CHAPTER TWELVE

Activating Graduate Teaching Experience to Challenge Microaggression in Evaluations of Minority Faculty

Lerona Dana Lewis

The university values your thoughtful feedback, however comments about a teacher's accent, age, disability, gender, race, religious beliefs, and sexual orientation are inappropriate and will render your evaluation invalid.

—Anonymous statement for inclusion on Student Evaluations

INTRODUCTION

There is growing concern over the validity of student evaluations of teachers (SETs) in assessing teaching ability (Canadian Association of University Professors, 2006; Dua & Lawrence, 2000; Finch, 2003). For instance, Lindahl and Unger (2010) describe students as being cruel and malicious toward teachers in their comments on SETs. Research by Evans Winters and Twyman Hoff (2011) has highlighted the possibility that students collaborate and conspire to put negative comments on Black teachers' SETs, a phenomenon that they describe as "electronic lynching." Despite this concern, decision makers often consider student ratings on SETs to be a convenient way—and often the only way—of assessing teaching (Berk, 2005; Harris, 2007; Kember & Wong, 2000; Lazos, 2012). The use of SETs seems to be firmly entrenched in most universities in North America. However, from the perspective of faculty of color, SETs can often be sites of institutional discrimination, rife with microaggressions and stereotypes that negatively affect promotion or tenure and course funding (Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, & Hazelwood, 2011; Turner, González, & Wood, 2008).

At universities that do not guarantee funding for education doctoral students, low SET results can affect the livelihoods of students of color who may rely on part-time teaching positions to support themselves, and "negative" evaluations may lower the possibility of being rehired. The effect of negative SETs may be further compounded for graduate students of color. Teaching appointments obtained when one is a graduate student may serve as a stepping-stone to permanent university positions. I argue that universities must protect faculty of color at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) from racial microaggressions that occur in SETs.

In this chapter, I draw from my experiences as a graduate student pursuing a Ph.D. in education at a research-intensive university in Eastern Canada. This university may be characterized as a PWI. After describing my experiences with SETs, I discuss the relevance of critical race theory (CRT) and microaggressions in analysing SETs. CRT provides the analytic framework to expose the injustices associated with SETs and the ways in which they disenfranchise faculty of color teaching at PWIs. Critical race theorists are known as "Crits" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). I use ATLAS.ti to conduct a thematic analysis of student comments on SETs. The analysis reveals that SETs can be a site of racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007).

The microaggressions described on SETs fit the Ontario Human Rights Commission's (OHRC) description of discrimination that may occur in workplaces—forms of discrimination the OHRC advocates that employees should be protected against (see http://www.chrc-ccdp.gc.ca/eng/content/what-discrimination; http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/iii-principles-and-concepts/3-grounds-discrimination-definitions-and-scope-protection; and http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/policy-and-guidelines-racism-and-racial-discrimination/part-1-%E2%80%93-setting-context-understanding-race-racism-and-racial-discrimination).

I describe the ways in which I approached my department to recommend changes to departmental SETs. I suggested that the statement provided at the beginning of this chapter could be included on SETs to indicate that comments that are deemed microaggressive will invalidate the SETs. I was unaware—as perhaps were personnel in my department with whom I shared my concern—that the Canadian Association of University Teachers had already recognized the problem and issued a policy titled *Use of Anonymous Student Questionnaires in the Evaluation of Teaching* (CAUT, 2006). Perhaps this lack of awareness has led some to perceive my concerns as an individual problem.

I argue that the failure to locate negative racialized comments on SETs within an antiracist framework may not reflect individual culpability but is rather the culmination of factors associated with institutional racism. I refer to the argument that universities were traditionally designed as White spaces primarily for White males and founded on principles and values that situate Whites as the norm in universities. Everyone else is positioned as a guest. Consequently, the difficulties that faculty of color encounter with SETs often remain unaddressed.

GRADUATE STUDENT EXPERIENCES WITH SETS

As a graduate student I taught the course Multicultural Education, a compulsory course in the baccalaureate education program. Student evaluations are conducted online and anonymously at the end of each semester. I was surprised, confused, and hurt when I read the vitriol and racialized comments that students made about me on the SETs. I experienced heightened awareness of my "Blackness" in a predominantly White institution where I had heretofore felt welcomed. This awareness of perceived difference left me feeling vulnerable. When one is a rarity in his or her workplace, one feels vulnerable in a way that may (and sometimes may not) be justified (Stewart, 2009, p. 32).

As far as I was aware at the time of writing this chapter, there were no Black female tenured professors in my department in the Faculty of Education. I found the explanation of my desire to reach out to a professor who was a Black woman in this quote from Audre Lorde (1984/2007):

> As a Black woman, I find it necessary to withdraw into all Black groups at times…. Frequently when speaking with men and White women, I am reminded of how difficult and time consuming it is to have to reinvent the pencil every time you want to send a message. (p. 72)

I believed that another Black woman would empathize with my experience, understand my concerns about SETs, and perhaps even inform me that other Black professors have similar stories.

In the absence of a Black female professor to confide in, I turned to the literature to understand the experiences of Black women teaching at universities in North America. As chance would have it, the first text that I found contained a chapter by Wilson Cooper and Gause (2007) that gave me my first insight into the centrality of race in defining the experiences of university faculty. I took four main ideas from this chapter. First, Black and White faculty have different classroom teaching experiences because of different expectations that students have from them. Second, most White students at PWIs have little or no prior experience with faculty of color, so their expectations of faculty are often shaped by stereotypes. Third, students tend to resist concepts related to oppression, privilege, and racism.

These three points are all related to faculty of color receiving negative comments and poor ratings on SETs. The final point that I took away from the article was that the impact of race and racism on SETs was important for administrators and all faculty, not just faculty of color, to understand and that this experience was not unique to me. Other researchers (Atwater, Butler, Freeman, & Carlton Parsons, 2013; Evans-Winters & Twyman Hoff, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2009; Lazos, 2012; Patton & Catching, 2009; Schick, 2002; Stanley, 2006) corroborated the ideas related to different experiences for Black and White faculty—the relatively hostile

nature of PWI for faculty of color and higher chances of negative evaluations for faculty of color compared to White faculty. The work of these scholars provided the impetus for me to speak publicly in department meetings, for which I was a student representative, about my experiences with SETs.

Certainly, not all persons of color teaching at a PWI may be subjected to racist comments on their SETs. However, there is consistent evidence in the literature that faculty of color are very likely to receive negative, racialized comments, implying that poor ratings given to faculty of color on SETs are neither coincidental nor individual but rather institutional. I applied to teach again but was not rehired. Believing that my SETs contributed to the decision not to rehire me, I met with several administrators in my department. At one such meeting, I was told that if I were a professor going up for tenure I would have to get my evaluation numbers up. The racialized comments on my SETs were largely elided despite the call by the CAUT for increased awareness of SETs in transmitting prejudices.

While I received encouragement from most of the faculty with whom I shared my concern about SETs, I must reiterate López's (2003) "marginalize and/or trivialize race and racism in education" because they are responsible for shaping future educational leaders. Critical race theory provides the analytic framework for exposing the injustices associated with SETs and the way they disenfranchise faculty of color teaching at PWIs.

RELEVANCE OF CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Earlier I used the terms "Black" and "person (or faculty) of color." While Black may be included in the expression "person of color," I make the distinction because I identify as a Black woman. The term "person of color" may include other groups such as Asians, Latina/Latinos, and Aboriginal peoples. I use "person of color" and recognize its limits in accounting for the range of histories, cultures, and experiences among different groups and within different groups. By using the term "person of color". I also intend to convey that I share Stewart's concern for broader conceptualizations of the people that students think of as having authority, expertise, and influence in universities.

I understand race to be "a vast group of people loosely bound together by historically contingent, socially significant elements of morphology or ancestry" (López, 1993, p. 7). Race mediates the lives of all people in modern societies, including Whites. This definition rejects the notion of a biological basis of racial categorization and highlights the social, historical, and contemporary conditions that produce race categories. Hall (1997) explained that humans have the propensity to classify people into groups, and race is one of the primary forms of

human classification used today. He added that classifications could be generative in nature, leading to the attribution of qualities to members of groups based on the classifications themselves. Race classification becomes a commonsense code, and even those oppressed by the classification accept the hegemonic ideologies embedded in it (Hall, 1997).

CRT may be defined as a radical legal movement that seeks to transform the relationships among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT emerged out of a desire to move beyond the critical legal studies' inability to articulate the central role of race classification and its inherent racism in law in the United States (Aylward, 1999). CRT is a useful framework because of the basic tenets on which the theory is founded. Crits believe that racism is a normal part of everyday experiences—it is insidious, permanently embedded in social relations, structures, and thought. Crits argue that race and racism play central roles in perpetuating and maintaining institutionalized discrimination against people of color. Crits reject color-blind ideologies that advocate equal treatment of everyone regardless of race. Refusing to see color negates the persistent effects of legacies such as slavery and colonialism that contribute to social disparities in everyday life today (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). In the field of education, Ladson-Billings (1998) used CRT to reveal how color-blindness and purported "neutrality" operate through the hidden curriculum in schools. She also discussed the ways in which racism affected pedagogy and financing of schools, contributing to inequity and a lessening of chances for school success.

Race consciousness, the antithesis of color-blindness, centers on race, calling for deliberate identification of the invisible workings of Whiteness and White privilege in ordinary life (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Crits advocate the use of counter-stories that legitimize the experiential knowledge of subordinated groups who use their experiences to question commonly accepted ideologies that perpetuate discrimination (Ladson-Billings, 1998). The power of counter-stories lies in the ability to reveal knowledges that have been silenced in traditional scholarship (Crenshaw, Gotando, Peller, & Thomas, 1995).

Crits also believe that the mutual benefits of White privilege accrued to both poor and elite Whites often means that there is no incentive for them to work to change existing social structures (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). While Crits emphasize race, other possible sites of oppression such as gender, class, disability, and nationality operate together to subordinate people of color. These interlocked yet mutable sites of oppression may be theorized using the intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, Black women in academia may experience the effects of intersecting forces of marginalization because of, for example, gender, class, race, or ability. These basic tenets are relevant to this inquiry because I seek to deliberately identify the workings of race and privilege on the SETs that contribute to racial microaggression.

STILL SURPRISED TO HEAR THAT SLAVERY EXISTED IN CANADA

Slavery refers to the enslavement of African people in the Americas and the Caribbean during the trans-Atlantic slave trade from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Canadian CRT has been heavily influenced by the work of Crits in the United States. Yet in Canada, adopting the CRT lens has been difficult because of the collective denial of the existence of slavery there (Aylward, 1999). In the Canadian context, this denial means that naming racism can become problematic, because systematic racism tends to go unrecognized.

Racism can easily be ascribed to a few "bad people." Individuals from minority groups who claim to experience racism can be framed as being oversensitive (Aylward, 1999). However, quoting James Walker, Aylward underscores that "African Canadians experienced exclusion and separation from mainstream institutions amounting to a Canadian version of 'Jim Crow'" (p. 125). In a more recent manifestation of this phenomenon, racist immigration laws restricting Blacks from entering Canada because of "climate unsuitability" were removed only in 1953 (Williams, 1997). It has been argued more generally that Canada has historically used racialized immigration policy to supply immigrant labor. Today, in Canadian and U.S. universities, racism continues in a form described by Sue and colleagues (2007) as "ambiguous and nebulous" racial microaggressions.

RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS: ARE THEY REAL?

One of the ways that racism can manifest is through racial microaggressions. Psychologist Chester Pierce described microaggressions in the 1970s. He theorized microaggressions as the major vehicle of racism in America. Describing them as "gratuitous and never ending" (Pierce, 1974, p. 515), he signaled the repeated uninhibited nature of oppression by a dominant group over a subordinate group (see also Romero, 2006), who outlines the ways that Critical Race Theorists used the concept of microaggression to describe the interaction of African Americans and Mexicans with the American criminal justice system).

Microaggressions are "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults towards People of Color" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271). Racial microaggressions can be directed at people of color automatically and unconsciously. When interacting with racial or ethnic minorities, people committing acts of microaggression are unaware that they have done so. The existence of racial microaggression was contested and described as "macrononsense"

(Jahangiri & Mucciolo, 2008; Schacht, 2008). However, several scholars offer ample evidence to validate that they have been experienced by racialized peoples (Clark, Kleiman, Spanierman, Isaac, & Poolokasingham, 2014; Estacio & Saidy-Khan, 2014; Solorzáno, 1998; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009).

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH

Situating this qualitative inquiry within the social constructivism paradigm, I use a methodology grounded in CRT, which emphasizes the significance of race in analyzing data. The data consist of anonymous, online comments on SETs of two faculty of color in two different universities in the United States and Canada. My SETs are from the course Multicultural Education, and the other SETs cover a 6-year period for courses in science education taught by a male professor in the United States. I use the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti to organize and conduct a thematic analysis of the data. The use of qualitative software such as ATLAS.ti is still the subject of controversy. It may appear contradictory to use software based on grounded theory, which is situated within the positivist paradigm, with the research located in the social constructivism paradigm. However, I adhere to the assertion by Patti Lather (2006) that hybrid approaches "within, against and across traditions" that layer complexity and foreground problems are useful in conceptualizing research (p. 53).

As a sociological theory of knowledge, social constructivism explains how individuals construct and use knowledge in socially mediated contexts. It may also refer to how a society or group constructs a discipline. Working across traditions presents opportunities for knowledge expansion. Blismas and Dainty (2003) contend that CAQDAS (computer-assisted qualitative data analysis) is a tool of data management rather than an analytic tool and argue that it inhibits "the multiplicity of approaches that can be used to induce meaning from complex data sets" (p. 463). Welsh (2002) explains that opposition to CAQDAS stems from the belief that the software distances researchers from their actual data. I agree with her when she says that CAQDAS can be used without taking a grounded theory approach. When used appropriately, software can enhance the "quality, rigor and trustworthiness of research" (Welsh, 2002).

However, established theoretical insights could be used with CAQDAS in designing the conceptual framework. Themes from the data can be linked directly to known concepts (Rambaree, 2013). Following Friese (2012), I posit that, given the advances in CAQDAS, it can be used for much more than organizing data, and fears about loss of researcher creativity are largely unfounded because the researcher is responsible for analyzing and interpreting the data.

I uploaded the comments into ATLAS.ti and followed the steps of thematic analysis described by Rambaree (2013). I engaged in open coding of the data and categorized comments as positive or negative. I focused on the negative comments because they are thought to have detrimental effects on the advancement of faculty of color (Griffin, Bennett, & Harrris, 2013; Lazos, 2012). I reviewed the evaluations while considering four guiding questions:

(1) How do students describe the teachers?
(2) How do students perceive their interactions with the teachers?
(3) What types of comments do students make about teachers with respect to race?
(4) How do students describe teacher competence to teach the course?

I compared these codes created with the definition of microaggression as provided by Sue and fellow researchers (2007). I put the codes into larger categories and then collapsed them into the following for tropes:

(1) hostile descriptions of faculty of color,
(2) accusations that faculty of color are racist,
(3) accusations that faculty of color play the "victim/race card," and
(4) descriptions of faculty of color using racial slights or insults that attempt to associate teacher incompetence with race.

ANALYSIS OF MICROAGGRESSIONS IN STUDENT EVALUATIONS

Several authors have written about the ways in which students retaliate against professors who present counterhegemonic ideas on race, racism, privilege, and merit, all of which are ideas that make students uncomfortable (Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009; Dua & Lawrence, 2000). The experiences of the professors could thus be similarly analyzed; however, this analysis focuses on exploration of instances of racial microaggression in SETs. The relationship between student resistance to teaching and the presence of microaggression became evident after I used the network view in the ATLAS.ti to connect the codes to the quotations visually. Below I discuss each of the tropes in an attempt to clarify how the students' comments might be viewed through the lens of microaggression.

(1) Hostile Descriptions of Faculty of Color

Students used hostile language in the evaluations to describe faculty of color. Some examples found on the SETS are "attitude," "disagreeable man," "angry and

confrontational," or "unapproachable." When examined under the lens of racial microaggression, it can be argued that these comments communicate hostility and degradation of the professors, whether intentionally or not. These comments can therefore be situated within the framework of microaggression as defined by Sue and colleagues (2007, 2008).

(2) Accusations That Faculty of Color Are Racist

This trope underscores the ways in which the students engage in name calling. Students refer to faculty of color as racist or biased. The exemplar "Racist teacher. I learnt nothing in the class" can be understood as the student claiming that his or her academic advancement was hindered because he or she perceived the teacher as racist. This is an example of reverse racism wherein the power associated with racism and race appears misunderstood by the student. In the context of a PWI where Black faculty are underrepresented, the student frames racism from the perspective of an individual, not the systemic, entrenched practices of racialized oppression that a Black person is likely to encounter.

An exemplar from the student SETs states that "speaking with members of my group which was all white we used to leave the class feeling guilty and felt as though fingers were pointed at [us] regarding what black people went through it was all about black people." By speaking on behalf of other students on their evaluation, this student seems to be emphasizing that other White students in the class shared their opinion, thereby attempting to increase the credibility of their statement accusing them of racism—in other words, that there was more than one person who held the same opinion that the teacher was racist and was pointing fingers at them—Dlamini (2002) referred to the practice of White students expressing solidarity against what they perceive to be a racist teacher of color as "cliqu-ing." I endorse her explanation of the underlying message of cliqu-ing as an attempt to say to the teacher: "This is not just my opinion. A number of us (insiders) think the same way about you." The microaggressive nature of these two comments is found in their direct assault on the teacher's credibility, encompassing what Sue and fellow researchers describe as "put-downs or a pattern of disrespect" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 183).

(3) Accusations That Faculty of Color Play the "Victim/Race Card"

A student wrote: "He needs to stop playing the victim card and realize we don't hate him because he is black. This is not a race class." The comment suggests that the student seems to perceive the professor to be "overly sensitive" about issues relating to race. By suggesting that the teacher is "playing the victim card" and following up with the statement "we don't hate him," the student at

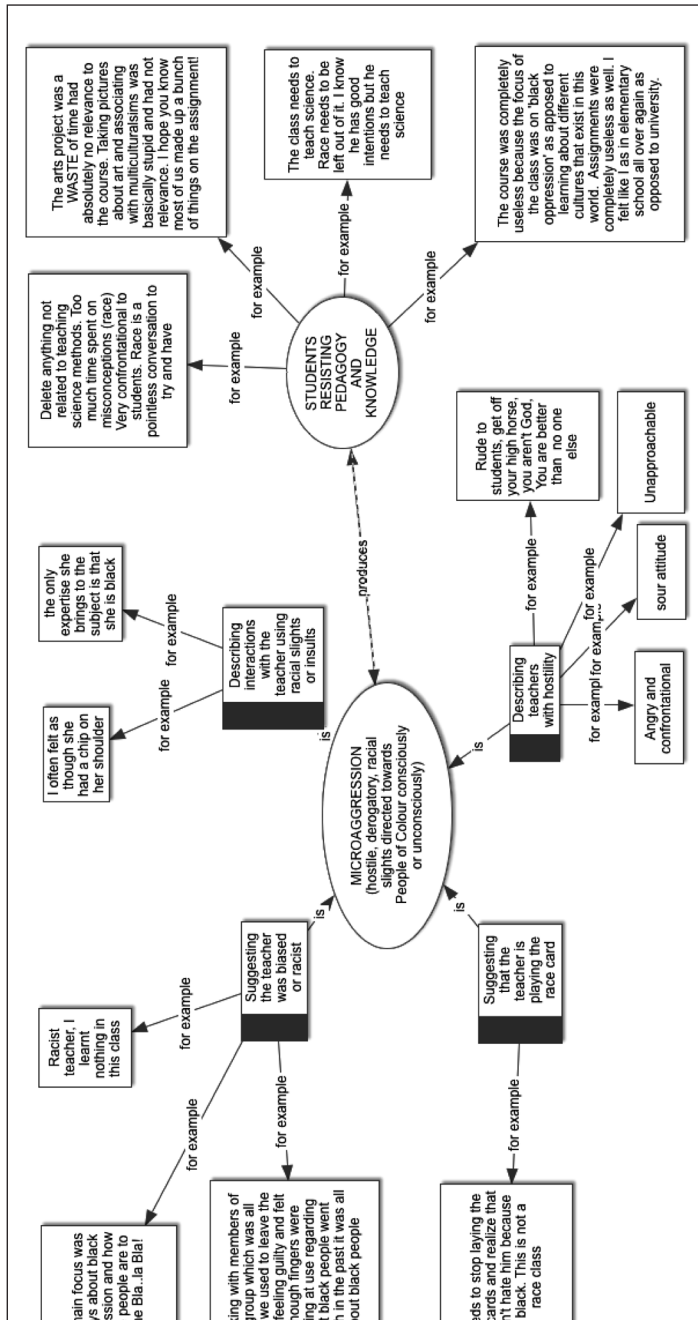

Figure 12.1. Analysis of Microaggression in Student Evaluations.

this PWI seems to saying "we" are not oppressing you. This student is responding individually in his or her review, yet he or she uses the collective pronoun "we." Using "we" suggests an attempt to signal that the majority of the people in the classroom at the PWI perceive the Black professor to be overly sensitive at best, or, at worst, trying to be manipulative (See the Ontario Human Rights Commission for an explanation of the common myths related to racism: http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/policy-and-guidelines-racism-and-racial-discrimination/part-1-%E2%80%93-setting-context-understanding-race-racism-and-racial-discrimination). As Sue and his team of researchers (2007, 2008) discuss, negating or denying the experiences of oppression due to racism is a form of racial microaggression.

(4) Descriptions of Faculty of Color with Racial Slights or Insults That Attempt to Associate Teacher Incompetence with Race

One student used the proverbial "chip on her shoulder" descriptor to describe the Black female teacher. Although it is difficult to know what message the student hoped to convey, this comment can be interpreted to mean that the teacher is perpetually angry. Again, this statement—together with statements that attempt to link the teacher's race to teaching competence—are forms of microaggression because they embody "implicit racial snubs" (Sue et al., 2008). Generally, I argue that these negative comments written about faculty of color on SETs constitute forms of microaggression. Many of these comments have the effect of conveying rudeness, insensitivity, and thoughtlessness to/about the teacher, embodying microaggression.

THE DIALECTS OF MICROAGGRESSION AND STUDENT RESISTANCE TO PEDAGOGY

This review of the SETs suggests that teacher candidates in university education programs appear not to appreciate the relevance of oppression and race in teaching. These students may be unwilling to consider these factors in their future teaching practice. "To accept the racial realities of POC [persons of color] means confronting one's own unintentional complicity in the perpetuation of racism" (Sue et al., 2008, p. 277). It seems that students are unprepared to confront racism; instead they appear to disengage from the teacher and to perpetuate acts of microaggression on their SETs. Researchers (e.g., Sue et al., 2009) explain that when racism is discussed with "White brothers and sisters," powerful embedded emotional reactions such as "anger, guilt and defensiveness" surface. Thus a major concern for education

programs is that there seems to be a dialectic relationship between microaggression and student resistance to knowledge and pedagogical strategies that faculty of color present in the classroom. Students discredit the intellect and competence of faculty of color and, as a result, many students claim not to learn anything.

For instance, the analysis reveals that in the multicultural course, students desired to learn about "other cultures" as shown in the following quote: "The course was completely useless because the focus of the class was on 'black oppression' as opposed to learning about *different cultures that exist in this world* [my emphasis]." Students seemed to expect the teacher to present them with content information on the "Other." They seemed unprepared to understand the impact of systemic oppression that can be imposed on one group of people by another, interpreting course content as "black oppression." Here the ideas presented by bell hooks seem relevant. Students seemed to expect encounters with the imagined Other that would not challenge but instead "reinscribe and maintain the status quo" (hooks, 1992, p. 22). In the science education course, students seemed to believe that race was inconsequential in the teaching of science, as expressed in the comments "we need to learn science" and "forget the race and racism piece." Students learning to teach science did not seem to want to explore the ways in which science education might reproduce oppression in student populations that are marginalized.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The emergence of a possible link between faculty of color and student resistance to knowledge and pedagogy and workplace microaggression may lead university administrators to attempt to dissuade faculty of color from teaching subjects about race and racism. In the current neoliberal context, where university students are increasingly positioned as customers or clients instead of learners seeking to develop critical skills (Lindahl & Unger, 2010), university decision makers at PWIs might consider this option to be the best way of keeping students comfortable in the classroom. However, this approach would be unfortunate, because it would deny faculty of color the chance to contribute to education praxis that can be enriched by our unique standpoint and experiential knowledge (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005). Not least, it would be a form of discrimination.

As suggested by Lazos (2012), another approach might be to encourage faculty of color to adopt middle-class behaviors so that they seem less "militant" (intimidating) to their students and leave out contentious issues of race and racism in order to improve their scores on SETs. Again, this approach would be problematic because it suggests that race and class can be separated. It may also lead to the reification of the belief that faculty of color have to be groomed to "fit" into traditionally White university spaces where they do not belong.

The better alternative is for university personnel to begin to embrace the idea that SETs are sites of workplace microaggression. Universities might then educate students on acceptable ways of completing SETs so that they can be critical but not hostile. Universities can try to help students understand why accusing a Black teacher of being racist or "playing the race/victim card" is a form of racial microaggression. Examples of inappropriate comments might also be included on evaluation forms or course syllabi.

University decision makers who review course evaluations should understand the controversies surrounding SETs and the ways in which SETs can transmit stereotypes about people of color and lead to racial microaggressions. Administrators should review SETs together with the disturbing comments about race, gender, and age, be encouraged to talk about their own experiences, and their colleagues should be prepared to offer them meaningful support.

Unfortunately, well-meaning White colleagues and administrators may also unconsciously contribute to the injurious effects of microaggression for faculty of color. For example, a White colleague may say to a Black professor that he or she had received negative reviews earlier in his or her teaching career, trying to explain away the microaggressive comments as growing pains of university teaching. This is a form of microaggression—specifically, microinvalidation (Sue et al., 2007). The comment trivializes the negative psychological effect that Black professors may experience as a result of the racialized comments on their SETs. The point is that there is a need to educate students, faculty, and administrators about microaggression on SETs. Microaggression is harmful because the cumulative negative effects of microaggressions can hinder performance and drain the recipients' energy (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Obviously this review is based on SETs from two faculty of color, so generalizations are not possible. Future study that specifically assesses SETS for the presence of microaggression is recommended.

Sarah Ahmed, referring to colleges and universities, warns that there are risks associated with speaking about racism. By speaking out against racism, you can "become the problem you bring" and get in the way of "institutional happiness." She explains that claims of racism can be seen as an attack on the organization, hurting the organization and those who identify with it (Ahmed, 2012). Using a CRT lens, which centers on race in the analysis, I am arguing that SETs as they currently operate foster workplace racial microaggression, which in itself is a subtle form of racism. Course evaluations must be reassessed in order to prevent students from engaging in active resistance to knowledge and pedagogy of faculty of color but also to curb this insidious and often invisible form of racism against faculty of color.

In Canada, unlike in the United States where there are popular discourses that have led to collective denial, slavery and racism may be among the factors preventing universities from changing the way in which SETs are conducted and utilized. The Canadian Human Rights Commission and the Ontario Human Rights

Commission offer specific recommendations that employers might consider to reduce the occurrence of discrimination related to racism in the workplace. Can universities continue to ignore the existing research on the experience of faculty of color with SETs? If these concerns are ignored, what might be the implications for harassment and discrimination against faculty of color at PWIs?

CONCLUSION

I concur with Ahmad (2012) when she says that members of institutions like universities who suggest that it is the organization that is damaged when claims of institutional racism are made create "a space for Whiteness to be reasserted," thereby keeping racism intact. If, as a society, we accept the category of race in our schools and university workplaces, we might do well to consider bell hooks's challenge that "mutual recognition of racism, its impact both on those who are dominated and those who dominate, is the only standpoint that makes possible an encounter between races that is not based on denial and fantasy" (hooks, 1992, p. 28).

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. London: Duke University Press.

Atwater, M., Butler, M., Freeman, T., & Carlton Parsons, E. (2013). An examination of black science teacher educators' experiences with multicultural education, equity, and social justice. *Journal of Science Teacher Education*, *24*(8), 1293–1313. doi: 10.1007/s10972–013–9358–8

Aylward, C. (1999). *Canadian critical race theory: Racism and the law*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Berk, R. (2005). Survey of 12 strategies to measure teaching effectiveness. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, *17*(1), 48–62.

Blismas, N. G., & Dainty, A. R. J. (2003). Computer-aided qualitative data analysis: Panacea or paradox? *Building Research & Information, 31*(6), 455–463. doi: 10.1080/0961321031000108816

Boatright-Horowitz, S. L., & Soeung, S. (Producer). (2009). Teaching White privilege to White students can mean saying good-bye to positive student evaluations. [doi:10.1037/a0016593]

Canadian Association of University Professors (CAUT). (2006). *Use of anonymous student questionnaires in evaluation of teaching.* Retrieved from http://www.caut.ca/about-us/caut-policy/lists/caut-policy-statements/policy-on-the-use-of-anonymous-student-questionnaires-in-the-evaluation-of-teaching

Clark, D. A., Kleiman, S., Spanierman, L. B., Isaac, P., & Poolokasingham, G. (2014). "Do you live in a teepee?" Aboriginal students' experiences with racial microaggressions in Canada. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 7*(2), 112–125. doi: 10.1037/a0036573

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299. doi: 10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, K., Gotando, N. T., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (Eds.). (1995). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement.* New York: The New Press.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: New York University Press.

Dlamini, N. S. (2002). From the other side of the desk: Notes on teaching about race when racialized. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 5*(1), 51–66.

Dua, E., & Lawrence, B. (2000). Challenging White hegemony in university classrooms. *Whose Canada is it?* Special issue of *Atlantis*, *24*(2), 105–122.

Estacio, E. V., & Saidy-Khan, S. (2014). Experiences of racial microaggression among migrant nurses in the United Kingdom. *Global Qualitative Nursing Research, 1*. doi: 10.1177/2333393614532618

Evans-Winters, V.E., & Twyman Hoff, P. (2011). The aesthetics of White racism in preservice teacher education: A critical race theory perspective. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *14*(4), 461–479. doi: 10.1080/13613324.2010.548376

Finch, F.E. (2003). Are student evaluations of teaching fair? *Computing Research News*, *15*(2), 2.

Friese, S. (2012). *Qualitative data analysis with Atlasti*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Griffin, K.A., Bennett, J., & Harrris, J. (2013). Marginalizing merit? Gender differences in Black faculty discourses on tenure, advancement, and profesional success. *Review of Higher Education*, *36*(4), 489–512.

Griffin, K.A., Pifer, M., Humphrey, J., & Hazelwood, A. (2011). (Re)defining departure: Exploring Black professors' experiences with and responses to racism and racial climate. *American Journal of Education*, *117*(4), 495–526.

Hall, S. (1997). Race, The floating signifier featuring Stuart Hall. http://www.mediaed.org Retrieved August 24, 2014, from Media Education Foundation http://www.mediaed.org/assets/products/407/transcript_407.pdf

Harris, T.M. (2007). Black feminist thought and cultural contracts: Understanding the intersection and negotiation of racial, gendered, and professional identities in the academy. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, *2007*(110), 55–64. doi: 10.1002/tl.274

Henry, F., & Tator, C. (2009). Theoretical perspectives and manifestations of racism in the academy. In F. Henry & C. Tator (Eds.), *Racism in the Canadian university: Demanding social justice, inclusion and equity* (pp. 22–59). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

hooks, b. (1992). *Black looks: Race and represenation* Toronto: Between the lines.

Jahangiri, L., & Mucciolo, T. W. (2008). Characteristics of effective classroom teachers as identified by students and professionals: A qualitative study. *Journal of Dental Education, 72*(4), 484–493.

Kember, D., & Wong, A. (2000). Implications for evaluation from a study of students' perceptions of good and poor teaching. *Higher Education*, *40*(1), 69–97.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *11*(1), 7–24. doi: 10.1080/095183998236863

Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proflieration as a good thing to think with: Teaching reseach in educaton a a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 19*(1), 35–57.

Lazos, S. (2012). Are student teaching evaluations holding back women and minorities? In G. Muhs y Gutiérrez (Ed.), *Presumed incompetent: The intersections of race and class for women in academia* (pp. 164–185). Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Lindahl, M.W., & Unger, M.L. (2010). Cruelty in student teaching evaluations. *College Teaching*, *58*(3), 71–76. doi: 10.1080/87567550903253643

López, G.R. (2003). The (racially neutral) politics of education: A critical race theory perspective. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *39*(1), 68–94.

Lopez, I.H. (1993).The social construction of race: Some observations on illusion, fabrication, and choice. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, *29*, 1–62.

Lorde, A. (2007). *Man child: A Black lesbian feminist response*. New York: Crown Publishing. (Original work published 1984)

Patton, L.D., & Catching, C. (2009). "Teaching while Black": Narratives of African American student affairs faculty. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *22*(6), 713–728. doi: 10.1080/09518390903333897

Pierce, C. (1974). Psychiatric problems of the Black minority. In S. Arieti (Ed.), *American handbook of psychiatry* (pp. 512–523). New York: Basic Books.

Rambaree, K. (2013). *Three methods of qualitative data analysis using ATLAS.ti: 'A posse ad esse'.* Paper presented at the ATLAS.ti User Conference 2013: Fostering Dialog on Qualitative Methods, Berlin.

Romero, M. (2006). Racial profiling and immigration law enforcement: Rounding up of usual suspects in the Latino community. *Critical Sociology, 32*(2-3), 447–473.

Schacht, T. E. (2008). A broader view of racial microaggression in psychotherapy. *American Psychologist, 63*(4), 273.

Schick, C. (2002). Keeping the ivory tower white: Discourses of racial domination. In S. Razack (Ed.), *Race space and the law: Unmapping a White settler society* (pp. 99–119). Toronto: Between the Lines.

Solomon, P., Portelli, J., Daniel, B., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: how white teacher candidates construct race, racism and "white priviilege". *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(2), 147–169.

Solórzano, D. G. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 121–136. doi: 10.1080/095183998236926

Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *The Journal of Negro Education, 69*(1/2), 60–73. doi: 10.2307/269626

Stanley, C.A. (2006). Coloring the academic landscape: Faculty of color breaking the silence in predominantly White colleges and universities. *American Educational Research Journal*, *43*(4), 701–736. doi: 10.3102/00028312043004701

Stewart, A. (2009). *You must be a basketball player*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2008). Racial microaggressions and the power to define reality. *American Psychologist, 63*(4), 277–279. doi: 10.1037/0003–066X.63.4.277

Sue, D., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Pyschology, 62*(4), 271–286.

Sue, D. W., Lin, A. I., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., & Rivera, D. P. (2009). Racial microaggressions and difficult dialogues on race in the classroom. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 15*(2), 183–190. doi: 10.1037/a0014191

Turner, C.S.V, González, J.C., & Wood, J.L. (2008). Faculty of color in academe: What 20 years of literature tells us. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *1*(3), 139–168.

Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with data: Using NVivo in qualitative data analysis process. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 3*(2).

Williams, D. (1997). *The road to now: A history of Blacks in Montreal*. Ontario: Véhicule Press.

Wilson Cooper, C., & Gause, C.P. (2007). "Who's afraid of the big bad wolf?" Facing identity politics and resistance when teaching social justice. In D. Carlson & C.P. Gause (Eds.), *Keeping the promise: Essays on leadership, democracy, and education*. New York: Peter Lang.