educational Psychology* 79(3):308–314.

Berdahl, Jennifer L. 2007. "Harassment Based on Sex: Protecting Social Status in the Context of Gender Hierarchy." *The Academy of Management Review* 32(2): 641–658.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

Champion, David R. 2006. "Sexual Harassment: Criminal Justice and Academia." *Criminal Justice Studies* 19(2):101–109.

Chesler, Mark, and Alford A. Young, Jr. 2013. *Faculty Social Identity and the Challenges of Diversity: Reflections on Teaching in Higher Education.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Crombie, Gail, Sandra W. Pyke, Naida Silverthorn, Alison Jones, and Sergio Piccinin. 2003. "Students' Perceptions of Their Classroom Participation and Instructor as a Function of Gender and Context." *The Journal of Higher Education* 74(1):51–76.

DeSouza, Eros, and A. Gigi Fansler. 2003. "Contrapower Sexual Harassment: A Survey of Students and Faculty Members." *Sex Roles* 48(11/12):529–542.

Emerson, Robert, Rachel Fretz, and Linda Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Feldman, Kenneth A. 1993. "College Students' Views of Male and Female College Teachers: Part 11—Evidence From Students' Evaluations of Their Classroom Teachers." *Research in Higher Education* 34(15):1–19.

Goffman, Erving. 1976. "Gender Display." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 3(2):69–77.

Hirshfield, Laura E., and Tiffany D. Joseph. 2012. "'We Need a Woman, We Need a Black Woman': Gender, Race & Identity Taxation in the Academy." *Gender and Education* 24(2):213–227.

Messner, Michael. 2000. "White Guy Habitus in the Classroom: Challenging the Reproduction of Privilege." *Men and Masculinities* 2(4):457–469.

Salzinger, Leslie. 2003. *Genders in Production: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sojka, Jane, Ashok K. Gupta, and Dawn R. Deeter-schmelz. 2002. "Student and Faculty Perceptions of Student Evaluations of Teaching: A Study of Similarities and Differences." *College Teaching* 50(2):44–49.

Sprague, Joey, and Kelley Massoni. 2005. "Student Evaluations and Gendered Expectations: What We Can't Count Can Hurt Us." *Sex Roles* 53(11–12):779–793.

Steinpreis, Rhea E., Katie A. Anders, and Dawn Ritzke. 1999. "The Impact of Gender on the Review of the Curricula Vitae of Job Applicants and Tenure Candidates: A National Empirical Study." *Sex Roles* 41:509–528.

Valian, Virginia. 1998. *Why So Slow? The Advancement of Women.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wenneras, Christine, and Agnes Wold. 1997. "Nepotism and Sexism in Peer Review." *Nature* 387:341–343.
West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1(2):125–151.
Williams, Christine. 2006. *Inside Toyland: Working, Shopping, and Social Inequality.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

12

INTERSECTIONAL INVISIBILITY AND THE ACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCES OF LESBIAN FACULTY

Diana Bilimoria and Abigail J. Stewart

The everyday experiences and career consequences of the climate for sexual minority faculty remain relatively understudied, and those of lesbian faculty are particularly understudied. In an important theoretical intervention, Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) provide an explanation for the lack of attention to lesbian faculty members' experiences. They argue that individuals who have multiple subordinate-group identities such as lesbians (who are both women and sexual minorities) are defined as non-prototypical members of their respective identity groups (women and sexual minorities). Straight women and gay men are viewed as prototypical, and therefore more visible group members, rendering lesbians invisible as women and as sexual minorities on account of their non-prototypicality. As "marginal members within marginalized groups," people with intersecting subordinate identities (such as lesbians) are in positions of acute social invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach 2008, 381).

In this chapter, we draw on and extend our recent study of the climate experienced by science and engineering lesbian and gay faculty at two research universities (Bilimoria and Stewart 2009). In that study, faculty who identified as lesbian or gay described their perceptions of the workplace climate for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) faculty; the role pressures and