G'WAN WITCHA THAT DOESN'T HAPPEN HERE! THE EXPERIENCES OF RACIALIZED PROFESSORS AT NOVA SCOTIAN UNIVERSITIES

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of International Development

At

Dalhousie University

Halifax, Nova Scotia

April 2022

DEDICATION PAGE

I dedicate my work to my family and the professors who continuously supported me throughout my academic journey. A special feeling of gratitude goes to my loving parents, Dave and Roxann, whose decision to expose me to a new environment sparked a passion for social justice that has propelled me to this moment. To my partner, Dylan, thank you for being a constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges of graduate school and life. I am truly blessed that you are in my life. To each of the professors who have taught me at Dalhousie and the University of Prince Edward Island, it has truly been an honour to learn from the best and thank you for the hard work you all do. Last, but not least, a special thanks to Dr. Ingrid Waldron. It has been a privilege to get to work under the supervision of one of the most strong and brilliant women in Canadian academia. You are a role model to everyone you meet and, on their behalf, I thank you.

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ABSTRACT

Up to now, existing studies suggest that there is a lack of literature on the experiences of racialized professors in Canadian academia, particularly Black and South Asian professors. Through critical race theory and whiteness studies, this study identifies the experiences of South Asian professors regarding hiring, tenure and promotion, curriculum development and interactions with students and non-racialized faculty in Nova Scotian universities. Additionally, this study examines whether White professors support racialized colleagues' experiences in Canadian academia. Based on telephone interviews, this study reveals that intersectional factors such as race and gender as well as environmental factors such as the field of study and the diversity of the department play a role in the university climate and experience. While there were mixed results over themes of experience, White academics were generally supportive of their racialized colleagues' experiences, however, White participants did not fit "homogenous" criteria.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

UPEI University of Prince Edward Island

SRI Student Ratings of Instruction

EDI Equity, Diversity and Inclusion

CRT Critical Race Theory

CAUT Canadian Association of University Teachers

STEM Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

MBA Masters of Business Administration

U of T University of Toronto

UBC University of British Columbia

PhD Doctor of Philosophy

CBC Canadian Broadcasting Company

CLS Critical Legal Studies

US United States

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

I was born down by the water, it's here I'm gonna stay. I've searched for all the reasons
why I should go away. But I haven't got the thirst for all those modern day toys. So I'll
just take my chances with those saltwater joys…
- Buddy Waisname and the other fellas, 1990.

   Sound familiar? Ask any Newfoundlander and I'll put money on it that they'll tell
you the name of the song and who wrote it and then sing it back to you in the harmony
and pitch the songwriter had intended. The above song is a sample of the Newfoundland
culture that was taught to many of us during our youth; it represents the pride and
resiliency of the people who inhabit the island of Newfoundland. I have never once
thought that this song, particularly this verse, meant much more than praising the beauty
of the island I am fortunate to have come from. At school, weddings, or just riding in the
car, I would repeat back the lyrics to demonstrate my love for the simple, unchaotic life
Newfoundland had offered me. However, looking back on what some would say was my
quarter-life crisis, I don't reflect on this song with the same admiration I had in my youth.
If anything, maturing and receiving the privileged education that compels me to examine
my surroundings with a critical eye, I have come to see that song as a means of
conformity, as something meant to unite a people with the same values, morals and ideas
as the generations that came before us. That Newfoundland song has the same intention
as does our Canadian anthem: to establish, in its simplest form, an us-versus-them
phenomenon that praises similarity in identity rather than difference. While some would
say that it's just a song, the truth of the matter is that it never really was. The song's
intentions are to ground the people of Newfoundland to their land, to compel them to stay
and live their lives unconcerned with the developments of the outside world, and to find
pleasure in a guarded way of living. As I continue, I will discuss an important eclipse that
occurred in my life, and hopefully you, the reader, will come to understand why my
attitude toward something I have hitherto considered as "just a song" has evolved.

   It's been almost a decade since I left the comfort of my protective bubble.
Newfoundland is a place I've known my whole life; my family roots there go back to the
late 1700s, when they emigrated from Scotland, displaced the local Indigenous people,
took their land and, unconsciously or not, continued the colonial tradition of making this

place their own. While it's never been said, there's an expectation or rather a subtle opinion that if you were born in Newfoundland, you were also going to die there. Many of my family members share that view. None of my extended family has ever left Newfoundland, let alone Canada. Long story short, if you are a Newfoundlander and you dare call a place other than Newfoundland your home, you will get sideways glares and rolling eyes at the dinner table. There is a general perception that Newfoundlanders are proud people. I, on the other hand, think all that posturing is mostly to protect themselves against things that are different, against change.

I will admit that when I was growing up, it seemed as if we had not really been aware of what life was like outside of Newfoundland, or frankly, what life would have been like in Newfoundland if we were to have seen it from outside a White upper-middle-class perspective. I had no insight into the experiences of racially marginalized communities, or the indirect forms of racism they face, or my own positionality as a racially and socially privileged person. We were mostly only concerned about the things that directly affected us. We were restricted by the blinders we wore; that is, we could only see what was right in front of us. That is why leaving rural Newfoundland was the best thing to ever happen to me. It gave me the opportunity to remove those blinders and see some of the issues that tend to be invisible to the racially dominant class.

My parents and I moved to the island of Providenciales, part of the Turks and Caicos Islands. This is a place where the majority of the population and leadership are of Afro-Caribbean descent, which was a complete reversal of the social demographic I had belonged to back home. In rural Newfoundland, it was rare to see a person of colour outside of St. John's, and even in Newfoundland's capital city, there were few people of colour and a few if any with any sense of privilege or power. Living in the Turks and Caicos gave me a glimpse of how life was like living outside a Western country. People would stare at me and judge me because I was considered an expat. There was the perception that because of what I looked like and where I came from, I must be privileged. While I am not denying the privilege I hold, it was not until I moved to the Turks and Caicos did, I recognize that my race and economic background gave me a certain level of privilege that was denied others. Nor did I ever question the institutions and way of life I used to praise so much back in Newfoundland as being unjust. This

relatively impoverished island in the Caribbean completely transformed my perspective on the social realities of life. It forced me to confront my own vexations about life, my whiteness and my role in perpetuating the cycles of historic inequality and trauma.

This is mainly the reason why I had felt like an outlier when I returned home to Newfoundland to go to university. Personally, I felt that if I had stayed in Newfoundland, I would still be wearing those blinders and living in the bubble I had escaped from. This is also why my decision to leave Memorial University and transfer to the University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI), although a hasty one, is not something I regret. During my third year at UPEI, I realized that my curiosity toward life's cultural norms and values was engulfing my academic interests. So, I took a leap of faith and switched from being a biology major to a joint degree in sociology and anthropology, despite the number of people who advised me not to do so.

Now you, the reader, might wonder why I would conduct a study about university professors. Originally, I had another topic in mind, one that centred on Haitian immigrants to the Turks and Caicos Islands. While, this topic is of extreme importance, I felt it was best to conduct a study on a topic that resonated with me and could keep me engaged from the very start. After reading the book *Racism without Racists,* by Professor Eduardo Bonilla-Silva of Duke University's sociology department, as well as his research on racism in the United States, I was hooked. Contemplating Dr. Bonilla-Silva's work made me realize that I have seen, heard and unconsciously contributed to behaviour that reinforces the White supremacy that I believed I was no longer a part of. I then found myself researching more and more about critical race theory and whiteness studies, which led me to a book titled *The Equity Myth: Racialization and Indigeneity of Canadian Universities*, a book every student and professor should read throughout their academic careers.

As many of you know, the life of a university student is not only hectic and stressful but also empowering, rewarding and, more importantly, a time to learn about themselves and the kind of person they want to be. However, many students do not take the time to critically examine the hidden dynamics their university functions on. Students may be lucky to hear talks about creating a more diversified student population on campus or creating more scholarships for racialized students, but rarely are there talks

about diversifying the faculty and/or adding supports for the racialized faculty they do have. I will admit that when I was attending UPEI, I never once thought about the whiteness that was apparent across the university campus. However, what I have come to question is why the majority of those professors who were relaying information and knowledge based on topics such as colonization, racism, discrimination, bias, marginalization, and other related subjects were White, middle-class, cis-gender men. There were no voices from racialized academics, particularly Black and South Asian.

While I do not understand the experiences of racialized people, I hope this paper will serve to spark interest in the stories of racialized academics and help others recognize the impact intersectionality has on a person's environment. Storytelling is a natural form of communication that goes back to the beginning of time and I hope that through the stories of the academics I interviewed for this study, many will come to realize that much of what has been constructed around us is the outcome of centuries of preserving White privilege and supremacy. So, similar to how my trip to the Turks and Caicos opened my eyes to my White privilege, I hope this thesis can do the same for many others.

Research Topic

For my research study I will be looking at the experiences of South Asian tenured and untenured faculty, in six Nova Scotian universities, regarding their encounters of systematic and everyday racism within their universities. It was my intent to include Black academics for this study as well; however, because of the lack of Black participants, this study focuses solely on South Asian professors. I will also be examining White faculty members' thoughts on South Asian faculty members' experiences at Nova Scotian universities, using both qualitative and quantitative information gathered from the research study in *The Equity Myth: Racialization and Indigeneity of Canadian Universities*. The universities involved in the study are King's College, Dalhousie University, Saint Mary's University, Mount Saint Vincent University, Cape Breton University and Saint Francis Xavier University. The research study will involve examining South Asian faculty members' experiences in the following situations: experiences in the classroom, in hiring, curriculum development and academic freedom, with faculty members, in achieving tenure and promotion, in student interactions, in

encountering microaggressions, and in their personal assessments in students' feedback from Student Ratings of Instruction. I will also examine if and how institutional racism is manifested within different universities, including universities within the same province.

The benefits of situating my research within Nova Scotian universities are due to their relatively greater pool of participants from marginalized populations and Nova Scotia's immigration history. Nova Scotia has been home to African Nova Scotians for the past 300 years, as their earliest ancestors travelled to the province between 1783 and 1785 (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, n.d.). From then on, African Nova Scotians have experienced great adversity as a result of the White supremacy and White privilege that has governed the province's ethos and organization. African Nova Scotians continue to be subjected to immense marginalization and exclusion from the same rights and opportunities that White Nova Scotians take for granted.

Institutions of higher learning have a long legacy of systemic racism, which is documented in the Lord Dalhousie Report. Because of this, I conducted my study within the context of this legacy of systemic racism within academia. In doing so, the Lord Dalhousie Report and its findings provide a relevant and crucial backdrop to my research findings. Many Nova Scotians did not know about the province's ties to slavery and its racial past until the Lord Dalhousie Report was published in 2019. The report explains that in the war of 1812, Black refugees were promised safe passage into the province and land ownership. However, this was not the case; instead, many Black loyalists were given little to no land or land unsuitable for agriculture. Many Black loyalists also experienced continued segregation in religion and schooling and found themselves in positions of re-enslavement. Nova Scotia's ties with the Atlantic slave trade and Halifax's military alliance allowed officers, immigrants, and merchants to travel to the city with any enslaved property that they owned. Because slavery was not considered illegal in the province, the lack of outlawing the practice meant that slavery was a common and accepted practice with many White elites (Cooper et al., 2019). For instance, a 1752 advertisement in the Halifax Gazette announced the sale of six enslaved people, including "a negro wench…creole born…capable of doing all sorts of work…washing, ironing, cooking, including every other thing that can be expected from such a slave." This

advertisement suggests the acceptance of slavery and the sexual exploitation that many enslaved women were subjected to in the province (Patterson, 2016).

Under the control of George Ramsay, who was also known as Lord Dalhousie and was Governor of Nova Scotia, these practices did not change. Instead, Lord Dalhousie himself was pro-slavery and believed Black refugees were "slaves by habit and education" and "their idea of freedom [was] idleness and they [were] therefore quite incapable of industry" (Willick, 2019). His racial views towards Black refugees were apparent in the lack of resources his government allocated to the Black population and his desire to deport Black refugees back to their enslavers (Cooper et al., 2019). Dalhousie's paternalism and prejudice towards the Black population were furthered and cemented in the construction of Dalhousie College. Dalhousie ensured pro-slavery administrators whose beliefs were in Black inferiority and perpetuated White supremacy in the College and the province.

Even the notorious Ku Klux Klan had at least 17 active Klans in Eastern Canada with access to government officials, and it was not until 1959 that segregation in movie theatres and restaurants became illegal (Patterson, 2016). Since then, the Black population has continued to be subjected to numerous injustices such as the destruction of Africville, labour discrimination, racial profiling, segregation laws, and barred access from necessities.

Persons of South Asian descent have also experienced the effects of racism and discrimination in Nova Scotia, despite their history of immigration going back to 1897. (SouthAsianCanadianHertiage.ca, 2018). South Asians have endured many anti-immigration acts constructed by successive Canadian governments. For example, Canadian Prime Minister William Mackenzie King's attempt to send persons of South descent to Honduras. Having failed in this attempt, King's administration placed the Chinese Head Tax on all Asians migrating to Canada (SouthAsianCanadianHertiage.ca, 2018). Similarly, Samuel (2009) found that in Atlantic Canada, South Asian women had difficulties finding jobs and many were in "precarious and insecure positions" and often encountered discrimination, depression, and intergenerational conflict as a result of their experiences in the region (Samuel, 2009). While no recent studies focus on South Asians in the Atlantic provinces, insights on the experiences of racialized groups can be found in

archival documents of regional newspapers and other media. Anjuli Patil, a reporter with CBC News, interviewed a Halifax Taxi driver who was subjected to "a racial slur typically used against people of South Asian descent" during the COVID-19 pandemic (Patil, 2020). Likewise, Kish Katariya, an Indian immigrant living in Charlottetown, PEI, stated that the city does not care about Indian culture and that sponsorship preference is given to the ""business class" of immigrants who enter the island through the Provincial Nominee Program" (MacDonald, 2018). South Asian persons not only experienced verbal harassment but, in recent years, have been victims of violent hate crimes throughout Canada. In June 2021 alone, a South Asian family of four was murdered in London, Ontario, which was classified as a premeditated hate crime (BBC, 2021). Similarly, these violent anti-Asian attacks have been seen in the Maritimes as a young South Asian man was murdered in Truro, Nova Scotia, another suspected victim of a hate crime (Tattrie & McMillan, 2021).

Evidently, there has been a long history of the continued exploitation of both racialized groups in Atlantic Canada, especially among women. Therefore, it is of great importance to examine whether issues of racism, sexism, and other -isms still exist in 2021, even in institutions like universities where celebrations of diversity and inclusiveness are most prevalent in Nova Scotian civilization. Hence, it is my job as a researcher to uncover whether South Asian professors still experience racial transgressions and discriminatory encounters in academia in the here and now.

If these transgressions are still present, then the first step to "decolonizing the institution" is to present the experiences of South Asian faculty so their voices are heard. The second step would be to acknowledge the wrongs committed against racialized faculty and to ask those actors who consciously or unconsciously participated in practices of racial discrimination to be White allies and support fellow racialized faculty. Hopefully this paper will raise more awareness of the racism that persists in Nova Scotia's institutions of higher learning and that the fundamental principle that all human beings are equal will someday be a reality instead of the idealistic platitude it really is.

Originally, I was going to situate my research at the University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI), as there has been little work on addressing the impacts of institutional racism within that university. In Atlantic Canada, research published in *The Equity Myth*:

Racialization and Indigeneity of Canadian Universities concentrated on racism in the region's larger universities, such as Dalhousie University, but there has been no work that situates an entire research study on the topic of racism in one location. *The Equity Myth: Racialization and Indigeneity of Canadian Universities* was a nation-wide study, not a provincial one. Given Prince Edward Island's low immigration rates and the university's dominant White population, the effects of institutional racism are practically invisible and are thus ignored and must be more closely examined. However, early in my research study, I learned that maintaining anonymity and confidentiality within a smaller institution with a low proportion of racialized faculty would be too risky for the participants involved. While I hope that there is a call to action regarding matters concerning institutional racism at UPEI, I believe more must be put in place to ensure these faculty members are not punished for speaking up.

Research Question

The main research question I will be examining in my study is: what are the experiences of South Asian tenured or untenured professors with respect to hiring, tenure and promotion, curriculum development, and interactions with students and faculty?

Main Research Objective

My main research objective is to examine racialized faculty members' experiences at universities in Nova Scotia, including King's College, Dalhousie University, Saint Mary's University, Mount Saint Vincent University, Cape Breton University and Saint Francis Xavier University.

Sub-objectives

1) To examine South Asian faculty's experiences with hiring and promotion and tenure.

2) To learn about South Asian faculty's experiences interacting with students and non-racialized faculty members.

3) To understand the considerations that South Asian faculty make in developing curricula.

4) To obtain of White faculty members' perspectives on racialized faculty's experiences with hiring, tenure and promotion and curriculum development.

The first sub-objective, "to examine South Asian faculty's experiences with hiring and promotion and tenure," is to explore any challenges and/or barriers racialized faculty face during the hiring phase, promotions and tenureships. Specifically, this study investigates whether South Asian faculty have experienced discrimination due to their race, accent, resumé, education and other factors that can affect their experiences in climbing up the university ladder. Moreover, I want to know whether South Asian faculty's experiences with hiring, promotion and tenure and have led to more racialized faculty being placed in precarious part-time teaching positions with no upward immobility. This sub-objective will provide insights on how administrators and hiring committees could conduct better hiring and promotion practices and change procedures that can potentially lead to discrimination in hiring.

The second sub-objective—"to learn about South Asian faculty's experiences interacting with students and non-racialized faculty members," is to assess whether South Asian faculty members have ever been subjected to stereotyping or encountered resistance from students in the classrooms over course material, knowledge translation and/or the instructor's presentation. Furthermore, I want to learn whether South Asian professors have received negative SRIs as an outcome of their race, gender, sexual orientation, accent, or immigration status in the university in which they are now employed. Finally, I seek to gauge whether South Asian faculty have ever experienced acts of whiteness, discrimination, and/or racism from non-racialized faculty members in their present university and whether they believe that these faculty members were conscious of their behaviour.

The third sub-objective, "to understand the considerations that South Asian faculty must make in developing curricula," is to explore whether South Asian faculty members are expected to be more thorough than White faculty members in their development of syllabi and course material in relation to alternative knowledge forms, discussions about colonialism, racism, sexism, EDI, and other topics the dominant White student population in Nova Scotia might not be familiar or comfortable with. Within this objective, I also hope to gage whether racialized faculty members experience resistance from other faculty members and administration if they attempt to incorporate anti-racism works into their courses.

The final sub-objective, "to obtain the perspectives of White faculty members on racialized faculties' experiences with hiring, tenure and promotion and curriculum development," is to see whether White faculty support racialized faculty members when they express concerns about their experiences in Nova Scotian universities. Here, the objective is to also use the findings in the literature and the data as a tool to help strengthen the voices South Asian faculty members.

<u>Literature Review</u>

This chapter provides background knowledge on and fleshes out the current literature that relates to the experiences of racialized professors, centring on Black and South Asian professors in Canadian academia since there are limited studies on racialized faculty in Atlantic Canada. This chapter provides insights into the sub-topics of academic employees, sessional lecturers, hiring, tenure and promotion, curriculum, students' evaluations of faculty, and interactions between students and non-racialized faculty members, as examining these issues together is of extreme relevance to my overarching research question. While most of the literature strictly pertains to case studies and articles that centre on Canadian academia, the use of literature on US universities has helped reinforce perspectives and themes seen within Canadian universities. More importantly, the research in both Canada and the US showcases that the racial climate in education has shifted from blunt acts of racism to invisible, subtle microaggressions and inequitable policies that bind minorities into unmovable positions. This explains why there must be ongoing additions to the literature for the purpose of helping to rectify issues of racism, classism, and sexism and amplify the voices of marginalized persons.

<u>Academic Labour and Sessional Lecturers</u>

To begin, the neo-liberal shift seen within Canadian universities has made higher education in Canada no longer a public and social good but rather a commodity that operates using capitalist mechanisms such as the privatization of education. Slaughter and Rhoades (2005) refer to this phenomenon as academic capitalism, in which reductions in public funding to universities favour a corporate university model. As briefly mentioned in my introduction, the bureaucratic ways of the university, or more specifically the corporate university model focused solely on earning profits and knowledge transfer, is dependent on having a competitive but controllable work force. Along with this new

ideology, there has been a reduction in the number of tenure-track positions, a drastic increase in the hiring of sessional faculty, and a reliance on quality assurance programs such as the student evaluations sessional faculty heavily rely on to obtain lecturers' contracts (Muzzin, 2008; Webber, 2008). Foster (2016) estimates that more than half of the university faculties in Canadian universities are now in non-tenured positions. The position of a sessional lecturer is described as a type of precarious employment in which faculty members are non-permanent, hold limited job contracts and duties, and receive lower pay than full-time tenure-track lecturers.

Mysyk (2001) even goes so far as referencing sessional lecturers as migrant workers, stating that, like migrant workers, sessional lecturers are inexpensive, temporary, and mobile. Sessional lecturers represent flexibility in three ways: wage flexibility, numerical flexibility, and geographical flexibility. And while these are seen as positives within the corporate university model, Mysyk (2001) states that these positions decrease academics' chances of employment and the quality of their working conditions. In multiple studies, there are parallels that point to sessional lecturers as possibly experiencing the following: earning less than a tenure-track professor even if their qualifications are the same; if their position is not covered by the collective agreement, then there are fewer benefits; these employees have less say in departmental decisions and reduced access to administrative tools and supports; sessional lecturers may also need to engage in additional service work to earn more income; their teaching ability is constantly evaluated and positive student evaluations do not guarantee a contract renewal (Mysyk, 2001; Spafford et al., 2006; Muzzin, 2008). For example, a job posting for a sessional lecturer at Saint Mary's University stated the following:

"*Applications are invited for one 8-month, full-time sessional appointment at the Assistant Professor level starting September 1st, 2020. Candidates are expected to have a Ph.D. in Psychology or be near completion of the degree. We seek individuals who can contribute to teaching in areas such as Forensic and/or Clinical Psychology. Successful candidates are expected to teach three courses per semester. Candidates should present evidence, commensurate with experience, of their teaching ability, a letter outlining the courses they are interested in teaching (course descriptions are available here: https://smu.ca/academics/psychology-courses.html), and evidence of their scholarly*

productivity. As well as meeting their teaching responsibilities, the successful candidate will be expected to collaborate with other department colleagues and contribute to the department's programs" (Saint Mary's University, 2021).

Not only does this posting confirm that sessional lecturers require the same qualifications as tenure-track professors but it also points to the lack of job security in the university market. Once selected, the applicant is not guaranteed a contract renewal after the 8 month period and it is very likely that this applicant may find themselves in a recurring cycle of finishing a short contract and hunting for another contractual position. A 2018 study by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) found that women and people of colour are disproportionately represented in these sessional positions and are more likely to be hired on a term-by-term basis within Canadian universities (Vescera, 2022). Many of these lecturers stated that they work more hours per course per week than their White male counterparts and that they experience multiple layers of discrimination and oppression and limited opportunity for advancement (Vescera, 2022)

Similarly, Mysky's (2001) study represents sessional lecturers regardless of factors such as race, gender, sexual orientation, income, and other identifiers. These findings are astounding given that, in Canada, racialized faculty are more prominently found to be in these precarious, immobile positions compared to White males and females on the tenure-track stream (Spafford et al., 2006; Rajagopal, 2002; Henry et al., 2017; Vescera, 2022). This is evident in the invisibility of Indigenous and racialized faculty, especially females, despite racialized women holding 18.7% of all PhDs in Canada and constituting only 3.4% of tenured, full-time faculty in this country (Verjee, 2013). Additionally, keeping in mind the fact that racialized persons are more predominant in these positions, CAUT found that sessional lecturers earn less than $50,000 per year, despite being expected to publish in addition to their service work. Using the city of Halifax as an example, a sessional lecturer paid $50,000 annually earns a salary equivalent to $24.04 per hour, which is only $2.24 dollars more than what the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives determined to be a living wage in Nova Scotia in 2020 (Driscoll & Saulnier, 2020). Nevertheless, as the CAUT has shown, these sessional lecturers are earning less than $50,000 and are therefore more likely to be making close

too or less than the minimum living wage in Halifax. Furthermore, the CAUT also noted that that women, Blacks, Indigenous, and non-Black people of colour are more likely to be represented in these lower income categories, despite the fact they are more likely working more hours per course than male or White contract faculty, who make over $30,000 more (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2018). It is important to recognize that the common myth that sessional faculty are on contract by choice is untrue; in reality, more than half of sessional faculty aspire to tenure-track positions (Foster & Birsdell-Bauer, 2018). Clearly, it is evident that universities' apparent willingness to hire more racialized faculty through these precarious positions has been a cost-cutting measure that continues to hinder these people's possibilities for enhancement in academia and possibly caused their loss of power control.

Recently, following the George Floyd murder, universities have been posting job ads to hire a cluster of Black faculty members to increase their representation. Cluster hiring as described by Sá (2019) is "establishing a number of interdisciplinary areas for recruitment across academic units through consultative processes. Recruitment proceeds through multidisciplinary committees that select candidates whose research fits both a cluster and an academic department, where the new faculty member's tenure is based." This process was used in 2018 and 2019 when universities such as McGill University and the University of Guelph were hiring Indigenous faculty. Despite the cluster hires, little is reported about whether recent hires of Indigenous or Black faculty were for full-time professor streams or whether people in these racialized groups continue to be placed in part-time positions. Kirk Starratt (2022) reported that Kiara Sexton, a student at Acadia University who served on the President's Anti-Racism Task Force, said that "the demand for a cluster hire to improve diversity and other initiatives to improve the school's faculty and staff has been a conversation for year." So one has to wonder whether, in the past two years, universities' stated committed to anti-racism cluster hiring actually resulted in new hires of full-time, tenure-track racialized men and women with PhDs, and why there are few publications on who these professors are and the positions they hold.

Hiring

The hiring process for an academic position at any university is an overwhelming and critical moment in a scholar's career. If successful, it is the gateway to becoming

recognized as a prominent university professor and researcher. In Canada, the hiring process typically takes place in stages. However, what is not generally researched is the experiences racialized faculty encounter while navigating through the hiring process. However, the scant literature on the Canadian context shows that, compared to racialized men in academics, racialized women find themselves worse off as they are limited not only because of their race but also their gender, which in turn affects their financial standing. The CAUT (2018) reported that in 2018, racialized men earned $96,557 on average while racialized women earned roughly $77,908, a 32.2% difference. While the CAUT reported that the pay for subjects differs regardless of race (e.g., the pay for STEM—science, technology, engineering, mathematics, and computer sciences—is generally higher than for the social sciences), women are still paid less within these same disciplines. For instance, in engineering and mathematics, the CAUT reported that in 2018, male full-time professors earned over $5,000 more than their female counterparts in both disciplines. Although the study only provides insight on how gender affects salaries in academia, the fact that there are significant wage gaps between racialized professors compared to non-racialized professors. The claim that racialized women are the lowest paid professors in academia means they are affected by not only by race and gender but also by class. Furthermore, racialized women, particularly Black women, are underrepresented in STEM compared to racialized men. This is alarming given that STEM fields are the highest paid and fastest growing fields among all academic disciplines (hervolution.org, 2020). The CAUT reported that women only constitute 15.5% of faculty in disciplines such as architecture and engineering, and given that the CAUT reported unemployment rates highest among racialized women, twice as high as non-racialized women, it is likely that out of this 15.5%, racialized women are nearly invisible (CAUT, 2018). However, while this information is useful in demonstrating disparities in faculty positions in Canada, the CAUT failed to report how many racialized minorities are in leadership positions in Canadian universities and how they are doing.

Cukier et al.'s (2021) recent study of racialized leaders in Canadian universities provides insight on the matter, especially since there is scant peer-reviewed research on senior academic and executive leadership positions. This study indicates that only 13.3% of all senior university leadership positions in Canada are held by racialized people, with

racialized women making up only 2.2% of that 13.3%. In addition, out of this 13.3%, non-Black visible minorities make up 7.28%, of which Black and Indigenous people only represent 2.38% and 0.63%, respectively. Even so, the racialized people in those senior positions in the STEM disciplines are all men. This clearly points to systematic marginalization and segregation due to factors of race, gender, class and department, among others. These findings are also evident in the Nova Scotian context, as there are no females in leadership roles at Acadia and Cape Breton Universities and the University of Kings College. Additionally, the study population did not include Indigenous representation. While in each of the six Nova Scotian universities there is representation of those of "other visible minorities," the percentage of Black persons in leadership roles in Nova Scotian universities is zero (Cukier et al., 2021). While in places such as Prince Edward Island, which is less diversified in terms of population and history, this finding would be less shocking, in Nova Scotia, with its long history of African Nova Scotians, this is alarming. Even though it may be the case that very few African Nova Scotians hold doctoral degrees, it is surprising that even among Black groups that tend to have PhDs—such as African immigrants and Black Canadians of Caribbean heritage—there is no representation in leadership positions in Nova Scotian universities. This points to the lack of substance in the province's alleged commitment to African Nova Scotians and other Black minority groups. These findings also indicate a possible correlation between the darkness of one's skin and the greater likelihood of being barred from academic success and leadership advancement in this province. This is a plausible assertion, given that theorists argue that "skin colour has an important relationship to status and position in Canadian society" (Henry & Tator, 2009, p. 4).

Except for high-level academic positions and management positions, such as department chairs and directors being sought out by head-hunters such as Knightsbridge, most university positions typically follow the same recruiting approach to filling academic positions; that is, via online posts. For instance, like other universities' across Canada, one would think that Nova Scotian universities would extend their searches beyond their own websites in order to reach as many applicants as possible. Yet, this is not the case. Henry et al. (2017) claims that if universities' intentions are to diversify and achieve equity, then why are they using so few sources of advertising? Universities

should not only use both traditional advertising sources but they should also diversify their sources to those that can reach populations that are typically not considered through traditional means. For example, Saint Mary's University recently used the traditional approach for academic advertisement that Henry et al. (2017) were speaking of. On the Saint Mary's University website, a job posting for a tenure-track position in the department of Finance was posted as follows:

"The Sobey School of Business at Saint Mary's University invites applications for a tenure-track position in Finance at the rank of Assistant or Associate Professor. The anticipated starting date is July 1, 2021. The competition will remain open until the position is filled. The following criteria apply to the position: Candidates should have a PhD or "all but dissertation" with research focus/specialization in Derivatives and Risk Management – Candidates are expected to demonstrate an ability to conduct high-quality research in this area and are expected to have specific training in Derivatives with a focus on Risk Management. The candidate will be expected to teach courses in this area at the undergraduate, master's and doctoral levels; Candidates are expected to demonstrate an ability to integrate technology in teaching and use blended approaches to learning; Candidates should have potential to add value to one or more of the graduate programs offered by the Sobey School of Business, namely (a) the MBA, (b) the Executive MBA, (c) the Master of Finance, (d) the Master of Technology Entrepreneurship & Innovation, and PhD in Finance; Applicants should be motivated to build research and education connections with other areas (disciplines, programs, departments) of the Sobey School of Business and of Saint Mary's University" (Saint Mary's University, 2021).

This post was publicized on only a handful of advertising sites, including the university's own website. This is evidence that supports Henry et al.'s (2017) thoughts on universities limiting their means of recruitment. It is important to ensure that these advertisements are tailored to include diverse individuals who are generally overlooked in these postings and that advertisement not to be "colour-blind" but instead reach out to all communities (Henry et al., 2017). In more simplistic terms, a post that minimalizes identifying factors, such as race, gender, sexual orientation, immigration status, income, among others, can affect an individual's chance of being hired for a position. Instead, universities should promote the notion of merit and meritocracy as a reason for selecting

an applicant. As seen in the Saint Mary's University advertisement, the language used throughout the text publicizes the importance of the candidate being able to add value to the university's programs, giving the impression that the sole focus is to operate according to a corporate university model. Henry et al. (2017) describe this approach as one of operating an academic lottery, where anyone who applies has a fair chance of getting hired provided they have the requisite education and experience, and the winner is the one with the longest list of degrees, publications, and post-doctoral fellowships. Yet this coded language of liberalism within the academy incorporates the ideologies and discourses of "universalism," "colour-blindness," "diversity," "objectivity," "neutrality," merit standards," and "equal opportunity." One of the most powerful of all these discourses is the denial that racism exists (Henry & Tator, 2009). There is no mention of factors of discrimination or affirmative action incentives that could be used to diversify the faculty. However, contradictory to this idea of meritocracy and colour-blindness, Saint Mary's University noted in its ad that "Canadian citizens and permanent residents are given priority" (Saint Mary's University, 2021). Henry et al. (2017) assert that Canadian universities like Saint Mary's show that "preferences are subjectively given to things such as, Canadian applicants over people of other nationalities, hiring spouses over others, and hiring people who are considered to 'fit in' or integrate into the department" (p.161). In addition, this discourages applicants from outside of Canada from applying, making salient how difficult it is for racialized minorities to obtain residency status within Canada, especially through the Comprehensive Ranking System or through achieving permanent residency, a process that typically takes six years (Government of Canada, 2021b). Even then women and racialized minorities encounter other subtle biases and structural barriers that men do not experience throughout different stages of the hiring process (Henry et al., 2017).

Henry et al. (2017) explain that the desire for "homosocial reproduction" is one of "insiders replicating themselves by selecting new colleagues with similar backgrounds and demographic characteristics" (Henry et al., 2017). This is reflected in hiring committees that seek to hire those who are deemed "the best fit." Finding the best fit is usually about hiring those who are more like the existing faculty and administration and whom they feel comfortable with, which often suggests racism. This homosocial

reproduction involves an unconscious preference for sameness: selecting applicants who display whiteness, stereotyped masculine traits, and middle-class applicants that have opinions and behaviours like those of "old boys clubs and networks" (Henry et al., 2017). It explains how the hiring process that follows the job posting stage biases and discriminates against racialized groups through résumé racism and name and accent bias (Henry et al., 2017). Those on hiring committees often lack the knowledge or expertise to effectively evaluate résumés that are submitted by candidates who are graduates of mostly non-Western universities' (Henry et al., 2017). Furthermore, those who have what résumé reviewers might regard as a foreign or ethnic name can be the victims of unconscious stereotyping regarding the group or region their name may be associated with. Often these ethnic names are labelled as "ghetto" or "unprofessional," since résumé reviewers often associate these names with people of colour (Ramsey, 2021; Henry et al., 2017, p. 284), therefore showing unconscious biases toward unfamiliar names and displaying résumé racism against those with foreign credentials. Universities outside of Canada and the United States are perceived to offer inferior education programs and, by extension, degrees and diplomas compared to those from Western universities (Henry et al., 2017) and this is reflected by the proportion of university faculty in Nova Scotia holding PhDs from distinguished North American universities, like the University of Toronto or the University of British Columbia.

Many studies have shown the impact of name and résumé discrimination on hiring processes, all of which reflect the tendency for résumé racism against people with "ethnic names," "foreign credentials," and "foreign expertise" (Bertand & Mullainathan, 2003; Oreopoulous, 2011; Oreopoulous & Dechief, 2012; and Henry et al., 2017). According to Henry et al (2017) hiring biases are "manifested through names, which signal either familiarity, or otherness" (p. 284). Accent bias is another obstacle racialized minorities experience in the hiring process. Similarly, Henry et al (2017) state that accent bias negatively affects education, employment and prestige in society and the academy" (p. 286). There is an unconscious preference for ingroup accents that "may impact university hiring, teaching evaluations, and tenure and promotion assessments" (Henry et al., p. 286). These claims are reflected in the fact that in the 2006 Canadian census, out of 64,222 university professors in Canada, only 20,620 were immigrants. Therefore, 86.8 %

were Canadian citizens and White males (Government of Canada, 2022). Baker (2015) asserts that not all applicants have an equal chance in of being successful in the hiring process. Factors such as gender, race, age, and class do affect the hiring process, since bias and discrimination influence who is offered the position and who is not. Additionally, Henry et al. (2017) report that university departments are cloning themselves, noting that "while hiring was often framed as focused on hiring the best, racialized scholars have reported that hiring is often based on affinity groups and appointment committee members' friendship networks; simply people are hiring friends" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 99).

Racialized scholars are hired. However, several of them stated that they were hired due to management's desire to "put on a good face"; they were simply there as tokens for the university (Henry et al., 2017, p. 123), implying that racialized faculty members often accept that they had been hired to satisfy the university desire to diversify and to "apparently" meet the needs of a diverse student population. But, once inside, their experience or uniqueness is made silent (Henry et al., 2017). To demonstrate this tokenism, one participant went so far as to state that during the job interview process "one of the comments around the application process and interview was that they were going to make her the poster child of the university." (Henry et al., 2017). Many universities employ these measures in order to convey the myth that the university is diversified and colour-blind, even though their faculties remain homogenous (Henry et al., 2017). These same faculty members expressed that their universities also hired them to serve on committees as "the representative body." This idea is especially true for Indigenous faculty in Canadian universities. Universities hold the "commonly held stereotyped perception that all minority faculty are alike and would bring common perspectives and experiences to the table" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 125). "They believe that the Indigenous person automatically has an Indigenous perception and does not mind being 'front and centre'" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 120) when in fact, they are disregarded on these committees and do not bring their perceived opinions to the forefront (Henry et al., 2017).

<u>Curriculum</u>

Smith at al. (2017) point out that the curriculum is significant because it leads to the formation of the next generation as it helps construct how people think, act and speak, and is therefore, necessary when it comes to the transformation of individuals and societal values. However, within the academy, "Eurocentric frameworks, standards and content are not only given more resources and curriculum space but also more dominance and status when it comes to hiring and promotion/tenure positions" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 46). It is argued that the experience of racialized faculty is one where only specific forms of knowledge are considered legitimate and that these are the only knowledge forms that are valued within the academy (Wagner, 2005; Sefa & Calliste, 2000; Henry & Tator, 2009; Henry et al., 2017). This validation of specific knowledge forms what Schuerich & Young (1997) claim constitutes as "epistemological racism." This type of racism looks at the societies' presumptions about the "correct" ways of knowing. Within Canada, the dominant ways of knowing are based on an Anglocentric and Eurocentric curriculum. Dr. Marie Battiste (2013) describes this curriculum as the continued circulation of the idea that only Europeans can progress and minorities remain in stasis, being guided by knowledge systems that reinforce the past and do not look toward the future. Battiste claims that, to maintain this means of thought, strategies such as the Europeanization of scientific documents, inventions, and thought processes are used to undermine the contributions of other knowledge forms. In addition, there is an intentional ignorance of the diversity of Black, Indigenous and other marginalized communities in order to maintain White supremacy and racism, and support principles of colonialism. Universities in Canada remain dominated by those who know little about issues relating to Aboriginals or minorities and so continue to position Western knowledge as being the only form of legitimate knowledge. The purposely translated Eurocentric curriculum demonstrates a whitewashed narrative that simultaneously "teaches minorities that their ancestors are not worth learning about, while teaching White students that they are highly valued in spaces of knowledge and power" (Samuel, 2020). Thus, the knowledge presented remains White and the dominant discourse of knowledge is embedded in the canon of teaching (Henry et al., 2017).

The choice of "curriculum materials, such as required course readings, organization of workshops and seminars, as well as decisions about visiting lecturers" (Henry et al, 2017, p. 46) continues to be influenced by reproductions of a Eurocentric discourse. For example, in *The Equity Myth,* a racialized faculty member states that their department chair, who shares responsibility in hiring and constructing the syllabus, is not interested in expanding the current curriculum, thus leaving it to remain predominantly focused on Eurocentric materials (Henry et al., 2017, p. 131). Henry et al. (2017) assert that "when one enters any department in the Social Sciences or Humanities, the canon of thought to be learned is fundamentally founded on theory produced by men of five Western European countries (p. 280)." Non-White viewpoints are not considered part of the core curriculum in North American universities, but rather special topics that students can choose to study if they want to. Courses such as "critical, queer, feminist, or postcolonial" are prime examples of these special topics. Oftentimes, class compositions consist of higher numbers of racialized students than "traditional" courses, yet these courses continue to be built on the foundations of Eurocentric scholars and knowledge (Henry et al., 2017). In essence continuing to reflect historical biases toward women and minority groups and only representing the winning patricidal, colonial moments in history while silencing other diverse narratives (Smith et al., 2017). Therefore, reproducing the superiority of Western knowledge and the continued reproduction of the ivory tower.

Even if racialized faculty try to implement an anti-racist or equity-based curriculum, there is often backlash. The majority of the student population within Canadian universities are White Anglo-Saxon by background. Smith et al. (2017) claim that if female or racialized faculty teach courses that are considered "controversial "or "politically charged," they are slammed as being "social justice warriors" with an agenda that is meant to be degrading, whereas if the same topics are taught by White males, their lecturers are not similarly condemned. Carol Schick (2000) in her article, *'By Virtue of Being White': Resistance in anti-racist pedagogy,* makes a similar claim. Schick examines the forms of opposition she faced while teaching non-Eurocentric material in the classroom. Students displayed reactions such as rejection and denial. This portrayal of student hostility is also documented by the fact that some students are also unwilling to

study subjects taught by faculty of colour and Aboriginal faculty. This is especially true for course work that deals with racism (Henry et al., 2017). It is argued that when racialized professors teach these courses, they are also considered "biased" or to be "protecting their own" or "outside of their realm." Whites assume that racialized professors are only interested in studying their own racialized group and, even then, their work may not be deemed good enough to meet the ivory tower's standards, demonstrating resistance to alterative knowledge forms when it comes to curriculum (Spafford et al., 2006).

Classroom Interaction with Students

Closely related to the topic of curriculum are the experiences racialized faculty have with students in the classroom. In terms of research, this topic has been explored very little and researchers need to place more emphasis on student evaluations. However, studies that have been done mostly focus on women and women of colour when examining faculty-student interactions in the classroom. The White women faculty in Heckert et al.'s (1999) study felt that students do not recognize their lecturers' authority, due to their gender. For instance, the students in the study did not address the female faculty member as ''Dr.'' although they did so when addressing male faculty. Additional studies show that women faculty frequently experience sexual harassment from their male students (Martinez et al., 2002; McKinney, 1990). And while gender is clearly an issue when it comes to authority in the classroom, there is also the issue of discipline. While women across multiple fields face obstacles when it comes to classroom interactions with students, women in STEM are considerably more invalidated due to the over-representation of males and the association of STEM as a male field. A study by Malcolm et al. (1976) was the first of its kind to study women of colour among STEM faculty. They found that these women not only have gendered difficulties but they also encountered racially related difficulties other faculty members did not experience. Additionally, Malcolm & Malcolm (2011) found that, despite years of progress for racialized women in the classroom, they continued to face challenges related to "authority, teaching competency and scholarly expertise in a classroom environment" (p. 168).

Regarding female faculty of colour, three patterns are usually associated with student interactions in the classroom. Students tended to critique these lecturers' teaching effectiveness, challenge their authority and exhibit a lack of respect (McGowan, 2000; Harlow 2003; Henry et al., 2017), attitudes that also reveal themselves in these faculties' SRIs. Black female faculty were found to have twice the challenges in getting student respect than White women because they had to "negotiate female and Black stereotypes" (Harlow, 2003; Kardia & Wright, 2004). The same three patterns are seen in Pittman's (2010) study that examines women faculty of colour and their encounters with White male students. However, Pittman's study also revealed that White male students engaged in behaviour that was threatening and intimidating in the classroom. Male students were seen to be both direct and aggressive to female faculty of colour. This aggressiveness is consistent with White privilege and patriarchy (Hollander & Howard, 2000; Jackman, 1994; Henry et al., 2017) and was displayed in their usage of subtle or overt threats to these faculty members. Some faculty members reported having White male students throw papers at her and engage in physically threatening stances (Pittman, 2010). An extreme account of these behaviours was seen when a female faculty member's student came to class dressed as a skinhead, stating the following: "I know I'm a White male and I know I'm privileged, I got that.... I don't mean to be offensive, but this is the reality.... 'Black people are only ten percent of this country and if they want something, they are going to have to fight because we're not giving it up and the reality is because they are only ten percent of the country, we would squash them'' (Pittman, 2010, p. 191). Pittman (2010) went on to claim that these behaviours "challenge White men's ownership of classroom space normally governed by male and White privilege. Dominant groups have historically used threats of or actual violence as a major strategy for subduing those with oppressed identities" (Pittman, 2010, p.192).

Similarly, in 2004, Frances Henry expressed parallel concerns after having conducted a survey that included all faculty of colour as well Indigenous, male and female, at Queen's university. These faculty members spoke about one Canadian university where classes typically tended to be mono-cultural and to lack ethno-racial diversity and they saw this as a major barrier for teaching. These professors expressed that they had to "tone down" their teaching styles as "anything different, they feel a little

bit uncomfortable toward... for some people it's threatening to the things they are familiar with... find it very hard to cope with this diversity thing" (Henry, 2004, p. 16). Additionally, like the experience during hiring, accent bias has resulted in faculties' negative interactions with students in the classroom. Faculty reported students being upset by "accented speech of non-Canadian-born faculty," and even in disciplines that lack White professors, the recognition of the matter of accents comes up. For instance, a racialized male professor stated that, in his field of applied engineering, it is "very difficult to find any White electrical engineers for example... but then they say they don't understand a damn thing that all those foreigners over there are saying to them. They didn't use the word foreigners, they used immigrants" (Henry, 2004, p.16). Ultimately, demonstrating how "othering" translates to the classroom experience.

Student Ratings of Instruction

One of the main concerns of racialized faculty is that of student evaluations or SRIs. Most universities and colleges in Canada use student evaluations, and many researchers have used them for data analysis on how these forms affect racialized professors. Most universities in North America began using student evaluations in the 1960s and 1970s. The usage of these SRIs were supported by "students who wanted a say in teaching, administrators who were concerned with accountability and good public relations, and finally young faculty who wanted their salary, promotion and tenure evaluations to depend on something other than publications alone" (Murray, 2005, p. 1). Today, nearly a hundred percent of universities use student evaluations and roughly seventy percent support their use (Murray, 2005). These evaluations take the form of brief standardized forms in which students rate the characteristics of their teachers and their courses, such as the clarity of their explanations and enthusiasm on a five-point rating scale (Murray, 2005). Fundamentally, student evaluations serve three basic purposes: "Evaluations are used to provide feedback to faculty in order to help them to improve their teaching or alter course content. SRIs have also been used to measure student engagement and learning. Evaluations can also serve administrative purposes. They are used in tenure, merit and promotion decisions, and teaching evaluations also provide information to students to assist in course selection" (Kelly, 2012, p. 2).

Research shows that students value instructors "who are organized, provide clear and prompt feedback, create a classroom environment conducive to learning, respect students, and demonstrate concern for students" (Kelly, 2012, p. 3) and, as a result, score what they consider good professors with higher SRI scores. Obviously, other factors include students' grades in the course as course characteristics impact SET scores; for example, electives tend to have higher SRI ratings than required courses do (McKeachie, 1979). As well, if racialized professors are teaching courses where the discourse is on social issues that challenge Eurocentric ideas, this can also affect these professors' SRI scores. In *The Equity Myth*, a professor who taught on White privilege explained the following, "[T]hey see me as a racialized professor who is pursing my own interests. One student went far enough to even mobilize a group of students against her, making the course evaluations extremely polarized, with half the students making negative and hostile evaluations" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 140). However, other studies have shown that external factors including class size, length of the course and more importantly the personal characteristics the professor displays influence their SRIs. Also, age, gender, race, and accent bias that have no actual link to the professor's teaching ability can manifest in ways that dominate SRI scores. This is important, given that "teaching evaluations are the 'early turning points' that shape the advancement of women and racialized minorities in academia" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 287). For racialized professors, this is significant given that people of colour are disproportionately working on contract and the continuation of their employment depends on these teaching evaluations (Henry et al., 2017). Freng & Webber (2009) note that when it comes to women and SRIs, the positive comments the female professors receive on SRIs use clearly gendered descriptors, like "cheerful, kind, sweet and friendly," making it apparent that students judged female professors on a much more personal level compared to their male colleagues. Moreover, when female professors received negative SRI evaluations, it was on the basis that their knowledge was "too feminist" and was considered to be only opinions and not on merit. While this provides insight into the dynamics of gender and SRIs in a Canadian context, there is a gap in the literature in terms of the connection between race and SRIs in Canadian universities.

SRIs have become the primary method universities use to assess teaching effectiveness, applications for tenure and promotion, and compensation and annual merit increase decisions (Henry et al., 2017). More work has been done on how SRIs impact female faculty; however, Henry et al. (2017) indicate that the dominant theme for minority faculty is that students raise questions relating to the teacher's "authority and creditability" in their teaching evaluations, believing that they were treating them differently than their White professors. Therefore, narratives like this show that "race matters in the classroom" (Henry et al., 2017, p.146).

A 2020 study by Plan International Canada reported that 70 percent of women in the workplace experience discrimination or gendered stereotyping. This study's findings also show that while 87 percent of participants think men who express their opinions are leaders, 82 percent think that if women do the same then they are considered aggressive. This is a clear indication that judgments made on a person in society are not solely based on their capabilities but that the four basic gender stereotypes also play a role, such as personality, domestic behaviour, occupation, and physical appearance. For example, women are expected to be accommodating, emotional, slender, and to work in caretaking professions, whereas, men are presumed to be self-confident, aggressive, intelligent, muscular, and to work in STEM professions. These gendered and racialized stereotypes are not immune to the so-called criteria for advancement in Canadian academia. In a study conducted by Arbuckle & Williams (2003), the researchers found that young male teachers scored higher on warmth and enthusiasm than older professors did. In a similar study conducted by Martin (2016), where stick figures were used, students gave a higher rating to the young male stick figure compared to the ratings they gave to a female or an older professor who had given identical lectures. These results indicate ageism and gender as factors related to how the students responded to the course and professor. Moreover, female professors are ranked lower on competency than male faculty and students are more likely to view male faculty as effective and successful and female faculty as likeable (Kelly, 2012). Similarly, men were more likely to be described as a star, knowledgeable, awesome, or the best professor, while women are more likely to be described as bossy, disorganized, helpful, annoying, or playing favourites. Nice or rude are also more-often used to describe women than men (Shen, 2015; Henry et al., 2017, p.

288). Also, unlike male faculty, female professors receive more comments about their appearance and clothing, with students often using aggressive words, such as ugly or hideous (Henry et al., 2017). Data also shows that women receive lower teaching evaluations in fields such as economics, mathematics, and engineering, which typically have a dominant male faculty representation (Henry et al., 2017) and the normative assumption that the professors will be males, thereby contributing to the under-representation of women and racialized faculty in stereotyped "male" fields within the academy. Even then, in instances where Asian academics in STEM have a larger representation, these faculty members report having had negative experiences due to stereotyping (Turner et al., 1999). This shows that racialized men and women have a greater commitment to subscribing to the gendered and racialized norms and expectations of society, compared to Whites, especially when it comes to SRI scores and other aspects of university culture.

Tenure and Promotion

Tenure and promotion decisions are critical to an academic's career. However, Henry notes that navigating the processes surrounding tenure and promotion entails encountering "systematic and structural barriers" that restrict building an inclusive environment for racialized faculty and contribute to turn-over among junior faculty (Henry et al., 2009; Henry et al., 2017). Henry further states that the experiences racialized faculty have when making tenure and promotion decisions are neither individual nor only about merit. Professors who have not been hired limited term agreements but into the tenure stream positions must face these decisions to advance their careers. As with the hiring process, decisions around tenure are made by departmental committees that could include outsiders or a dean representative the relevant department who typically reflects a dominant profile of tenured, White male faculty (Henry et al, 2009; Henry et al., 2017). However, before deliberations even begin, the applicant must compile a file consisting of references, teaching evaluations, curriculum vitae, publications, and other material for the committee to evaluate.

The committees make their decisions based on traditional means, where the greatest emphasis is placed on the candidate's research and publications (Henry et al., 2017). Peer-reviewed publications and those from university presses are favoured over

those from small publishers. Even then, greater emphasis is placed peer-reviewed publications that are published in more mainstream and prestigious journals. Accordingly, single-authored books tend to be favoured over multiple-authored or edited books, and books or book chapters have been made redundant. Within the academy, there is a ranking system on the value of scholarly work even though it could be argued that all research should be valued. However, given the demands on their time, racialized faculty are disadvantaged and do not produce as many publications until later in their careers. They are also expected to do more mentoring of students, especially racialized students. And although many want to support racialized students, these demands also take away from their ability to write and publish. Patricia Monture states this as the "publish or perish" crisis scholars face (Henry et al., 2017). The issue here is that if racialized faculty spend more time focused on their publications, this takes time away from dispensing the type of knowledge that could change the dominant knowledge discourse. On the other hand, many of these racialized scholars situate their research within their own communities and are often published in local rather than major journals. Also, as these are community-based projects, it often takes longer to begin the research and, therefore, longer to get published, resulting in few publications (Henry et al., 2017). If these scholars specialize in areas outside of the traditional knowledge discourses in publications not known to committee members, then these are not given sufficient weight. Henry & Kobayashi (2017) made similar accusations regarding the lack of expertise in specialized fields on committees, noting that "committees are composed of colleagues who have little understanding of the field of Indigenous or anti-racism studies and have great difficulty assessing even published works" (Henry et al, 2017, p.141)

Committees also look at research grants in terms of the size and the institutions that provide these grants. For example, in the social sciences, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada is regarded as the most prestigious research grant an academic can receive in Canada; thus, it has garnered more prestige than grants from other Canadian research institutions. The same goes for research grants in the natural sciences, where the National Science Foundation has superiority.

As mentioned in the discussion on SRIs, teaching and curriculum are considered during these tenure and promotion decisions. These aspects are less valued than

candidates' lists of research publications; however, they do hold weight in the tenure process (Henry et al., 2009; James & Valluvan 2014; Henry et al., 2017; Luchs et al., n.d). Letters of references are even discussed in these decisions, the content and the universities the references are affiliated with are major considerations for a faculty member's tenureship or promotion. If the person who wrote the comes from a prestigious university or is distinguished in their field, then these factors will have a greater impact than would a reference coming from a professor at a smaller, less-known university. Even then racialized scholars and women encounter higher chances of having biases written into these letters (Henry et al., 2017). Akos & Kretchmar (2016) found that letters of reference for racialized minorities "contained a significantly smaller proportion of grindstone adjectives than for non-minorities. With fewer achievement words for racialized minority women" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 269)

Additionally, alongside research and teaching, service is usually considered in tenure and promotion decisions. (Henry et al., 2017). Service work in the university "includes roles such as academic program directors, undergraduate and graduate chairs and mentoring students. These are areas where women and racialized scholars are seen as "taking on heavy administration roles, often with little or no course release or support that senior male professors get" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 290). However, it has little impact compared to the other criteria (Henry et al., 2017).

Additionally, those in short-term lecturer positions do a lot of teaching, leaving them little time to focus service work. The expectation of taking on the burden of administrative work and mentoring racialized students provides little time for racialized professors to do the scholarly work needed for tenure and promotion. Taking on service roles has been disproportionately associated with women and racialized professors in the associate ranks, with women almost twice as likely to be doing service work than men (Henry et al., 2017). In their study, Frances Henry and Audrey Kobayashi point to the fac that a lot of their study participants complained about the amount of administrative work they were asked to do, many faculty members even mentioning that they were the "go to person" for diversity issues (Henry et al., 2017). Thus, leaving little time for publication and research where the emphasis on who gets tenured is placed. This "glass ceiling" effect stalls many scholars from receiving tenure or moving out of the associate rank

since many of them feel "overworked," "disgruntled" and "burnout" (Henry et al., 2017). However, if a racialized associate professor does secure tenure it takes three more years on average to achieve this promotion in comparison to non-racialized faculty (Henry et al., 2017). Demonstrating, one of the many reasons for why there is an under-representation of tenured racialized faculty in the academy, as unlike promotions from assistant to associate professor, it is unsuccessful. This indicates that racism is at play, since "if you look at who is denied tenure, a lot of them are minorities" (Henry et al., 2017, p.136). This shows that racialized people "tend to work in situations that they find oppressive, hurtful and precarious" (Braedley & Luxton, 2010, p. 17).

Monture (2009) tells us that at the beginning of her career junior, she noted that male faculty had received guided mentorship from senior male faculty, support others lacked. These senior faculty members guided junior male faculty on ways to secure tenure and navigate through the university's rules and practices. For example, they recommended where these junior faculty members should publish and what they should include in grant applications. The lack of mentorship for female and racialized faculty was an "experience of race/culture and gender" (Henry et al., 2009, p. 81). The lack of guidance meant that women and racialized faculty had to manoeuvre through unnecessary obstacles that could have been avoided. Strategically it was a way to keep these groups as outsiders and excluded from achieving higher status or rank within the academy. "The opportunities are shaped by unconscious biases, gendered and racial stereotypes that lead to self-replication through preferential hiring and disproportionate promotion of people whom the insiders will 'feel comfortable'" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 294).

These sorts of implications make many racialized and Indigenous faculty go so far to refuse to apply for tenure positions. Henry & Kobayashi (2017) noted that a small percentage of those they interviewed felt that they were "not good enough," could not meet the universities' "standards" for tenure positions, or that their work was not relevant to tenured work (Henry et al., 2017). The imposter syndrome, which is where successful individuals feel they did not achieve their goals because of their qualifications or talent but by luck, has not only permeated academic walls but all the pursuit of opportunities that could lead to career enhancement. Imposter syndrome affects both men and women,

especially Black women due to the systematic oppression, stigmas, and stereotyping that have formulated around their realities (Nance-Nash, 2020). This means that because racialized professors tend to focus on community research or research that does not fit into the traditional knowledge discourse, or meet the requirements becoming normalized in terms of the course syllabi, some of these faculty members feel as though they do not belong. This is especially true for Indigenous studies research, since it requires a fair amount of engagement with Indigenous communities to gather sufficient data; hence, securing tenure could distract the researcher's commitments and responsibilities to their communities.

<u>Interactions with Non-Racialized Faculty Members</u>

Individual racism is what is commonly thought of when discussing the topic of racism. Individual racism "involves both the attitudes held by an individual and the overt behaviour prompted by those attitudes. The attitudes are often obvious: extremely intolerant, bigoted individuals tend to be proud of their attitudes and articulate them overtly and publicly" (Henry & Tator, 2002). Therefore, the way racialized people must interact with the dominant White population can be emotionally painful for them. While in a society like Canada the overt and violent forms of racial discrimination are shunned upon, racialized faculty still feel the effects of individual racism. Many racialized faculty experience this racism in the form of sexualized, ethicized, and racialized jokes, and inappropriate glares gestures, and forms of speech (Henry et al., 2017) from colleagues. Racialized faculty in Canada have reported that it is a "normative fabric of life" since it is consistent and repetitive. Examples of these stereotypes are those related to the external features of racialized professors. A faculty member interview by stated that another faculty member had said "you speak well for a Black person" and as a result made the interviewee feel that no White person believes that her race speaks of anything "intelligent" (Henry et al., 2017, p.119). Another example is of an unidentified Hispanic faculty member who made the following statement regarding her experiences with individual racism: racism is "when people see me in the classroom and ask me what do you teach and I say 'I teach sociology,' and they say 'good for you'…while another asked me the same question and assumed I taught 'Theory in Spanish.'" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 126). Another interviewee of Asian descent said that many other faculty

members thought all Asians were good at producing scholarly work but not good at administrative duties or making decisions (Henry et al., 2017). As one can see in the first example, the non-racialized faculty member presumed that because of the faculty member's ethnicity, she would be teaching a subject related to that background. This microaggression suggests that minority groups can only teach subjects that reflect their background; therefore their "usefulness" is securing their universities' image of diversity. The other example implies a commonly held stereotype of a race's intelligence, ignoring the individualism of the person. Not only do these attitudes stereotype the teaching ability and professionalism of racialized faculty but they are also used to prevent these faculty members from influencing the dominant White Eurocentric knowledge that is incorporated in the structures of university curriculum and practices. Similarity, racialized scholars have often been criticized for bringing up the topic of anti-oppression during faculty meetings, whereupon their efforts to bring awareness about these issues have been considered a disservice to their departments (Henry et al., 2017). So not only are these microaggressions protective measures that guard university curriculum but researchers studying in critical frameworks are also considered "intellectual threats" by other faculty members.

While many of these perpetrators may not be consciously aware that they are initiating individual racism, they have nonetheless been shown to have had negative effects on the self-esteem, self-confidence, and physical and mental health of racialized faculty (Henry et al., 2017; Henry and Tator, 2009). Numerous racialized faculty members have reported that these effects have caused them to feel loneliness and alienation within the academy. Black women expressed these effects since they have felt the "double bias" of being discriminated against because of their gender and race (Henry et al., 2017). Black women and Black faculty members "feel they cannot converse with their colleagues about difference, about racism, and about any issues streaming from difference" (Henry et al., 2017, p.118). Many believe that it is pointless to speak with White faculty members, since many do not believe in the "chilly climate" of the academy or that systemic racism pervades their universities. This alienation tends to lead to feelings of loneliness and worthlessness (Henry et al., 2017).

Study Rationale

      More research must be done in the field of anti-racism and critical race theory. The systematic racism and structural barriers that racialized faculty continue to face demonstrates the need to address these inconsistencies in Canada's current social environment. The lack of research on the experiences of racialized faculty in Atlantic Canada and the tendency to overlook diversity manners outside of cosmopolitan areas means that little is known about the realities of racialized faculty in this region and how the history and social climate of each Atlantic province responds to anti-racism and White supremacy. The value of this research is that it will add to the literature on White supremacy, institutional racism, and the current social climate in Atlantic Canada.

      Institutional racism that is "manifested in policies, practices, and procedures of various intuitions that may, directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain, or entrench different advantage or privilege for people of certain races" (Henry & Tator, 2009, p. 20) primarily pertains to universities and is therefore a theme in my research. Universities have been the focus of many anti-racism and critical race scholars. While the study of racism within Canadian universities has been on the rise, much of the literature focuses on universities in densely populated areas, such as the University of Toronto; other research has been on racialized students. Very little has been done on institutional racism that translates into Maritime universities. This shows a lack of attention being paid to non-cosmopolitan areas and the need for understanding whether institutional racism manifests in smaller universities and, if so, how it affects the experiences, perspectives, and positionalities of racialized academics, and what we can do to dismantle White supremacy within the region's universities. The fact that provinces and territories across Canada differ from one another is an important consideration when speaking about institutional racism. The institutional racism that manifests in universities like the University of Toronto or the University of Alberta would have some similarities to the racism that operates in Atlantic Canadian establishments, but each province's social climate and attitudes would also most certainty play a role. It is essential to investigate how racialized professors navigate their experiences within an Atlantic Canadian perspective so other scholars can compare these to the experiences of faculty in larger universities. This would not only add research knowledge to important topics, like

critical race theory and whiteness studies, but it would hopefully inspire other researchers to take up this topic and continue to add to explore areas that have not been addressed.

This research topic would be beneficial to Black professors as it would add to the discussion on racism within universities. Additionally, this topic would serve a greater purpose to South Asian professors and South Asian studies as the research on South Asian university professors is not as abundant. Studies on the racial dynamics in the United States and Canada have largely focused on Black and Indigenous professors as the study populations, given both parties' historical trauma and social status. While research should be allocated to both these populations, little is known about the racial climate that racialized groups experience in university settings. It is possible that South Asians are also stereotyped but do not encounter such negative stereotypes as a Black person would, but be more adept at blending into Canadian culture and values. On the other hand, it could be that to the general public perceives South Asians as more reserved and less inclined to voice their concerns over societal matters than Black and Indigenous populations. Considering that in 2020, fifteen of the top protests that defined the year did not directly respond to the distresses of the South Asian population but were related more to issues that affect the Black population, it is important for North Americans to be cautious of weighing one minority group over another and instead focus on rectifying the practices and procedures that give superiority to White privilege. The fact that South Asians still can be differentiated due to race, colour, ethnicity, cultural difference, and accent means that their concerns should not be deemed to be less significant. That is why giving this study population a chance to have a voice could increase the awareness of discrimination against South Asians and hopefully spark a movement like Black Lives Matter.

On a more personal note, I am doing this study for the racialized faculty who influenced me to continue studying in the social sciences and to fight for social justice. I want to show them that I was listening and that I heard what they were saying, and that while not every student shares my passion for advocating equity, there are others out there who do. The different truths they tell do not go unheard and students like myself will be forever in their debt for providing us with the knowledge that will help make us the best versions of ourselves we can be.

<u>Study Significance</u>

My research intends to contribute to the lack of research in the area of critical race theory and add insight on the common themes that racialized professors experience in regard to hiring, tenure and promotion, their curricula, and relationships with other members of the university population, especially in the Canadian context. It will also contribute to the literature on racialization and discrimination in South Asian studies and topics on non-cosmopolitan areas. Secondly, my research is intended to improve upon equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) policies within Nova Scotia. Providing insight on the perspectives of South Asian professors will give administrators ideas on how to address inequalities and biases within hiring, promotion, and tenure procedures and policies in Nova Scotia. For example, procedures and policies should ensure that board members tasked with hiring are aware of the biases that often affect racialized professors' chances of being hired. Regional universities such as Dalhousie could allocate more resources to target hiring or other measures to resolve disparities in representation, given that universities' focuses are on earning profits, much of which comes from faculty research. Diversity hiring of racialized faculty will provide opportunities for more communication and collaboration, where White professors will become more comfortable interacting with their racialized counterparts. Notably, besides the need for changes in hiring, there must be institutional change. In universities across Canada, leadership positions still tend to be held by White, cis-gendered males (Henry et al., 2017). However, more and more of these positions are being given to White women to counteract the skewed balance (Henry et al., 2017). For instance, while Dalhousie University's acting president is a racialized academic, Dr. Deep Saini, the remainder of the leadership positions such as vice-presidents, vice-provosts, associate and assistant vice-presidents, and deans are still predominately White and male. Through visible identification of skin markers and first and last names seen on Dalhousie's website, it was shocking to learn that Dr. Theresa Rajack-Tally is one of the few racialized persons in a leadership position and one of the only women of colour.

It is common sense that universities spend much time and resources on assuring that their image is unblemished and is positively represented. In 2014, alone, Dalhousie University had "spent hundreds of thousands of dollars dealing with the fallout of the

Dalhousie Dentistry scandal, some of which went to hiring a Canada-wide public relations firm to help minimize the fallout" (Dicks, 2016). In total, this cost the university $681,875 (Dicks, 2016). Meanwhile, other Nova Scotia universities including Saint Mary's and Mount Saint Vincent have also allocated resources such as time and labour to remedy publicity issues in the past (Donovan, 2019). Moreover, "degree-granting for-profit institutions account for about 40% of all higher education advertising spending, while serving just 6% of students" (Cellini and Chaudhary, 2020). While this study was focused on the United States, parallels can likely be seen within Atlantic Canadian universities. CBC has stated that "universities in Atlantic Canada spend hundreds of thousands of dollars a year on third-party recruiters," with Cape Breton University having spent $1.1 million on agents' fees that year (Donovan, 2019). This calls into question why university administrations are reluctant to hire more racialized faculty, despite having a sizable advertising and promotional budgets. Spending from promotional budgets could easily be allocated to more EDI faculty hiring and supports. Dealing with these issues now will not only save universities and their students money in the long run but will also save face for these institutions—a win-win situation for everyone.

My research intends to demonstrate that EDI considerations should not be optional; they should be mandatory within all university courses, disciplines, and university faculty hiring. One of the best ways to learn about the implications and consequences of White supremacist ideology is to hear it from racialized professors who have experienced it throughout their lives. This would help us learn about different knowledge forms, how to think outside of a neo-liberal White supremacist society, and how one can act in the most moral and ethical way possible; all of this is through diversified education. Although most university faculty are required to post EDI statements in their syllabi, there are no other requirements. This gives the impression that university faculty can choose to make their curriculum EDI friendly and remove White ideology from their classrooms. My research provides feedback that points to the need for changes and amendments to current hiring, promotion and tenure, and EDI

Finally, my research is intended to benefit racialized faculty by dismantling systemic inequality within academia and create better interactions between these faculty members and their students. Putting students face-to-face with racialized professors will

expose them to different life perspectives, knowledge forms, cultures and accents, among the many other enriching benefits of interacting with racialized academics that can only benefit these students in the long run. White students have the potential to be exposed to their own privilege and to learn skills that can translate into their workplaces. In addition, the recognition of one's own positionality can improve these students' relationships with racialized faculty. This can potentially reduce the incidence of students submitting unfair negative SRI scores and performing acts of racism against racialized faculty in the classroom

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For this study, I will be using a critical race theory framework embedded with whiteness studies. Given its central features, this is the best way to illustrate my research.

Before beginning my study, I aligned with Dr. Amy A. Bergerson, professor of Educational Leadership and Policy at the University of Utah. Like her, I am a White liberal woman who does not see myself as a critical race theorist. In her 2003 article, *Critical race theory and White racism: Is there room for White scholars in fighting racism in education?,* she notes that in her experiences of being a White scholar who practices critical race theory, there are concerns that if "we move into the area of critical race theory, a form of colonialization could occur to promote White interests and re-enter White positions while representing people of colour" (Bergerson, 2003, p. 52). However, like Bergerson, I am sensitive to these issues and can use critical race theory to inform other Whites about how racism impacts racialized people as well as to help create an environment that recognizes the need to ask difficult questions of those whose actions maintain the prevalence of systematic and everyday racism.

Critical Race Theory Background

Critical race theory emerged out of the shortcomings of the former critical legal studies (CLS) and radical feminism that arose during the 1970s. Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman were unsatisfied that critical legal studies, noting that they failed to address the role of racism and race in the US legal system. While CLS challenged liberalism, these racialized scholars stated that the law was not colour-blind, that there was more than one truth attached to every case, and that rights were vital and were consequently left marginalized, leading to the recognition that another movement must take its place (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010). Both scholars realized that the public was becoming desensitized to the standard methods of litigation, exhortation, and marching as a means of gathering public support. It was from this realization that Freeman and Bell decided that new methodologies that included works and stories from racialized people needed to be introduced to CLS. Bell, an African American lawyer and lecturer at Harvard Law school, wrote about "interest convergence as a means of understanding Western racial history and the conflict of interest in civil rights litigation" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010,

p. 465). Bell's *Brown vs. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma* noted that the Supreme Court's decision to outlaw de jure segregation was not because of a moral awakening experienced in US law but rather to advance elites' interests in an American Cold War, to minimize the threat of domestic outbreaks by Black veterans, and to further desegregation in the South to advance the US economic interests (Milner et al., 2013). Bell's article was the first to address the role of racism in perpetuating social inequalities between Whites and racialized groups (DeCuir & Dixson 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Hiraldo, 2010) and how the decision was an effort to improve America's image to its allies. This sparked other critical race theorists such as Mari Matsuda, Kimberlè Crenshaw, Patricia Williams, and Richard Delgado to come forward and write on various themes that would become the principal philosophies to the development of critical race theory.

While CRT's theocratization began in the early 1970s, the official date of its organizational structure occurred in the summer of 1989 at the first annual CRT conference in Wisconsin. However, events such as 1982-83 student protest at Harvard Law School over the teaching of "Race, Racism and American Law" by White scholar Jack Greenberg and critical race theorists' critiques of the framework at the 1986 conference on Critical legal Studies were essential to the CRT movement. And although the early years of CRT had been oriented toward the legal system, the movement shifted its focus in the 1990s to the role of race and racism in education in a CRT movement that still goes on today. These scholars now focus on how teaching materials and practices obscure or endorse racial inequality, the intersections of class, race, sex and other social factors, anti-essentialism, and the role of small groups in bigger ones in promoting social change. This intersectionality approach and the inclusion of anti-essentialism are central to much of the recent CRT writing.

Like past critical race theorists, many of these contemporary scholars are skeptics, as some believe that "racism is permanent and have an economic determinist view of history" since the "shifting fortunes" of racialized groups are not only accomplished through idealism but to support the interests of White people (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010, p. 471).

Recently, CRT has become more prominent since Donald Trump's administration expelled CRT from school systems in 2020 and called the theory "divisive, anti-American propaganda" (Gillborn, 2021; Kelly, 2020). Gillborn (2021) explains that the recent attacks on CRT demonstrate that any type of critical discussion about racism is taken as a personal assault and an attempt to take something away from the majority. It demonstrates that the lack of knowledge on CRT means that many North Americans are not able to separate their individual identities from their social institutions. Simply put, they perceive themselves as the system and therefore interpret their social institutions being called racist as personal attacks (Ray & Gibbons, 2021). More predominantly, elite White people use the term "White working class" to argue that the ordinary White working-class people are either "lazy" or "victims of racial stereotyping." As a result, multicultural education becomes the target of focus for the elite Whites. Elite Whites like Donald Trump blame White people's lack of achievement on what they see as too much focus being placed on multiculturalism and racialized persons.

While the recent discussions on CRT in Canada did not spark as much controversy here as they did in the US., Dr. Sujith Xavier, law professor at the University of Windsor, stated that Canadians "have long been exposed to the pillars undermining CRT" (Blackwell, 2022). Employment equity programs and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms subtly responded to the concerns of CRT theorists through the employment of affirmative action initiatives as have Ontario school systems, without referring to these ideas as "CRT". Instead of trying to ban CRT, Canadian educators and school boards like Hamilton Wentworth are drafting guidelines on topics of racism, White supremacy, and colour-blindness for curricula being delivered to primary students. While this does not reflect a homogenous approach to CRT in Canada, it does shed light on the relevance of CRT to this country's social climate.

Critical Race Theory Definition and Principles

The role of critical race theory as defined by Rollock & Gillborn (2011) "is to explore and challenge the prevalence of racial inequality in society" (p. 1). It is based on the understanding that race and racism are products of social thought and power relations. Critical race theorists endeavour to expose the ways in which racial inequality continues to be maintained through the operation of social structures and the assumptions that are

treated as being normal and unremarkable. This challenge of race and racism is articulated and explored through CRT's seven main principles. These are: the centrality of race; interest convergence; critiques of liberalism and White supremacy; counter stories; intersectionality; and a commitment to social justice.

The first principle, *the centrality of race*, notes that racism is normal and so entrenched in the workings of today's society that it is seen as natural and ordinary. As Delgado and Stefancic (2011) state, it is a "common, everyday experience" that racialized people experience in North America. Racism operates not only in explicit ways but also in overt and subtle forms that are hidden in society's practices and attitudes (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011). Racism controls the "political, social and economics realms of Canadian society privileging White individuals over people of colour in most areas of life including education" (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado,1995; Hilraldo, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The centrality of race implies that racism is difficult to address or remedy since only the most blatant forms of discrimination are acknowledged in a colour-blind society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010). Moreover, scholars like Dei (1995) discuss the importance of the saliency of race in Western societies, noting that looking at gender and other intersections must be done through a lens of race. Dei suggests that race is socially constructed despite scholars arguing that race does not exist. While race is not biologically constructed, Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery (2005) explain that there are "felt and enacted, socially constructed, common-sense understandings and notions of race" (p. 14). Dei (1995) argues that the "centrality of race in anti-racism should also point out that one cannot understand the social effects of race and racism without a simultaneous knowledge of how race is mediated with aspects of oppression" (p. 14). In other words, although race is salient, it can also be articulated through other oppressions such as gender, class, sex, and other -*isms*. By placing race at the centre of CRT, theorists can then prioritize and critically analyse how power relations remain embedded in societal institutions in terms of how they continue to define dominant and subordinate groups by race.

The second component is *interest convergence,* which was briefly introduced in Bell's *Brown vs. the Board of Education* article. Bell's interest convergence initially recognized that Blacks' ability to achieve civil rights victories depended on their

economic conditions and whether civil rights worked in the self-interest of elite Whites. Bell argued that winning the *Brown v. Board of Education Case* was merely the result of the historic and economic conditions of the time: the United States' role in World War II was not long past and the US was currently locked in the Cold War with the Soviet Union. It was thought that the US's recent victory in World War II could draw attention away from the its domestic disputes with its Black citizens and the mass unrest it was causing at home, as these elitists were concerned that this latter situation would soon lead to a chaos that was far beyond what they could control (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010). Bell's hypothesis on the outcome of the *Board v. Education* case was then proven right when legal historian Mary Dudziak examined the U.S Department of State and the Department of Justice archives files and letters that demonstrate that the Brown decision was not based on the moral principles of sympathy, mercy or social decency but to improve the US's image in third world countries. Therefore, when allied to the everyday social reality of people of colour, convergence is about the notion that White people will work to address a racism that is seen as meaningful to them only if it intersects with their interests or if they can benefit from it. Moreover, the notion of interest convergence not only applies to Blacks in the United States but also to all racialized people in contemporary societies, under what Lewis & Shah (2021) refer to as self and systematic interest analysis. Whites' usage of self and systematic interest refers to the "tendency of White people to be more likely to support social justice and equity-oriented policies when it does not require them to alter their status (Bell, 1980; Lewis & Shah, 2021). Whites will only advance social justice agendas when it is in their self-interest to do so and they do not have to alter their "own ways, systems, statuses, and privileges" (Milner, 2008, p. 334). Lewis & Shah (2021) further suggest that there is a loss-gain binary within the concept, suggesting that the capability of White people to make decisions that could create more racially equitable practices is shaped by whether they will ultimately lose power or privilege as an outcome.

An example of the loss-gain binary can be seen in the allegorical story in chapter nine of Bell's *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism.* In this chapter, Bell explains his idea of an interest convergence, in which there are undertones of self-systematic analysis and a loss-gain binary through the tale of aliens' visiting the

United States. In this parable, the aliens want to trade and they set their sights on owning all the country's African Americans. In exchange, the aliens offer the United States enough gold to eliminate its national debt, a chemical that will rid it of water and air pollution, and a limitless safe energy source to replace its usage of fossil fuels. Bell explains that after a speedy two weeks of deliberations, the terms of exchange are agreed upon and all of the country's African Americans are given to the aliens. While this story sounds like the work of prominent science fiction writers Douglas Adams or H.G. Wells, Bell uses his space trader tale to depict the reality of racism in America. In reality, the Whites in his parable are elites, such as the politicians and business leaders who hold power in important decision making. It was in the Whites' best interest to agree to the aliens' terms of exchange. They wanted to secure the promised benefits, knowing that their power and privilege would remain intact. This story not only alludes to the White superiority that exists in the West but also the economic determinist strategies Whites employ to improve their social status.

A more recent example of this phenomenon is the widely covered case of the *State v. Chauvin.* Derek Chauvin was charged with second-degree degree murder and two other charges related to the death of George Floyd, an African American man living in Minneapolis. A Harvard Law professor had deemed that the case would be a "battle of the experts," as the defence's side would have to argue that the situation on the ground in real time required Chauvin to carry out those particular actions. The defence would also need to argue that Floyd's pre-existing heart condition, combined with his drug use and other factors, led to his death. In contrast, the prosecution would need to rebut these testimonials through the proper use of forceful arguments provided by experts in the field and demonstrate that Floyd died of positional asphyxia and not by any other means (Associated Press, 2021a; Cooper & Parks, 2021; Associated Press, 2021b). The outcome of this case resulted in Chauvin being convicted on all three charges. Now, in terms of interest convergence, African Americans gained a number of benefits from this conviction; for example, accountability, evidence of police brutality and racism, the attention drawn to structural racism and, prominently, the promise of to educate and reform policing institutions. For elites, mainly Whites, a guilty verdict provided an opportunity to improve their image with the Black community, to develop moral

authority in the face of the racism exposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, to diminish their White guilt, to avoid the extra expenses related to additional reform practices and procedures, and to avoid backlash, protests, and chaos from racialized communities and still ensure that the power and the privilege remained in the hands of White people. So, like the *Brown vs. Education* case, in the case of the murder of George Floyd it was in the Whites' best interests to deliver a guilty verdict rather than a reduced sentence, as this would avoid the possibility of riots, mass unrest, and violence. Despite a victory for racialized groups, this case also highlighted the true reality of the colour-blind racism that pervades North America where only blunt, overt racial harms are condemned (Heckler & Mackey, 2022; Blumenfeld, 2020).

Within the field of higher education, the role of interest convergence has been documented in Lewis & Shah's (2021) analysis of Black student's narratives of diversity and inclusion initiatives. These authors found that diversity and inclusion initiatives are superficial by nature, signifying that the economic idea of interest convergence is not only limited to governmental structures but is also an ideology that is observed in all practices and institutions in the West. Therefore, it is fitting that Bell's interest convergence is often linked with another component of CRT, a critique of liberalism.

Although the critique of liberalism has its roots in CLS, it nonetheless remains a significant part of the ideology of CRT (Harris, 2015;Hilrado, 2010). Critical race theory is the only effective way of examining a liberal ideology that underlies "the taken for granted notions of colour-blindness, equality of opportunity, merit, and the accommodation of minority members, when in fact it actually reflects, creates, and perpetuates institutional racial power" (Henry & Tator, 2009, p. 134). Liberal ideology has the power to achieve these false perceptions, since ideologies themselves "are the ways in which people interrupt social, cultural, political and economic systems and structures that are linked to their perceived needs, hopes and fears" (Henry & Tator, 2009 p. 4). Thus, the everyday ideological discourses about race, sex, class, and gender are "produced, promoted and preserved to influence social behaviour" (Henry & Tator, 2009). In turn, the liberal belief of colour-blindness only allows for the extreme versions of racial harms to be addressed, those that can be noticed and heard (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010).

Within the Canadian context, this liberal ideology is intertwined with the concepts of racism in what social scientists refer to as democratic racism. This explains "the justification of the inherent conflict between the egalitarian values of liberalism, justice and fairness and the racist ideologies reflected in the collective mass belief system as well as the racist attitudes perceptions and assumptions of individuals" (Henry & Tator, 2009 p. 6). Within Canada, universities serve as spaces where tension and conflict take place between the experiences of racialized students and faculty, and the attitudes and practices of White administrators and educators who have the power to shape campus reality. For example, while there is an appearance of pluralism and equality of opportunity in the classroom, individuals, structures, and practices are subconsciously committed to the status quo. This reflects that, while Canada promotes itself as a land of multiculturalists and where "hard work pays off," White scholars, particularly Canadians, are of the idea that having too much attention put on "difference" can lead to division, disharmony, and disorder toward Canadian nationals. Therefore, resistance to anti-racism and equity initiatives have been documented because Whites are reluctant to question the Canadian beliefs and value systems that sweep through universities. Hilrado (2010) suggests that to "eradicate racism within higher education we must recognize and work toward dismantling colour-blindness within the universities." Therefore scholars who critique liberalism must be familiar with the discourses Whites employ to justify their liberal ideologies. The ten discourses of whiteness are the discourses of denial, colour-blindness, equal opportunity, decontextualization, blaming the victim, binary polarization, balkanization, tolerance, tradition and universalism, and political correctness.

The *discourse of denial* is explained as being a White's refusal to accept that racism is a problem in Canadian society. There are countless examples of the discourse of denial from academics and politicians to everyday citizens. Just last year, following the death of George Floyd, Ontario premier Doug Ford made the comment: "Thank God we're different than the United States and we don't have the systemic, deep roots they've had for years" (Canadian Press, 2020a). Similarly, Quebec premier Francois Legault and Alberta RCMP deputy commissioner Curtis Zablocki followed suit by denying systematic racism existed in the province of Quebec or in the RCMP (Lapierre, 2020; Canadian Press, 2020b; Spratt, 2020). All these incidents only date back to June 2020,

despite previous studies having recognized the disproportional numbers of racialized and Indigenous people in jail, the visible minorities being carded, and the likelihood of racialized people being pulled over on the roadside, compared to the experience of Whites (Spratt, 2020). This signifies that, regardless of the evidence of discrimination, racism is still considered non-existent in Canada or the elites continue to wear blinders and redirect the problem of racism to the United States.

The discourse of *colour-blindnes*s, which is that race does not play a part in the academy, is used to define racialized people's work ethic rather than their ability to achieve educational success. Studies show that when it comes to the work force, Whites believe that the qualities of hard work and meritocracy should be the only two factors that account for career success (Henry & Tator, 2009; Henry et al., 2017). Despite having these qualities, racialized persons are still less likely to be hired, receive promotions, get published, or be seen in leadership positions inside and outside of the academy (Henry et al., 2017). Canadian anti-discrimination laws, rights in the workplace, and collective agreements, amplify the realism of race and its effects. However, the discourse of colour-blindness completely underlies the reality of race and causes these procedures and laws to be inadequate in practice.

The discourse of *equal opportunity* notes that all educators and students start their academic journeys with a blank slate and the same opportunities. This discourse dismisses factors such as culture, nationality, income, gender, sexual orientation, and race, which all play a role in an individual's social positioning. For example, I am a White cis-gendered, heterosexual female who grew up in an upper-middle-class family from North America. Now, imagine a racialized male with same the characteristics. Acknowledging that the only dissimilar factor is race (but in reality, other factors intersect to play a role) would show that we would not have the same opportunities. As a White woman, I have had society privileges, opportunities, and educational opportunities and successes that a racialized male or female in the same circumstances would have been barred from, especially in academia (Henry et al., 2017). So with the concept of intersectionality in mind, the ways in which social difference interacts with another, the discourse of equal opportunity becomes a myth.

The discourse of *decontextualization:* People within the academy do believe that racism exists but this belief is isolated to a few individuals. This discourse has nothing to do with the structures or organization of the academy. Similar to the examples I gave in the discourse of denial, in which the premier of Ontario denied the presence of systematic racism in the Canadian system, decontextualization also signifies the lived realism of colour-blind racism, where only direct forms of aggressive racism are acknowledged in this country. The same goes for the experiences of part-time Faculty of Arts professor Dr. Verushka Lieutenant -Duval from the University of Ottawa. In 2020, Lieutenant -Duval had said the "n-word" during a class discussion about how groups re-appropriating terms that were once considered slang. Despite having a professor's right to academic freedom, her action sparked controversy and an outcry from the student union. However, the student union president noted that it was the "university's responsibility to address systemic racism and institutional discrimination" (Friesen, 2021). Once again, this reaffirms and cements the invisibility of macro-level marginalization.

The discourse of *blaming the victim*: This discourse involves Whites culturally stereotyping of racialized groups in the academy. For example, within universities, measures such as affirmative action programs have met resistance from Whites who assert that the universities must not lower their standards since a "racial group values education less" (Henry & Tator, 2009). In addition, James' (2011) study of African Canadian males argues that a "web of stereotypes" claiming that this population consists of "fatherless, troublemakers, athletes, immigrants, and underachievers" contributes to their lack social opportunities, reduced life chances and poorer educational outcomes. More specifically, James identifies that being stereotyped as an immigrant or foreigner not only negatively implies that young Black males' poor educational outcomes can be explained by their inability to adapt to Anglo-Canadian educational values but also points to their "foreign cultures" as not valuing education. Thus, instead of recognizing the intrinsic marginalization that is occurring within university structures and practices, the victim is blamed again despite the roadblocks they continue to face (James, 2011, p. 472).

The discourse of *binary polarization*: This is the belief that, in universities, racialized groups' lack of success is due to their reluctance to "fit in" to the dominant culture's values, beliefs and norms. For example, it is not surprising that, on the internet,

one can easily find information targeted toward persuading minorities to "fit in" more successfully. Take these two statements from EduCanada, for example: "Fitting into your workplace is an important part of adjusting to life here. The Canadian workplace operates differently from the places you worked in in your home country" (EduCanada, 2019). What these two statements from EduCanada subtly imply is that in order to find work in in this country and to be successful, one must learn about ways Canadians act in the workplace and diminish the skills and practices one learned in their home countries. This suggestion has also found its way into the academy, as racialized academics have spoken about their experiences of having to assimilate within prominently White campuses in order to "make it," so to speak.

The discourse of *balkanization*: This is the belief that paying too much attention to differences in the university would eliminate Canadian identity. Despite Canada's commitment to multiculturalism and its insistence on celebrating racial differences, a study conducted by the CBC and the Angus Reid Institute (Proctor, 2016) found that sixty-eight percent of Canadians believed that racialized people should do more to fit into Canadian society instead of keeping their own languages and traditions (Proctor, 2016). This perception that can easily translated to that found in the academy, given the greater proportion of White Canadian academics working in universities across Canada.

The discourse of *tolerance*: In universities, while Whites accept that there are cultural differences among racialized groups, the "White" way remains dominant in these institutions. The typical response of White administrators is that "we do try to accommodate the needs of different groups, but it's not always possible or desirable." While universities do make an effort to accommodate students and faculty with disabilities, these accommodations do not allow these people to meet the full extent of their abilities. In regard to visible minorities, less is known about the extent universities will go to in order to accommodate their needs. It has been shown that when students and faculty of colour experience discrimination, this can lead to emotional distancing, mental health issues, stress, and other negative outcomes resulting from structural racism within Canadian universities. Therefore, the fact that there are still reports of these experiences indicates that Canadian universities still lean toward the dominant White population instead of addressing the needs of racialized populations.

The discourse of *tradition and universalism*: This is the belief that Western knowledge is superior and the core curriculum should not be challenged. As outlined in my literature review, the lack of courses presenting alternative knowledge, such as courses on Indigenous topics, and the fact that these courses are considered "special topics" outside the core curriculum, is a prime example of this phenomenon. Given that alternative knowledge forms are seen as subjective in the eyes of the West, and the West's favouritism toward the latter, it is not surprising that Euro-centric curriculums continue to dominate textbooks, classrooms, and Canadian education.

The discourse of *political correctness*: Within the academy, demands for inclusion and equity are resisted as they are seen as a threat to "academic freedom." For example, even though academic freedom applies to all disciplines, the lack of discussion around anti-integrative social factors in the STEM fields may explain why measures of academic freedom are more likely to be employed when it comes to changing course curricula. However, acknowledging the role that CRT could play in these discourses has the ability to lead to an examination of the White perspectives that pervade STEM curriculums and this could lead to democratic discussions on ways to dismantle racism.

Regarding my overarching research question and sub-objectives, CRT is central to this research, as its principles best align with examining the commonality of racism and how race is a socially-constructed phenomenon. CRT's principles of interest can convergence in terms of faculty hiring processes, tenure and promotion, and curriculum could become even more broad-based than before, should greater racial justice be the result of this research. This study's examination of how racial justice actions in Nova Scotian universities will see if they were conducted with good intentions or in the interest of serving the majority. Similarly, if liberalism and the idea of merit and equal opportunity continue to play roles in the hiring and diversification of racialized participants, then these attitudes will work as preventive tactics that serve to limit change in the university culture.

White Supremacy

Furthermore, critical race theory "understands the role and power of White supremacy in creating and reinforcing racial subordination maintaining a normalized White privilege is central to the CRT imperative to reveal and oppose racial inequality"

(Caldwell & Crenshaw, 1996; Rollock & Gillborn, 2011; Harris, 1993). Paired with White supremacy, critical race theory looks at whiteness as property and examines the idea of that this is something only White people can possess. Given the "historic system of ownership and the reverberations from it, this idea further reinforces and perpetuates the system of White supremacy because only White individuals can benefit from it" (Hiraldo, 2010). Institutions reinforce that being White is more valuable and important. This works against diversifying and providing an inclusive environment in higher education (Hiraldo, 2010). This explanation of White Supremacy in CRT refers to the White supremacy within our social institutions and not the Klu Klux Klan type of White supremacy. It is about how whiteness and Euro-Western ideologies and traditions are embedded within every social structure: in education, employment, media, criminal justice, etc. Given that whiteness studies also focus on White privilege and supremacy within institutions, it seems fitting that whiteness studies is embedded in my theoretical framework to strengthen the arguments made in CRT.

Whiteness Studies

For my research, I will be using whiteness studies to examine White supremacy because this approach provides the tools I need to address the dominance of Euro-Western ideologies within education and universities. Whiteness studies emerged in the 1990s and was an expansion of critical race theory. This field of scholarship aims to make visible the structures that reproduce White privilege and supremacy. Two approaches had evolved under whiteness studies: historical and experimental. The historical approach articulated by scholar David Roediger looks at how the term White was socially constructed when Europeans and settlers met racialized people. Whiteness studies focuses on the evolution of whiteness as an exclusively European attribute that created binary polarization involving "the other" throughout different time periods. Therefore "like race, whiteness is neither static nor monolithic; rather, it is historically specific and culturally constructed" (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010; Chen, 2017, p. 17). While this approach to whiteness studies is beneficial because of its examination of the historical roots of whiteness and its fluidity, the latter is more suitable for my project.

The experimental approach to whiteness studies has a social activist dimension that the former lacks. Experimental whiteness scholars "analyze whiteness as a social

condition of white people that needs to be acknowledged, exposed, and ultimately resisted" (Satzewich, 2007; Chen, 2017, p. 16). A prime example of this experimental approach to whiteness is Peggy McIntosh's (1995) paper *White Privilege and Male Privilege.* In her article, McIntosh articulates that White privilege is the bundle of unearned privileges carried in an "invisible weightless knapsack." She further states that Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, average, and ideal, so that when we (Whites) work to benefit others, this is seen as work that will allow 'them' to be more like 'us,' making it apparent that White privilege is taken for granted (McIntosh, 1995, p. 78). Other White scholars, like Rothenberg (2004), examine how White people are taught that differences exist by noticing people who are not like them. For example, it's an unquestioned viewpoint that White people are not different from racialized people but that racialized people are different from them. Therefore, experimental whiteness scholars look at the problematic usage of the term "the other" because it demonstrates that Whites are the standard other groups are measured against, thereby constructing an us vs. them outlook. However, it is the purpose of whiteness scholars to demonstrate that Whites are also racialized and that the invisibility of their race is problematic (Dei, 2005; Dei et al., 2007; Chen, 2017; Frankenburg, 1993).Thus, a benefit of whiteness studies is that writing from a White perspective exposes the White gaze and encourages other White people to "think about their attitudes and behaviours and how their privileged status affects non-white people in a white supremacist society" (Chen, 2017, p. 17).

While bell hooks (1995) is better known as a prominent CRT scholar, her discussions on whiteness have nevertheless contributed to the field. Her article *Representing whiteness in black imagination* describes in detail her opinion of the impression Black people have on White people. Hooks speaks of the slavery period and notes that the knowledge enslaved people gained from observations of White people was necessary for their survival. However, Hooks contends that since White and Black people now live closer to one another, prejudice and hatred continue. She speaks of how Blacks attempt to be like Whites, or "ghosts" as she refers to them, but still continue to fear and hate them when she addresses themes of White superiority, assimilation, and the invisibility that having whiteness contributes to. In another article published the same

year, hooks (1995) describes her traumatic childhood as "not knowing if acts of white supremacy would transpire from the many door-to-door White salesmen who entered her Black home. Despite their obvious racial discomfort in being inside a Black home, she admits that "their presence terrified [her]" because she could not distinguish between the White men who sold products from the White men who "enacted rituals of terror and torture" (hooks, 1995, p. 39; Matias et al., 2014). Therefore, the black imagination does not intend to essentialize blackness, but instead recognizes that the "the terror, other feelings, intuitions, and behaviors are rational responses to experiencing the terrorism in white supremacy" (Matias et al., 2014, p. 289.) While this counter-story storytelling is a feature of CRT, Hooks' work can still be used in whiteness studies since it teaches Whites of the lived realities of racism and the impacts on racialized people that White people may never knew about.

Furthermore, because there is the presence of the Black imagination, while differentiation also alludes to an ontological opposite that does exist. Whiteness scholars have used the White imagination to examine how White individuals experience racialization. So as blackness is a social construct, so is whiteness as the White imagination embraces "white culture, ideology, racialization, expressions, and experiences, epistemology, emotions, and behaviors. Unlike Blackness, whiteness is normalized because white supremacy elevates whites and whiteness to the apex of the racial hierarchy" (Allen, 2001; Matias et al., 2014). This demonstrates that because whiteness studies focuses more on White people's ability to "deflect, ignore or dismiss their role in racialization and privilege in racial dynamics" (Matias et al., 2014, p. 29), whiteness studies can offer a critique on the normality of the hemogenic whiteness critical race theory is less likely to explore.

Finally, the inclusion of whiteness studies works well with CRT in that it critiques liberalism. Earlier in this chapter, I noted that to critique liberalism, CRT scholars must be familiar with the discourses Whites employ to justify their liberal ideology, which can be summed up in the previously mentioned ten discourses of whiteness. Moreso than CRT, Whiteness studies looks more specifically at the language Whites employ when faced with racial discomfort. The ten discourses of whiteness, coupled with DiAngelo's concept of White fragility, allow me to critique the language of my White participants in

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a manner that would not be accomplished by using CRT alone. DiAngelo (2011) discusses the defensive reactions Whites use, noting they are not only a form of resistance but also "a result of the reduced psychosocial stamina that racial insulation inculcates" (p. 56). White fragility suggests that even when low amounts of racial stress become unbearable, it triggers defences such as anger, fear, guilt, and silence to maintain both provide comfort and power for White people (DiAngelo, 2011; DiAngelo, 2020). The consequences of White fragility include an absence of accountability, a re-focus of whiteness, violence toward racialized people, a failure to address criticism, and obstructions to learning and change. An absence of accountability implies that consoling White discomfort alleviates White accountability and guilt, and redirects Whites' contributions to racial discrimination. This White discomfort terminates racial discussions, thereby causing the re-direction of sympathy, the validation of White emotions, and a dismissal of racialized people' pain. Racialized people are seen as offenders of White discomfort, an attitude that neglects racialized people's experiences while being sensitive to White fragility. A failure to address criticism indicates that White power and privilege are used to redirect conservations about racial inequality and racial injustice so Whites can maintain their status and quo while diminishing opportunities for transformation. However, when White innocence is upheld, nothing is learned and changed is stalled (Applebaum, 2017; Nuru & Arendt, 2018).

Parasram (2019) articulates that White fragility drives structural White privilege in the sense that "centuries of racialized arrogance that has normalized whiteness as a common-sense condition that needed no justification has led to cultural and political contexts within which young white people are increasingly unable to handle the racial stress arising from the disconnect between the underlying logic of structural white supremacy and the incremental steps forward that have often put racialized people and women into visible roles within institutions" (p.199)

Additionally, the "idea of equity and addressing systemic under-representation within institutions appears to be an affront to meritocracy and is thus interpreted as an assault on the rights of White men who see themselves as making their way through the world based on talent and hard work, but not structural privilege" (Parasram, 2019, p. 197). Embedding critical whiteness studies into my framework gives me tools with

which to examine whiteness as a modern invention that has changed over time and place, to understand that whiteness is a social norm that brings with it unspoken benefits and privileges, to recognize that whiteness has yet to be deconstructed in our society even though it is a marker in structural racism, and to recognize that Whites can deploy tactics such as White fragility in order to decentralize racialized injustices.

Critiques of Whiteness Studies

Whiteness studies came to prominence in the late 1900s and is still often contested by scholars. One of the major critiques is that whiteness has emerged in academia as an "innovatively disguised racist concept, rather than an overt racist concept" (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010; Matias et al., 2014). In other words, in the field of whiteness studies, categories have been created, such as White privilege, that are subtle and innocent in nature and that redirect whiteness as a racist concept or a racially charged term. For example, Satzewich & Liodakis (2010) liken the emergence of whiteness studies to how race is measured in the Canadian census. That is, it takes a statistical, demographics approach to race rather than examining the experience of race. Both play a role in maintaining the biological reality of race, even though race as a biological construct has been dismissed. To deal with this limitation, first I will be discussing in depth racialized people's lived consequences as result of White supremacy and White privilege, documenting any racial harms, traumas, and negative consequences racism has had on a people's mental health, careers, and well-being. By doing so, I aim to address "any subtleness or innocence" that is seen in these categories and redirect conversations toward acknowledging the destructive nature whiteness has on humanity.

Secondly, whiteness studies has been critiqued for essentializing all White people as having the characteristic White gaze or as being homogenous. The White gaze refers to the belief that all White people share the same attitude toward racialized people and matters (Kendall, 2013). However, as discussed previously, White scholars such as Bergeson (2003), Gillborn (2003), and Henry (2004) recognize both their whiteness and the strength that comes from the voices of racialized people. Therefore, this essentialization is non- problematic. Moreover, Whites are just as diverse as other racial groups, hence whiteness alone cannot account for White privilege and other factors like social class, gender and gender must be analyzed alongside race. Therefore, taking an

intersectional approach to my study and taking into account the backgrounds of my White participants will be essential to avoiding "the White gaze." The ability to experience privilege and oppression simultaneously, for example as a White woman, signifies that that perspectives on racial issues may differ from that of a White male. Lastly, scholars have criticized the fact that that because whiteness scholars advocate for a separate field than critical race theory, this symbolically privileges the philosophy of whiteness (Burton, 2009; Matias et al., 2014). In response to this limitation, I am embedding whiteness studies into the larger framework of critical race theory because whiteness studies alone are not enough to emphasize the voices of racialized people. Allen (2001) states that "the need for change is immediate and people of colour do not have the time to wait for Whites to take some slow, bourgeois journey of White self-discovery" (p. 133). Allen's statement means that "critical race theorists can identify the multiple sources, manifestations and power of whiteness, making whiteness theory and its distinctive epistemological approach adopted by White scholars an unnecessary division" (Burton, 2009, p. 177). This could be since whiteness studies focus on White racism, which is racism perpetrated by White individuals. This notion makes it seem that White people are the only ones capable of being racist since they are thought of as being the root of the problem. Additionally, because of this focus on White racism, it is assumed that Whites are the "most autonomous group that has the ability to understand, analyze, and ultimately explain racism" (Matias et al., 2014, p. 21). Yet Whites writing about themselves poses the risk of lack of transparency, meaning that they may not be able to see all of the racialized aspects related to an identity (Matias et al., 2014). Yet embedding whiteness studies into critical race theory can help further academic understandings of racial inequalities, as it offers an epistemological perspective toward understanding race and racism (Matias et al., 2014). As well, the language used in critical race theory tends to be focused on skin colour, and while this can be empowering, it can also further perpetuate the subtle ways racial discrimination is maintained. So it is important for my research to use the terminology of racialized groups found in whiteness studies because this "draws attention to the social processes and relationships of domination and subordination, of recognizing that racialization is both a process and a social problem that marginalized people face" (Matias et al., 2014, p. 24).

Whiteness in Higher Education

Individual consciousness can be enlightened through education and those individuals have the capability to solve problems that occur in society. However, this is a naïve assumption because Canada's education system is either broken or has not too been fixed. The education system within the Canadian content is a mix of Eurocentric and mono-cultural perspectives that are supported by patriarchal powers, thereby making it very difficult for the majority to see or understand the experiences of racialized groups. Therefore, in those terms, educated Whites in Canada are "blind" to the continuation of social issues pertaining to race. Gillborn (2009) says that the continuation of the ideology of whiteness will further de-racialize our supposed multicultural education. This is threatening to our society, as many (possibly the majority) of White people have no awareness of whiteness as a construction, let alone their own role in sustaining and playing out the inequities that are at the heart of whiteness (Gillborn & Youdell, 2009). As a result, institutions like universities and corporations continue to mask their practices of systematic and institutional racism while they make claims of "anti-racism, diversity, and equity in their mission statements" and fail to implement substantive change (Henry & Tator, 2009). Thus, given how closely whiteness studies are related to critical race theory, it is no surprise that combining these two frameworks seems plausible given the seriousness of the topic and how much they interaction with one another.

Critical Race Theory & Counter Stories/Experimental Knowledge

The third component essential to critical race theory is placing emphasis on the voices of racialized people. For my own research, I will be using narrative methodology to highlight the voices and narratives of racialized people, given that this is a powerful tool used in CRT. Critical race theory acknowledges that the experimental knowledge of racialized people is "legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination" (Solórano & Yosso, 2001, p. 26). Within education, this experimental knowledge challenges the traditional curriculums and research paradigms that are normally used to explain the experiences of racialized people. These traditional discourses are what critical race theorists refer to as "master narratives." These are used to bound racialized groups to "very narrow depictions" (Montecinos, 1995) of what it means to be in said groups. These narratives essentialize and eliminate the

complexity of a group's dynamics, thereby leaving a monovocal account of them that stereotypes and homogenizes. These stories are constructed from "a legacy of racial privilege" (Solórano & Yosso, 2001) and therefore contribute to racial privilege being normal. It is within these narratives that White privilege is expressed "through a bundle of presuppositions, perceived wisdoms, and shared cultural understandings persons in the dominant race bring to the discussion of race" (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993, p. 462). In other words, master narratives serve as public transcripts (Scott, 1990) in which beliefs, assumptions, and values are included in the talk and text of elites and public officials. However, these stories do not only focus on race, but these stories also interact with other forms of subordination, such as sexism and classism. Therefore, these master narratives are used to privilege and maintain the elitism of White upper-middle-class heterosexual males using these characteristics as the standard for what is considered "normal" and superior in society (Solórano & Yosso, 2001).

Master narratives can distort and silence the experiences of racialized people. Ikemoto (1997) details how master narratives use "standard formulas" to appear neutral and objective yet make subtle assumptions that negatively stereotype and marginalize racial groups. Take, for example, violence in a predominantly White middle-class community: within Canada and particularly Nova Scotia, when a White middle-class citizen falls victim to a violent incident, the response that is often seen in the media is: "This is a good neighbourhood filled with good people. How could this have happened here?" What this master narrative implies is the ongoing implication that being both White as a racialized identity and middle class as the ideal of classism represent "goodness." In consequence, this goodness or, more specifically, "whiteness" masks the ability of picturing any threat to White people as any anything other than invisible, further stigmatizing racialized communities as being the only places that are subjected to these sorts of attacks. It is not surprising then that society reinforces its master narratives and structures of racialized communities through images that describe those with darker skin as being prone to violence and view a level of poverty as "being bad." While, this reference may appear to link racialized groups to a biological deficiency, in contemporary society, master narratives instead draw on culturally deficient models. This is fitting since the cultural deficit model places emphasis on racialized groups not having

a strong enough work ethic or the optimism to succeed, characteristics of a democratic racist society. Cultural deficit master narratives assert that the academic failure of racialized groups is due to their reluctance to succumb to cultural assimilation. Faculty and students of colour in particular can only succeed by assimilating into the dominant Eurocentric culture of the academy.

The use of counter-stories is essential to dismantling these master narratives and helping centre race and racism within Western higher education. A counter-story is described "as a method of telling the stories of people whose experiences are not often told, and of exposing, analyzing and challenging the master narratives of racial privilege." (Solórano & Yosso, 2001, p. 32). Using storytelling or counter-narratives as a methodological tool "can act as a powerful means of enabling racially minoritized groups to speak back about racism and employ spiritual empowerment for themselves" (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011). Recounting the experiences of racialized groups through storytelling and counter-storytelling can help "strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance" (Solórano & Yosso, 2001, p. 32). Different types of counter-narratives and stories are used in critical race theory. The first are personal stories or narratives which recount an individual's experiences with racism, sexism, and classism. These typically tend to be autobiographical reflections of the authors. The next are composite stories and narratives, whereby the authors rely on data to create composite characters and place them in scenarios where racism and other forms of subordinations are discussed. And finally, other people's stories or narratives are used, which are narratives that describe another person's story in response to their experiences with racism and other -isms as told in the third person.

The final class of narrative discussed is the one I will be using. This is the use of other people's stories in higher education. These provide faculty, staff, and students of colour a voice to tell their narratives of being involved in marginalized experiences. Counter-stories can assist in analyzing the climate of a college campus and provide opportunities for further research in the ways that can help an institution become inclusive and not simply superficially diverse (Hiraldo, 2010). For my research, this is the best method as it provides intimate and accurate understandings of racialized faculty members' experiences that cannot be obtained using other qualitative methodologies.

<u>Intersectionality</u>

Intersectionality is the fourth element in critical race theory. Hankivsky et al. (2014) tell us that an intersectional approach "promotes an understanding of human beings as shaped by the interaction of different social locations (e.g., race/ethnicity, indigeneity, gender, class, age, sexuality, disability/ability, migration status, religion)" (p. 4). Hankivsky et al. (2014) note that these interactions occur within multiple connected institutions and power structures and, as a result, "interdependent forms of privilege and oppression are created" (p. 4). While critical race theory posits that the role of race and racism is at the centre of critical race analysis, critical race scholars recognize the intersections at play with other forms of subordination (Crenshaw, 1989; Dei, 1995). For example, according to Barnes (1990) "critical scholars have refused to ignore the differences between class and race as a basis for oppression... Critical race scholars know that class oppression alone cannot account for racial oppression" (p. 1868). By incorporating intersectionality, critical race theorists acknowledge the several key principles of intersectionality in their analysis. The first key principle is the understanding that human lives cannot be understood through a mono-lens, as people's lives are multi-dimensional and complicated. To understand the lived realities of a human being, one must look at how the different factors such as gender, race, and sexuality interact and operate together to produce human experiences. At the same time, intersectionality does not call for an additive approach or an examination of the collective impact of social factors as a sum of their autonomous effects (Hancock, 2007). Secondly, no social factor or structure can be predetermined; their importance and the ways they interact can only be discovered through investigational analysis. Also, the power dynamics between social locations and social factors are linked, but they can also change depending on geography and time. For example, the relationship between gender, class, and race in Canada is different than it is in the Caribbean, and the relationship between gender and class in the United States in the present day is dissimilar to how it was in the early 1920s. By acknowledging time and space, intersectionality acknowledges the understanding that time and space are not static but fluid and ever-changing in society. Moreover, from an intersectional approach, power is relational and people can experience privilege and oppression concurrently, depending on the time and location (Hill, 1990).

Patricia Hill Collins (1990) coins this phenomenon as "penalty and privilege" and Bowleg's article, *Once You've Blended the Cake, You Can't Take the Parts Back to the Main Ingredients": Black Gay and Bisexual Men's Descriptions and Experiences of Intersectionality* is a good representation of Hill's concept of intersectionality and its first key principle. Bowleg (2012) can articulate how Black men are advantaged by virtue of their gender but disadvantaged by the intersection of their race, gender, and sexual identity. For example, one participant talks about having the advantage of being a male in society when he says "men are often paid more and taken more seriously." However, that same participant also acknowledges that "being Black and bisexual is a strike against you" (p. 759), thereby identifying that his advantaged status a man could allow for some potential benefit, but because it intersected with other disadvantaged social factors it did not necessarily "add much." This affirms that the lived human experience is complex and not as straightforward as some may believe.

Taking a multi-analysis perspective and linking micro-level experiences to meso and macro structures can reveal the dynamics of how power relations are shaped. Intersectional approaches require reflexivity, scholarship, policy makers, and researchers like myself who must consider our own positions when conducting research or doing policy work, since it acknowledges the significance of power at the micro level of the self to the level of macro institutions. Lastly, in concurrence with the goals of critical race theory and its last tenet, intersectionality is oriented toward social action and has a commitment to social justice. Intersectionality promotes more realistic goals, such as equity and fairness in our lived realities, but not equality (Hankivsky et al., 2014). Acknowledging intersectionality in CRT analysis enables a more successful and efficient response than a one-size-fits-all approach to social inequalities. As Hancock (2007) notes, "It is the best chance for an effective diagnosis and ultimately an effective prescription" (p. 73) especially as inequalities still exist, where in Canada alone, income inequality has increased over the past 20 years (Fong, 2017).

As I use the term "racialized" throughout my thesis, this does not intend to limit my study to those affected by race as expressed in whiteness studies. Rather, I will be using it as a term that is employed to mean all disadvantaged faculty within Nova Scotia: those who are affected by gender, class, disability, race, and other factors of

marginalization will be addressed in my research. Critical race theory acknowledges that the "structures and relations that maintain racial inequality do not operate to the exclusion or disregard of other forms of injustice" (Gillborn and Rollock, 2011). Rather, it looks at the ways in which systems of subordination can come together simultaneously (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011; Gillborn 2015; Crenshaw, 1989; Harris, 2012). This is significant, given the diverse backgrounds and positions of racialized faculty in Nova Scotia's universities. This is an important consideration where I hope to find an answer to overarching research question.

Commitment to Social Justice

Critical race theory is a theoretical framework that is committed to social justice and offers a transformative response to various forms of oppression (Solórano & Yosso, 2001). The research conducted on critical race theory looks at the elimination of racism and other -isms and focuses on the empowerment of racialized groups (Solórano & Yosso, 2001). CRT scholars believe that because racialized people have been fighting for social justice for centuries, these people are the best equipped with the knowledge we need to transform societal values. In regards to my own research, after completing my thesis, I intend to use my position and power to distribute this information to university governance and leaders who can create and implement the necessary actions for social change.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Narrative Methodology Background

        This research study utilized interpretative narrative methodology. Narrative methodology is not new to the social sciences; scholars such as Geertz (1973), Bateson (1972), Dewey (1938), and Polkinghorne (1988) have been using it across various disciplines in the social sciences. Connelly & Clandinin (2006) state that "people shape their daily lives by stories of who they and who others are and as they interpret their past in terms of stories (p. 44). A story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. This methodology entails a view of the phenomenon people encounter. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of the experience of the phenomena under study) Polkinghorne (1995) refers to this methodology as a series of research designs in which stories are used to describe human behaviours and actions (p. 375). Critical race theorists, whiteness scholars, and anti-racist theorists alike have emphasized the significance of this methodology. Their use of counter-knowledge stories as the prime methodology challenges traditional and modernist views of truth, reality, knowledge, and personhood. However, Connelly & Clandinin (2006) go further to state that scholars turn to narrative methodology as it is the best way of representing and understanding experience, particularly temporal experience. That is, experience not just focused on life in the here and now but also on life as it is experienced across a spectrum. Temporality is a central feature when thinking about experience. Connelly & Clandinin (2006) assert that when we take for granted that we are making meaning of things over time, we forget that any event or thing has a past, present, and future. For example, Connelly & Clandinin (2006) use the metaphor of a lathe to show that this tool has meaning to different people, at different times, and in different contexts. These scholars imply that meanings change; they are not static, and because of this fluidity there are tensions between seeing how things are in time versus seeing how things came to be. This is a deviation from Polkinghorne's interpretation of narrative, as he says little about temporality but leaves the reader with the idea that what is said and learned from narrative inquiry is just that.

Therefore, it is essential for my research to keep note of this idea of temporality because the experiences of my participants in academia are embedded within a historical past with a meaning that has constantly changed throughout time. So, an experience being reflected in the here and now may have a different meaning than it would have had in the past. Experience and its connection to creating tension allow one to understand that temporality cannot only create tension but people, actions, and contexts but also create tensions. Like temporality, we take for granted the people that are continually in a process of identity formation and these personal changes must be considered in the formation of narrative thinking. Similarly, without understanding the narrative history of an action, it would be difficult to understand its significance. Finally, context is essential to making sense of a thing, and when we take into account the temporal and spatial contexts of others in the context of meaning making, it often seems as if the people involved come into conflict with one another when in reality they are interconnected.

Advantages of Using Narrative Methodology

The choice of using narrative methodology also has the advantage of familiarity. Stories have been around for centuries, and it is through stories that individuals learn who they are, who others are, and their positionality in society. Polkinghorne (1988; 1995) explains that through stories, social scientists can draw together diverse events, happenings, and actions that can then be integrated into an organized whole by means of a plot (p. 7). Linking together the isolated events into a plot allows for "new levels of relational significance" that were not present before. Narrative methodology allows social scientists to explore the multiple meanings that are applied to each and every narrative. The use of narrative inquiry takes into account that human beings come from a variety of social, cultural, and political backgrounds, thereby valuing the perspectivism each individual brings rather than objectifying according to a single truth. The narrative knowledge gained from the methodology respects the ambiguity and complexity of human lives.

This latter aspect of narrative methodology makes it useful for my study, since it values the vastness and diversity of the individual experience. This methodology respects intersectionality and the saliency of racism, two factors that are crucial to understanding how White supremacy and institutional racism play a role in the narratives of racialized

professors. Additionally, because stories are a familiar form of communication, this is an important methodology for my study because it is one of the most effective ways to transmit key information on community and personal values from the subject(s) to the researcher. Zak's (2013) research on how stories change our brains expresses this idea and makes it clear that personal stories that are emotionally compelling engage more of the brain. This type of storytelling creates an emotional simulation that is particularly important for generating empathy, which is a powerful emotion that is crucial to establishing relationships and promoting values such as trust, compassion, and love. As a result, stories are more likely to be remembered compared to quantitative facts around subjects' experiences (Zak, 2013). Stories offer many different positive outcomes, such as the ability to bond with strangers and learn skills and values. More importantly, stories foster the production of the hormone oxytocin, "the love hormone," which compels individuals to have a greater desire to help others. The intimacy created through stories cannot be replicated by any other form methodology and, especially, neither can the benefits.

Connelly & Clandinin (2000) suggest that stories present opportunities for researchers to enter spaces of three-dimensional narrative inquiry. Researchers can then look inwards, outwards, backwards, and forwards in their inquiries. Stories can also create a sense of dislocation for the researcher as the researcher moves from the past to the present while constructing an identity for the future. As researchers, we gain interesting knowledge that links together the dimensions of a person, their culture, and how they go about life. We are thus able to make sense of past experiences and create meanings as they tell us their stories. We can then use these stories to organize information, values, beliefs, and experiences into a unified whole and see complex patterns, descriptions of identity construction and reconstruction, and evidence of social discourses that affect a person's knowledge creation processes (Etherington, 2000). Storytelling helps the researcher to move away from falling into the trap of reducing the complexity of an experience so it fits into a singular grand narrative. Grand narratives, as articulated by Jean Francois Lyotard, are the "totalizing comprehensive account to various historical events, experiences, and social cultural phenomena based on the appeal of a universal truth or universal value" (Aligarh Muslim University, n.d). The grand

narratives act to legitimize power and authority to specific versions of truth, and as a researcher engaging with narrative methodology, one must embrace all versions of the truth and give equal significance to each one. If we acknowledge that life is boundless, in a sense, then research should reflect an openness to both ideas and experience. This openness to ideas and experience provides me, as a researcher, with the flexibility to explore multiple meanings and perspectives without having to generalize on my research topic, which is common practice in the social sciences. Unlike traditional forms of qualitative and quantitative methodology, stories dig deep into controversial issues and ask the questions that are fundamental to analysis, reflection, and understanding.

Finally, narrative methodology as both a means of data collection and data analysis is a convenient means for my research since it provides insight and is easy to access. As a data collection method, narrative methodology gives way to the creation of field texts. Field texts are created by participants and researchers in order to represent aspects of the subjects' experiences (Connelly & Clandidin, 2006, p. 92). Field texts show not only what was said but also what was not said. Interviews are the most used field texts that researchers use for narrative data collection. For example, the semi-structured telephone interview, like other types of field texts, is still an interpreted text. For instance, the way the interviewees respond and act, as well as the conditions in which the interviews take place shape the interviews. The conversations that arise between the researcher and the participant and the flexibility that takes place within these conversations can allow for in-depth probing for the researcher. The researcher's responses to participants' answers may entail probing into experiences that are a representation of those that go beyond what is possible in an interview (Connelly & Clandidin, 2006, p. 109). So, what to some may be seen as an objective form of inquiry is still shaped by the interpretative process between the participant and the researcher and contextualized within a three-dimensional space. Since narrative methodology is a means of both data collection and analysis, it allows one to transition from field texts based on data collection to data analysis based on research texts that not only illuminate participants' experiences but also compel the researcher to ask themselves questions about meaning and social experience. How the researcher uses narrative codes in their field texts or makes sense of the different meanings within and between the texts cannot

be reduced to a series of steps. Overall, there is continuous engagement where the researcher has with these field texts and reviews and analyses them before they become research texts. The interviewees' transcriptions and the different interpretative accounts a researcher makes sense of are the interim texts of the data analysis (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000).

This approach benefits my research as the constant interpretative process that narrative methodology requires allows me to make sense of how factors—such as temporality, people, actions, and context—have influenced my participants' responses and how their telling of events constructs their reality. Ultimately, this approach actively situates them within stories that tell about their past, present, and possible futures, allowing me, as the researcher, to gain insight and understanding on these people' experiences through the processes of their hiring, promotion, curriculum development, and interactions with their students and non-racialized faculty that go beyond what was just said in their interviews. That said, narrative methodology as a method of analysis keeps the power within the individual and the stories, themselves, and preserves the complexity that is an individual's life.

There has not been a better time to use narrative methodology for a research study. This is another reason why I chose this methodology. The Black Lives Matter movement sparked a demand for stories about the lived experiences of racialized people. In particular, the movement has demanded that White individuals begin to educate themselves on the effects of White privilege and the presence of racial discrimination in the 21st century. Similarity, on June 7, 2020, University Affairs at Dalhousie University tweeted the following question: "How can racism in the academy and the fact many racialized scholars still felt excluded or denied opportunities still be a story today?" Dr. Malinda Smith's, one of authors of "The Equity Myth", response to the question was: "The short answer is 'yes.' Universities do not address racism except ad hoc; most don't collect race data; most have no race equity strategy. Many of us interviewed went on to secure a SSHRC, conduct more in-depth research, & write _The Equity Myth." (Smith2020). Additionally, the trend #BlackintheIvory has been circulating on Twitter and Instagram (on pages such as @diversityinacademia) with Black professors and students throughout universities across North America who have been telling their stories

of racism. Due to the demand for counter-knowledge stories and the particular attention being paid to racism within the university, not only would it be suitable for me to provide racialized Black and South Asian professors in Nova Scotia with a platform through which to speak their "truths" but narrative methodology also allows me to do just that.

Sample

Identity

For my study, I intended to recruit twenty-four associates, part-time and/or tenured professors from Nova Scotian universities through purposeful sampling. There were two sample categories: the first consisted of twelve South Asian professors and the second consisted of twelve White professors. However, because of the lack of Black participants, I changed my research study to have only South Asian professors as my sample. Originally, I chose my first sample because of Blacks' history as a visible minority population and because Nova Scotia has a large South Asian population (Government of Canada, 2021a). Based on these numbers, there should be a higher representative of these racial identities on faculties within Nova Scotian universities, allowing for a larger pool of potential participants. The second study group focused on those who identified as White. This also included diverse identities in terms of gender, age, sexual orientation, class, and immigrant status. The purpose of using race as the only means of difference was to examine whether White participants recognize White as a race and recognize the privileges that go along with it. By using purposeful sampling, I learned a great deal about issues that are of central importance to the purpose of my research and its sub-objectives (Patton, 1990). Within purposeful sampling, there is a type of sampling selection called homogenous sampling, which allowed me to select participants with shared characteristics that I could also use in my research. By choosing this sampling method, I situated my research in Nova Scotian universities. This saved me time and money and this sampling method allowed me to select participants that not only are university professors but also best suited to answer my overarching research question and help me achieve my study objectives. The purposeful sampling allowed me to recruit participants at different levels of university employment which was beneficial to my research as tenured professors could speak about their past experiences with securing

tenure, while professors who are part-time and associates could speak to present issues related to gaining permanent employment or tenureship. It was likely that some of the participants may have been granted tenure more than a decade ago; if this was the case, then the social atmosphere and progression toward racial equity could be different.

Recruitment

For both sample categories, I relied on advertising through recruitment posters and follow-up leads to gather participants. I sent my recruitment poster to the Nova Scotia University Association, which circulated it to the various universities across Nova Scotia. I then sent my recruitment flyer to each department at King's College, Dalhousie, Saint Mary's, Mount Saint Vincent, Cape Breton, and Saint Francis Xavier Universities to ensure it would be been seen by as many potential participants as possible. Given the sensitivity of the research, I believe this was the best way to obtain participants as it did not require me to reach out directly and risk misidentifying a participant. Moreover, at the end of each interview, I asked the participant whether they could provide any leads to people who would either fit the sample or might be interested in the research study. If a lead was presented to me, I then contacted that person directly. As a contingency plan to recruit more participants, I used snowballing (or chain sampling), which is used when it is difficult to recruit participants that have the target characteristics. Participants found through this method can also recommend or recruit future participants among their social networks. Two benefits of this method are that it provided better communication among future participants, since they are linked to the original participants and, secondly, it is time and cost effective. While nine universities throughout Nova Scotia are referenced on the Universities Canada website, to keep my study controllable but expansive enough to gain in-depth data, I chose the six previously mentioned universities. However, I did experience recruitment issues due to the COVID-19 pandemic and I addressed this issue by advertising on social media sites like Twitter. I also ensured that the interviews I did complete had depth and were informative enough to allow me to formulate my results and discussion chapters based solely on the qualitative information I had gathered in these interviews

Due to the unique circumstances of this study, the power relationship between the researcher and the participants did not pose a challenge to my recruitment. Within the

social sciences, academics have spoken about the dynamics of working with marginalized groups with the researcher holding the power in the relationship. In these cases, researchers generally have funding and often come from privileged backgrounds, have a high level of education, and have the power to facilitate communication with stakeholders to acquire the necessary change. However, the participants I spoke with were already leaders within the academic community; they have some if not all the characteristics of which I spoke and a lot of experience and knowledge about the topics I discussed. As many of these participants are professors in their universities' arts and humanities departments, they were accustomed to engaging in in-depth discussions on sensitive topics with their students and respecting any thoughts and opinions these students may bring to their conversations. Therefore, unlike many other research studies, the power relationship in this study encouraged intriguing conversations about a topic that has never been addressed in Maritime academia.

Data Collection

As previously mentioned, the COVID-19 pandemic not only bombarded the world's economy but this unexpected event also caused researchers to revise and redevelop their data collection plans. The COVID-19 pandemic forced universities to operate strictly online during the fall semester of 2020. Similarly, it has made in-person interviews impossible, given the circumstances. For the safety and comfort of all my participants, opting for telephone interviews was the best alternative to ensuring participant safety and that I could use all the benefits of narrative methodology. Therefore, I conducted semi-structured telephone interviews with participants in both sample categories. This method of data collection is sufficient since in narrative methodology interview data is considered field text that can be interpreted for analysis and transformed into a research text.

Although studies have shown that telephone interviews are as efficient as in-person ones (Block & Erskine, 2012), I was disappointed in that I could not examine a participant's body language in response to the questions being asked. A participant's body language and facial expressions could have communicated what they may have been feeling that they may not be relaying through speech. Nonetheless, research is never a linear progression, as the researcher will invariably face challenges and barriers that call

for improvisation. Adapting to the pandemic and using telephone interviews was not a limitation to my research but rather a strength. As a researcher, I was able to adapt to the current situation. Regardless of the process, an interview of any kind was beneficial because of the range of data that could be collected compared to other qualitative methods like surveys and questionnaires. Interviews can provide in-depth explorations into the patterns, attitudes, and opinions of society and provide the interviewer with the necessary details to answer their research question and achieve their objectives (Block & Erskine, 2012).

Telephone interviews are cost, time, and outreach efficient, and studies in the style of semi-structured interviews are "equally robust with respect to breadth and depth" **(Block & Erskine, 2012).** In studies that addressed sensitive topics, researchers found that participants of telephone interviews were more likely to admit socially deviant behaviour than if they were sitting face-to-face with an interviewer (Block & Erskine, 2012). However, other studies have found that the interview process has no effects on the participants' responses to questions, so one can assume that the distance between the interviewer and the interviewee could either "amplify or minimize the subject's desire to express himself or herself on a socially desirable matter" (Block & Erskine, 2012). Given that these studies were inconclusive, I had no reason to believe that using telephone interviews instead of in-person interviews would hinder the results of my study. Furthermore, these telephone interviews allowed the interviewees to participate in the study from wherever it may have been more convenient and comfortable for them. While I cannot determine the interviewees' exact locations during their telephone interviews, I conducted these interviews in my office in my studio apartment. I was the only person who has access to that location, which assured the privacy and confidentiality of the participants.

My data collection took place during September and October, 2020. The dates and times of the telephone interviews were determined through emails between the researcher and participant. Once confirmed, the participants partook in 60-minute semi-structured telephone interviews. This type of interview was best suited for explorations of the perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues, and they enabled me to probe for more information and the clarification of

answers, all of which aligned with my research objectives (Barriball & White, 1994). As well, the varied professional, educational, and personal histories of the sample groups precluded the use of a standardized interview schedule (p. 330). The use of predetermined, open-ended questions enabled me, the researcher, to recognize that meanings of words do not always carry the same significance among the interviewees and to acknowledge both the diversity of the interviewees and the contrasting social environments that contributed to their individual perspectives. Unlike structured interviews, semi-structured interviews can highlight the use of probes. By probing, an interviewee can choose words that can facilitate dialogue and clarification between them and the interviewee. I benefited from this process, as it gave me the opportunity to help the interviewees recall information from their past so they could answer a question while also allowing me to explore inconsistencies between an interviewee's accounts. This enabled me to establish a rapport with the participants, thereby reducing the risk of participants responding with socially desirable answers when asked questions relating to "ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status, education or age" (Barriball & White, 1994, p. 33). The risk of socially desirable answers was present in this study, given that I am a White woman and I spoke with an at-risk population. The South Asian participants in my study could have felt inclined to answer in a way that was pleasing to me. However, I do not think this was the case since these are academics employed in positions that aim advance social justice issues. On the latter, White participants may also employ the same tactic but for different reasons; that is, as Canada condemns public acts of racial discrimination, White participants may choose to speak in a colour-blind manner. To examine this kind of speech, this study used two ethics-approved interview scripts, one for the racialized participants and another for the White participants.

Both interview scripts consisted of five headings, with a range of five to eight questions per section. The script headings included questions of demographics and biographical information, hiring, tenure and promotion, curriculum, and participants' interactions with faculty members. (Please see appendices six and seven for both interview guides). The only difference between both interview scripts was in the sub-questions that asked participants about their interactions with faculty members. Here, I specifically asked South Asian participants whether they have ever experienced racial

discrimination from other faculty members, whereas, if I had asked White participants if they have ever been racist toward their racialized peers, the risk of receiving socially desirable answers would have been high. These participants would have been less likely to be truthful, given that discussions of acts of racism pose the threat of them being labelled a racist even if the discussion was only between the interviewer and the participant. To avoid this challenge, I framed the sub-questions in such a way that the questions probed about whiteness but did not threaten the participants' comfort and prevent them from providing me with informative data.

Once each interview began, I ensured the participants knew they were being audio recorded and that at any point of the interview, they could refuse to answer a question or opt out of the interview altogether. Recording each interview allowed me to concentrate on the interview and not worry about writing notes, and to check for words or phrases that may have been misinterpreted during the interview sessions. After each interview was completed, the tape recorder was turned off and placed in a secure location.

Data Analysis

Following each interview, I transcribed the recordings so the results of all the interviews could be used in the narrative analysis. Narrative methodology is both a means of data collection and data analysis, while transcribing the data from the interviews to the research texts provides a generalization of how a narrative researcher moves from data collection to data analysis. Within narrative data analysis, there are two ways of conducting narrative analysis. First, "stories can be viewed as socially situated knowledge constructions in their own right that value the messiness, differences, depth and texture of the experienced life" (Etherington, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1995). Therefore, the participants' stories were treated as knowledge per se and represented in a way that preserves the integrity and humanity of their person. Therefore, stories are thought as a knowable reality and one can analyze concepts derived from theory through them (Etherington, 2000; Turner & Bruner, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1995).

I used the first definition of stories—stories as socially situated knowledge constructions—and analyzed the data in the style of a narrative analysis. This entailed re-telling the stories gathered from the participants using the actual words/conversations that took place between the participants and myself. From there, I searched for similarities in

the responses of each study group, classifying the most prominent themes that arose in the interviews as well as highlighting individual experiences of importance. By doing so, I could not only observe dissimilar and common experiences by the racialized group but I could also contrast them with the responses/themes that were emphasized in the White participants' responses. In addition, to this examination, I specifically analyzed the speech the White participants used, then categorizing this within their own discourses. The discourses I focused on were highlighted within my theoretical framework, but for reference they are the following discourse: denial, colour-blindness, equal opportunity, decontextualization, blaming the victim, binary polarization, balkanization, tolerance, the White participants used any of these discourses in their tradition and universalism, and lastly, political correctness. If these responses were used, they were included in the discussion portion of my thesis. Any discourse or information that did not appear to have relevance to my research question and objectives was omitted. Similarly, information gathered from the interviews with the racialized participants was examined, and any data that did not contribute to answering my research question was considered irrelevant. My intention was to focus on adding to knowledge obtained from the scholars identified in the literature review and the themes they have already identified relating to the research topic

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Once data collection was completed, I did not gather twenty-four participants for the study. I recruited nine participants, including *four* racialized participants, three male, and one female, who all identified as South Asian, and three White participants, two female and one male. I did not recruit racialized participants that identified as Black, which may have resulted from current outlets for Black faculty, the COVID-19 pandemic, or a lack of Black faculty in Nova Scotian universities, which is why I changed my research study to focus solely on South Asian academics. Nonetheless, all the participants I recruited shared the characteristic of belonging to the upper-middle-class but differed in gender, ability and/or disability, employment rank, and department. Each racialized participant's pseudonym and individual characteristics are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Characteristics of Racialized Participants.

Pseudonym	Race	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Income	Ability Disability	Rank	Department
Bruce Evans	South Asian	Male	Heterosexual	Upper Middle Class	Abled Body	Tenured	STEMS
Willis Fargo	South Asian	Male	Heterosexual	Upper Middle Class	Abled Body	Tenured	Humanities
Alicia Smith	South Asian	Female	Heterosexual	High Income	Abled Body	Assistant	Humanities
Robert Martin	South Asian	Male	Heterosexual	Upper Middle Class	Abled Body	Tenured	STEMS

<u>Hiring</u>

Participant responses differed among those who worked within STEM versus those in the humanities concerning faculty experiences regarding hiring, promotion, and tenure. With a focus on hiring, when asked, *"Does everyone have the same chance of being hired and does systematic racism occur in the hiring process?"* Bruce Evans stated that there was no systematic racism within the hiring process. Bruce Evans emphasized that there were no barriers and influences of whiteness from the time he was hired and that the job talk he had partaken in was "*generally positive.*"

However, fellow STEM professor Robert Martin and humanities participants' responses differed when asked the same question. Each participant believed that not everyone has the same chance of being hired and that there is systematic racism in the hiring process. However, depending on the department a participant has originated from, these responses ranged from just admitting that systematic racism does exist to participants actually speaking about the lived barriers to hiring. For example, Robert Martin stated, "*I disqualified many potentially good candidates, because of my own bias that a North American PhD, Canadian or American, was far superior to any other kind of PhD, which is a bad thing. -- I've recognized that -- That is why in answer to your question does everybody have the same chance of being hired if others like me carried similar biases. When it comes to systematic racism, I think it is there in parts.*"

Humanities participants Alicia Smith and Willis Fargo further explained the barriers they faced during the hiring process, which included receiving minimal feedback, subtle teaching expectations, and the issues of credentials and salary. Within this topic of hiring, Alicia Smith also stated, "*I do think that there are subtle expectations of minorities having to be typical minorities. I also think that with the Asian populations, it is an even more different situation now because there is a hierarchy among which token minority faculties administration wants. The Asian minorities are not high on that list.*" Alicia Smith's assertion points to tokenism and identity politics as having roles in hiring minorities.

When asked to explain the demographics of the university structure, there was a census that the university is predominantly White. Besides this trend, all participants agreed that changes should be made within the hiring process. Participants highlighted

the need for diversification on hiring committees and for these committees to recognize the hurdles racialized faculty face in academia. Additionally, most racialized participants also noted that universities valued their research, particularly their publications in peer-viewed journals and their grants regarding their applicant files. This focus on universities favoring participants' research translated to the responses racialized professors gave regarding tenure and promotion.

Tenure and Promotion

Racialized STEM and humanities participants highlighted a strong correlation between published research and obtaining a promotion or tenureship. Participants' responses indicated that research was the most important criteria in employment advancement, except for Alicia Smith, who noted that "*luck is all that it comes down to*."

Responses also varied regarding facilitators and mentorship throughout the tenure and promotion processes, with some participants having mentors and others not. However, regardless of the level of employment and the department, all participants highlighted barriers in the tenure and promotion processes, which came from co-workers, service work, and internal pressures that impacted participants' mental, physical, and emotional health.

Alicia Smith noted that when she was working precariously and had not been hired, she felt extreme stress, extreme degradation, extreme disinterest in the institution. Alicia stated*, "It was very difficult. It was probably the most difficult year of my life because I was carrying a full load and just in a context where I felt completely isolated."*

Similarly, Willis Fargo expressed an extreme experience concerning the matter, stating,

"I felt that my colleagues were not supporting me and not seeing the hard work I was putting in. There was an implication that this person comes from a different culture. He is trying different things. And that is why he's having difficulties. Also, because I am a minority person and collected data, an impression had been made around me that I do not give any significance to the university or the surface. Not all of my colleagues attend the meetings, but as a minority group, I have to. It that had quite a bit of impact on my health."

Once again, the department a participant belonged to played a role in their responses. Bruce Evans spoke of the barriers he had faced in the tenure and promotion process, but not to the extremes as Alicia Smith and Willis Fargo did. Bruce Evans explained that he had to push his research and felt stressed and tired as a result but did not indicate any health effects the stress may have had on him.

Leadership

On the topic of tenureship and promotions, there was a common implication that those who receive leadership positions are predominantly White people. Willis Fargo stated, "*It is pretty clear that you have to be a Caucasian. There has been a minor change lately. However, most higher HR positions are primarily Caucasian people, who are there in those roles.*"

Robert Martin affirmed that, *"In the school's history, I think we have had only one woman director for a very short time and, now, it has all been men, almost always White men."* Robert's assertion implies that race and gender are critical access points for top leadership positions in Nova Scotia's academia.

To conclude the results for the first sub-objective, when it came to the overarching question about whether there is systematic racism embedded in the tenure and promotion processes, all but Bruce Evans firmly agreed that this was the case. Bruce Evans neither implied nor denied the presence of systematic racism in tenure and promotion.

Interactions with Students and Non-Racialized Faculty

Racialized participants indicated that direct resistance from students and non-racialized faculty was not a prominent area of concern for them in academia. However, racialized participants highlighted that SRIs play a role in the tenure and promotion process. When racialized participants receive resistance, it is in the form of negative comments found in their SRIs. Participants noted that these negative comments were related to race, ethnicity, accent, gender, clothing, and teaching style. Below are three experiences racialized faculty had in connection to their SRIs.

Bruce Evans: "*[T]o an extent my accent, they have commented a lot. That I cannot do anything about, I'm not born here. But not so much on my race. I get negative comments that I go too fast or something like that.*"

Similarly, Willis Fargo said, *"I received problems early on. I received very awkward comments about doing some religious culture, religious cult or something in my class when I asked the students to do some breathing exercises."*

Lastly, Robert Martin had the most to say about SRIs and stated, *"[T]here are two things that you see in SRIs that will persist. A male professor with an accent but knows their stuff and manages their class well, yet they are hard to understand- this will not have as much of an impact on their SRIs as a female professor would. It is still worse for female professors because the comments students still say are referring to a female professor's first name like, 'Oh, Julie,' or 'Jennifer.' Students would address the male professor regardless of ethnicity with Doctor then their last name. Even if students find it hard to pronounce my last name, they would still say doctor", but they would not do that for women. Women are referred to by how well they dress in the SRI comments. Students will also resort to racial issues when frustrated. The accent becomes a showstopper as well. The way somebody dresses becomes a showstopper. I think men get a better deal out of it than women, and it is unfortunate."*

Focusing on participants' interactions with non-racialized faculty, both Robert Martin and Bruce Evans noted that their interactions with non-racialized faculty were "*generally very smooth*" or "*generally positive.*" Both participants indicated that they did not encounter any microaggressions directed toward them. However, Robert Martin flagged that there were displays of whiteness present among faculty members and that he has witnessed microaggressions toward other racialized faculty.

Robert Martin expressed this concern when he said, *"Unfortunately, yes. There have been a few that I have witnessed that people have told me about, not just whiteness but other country-ness, meaning there has been sexism. One person said, 'Surprised to see you here. Shouldn't you be at home cooking?' to another colleague."*

Unlike racialized participants within STEM, racialized participants within the humanities shared their experiences of microaggressions and instances of whiteness. Both Willis Fargo and Alicia Smith spoke of their experiences regarding microaggressions,

which occurred in the form of isolation and an *unwillingness to learn about a different culture.* Similarly, both participants responded that whiteness tended to occur in the forms of social niches and colleague collaboration but could not identify if these effects resulted from departments' demographics or "*ideological alliances."*

There was no direct yes or no answer when racialized faculty believed they were treated as equals with respect to their non-racialized colleagues. Instead, participants pointed to a shift having occurred in the university climate. For instance, Alicia Smith stated, *"I feel like I do have a presence on the faculty now, not necessarily respected, but at least I am known,"* and likewise Robert Martin said, " I *think it's getting there. Respect is something that one has to earn. No matter who they are, even another White person coming into that role will have to earn the respect of their colleagues by demonstrating that they really do know what they're talking about."*

Curriculum

For the third research sub-objective, to understand the considerations South Asian faculty make in developing their curricula, most racialized participants agreed that they were able to express academic freedom. However, Willis Fargo did not express having this academic freedom in his curriculum design. Instead, he noted that the curriculum at his university is *"... a homogenizing discourse, where everybody knows the same thing and everybody will do the same thing; There isn't a place for diversity, no place for a different kind of thinking."* Besides Fargo, racialized participants responded more positively about the future of education in their universities. Participants stated that there has been a shift or a "*new wave*" in a university climate "*that forced people to think differently*" and "*make a serious effort to incorporate diversity*." While these participants were optimistic about the shift in diversified education, racialized participants still emphasized that their colleagues and other academic leaders could be more inclusive when creating their curriculum. For example, Bruce Evans suggested, "*It is important to expose students to different paths of diversity at an early age and the textbooks a professor chooses has a lot to do with it"* He stated that professors should give classroom examples that reflect diversity and not ones that talk about Tim Hortons.

Perspectives of White Faculty

Focusing on the final sub-objective, to obtain the perspectives of White faculty members on racialized faculty's experiences with hiring, tenure and promotion, and curriculum development, all respondents were generally supportive of their non-racialized colleagues. I recruited three White participants, two females in the humanities and one male in STEM. The characteristics of these White participants and their pseudonyms are given below in Table 2.

Table 2: Characteristics of White Participants

Pseudonym	Race	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Income	Ability/ Disability	Department
Richard Stewart	White + Non-visible minority	Male	Hetero-sexual	Upper Middle Class	Abled Body	STEM
Sarah King	White + Non-visible Minority	Female	Queer	Upper Middle Class	Disabled Body	Humanities
Isabella Murphy	White	Female	Hetero-sexual	Upper Middle Class	Abled Body	Humanities

White participants recognize that the university structure is predominantly White but had also stated that faculty administrations are "*getting better*" and "*becoming more diverse*." These participants asserted that they were not told directly by racialized colleagues of their colleagues' experiences with hiring, tenure and promotion, curriculum development, and interactions with students and other non-racialized faculty. However, when asked about their thoughts about racialized professors who say they have experienced discrimination based on their race, culture, immigration status, language, accent, and credentials, they acknowledged that it happens. Isabella Murphy stated, "*I am

not surprised," and Richard Stewart similarly noted, "*I have no doubt that happens. They're not the only ones thinking that; it's built right into how we assess people. People have an idea of how Canadians are supposed to sound. They have this sense that some accents are hard to hear, and they make many decisions based on that.*" Richard's response supports his racialized colleagues and acknowledges accent bias in academia previously mentioned by participants. Focusing on hiring, Richard Stewart suggested that there "*is little room for outward and direct racism*" but that "*there may be favoritism in the form of publishing and having fewer publications of lower impact,*" indicating that White participants recognized the importance of research and publications in hiring, promotions and tenure.

All three White participants believed that research and obtaining grants are essential criteria for securing tenure and promotion in the tenure and promotion processes. Richard Stewart explained that "*it doesn't matter who you are. It comes down to how good your research productivity is.*" Furthermore, each of the three participants spoke about the biases concerning racialized professors in the form of service work. Two of the three participants stated that the tenure and promotion committee should recognize the importance of service work when an applicant is up for tenure or promotion.

Isabella Murphy stated, "*I don't think they need to pick and choose where they put their efforts. I think that sometimes you don't need to have necessarily committees that are equitable, diverse just for the sake of box-checking, especially for junior racialized faculty.*" Similarly, Sarah King stated, "*The call on these individuals to be on different committees so that these committees can meet their quota of equity and diversity. It might lead to less* time *for publications which is what tenure and promotion are based on. I think that there might be some burnout* due to that." King's response demonstrates that some White faculty recognize that the tenure and promotion processes can have detrimental health problems for racialized faculty. Overall, when it came to whether White participants believe that there is systematic racism in the tenure and promotion process, most White participants noted that it exists in racialized faculty and junior racialized faculty being overburdened by committee work. So when it came to the changes they would like to see in the tenure and promotion processes, both Sarah King and Isabella Murphy stated that they would like to see an acknowledgment of "*different*

forms of knowing or community outreach." Both participants noted they would also like to see more details about the criteria these committees consider during the tenure and promotion processes and how they adjudicate them. However, Richard Stewart's response diverged as he wanted to see higher criteria for the tenure and promotion processes, noting that the administration "*should not be afraid to deny tenure and promotion for faculty.*"

White participants' thoughts on racialized professors experiencing resistance when teaching non-Eurocentric material showed that it could be problematic for racialized faculty if diversity courses take away from core course offerings and if the administration hires to meet quotas. While participants generally agreed that resistance is seen more in the form of evaluations by students. To the question "*How much do you think race and other characteristics like gender and sexual orientation play an effect in SRIs?*" White participants responded that they believed that it plays a significant role in students' assessments of their racialized lecturers. Richard Stewart stated, "*I think language and accent have played an important role, but I think it also has to do with the instructor's appearance more. If you're a woman that's five foot one, you're going to be treated differently than a man that's six foot three or a woman that's six foot three. That plays a role too, in how students perceive you.*" Similarly, Isabella Murphy stated, "*Studies have shown that female professors get lower student evaluations than male professors. Then, if you're thinking of it from an intersectional lens, that would mean that even Black or racialized female professors are going to get lower ratings than White female professors or White males. Then, I think if you have an accent, that will impact as well.*" Both participants not only mentioned how much race and other characteristics affect racialized faculty, but they also acknowledged that disparities exist between the ratings of male and female faculty, according to accent bias, and in the interlocking oppressions racialized women experience in academia.

Lastly, focusing on the interactions with non-racialized faculty, none of the White faculty had observed direct racism or discrimination toward their colleagues. However, they have witnessed "*junior racialized faculty being strong-armed into doing something that they shouldn't*" and being dismissed by colleagues as "*being emotional*" during faculty meetings. So, regarding the overarching question is there equality among faculty,

each participant said "no," whether it for being overburdened by service work or, as Richard Stewart said, *"because of the subtle discrimination and/or whiteness."*

Democratic Racism and Coded Language

Using the responses and phases each White participant provided, I determined whether there were any discursive forms or coded language in which resistance or non-support for racialized faculty was stated. Given that the participants acknowledged there was no equality among faculty members and that there were biases in hiring and the tenure and promotion processes, I could not detect the following discourses: the discourse of denial, equal opportunity, decontextualization, binary polarization, balkanization, tolerance, tradition, and universalism, or the discourse of political correctness. However, the discourse of blaming the victim and its link to liberalism was partially noted in Richard Stewart's response of wanting to see higher criteria for the tenure and promotion processes. Additionally, Richard Stewart noted, "*I don't think anybody cares about the amount of service you do... It does not matter who you are. It comes down to how good your research productivity is,*" which points to this discourse as it focuses solely on merit alone.

Topics of Interest

To conclude, both groups brought up several topics that did not fall directly under any of the study's sub-objectives. However, these topics did contribute to the overarching research question about the experiences of racialized faculty. Robert Martin raised the topic of universities acting as corporations when he stated, "*They function more like businesses than they do as learning institutions. Once you understand that they are running a business, everything makes sense through that lens."* Willis Fargo similarly stated, "*We all need to understand that universities are corporatized. They are corporations. So, they hire people who will further the aim of the corporation. So if it is a different colour person, it is fine as long as they're furthering the corporation's aims."*

Additionally, three participants mentioned that part-time employment within universities is often exploitative, and targets hiring can result in hostility before and after an applicant is selected. For instance, Sarah King stated, "*They just lodged grievances about targeted hiring,*" and Alicia Smith similarly responded, "*I do think that there are*

probably people who feel like token hires, and there are probably people who are on faculty who feel like those other people are token hires."

      The final topic raised by almost half of the participants centred on identity politics and how it affects the experiences of racialized South Asian faculty, compared to Indigenous and Black faculty within Canadian academia. Below are the responses participants had in regards to identity politics.

      Willis Fargo: "*I have noticed that now by force, professors calling it and students have to be respectful of Indigenous cultures and traditions and practices, right? But that's not necessarily for other minorities. I think somehow it is also bringing the psychology of the people that there are certain minority groups who you have to be more attentive to because that is politically correct, and you can be rude to others, and that's acceptable. In identity politics, whoever is suffering more can garner more attention. Black and indigenous people have suffered enormously in the North American context. Then perhaps other minority groups. Like Indian groups have been privileged here. But in identity politics, whoever can garner more attention is going to be given more attention. I think it becomes very problematic when we start to look at equity in a way that we are privileging some groups over others.*"

      Alicia Smith: "*I'm not surprised by that, or I'm not disturbed by that necessarily, but yes, I do think so. There are examples of that from our own faculty where after the Black Lives Matter movement was sparked over the summer. EDI committees were popping up all over the place, and, in part, their mandate was very much Black-centric. I remember feeling that I didn't want the Indigenous voices to be lost. Who are we going to prioritize? This is my fear around too much identity-based politicizing and even just identity-based conversation. It's never spoken, but it's like something in the air that while it used to be that all minorities are kind of like all minorities, I think now there's definitely an orientation that some minorities are more important than others."*

      Both participants spoke about concerns with centring focus on one minority group over another and the dangers associated with this. The first response also indicates the presence of the model minority myth and how it plays a role in how South Asian minority groups are viewed and, in their experience, having some privilege in Canadian society.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Participant Identity

        The COVID-19 pandemic played a significant factor in the recruitment of participants for this research study. The small sample number for each participant set demonstrates the stress that the pandemic has caused and how there are extra adjustments and burdens placed on university faulty in higher education. A recent research study by The Chronicle of Higher Education (2020) shows that most faculty members are experiencing higher levels of stress, anxiety, frustration, mental exhaustion, and increased deterioration of their work-life balance. These effects disproportionately affect women more than their male colleagues. Women have been shown to do more caregiving in family life for children and relatives and therefore have the compound pressures of work and family life. In addition, the study shows that racialized faculty members felt more pressure to prove themselves during the pandemic, which could be linked to them taking on more service work, mentoring, research, and teaching duties. The fact that I could only recruit one racialized female for this study shows that women faculty of colour are significantly less represented in academia but disproportionately overburdened with service work. Therefore, it is not suspiring that these factors along with family caregiving and elevated levels of mental exhaustion could have played a role in the lack of racialized female participants (The Chronicle of Higher Education, 2020)

        The greater proportion of White female participants than White males corresponds with the literature and North American history. White women predominantly spearheaded the second wave of the feminist movement and thus are considered more supportive of social justice issues than White males, so their overrepresentation is not surprising. However, all the White participants shared a common experience: they were affected by one or more forms of the intersectional factors that create barriers to their success in academia.

        One White female participant and the only White male participant identified themselves as "non-visible minorities," therefore they did not fit into the standard categorization of "White." The concept of "passing as non-White" could explain their generally supportive attitudes toward their racialized colleagues and how they recognize their race's contribution to the colonization that continues to occur in academia. Passing

as non-White can be defined as "when a person classified as a member of one racial group is accepted or perceived ("passes") as a member of another" (Kaur, 2021). Thus, the ability to pass not only allows participants to experience both the privileges and benefits of being part of the dominant group but can also cause them to experience the barriers of being part of a minority. However, because they self-identified as White to me, I made the choice to include these participants as white participants to respect their self-identification as White individuals. While this choice will be perceived as problematic to many, race is a socially constructed and fluid concept with much complexity. While it is important to assert that race has meaning and material consequences for those who are racialized (especially those who are visibly racialized), the individuals who identified as white did so because they did not experience the material consequences that their racialized counterparts did. Although, the one-drop rule originated during slavery, it still plays a prominent role in how society identifies an individual. In both Canada and the United States, society pressures biracial or multiracial people to pick sides by self-identifying with the racialized aspect of their ancestry or heritage, even if it is only one aspect of their racial makeup. It is important to note, once, again, that this type of expectation has been influenced by the inherently racist one-drop rule that originated in slavery and was an effort to ensure the purity of the white race. Those who belong to two or more racial groups are not only judged by members of different groups, but experience stratification within their own group if they do not fit the group's "homogenous image." In Canada, the Government of Canada continues to determine who does and does not qualify for "Indian" status, a status classification system that is race-based, and similarly Indigenous groups still have specific-bounded forms of membership. A half-Metis or half- Inuit person who practices indigenous culture, can self-identity as Indigenous, but in the eyes of Canadian law are not recognized as being a 'status' Indigenous person. Likewise, to other Indigenous people and the general public they can be seen as 'not Indigenous enough' since their race is tainted with White heritage. Keeping the concept of race in mind, racially-mixed Inuit and Metis people deify the boundaries of society's constructed view of race. Since these people can have lived experiences through their White identity when it comes to Canadian law, it is likely that they have White experiences in other aspects of their lives

or have even lived their life as a White person. Therefore, it is plausible to say that for other half-white persons, they too can choose in any particular moment, how they experience their live i.e., whether it be as a minority, multi-racial, or white person. So in regards, to my half-white participants, I cannot deny their participation due to society's rigid concepts around race. Their ability to pass as white visibly means that they have not had to contend with experiences of racism and exclusion in the same way that their racialized (and more visibly racialized) counterparts have had to., but more importantly, their experience enables them to live their life as a White person. The fact that their racialized colleagues did not share with them their experiences with academia means that to them these half-White participants appeared to be White. Therefore, if they see themselves as White and so does others then it is not my place to use socially constructed markers to prevent their participation. Rather it is my responsibility as the researcher to ensure inclusivity for all my participants and respect the positionality they originate from.

While my other White participant does not have the ability to pass, her experience is valuable to for the discussion portion of my results. This particular participant stated that she experienced a barrier during the tenure and promotion process due to her pregnancy. This experience corresponds with the literature that childbearing responsibilities can negatively impact female success in academia. This study is not intended to highlight White participants' responses. However, a limitation of this study could be the lack of what society classifies as "White" —that is, White, male, and upper-middle-class—may have influenced these participants' responses since they are not truly representative of what society classifies as "White faculty" in Nova Scotian universities. However, given their self-identification, visibility and experiences in Nova Scotian universities, I do not believe this is a limitation given the complexities of race and importance of experience.

Finally, concerning participants' identities, all the racialized faculty I was able to recruit identified as South Asian. I did not recruit any Black participants. A possible explanation for this could be the greater emphasis on recruiting Black and Indigenous professors in the province, especially following the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 and the unfolding of the United Nations Decade for People of African Descent. Alternatively, they may not have felt a need to participate in this study because

there are a significant number of outlets for the voices of Black professors, such as the Dalhousie Black Faculty and Staff Caucus and Saint Mary's Black Faculty and Staff Association. There are no such outlets for South Asian faculty at any of the six universities in this study. While this could explain the lack of Black professors in this research study, it is also essential to recognize that the ongoing presence of identity politics in academia and Canada could have primarily contributed to why South Asian professors decided to participate.

As shown in the responses to the questions on identity politics, it is clear that, in Canada and Nova Scotia, minority groups in universities are pinned against each other in what has been deemed the "Oppression Olympics." The term Oppression Olympics was coined by Elizabeth Martinez and further articulated by Ange-Marie Hancock in *Solidarity Politics for Millennials: A Guide to Ending the Oppression Olympics* (2011). This term defines the phenomenon as "intergroup competition and victimhood" (p. 4). Hancock (2011) uses the Olympic rings to describe the Oppression Olympics' five dimensions: leapfrog paranoia, wilful blindness, movement backlash, defiant ignorance, and compassion deficit disorder. Leapfrog paranoia is the fear that another oppressed group will gain equality before their own group will. Wilful blindness is choosing not to recognize one's power and privilege. Movement backlash is when privileged groups claim that they are victims, for example, in reverse racism. Defiant ignorance denies the existence of racism, sexism, and other -isms. Finally, compassion deficit disorder denies compassion to victims by branding them as being less than human. These dimensions interact to create hierarchies among minority groups and determine who has it worse. This discourse focuses on only one group at a time and ignores intersectionality. Consequently, by choosing one group as the focus of anti-oppression action, multiple groups are forgotten and continue to be oppressed and/or encounter inequality. The Oppression Olympics can then be viewed as a derailment tactic used to create the illusion that social justice work is being done when, in reality, it is one of the many ways White supremacies remains intact.

Another factor related to the Oppression Olympics is the stereotypes that the broader, white community has attached to each minority group. South Asian populations in Canada continue to be grouped under a "model minority" status, the model minority

discourse that originated in the United States stereotypes Asian Canadians as being exotic, hard-working, and overall successful in life. This stereotype has negatively impacted anti-oppression movements for Asian Canadians. It has masked the real-life realities and experiences of Asians who have faced discrimination, oppression, and who have not been accepted in Canadian society. It is important to point out that I am not suggesting that South Asian experience more discrimination than Black people in academia or in society, in general. What I am stating, however, is that they, like other communities, experience their own "brand" of racism and discrimination due to their race, culture and, in some cases, immigration status. The reality is that South Asians take up a privilege space in academia. They are overrepresented in certain field like STEM in Canadian academia and because of their race they tend to suffer less discrimination and are in better and more prestigious jobs than other racialized individuals (Herring, Keith & Horton, 2004). As well, in South Asian culture, individuals are raised to be career-oriented and pursue prestigious careers that typically fall within STEM fields, so unlike other racialized groups, their cultural expectations that they enter certain fields at universities and in their careers has played a role in their overrepresentation within STEM disciplines. However, South Asians do experience specific barriers in Canadian academia and because of the influences of the Oppression Olympics at play, they have been ignored. As reflected in the literature and my results, South Asians face discrimination primary regarding their accent and "foreignness" in Nova Scotian universities. Their race, accent and cultural differences, still prevent them from being perceived 'a fit' in western society and its institutions. Similarly, South Asians are affected by stereotypes besides that of the model minority. Persons of South Asian descent face discrimination and are stereotyped as being "terrorists" (SAALT, n.d) .Also, stereotypes like the model minority discourse could also affect South Asian groups voicing their concerns and speaking their truths. Parasram & Mannathukkaren (2021) note that the caste system in India, particularly upper-caste supremacy, is a factor in the continuation of colonialism. This upper-caste supremacy, or colonialism, is mirrored in Canada. Parasram and Mannathukkaren further explain that the integration of model minorities into White supremacist society and upper-caste migrants experiencing "success" in Canada could explain the lack of activism and the lack of South Asian

recruitment for this project. In universities, professors constitute 95% of the upper-caste academic population (Parasam & Mannathukkaren, 2021). Thus, as Parasam & Mannathukkaren suggest, many South Asian full professors are accustomed to class hierarchies. Since these South Asian professors are "succeeding" in Canadian academia, they do not feel the need to speak out against the continued oppression of minority groups, including their own.

Leadership and Power

It is essential to recognize that all but one racialized professor was male. Most of these male professors were in positions of power, whereas the female professor experienced precarity. This idea speaks to the structural operations of colonialism, a caste system, and gender in both Canada and India, as women experience greater inequality and more barriers than men in society and academia. Patricia Hill Collins highlights the concept of penalty and privilege, noting that due to their gender, racialized men experience some privilege, such as higher salaries and more power than racialized women. However, racialized men remain disadvantaged due to other intersectional factors like race or sexual orientation. These findings are consistent with the literature that notes that racialized women face the double-jeopardy of race and gender. Their employment opportunities are limited, and stable employment, promotions, and positions of power remain elusive. Women continue to try to step over the "broken rung" and break through the" glass ceiling" even though men continue to hold 68% of management and supervisory roles (Ellingrud et al., 2021). Women are also the largest portion of the population in precarious work. It is not surprising that some participants' responses focusing on targeted hiring displayed hostility due to stereotypes of women and racialized women. These responses demonstrated that the discourse of equal opportunity continues to be used, so there is an assumption that if racialized academic was hired, it was to meet a quota and not for their credentials.

Bureaucratization

The fact that the participants were mostly men in positions of power is consistent with the literature that power is given to those with characteristics that most align with the dominant group in Canadian society (Hill, 1991; Bowleg, 2012). While this is not true

for race, looking at intersections of gender, men holding more leadership positions than women connect to a larger framework of the bureaucratization of universities.

Bureaucratization was introduced in the 1800s by Sociologist Max Weber, who believed that bureaucracy was the most efficient and rational way of organizing. North American universities followed suit; the literature details that the bureaucratization of universities affects all areas of the university structure. The university is organized and run through a hierarchy. The division of labor, detached relationships, and clear-cut rules translate into recruitment, hiring, and tenure and promotion procedures since universities base advancements on only skill and merit. While I agree that skills and merit should not be ignored, when universities act like businesses, they ignore the structural privileges given to individuals based on gender, race, sex, and other -isms. Those who are advantaged or whose interests may even slightly align with the university's goals will be rewarded. One participant noted, *"So if it is a person of colour, then it is fine as long as they are furthering the corporation's aims."* Therefore, racialized men holding positions of power more than racialized women is consistent with bureaucratization across the West, ensuring that men make up the majority of managerial positions in all industries and that gender inequality has is not rectified. The power these racialized men have may explain why these participants spoke out: their employment status would not have been negatively affected. Therefore, one has to consider whether the lack of positions of power for Black professors and the differentiation of societal stereotypes between Black and South Asian professors (i.e., the model minority) played a role in the recruitment for this research. Black professors still may have found participating in this research too risky to their employment, or perhaps the issue of Black academics wanting to use their own voices instead of that of a White researcher impacted recruitment.

On the topic of power and leadership, participants' responses were consistent with the literature: leadership positions are predominately accorded to White males, signifying that the structural racism in Canadian academics presents barriers to those impacted by race, gender, sex, immigrant status, and ability/disability. White persons maintaining control contributes to the contention of White supremacy in academia that, whether consciously or unconsciously, contributes to the overarching idea that universities act like businesses.

Department and Hiring

It is apparent from the results that racialized participants' responses were influenced by their educational background and university department. While there were inconsistencies in the results, a larger number of racialized faculty in the humanities expressed facing barriers and encountering biases in university processes and procedures compared to racialized faculty in STEM. This trend is consistent with the literature that more racialized persons are employed in STEM. In contrast, those employed in fields that deal more exclusively with equity, culture, and social justice (such as sociology) are predominantly White. This trend and the lack of teaching about colonialism in STEM could play a significant factor in the experiences of racialized professors in STEM, as their departments tend to be more diverse in terms of race, so issues regarding diversity and equity would be less apparent. This factor may explain why the only racialized participant who believed that hiring practices were equitable and that there was no systematic racism in hiring originated from STEM.

Concerning Nova Scotian universities' hiring practices, consistent with the literature, more racialized professors in the humanities had experienced barriers in being hired for university employment. Surprisingly, even active participants noted they had faced barriers. The main areas of concern included the applicants' credentials, mainly where they had obtained their education, the minimal support, salary negotiations difficulties, and identity politics. While identity politics was previously spoken about, it is still important to highlight a hierarchy where the administration wants token minority faculty, and Asian minorities are not high on that list. This factor is only one of the many effects identity politics has had in university hiring and how South Asian professors reflect upon their university hiring experience. It was suggested that South Asian academics might consider themselves less valuable in terms of other minority groups because of their identity. The active participation in credential bias shows that North American education is more valued than a non-Western education and that individual prejudice or bias is a universal quality to all people. While in Canada, prejudice is usually portrayed as a dichotomy between Indigenous people and White colonists, it is also a character within and between groups. Therefore, it is vital to recognize one's own biases in advancing hiring practices and ensuring that inclusiveness is achieved.

<u>Tenure and Promotion</u>

In the tenure and promotion process, both racialized and White participants agreed that research is the most critical criteria examined within an applicant's file. While this may not confirm why universities act like businesses, this supports the idea. When examining the importance of research when it comes to job advancement, the faculty that are rewarded produce the most output and bring in the most revenue for the university. However, little of employees' well-being is taken care of, which draws comparisons to a business model. Thus, it is not surprising that faculty members often experience emotional and physical trauma due to burnout.

Adding on to the pre-existing literature, racialized participants, regardless of their field of study, had expressed encountering barriers in the tenure and promotion processes and had a negative impact on their emotional and physical health. These barriers came from a lack of support from co-workers and productivity pressures. These are not representative of all of the barriers racialized faculty encountered, but it is consistent with the literature that finds that racialized faculty experience health effects from the university culture (Henry & Tator, 2012; Vescera, 2022; Mohamed & Beagan, 2018).

Keeping the COVID-19 pandemic and anti-racist events in mind, Belikov et al. (2021) noted that "the emotional load during this time for Canadian faculty had been unexpectedly heavy and participants described feeling overwhelmed and overextended" (p. 2). Therefore, there is reason to believe that racialized faculty feel the effects of burnout more than ever. Due to the pandemic, changes to teaching practices, personal lives, and learning new technologies are just a few of the adaptations faculty have had to make over the last two years. Additionally, Gorski (2018) speaks about the four different causes of the burnout racial justice activists' experience. According to the author, there are four themes: feeling responsible for the change, fear of backlash, belief that structural changes are never-ending task, and feeling a sense of competition about who is doing the most work and who has faced the most barriers. Not all burnout themes were raised in this study, but given the established identity politics that have come to light in this research, at least one of these burnout-related themes relates to anti-racism. Additionally, given the literature that racialized faculty experience more barriers in the tenure and the promotion process, the new living and learning adaptations around COVID-19, in

addition to faculties' existing responsibilities, would most likely have affected their research output and negatively affected their evaluations in the tenure and promotion processes. Thus, it is not shocking that most racialized participants believe that there is structural racism embedded in these processes; one participant even indicated that they believed their faculty could be racist.

Curriculum, Students, and Student Ratings of Instruction

Regarding curriculum, most racialized participants had no limitations in terms of academic freedom and teaching about diversity. However, there were mixed responses about whether colleagues could do more about the diversity content in their courses. Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that this topic is department-based, like departmental demographics and hiring. Faculty in the humanities have more range and experience in topics that deal with colonialism, equity, diversity, and inclusion. In contrast, the epistemological framework in STEM is rigid, standardized, and has little room for interpretation.

Although racialized faculty stated that there was little to no resistance to curriculum, they did acknowledge that resistance usually comes in comments and ratings in student evaluations, with the most extensive area of concerns being accent and gender. Consistent with the literature, women faculty receive a disproportionate amount of negative comments and ratings compared to men. However, this research shows that accent bias plays a much more significant role in Canadian academia than previously thought (Gill, 1991; Smith, 2016; Henry et al., 2017). One participant raised the point that there is an idea of what a Canadian accent should sound like, and accent bias stems from non-conformity to this idea. Alang (2016) noted that to "have a Canadian accent is still thought of as ultimately 'normal,' an what it means to belong…to conform to the idea of belonging truly is a process of assimilation that to fit in is a march toward a so-called 'unaccented English'" (p. 7). Additionally, Munro (2003) identifies that accent is one of the characteristics that identifies someone as "foreign" and that there are a variety of reasons why one may react negatively to accents (for example, an unwillingness to accommodate difference and accent stereotyping). Munro (2003) explains that accent stereotyping is when one has prejudices toward a particular group that are triggered when that accent is heard.

To further Munro's idea, stigma against certain groups, such as being labeled intelligent or lazy, is applied to the individual when the accent is heard. Dr. Yunxiang Gao, associate professor at Ryerson University, told CBC that there is a hierarchy of accents in Canadian academia. Gao stated that she once overheard a graduate student state how "cute" a British accent was and that people from Great Britain with British accents would never be asked to attend a pronunciation class like she was (Sathiyanathan & Xing, 2018). There is not much data on whether or not accent bias is increasing or decreasing in Canada (Munro, 2003). In partnership with Vaswani & Esses (2021), Western University reported that 29% of immigrants and visible minorities experienced discrimination on the basis of accent, the third-highest indicator after race and ethnicity. Racialized participants reported that student evaluations play a factor in the tenure and promotion process. It can therefore be assumed that accent bias can negatively impact promotions and tenureship.

Consistent with the literature, this research adds continued gender disparity concerning student evaluations. Participants noted that women are treated with less respect, as informalities are used more frequently to address women than men, and women are judged more critically on clothing and appearance. While many factors such as societal ideas and stereotypes surrounding women contribute to students' overall perception of women in academia, Dr. Francesca Stavrakopoulou (2014) stressed that because "higher education remains an overtly male domain, the masculine dress is the standard academic uniform for faculty. A suit, tie, and dress pants represent conventional authoritative masculinity, so deviations away from this conformity can undermine perceptions of a woman's professional and intellectual skills." Stavrakopoulou (2014) further articulates that even when women submit to this style of attire, they are not immune to critical perceptions. For example, instead of being criticized for being "too feminine," they are described as "power-dressing." Either way, women in Canadian academia are considered outsiders and do not have the suitable bodies to be authoritative figures. Stavrakopoulou's (2014) explanation speaks to gender alone, so for racialized women in academia, they would not only be trying to break through a "glass ceiling" but a "concrete ceiling" (Babers, 2016).

Interactions with Non-Racialized Faculty

The field of study is significant when it comes to the experiences of racialized participants, so when it came to interactions with non-racialized faculty members, STEM participants noted they did not encounter any microaggressions. However, this could be because STEM is a more diverse field, so microaggressions and resistance are not as visible as in disciplines considered more "White." This finding is consistent with the literature that finds that racialized participants in the humanities have more encounters with microaggressions, whiteness, and resistance from non-racialized colleagues. The humanities are dominated and controlled by Whites. Thus, when asked whether or not racialized participants believed that they were treated with respect and equality, there was no majority answer. Instead, there was a perception that a positive change occurred in faculty equality, and respect in particular was noted to have improved.

Whiteness in Hiring, Tenure and Promotion, and Curriculum

The results I obtained connect to a larger framework on Whiteness and white supremacy. Despite, diversity commitments made by Canadian universities, academic institutions have not succeeded in increasing racial diversity. For example, after increasing international students at Cape Breton University in 2019, the Equity Diversity and Inclusion Committee released projected equity targets for chair-holder members between 2022-and 2029. There are four designated groups; women, racialized minorities, persons with disabilities, and Indigenous peoples. Women are projected to increase to 50.90% from a targeted 33 %; racialized minorities are projected to increase from 16.80% to 22%; persons with disabilities from 4.87% to 7.50%; and Indigenous peoples are projected to increase from 2% to 4.90% (Cape Breton University, 2022). These numbers indicate that racialized, disabled, and Indigenous persons will continue to experience barriers to obtaining access to prestigious Nova Scotian universities. The projection of chair-holders within these groups is relatively minimal, given that the number projected towards women's participation will be predominately larger. Given the current trend in Canadian academia and the literature, it will most likely be white women who will benefit from this equity and diversity commitment.

While the Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion committee did not release a commitment plan for faculty hiring, it can be assumed that hiring will follow a similar trend by keeping leadership predominately White. Hiring committees are structured to protect Whiteness rather than eliminate it. The fact that participants relayed that there is a systematic bias in hiring because of the over scrutiny of a racialized applicant's CV, their tokenism, and the nature of diversity-related questions demonstrates that despite claims of neutrality, academia is not. The unexamined assumptions and biases that some committee members hold often go unchecked, so when serving on the hiring committee, Whiteness is reproduced and sustained (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). It was not addressed in full during participant interviews. Hiring committees usually include senior administrative leaders, tenure track professors, and subject-matter experts. The problem with hiring committees composed in this way is that they highlight the ways in which power is replicated. These committees do not initially address diversity issues and thus cannot effectively achieve diversity in hiring. Therefore, in terms of Nova Scotian universities claiming that they conduct 'bias-free hiring' is democratic racism. The collective agreement seen in university job ads promotes bias-free, objective means to diversify university faculty, but they are applied in a way where racism is never discussed. One of the participants spoke of their own biases when serving on the hiring committee, showing that the hiring policies do not facilitate discussions about self-awareness or how biases can manifest themselves within hiring decisions (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). Instead, policies offer a neutral stance of hiring the 'best-qualified candidate, but this candidate must fit into the university's image and conception of a good teacher. A good teacher in Canadian academia is framed through Eurocentric standards around identity and experience that serve to maintain the status quo. Therefore, bias-free hiring privileges Whiteness since it makes simple promises to diversify university faculty but operates to ensure that these promises never to materialize. White supremacy is then perpetuated by notions of bias-free hiring in Canadian academia since it does not recognize the role that unconscious bias plays and the fact that the decisions about who is hired and who is not is ultimately in the hands of people in leadership positions, most of whom are White.

As for the tenure and promotion process, Whiteness is maintained through the concept of academic shareholder whiteness. Academic shareholder whiteness is a distributed whiteness system that allocates intellectual property to mainly white scholars. It is a means of bringing together academic capitalism and patronage concepts so that white scholars remain the prime benefactors. By inducing patronage acts, hierarchies of power and notions of success within tenure and promotion are structured. Through patronage, those in favor of the patron are rewarded, and those not favored are ignored, forgotten, or passed over (Corrigan & Vats, 2020). In higher education, tenured scholars who are mainly white and male make the rules about who qualifies for tenureship. This boundary works well for White scholars but does not for racialized academia. Rewards like tenure and promotion, research grants, fellowships, and publications are then given to those whose particular identities and loyalties perpetuate White supremacy and Western notions of power and privilege. Disciplinary gatekeepers such as the tenure and promotion committee keep this patronage system operating. When asked to address the concerns of racialized professors and their experiences with tenure and promotion, reforms to rectify diversity matters are often short-circuited and set up to fail. Those who suggest these changes are often pathologized as cruel, reckless, and lacking rigor. The word rigor in academic capitalism has been used to promote notions of meritocracy which allow for the justifications of exclusionary practices (Corrigan & Vats, 2020). Within Canadian higher education, diversity work is devalued and not considered exceptional work. Research like peer-reviewed journals and grants are measures of career progression in academia. However, racialized academics are overworked by the 'invisible workload,' and their qualifications are often over scrutinized. Despite this extra work, their contributions are undervalued and seen as less rigorous. As a result, racialized professors ultimately begin to question their abilities, experience imposter syndrome, and are "punished" by the patron for not attaining tenure and promotion. So keeping academic capitalism in mind, to find success in tenure and promotion, racialized scholars must submit to the ideologies of the patron in order to receive the rewards that others often take for granted. However, because these rewards are structured toward White scholars, racialized scholars have to compete with one another for any remaining pieces of academic wealth. This outcome tends to cause many racialized professors to move to

another institution, especially when life inside and outside the university is not supporting their needs. These practices are not about the professional intimacy within a department but rather about who can be bought into structural Whiteness and institutional racism.

Higher education curricula and the value attached to peer-reviewed research reflect shareholder whiteness since both function as commodities that a patron can control to punish or reward those in academia (Corrigan & Vats, 2020). Focusing on specifically South Asian participants, their overrepresentation within STEM could also result from the group's acceptance of structural Whiteness that takes place in Canadian academia. By having a position in fields that do not necessarily deal with diversity matters, administrators reward South Asian academics for keeping curricula ultimately White. Kester (2019) argues that non-white social activists can benefit from some postcolonial aspects of Whiteness. Kester's (2019) study showed that non-White academics unconsciously served to reinforce Whiteness in their work. Through their educational backgrounds and exposure to Whiteness in academia, they had reinforced Whiteness through the scholars cited in their curricula, the readings assigned, and a Western-centric teaching style. With a focus on the curricula within STEM, it comprises of Eurocentric ideals such as standards, performance expectations, and neo-liberalism.

The rise of neoliberalism and the development of capitalism depended on notions of intellectual superiority, rationally and ultimately positioned the West as the definers of progress. Therefore, the curriculum in a capitalist society like Canada is White to reinforce White power and domination. Since Canadian academia is premised on Euro-Western knowledge, it reflects the underlying principle of colonialism, that is that non-White people do not have any property- not even their own experiences. This would explain why South Asian professors experience some success within STEM while some racialized professors in the Humanities do not. Their familiarity with notions of colonialism and their replications of Whiteness within their syllabi means that they actively participate in the master-slave economy upon which academic capitalism was built. In short, Whiteness then remains unspoken, invisible, and all-encompassing within STEM.

Also, acting to keep curricula White in Canadian higher education is interest convergence. Dalhousie University and Cape Breton University have responded to the

call to action for programs like Black and African diaspora studies and Mi'kmaq studies that focus on the histories of these populations and their experiences with racism in Canada. However, Dr. Afua Cooper, professor at Dalhousie University stated that the Black and African diaspora studies program was not without its fleets. Black scholarship and knowledge are believed to be inferior and undervalued, therefore the history of the population does not matter to the public (Cooper, 2021). As for the Mi'kmaq studies program at Cape Breton University, the university only lists two professors on their webpage that are associated with the program (Cape Breton University, 2021). If this is accurate, these professors likely feel overburdened by the invisible workload such as student mentoring that occurs due to a lack of indigenous professors.

However, by establishing both programs, both universities are able to convey that they are working to address the needs of racialized populations. Especially, since other Nova Scotian universities only offer what called "Canadian Studies" which name is an indicator of the Eurocentric perspectivism taught in classroom. Nonetheless, Cape Breton University's lack of Indigenous professors, and the fact that the Black and African Diaspora at Dalhousie is only offered as a minor; limits student enrollment; funding; retainability; the scholars associated with the program; the programs popularity across campus; and how well it is received by other members of the university population. Therefore, despite, both programs good intentions, university administrators and leaders have implicated subtle strategies to limit each programs power in addressing structural racism, whiteness and the insubordination of non-White groups in Canada.

Critical Race Theory in Higher Education

It is also essential to recognize the role critical race theory had on my study results, given that it sparked publicity that occurred during the recruitment stage. CRT was primarily the focus of the 2020 American presidential debate. Conservative and republican-controlled states passed laws and enacted rules banning the teaching of critical race theory. So far, at least 25 states have proposed actions designed to restrict how teachers address racism, sexism, and other intersectional factors that impact one's positionality in North American society. Conservative filmmaker Christopher Rufo, whose activism sparked these debates, stated that "Conservatives need to wake up. This is an existential threat to the United States. Even under Trump, the bureaucracy is being

weaponized against core American values." (Zurcher, 2021). As a result, many opponents of CRT have used the arguments to silence and end how both academics and the public address racial inequality. Central to Republican debates is the idea that critical race theory is not a subject like social studies or math, it is a theory.

Additionally, the theory is a slippery slope to the government showing favoritism towards minority groups and contradicts the American ideal of color-blindness and meritocracy. Stemming from this particular debate, critics similarly have stated that curricular excellence cannot co-exist alongside the teachings of anti-racist work, and a non-Eurocentric curriculum will harm racialized students and hold them to a less high standard. Moreover, opponents of CRT claim that because the theory advocates for discriminating against Whites, teaching about institutional racism and white privilege should not be used to achieve equity (Zurcher, 2021).

CRT has not had such an impact within Canada as it has in the United States during the past couple of years. However, CRT and its critics have subtlety influenced hiring, tenure promotion, and curriculum development within Canadian higher education. Looking at the first debate critics have used against CRT, and the absence of CRT in Nova Scotian universities, one must wonder if administrators believe CRT is a subject. At Dalhousie University alone, the university is in keeping with the tradition that the field of study remains within the domain of graduate and legal studies (Zurcher, 2021). As of 2022, Dalhousie University has one course that primarily focuses on Critical race theory called "Law-2194-Critical Race theory and Legal Theory," which is taught to students as an elective (Dalhousie University, n.d). It is not a mandatory course, nor is it widely known to the student demographic as the course only admits 16 students for enrollment. The Dalhousie Mackerel reported that in March 2022, two years after the sparked CRT debates, it is still a topic that is not widely recognized by students, particularly white Canadian students. The Dalhousie Mackerel (2022) reported that Dalhousie Men's Track and Field Captain thought the course would teach "the ins and outs of the "mental game" about racing," that is track and field racing. The newspaper further stated that the mix up was because "class names are sometimes ambiguous, confusing, or downright misleading" (Dalhousie Mackerel, 2022). However, looking at the visible identity of the student via Dalhousie's varsity page, he is a White, North American and from an upper

middle class fitting the demographic of normative whiteness and those less likely to concern themselves about matters that could affect their positionality in society. Therefore, thinking in a grander view, many other white Canadian students likely do not know of CRT, and confining it to a professional program limits its reachability. By keeping CRT out of university education at the bachelor's level, Dalhousie university is preventing the theory's teaching to the most prominent student demographic and persevering it only for a select few. This issue is in keeping with the corporate university model since most of the students at Dalhousie University are White Canadians. So despite a growing number of international students at the university, keeping critical race theory out of the bachelor's level of education reinforces the standard that the university caters to these white students. Also, the university does not want to risk exposing them to damaging or self-demoralizing ideas like whiteness, privilege, and institutional racism.

<u>Cluster Hiring in Higher Education</u>

The idea of cluster hiring reflects the recent debates within CRT. The idea of cluster hiring aligns with CRT's idea of equity, which is to provide more opportunity to those with a more significant disadvantage to achieve better equality of outcome. It is a view that affirmative action programs should be mandatory and can help address racial inequalities in higher education. Is hiring underrepresented groups ensures that more of the university faculty are diversified and is also used as a mechanism to relieve current racialized professors of the 'invisible labor' that occurs in Canadian academia. However, like critical race theory, cluster hiring has had its critics regarding equality of opportunity. Flaherty (2015) says that while cluster hiring has many advantages, it also has many disadvantages. Interviewees reported feeling demoralized and isolated, overworked, experiencing difficulty obtaining approval from faculty not involved in the hiring process, and being stigmatized by faculty members who were not convinced of the interviewee's educational value.

Regarding this research, while not stated in the results portion of this thesis, one professor hired through a form of cluster hiring mentions these problematic implications with cluster hiring. The professor stated that racialized professors are stigmatized as being only diversity hires. Other faculty assume that if the hiring was done through open competition, the academic might not have got hired. This is a clear example of the

discourse of equal opportunity. Faculty attitudes and university ethos are founded on the beliefs that everyone chances in academia are equal and that race does not play a role in defining success in academia. Rather it is the work ethic of the scholar alone that defines their success and how well they will fit in to university culture. Therefore, despite, universities commitments to cluster hires, the actual benefits of cluster hires can never be fully manifested. University values and the principles of CRT cannot co-exist in Canadian education. In reality, Canadian universities are opponents to CRT, and will continue to employ multiple discourses to keep the status quo.

<u>University Climate</u>

Both racialized and White participants raised the point that there has been a shift in the university climate. While this does not deny that the "chilly climate" in academia no longer exists, this can be viewed as a sign that social justice actions taken in the past decade have had some positive outcomes on the university environment. Whether this change applies to social institutions outside of academia is outside the scope of this research. However, there is some reason to believe that Nova Scotian universities have become "more progressive" since academia, in general, is perceived to be more open-minded and inclusive. However, this recent shift in climate could be the outcome of White guilt or, more likely, the continuation of interest convergence. Aguirre (2010) argues that White academics have more to gain from incorporating diversity in rational and affirmative action practices than racialized faculty. He explains that diversity is a social force treated as a commodity since it can be measured and given value.

Moreover, as the dominant group controls academia, they can decide how much value is placed on diversity. Once again, this reflects the idea that universities are bureaucratic and departments only respond to diversity because diversity is a commodity linked to resource allocation. The more a department responds to diversity, the greater the share of resources allocated to that department. In addition, diversity allows White academics to compete with minority academics over course offerings and gain valued resources, reaffirming Whites' positionality and property rights over Canadian academia.

<u>Support from White Faculty</u>

The reason why White participants may have been generally supportive of their racialized participants was discussed in the identity section. However, it is interesting to

point out the inconsistences White participant Richard Stewart spoke about regarding the tenure and promotion process and its link to liberalism. The status of his race and his ability to pass between groups, alongside other intersectional factors such as being male, upper-middle-class, and employed in STEM, would explain why his comments were more critical than those of the other White participants. Richard's ability to blend into a dominant group of academia, meaning that he has the characteristics of being White, male, and upper-middle-class, means that he has more privileged power than the rest of the participants. Richard's reluctance to acknowledge service work could signify White fragility and the unconscious unwillingness to relinquish power and control. However, given the inconsistencies he provided when discussing each topic throughout his interview, I can neither accept nor deny that this is the case.

Overall, regarding my overarching research question, Nova Scotian universities need to recognize the needs and barriers that affect racialized faculties and their experiences in academia. It is not enough to have EDI policies and procedures in place if racialized faculty still feel the effects of a chilly climate. While the list of recommendations for university improvements is not exhaustive, there are a few suggestions for how Nova Scotian universities could better support their racialized faculties. The first step is to acknowledge one's prejudices and work to correct them to dismantle biases within the hiring process. Secondly, supporting and valuing other forms of knowledge and work outside the research output is essential to advancing racialized faculty in terms of tenure and promotion. Thirdly, look at providing guidelines that immediately eliminate discriminatory comments from student evaluation records or use a calculation that considers how much race and other intersectional issues play a role in SRIs. Lastly, the most important recommendation would be to give racialized faculty, particularly racialized women, more power in the workplace so that universities could work toward changing the leadership structure in Canadian academia. It is from these leadership positions that positive change can occur. Until leadership is diversified, the effects of White supremacy and structural racism will continue to trickle down to all levels of the university structure

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