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Dr Nadena Doharty

Lecturer in Education, Culture and Childhood, University of Sheffield

OICD number: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7898-3340

N.Doharty@sheffield.ac.uk

Twitter: @PhD_NDoharty

Title: The 'angry Black woman' as intellectual bondage: being strategically emotional on the academic plantation.

Abstract:

Using a doctoral examination question as a starting point, this paper explores the specific race-gendered challenges Black women academics face when doing research on race. I argue that the stereotypical, racialised controlling images regarding Black women are not exclusive to African-American women and this has led some, in education, to draw on epistemologies such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) because of its usefulness in illuminating patterns of racial discrimination and structural disadvantage. The paper builds on this work by exploring the impact on the researcher who might too have faced similar inequalities they are now researching. Consequently, I offer the concept strategic emotionality to pay specific attention to the conscious decisions Black women academics might make about engaging with their emotions as part of the research and analytical process and the potential impact on epistemology.

Keywords: Black women; race research; critical race theory; higher education; double consciousness; emotionality

Introduction

> ‘Why did you not place your feelings in the thesis and theorise them as part of the analysis?’

This question was asked by a distinguished Black woman professor during my doctoral examination and after stuttering something unintelligible, I landed upon an insufficient response: the thesis centres the experiences of Black children and not me. It is safe to say this answer contributed to my thesis amendments.

My other examiner, a senior lecturer and White woman explained she ‘felt my anger through the strength of my writing'. This statement, of strength and anger along with the question about the absence of my emotions, has stayed with me into my academic career as I consider the impact of racialised emotions on the research and analytical process. It is here in this article that I seek to more meaningfully answer the doctoral examination question by shedding light onto the racialised-gendered controlling images regarding Black women’s emotions and, the methodological challenges this raises in relation to publishing race research.

As a Black woman researching Black students’ experiences of studying Black History Month (BHM) and Black History (BH), I explored from a critical race perspective, how these topics taught in English secondary schools were experienced by African and Caribbean students. The key findings suggest that racism is a normal and embedded feature of the history curriculum including BHM/BH. As BH was never fully integrated at both research sites, engagement with it was reduced to a compensatory and deficit informed approach: an inferior counterweight to the whiteness-as-normal History curriculum. This created a racialised and hierarchical

understanding about Britain's past and who should be defined as British – an identity reserved for persons racialised as White. The originality of the thesis was achieved by positioning in-depth accounts of Black students' negative experiences of studying BHM/BH, within wider institutional and ideological racisms underpinned by CRT.

This paper starts by introducing the consequence of Western epistemologies on Black communities in education both for the researcher and the researched and reflects upon the challenges I faced during the research process, which resulted in my explicitly stated emotions being withheld from the thesis. Then the paper moves to briefly outlining the debates within the sociology of emotion and specifically, the race-gendered hidden dimension to engaging with emotions in research, using Yancy's concept of the 'White gaze' (2017). Penultimately, the paper highlights the usefulness of Black women drawing on more compatible theoretical frameworks and methodologies such as CRT, for the researched, but also to illuminate the emotional challenges of the researcher, thereby challenging the monopoly whiteness has on Black women's emotionality: as *only* angry or strong. Therefore, the paper ends by offering *strategic emotionality*, as a theoretical concept to explain the conscious decisions Black women (including myself) might make researching under conditions of White supremacy[i] and writing for colour-blind audiences such as education policymakers.

Western epistemologies on Black communities in education

Drawing on Banks' typology, I represent an 'indigenous insider': one who 'endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her indigenous community [and] who can speak with authority about it' (1998, 7).

Although I did not share unquestioned commonality with the Black children in my doctoral research, I do share the same African-Caribbean background, English education and experience of racist discrimination (Few, Stephens and Rouse-Arnett 2003; Few 2007; Phoenix 2012).

Previous research on Black communities in education has been deficit-informed, as Mirza explains, based upon pathologising Black chidren (2007). In so doing, research on the education of Black children naturalises inequalities in a seemingly 'aracial' system (one that does not privilege a particular 'race') so that underachievement is attributable to *their* deficit cultures rather than wider structural inequalities (Duncan 2002). Statistics from the Department for Education (2018) and the Cabinet Office (2017) continue along this trend of naturalising inequalities and thus, narratives of the underachieving Black child are rooted in White supremacy, as Beauboeuf-Lafontant explains "generalizations do not simply emerge from erroneous thinking but are created by an oppressive order to police marginalized groups and naturalize their disempowerment" (2009, 22).

Thus, as a Black woman leaving a school saturated with racism and entering wider racist society, I cannot escape these deficit caricatures, stereotypes and assumptions. As an academic in historically White institutions such as universities, I am a 'space invader' (Puwar 2004). Indeed, Black women rarely make it to professor in England (Advance HE formerly known as the Equality Challenge Unit 2016, 2017; Alexander 2018; Bhopal, Brown and Jackson 2015; Rollock, 2019). Publication outputs and the quality of publications are essential judgment criteria for promotions and if Black women's research or academic outputs do not meet institutional accountability

measures, for example, internal peer reviewers or the external Research Excellence Framework[ii] not regarding Black women's research as scholarly, this directly impacts upon her chances of promotion. The justification I made in my thesis for not integrating and theorising my emotions as part of the analysis were heavily influenced by Bell's *Rules of Racial Standing* (1992) to demonstrate that despite clear and irrefutable evidence of racism, Blacks who identify these instances are accused of 'special pleading' and not entitled to serious consideration (Doharty 2017).

Although I still concur with the arguments put forth by Bell, his rules are absent of the specificities of my gendered realities, such that there are multi-layered and more complex barriers to navigate as a *Black woman* conducting and presenting race research: namely that of racialised emotions. Indeed, positionality for Black women takes on an added dimension that is notably absent from debates within the sociology of emotion and Western feminist challenges more broadly: the extent to which Black women do or do not, can or cannot express their *emotions* in race research. It is to a brief discussion on emotions and then racialised emotions that I now turn, leading to the ways in which CRT has been useful in shedding light upon the multiplicity of racism in education, and how it could be further developed to consider the researcher's emotions as part of the research and analytical process.

Key debates within the sociology of emotions

The sociology of emotions emerged in the mid-1970s with scholars broadly falling into two camps: the positivist view or anti-positivist view. In the former, emotions are naturally occurring and humans are the primary inheritors of emotions such as anger or jealousy (Kemper 1987). This paper aligns itself to the latter, anti-positivist view,

in which emotions are historically rooted, culturally specific and structured as lived experience. Taking account of the political economy of emotion, Denzin (1990, 13) argues emotionality occurs in a particular historical moment, in particular sites and where particular emotions are endorsed as suitable and desirable. For anti-positivists, social relations of emotionality are socially constructed and ideological; therefore, this paper explores socially constructed (White supremacist) determinants guiding Black women's emotionality and my lived experience navigating this terrain publishing race research.

The positivist/anti-positivist debates surrounding the sociology of emotions are not new (see Kemper 1990). Attempts by social scientists to mirror the natural sciences meant that for disciplines like Sociology, early positivists favoured neutrality and researcher objectivity. Emotions in social scientific research were and are in some ways still rejected because in the Western philosophical tradition, emotions are judged to be an anathema to academic production (Harris and Huntington 2001, 133). Though difficult to define, emotions are "culturally defined and socially constrained . . . more than physiological sensations, but are often experienced in this way. They guide our interpretation of what we experience and are shaped by our life experience" (Gilbert 2001, 10).

Although there has been a move away from anti-positivist researchers positioning themselves outside of the research process, I concur with Wincup (2001, 18) who argues that qualitative researchers often receive mixed messages: on one hand, encouraged to establish rapport and on the other, to avoid over-familiarity. Thus, qualitative researchers may still maintain a social distance, functioning like "quasi-

positivists, allowing themselves to have particular feelings such as closeness with participants but then denying their emotions when they construct their accounts". This paper does not seek to essentialise Black women's emotions or experiences engaging and theorising qualitative research. However, in societies saturated with racism knowledge production is also used as a tool to enact and maintain a racial hierarchy so closer consideration and debate is needed on the interplay of emotions and how they can become racialised *and weaponised* against particular groups.

Drawing on a feminist epistemology, Jagger centred and problematised emotions in the research process explaining that in Western epistemology there is "justification of a hierarchy, wherein reason dominates emotion [which] defines the space within which knowledge can legitimately be constructed" (as quoted in Harris and Huntington 2001, 133). This serves to silence "those who are defined as culturally the bearers of emotion and so are perceived as more subjective, biased and irrational". This hierarchy is cemented at a very early age whereby children "learn what their culture defines as the appropriate ways to express the emotions that it recognises" (Jagger 1989, 157) and as I explain later, this hierarchy is also racialised directly impacting upon what we know and how we come to know. Although Jagger attributes the bearers of emotions to women (in so doing, privileges White women), I strongly concur with Bhopal (1995, 155) who argues, "the difficulties experienced by Black women researchers may be very different to those experienced by White women researchers". Therefore, we are left seeking alternative epistemologies that differ from the traditional Western philosophies, in order to "challenge knowledge, language and the stereotypical myths that exist of Black women" (165).

Culturally defined and socially constructed emotions may place constraints on Black women's agency in racially hierarchical societies. As Harris and Huntington (2001, 132) explain "agency links to the extent to which individuals can make choices unconstrained by overt or covert processes, either with social institutions of modern society or in terms of their intrapsychic worlds and interpersonal relationships". I take their analysis further concerning Black women and do so drawing on Yancy's concept of the 'White gaze' to explain the constraint Black women may face on their agency in relation to integrating their emotions in race research. This involves more than a simplistic choice of whether or not to include their emotions as part of the analysis; rather, whiteness is a totalising and essentialising force that underpins emotionality, the type and range of emotions one might possess, who gets to be 'emotional' and, the 'spaces' permissible for their expression (Elias 1978).

Yancy defines the White gaze as a

> specific historical practice, socially cohesive and intersubjective . . . the result of White historical forces, values, assumptions, circuits of desire, institutional structures, irrational fears, paranoia, and an assemblage of "knowledge" that fundamentally configures what appears and the how of that which appears. On this score, the White gaze involves the correlative constitution of a racialized field that normalizes the marking of Black bodies through a relationship of White power (2017, 243).

The Black body, for Yancy, becomes inflicted with the impact of the White gaze, which is a violent process: the "antitheses of white normativity qua purity" Black

women's decisions about drawing on alternative epistemologies or engaging with their *self-defined* emotions in race research induces White fear and "constitutes a threat to White power" (250). Whites are primed from a very early age to view the Black body with 'racial disgust' and thus maintain a racial hierarchy in knowledge production by blocking or levelling accusations at Black women - of being irrational, angry, overly subjective or inherently biased. For Yancy, this is "not only hegemonic, but perverse and sadistic" (251).

Consequently, I argue that Black women are not entirely enacting agency akin to their White counterparts when considering whether or not to include their emotions in race research because there is the "racist assumption that the Black female body needs to be placed under control, in need of White discipline because of its *natural* proclivity toward ire" (252). Indeed, Yancy has provided compelling examples of where this silencing of Black life has been literally *fatal* for Black women. In academia, theorising one's emotions as part of the analysis is not a simplistic choice, but for some Black women this conscious decision of engagement must be strategic for survival. There is a growing number of Black women academics in England who have drawn on alternative epistemologies such as CRT to research Black communities in education, in order to depart from deficit-informed narratives and avoid 'epistemological racism' (Scheurich and Young 1997).

Critical race methodologies in education and emotionality

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is appropriately referred to as a basic set of insights (Delgado and Stefancic 2000). Originally from the US, CRT was an offshoot of Critical Legal Studies during the 1970s and since then, has been applied to the field of education. In England, critical race analyses have been applied by Black women and women of colour to educational inequalities much more recently, from compulsory schooling (Callender and Miller 2017; Doharty, 2015, 2017, 2018; Thomas 2012) to Higher Education (Housee 2008; Gabriel and Tate 2017; Roberts 2013; Rollock 2007, 2016) to teacher training (Lander 2011; Maylor 2014). Certainly there is utility in applying critical race analyses to educational institutions outside of North America.

CRT has itself manifested into even more theoretical off-shoots where scholars have developed new lines of enquiry; namely Critical Race Feminism, Latina/o Critical Theory, and Critical Mixed Race Studies. It is within these offshoots that scholars are able to extend their analysis depending on their research area. My thesis drew upon counter-ethnographies and counter-narratives of Black students in order to frame policy recommendations around the conceptualisation and teaching of Black History Month and Black History (for a fuller justification of critical race methodologies see Doharty 2017, 112-140). It formed a departure from Black Feminism and even Critical Race Feminism because in the former, 'feminist researchers are aware of how they write themselves into the text and in which ways she has merged with the subject to co-create knowledge and theory' (Few 2007, 469). In the later, Critical Race Feminists use the data to explore Black women's experiences and 'research questions would have been written differently to reflect a larger sociological scale of analysis (469). CRT in my thesis was used to explore Black boys' and girls' experiences of

studying BHM/BH and though I included my positionality, I located *their* experiences within wider institutional and ideological constructions of anti-Blackness that legitimated racist acts in the classroom to occur. In order to build upon the body of scholarship for those drawing on Critical Race Theory, I argue greater acknowledgement and engagement with the researcher's emotions in the research and analytical process would be useful for disrupting the totalising and essentialising force whiteness plays on emotionality. Currently, integrating one's emotions as part of the analysis amounts to more complex nuances than a simplistic choice whether or not to: there are wider implications as a Black woman writing for post-racial audiences such as education policy-makers.

The expression and theorisation of the researcher's emotions in critical race work in education, particularly in England, is under-theorised. Rollock (2016, 124) had to insert a post-script after her counter-narrative on structural processes within Higher Education that perpetuates poor representation and promotion of faculty of colour because a concerned colleague questioned whether she "was in a place of emotional vulnerability" for setting out "emotional entanglements, contradiction and insecurity that can result from occupying a space in the margins" (113). Rollock had to clearly state the counter-narrative was not demonstrative of intent to harm herself! Clearly, emotionality could present a useful addition to a researcher's positionality for those drawing on a critical race framework in education. As Delgado Bernal explains, a researcher's personal history matters and informs part of the analytical process (1998). So too, then, does the researcher's experience of living under conditions of White supremacy – including the *emotional toll* that takes (see Smith et al. 2011 on racial battle fatigue).

Though positionality must inform any critical race analyses of education worth its salt, so too must the interplay of emotions as the researcher may have experienced similar raced, classed and gendered inequalities that they are now researching. These memories of what has now usefully been developed into theoretical concepts such as racial microaggressions, misogynoir, and a Eurocentric/White supremacist curriculum will invariably inform their experiences of research and also the analytical process. The interplay of emotions is necessary so fewer post-scripts have to be written and it also means that whiteness loses its grip on the monopoly of Black women's emotions as *only* angry or strong/stoic.

I concur with Mathias and Zembylas (2014, 334) who argue, "like many aspects of human life, emotions are value laden, positional, and are not exempt from the power relations that structure its expression". The power relations Mathias and Zembylas refer to in societies saturated with racism is whiteness. They go further with an analysis of whiteness and its impact on emotions arguing "whiteness ideology is entangled with racialized emotions and racial angst" (331); therefore, "whiteness must be approached as a function of affective modes of constitution and affirmation through which feelings such as disgust for non-White individuals are systematically generated" (321). Put simply, if Black women employing a critical race framework in education with clear implications for policy are not *strategic* with their emotions during the analytical process, it could mean that their work is silenced or ignored. Mathias and Zembylas argue that larger historical, political and social structures such as White privilege and whiteness ideology provide the basis for which Whites engage and *interpret* their emotional encounters with issues of race and racism (331).

Strategic Emotionality and the 'angry Black woman' as intellectual bondage

Strategic emotionality refers to the deliberate and conscious thought Black women engage in when considering whether they do or do not, can or cannot theorise their emotions as part of their race research and, the extent and type of emotions they are prepared to reveal. This conscious thought informs actions whereby Black women might write themselves into the narrative of research with the awareness that their work will be read and received as potentially 'identity politics' or, not do so because of the risks involved in not having their work published. This is because Black women are aware that despite how they might perceive themselves to be managing their emotions, that is, no matter how softly spoken, articulate, educated, light-footed or introvert she is, she may still possess features that are a little too angry, a voice that is a little too loud and a demeanour that is a little *too* Black for others. Therefore, she may utilise *alternative* ways for emotionally dealing with being the academic translator and interpreter of Black experiences of racism and sexism – including outside of the academy.

This concept represents a departure from Hochschild's concept, *emotional management* (1983), which refers to the concealment or restraint of visibly expressed negative emotions in professional work settings, despite more recent work extending this concept and applying it to racially minoritised groups (Dagan 2000; Feinstein and Switat 2018; Harlow 2003; Wingfield 2010). In The Managed Heart (1983), Hochschild usefully extends the debates within the sociology of emotion to account for gender and specifically, women engaging in the habit of emotional labour to manage their feelings in the professional environment. Men are 'allowed' to express

anger and their emotions deemed rational or understandable, but for women, they are deemed *naturally* more emotional, thus having their feelings invalidated.

Like many mainstream feminist challenges, Hochschild's work flattens nuances of the experiences of racially minoritised groups' experiences of racism and sexism. Under the heading 'Emotional Preparation for Ethnic and Class Strategies', Hochschild argues

> One unconscious emotional preparation minorities often develop for integrating with the majority group is to develop a sixth sense, a special sensitivity to others that highlights or filters out messages others send "to me as a Black . . . [person]". This functional "social paranoia", we might call it, allows the actor to guard against feeling hurt, or humiliated and to reframe personal insults as "X's prejudice". It is the psychological equivalent of a status shield" (1990, 137-138).

Although the White rational male objective viewpoint is the dominant ideology underpinning Western epistemologies, so too does feminist challenges such as Hochschild's that assumes *all* ethnic minority women are positioned, emotionally, in a similar way. As I demonstrate with my concept, decisions surrounding emotions for Black women are not unconscious at all: that "social paranoia" Hochschild assumes is exactly how Black women's emotions are framed differently and where accusations that she must have a "chip on her shoulder" gains strength. Hochschild's analysis of a "protective sixth sense" is countered by Black women later on in this paper who write from positions of lived experience to show a) that shield does not exist or, b) it is

penetrable affecting Black women's health (Wright, Thompson & Channer 2007; Stockfelt 2018). Therefore, Hochschild's framework is limited for Black women because "any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated" (Crenshaw 1989, 140). Strategic emotionality takes account of the racialised and gendered specificities of *Black women* engaging and publishing race research under conditions of White supremacy – after all, only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches.

Black women in societies saturated with racism are permitted to express one of two emotions: stoicism or anger. Since African chattel enslavement, Black women have been characterised as 'aggressive, ill-tempered, illogical, overbearing, hostile and ignorant' (Ashley 2014, 28). Consequently, Black women are naturalised as unfeminine (with femininity reserved for White women), argumentative and 'hell raising' (28). The logical claims levelled at Black women, then, are that she would find any opportunity – real or imagined – to identify a problem, gain a bad attitude and be generally mean. There are both psychological and physiological consequences for Black women; consequences that could impact upon her research on race. Morgan and Bennett (2006, 486) argue that the angry Black women stereotype affects her self-esteem and 'serves to silence and dehumanize Black women by blaming them for experiences of racist sexism that affect them in personal and political ways'. African-American women and women of colour scholars in the US have more routinely explored their racialised-gendered positionality and argued that there is an additional, unwritten component to race research that seems to suggest that by simply *being* a Black woman, she is biased (Hendrix 2002; Henry 2015; Motha and Verghese 2016).

The pattern of expressions of racialised emotions is somewhat more muted in England. This could explain why so few research papers by Black women are published which expressly theorise *their* emotions in race research (Burke et al. 2000; Maylor 2012; Mirza 1995, 2015; Phoenix 1994; Roberts 2013; Rollock 2013, 2016). Indeed, the ground-breaking scholarship in Gabriel and Tate's edited book was only published in 2017. Here, Black women across the social sciences explore the uncertainty they feel around expressing emotional vulnerabilities, and the challenges in deciding how far they should go in being honest about the impact of their experiences. As Gabriel explains

> We bared our souls in service to Black feminism, fellow academics, women of colour in other areas of employment – and to our institutions. While reflectively analysing our raced and gendered experiences has been a cathartic process, it has also been painful to recollect and re-live what were, at the time, difficult episodes in our lives (2017, 148).

After all, a Black woman's 'intelligibility rides on their emotional and physical resilience or "strength" . . . weaknesses in 'Black women is intolerable' (Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009, 64). In so doing, it could be argued that by removing my feelings from the theorisation I enacted the controlling image of a strong Black woman and reaffirmed these racialised-gender norms.

However, as I stated in my thesis I did not remain silent on clear signs of racial harm: I was upset and I was enraged about, Kevin (White teacher), for example, in Limehart

Secondary School[iii] placing children under a table to re-enact what life could have been like aboard a slave ship on the Middle Passage. I was disgusted and I was disappointed with Anne (White student teacher) at the same school trying to gain control of the class's behaviour by asking 'do you want to get to the fun bit or not?' The fun she referred to was heading to a hall to practise their 'life on a plantation' performances. The role-play involved the children whipping each other and begging for food; as one White boy shouted "eat what master has given you!" towering over a Black dual heritage girl playing the 'slave' who was kneeling on the floor. I was mentally exhausted for a few days after that, too. In addition, I was despairing when the senior leadership team at Parsley High School created a booklet for children for BHM of famous BH heroes that children were given to collect stickers for once their teacher had provided them some information. Most books were empty and a Black girl (Nailah) explained to me during an interview that, 'The teachers obviously didn't care'. Ultimately, during the research process, I was not always 'strong'. Hence why I argue that a researcher's emotions needs greater acknowledgement and interrogation in race research.

I became visibly upset in the viva but I could not articulate then, why these emotions did not form part of the analysis, because the concept of racialised emotions remains under-theorised and researcher positionality does not sufficiently account for the impact of race matching in research, as Black women become academic translators and interpreters of Black experiences. Indeed, expressing feelings for a Black woman academic working in race research can become a form of entrapment. As Beauboeuf-Lafontant explains

> Because the role of "being strong" rests on external rather than self-identified definitions of being all things to all people, it renders Black women's relationships to others into flexible, ever-expanding circles of obligation. Recognised for what they *do*, not how they *feel,* strong Black women are confined by a discourse that speaks in extremes – always giving, never complaining; ever strong, never weak (italics my emphasis, 2009, 82).

This raises the question of whether I was complicit in my own powerlessness by omitting my explicitly stated emotions from the thesis, or whether I and other Black women, have to be strategic about our emotional expression particularly if that research will be presented and disseminated to affect policy changes in an era of colour-blindness[iv]. Emotions are not exempt from power relations and under conditions of White supremacy, this involves social institutions privileging and reproducing patriarchy, capitalism and heterosexism, which invariably impacts our emotions. Mathias (2016, 12) convincingly argues that any attempt to supress one's emotions is an example of how whiteness maintains power and in order to heal constructively, reconnecting with one's emotions (including the pain) counts as a humanising experience. Matias developed the pedagogy of trauma for dealing with the daily microaggressions and structural violence of being a scholar of Colour teaching majority White students, and argues that greater analysis is needed to explore the emotionality of whiteness and how it dominates space. This warning is put forth because, "this hegemonic emotional domination renders the emotions of people of Color as subordinate to the emotions felts in whiteness. That is, because of the hegemonic power of whiteness, racial dialogues falls short when emotionalities of whiteness such as guilt, defensiveness, silence, or sadness are held above

emotionalities of anger, frustration, sadness, and humiliation felt by people of Color when deconstructing race" (69).

Rather than being complicit in my own powerlessness or placating and comforting the discomfort felt in white colonial minds (Mathias 2016, 167), I concur with Motha and Varghese (2016, 5) who suggest that 'sometimes academic women have to be silent for survival'. Indeed, Mirza further supports this by arguing that Black women have to strategically negotiate racism within the higher education system (1995). Black women are acutely aware of their space invader status. We are in possession of a 'double consciousness' that is, aware of how we are viewed and the careful navigation we must make to ensure our work is published (Burke et al. 2000; Du Bois ([1903] 1994, 2; Maylor 2012).

We are cognisant of who is allowed to be angry and in what context; therefore, my emotions were not part of the official thesis, theorised as part of the analysis, because a) I recognised the challenges of being a Black woman highlighting the various iterations of racism to affect policy changes and, b) I engaged with the emotional impact of the research process directly with schools. This strategic use of my emotions was conscious and informed my decision to engage with my emotions by other means.

I felt your anger through the strength of your writing.

To return to the White woman academic in my doctoral examination who said that she could feel my anger through the strength of my writing, this clearly demonstrates the pervasiveness of these racialised-gendered stereotypes because even in a context

where my feelings were noticeably absent for the Black woman professor, I was still positioned as angry! As Patricia Hill Collins suggests, 'Black women have been denied the authority to challenge these definitions' (1986, 18). Thus, the White gaze's construction of the angry Black woman rendered my attempts to write my emotions out of my research futile.

The White woman academic's statement was neither hostile nor angry, but her language about my writing fixed me, unintentionally, using the stereotypical tropes of the angry and strong Black woman; as Fanon explains "I am overdetermined from without . . . I am being dissected under White eyes, the only real eyes. I am fixed. Having adjusted their microtomes, they objectively cut away at my reality. I am laid bare" (Fanon 1992, 116).

The response indicated that my thesis struck an uncomfortable chord and she was, perhaps, expressing a form of guilt by suggesting I was angry. Indeed, DiAngelo explains that White racial insulation is informed by social class and also the wider social environment through institutions, cultural representations, school textbooks and dominant discourses. My thesis countered her understanding of equal opportunities and demonstrated that the liberal environment works to exclude and marginalise Black students. Thus, my thesis acted as a 'trigger' according to DiAngelo in which information was presented to her about 'other racial groups through multicultural education [presenting] a challenge to White centrality' (2011, 57).

The logic of anger or expressions of anger are seemingly different for Black women such that 'whenever we speak, eyes seem to roll, as if to say, you would say that'

(Ahmed 2017, 38-39). Identifying instances of racist harm, Black women academics do so knowing they are placing themselves and their scholarship in the line of fire: knowing they may face any number of institutional and ideological accusations that undermine, dismiss, block or entirely erase their scholarship (Griffin 2012; Maylor 2012; Roberts 2013; Rollock 2016). Therefore, it becomes the Black woman's burden to carry for *choosing* to mis-identify racism, as having a 'chip' on her shoulder, and explicit (justified) feelings of anger work in this context to trivialise her feelings and silence her scholarship. On Black anger, Ahmed explains

> Your reasonable thoughtful arguments are dismissed as anger (which of course empties anger of its own reason), which makes you angry, such that your response becomes read as the confirmation of the evidence that you are not only angry but also unreasonable! (2009, 49).

In my race critical scholarship, I theorised my ethnographic and focus group data using CRT to shed light on the iterations of racism at micro, meso and macro levels and the data culminated in policy recommendations. Rather than theorise my emotions as part of the analysis, I engaged with the schools directly, which is why I have developed and offered the theoretical concept for this conscious decision: strategic emotionality.

Conclusion

This paper used a doctoral examination question as a starting point, to explore the specific racialised-gendered challenges Black women academics face when engaging and publishing race research. There is a racialised emotional tax Black women must

pay as they have their vast array of emotions condensed down to simplistic manifestations of anger or strength. Thus, Black women must decide whether or not to explicitly incorporate their emotions as part of their analyses.

Depending on the research topic and the theoretical framework underpinning Black women's work, a keen double consciousness makes them aware of the context in which they are permitted to engage with their emotions, the amount of engagement and whether doing so might impact upon the outcomes of their research and treatment by the audience. This was certainly my consideration as I made policy recommendations in my doctoral thesis; those of which speak directly against the notion that deficit Black communities are complicit in their own academic underachievement in a seemingly colourblind system.

CRT was useful for centring the lived experiences of students of African and Caribbean descent during Black History Month and Black History in English secondary schools. Though I did not exclude my racialised positionality and approaches to what I perceived to be clear instances of racist harm, I did not specifically theorise my emotions in the thesis. It is not for the reader to judge whether I was 'right' or 'wrong' for doing so as there are a great number of similar academics who also decide not to engage with their emotions as part of their analysis. The paper showed that those that do, do so tentatively and perceive they must justify their reasons (Ratna 2018). I acknowledge in this paper that there is no blueprint in deciding whether or not to engage with emotions as part of the analysis; this is but one strategy I used - as a Black woman - for survival.

The White academic's response to me sheds light upon the fact that like my African-American colleagues who have written about this issue much more extensively, Black women in England face controlling images guiding our womanhood and also our emotionality. It is with this article, building on the small but growing scholarship of my colleagues in England, that I sought to further acknowledge the impact of racialised emotions - and its implications - in critical race research. Further engagement with emotionality would be a useful addition to the foundational work of CRT so expressions of emotions are not met with concern for well-being and, to challenge the monopoly whiteness has on Black women's emotionality.

Acknowledgements

For who else, but Black women?

Footnotes

[i] White supremacy refers to the direct processes that secure domination and the privileges associated with it for persons racialised as white (Leonardo 2009, 75).
[ii] The Research Excellence Framework is the UK's system for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. It first took place in 2014. The next exercise will be conducted in 2021.
[iii] The names of the schools and teachers are pseudonyms.
[iv] Colourblindness/colourblind racism is "the superficial extension of the principles of liberalism to racial matters that results in "raceless" explanations for all sort of race-related affairs" (Bonilla-Silva 2015, 1364).

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