

Understanding and Overcoming **Implicit Bias** in Higher Education

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Email me for PPT slides and references!

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How to begin?

- I'm used to teaching folks about implicit bias.
- We're in a moment of unprecedented intergroup hostility and political division.
- You might think: it ain't implicit anymore!
- Nevertheless: understanding the persistence of implicit bias is key to understanding the resurgence of explicit bigotry

Road Map

Evidence for widespread implicit biases.

Where biases come from

→ relations between implicit and explicit bias

How these biases affect folks in higher education

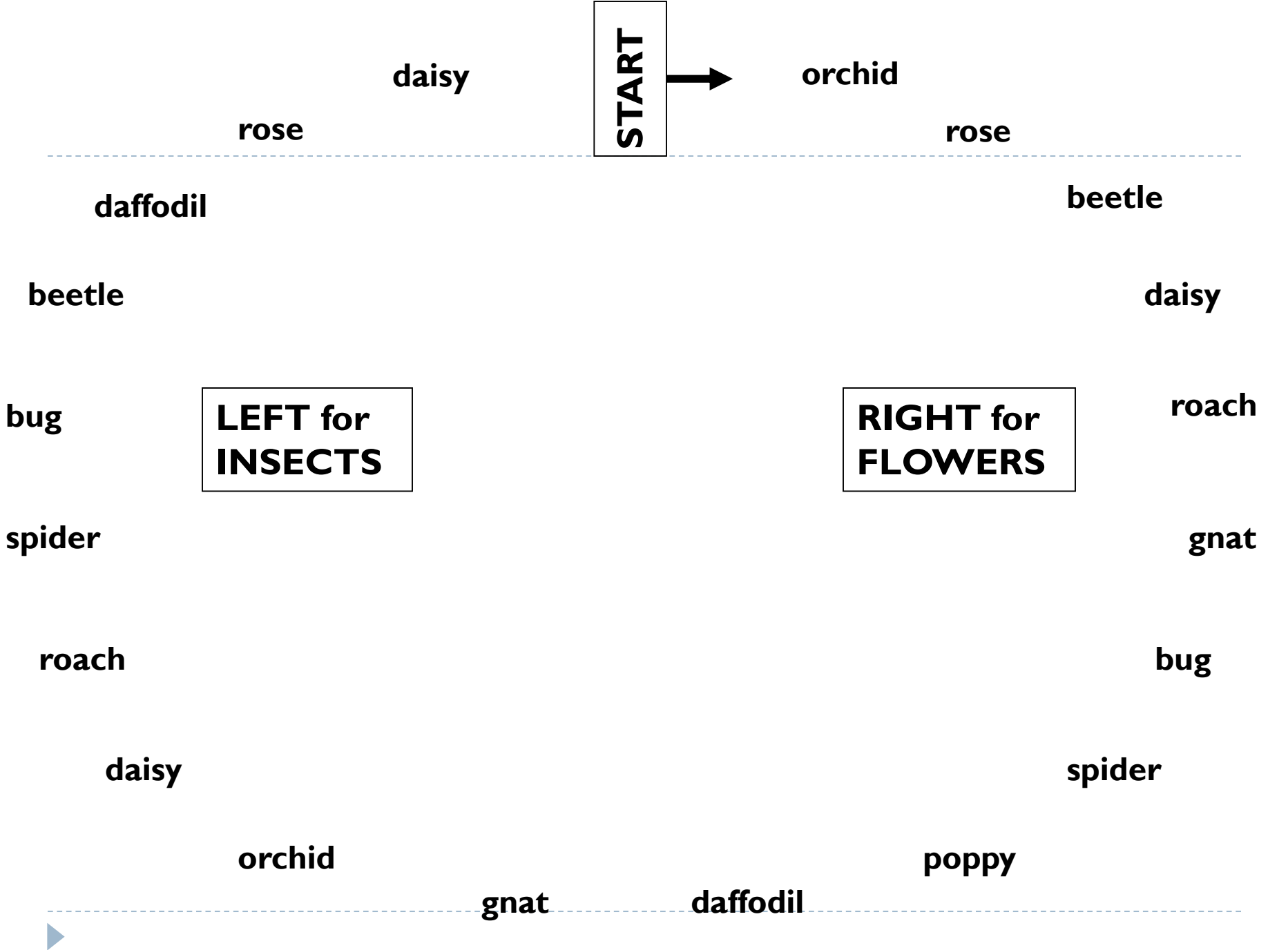
Some institutional & individual reforms

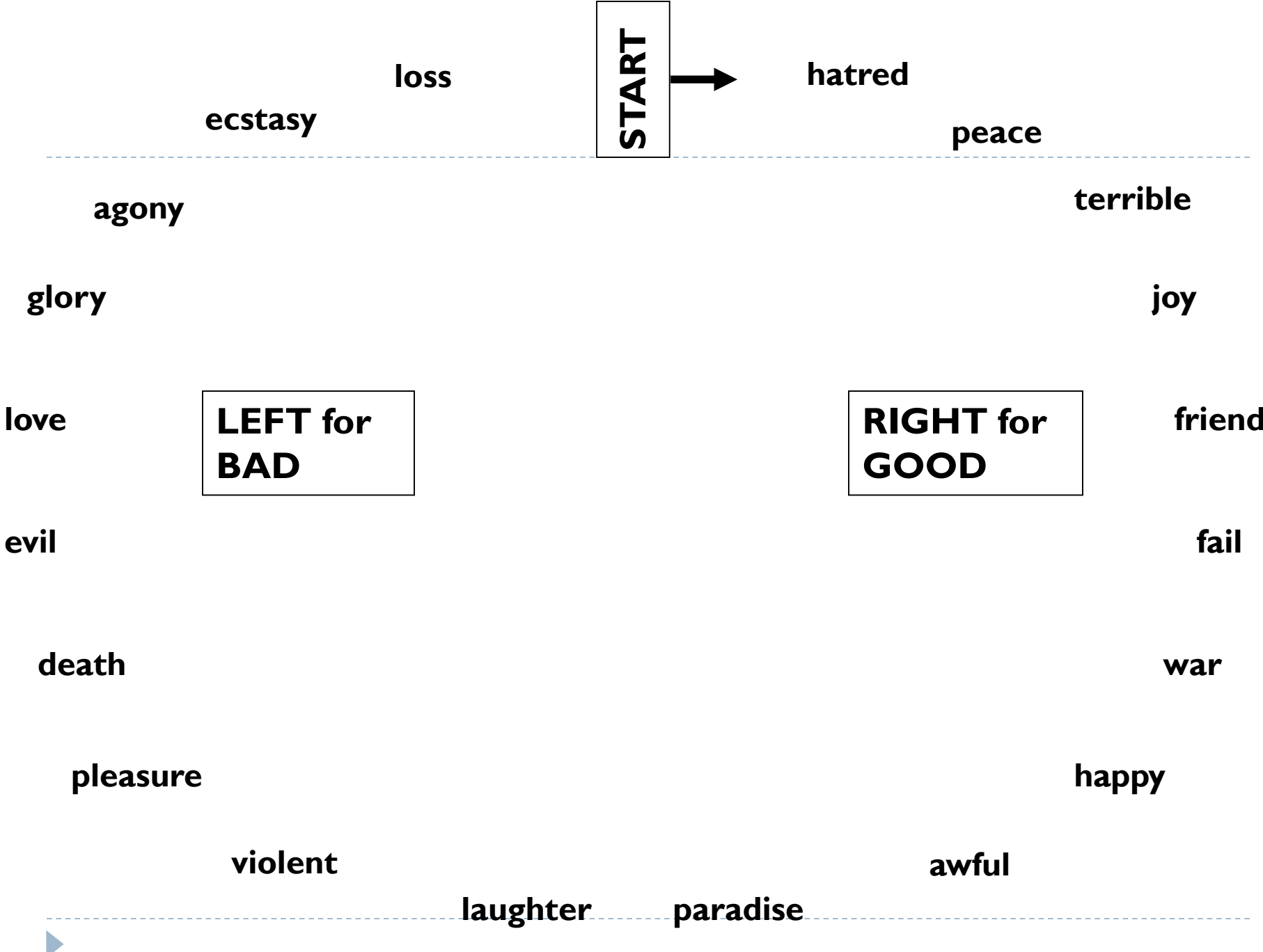
Overt prejudice on the outs...

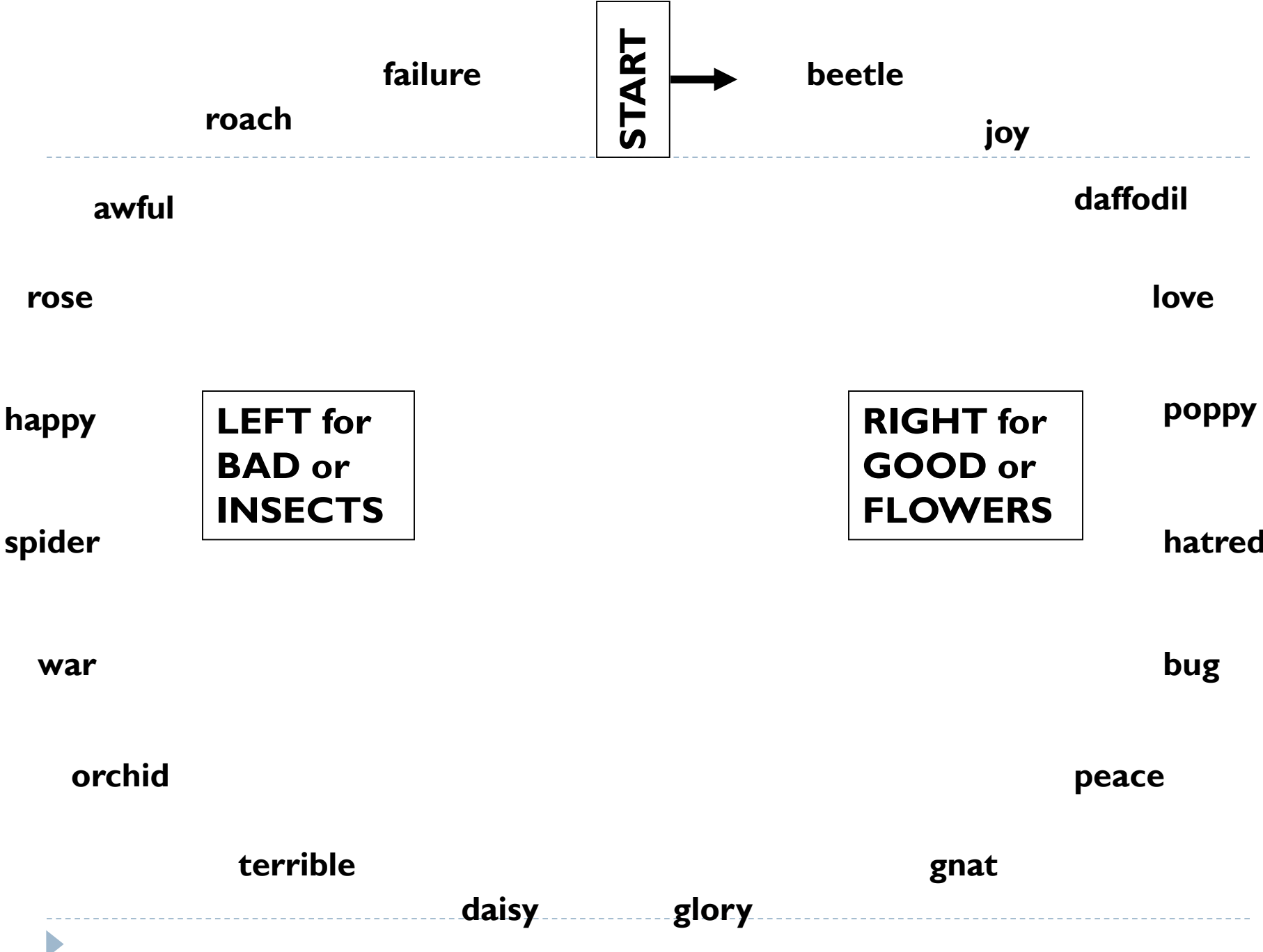
- Overt prejudice and discrimination have been in decline for decades.
- “a clear majority of Americans were telling pollsters in the early 1980s... that they opposed race discrimination in nearly all its forms... there is no reason to believe that most of them were lying...”
(Michelle Alexander 203, 2010)
- Psychologists knew that prejudice did not just vanish.

A new search began...

- ... for indirect measures of social attitudes
→ measures that don't depend on self-report
- Most popular: Implicit Association Test (IAT)
- How does it work?







START



**LEFT for
BAD or
INSECTS**

**RIGHT for
GOOD or
FLOWERS**

roach

failure

beetle

joy

awful

daffodil

rose

love

happy

poppy

spider

hatred

war

bug

orchid

peace

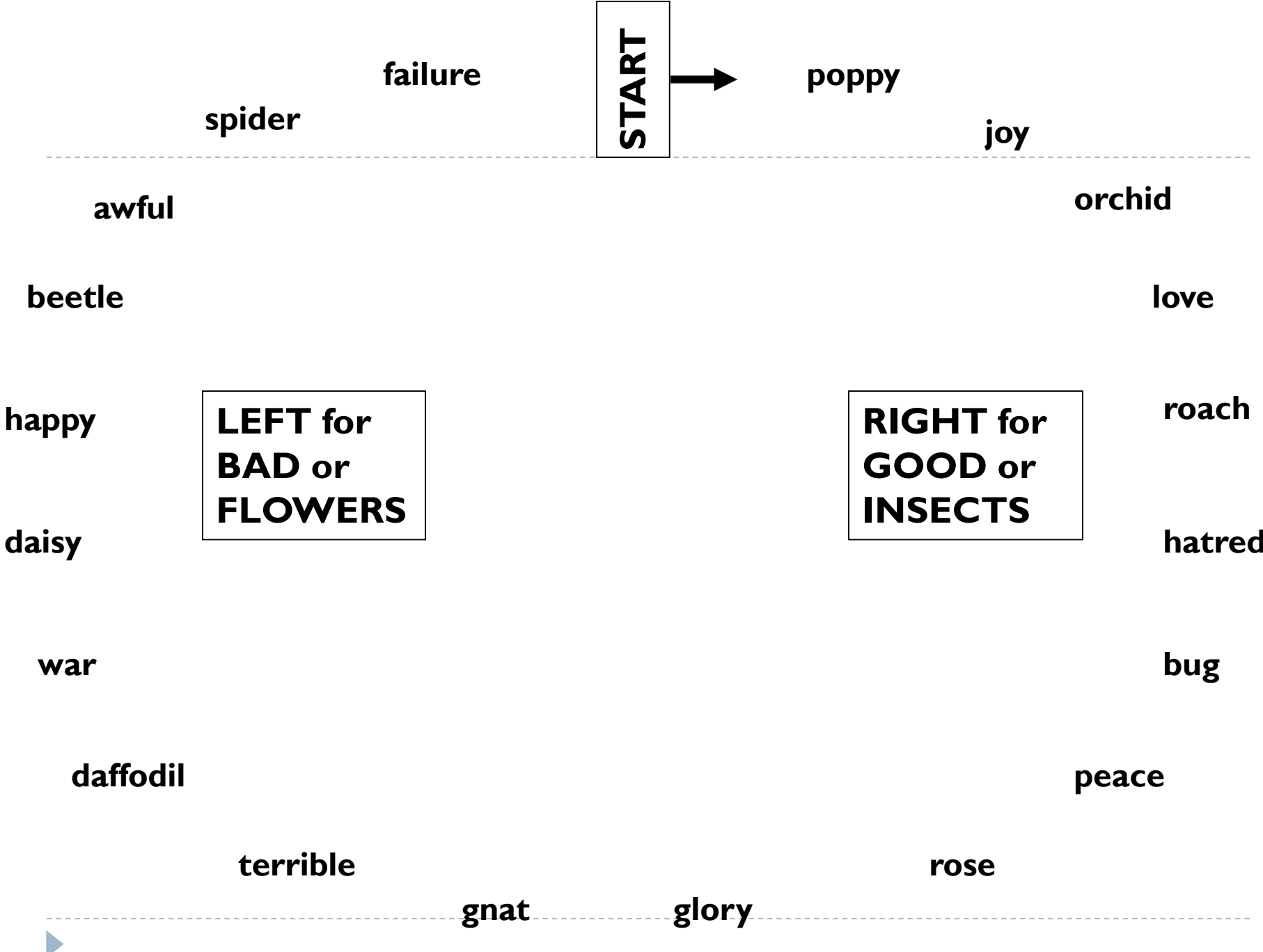
terrible

gnat

daisy

glory





White
or
bad

Black
or
good

Black
or
bad

White
or
good



Asian American

European American

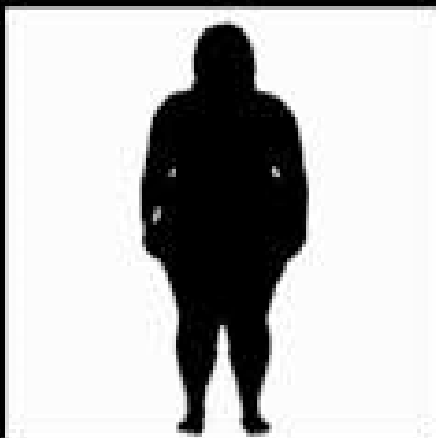
or
Foreign

or
American



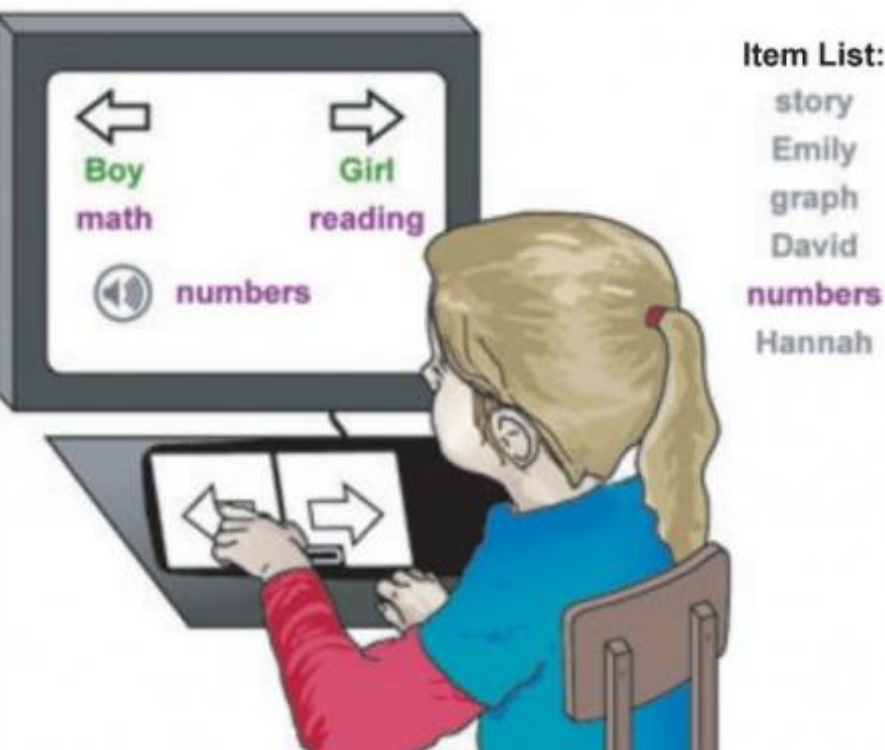
Thin People
or
Good

Fat People
or
Bad



Implicit Gender Stereotypes

A **Stereotype Congruent (easy/fast)**

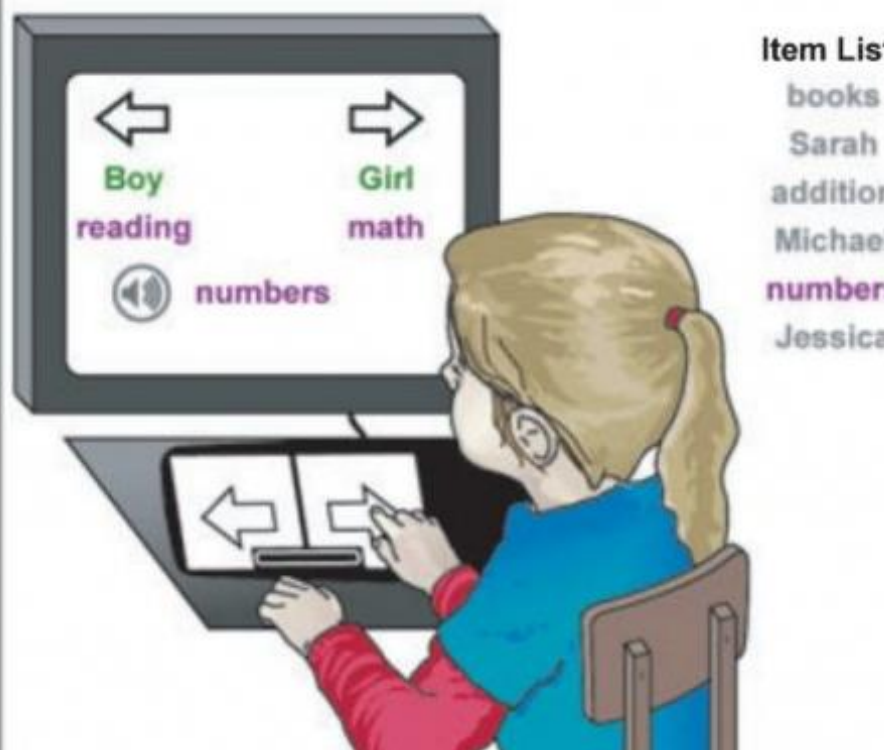


The illustration shows a young girl with blonde hair in a ponytail, wearing a blue shirt and a red long-sleeved shirt, sitting at a desk and interacting with a computer. The computer monitor displays a task with two columns. The left column has a left-pointing arrow, the word 'Boy' in green, and 'math' in purple. The right column has a right-pointing arrow, the word 'Girl' in green, and 'reading' in purple. Below these columns is a speaker icon and the word 'numbers' in purple. The girl is pointing at the left arrow on the monitor.

Item List:

- story
- Emily
- graph
- David
- numbers**
- Hannah

B **Stereotype Incongruent (difficult/slow)**



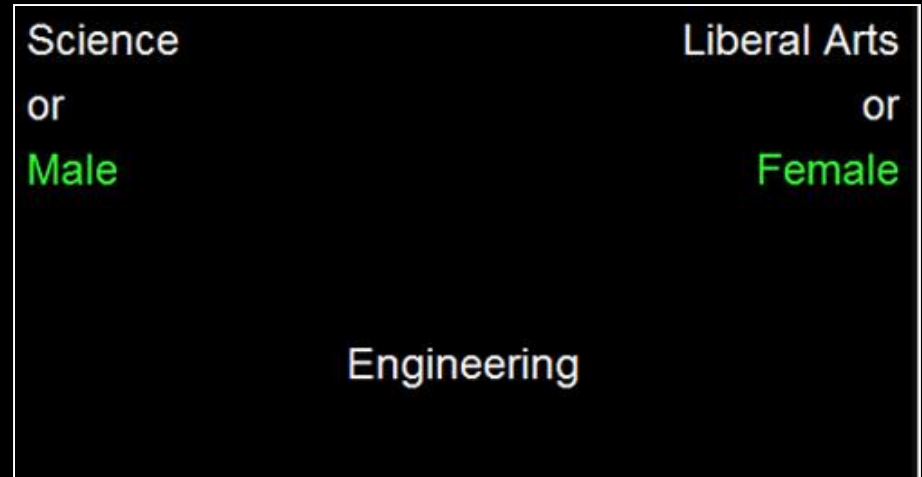
The illustration shows the same young girl at the computer. The monitor displays a task with two columns. The left column has a left-pointing arrow, the word 'Boy' in green, and 'reading' in purple. The right column has a right-pointing arrow, the word 'Girl' in green, and 'math' in purple. Below these columns is a speaker icon and the word 'numbers' in purple. The girl is pointing at the right arrow on the monitor.

Item List:

- books
- Sarah
- addition
- Michael
- numbers**
- Jessica

So what?

- 500,000 participants from 34 countries:
- 70% associated science-with-male
- This measure of implicit gender stereotypes predicted national gender differences in levels of science achievement among 8th graders. (Nosek et al. 2009)
- IAT predicted better than overt self-reports about gender stereotypes. (Cf. Hehman et al. 2017; Payne et al. in press)



What does the IAT predict?

Rooth (2010) – field study in Sweden

- Submitted 1,500 job applications, with Swedish- vs. Arab-sounding names (otherwise identical).
- Overall, Swedish names were 3x more likely to get a callback for an interview.
- 3 months later, the employers took an IAT
 - Measured implicit stereotypes about work performance

Rooth and colleagues

- Employers with implicit associations between Arab-Muslims and “lazy” and “incompetent”
→ predicted fewer callbacks.
- Agerström and Rooth (2011):
 - 58% of employers openly admitted a preference for hiring thin over obese people, but...
 - these self-reported attitudes did not predict hiring discrimination at all.
 - Implicit associations did

And on and on...

(see Jost et al. 2009 for summary)

1 month before election, “undecided” voters took an IAT comparing candidates (Acruri et al. 2008)

- verbally reported (sincerely?) being undecided
- but the IAT predicted their voting decisions

Physicians’ implicit (but not explicit) racial bias predicted quality of medical care for white vs. black patients (Green et al. 2007).

- black children in the ER receive less pain medication.
- Hispanic and black children wait longer in the ER.
(Johnson et al. 2012)

Is Juanita brainy?

- Participants tend to associate...
 - “Charles” and “Catherine” with: *able, brainy, knowledgeable, perceptive, and resourceful*
 - “Carlos” and “Juanita” with: *dense, dull, gullible, ignorant, and inept* (Weyant 2005)
- Speakers with Spanish accents: judged less competent
 - esp. when speaker is a woman, or listener is a man (Nelson et al. 2016)
- (Even Mexican American students say “illegal immigration” contributes to the “decline of society”)
(San Miguel et al. 2011)

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Where biases come from

→ relations between implicit and explicit bias

How biases affect folks in higher education

Some institutional and individual reforms

Where do our biases come from?

Backdrop: visible disparities between groups.

- bombarded with stereotypes in mass media
- *de facto* segregation and social inequalities: members of certain social groups are more likely to occupy certain roles, have certain jobs, live in certain areas, etc.



A young man walks through chest deep flood water after **looting** a grocery store in New Orleans on Tuesday, Aug. 30, 2005. Flood waters continue to rise in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina did extensive damage when it

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Average (Loading)



RELATED

• [Looting Takes Place in View of La. Police](#) AP - T



AFP/Getty Images - Tue Aug 30, 3:47 AM ET

Two residents waded through chest-deep water after **finding** bread and soda from a local grocery store after Hurricane Katrina came through the area in New Orleans, Louisiana. (AFP/Getty Images/Chris Graythen)

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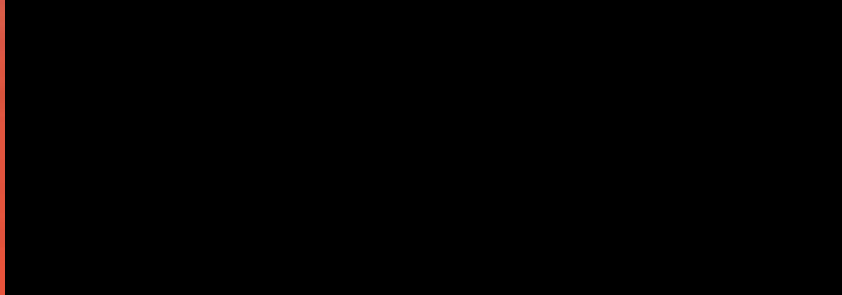
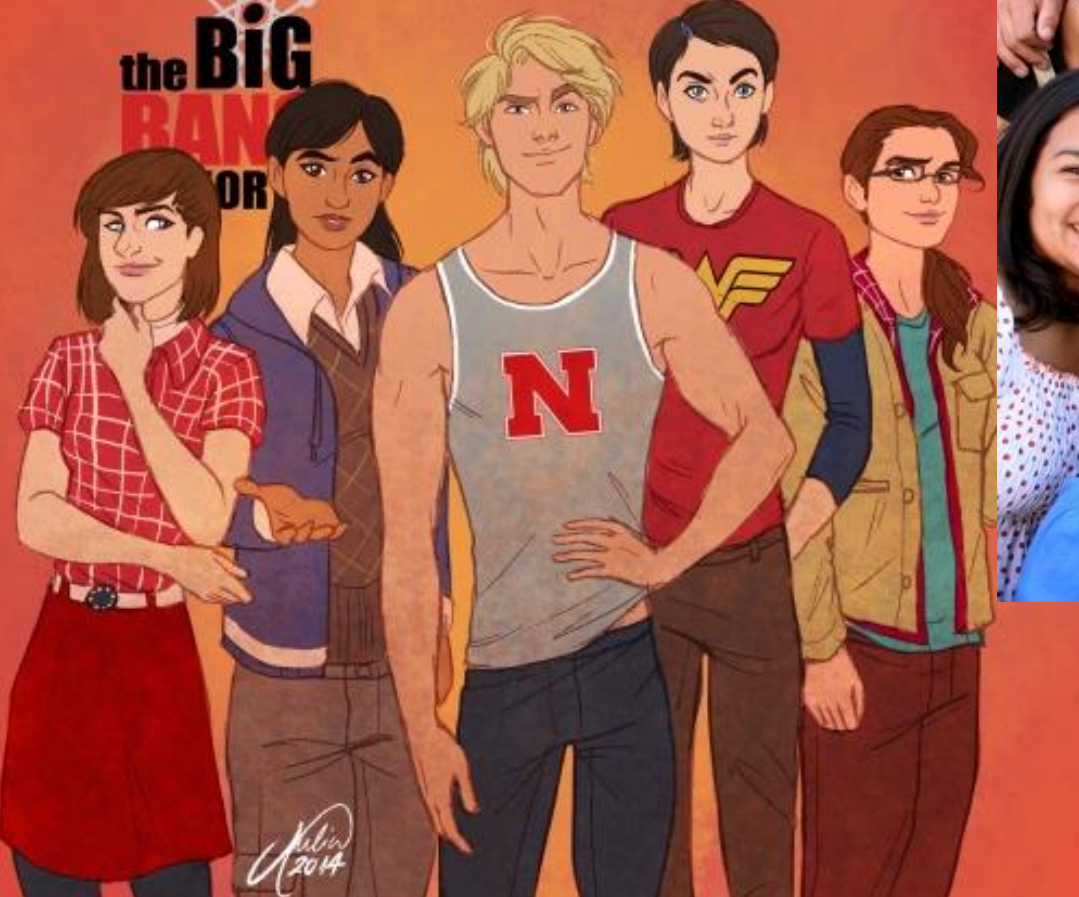
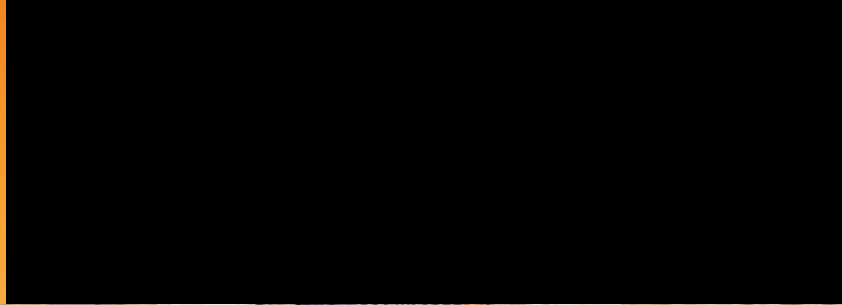
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Recommend It: Average (257 votes)



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• [Katrina's Effects, at a Glance](#) AP - Wed Aug 31, 11:11 AM ET

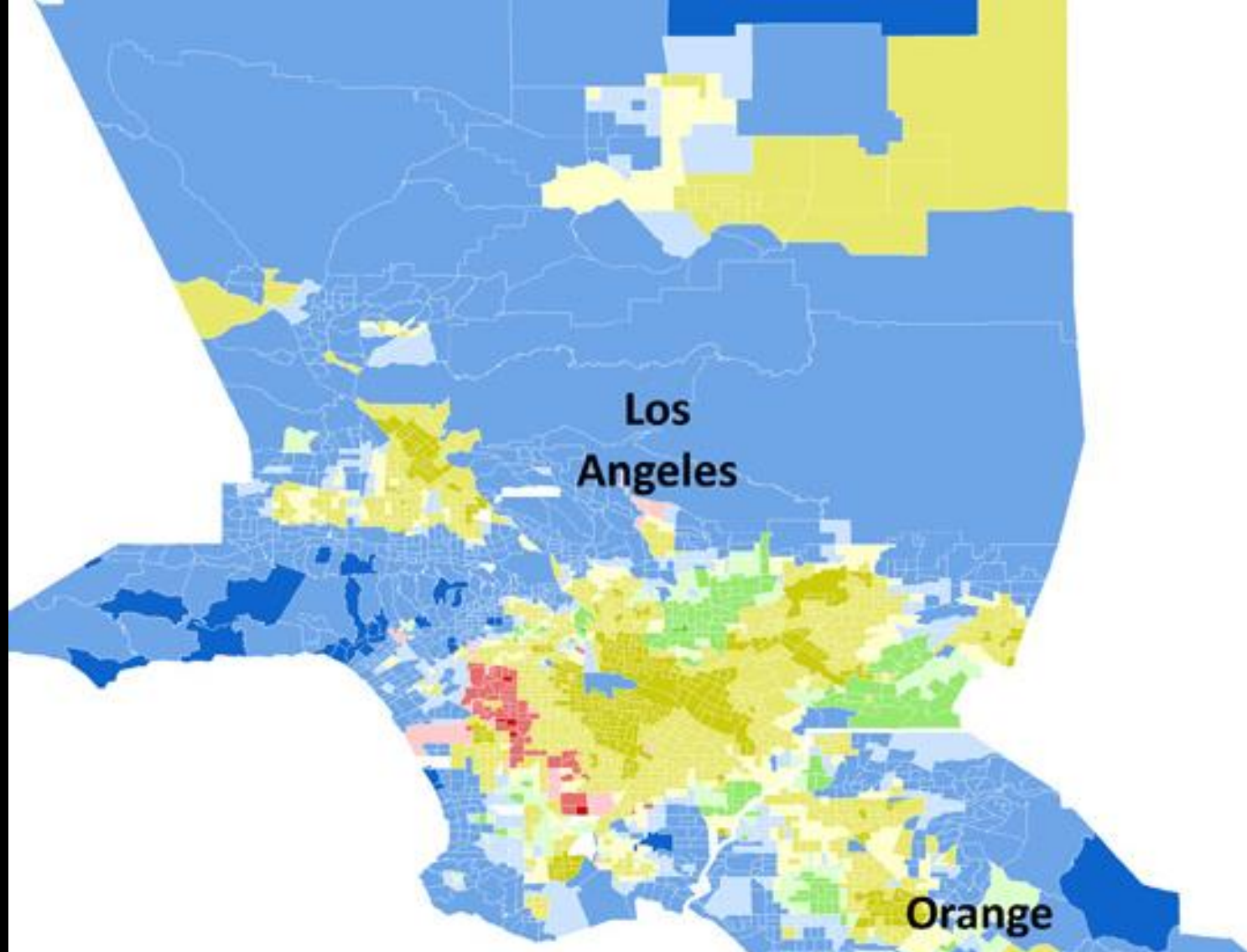
[Hurricanes & Tropical Storms](#)



STILL TWO AMERICAS

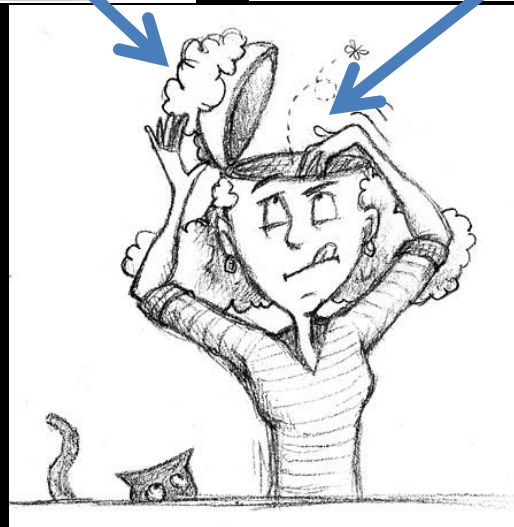
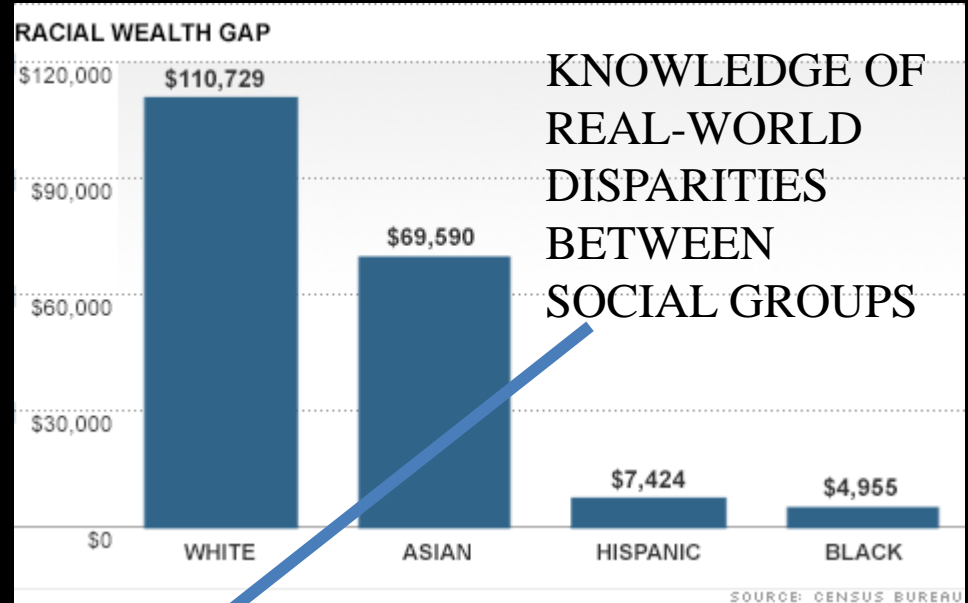
Over the past 30 years, the presence of African Americans in the typical white person's neighborhood has barely changed.





American Indian	Asian	Black	Hispanic	White
50.0% or less	50.0% or less	50.0% or less	50.0% or less	50.0% or less
50.1 to 85.0%	50.1 to 85.0%	50.1 to 85.0%	50.1 to 85.0%	50.1 to 85.0%
85.1% or more	85.1% or more	85.1% or more	85.1% or more	85.1% or more

Background Causes of Bias



But not just “what’s in the air”

Personal experiences, traits, habits, goals, and values can reduce or enhance implicit bias.

undergraduate women who have women math and science professors
→ reduced implicit gender bias

undergraduate men who have women math and science professors
→ no reduction in bias at all

About 80% of white Americans have anti-black implicit bias, but so do about 40% of African-Americans.

Turning Explicit into Implicit: Children's Development

- Most 6-yr-olds openly report ingroup racial preference.
 - 10-year-olds: less likely to do so.
 - Adults: less likely still.
- Children form (explicit!) biases very early but gradually learn that they're not OK to say out loud.
- Explicit bias + anti-prejudice upbringing = implicit bias
- Implicit bias + normalizing prejudice = explicit bias

Turning Implicit into Explicit

(Cooley et al. 2014, 2015)

1st: Implicit reactions to gay vs. straight couples

2nd: “You may have had a ‘gut feeling’ towards the pictures of heterosexuals and homosexuals.

Research has found that this gut feeling usually reflects people’s genuine attitude towards homosexuality.”

3rd: Explicit questionnaire

→ opposed gay marriage & military enrollment

Replicated for race (Lee et al. 2017):

Participants reported: “Black people are scary.”



Turning Implicit into Explicit

(Cooley et al. 2014, 2015)

“You may have had a ‘gut feeling’ towards the pictures of heterosexuals and homosexuals. Research has found that this gut feeling usually does NOT reflect people’s genuine attitude towards homosexuality.”

Supported gay marriage & military enrollment!

How we think about our biases → how we act

Lesson about the power of authority figures!

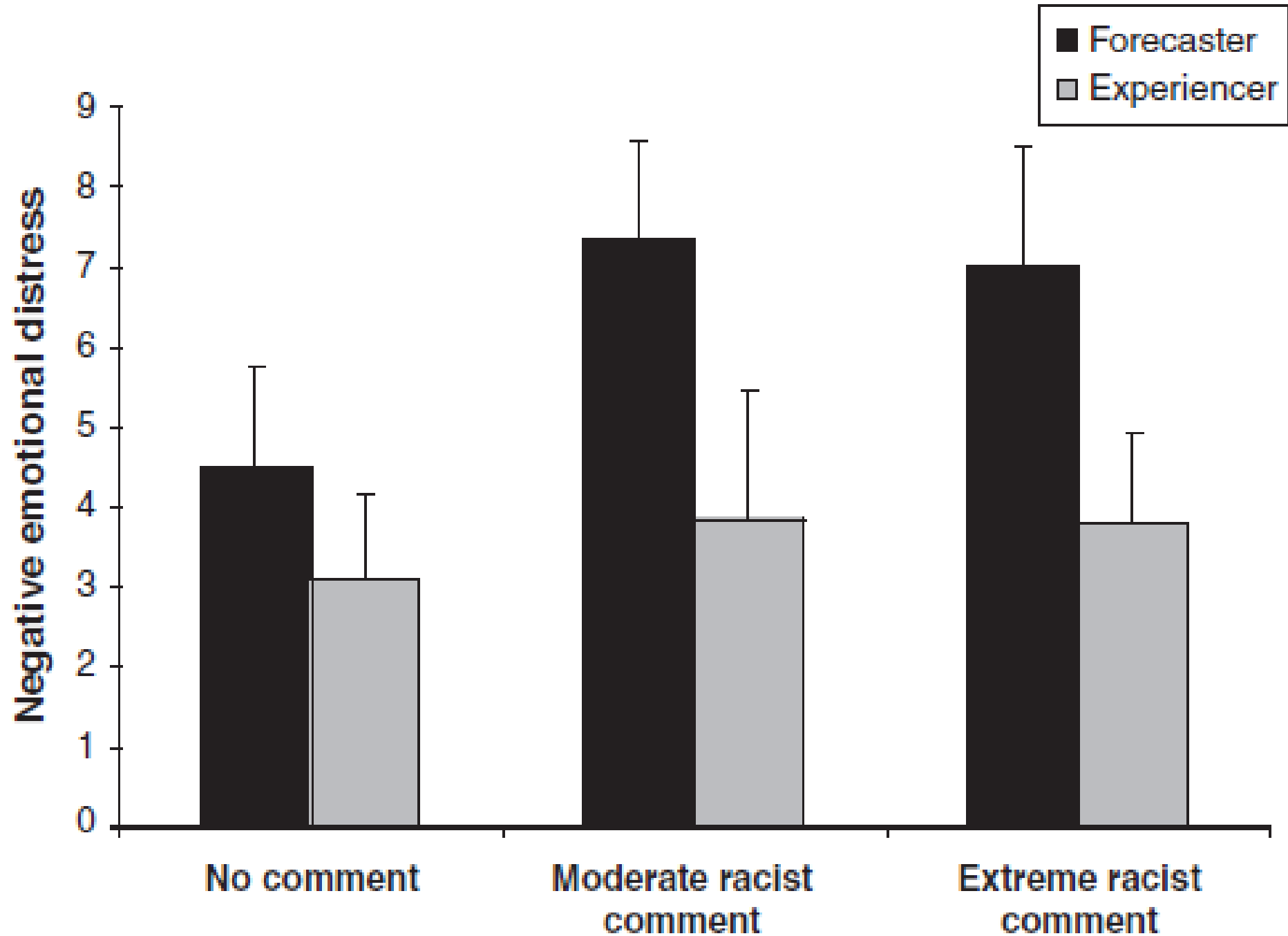
(Note: no effect on unbiased participants!)

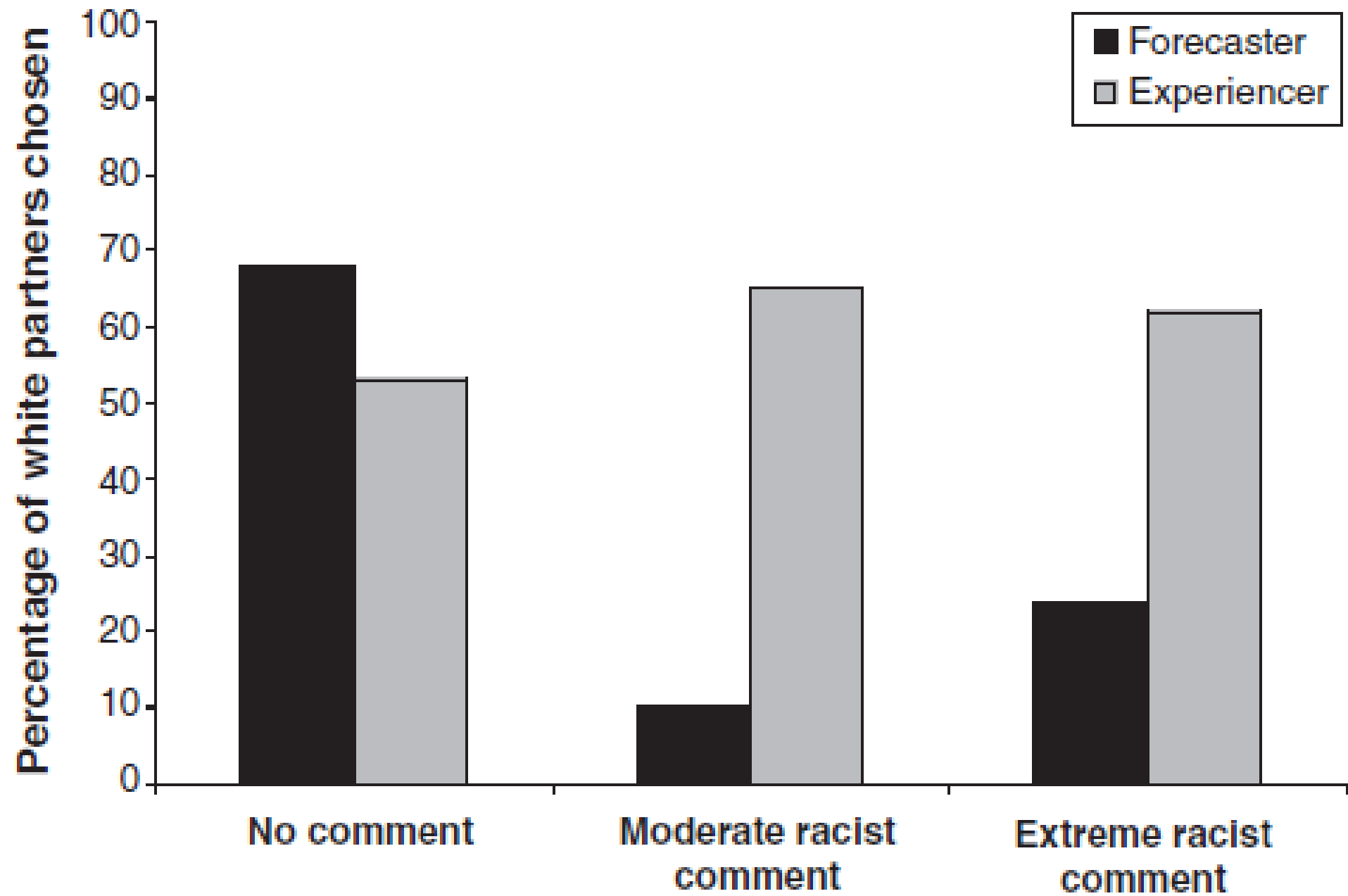


Toleration of Explicit Discrimination

(Kawakami et al. 2009, Karmali et al. 2017)

- Forecasters: imagined the following situation...
- Experiencers: experienced the situation...
- Non-black participants interacting with one white and one black person (confederates)
- “the black confederate left the room... to retrieve his cell phone, and gently bumped the white confederate’s knee on his way out.”
 - control condition: white confederate makes no comment
 - moderate slur: “Typical, I hate it when black people do that.”
 - extreme slur: “clumsy n****r”





Do We Really Know How We'd Act?

- “people who anticipate feeling upset and believe that they will take action may actually respond with indifference when faced with an act of racism”
- Form the plan:
“if I observe discrimination,
then I will say something!”

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Replying to emails from prospective students

Student Race and Gender	Emails Ignored		Meetings Denied	
	%	% Increase Relative to Caucasian Males	%	% Increase Relative to Caucasian Males
Caucasian Male	26.5%	N/A	52.4%	N/A
Caucasian Female	29.8%	12.5%	52.9%	1.1%
Black Male	32.5%	22.6%	61.3%	17.0%
Black Female	34.4%	29.8%	60.0%	14.6%
Hispanic Male	36.9%	39.2%	58.2%	11.1%
Hispanic Female	27.1%	2.3%	55.7%	6.3%
Indian Male	41.8%	57.7%	68.2%	30.2%
Indian Female	37.7%	42.3%	67.9%	29.7%
Chinese Male	36.7%	38.3%	66.8%	27.6%
Chinese Female	46.9%	77.0%	62.9%	20.2%

Milkman, Akinola, and Chugh (2012)

Implicit Bias in the Classroom

- Dutch teachers: explicitly unprejudiced, but implicitly biased, toward Arab-Muslim students
- Implicit biases predicted...
 - expectations of student success, and
 - ethnic achievement gaps in their classes (van den Bergh et al. 2010)
- Texas teachers: toward black & Latinx students...
 - gap b/t teacher and student's perception of motivation
 - lower grades in math and English (Harvey et al. 2015)

Implicit Bias in the Classroom

- White undergrads gave lessons to either black or white students (Jacoby-Senghor et al. 2016)
- Implicit race biases led these “instructors” to...
 - be visibly anxious
 - give poorer lessons
 - (even non-black learners who watched videos of these lessons learned less)

Social actions and “microbehaviors”

Explicit (egalitarian) beliefs → controllable behaviors, e.g., how friendly our words are.

(McConnell & Leibold 2001; Dovidio et al. 2002)

Implicit biases predict tacit and subtle behaviors:

- how rapidly we blink
- how far away we sit
- whether we lean forward or back
- how much eye contact we make
- how much we laugh at a joke

Gender Inequalities in the College Classroom

A large body of research shows that instructors:

--Call on male students more frequently than female students.

--Are more likely to use male students' names when calling upon students and in attributing ideas discussion.

--Ask male students more abstract questions and female students more factual questions.

--Are less likely to elaborate upon points made by female students.

Undergraduate men speak more frequently, and blurt out more answers without raising hand.

Women are interrupted more, speak less, speak softer, and hedge more (“I may be wrong but...”)

Evaluations of job applications

(Uhlmann and Cohen 2005)

2 hypothetical candidates for job as chief of police

- 1 had “street” experience but little formal education
- 1 had formal education but little street experience.
- 1 was a man and 1 was a woman

Evaluations of job applications

(Uhlmann and Cohen 2005)



Street Smart



Book Smart



Book Smart



Street Smart

Participants say:

“Street smarts are most important.
Promote the man!”

Participants say:

“Book smarts are most important.
Promote the man!”

Institutional Reform: Decision-making criteria



“Reverse” pro-woman bias found for hiring Chair of Women’s Studies.

The lesson: settle criteria in advance!

If participants decided in advance whether street- or book-smarts was more important,
→ No hiring bias at all.



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Individual Reforms

More than our implicit biases,
our goals shape our behavior.

The Power of If-Then Plans

Concrete plans that specify the when, where, and how:

“I’d like to cut back on smoking” vs.

“If I feel a craving for cigarettes, then I will chew gum!”

“My New Year’s resolution is to work out more” vs.

“When I leave work on Tuesdays, then I will go to the gym!”

Identify the problem contexts and formulate concrete plans for how to act in those contexts.

- easy to form, easy to remember, easy to execute

The Power of If-Then Plans

More likely to interrupt women than men?

→ “If she’s talking, then I won’t.” (Louise Antony)

Student participation?

→ “If someone who hasn’t spoken yet raises her hand, then I’ll call on her!”

→ “If a man has just spoken, then I’ll call on a woman next!”

→ “If a student says something anomalous, then assume the problem is that I don’t understand (not that the student isn’t making sense)!”

Your Homework: Brainstorm...

- What are some contexts where you might be affected by, or encounter, bias?
- What are some plans for response you can put in place?
- Plan structure:
 - If [description of context],
 - Then [I will act in a certain way]!

Replying to emails...

“If a prospective student emails me, then I will reply and try to schedule a meeting!”

“rules of thumb in place at the encouragement stage. If people in your organization are getting requests for assistance from potential applicants, instead of just responding with their gut instinct, there should be a policy in place for how to handle those requests... try to respond uniformly across the board to everyone.” (Katherine Milkman)

Context context context

- “If a person underperforms,
then I will consider situational causes!”
 - car trouble, family or work problems, course load, etc.
- “If a person acts in a stereotypical way,
then I will consider other possible explanations!”

Decision-making and states of mind

Decision-making worsens when we are tired, hungry, distracted, upset, or stressed.

- Judges grant more parole requests immediately after meal breaks than before (Danziger et al. 2011)

Don't make important decisions on an empty stomach, or at the end of a long, tedious, tense meeting.

Do have snacks and frequent “study breaks”
(Maybe a meditation break! Lueke & Gibson 2015, 2016)

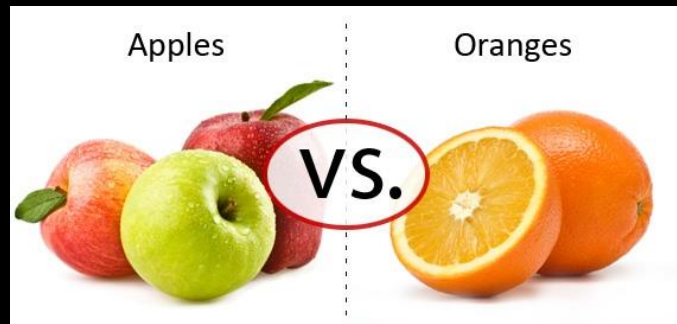
Mindset Goes A Long Way

Trawalter and Shelton (2006)

- Adopt an “approach-oriented” mindset to your interactions.
 - Prevention-focused: “avoid appearing prejudiced in any way during the interaction.”
 - Promotion-focused: “approach the interaction as an opportunity to have an enjoyable intercultural dialogue.”
- Makes intergroup contact “rewarding rather than depleting” (411).

Finding Common Ground

- Focus on similarities with outgroup members, even about trivial things: shared preferences for apples vs. oranges and carpet vs. hardwood (Mallett et al. 2008)



- Do you both root for State U. against U. of State?
Do you both root the Eagles against the Broncos?

Intergroup Cooperation

- Basic recipe for reducing intergroup bias:
- Get people from different groups to work together toward common goal
 - Best example: desegregating US military
 - Sports teams, interracial roommates
- Constantly Consider Context: construct social environments that foster intergroup cooperation
- How to do this at your own institutions?
- Maybe: coordinate different student organizations in an event, form teams of people from different groups

Institutional Reforms



Criteria in advance



Hiring biases were eliminated when participants decided in advance whether street- or book-smarts was more important.

- Develop criteria in advance and stick to them.
 - Explain decisions in light of criteria.
 - Revisit and revise criteria
 - Evaluate effects of new strategies
 - COLLECT AND ANALYZE DATA

Fair Criteria?

(Wightman 1998; cited by Crosby Iver Clayton Downing 2003)

- US law schools primarily base admission on...
 - LSAT scores (weighted about 60%)
 - Undergraduate GPA (weighted 40%)
 - On average, women do worse on LSAT than men (at least partly due to stereotype threat)
 - On average, women have higher GPA than men!
- Neither criterion predicts bar performance
- Law school GPA does predict performance...

Criteria Checklists



List criteria in a systematic, checklist format

- Rubrics for grading papers,
- Criteria for evaluating applications

Repackage your information

- write up an easy-to-read list of pro's and con's so you don't rely on personal memory of what jumps to mind.

Ensure criteria are not random or unfairly favor a group.

- Stereotype Incumbency: we think stereotypical traits of previous jobholders are necessary for success
- how many successful and unsuccessful people have these traits?
(Valian 1998)

The Power of Data

- Data can persuade doubters.
- If you can appeal to organizational data to demonstrate patterns of unfairness,
- you can make the legitimate case that existing practices are not meritocratic:
- deserving individuals are not getting the job.

Broadcast:

Seek and Disseminate Information

Broadcast criteria and expectations to everyone involved.
Sometimes just spreading knowledge of promotion criteria increases representation of diverse groups.

- Most positions are advertised via word-of-mouth.
- This privileges insiders.
- Broadcast information to places that might not get it.
- Don't just give a research position or internship to the student you know best.
- Advertise the position. Make it a fair competition.

Broadcast Commitment to Fairness

- Orchestras: historically dominated by men.
- Many orchestras now have auditions behind a curtain.
- Representation of women has increased.
- One driving factor: more women audition!
- Similar patterns as academic journals have moved toward anonymous review.

Incorporate Anonymous Review

- Review applications and grade anonymously
 - I am surprised every time by...
 - students who talk a lot and “seem smart” but underperform
 - students who seem quiet or disengaged but do really well
- Anonymous review can be incorporated partially at various key stages.

Two steps forward, one step back

- When we put new interventions in place,
- we tend to lose motivation to keep pushing (effectively thinking, “ok, my work here is done”).
 - This is true even if the intervention has no effect!
- Treat effective interventions as evidence that we can make progress if we keep trying, not that we have met all our goals.

“When we make progress,
then we will remind ourselves how far we have to go!”

“When there are setbacks, then we will keep fighting!”

Thanks!

Email me questions and comments!
alexmadva@gmail.com, ammadva@cpp.edu
(I can also send PPT slides, references, etc.)

More info and links at my website:

alexmadva.com

See also: [Reducing Stereotype Threat](#), [Project Implicit](#), [Active Bystander Strategies](#)

Accountability

- Collect and analyze data...
and hold people accountable
- Every step of the decision-making process
- Procedural accountability:
ensure that procedures and standards are followed
- Outcome accountability:
ensure that outcomes are fair

Accountability

- If people know their decisions will be reviewed, they devote more time and attention.
- Create a Task Force (or permanent position!)
- Responsible for setting and meeting goals,
- and holding others accountable.
- Don't just "punish" subpar performance
- Reward and celebrate good performance!

Top-down and peer-to-peer endorsement of social norms

- Top-down support for new norms and policies
- Vocal endorsement of norms and talk openly about following them
 - If you try out one of these strategies, then tell others how it went!
- Leaders legitimize leaders:
vouch for a new leader's expertise.
(Brown & Geis 1984)

When and How to Consider Bias

- Anonymity is not always possible or desirable.
 - e.g., letters of reference, oral presentations
- White men are more often described as possessing innate, raw talent and brilliance
- Women and PoC are more often described as hard-working
- Have a checklist of potential biases handy as you review presentations, applications, etc.

Students' Biases about Themselves: Stereotype Threat

- Being reminded of stereotypes about your group
- Anxiety about confirming those stereotypes
 - Reduces test performance
 - Reduces amount of practice before test (Stone 2002)
 - Reduces sense of belonging and valuing of a domain
- Women and underrepresented PoC perform worse when math and science tests are portrayed as measures of fixed ability (IQ).
- Little to no achievement gap when portrayed as tests you can improve on.

Cues in the Environment

What does it take to remind folks of stereotypes about their group?

Very little!

Suppose you're an impressionable student walking into your first computer-science class...



LAPTOP STORAGE





LAPTOP STORAGE

Cues in the Classroom

(Cheryan et al. 2009, 2011; Masters et al. 2016)

“Geeky” comp-sci classrooms:

- reduce women’s interest and expected success in computer science,
- but have no effect on men.

Girls & women: up to 3x more likely to express interest in comp-sci if in the neutral room.

Environments “influence students’ sense of ambient belonging... or feeling of fit in an environment.”

What messages about our fields are we sending in our offices, classrooms, and syllabi?



Students' Biases about Themselves

(Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong 2011)

- Asian Americans who endorse positive stereotypes about their group...
 - “Asian Americans are very self-disciplined in their work.”
 - “Asian Americans tend to have close ties with their families.”
 - “Most Asian Americans are intellectually bright.”
- ... report greater psychological distress
- ... are less willing to seek help

Framing and Reframing

(see Schmader & Hall (2014) for references)

- Reframe tests and education...
 - not as measures of “fixed” ability
 - as indicators of gradual progress toward skill
- Reframe experiences of anxiety or stress...
 - not as an indicator of weakness or failure
 - as “normal” experience that happens to everyone
 - frame it as motivational “fuel” for success
- You can just say this stuff before exams and due dates.

Feeling at Home in School

Interventions Connecting School and Self

Create a more inclusive college culture

- Provide working-class role models
- Diversify representations of the college experience
- Ensure working-class students are visible and give them voice

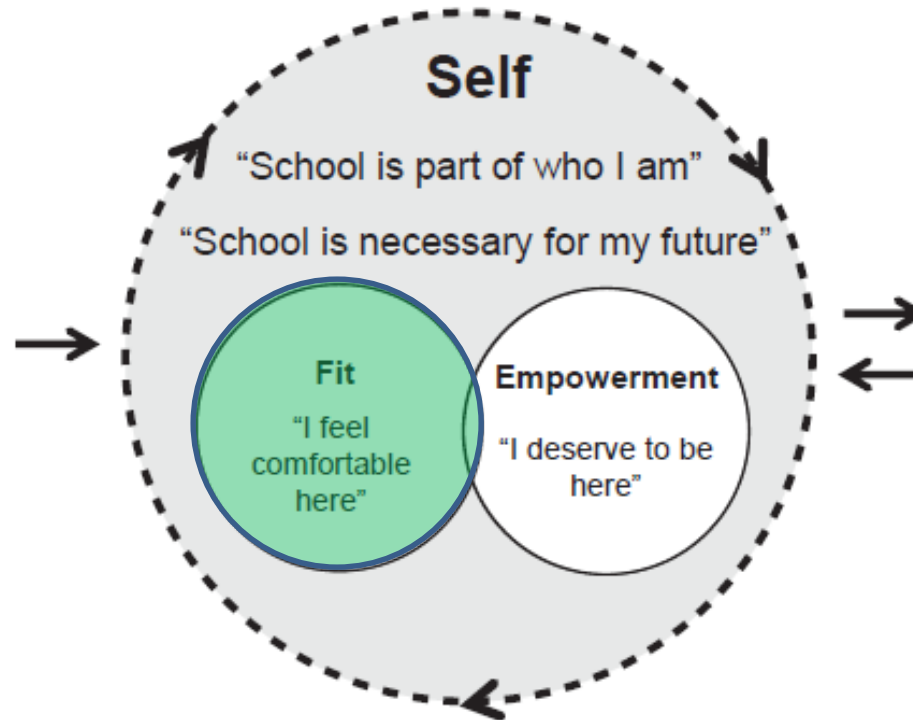
Build relationships

- Create peer networks
- Include family in the college experience
- Increase interactions with professors and administrators

Provide cultural capital

- Leverage relationships to make the rules visible
- Provide opportunities to enact the rules

School-Relevant Selves



Academic Behavior

Engagement

Motivation

Performance

- Stephens et al. (2015), "Feeling at Home in College"

Values Affirmation

Circle the values most important to you

- creativity
- relationships w/ family & friends
- political views
- independence
- learning and gaining knowledge
- money, wealth, or status
- your social/cultural/racial identity
- honesty or integrity
- helping society
- connection w/ nature/environment
- athleticism, fitness
- spirituality or religion
- sense of humor/having fun
- achievement in athletics, education, or career

Values Affirmation

Look at the values you picked as most important to you.

Think about times when these values were important.

Describe why these values are important to you.

Focus on your thoughts and feelings.

(Don't worry about spelling, grammar, etc.)

Only takes 15 minutes!

Values Affirmation

Reduced achievement gap between whites and Black/Hispanic middle schoolers for at least 3 years
(Sherman et al. 2013)

Reduced gender achievement gap in college physics
(Miyake et al. 2010)

Coordinate: use in a few key gateway courses

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- Diversify representations of the college experience
- Ensure working-class students are visible and give them voice

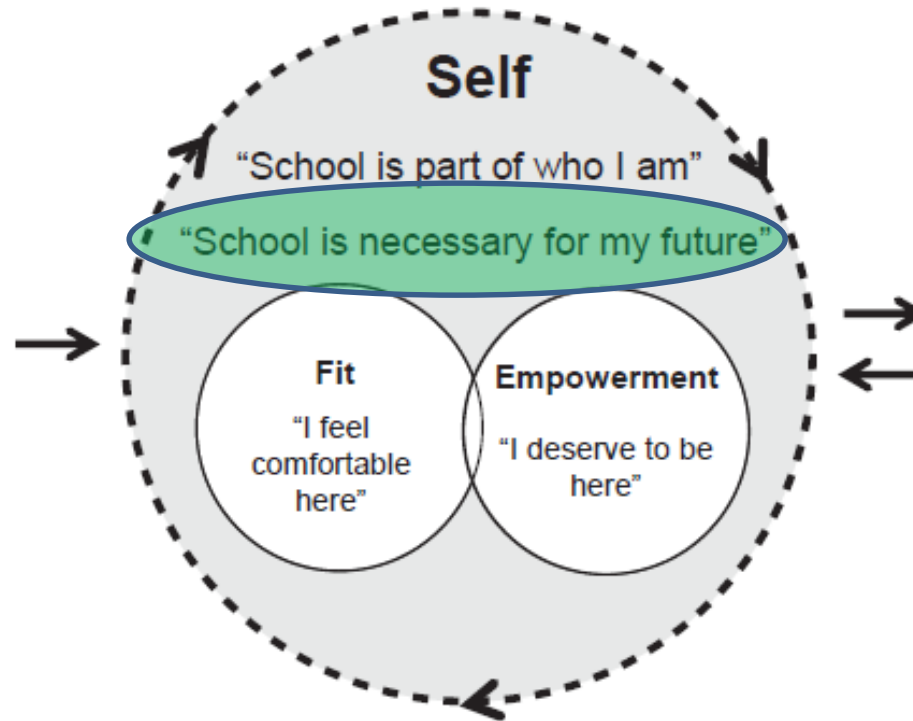
Build relationships

- Create peer networks
- Include family in the college experience
- Increase interactions with professors and administrators

Provide cultural capital

- Leverage relationships to make the rules visible
- Provide opportunities to enact the rules

School-Relevant Selves



Academic Behavior

Engagement

Motivation

Performance

Stephens et al. (2015), "Feeling at Home in College"

Utility-Value (UV) Affirmation

(Harackiewicz et al. 2016)

Students write brief essays about the personal relevance of course material (3 online assignments, each worth 0.6% of final grade)

“Select a concept or issue that was covered in lecture... Write an essay addressing... the relevance of the concept or issue to your life. Be sure to include some concrete information that was covered in this unit, explaining *why* this specific information is relevant to your life or useful to you. Be sure to explain *how* the information applies to you personally and give examples.”

- UV improved grades for all students in intro to bio, with strongest effects on black, Latinx, & Native American FG.
- Reduced achievement gap for FG-minority students by 61%.

Utility-Value (UV) Affirmation

Given pervasive stereotypes about philosophy,
UV could be really useful!

Hypothesis: effect could be enhanced in philosophy classes
if students write these essays after we give standard spiels
about how well philosophy majors do on LSATs, etc.

Arguably, VA and UV are more natural fits in philosophy
than anywhere else!

(Just get students writing!)

Feeling at Home in School

Interventions Connecting School and Self

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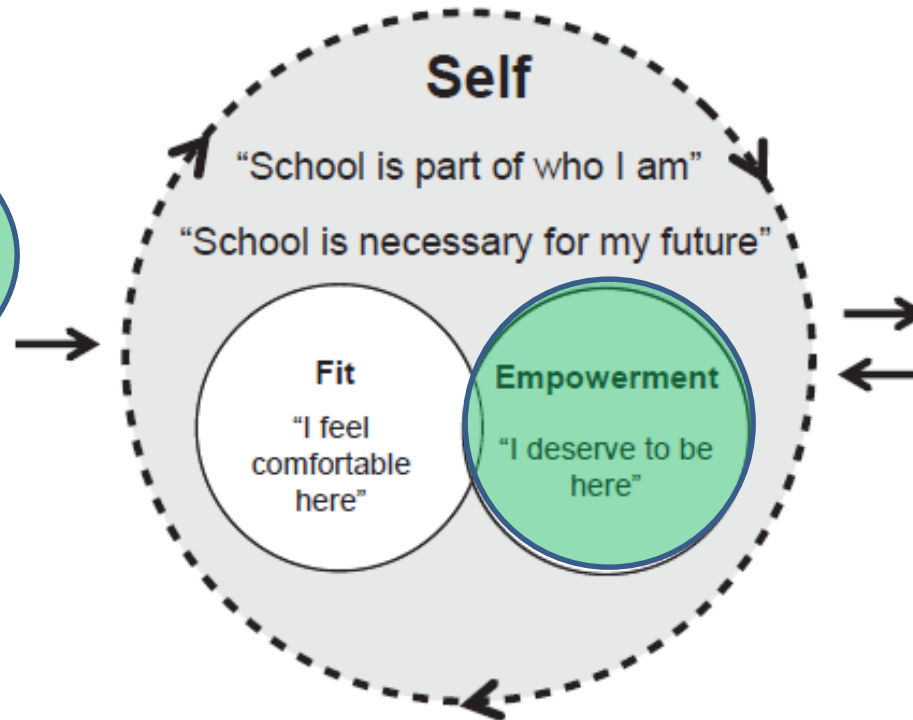
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Knowledge (of how to get around) Is Power

Stephens et al. (2014)

- 1st-year students attend a 1-hour panel discussion
- Experimental condition: seniors talk about how their different backgrounds influenced their adjustment.
 - “Can you provide an example of an obstacle that you faced when you came to [CPP] and how you resolved it?”
 - Seniors highlighted obstacles but also strengths provided by their distinctive backgrounds and perspectives
- Control condition: seniors give generic advice about how to succeed
 - “What do you do to be successful in your classes?”

Knowledge (of how to get around) Is Power

Stephens et al. (2014)

- “Because my parents didn’t go to college, they weren’t always able to provide me the advice I needed. So it was sometimes hard to figure out which classes to take and what I wanted to do in the future. But there are other people who can provide that advice, and I learned that I needed to rely on my adviser more than other students.”
- “I went to a small private school, and it was great college prep. We got lots of one-on-one attention, so it was a big adjustment going into classes with 300 people. I felt less overwhelmed when I took the time to get to know other students in the class.”
- Control condition: “Go to class, and pay attention. If you don’t understand something or have a hard time with the material, meet with your teaching assistant or professor during office hours.”

Knowledge (of how to get around) Is Power

Stephens et al. (2014)

- In the experimental condition...
- FG students: higher GPAs after 1st year
- No significant difference in GPA between FG & CG
- Primary mediator: better use of campus resources.
- FG student GPA was 63% higher in experimental condition than control condition
- Both FG & CG reported “less stress and anxiety, better adjustment to college life, and more academic and social engagement” in experiment vs. control.
- Generic advice did not resonate with students in the same way as advice anchored in seniors’ backgrounds

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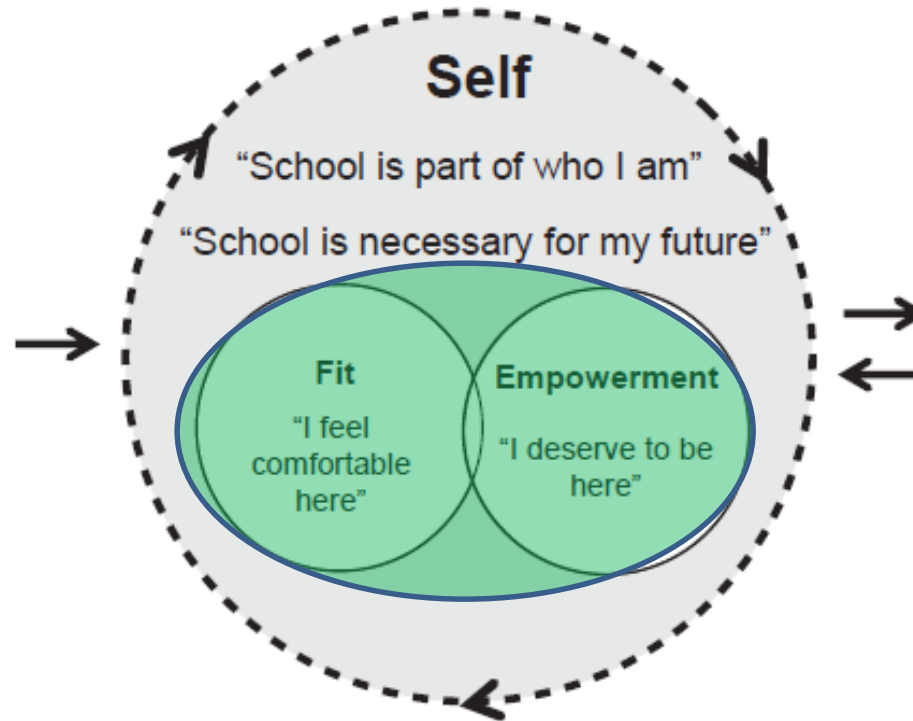
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Counter-stereotypical role models (Dasgupta and colleagues)

Measure gender bias before & after first year

At all-women's college → no implicit gender bias.

At coed university → opposite effect:

- women had stronger associations of “Greg” and “assertive”

Difference? Not about supportive atmosphere!

- Having women math and science profs
- True regardless which institution they attended.

Rigid minds or rigid environments?

Commonsense: biases are too ingrained to change.
But...

“The rigidity that tends to characterize the human mind... may be more a reflection of a stubborn environment than a stubborn psyche.”

(Olson and Fazio 2006)

Even just believing that biases are malleable can reduce prejudiced behavior.

(Carr, Dweck, and Pauker 2012)

Daily Life Debiasing Tricks

Devine et al. (2012)

5 strategies to employ in daily life

- 1) stereotype replacement,
- 2) imagine a counterstereotypical exemplar,
- 3) focus on “individuating” rather than “group-based” features,
- 4) take the perspective of a stereotyped group member,
- 5) increase opportunities for positive social contact.

Reductions of bias lasted at least 8 weeks.

Practice Makes Perfect

- Mindfulness meditation (Lueke & Gibson 2015, 2016)
 - Participants listen to 10min of guided meditation
 - Reduced implicit age and race biases
 - Increased trust in an interracial game
- Transformative narratives (Vezzali et al. 2014)
 - Harry Potter reduces bias!
 - Children, high school, and even college students
 - Increases capacity to take others' perspective

Approach equality,
Avoid prejudice!

Say “yes” to equality
Say “no” to prejudice
“under certain
conditions, both
approach and
avoidance motivations
can successfully
decrease implicit
prejudice” (972).
Phills et al. (2011)

**A: Approach Strategy
with Positive Context**



**B: Avoidance Strategy
with Positive Context**



**C: Approach Strategy
with Negative Context**



**D: Avoidance Strategy
with Negative Context**



Fig. 1. Anti-racism advertisements presented to participants in *Study 1*. In particular, these advertisements combine an approach strategy with a positive (panel A) and negative (panel C) context as well as an avoidance strategy with a positive (panel B) and negative (panel D) context.

Mountains out of Molehills?

Gradual Accumulation of (Dis)advantage

“A computer simulation (Martell/Lane/Emrich 1996) shows the importance of very small amounts of bias.

The researchers simulated an 8-level hierarchical institution, with a pyramidal structure.

They staffed this hypothetical institution with equal numbers of men and women.

The model assumed a tiny bias in favor of promoting men, a bias accounting for only 1% of the variability in promotion.

After many iterations of promotions, the top level was 65% male. Even very small amounts of disadvantage accumulate.” (Valian 2010)

Confronting Bias

Why Bystanders Don't Act

(mit.edu/bystanders)

- Fear embarrassment.
- Feel lack of competence or uncertainty.
- Fear loss of relationships.
- Fear retaliation, esp. if problem person has power.
- Believe someone else will take action.

- Form the plan:
If I see discrimination, then I will say something!

Be an Active Bystander

- Name or acknowledge an offense
- Interrupt the behavior
- Publicly support the aggrieved person
- Body language to show disapproval
- Humor (with care)
- Encourage dialogue
- Or do something after the fact...
 - privately support aggrieved person
 - privately speak with problem person
 - report the incident, with or without names

Confronting Bias (Czopp et al. 2006)

- “This person works with numbers”
 - accountant
 - math teacher
- “This person steals money”
 - thief, criminal



Confronting Bias (Czopp et al. 2006)



- “This person can be found behind bars”
 - Bartender
- “This person can be found wandering the streets”
 - Tourist
- “This person depends on the government for money”
 - Federal employee
- “By the way, for some of the last pictures of Black people, you said things like bum, person on welfare, and criminal. i know these things make sense based on the descriptions we were given...”

Low Threat Confrontation

High Threat Confrontation



Messages

Behind Bars...

Depend on govt

Edit

Criminal

Poor person on welfare

Bartender

Federal employee

but maybe it would be good to think about Blacks in other ways that are a little more fair? it just seems that a lot of times Blacks don't get equal treatment in our society. you know what i mean?

but you should really try to think about Blacks in other ways that are less prejudiced. it just seems that you sound like some kind of racist to me. you know what i mean?

Post-confrontation Solo Task



- This person is good at getting into locked doors.
 - locksmith
- This person takes cars from people.
 - valet
- This person uses needles for recreation.
 - tattoo artist

Confronting Bias (Czopp et al. 2006)



- Both Low-Threat and High-Threat confrontations → reduced participants' stereotypical responses.
- Even stinging accusations of racism can change behavior.
- But participants in the High-Threat condition...
 - Got angry
 - Disliked the confronter
 - Denied the charge of racism and said race was not a factor
- Less accusatory → equally effective, with less backlash
- Initial defensive reactions ≠ subsequent behaviors

Taking Responsibility to Confront

(Ashburn-Nardo et al. 2007)

“Nontargets [bystanders]... have an important role in reducing others’ prejudice.

... People perceive nontargets as more persuasive than targets in such circumstances because targets are perceived as simply complaining... in the right conditions, anyone can potentially be an effective confronter.”

The Power of Data on Diversity

- Racially diverse juries: less likely to wrongly convict black defendants
- Mixed-sex groups: more patent citations
(Ashcraft/Breitman 2007)
- Diverse groups: more innovative solutions
(Page 2007)
- Talk about this evidence with doubters!
- Truism: collective knowledge is enhanced when you include multiple perspectives

Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{a,b}, John F. Dovidio^b, Victoria L. Brescoll^c, Mark J. Graham^{a,d}, and Jo Handelsman

- Faculty rated applicants for lab manager.
- Applications were identical, except for gender.
- Male applicant rated as more competent & hireable, and offered higher starting salary.
- Women were just as biased as men.

Are We Biased about Bias?

(Handley et al. 2015)

- Follow-up: researchers asked participants to read and evaluate the abstract of the paper.
- Men—especially STEM faculty—were more likely to criticize the methods and findings.
- Women were more likely to criticize a modified abstract that found no bias.

David Foster Wallace, Kenyon College Commencement (2005)

There are these two guys sitting together in a bar in the remote Alaskan wilderness. One of the guys is religious, the other is an atheist, and the two are arguing about the existence of God with that special intensity that comes after about the fourth beer.

And the atheist says: “Look, it’s not like I don’t have actual reasons for not believing in God. It’s not like I haven’t ever experimented with the whole God and prayer thing. Just last month I got caught away from the camp in that terrible blizzard, and I was totally lost and I couldn’t see a thing, and it was fifty below, and so I tried it: I fell to my knees in the snow and cried out ‘Oh, God, if there is a God, I’m lost in this blizzard, and I’m gonna die if you don’t help me.’” And now, in the bar, the religious guy looks at the atheist all puzzled.

“Well then you must believe now,” he says, “After all, here you are, alive.” The atheist just rolls his eyes. “No, man, all that was was a couple Inuit happened to come wandering by and showed me the way back to camp.”

Not just anti-black & anti-Latinx

- White bosses: “Asian Americans are best as technical workers and not as executives”
(See Chou and Feagin 2008 for review)

Often Employees, Rarely CEOs: Challenges Asian-Americans Face In Tech

MAY 17, 2015 6:51 PM ET

A new report on diversity in Silicon Valley shows that Asians and Asian-Americans are well-represented in lower-level positions — but, in comparison, severely underrepresented at the management and executive levels at five large, established tech companies.

Ascend, an Asian-American professional organization based in New York, found that although 27 percent of professionals working at those companies are Asian or Asian-American, fewer than 19 percent of managers, and just under 14 percent of executives, are.

Asian women are especially underrepresented. Out of all the Asian-American women working in tech, only 1 in 285 is an executive. That compares to a ratio of 1 executive per 118 professionals in the workforce as a whole — and, for white men in tech, a ratio of 1 in 87, reports Ascend.

Students' Biases about Each Other

(Grunspan et al. 2016)

- Which bio students are most knowledgeable?
- Undergraduate men ranked other men as most knowledgeable...
- ... even over women who were doing better (.75 GPA points better!)
- (Women showed no gender bias)
- Bias increased as the quarter went on. Why?

Intersecting biases: an example

Pedulla (2014): participants evaluated 1 of 4 applications for Assistant Manager at a retail store.

- Either “Brad Miller” or “Darnell Jackson”
- Either President of Student Advisory Council or President of Gay Student Advisory Council

	Experimental Condition			
	Straight White	Gay White	Straight Black	Gay Black
Salary recommendation	\$38,729 (\$12,833)	\$33,289 (\$10,642)	\$35,524 (\$8,376)	\$41,704 (\$17,367)
Threatening factor	0.00 (1.03)	0.02 (1.02)	0.16 (0.90)	-0.31 (0.99)
Perceived femininity	3.24 (1.29)	4.05 (1.13)	2.91 (1.24)	4.29 (1.44)
<i>n</i>	72	71	42	27

Intersecting Biases: more examples

- Some advantages for black women leaders over white women and black men (Livingston et al. 2012)
- Arab women rated more favorably than Arab men, esp. jobs with “moderate client contact” (Derous et al. (2014)
 - attributional-ambiguity: prejudice only emerged among candidates with less fitting job applications

Persuasion & Value

(Willer & Feinberg)

- People from different political perspectives and social backgrounds may emphasize different values.
- Identify your interlocutor's "moral frame" and consider how your goals and methods appeal to it.
- "Liberal" values: protecting marginalized from harm
- "Conservative" values: patriotism and loyalty
 - E.g., "Today's immigrants want to be part of the same American dream as our forefathers."
 - Marriage equality: "Our fellow citizens of the United States of America deserve to stand alongside us ... We should lift our fellow citizens up, not bring them down."
 - Environment: "Keep our lakes and rivers pure."
 - Healthcare: "Keep ourselves free from infection and disease."