Gender and Student Evaluations: 
An Annotated Bibliography

Developed at the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching 
at the University of Michigan

Explores the potentially damaging effects of gender bias in student evaluations of teaching, specifically with regard to student expectations. Reviews a number of laboratory and "real life" studies and summarizes their conclusions. Notes the different and conflicting expectations of students and recommends a broader approach to teacher evaluations.

This handbook provides a practical model for developing and using a comprehensive faculty evaluating system that responds to the specific needs, concerns, and characteristics of the faculty and administration of an individual academic unit. It outlines an eight-step procedure that focuses on the determination of: (1) the faculty role model; (2) faculty role model parameter values; (3) roles in the faculty role model; (4) role component weights; (5) appropriate sources of information; (6) information source weights; (7) how information should be gathered; and (8) appropriate forms and protocols. It also examines the selection and development of forms for the student evaluation of faculty, providing samples of student rating form items is included. An appendix contains a sample faculty evaluation manual.

When faculty evaluation systems are proposed, students, faculty, and administrators often think only of questionnaires and assignment of data processing tasks. Much more must be considered, including balancing the needs of all constituencies, designing student rating forms and administration procedures, and the treatment and uses of the information obtained.

Finds that female students rated female faculty especially high across five teaching dimensions and male faculty comparatively lower, whereas male students did not evaluate male and female professors as significantly different. Finds that assessments of faculty were further influenced by the strength of students' gender schema and that gender schema may also lead to differential preference for particular teaching styles.

Explores the changing expectations of students towards a women professor throughout the course of her pregnancy. The professor made a conscious effort to standardize her classroom behavior throughout the course. Nonetheless, students attributed negative reactions and a general decline in her effectiveness to the debilitating effects of the pregnancy. Over the course of three semesters teaching the same class, the professor got pregnant and carried her child to term. Using qualitative and quantitative teaching evaluation data from the course, the paper analyzes how students' reactions to their professor shifted depending on their professor's capacity to fulfill their gendered expectations. It also examines how the
interactions between students' gendered expectations, their reactions to feminist course content, and their responses to their pregnant professor influenced the students' teaching evaluations of the instructor.


Student evaluations completed over a period at a private liberal arts college were analyzed for the effects of teacher gender, student gender, and divisional affiliation. A significant multivariate interaction between teacher gender and student gender was found for each of the 4 semesters examined. Overall, the ratings of male professors appeared to be unaffected by student gender. In contrast, female professors tended to receive their highest ratings from female students and their lowest ratings from male students. This interaction generally remained when possible confounding factors (such as teacher rank) were partialled out. The mean ratings received by female professors also varied as a function of the divisional affiliation of the course. Implications of these findings are discussed.


Using a quantitative approach, Basow argues that the overall effect of gender on student evaluations is small, accounting for about 3% of variance. However, there may be significant interaction effects between gender and other context variables that may cumulatively disadvantage female faculty.


Examined the qualities college students valued or disliked in their professors and whether they varied by student or professor gender. Students picked their best and worst professors, described their qualities, and rated their gender-linked personality traits. Gender factors operated more strongly in considerations of best versus worst professors. They also affected descriptions of best professors' characteristics.


Over 1,000 undergraduates evaluated 16 male and female professors in terms of teaching effectiveness and sex-typed characteristics. Male students gave female professors significantly poorer ratings than male professors on the six teaching evaluation measures. Female students evaluated female professors less favorably than male professors on three measures.


Survey of 253 students in non-science introductory courses at a liberal arts college. Bennett finds that students do not have different standards of reference for male and female instructors, but women are perceived to be less authoritarian and more charismatic. Female instructors in departments with fewer than 20% full women were rated even higher on these standards. She finds that ratings that are consequential for performance ratings of men have an equal impact on women except for the following, which have more effect for women: (1) professionalism (seen by students as a highly structured instructional approach), instructional presentation (specifically, being compelling and self-assured and presenting a balanced interpretation of viewpoints), and (3) accessibility.


*Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan, (734) 764-0505, crlt@umich.edu*
Female professors often experience "professional dimunition" through terms of address, comments about personal appearance on course evaluations, and direct questions about credentials.


Interviews with 84 male and female faculty illustrate some gender differences in early career experiences. Women's responses differed from men's in that they valued teaching but were more affected by negative experiences as teachers (for example, seeing colleagues as disinterested in discussing teaching; sensing that students would only accept them if they were entertainers; realizing that male students treated them less generously than they would male professors). They also had fewer opportunities for mentoring or collaborations (research or teaching). Finally, they reported more instances of illness and debilitating anxiety while teaching or writing. Critical experiences for minority women included: loneliness and never feeling a part of the campus or department, feeling overwhelmed with fears of failure and helplessness, and deciding to deal with students and colleagues by becoming tough and quiet. Exemplary women, more than exemplary males, saw problems as useful challenges.


Students and instructors from 24 classrooms across 8 departments at a major university were observed in this study to (a) assess for sex differences in faculty-student interactions and in students' perceptions of their college classroom environment, (b) compare student perceptions of their college classroom interaction patterns with observed faculty-student interactions, and (c) assess a variety of demographic characteristics together to determine their singular and/or interactive effects on faculty-student interaction patterns and student perceptions. Male and female students did not differ in their classroom participation or perceptions, and instructors did not interact differently with the male and female students. Student perceptions strongly correlated with their own behaviors and with instructor behaviors. Classroom interactions and student perceptions varied on the basis of different demographic characteristics including instructor sex, class size, instructor monitoring of gender-race equity in the classroom, gender relevance of the course, and the sex ratio of the class.


Male graduate students exhibited significantly more aggressiveness (interruptive behavior) than female students in both male and female professors' classes, although more male aggressiveness occurred in female professors' classes. Male students were more verbally assertive in female professors' classes only. Among students, aggressiveness was predominantly cross-sex, rather than same-sex.


Explores sex biases in college students, through their rating of desirability of traits and behaviors in 3 supposed applicants for a university teaching position. Subjects, after being presented with a brief scenario regarding the fictitious applicants, were required to review the sex-stereotyped list and then rate desirable traits, using a standardized list of 52 traits and a student-generated list of 25 preferred behaviors of a "great professor." Results show that masculine traits were preferred over feminine, and trait preferences were affected by the sex of the professor. Subjects had different preferences based on the sex of the professor, and the pattern of such evaluations was significantly predicted by the sex of the rater. The sex-biased pattern was clearer for male, than for female, raters.
Cashin, W. E. (1995). Student ratings of teaching: The research revisited. IDEA paper No. 32. This paper attempts to summarize the conclusions of the major reviews of the literature on student ratings of teaching. It is an update of a paper by the same name published as IDEA Paper No. 20 from the Center for Faculty Evaluation and Development in 1988. Viewing student ratings as data rather than evaluations may help to put them in proper perspective. Studies have considered the multidimensionality of student ratings and their reliability and validity. They have been compared to student learning outcomes, the self-ratings of the instructor, and the ratings of others, and possible sources of bias have been studied. There are probably more studies of student ratings than of all the other data used to evaluate college teaching combined, and there are certainly enough studies to allow some conclusions. In general, student ratings tend to be statistically reliable, valid, and relatively free from bias and need for control. Nevertheless, they are only one source of data about teaching and must be used with multiple sources of data to make judgments about all the components of teaching.

Centra, J. A., & Gaubatz, N. B. (2000). Is there gender bias in student evaluations of teaching? Journal of Higher Education, 71(1), 17-33. This study examined gender differences in student evaluation of teaching through two analyses. In the first, female and male student ratings in the same classes were compared for female and male instructors. In the second analysis, ratings by all male students are examined for how they differed for male and female instructors. Data came from 741 college classes, each of which had an enrollment of at least 10 female students and 10 male students from 21 colleges and universities. The student evaluation from was the Student Instructional Report II from the Educational Testing Service. Multivariate analysis of variance was used to investigate the mean differences of the dependent variables. In this study, in contrast to past studies, female students gave higher ratings to female instructors on three of eight scales for all disciplines combined, while male students gave male instructors higher ratings on only one scale, course organization and planning. Male and female students did not differ in their rankings of male teachers. For the total sample of classes, when more favorable ratings were given, they were largely by female students to female instructors. Overall, results support the conclusion that gender differences among instructors are related more to their gender-related approaches to teaching than to their overall effectiveness.

Dukes, R. L., & Victoria, G. (1989). The effects of gender, status, and effective teaching on the evaluation of college instruction. Teaching Sociology, 17(4), 447-57. Examined the effects of gender, status, and effective teaching on the evaluation of college instruction. Scenarios manipulating the status of professors relative to these variables were presented to subjects. Some gender bias was determined; however, effective teaching was the most important influence on evaluations.

Fandt, P. M., & Stevens, G. E. (1991). Evaluation bias in the business classroom: Evidence relating to the effects of previous experiences. Journal of Psychology, Interdisciplinary & Applied, 125(4), 469-78. A study of teaching evaluations in colleges of business administration found that male instructors were rated higher than female instructors. When previous experiences with female instructors existed, the female instructors were rated higher.

Feldman, K. A. (1992). College students' views of male and female college teachers: Part I--Evidence from the social laboratory and experiments. Research in Higher Education, 33(3), 317-75. Among findings of a review of research on college students' preconceptions of male and female college teachers were that, in the majority of studies, students' global evaluations of male and female teachers as professionals were not different, though in a minority of studies, male teachers received higher overall evaluations than did female teachers.

Research on college students' evaluations of their male and female teachers is synthesized and compared with results of research on student evaluation of hypothetical male and female teachers. Results suggest the interaction of gender, teacher characteristics/behaviors, and student perceptions and expectations is complex. Although a majority of studies have found that male and female college teachers do not differ in the global ratings they receive from their students, when statistically significant differences are found, more of them favor women than men. Across studies, the average association between gender and overall evaluation, while favoring women, is so small as to be insignificant in practical terms.


Studied the assertion that student and faculty gender, and their interaction, have little or no real effect on student ratings of university teaching quality, using 1,304 students from a Spanish university. Results, taking into consideration statistical significance and effect size, support the assertion. Implications for higher education are discussed.


The college curriculum is often separated into divisions or course types (e.g., natural science, the arts) that may be perceived to differ in the extent to which they use expressive feminine attributes (e.g., affectionate, sensitive) and instrumental masculine attributes (e.g., assertive, forceful). In Experiment 1, the effects of course type, student gender, and instructor gender and gender role on student evaluations of instructor effectiveness were examined. In Experiment 2, students' perceptions of the importance of various gender role characteristics in instructors of different course types were explored. Results suggest that instructor gender role is more important than instructor gender in affecting student evaluations. Both female and male students preferred instructors (science instructors, in particular) who possessed both feminine and masculine characteristics, regardless of the gender of the instructor.


Over 60 undergraduate business courses in 3 quarters were evaluated by more than 4,000 students. Student ratings of business course instructors were influenced by expected grades, course level, and instructor gender, and status.


Responses of 250 college faculty to questions about "good" teaching were analyzed by gender, rank, and discipline. Overall, few gender differences were found. Those that emerged include greater female faculty interest in student self-esteem, class interaction/participation, and seeking outside assistance in improving teaching. Male faculty valued student evaluations more.


Administered a teaching style inventory to 381 faculty from 200 U.S. colleges and universities. Women were slightly less likely to have an expert teaching (e.g., transmits information and expertise, challenges students to enhance competence) or a formal authority (e.g., provides feedback, establishes goals, expectations and rules of conduct) teaching style. They were more likely to score higher on facilitator (guides and consults with students) and delegator (is a resource for students as they work autonomously) scales. Instructors who used facilitative and personal (emphasis on direct observation and role modeling) styles were more satisfied with their courses.

Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan, (734) 764-0505, crlt@umich.edu

This study assessed the gender biases of male engineering undergraduates when evaluating a college teacher of a technical course. Students (n=126) rated a hypothetical calculus teacher on a variety of personal, interpersonal, and professional dimensions. Evidence of a pro-male bias was found with regard to what subjects thought the teacher's personal attitudes and interpersonal behavior would be toward students.


Potential instructor and student gender interaction in student ratings of faculty across different university colleges of study were studied through 29,519 completed student questionnaires. The relationship of gender differences in ratings to the particular college shows no predictable pattern. The impact of gender differences at other levels is discussed.


Survey of students in required general education courses about what they liked best and least about the class. Although women's studies and ethnic studies courses may receive high quantitative ratings, students used more pejorative language to describe them than courses in history or political science, and instructors of these classes were accused of being biased. Hartung finds that students use similar negative adjectives to describe women's studies and ethnic studies courses; however, the extent of critical comments was much greater for the former. Equal numbers of male and female students presented complaints about the women's studies courses, although the qualitative nature of their complaints differed.


The impact of three variables on students' ratings of instruction was assessed: (1) social contact between instructor and students; (2) instructor's facial expression; and (3) instructor's gender. Findings with 40 male and 40 female college students indicate that students expect female instructors to excel in both stereotypically masculine and feminine domains.


As of 1988, 805 of all liberal arts colleges used systematic student ratings as all, or part of, the means for evaluating teachers. The validity of systematic student ratings of college teachers is discussed.


Experimental study in which undergraduates in an intro psychology course rated biographical sketches (gender and race were manipulated) and brief syllabi (the "high controversy" syllabus treated racism and sexism, while the "low controversy" course addressed "more general social problems") of fictitious instructors. The authors found no support for the hypothesis that students will give low evaluations of effectiveness to minority and female instructors who present controversial material in their courses. Students rated both course syllabi as more controversial when taught by a Black instructor or a female instructor, and the race and gender course was rated most controversial when taught by a Black female. Although there was no significant overall difference in student ratings, students who perceived a course as controversial were more likely to indicate that the instructor: (1) shows important relationships between topics, (2) asks questions that challenge them to think, and (3) provides opportunities to bring
up or discuss issues related to the course. Students who rated a class as very controversial were more likely to report that: (1) the instructor asks questions that challenge them to think, (2) the instructor provides opportunities to bring up or discuss issues related to the course, and (3) course activities and materials are difficult. Among female students, white male instructors were rated least likely to show important relationships between topics and Black males most likely. Among male undergraduates, white female instructors were thought least likely to connect topics and Black females most likely.


Finds an interaction between student gender and instructor gender on teaching evaluations in mass communication. Shows that male students rated male instructors higher and that female students rated female instructors higher.


Sociology students' perceptions of their instructors' educational attainment levels are examined empirically. The authors find gender disparities: students misattribute in an upward direction the level of education actually attained by male graduate student instructors, while they misattribute in a downward direction the level of formal education attained by women, even when the female faculty member is a full professor. The misattributions are linked to the imputed statuses "teacher" for women and "professor" for men, regardless of the actual positions held or the credentials earned by faculty members and graduate student instructors. The authors suggest that a process of marginalization explains the empirical findings - a process that is attributed by others, but chosen by the self, regardless of the social and economic costs incurred.


Anecdotal first-person evidence demonstrates student resistance to college courses on feminist theory, focusing on how resistance fluctuates according to professor gender. Different forms of resistance are identified, including theories disregarded because they are derogatory to men, structural forces dismissed by contradictory individual experiences because they create individual discomfort and evidence minimized through victim blaming. A class experiment used to reduce such resistance is described, where a course introduction on feminism is first delivered by a female and then a male professor. In general, the male professor is perceived incorrectly as more qualified and less biased. Students evaluate their own reactions and resistance to each introduction, discovering their individual biases.


141 students at a state university were asked to evaluate syllabi. The course topics were varied: Sociology of Gender, Classical Social Theory, and Issues in the Family, as was the sex of the hypothetical instructor. For the Sociology of Gender course, students were more likely to indicate for female instructors that the course topics reflected instructor biases, course topics appeared to be too political, exams and papers appeared to be subjective and dependent on instructor opinions, and that the instructor had a political agenda. Female and male students rating the course (with a female instructor) found that the topics reflected the instructor's biases, while male students indicated that the topics appeared to be too political. (For the other two courses, there were no significant differences dealing with these bias-related questions.) However, there were no overall significant differences in whether students would want to take Sociology of Gender if the instructor were a man or a woman.

Interviewed 17 professors at New England colleges and universities: 3 white men, 4 black men, 5 white women, 5 black women. Found that women who looked young, both black and white, experienced inappropriate challenges persistently. To counteract this perception, women used strategies such as dressing professionally, not coloring gray hair, and talking about credentials and experiences on first day. Other influences on credibility raised by respondents were: teaching topics considered to be male (e.g., political power) or identity-associated, instructor race, and instructor sexuality. However, Moore finds that challenges by students are not the primary concern of faculty because collegial and administrative challenges can prevent these professors from becoming "full members of the club" (p. 204).

This essay identifies parallels between the traits assigned to gender work roles and the teaching/research divisions of labor at research universities. The character and definition of undergraduate teaching at research universities is very similar to what has often been described as "women's work."

This study reports on relationships between teachers' immediacy and students' evaluations of the course and teacher, and differences among these variables based on teachers' and students' gender. Analysis showed that for 197 undergraduate students (105 women and 92 men) immediacy, course evaluations, and evaluations of their teachers (104 men and 92 women) were positively correlated. There were no differences by gender for immediacy, but three gender differences were found: female instructors received higher teacher and course ratings than their male peers, and female students with male instructors rated the course lower than any other gender grouping.

Examined students' perceptions of college professors' ideal traits to ascertain possible influences of sex-role stereotyping (Exp I) and the terms of address students use with their professors in public and private contexts (Exp II). In Exp I, 20 undergraduates compiled a list of 34 ideal traits of professors divided among 5 categories: intellect, professionalism, communication ability, openness, and nurturing. Another 127 subjects were divided into 3 groups, each of which assigned the ideal traits to a male, female, or unspecified-sex professor. Only slight differences in the assignment of openness and nurturing traits to male and female professors were found, and there was no significant difference between male and female Ss who assigned the traits. In Exp II, 72 subjects were asked how they would address each of their professors in private and in public. Few contextual differences were found; however, female professors, especially those in the 26-33 age group, were addressed by first names more often than their male colleagues. Also, female Ss used the familiar terms more often than male subjects.

Reviews recent research on the different ways in which male and female students communicate with women and men faculty. Concludes with recommendations women faculty may implement to reduce behaviors that create and sustain a "chilly" classroom climate.

Student ratings have become the most widely used source of information on teaching effectiveness in higher education. Such evaluations are easy to abuse, however, and do not always lead to improvements in teaching. Student evaluations should never be the sole source of information on a teacher's effectiveness in class. The best way to get at the complexity and individuality of teaching is to compile a
teaching portfolio that includes not only student ratings but such things as other teachers' observations, reviews of the instructional materials used, and an essay by the faculty member on why the teaching was done in a particular way. The reliability of student ratings is discussed, and guidelines for using them are provided.


Assessed the effect of sex on performance evaluations in data drawn from a course instructor survey completed by 4,662 female students and 4,241 male students and by 102 students not indicating their sex. 254 male university instructors and 147 female university instructors participated. Male faculty were given significantly higher evaluations on global teacher effectiveness and academic competence than female faculty. Female faculty were not found to be rated as more sensitive to student needs than male faculty. When making overall, global judgments of faculty performance, students seemed to place more weight on academic competence for male faculty than for female faculty.


While student evaluations of teaching performance can provide useful feedback on faculty, particularly on dimensions of course delivery, there are serious limitations. Bias and distrust are often overlooked in interpreting student ratings. An inappropriate use is in rank-ordering faculty in a department. Student evaluation data must be integrated with other sources of information on teaching quality.


Investigates the possibility of gender bias in student ratings of female faculty at The Citadel. Four (Caucasian) female faculty members, one at each level of academic rank, and four (Caucasian) male cadets were interviewed to determine their views on bias in the instructional process, especially with regard to ratings of faculty by students. From the data the authors concluded that there is a contradiction between beliefs about gender bias and the actual presence of bias for both faculty and students. Women are subjected to a double standard, and in the military setting of The Citadel, non-tenure track female faculty are doubly penalized. Faculty women believe gender bias is part of the institutional culture, and contrapower harassment in ratings of female faculty by male students is likely.


This book examines university teaching from several perspectives: what male and female professors do in the classroom, their perceptions and feelings about teaching, and how students respond. Data were gathered by observing professors in their classrooms, doing selected unstructured interviews, and soliciting evaluation feedback from their students. This triangulation of data provides a richness of information and insight into the process of university teaching.


This paper explores written reports about socially constructed female gender roles and allows examination of how dominant viewpoints continually affect the evolution of women's roles as schoolwomen, focusing on societal evaluation of women's roles. Data for the paper were collected by 5 groups of students in a Communication Theory course. The groups were assigned to develop a theory based on their descriptions and explanations about the types of interactions that occur between women and men faculty and their students. The paper concludes that a combination of typical male task-oriented instruction with typical female relational-type instruction is important to teaching ability and effectiveness.

*Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan, (734) 764-0505, crlt@umich.edu*

Examines research using a classic, influential experiment conducted by Goldberg (1968), showing that women were likely to rate male authors (e.g., John T. McKay) more favorably than female authors (e.g., Joan T. McKay) of identical articles. Although replications of this study have been inconclusive, Goldberg's research is still frequently cited as demonstrating an evaluative bias against women. A quantitative meta-analysis of research using Goldberg's experimental paradigm shows that the average difference between ratings of men and women is negligible. Furthermore, although the effect sizes are not homogeneous, the difference remains negligible when other factors such as sex of subject or year of publication are taken into consideration. Several explanations for the heterogeneity of effect sizes and the inconsistency of findings are discussed.


To identify gender differences in student ratings of their instructors, college students completed a questionnaire concerning their instructor's attitudes and effectiveness. Data analysis indicated that female instructors received higher ratings than male instructors, and female students gave higher ratings than male students. Expected grade significantly affected students' ratings.


This paper presents a brief review of the existing research on student written evaluations of the teaching performance of college and university instructors. First, a short historical background is given.


In order to determine how situational variables influence students when they evaluate an instructor, the individual student as the unit of analysis was used. Interactions between three variables related to class (type, level, and size) and three related to instructor (reputation, rank, and sex) were examined.


Undergraduate students were exposed to videotaped lectures that differed on two dimensions: sex of lecturer, and style of presentation (affiliative or instrumental). Analyses revealed that students' perceptions of lecturers are dependent largely on lecturing style. Affiliative lecturers were seen as more effective as well as more confident, professional, and approachable.