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Bias Against Female Instructors

New analysis offers more evidence against the reliability of student evaluations of teaching, at least for their use in personnel decisions.

January 11, 2016

By [Colleen Flaherty](#)

There's mounting evidence suggesting that student evaluations of teaching are unreliable. But are these evaluations, commonly referred to as SET, so bad that they're actually better at gauging students' gender bias and grade expectations than they are at measuring teaching effectiveness? A new paper argues that's the case, and that evaluations are biased against female instructors in particular in so many ways that adjusting them for that bias is impossible.

Moreover, the paper says, gender biases about instructors -- which vary by discipline, student gender and other factors --

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affect how students rate even supposedly objective

practices, such as how quickly assignments are graded. And these biases can be large enough to cause more effective instructors to get lower teaching ratings than instructors who prove less effective by other measures, according to the study based on analyses of data sets from one French and one U.S. institution.

“In two very different universities and in a broad range of course topics, SET measure students’ gender biases better than they measure the instructor’s teaching effectiveness,” the paper says. “Overall, SET disadvantage female instructors. There is no evidence that this is the exception rather than the rule.”

Accordingly, the “onus should be on universities that rely on SET for employment decisions to provide convincing affirmative evidence that such reliance does not have disparate impact on women, underrepresented minorities, or other protected groups,” the paper says. Absent such specific evidence, “SET should not be used for personnel decisions.”

“[Student Evaluations of Teaching \(Mostly\) Do Not Measure Teaching Effectiveness](#),” was published last week in *ScienceOpen Research*. Philip B. Stark, associate dean of the Division of Mathematical and Physical Sciences and a professor of statistics at the University of California at Berkeley and co-author of a widely read [2014 paper](#) questioning the reliability of evaluations, co-wrote the paper with Anne Boring, a postdoctoral researcher in economics at the Paris Institute of Political Studies, and Kellie Ottoboni, a Ph.D. candidate in statistics at Berkeley.

For their study, Stark and his colleagues performed advanced statistical analyses of five years’ worth of data to which Boring had access regarding 23,001 evaluations of 379 instructors by 4,423 students in six mandatory first-year courses at a French university. They also applied the tests to evaluations for four sections of an online course in a randomized, controlled, blind experiment at a U.S. university that was the data set for another [popular 2014 paper](#) on gender bias in student teaching evaluations. (In that study, co-written by Lillian MacNell, a Ph.D. candidate in the department of sociology and anthropology at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, students in an online course on technology and society gave

better evaluations to the teaching assistants they thought were male, even when the two instructors -- one male and one female -- had switched their identities. They both used both identities, which made it possible to compare what happened when each was apparently female.)

The idea for the new study was to investigate whether student evaluations of teaching primarily measure teaching effectiveness or biases using a higher level of statistical rigor than had previously been applied to the data sets. Their method was to use nonparametric permutation tests, statistical tests of significance for hypotheses such as “any given student would rate two instructors the same if the instructors are identical except for their apparent gender.”

Through these tests, Stark and his co-authors found that the association between evaluations and a more objective measure of teaching effectiveness -- student performance on an anonymously graded final in the French data set (grades were not linked to the evaluations in the U.S. set) -- is weak, and not statistically significant. Yet the association between evaluations and perceived instructor gender in both the U.S. and French data sets is largely statistically significant: instructors whom students believe are male receive significantly higher average ratings.

Different Biases, Same Outcome

Students’ gender appeared to impact their bias, but in different ways in the French and U.S. samples.

In the French data, male students tended to rate male instructors higher than they rated female instructors, but little difference was observed among female students. In the U.S. data, female students tended to rate perceived male instructors higher than they rated perceived female instructors, with little difference in ratings by male students. In both cases, however, the bias still positively impacted male instructors and disadvantaged female ones.

Stark said in an email interview that this difference -- leading to the same outcome -- was the most surprising finding of the study. At one university, he said, “male students rate male instructors higher, although they apparently learn less from male instructors. In the other, female students rate (apparently)

male instructors higher.”

The paper considers whether men receive better overall scores because they’re better instructors, by analyzing the relationship between instructor gender and students’ average final exam score. In all disciplines in the French sample, students of male instructors performed worse -- though not in ways that are statistically significant.

So why do male instructors receive higher scores? A separate analysis by student gender in the French data suggest that male students give higher scores to male instructors, especially in history (p-value of 0.01), microeconomics (p-value of 0.01), macroeconomics (p-value of 0.04) and political science and political institutions (with p-values of 0.06 and 0.08, respectively). The effect was not statistically significant in sociology (p-value of 0.16). (Smaller p values generally indicate evidence against the null hypothesis, or the assumption being tested.)

“The average correlation between instructor gender and SET is statistically significant -- male instructors get higher SET -- but if anything, students of male instructors do worse on final exams than students of female instructors,” the paper says. “Male students tend to give male instructors higher SET, even though they might be learning less than they do from female instructors. We conclude that SET are influenced more by instructor gender and student grade expectations than by teaching effectiveness.”

Controlling for Teaching Styles

The French "natural experiment," which happened naturally over five years, didn’t allow the researchers to control for differences in teaching styles, but the U.S. data (MacNeill and her collaborators' data from North Carolina State) did. That experiment collected evaluation data from an online course in which 43 students were randomly assigned to four discussion groups, each taught by one of two teaching assistants -- one male and one female. In one group taught by the male instructor, he used the female instructor's name, and vice versa. The instructors gave similar feedback to students and returned assignments at exactly the same time.

MacNell in 2014 found that “the male identity received significantly higher scores on professionalism, promptness, fairness, respectfulness, enthusiasm, giving praise and the student ratings index. ... Students in the two groups that perceived their assistant instructor to be male rated their instructor significantly higher than did the students in the two groups that perceived their assistant instructor to be female.”

Whereas MacNell used parametric tests whose assumptions did not meet her study’s experimental design, Stark and his co-authors used permutation tests that are consistent with the underlying randomization and avoid parametric assumptions about evaluations. They also looked at some new effects, such as the interaction between student gender and perceived instructor gender.

They say the new analysis supports MacNell and her colleagues’ overall conclusions, and in some instances -- such as bias regarding promptness -- more strongly. (Although in other cases, such as knowledgeability, the new analysis found evidence for the effect to be weaker than originally suggested.) Since assignments were returned at exactly the same time in all four sections, the significantly lower rating for female instructors (what equates to about 16 percent of full scale) “seriously impugns the ability of SET to measure even putatively objective characteristics of teaching,” the paper reads.

Again, Stark and his colleagues found that, in contrast to the French data, perceived male instructors were rated significantly more highly not by male students but by female students. Male students rated the perceived male instructor somewhat significantly higher on only one criterion -- fairness (p-value 0.09). But female students in the U.S. sample rated the perceived male instructor higher on overall satisfaction (p-value 0.11) and most aspects of teaching. Those include praise (p-value 0.01), enthusiasm (p-value 0.05) and fairness (p-value 0.04).

Female students rated perceived female instructors lower on helpfulness, promptness, consistency, responsiveness, knowledge and clarity, although the differences are not statistically significant, the paper says.

MacNell, the author of the original paper concerning the U.S. data, said she'd seen the new study and agreed that student evaluations of teaching "generally do not accurately measure teaching effectiveness."

Since this holds true across a variety of settings -- different courses, institutions and departments -- "there may not be much we can do to address this fact," she said. At the same time, she added, these evaluations can still be useful tools in limited ways.

"Perhaps institutions can move away from using SET for decisions about hiring, promotion and tenure," she said, "but still use them to get feedback on what students want and expect from their courses."

Stark said he doubted the new study would be the "nail the coffin" for student evaluations of teaching, but said he hoped it will "bring us closer to ending any use of SET for employment decisions." Still, he said, pretending that such evaluations are strong measures of teaching effectiveness remains "irresistible" to some, for a variety of complicated reasons.

But could the tide be turning? Stark said he expected class action lawsuits against universities that rely on these evaluations for employment decisions will start this year, and that there's evidence to support such cases.

"Our analysis would support an argument that the use of SET has adverse impact on female instructors, at least in the two settings we examined," he said. "Replication of this kind of experiment and analysis elsewhere would strengthen the argument. Eventually, lawsuits will lead universities to do the right thing, if only to mitigate financial risks."



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Supermythbuster · 24 days ago

On students evaluating their professors/lecturers/instructors. It's like the opening scene of a Tom Sharpe farce universities. Like all farces we begin with a policy/idea/event and follow it through to its natural conclusion.

When students rate their professors/lecturers and when those ratings are used by a professor's/lecturer's un

The answer should be obvious to all but those who brought this policy into practice. Namely, those professors/lecturers who are best at pleasing their students will come out on top. The result will be that all will then make "student pleasure" their top priority. The consequence?

(1) More time will be allocated to student pleasure than research. The result will be that research standards and achievements will suffer.

(2) Lecturers/professors will cease to take students out of their 'comfort zones' with the result that students will have far less of significance.

(3) University educational standards will drop.

(4) Some of the best academic staff will leave university employment due to stress-inducing stupidity. Others move to management positions and cease to be academically productive.

28 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



TinkerTailor1620 · 24 days ago

So a little earlier we learned unattractive females received lower grades from both male and female educators; we learn female educators receive lower SET marks than male educators. It would be interesting to see if the educators in this latest study received higher or lower marks based on their attractiveness rating. Of course, male impersonating the female may or may not have scored very well in this category, although it was online. Schools require online faculty to post their pictures in the classroom, though.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Me365 · 24 days ago

Not to nitpick, but these results actually challenge the validity of student evaluations rather than their reliability. If evaluations were solely based on perceived gender, the reliability (repeatability) would be even higher, but the (actually measuring instructor competence rather than something else) would be lower.

13 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Carl_Bankston → Me365 · 24 days ago

Strictly speaking, you're right, and I don't think you're nitpicking in pointing this out. But I believe this au using "reliability" in the way the word is often used outside of research, as a synonym for "dependable People might say "you can't rely on evaluations to tell you how good the teaching is."

I tend to regard evaluations as valid measures when mine are good and invalid when mine are bad. Bu seriously, since evaluations express the opinions of students, we should probably expect them to be a partly measures of biases.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



DF · 24 days ago

I wonder if women are biased in any way about men's appearance?

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



sibyledu → DF · 24 days ago

Oh, they probably are. Which would be another argument against using evaluations.

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Christopher E. S. Warburton · 24 days ago

Although evaluations are generally well intentioned, it should be no surprise that they also provide opportunitie the latent manifestation of biases. There is generally a tendency for slackers and ill-prepared students of dive orientation to take evaluations as an infrastructure for retaliating against instructors when they earn very poor or undesirable grades for very poor quality or undesirable work. Poor student performance is occasionally, if r more generally, presumed to be the singular fault of instructors.

Like all surveys, serious institutions will look into the types of questions that are asked, the feedback that is de and the prospects of eliminating leading questions that provide avenues for worthless attacks and biases. Iroi

without providing evidentiary evidence that are normally embedded in syllabi, assignments, and the general evaluation of students ex post facto, instructors have no avenue to rebut or respond to false and denigrating comments by students.

The administration of the surveys is sloppy when students are permitted to provide conspiratorial and coordin responses that are not reflective of the individual perspectives for which they surveys are designed or intende Some institutions have minimized the problem by allowing instructors to stay in class while maintaining an an length distance.

It should not be surprising that some vulnerable instructors develop a propensity to race to the bottom when th intimidated. They embrace appeasement mechanisms and water down standards as low as they can go. Stu

[see more](#)

3 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



ChrisTS → Christopher E. S. Warburton · 23 days ago

Wait, what? Unscrupulous academics are stealing information from personnel files? Is there evidence this? And, whose files are being stolen by whom?

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Dr. Michael · 24 days ago

I couldn't care less about what my students think of my teaching in week 13 of a course they are taking. What to know is what do they think of the course five years down the road. That is the only student evaluation that I see.

23 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Jim Clark → Dr. Michael · 24 days ago

Such research has been done by people like Harry Murray at Western. Later evaluations tend to confi

those obtained immediately after the end of class.

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mary Feegel → Dr. Michael · 2 days ago

you must have tenure.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Jim Clark · 24 days ago

The fact that a measure is imperfect (what measures aren't?) does not invalidate the measure. There is no mention in this article about the strength of the effects they report, that is, whether the effects are actually large enough to make any difference in evaluations. And I certainly wouldn't view grades as a very good measure of teaching effectiveness under naturally occurring circumstances given the many other factors that affect composition of classes and student performance. I just do not understand why so many academics doubt that students in a classroom for months cannot evaluate such specific elements as whether the instructor was organized or other qualities that make (generally) effective instruction.

6 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Richard → Jim Clark · 24 days ago

"In two very different universities and in a broad range of course topics, SET measure students' gender biases better than they measure the instructor's teaching effectiveness."

This appears to be a comparison of effect sizes.

I don't think academics in general doubt that students can evaluate specific elements of a course, but that answering questions like, "Is this person an effective instructor?" requires expertise that a student does not typically possess. Such questions are also the ones most commonly used to make employment decisions.



Mark Jackson → Jim Clark · 24 days ago

"I just do not understand why so many academics doubt that students in a class for months cannot evaluate such specific elements as whether the instructor was organized or other qualities of (generally) effective instruction."

I'm not convinced students pay that much attention to individual questions.

I've seen a lot of evaluations that are straight 6s or straight 1s or straight 4s; is it *really* the case that a professor in question gave exactly the same performance on "held office hours regularly" and "made the course interesting for me"? And how come a professor who objectively-- not subjectively-- never missed a single scheduled office hour would get a 6 on this question from the student who finds the class interesting but a 3 on this question from the student who doesn't find the class interesting? I've seen this kind of thing numerous times over more than a 20-year career.

I've also seen an evaluation that awarded a score of 2 out of 6 for "overall performance of professor" but swear it really looked to me (in context) as if the student simply got the lines mixed up and was trying to indicate that he/ she was a sophomore (hence the 2) who happened to absolutely LOVE the class and offered nothing but strong praise in the qualitative comments.

I've seen pairs of questions designed to gauge reliability by asking essentially the same question in different ways, and the student gave very different answers. (Like "the professor provided prompt feedback" and "the professor gave feedback in a timely fashion" or some such, getting very different scores).

6 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Anath Tikkum → Jim Clark · 3 days ago

They also compared how students evaluated the punctuality of returned assignments. An objective measure

of organization, even in each a context there were biases. So no, students evaluate according to gender most likely also according to race and age.

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



TBITC · 24 days ago

The article claims that the study concerns "gender," but "gender" is a social construct and can change any second. I think that the article should be talking about sex. By the way, there are dozens of genders:

<http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/he...>

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mark Jackson → TBITC · 24 days ago

"I think that the article should be talking about sex."

Good call.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



crilk → TBITC · 23 days ago

I've never understood people who think there are dozens of different genders. If you don't fit into the two gender system, why don't you just reject gender altogether instead of inventing a brand-new category just so you can feel special about yourself?

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Calvin Hobbes · 24 days ago

ARTICLE: Still, he [Stark] said, pretending that such evaluations are strong measures of teaching effectiveness remains "irresistible" to some, for a variety of complicated reasons.

It's reasonable to think that teaching evaluation scores are to some extent, probably to a large extent, influenced

whether the students found the course to be a pleasant (versus unpleasant) experience and by how likable the students found the instructor. In the case of the French data, it could be that students just found the male instructor more likable than the female instructors.

In the case of the American data, we can't be sure that the male instructor treated students the same way when he was pretending to be female as when he was claiming to be male, and likewise for the female instructor.

Professor Stark must know that "statistical significance" does not imply practical significance. With enough data, a miniscule p-value can arise when there is a miniscule deviation from the null hypothesis. We saw something in the earlier article about ugly females getting lower grades.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



ASG → Calvin Hobbes · 22 days ago

The experiment was described as "randomized, controlled, [and] blind", which I take to mean that the professor didn't know whether he or she was going to be presented to the students as male or female round. So I don't think the professor's treatment of the students is going to change depending on what she is "supposed" to be that day.

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Prof@UQU-College-of-Business → ASG · 19 days ago

Hmm.

If professor Did Not know what gender would be presented to students then the use of language constructs (pronouns etc.) could readily identify the gender to students during e-mail/text communications. So, the objective of having a 'blind' study is lost AND students would know the gender.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Jim Greenberg · 24 days ago

Benton and Cashin's paper on this topic is worth a read too. <http://ideaedu.org/wp-content/...>

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Dennis · 24 days ago

If students tend to prefer male instructors then shouldn't universities hire fewer women? After all the customer is always right.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mark Jackson → Dennis · 23 days ago

Ah, but the "customer" in this case can exercise market power by taking or leaving the product that is. Unless the company's sales are actually down, there's no reason to take such soft preferences seriously.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Adam Macaluso → Mark Jackson · 23 days ago

But if students (albeit inaccurately) believe that they learn better from males, that means they effectively enjoy learning more from males. I (personally) feel the value of education is in the enjoyment of learning, not the rote memorization obtained. So if students enjoy learning more from males, so-be-it.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mary Feegel → Adam Macaluso · 23 days ago

i'd like to see you say that in front of your politically correct colleagues. you must have thought what if they enjoy learning more from "white" folk? what if they enjoy learning more from "heterosexuals"? I hope you're not in academia but I'm betting you're tenured.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mark Jackson → Adam Macaluso · 22 days ago

"So if students enjoy learning more from males, so-be-it."

And as I said, unless actual sales are down, then there's no reason to take such soft preferences seriously. A customer who subjectively doesn't "enjoy" your product but keeps buying it nonetheless is as good as any other customer.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Prof@UQU-College-of-Business → Mark Jackson · 19 days ago

But, before these types of studies, the 'customer' did not even know he/she enjoyed the service from the male service provider more than the female service provider. They may now be changing their buying habits (as you implied) just as schools may now change their employment conditions (as our other colleague implied).

By the way, even after spending 22 years in academia, I have still not been able to digest/accept these 'paying customer' type arguments re professor-student relationship (but, that is not related to the discussion we are having). I know I am politically incorrect but just the body language of my students is enough to tell me how I am doing on that specific point in time (and my students do forgive/forget occasional lapses in quality of learning experience they are getting - I see only myself as a facilitator of learning!).

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Whitney Anne Postman → Mark Jackson · 18 days ago

Adam Macaluso's message of "Give the students what they want" could have an unintended benefit for female academics. If male academics can handle the teaching load for students' enjoyment, then female academics will be free to conduct serious

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mary Feegel → Mark Jackson · 7 days ago

you're a pig, you're definitely an academic, hiding behind the cloak of the internet. you would never say that in front of any of your colleagues. Coward. Pig.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Whitney Anne Postman → Adam Macaluso · 18 days ago

Right! Let the males teach so that the females can conduct serious research. That wa everyone's happy!!

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Prof@UQU-College-of-Business → Dennis · 19 days ago

Haha! And, such market-oriented arguments often pop up in support of using SET in hiring/tenure/promotions decisions (let the paying customer decide how good was your service).

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Whitney Anne Postman → Dennis · 18 days ago

Agreed!! Have the guys teach so that the ladies can conduct serious research.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



The_Lord_Your_God · 24 days ago

One more reason why analytics will replace traditional forms of faculty evaluation.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mark Jackson → The_Lord_Your_God · 23 days ago

One more reason why analytics will replace traditional forms of faculty evaluation.

Analytics combined with decomposition of the professorial "job" into a series of tasks that can be done cheaply through a combination of technology and contract-by-task labor.

I'm pretty sure I wouldn't do well in an analytics regime; that's why I'm glad it's the next generation's problem, not mine. I'm going to milk tenure for all it's worth, focus on my research and managerial roles, and make sure I'm in a position to retire by age 50 if it becomes necessary.

I have no idea how we're going to ensure high-quality employment for the next generation, so it's a good thing that smarter people than me are (presumably) working on it.

3 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



The_Lord_Your_God → Mark Jackson · 23 days ago

"I'm going to milk tenure for all it's worth...and make sure I'm in a position to retire by age 50 if it becomes necessary."

Truer words are seldom spoken. Thank you for your honesty.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mark Jackson → The_Lord_Your_God · 22 days ago

"Thank you for your honesty."

No problem.

But please note, in addition to the part of my post that you quoted, I was being equally honest when I said it's a good thing that people smarter than me are working on the problem.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Havid Damburger · 24 days ago

Nothing is anyone's fault, ever.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Malcolm Mccallum · 24 days ago

this article on Alice Paul's birthday too.

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Douglas Levene · 24 days ago

I never read student evaluations, ever. If the dean reads them and wants to tell me something he's noticed, I c
mind that too much, although I would prefer that the dean sit through a few of my classes and make his own
judgment about my teaching ability.

3 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mary Feegel → Douglas Levene · 23 days ago

you too must be tenured and not have a vindictive chair who uses the evals on the basis of how much
likes you. if he likes you, he will hide your evals and they will never count. if he doesn't like you, you be
buying ice cream and whiskey for your students to get those evals up.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Douglas Levene → Mary Feegel · 23 days ago

No tenure, not even tenure track.

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Mary Feegel → Douglas Levene · 2 days ago

well then - you are an exception. i have seen horrible non-tenured professors kept and

^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Henry88 · 24 days ago

When I was near the start of my teaching career, I co-taught a lecture course (i.e. lectures only.) The SET for campus used asked about the labs. We had many, not all, of the students rate the quality of our labs in the cc We had a good laugh over that.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



ChrisTS → Henry88 · 23 days ago

Ha. I always know when a student evaluator simply hates or loves me by their scoring on questions ut irrelevant to my course.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Xenobio → Henry88 · 20 days ago

I wonder if evaluations could be quality controlled by deliberately including some irrelevant or odd ques make sure the respondents were actually filling them in thoughtfully or not.

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



AssociateProfessor · 24 days ago

My university gave up with the language of 'student evaluations' a long while ago. We call them 'course survey' the words of my dean: "It is my job to evaluate you, a student does not have the knowledge and ability to evalu faculty member."

5 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



AreaMan · 23 days ago

I once sat through a sort of norming session in which an associate dean handed out copies of student evalua

... (members, no comments), anonymously, attributed to a standard faculty member. This was a model of what is expected at the university. When I raised my hand to ask whether the "average expected grade should also be an A-, as reported on the summary, she laughed awkwardly and noted that it's just a guideline

Laughter is indeed the only appropriate response to this game of imaginary evaluation.

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



In Hell's Kitchen (NYC) · 23 days ago

and let us not forget this: <http://faculty.econ.ucdavis.ed...>

"In primary and secondary education, measures of teacher quality are often based on contemporaneous student performance on standardized achievement tests. In the postsecondary environment, scores on student evaluations of professors are typically used to measure teaching quality. We possess unique data that allow us to measure relative student performance in mandatory follow-on classes. We compare metrics that capture these three different notions of instructional quality and present evidence that professors who excel at promoting contemporaneous student achievement teach in ways that improve their student evaluations but harm the follow-on achievement of their students in more advanced classes."

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›



Joey Hase · 23 days ago

Ms. Flaherty: Why are you referring to this study as "Stark and colleagues" when Anne Boring is the lead author should be referring to it as "Boring and colleagues." You are perpetuating the trend of giving less credit to female authors than male authors in collaborations.

4 ^ | v · Reply · Share ›

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Joseph Colorado — Obviously, they are not considered employees. Your opinion is that you would consider them to be employees. Unless ...

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