

Understanding and Overcoming Implicit Bias in the Classroom

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March 2019

Email me for PPT slides and references!

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Road Map

Evidence for widespread implicit biases

[[Where biases come from

→ relations between implicit and explicit bias... Q&A]]

How these biases affect folks in education

→ especially in the classroom

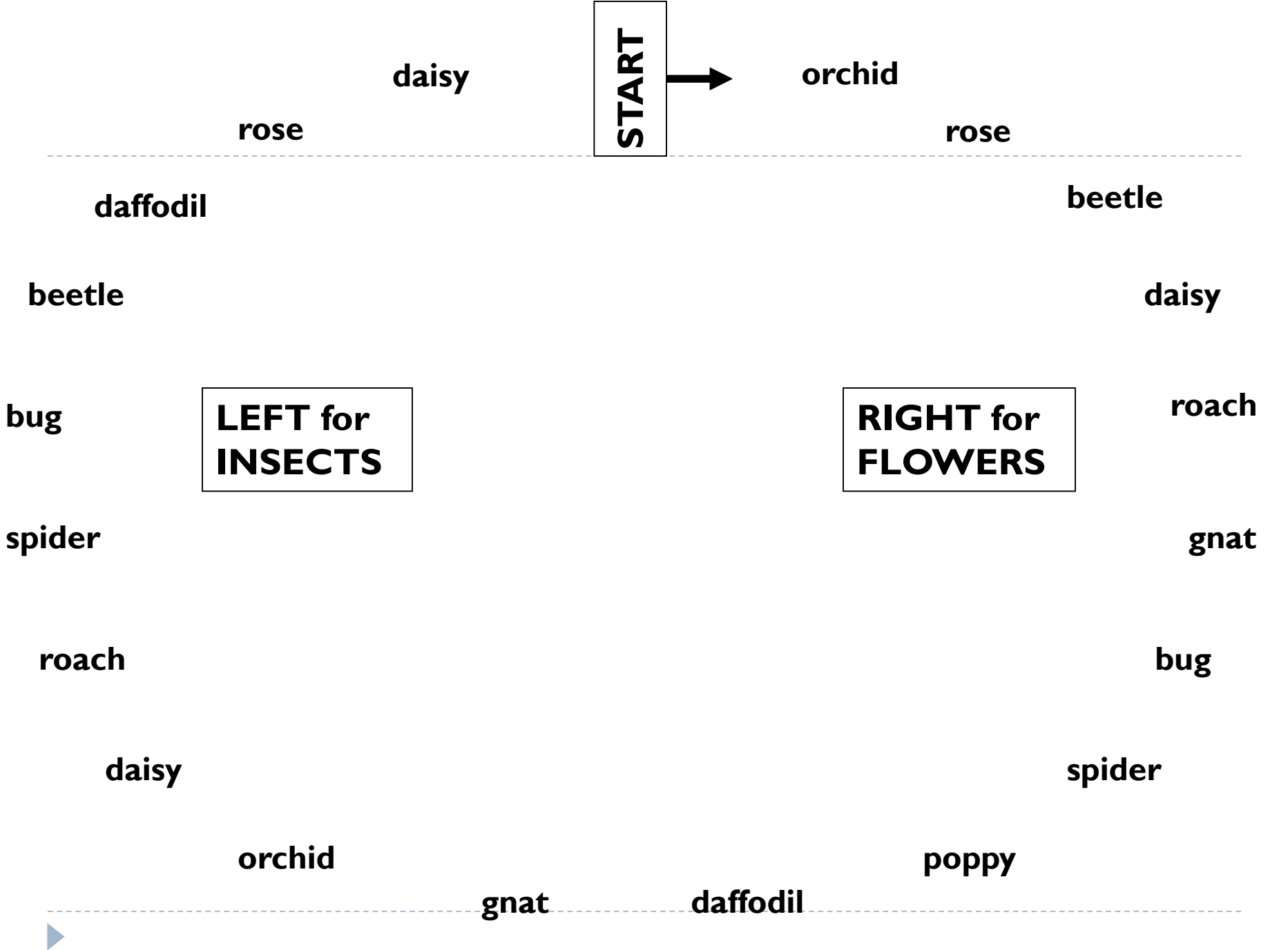
Tools for reducing bias and increasing belonging

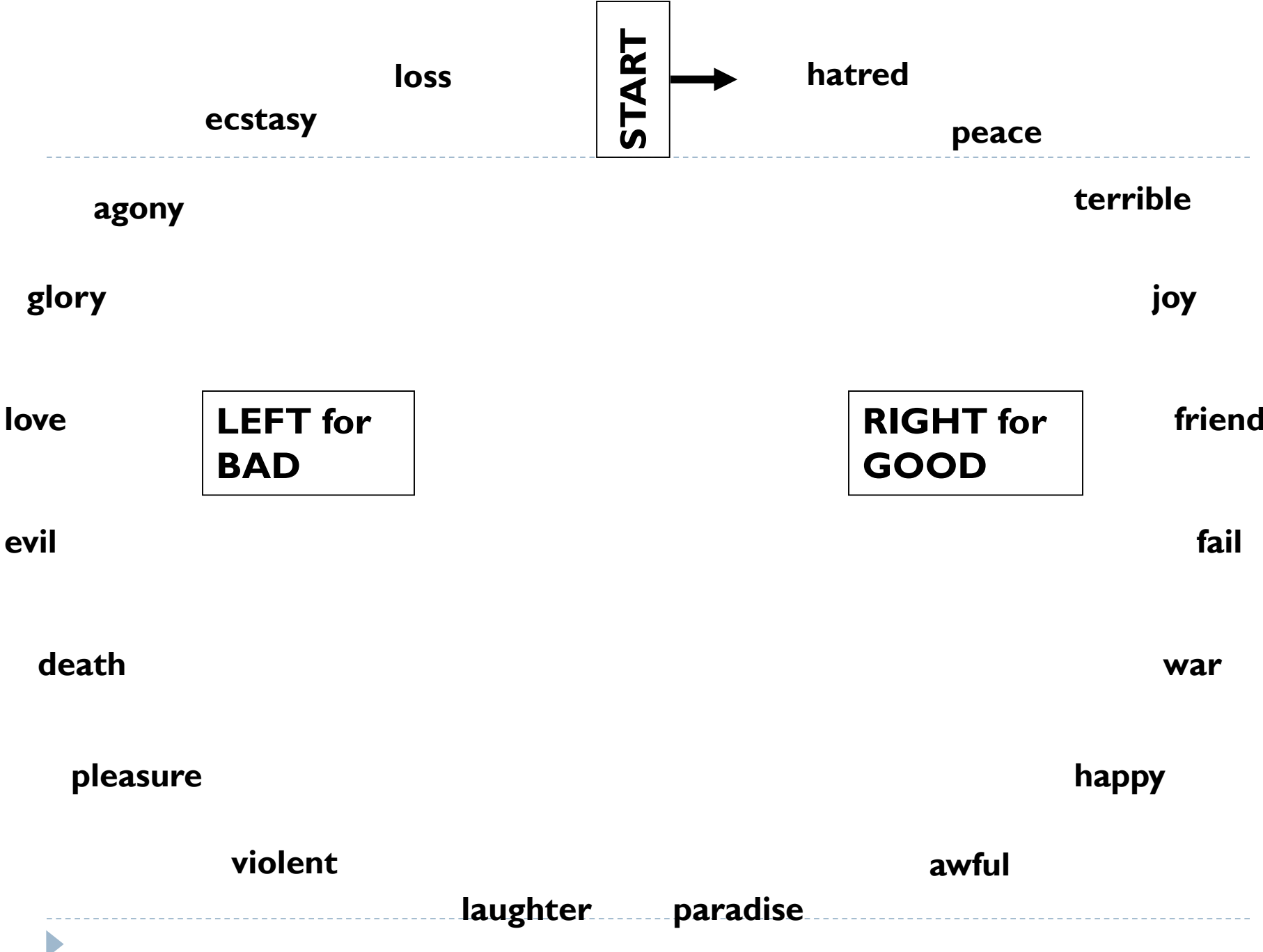
Overt prejudice on the outs...

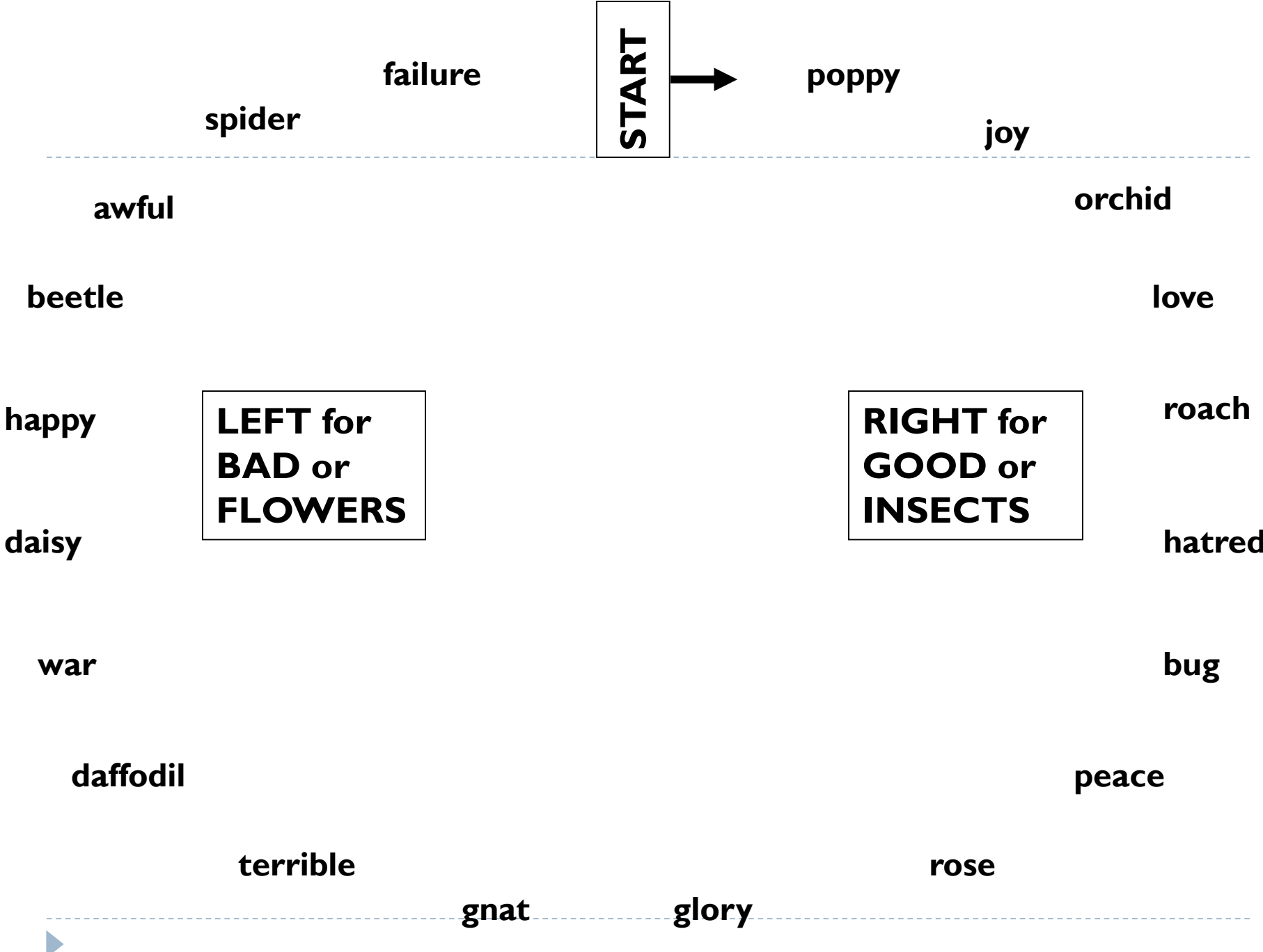
- Overt prejudice and discrimination have been in decline for decades.
- “a clear majority of Americans were telling pollsters in the early 1980s... that they opposed race discrimination in nearly all its forms... there is no reason to believe that most of them were lying...”
(Michelle Alexander 203, 2010)
- Social scientists 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?







White
or
bad

Black
or
good

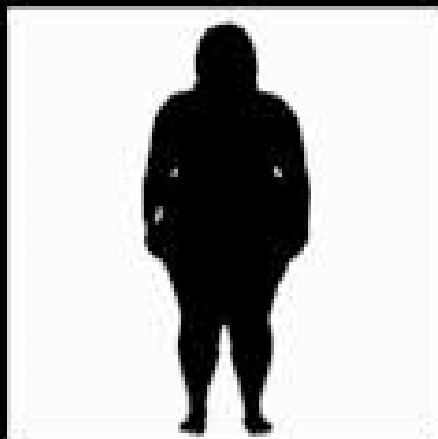
Black
or
bad

White
or
good



Thin People
or
Good

Fat People
or
Bad



Female
or
Family





Male
or
Career

Michelle

A

Disability		Nondisabled
Good		Bad
<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	poison	<input type="radio"/>
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B

Disability		Nondisabled
Bad		Good
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<input type="radio"/>	vomit	<input type="radio"/>

International & Intercultural Biases

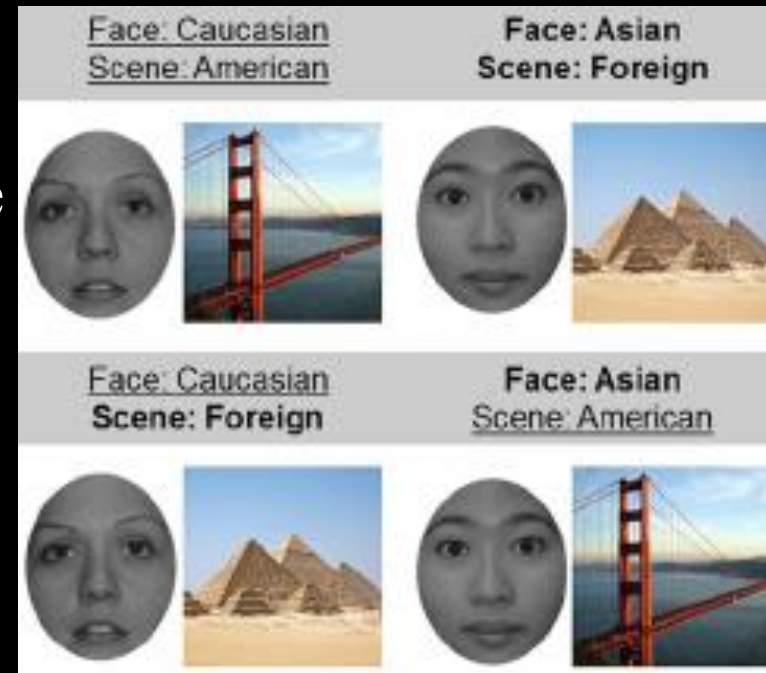
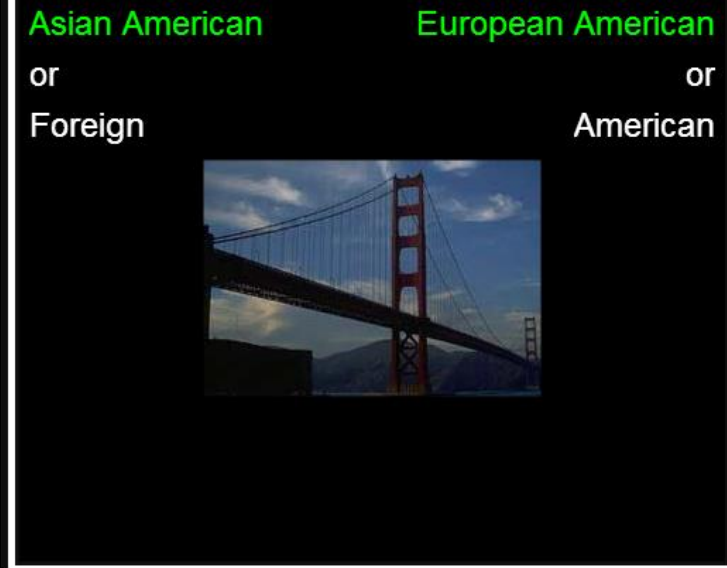
Latinx and (East & South) Asian Americans

→ stereotyped as perpetual foreigner (Zou and Cheryan 2017)

→ “But where are you really from?”

White bosses: “Asian Americans are best as technical workers and not as executives”

(See Chou and Feagin 2008 for review)



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)

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 fat people, but...
 - these self-reported attitudes did not predict hiring discrimination at all.
 - Implicit associations did

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[Where biases come from

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How these biases affect folks in education

→ especially in the classroom

Tools for reducing bias and increasing belonging

Replying to emails

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)
 - similar results in two large studies in Italy (Alesina, Carlana et al.)
- 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)

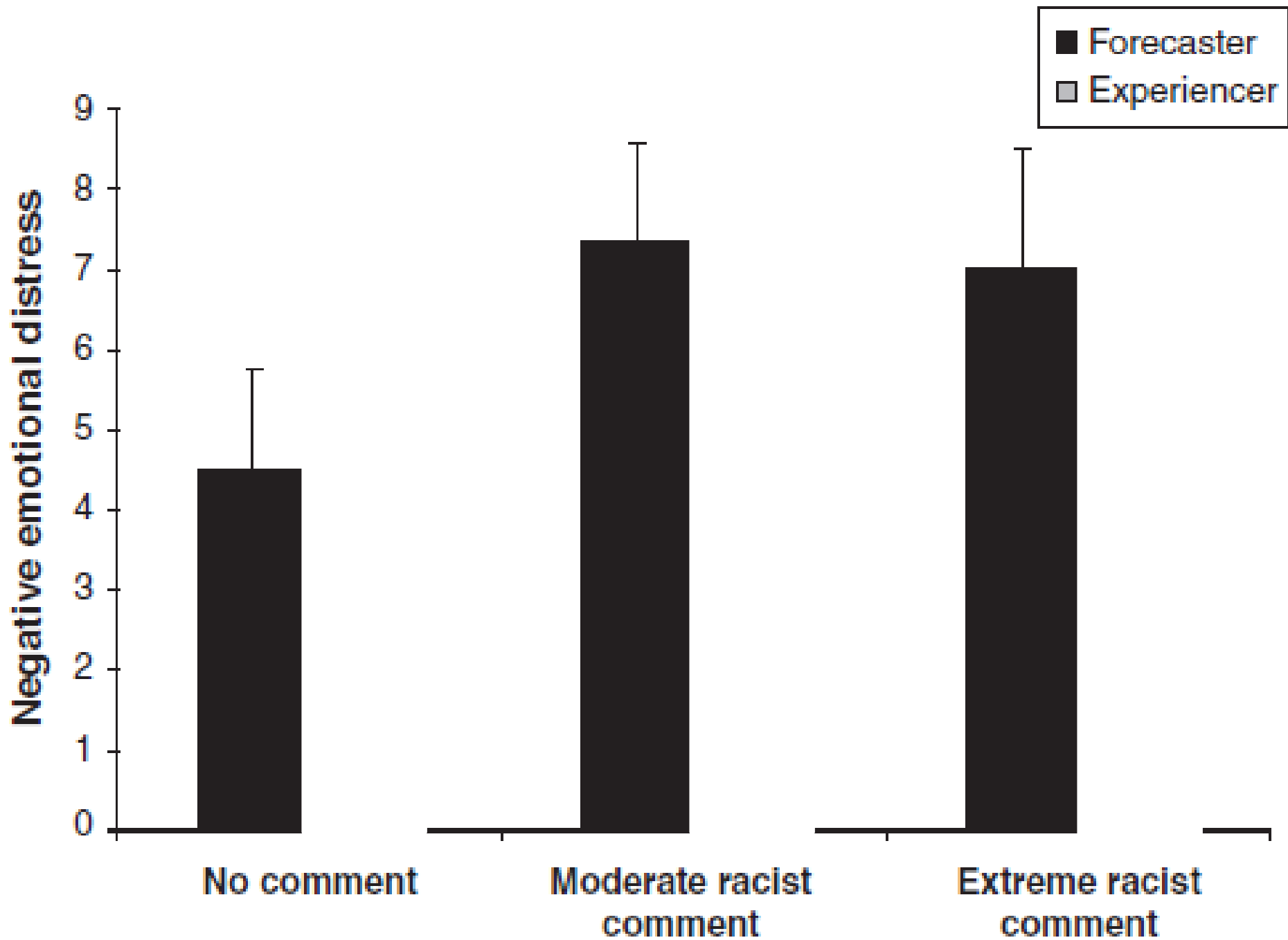
Implicit biases predict tacit and subtle behaviors:

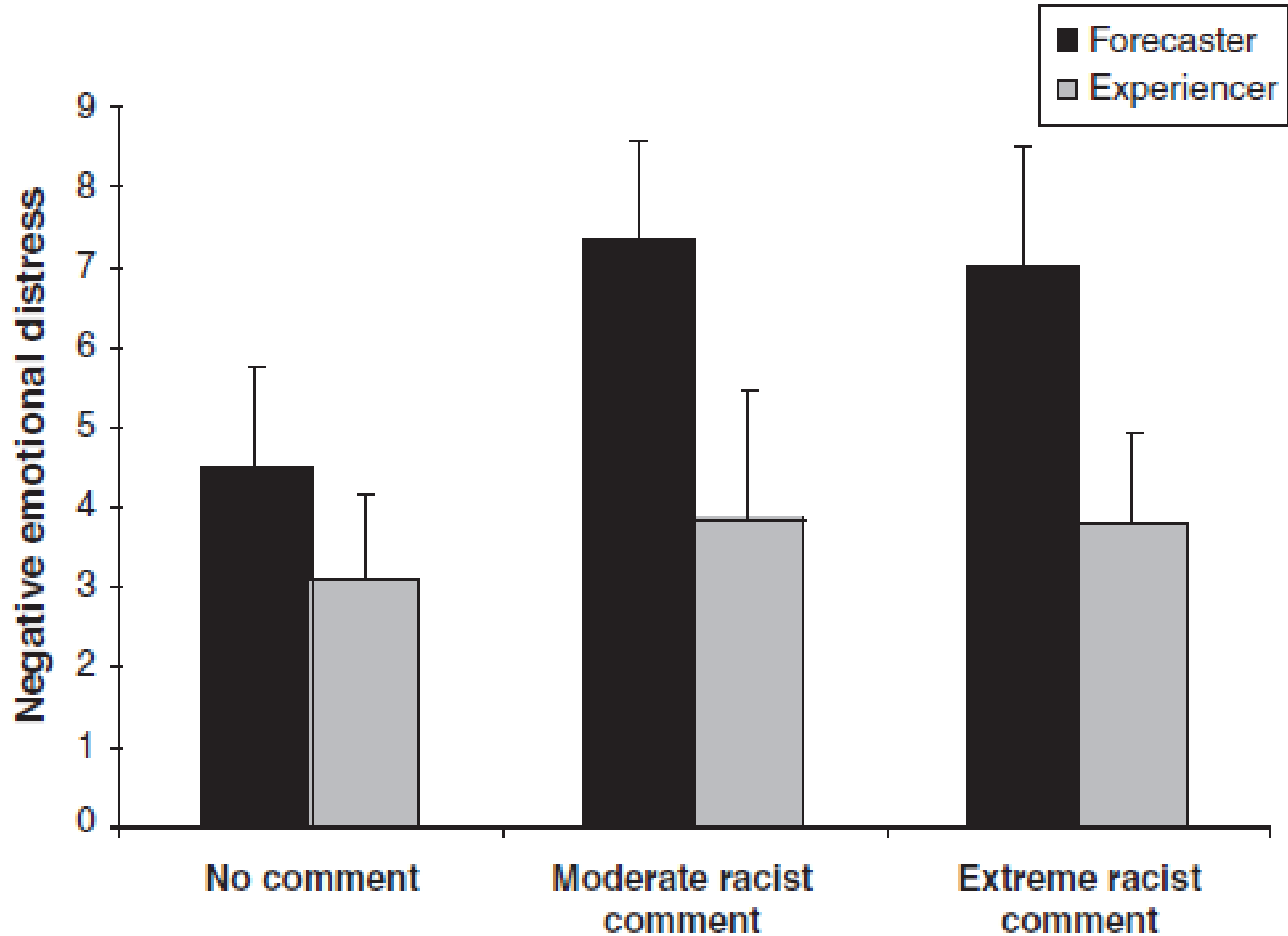
- how much eye contact we make
- how rapidly we blink
- how far away we sit
- whether we lean forward or back
- how much we laugh at a joke

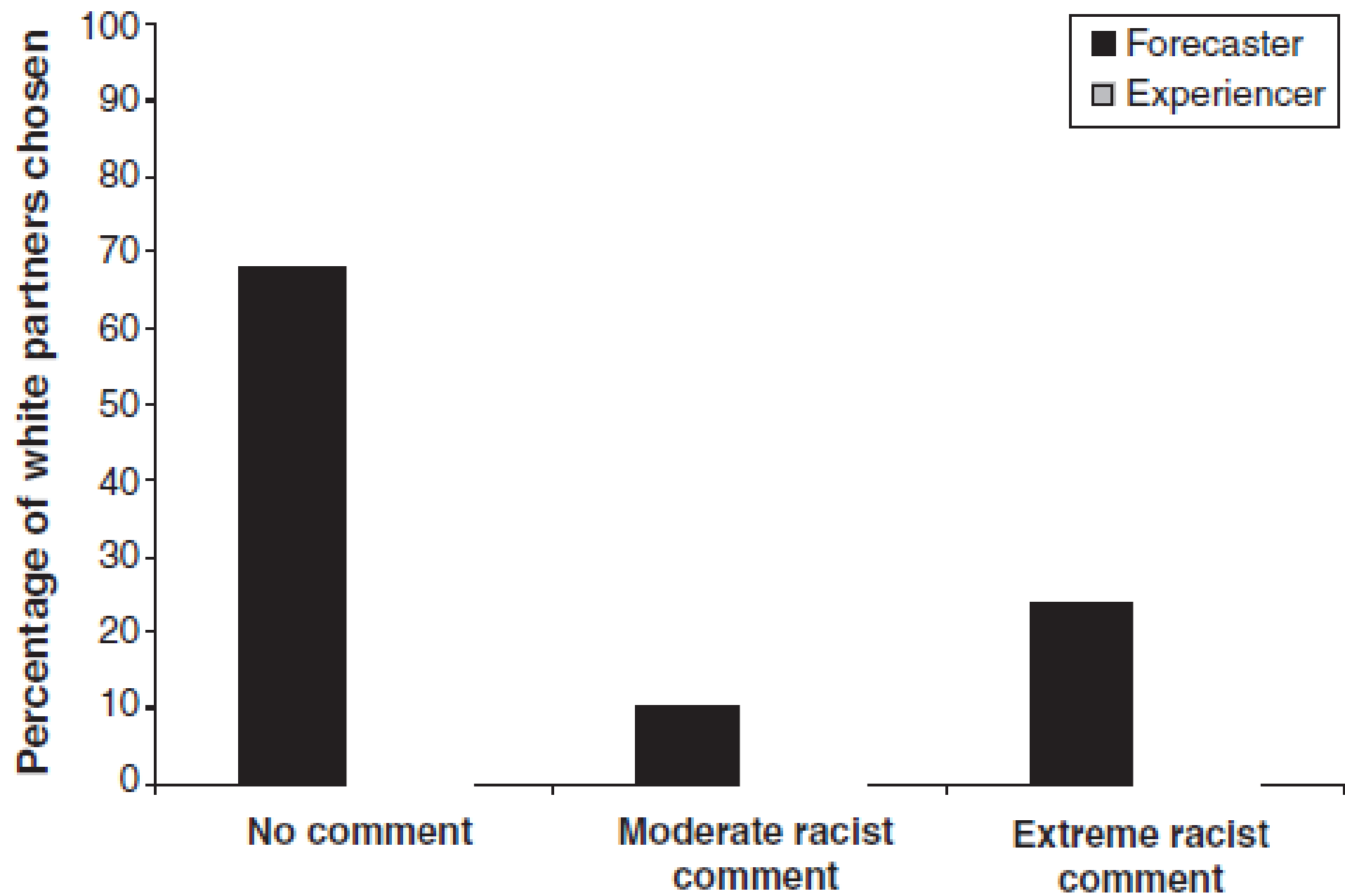
Toleration of Explicit Discrimination

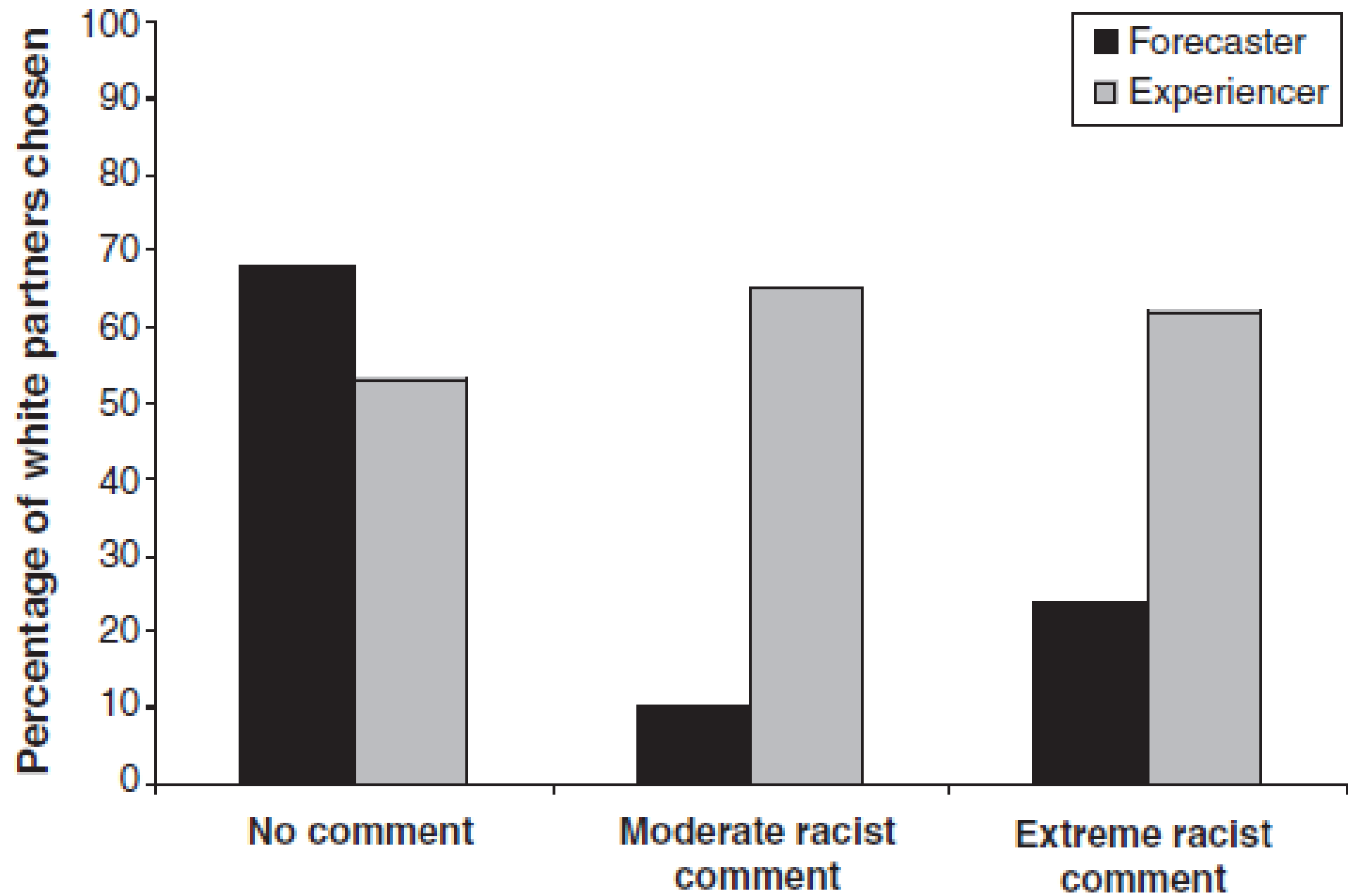
(Kawakami et al. 2009, Karmali et al. 2017)

- 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!”
- “If a colleague says something inappropriate, then I will...”
 - (intervene right way,
or talk to colleague or target of behavior privately...)

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?

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...”)

Students' Biases about Themselves: Stereotype Threat & Impostor Syndrome

- 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

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 are we sending about who belongs in our offices, classrooms, and syllabi?



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!”

Tools for Reducing Bias: Decision-Making Criteria



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

One 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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Tools for reducing bias and increasing belonging

Tools for Reducing Bias

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

Tool #1: The Life-Changing Magic 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

Tool #1: The Life-Changing Magic 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 student says something anomalous, then assume that I don’t understand (not that student doesn’t make sense)!”

Context context context

- “If a person underperforms, then I will consider situational causes!”
 - car trouble, family or work problems, course load, etc.
- “When we plan events, then we will make sure they are accessible!”

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]!

Tool #2: Approach Mindset

Trawalter and Richeson (2006)

- Adopt an “approach-oriented” mindset to 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.”
- Make intergroup contact “rewarding rather than depleting” (411).
- When I meet a new person, then I’ll tell myself it’s an opportunity to learn!

Tool #3: Find Common Ground

(Mallet et al. 2008, West et al. 2014)

- Find similarities with outgroup members, even about trivial things: apples vs. oranges and carpet vs. hardwood



- Both rooting for the same Bachelor?
- Both hoping that the tyranny of the no-good cheating Pats will end?
- Are you both rooting for the Starks to rule Westeros?
Both fans of *Black Mirror*? *Stranger Things*?
- Would you rather always be: 10min late or 20min early?

Tool #4: Intergroup Cooperation

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

Tool #5: The Power of Perspective

- Transformative narratives (Vezzali et al. 2014)
 - Harry Potter reduces bias!
 - Children, high school, and even college students
 - Increases capacity to take others' perspective
- If someone acts in a way I don't understand, then I will try to imagine their perspective!

Tool #6: Reframing

Impostor Syndrome & Stereotype Threat

- Reframe tests and education...
 - not measures of fixed ability
 - indicators of gradual progress toward skill
- Reframe anxiety and stress...
 - not indicators of weakness
 - “normal” experiences that happen to everyone
 - motivational “fuel” for success
- Reframe failures...
 - not signs that you don’t belong
 - learning & achievement depend on trial & error
- Reframe successes...
 - not just pure luck
 - celebrate the skills you’re mastering thru dedication

Tool #7: Success, Setbacks, & Motivation

- 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!
 - Collect data—formally or informally—to see if these tools work for you!
- 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 email PPT slides, references, etc.)

More info and links at my website:

alexmadva.com

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

Tools for Reducing Bias in Early Stages & Evaluations

- Clear and fair criteria
- The power of data
- A few advertising best practices
- [Anonymous review]
- [Accountability]



Criteria in advance



Biases in judgment can be eliminated when criteria are settled in advance.

- Develop criteria 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 (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

Repackage your information

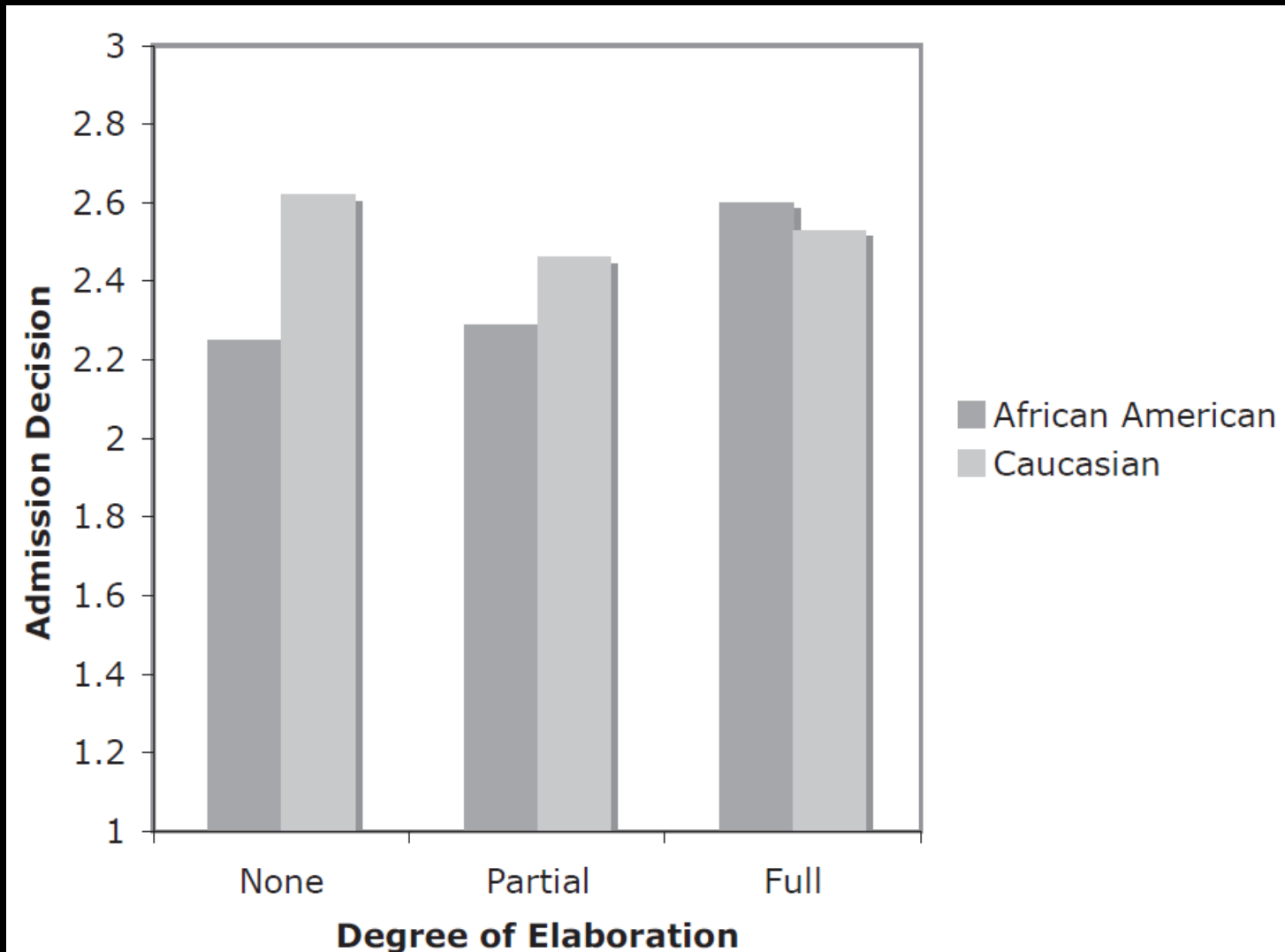
- write up an easy-to-read list of pro's and con's so you don't rely on personal memory of what jumps to mind.
- take note of positives and negatives

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)

Racial bias in reviews of letters of reference may be significantly reduced when reviewers must explain their ratings (Morgan et al. 2013)

What are the pro's and con's of this applicant, based on this letter?



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.

The Power of Data on Diversity

- Truism: collective knowledge is enhanced when you include multiple perspectives...
- ... backed by empirical evidence! (Stewart & Valian, ch.2)
- 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)
- Homogeneous groups do sometimes get along better—because there's no one to challenge groupthink!
- Talk about this evidence with doubters!

The Power of Counter-stereotypes

(Dasgupta and colleagues)

Implicit gender biases before and after 1 year of college
Undergrad women at all-women's college
→ no implicit gender bias (“nurturing” vs. “assertive”)

Attending a coed university → opposite effect:
- women had stronger implicit gender biases

Difference? Not “supportive, encouraging atmosphere.”
→ number of classes with women math and science profs
- True regardless which institution they attended.
- Having a few role models “like you” increases students’ interesting, belonging, and success (also true for faculty!)
- Can candidates speak to teaching or mentoring students in this way?

Criteria, Persuasion, & Values

(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."
- Can you frame a candidate's "equity plusses" in terms of merit values (research, teaching, and service)?

Broadcast:

Seek and Disseminate Information

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

- Many positions are still ultimately obtained via word-of-mouth and networks of acquaintances.
- This privileges insiders.
- Broadcast information to places that might not get it.

Broadcast Commitment to Fairness

- Orchestras: historically dominated by men.
- Many 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:
 - Broadcasts commitment to fairness
 - Encourages reliance on clear, transparent criteria
 - Especially good at undermining prestige bias
- Alex's Anecdota: boilerplate diversity statements in job ads struck me as rote, pro forma
- Can you tailor ads to communicate genuine commitment?
- Can you describe position and department and university in terms related to diversity and inclusion?

WHY DIDN'T YOU APPLY FOR THAT JOB?

Men and women give their reasons.



A Few Advertising Best Practices

(Alex doesn't know what's allowed...)

- List criteria (AOCs) as disjunctions rather than conjunctions
 - The broader the search criteria the better!
- Brag about school, area, opportunities for teaching reductions, childcare, on-campus allies and centers...
- Open to non-traditional career paths and methodologies?
- (Advertise that the application is free with Interfolio!)
- Make decision and application process transparent in ads
 - E.g., announce Skype interviews, approximate schedule
- Note: requesting extra materials, or non-standard formatting, may disproportionately burden marginalized groups (e.g., single parents currently teaching a 5-5)

A Few Decision-making Best Practices

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!)

Replying to emails...

“If a potential applicant emails me,
then I will reply!”

“instead of just responding with their gut
instinct, there should be a policy in place for how
to handle those requests... respond uniformly
across the board to everyone.”

(Katherine Milkman)

Discussing Candidates

- “If a colleague introduces less relevant info, then I will point it out!”
- Or, less confrontationally, “then I will steer conversation back to criteria on the rubric!”

Why Equity Liaisons & Diversity Offices?

→ Structures of Accountability

(Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly 2006– citing Max Weber...)

- Who's responsible for ensuring fairness and inclusion?
- In some sense, of course, all of us...
- But when it's everybody's responsibility, often that means it's nobody's responsibility...
- ... we fall back on our old decision-making habits.
- Job searches are demanding and time-intensive, and
- don't we all already have enough on our plates???
- Shared commitment to fairness: not enough

Why Equity Liaisons?

→ Structures of Accountability

(Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly 2006– citing Max Weber...)

- Diversity training in isolation often does little (if anything) to durably improve equitable decision-making in institutions
 - Peer mentoring and social networking also sometimes show limited benefits
 - What really works: structures of accountability
 - Making it somebody's job to ensure that standards are being applied (compare: coaching in sports & life)
- build commitment to fairness into institutional DNA
- Task forces; Offices of Equity, Inclusion, & Compliance...

Accountable for What?

- Procedural accountability:
ensure that procedures and standards are followed
- Outcome accountability:
ensure that outcomes are fair
- Not just about “punishing” subpar performance
- Reward and celebrate good performance!
- (If a colleague notices a “plus” on a candidate’s CV that you or others missed, praise them for it!)
- Accountability at every step of the process

Every Step of the Way

- from outreach and recruitment,
- to how we screen, i.e., formally evaluate and informally discuss candidates,
- how we interview candidates,
- how we select finalists,
- how we interact with candidates during their on-campus visit, and finally,
- how we select the candidate(s) to whom we will offer a position...
- And, beyond hiring, to...
- policies to facilitate junior faculty retention and success,
- how we evaluate and promote faculty,
- how we recognize faculty and staff accomplishments, and
- how we assign leadership positions

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 specific stages.
 - After I give the papers an initial grade, I de-anonymize them and read over my comments and grades.
 - (E.g., I might give more credit to students who came to see me in office hours, etc.)
- I explain my grounds for anonymous review and students seem to appreciate it!

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.

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)

Where do our biases come from?

Backdrop: visible disparities between groups.

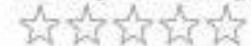
- bombarded with stereotypes in mass media
- *de facto* segregation and social inequalities: members of certain social groups are more likely to occupy certain roles, have certain jobs, live in certain areas, etc.



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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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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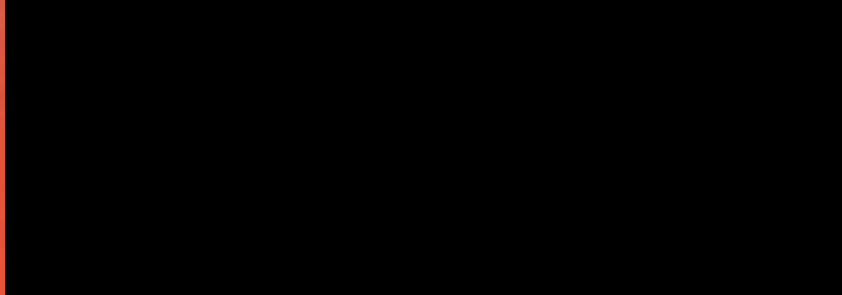
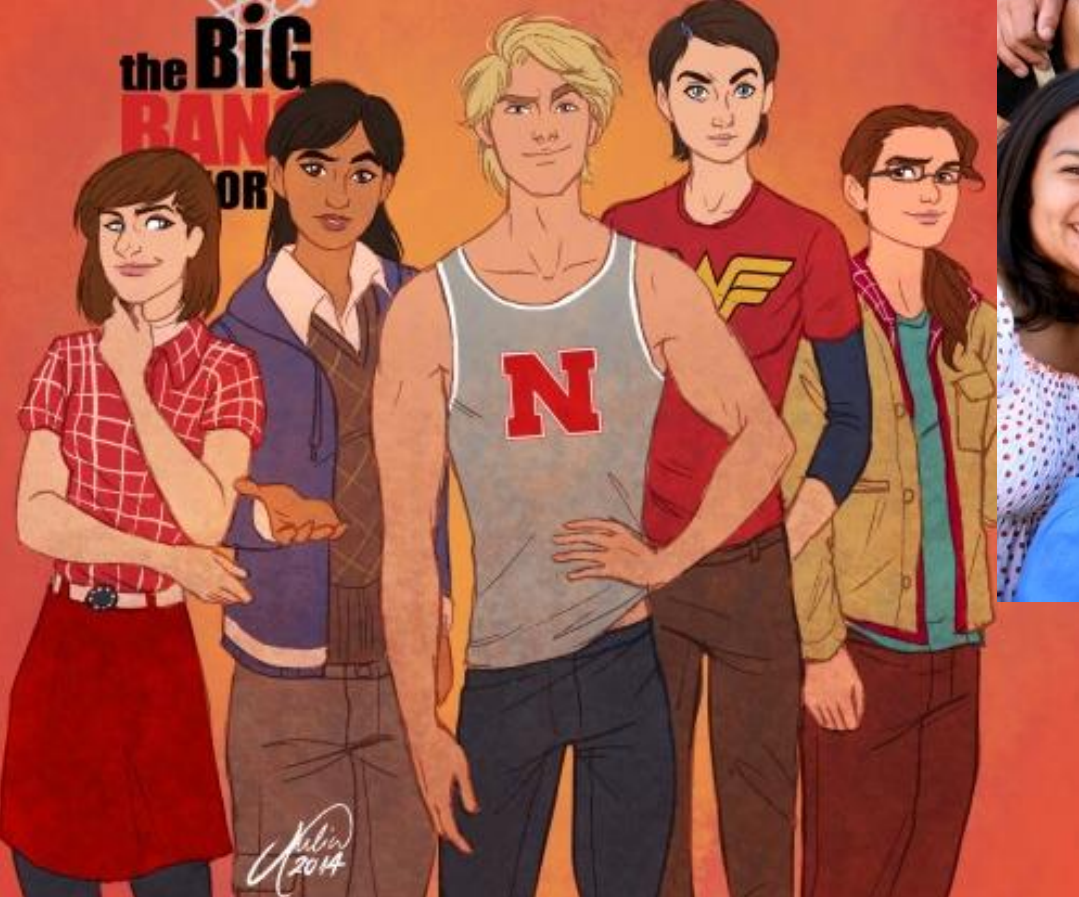
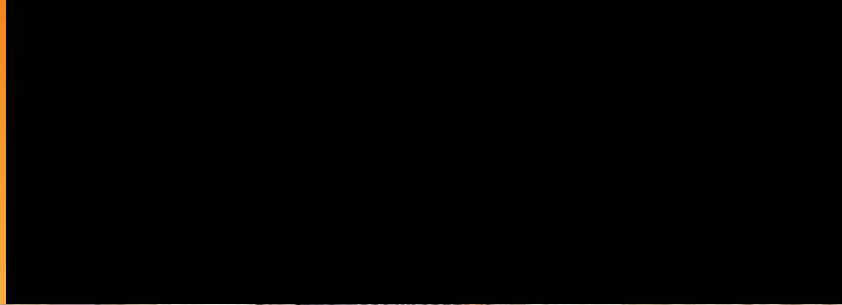
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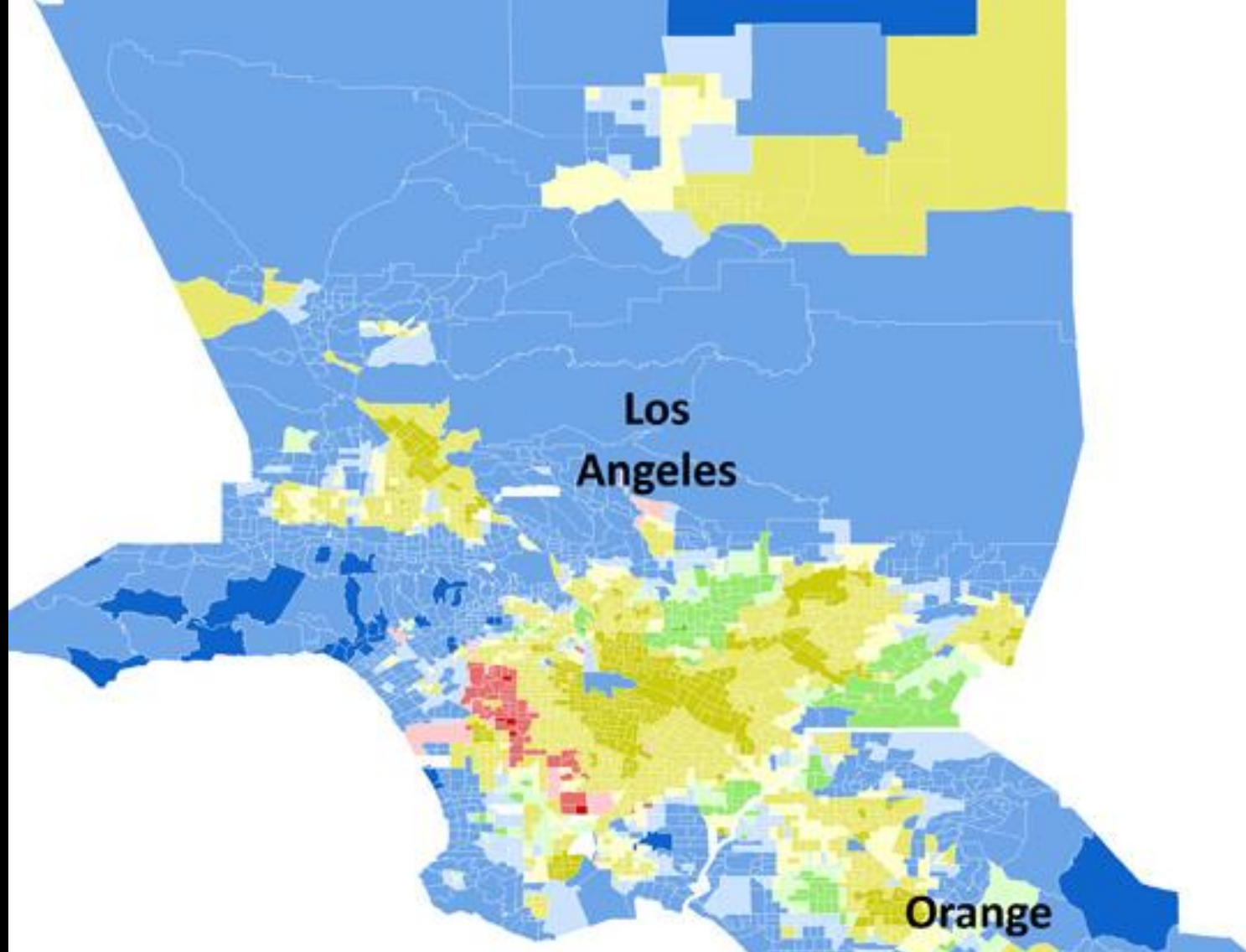
[Hurricanes & Tropical Storms](#)



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

SOURCE: La Crosse Tribune

10-28-16

Lacrosse, Wisconsin mayor acknowledges it was a Sundown Town and plans to issue apology

Breaking News

tags: sundown town

34
Shares



34

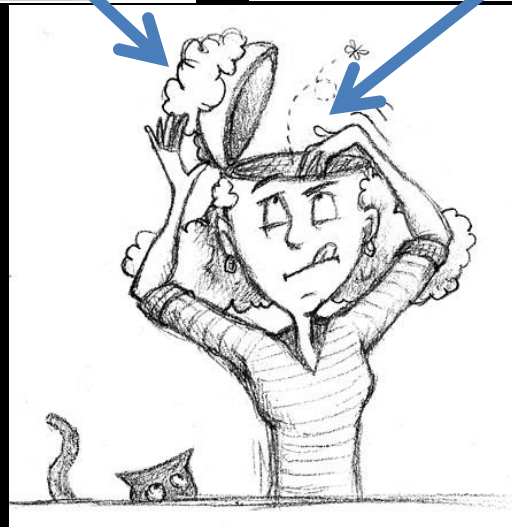
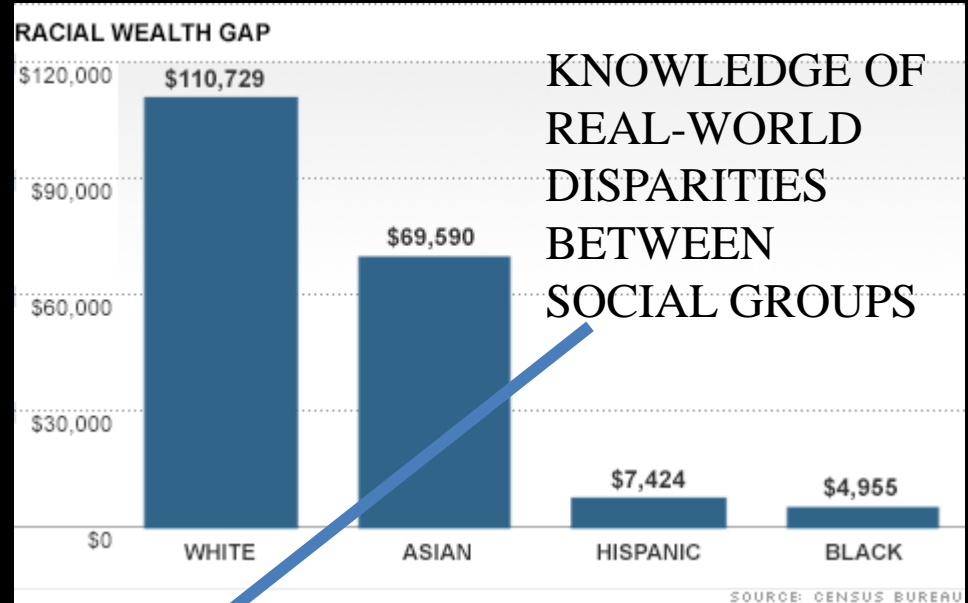


La Crosse’s mayor has acknowledged his city’s history as a “sundown town” that all but eliminated its black population and promised to make amends.

“We’ve got issues and are not shirking away from those issues,” Mayor Tim Kabat said. “We recognize this is a problem and need to do something about it.”

Sociologist James Loewen, author of “Lies My Teacher Told Me” and most recently “Sundown Towns,” spoke Thursday evening at a City Hall forum about La Crosse’s history of freezing out blacks.

Background Causes of Bias



But not just “what’s in the air”

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

undergrad women who have women math and science profs
→ reduced implicit gender bias

undergrad men who have women math and science profs
→ no reduction in bias

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 as “residue”)
- Implicit bias + normalizing prejudice → explicit bias (implicit bias as “raw material” for building explicit)

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)

“Research has found that this gut feeling usually does NOT reflect people’s genuine attitude towards homosexuality.”

→ Support 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!)

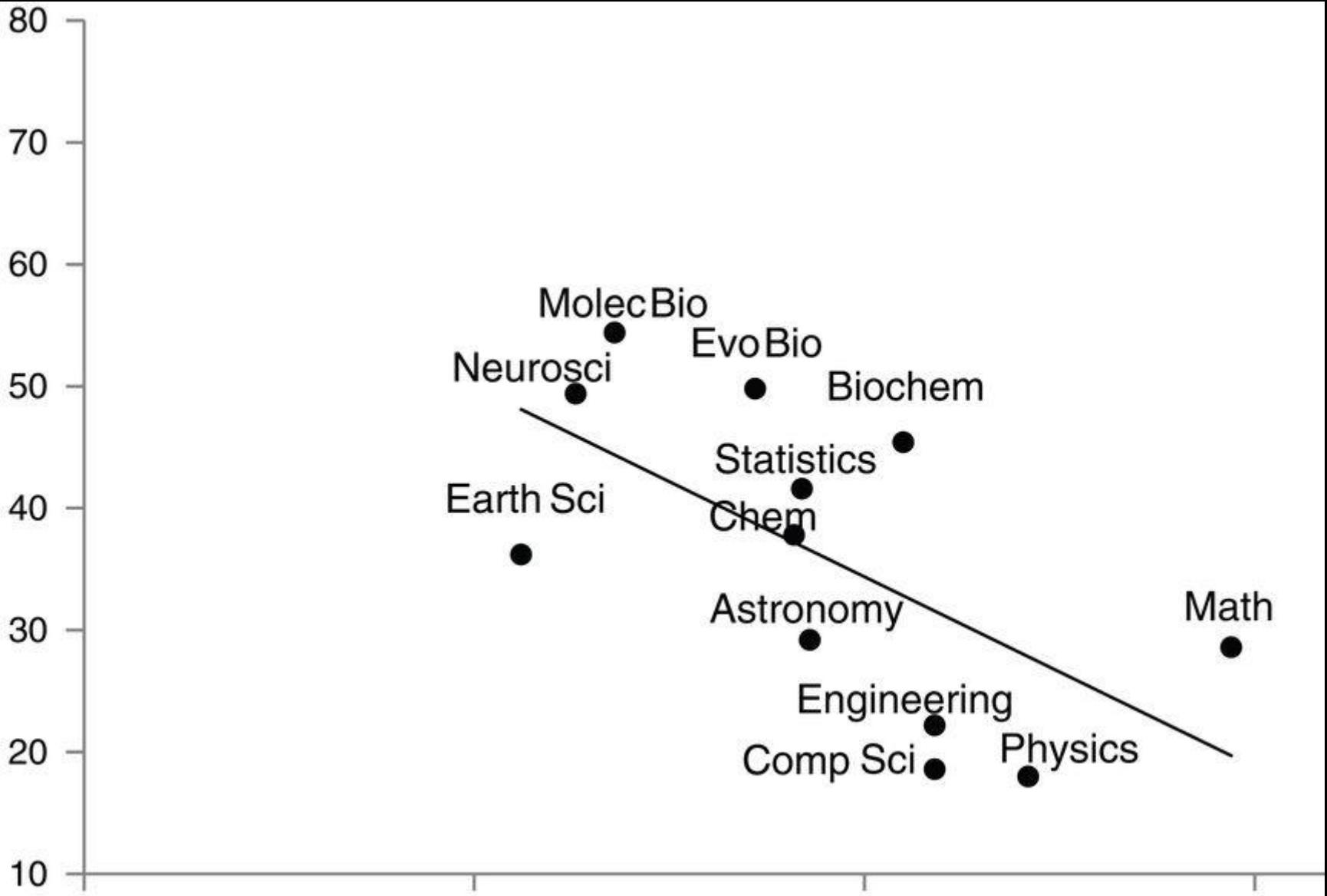


Discipline-Specific Stereotypes

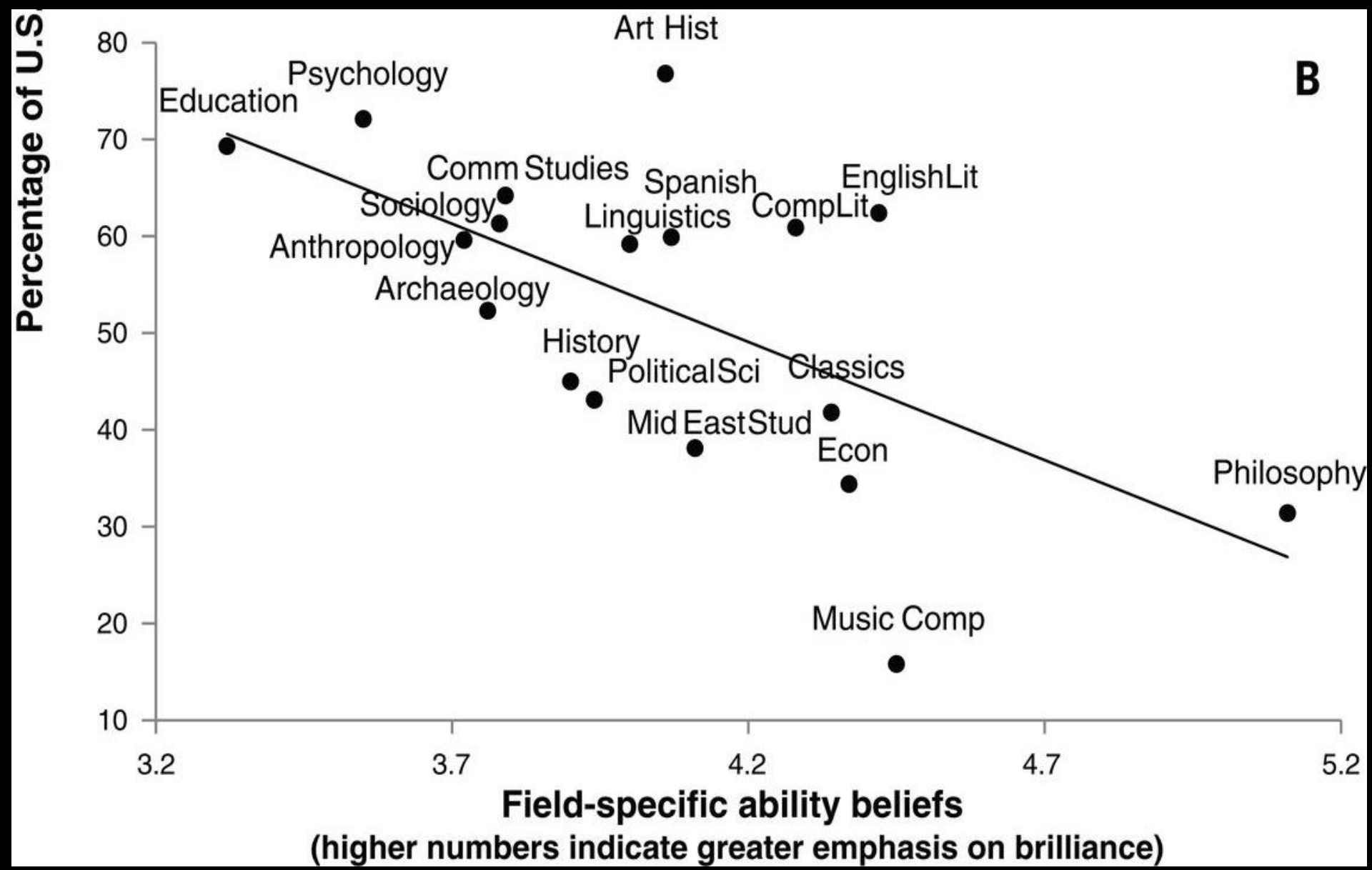
(Leslie et al. 2015; Meyer et al. 2015; Storage et al. 2016; Bian et al. 2017)

- What does it take to succeed in your discipline?
- Nationwide survey of 1,820 faculty, postdocs, grad students from 30 disciplines
- Hard work? (Number of hours per week)
- Selectivity? (% of grad students admitted)
- Average GRE scores of PhD applicants?
- Field-Ability Beliefs: “Being a top scholar of [philosophy] requires a special aptitude that just can’t be taught”
- “Even though it’s not politically correct to say it, men are often more suited than women to do high-level work in [philosophy].”

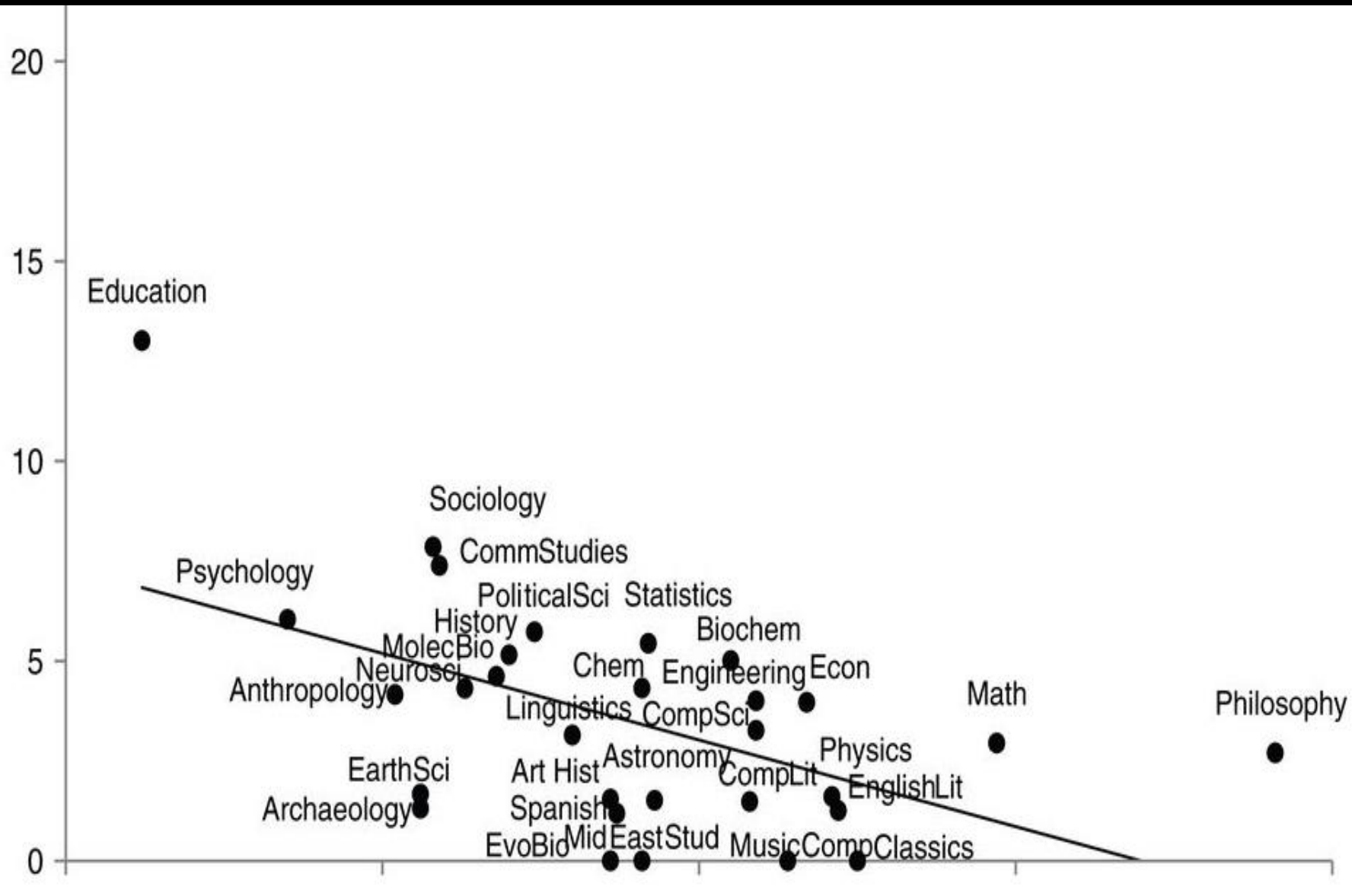
Ph.D.'s who are female



→ Emphasis on brilliance →

B

% of PhDs who are African American

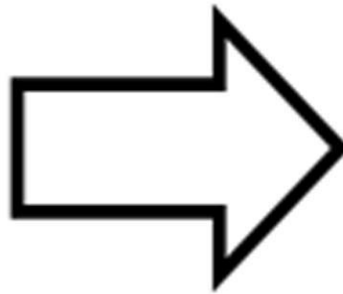


Field-specific Ability Beliefs:

Belief that success in a field relies on raw ability/aptitude

Cultural Stereotyping of Gender and Ability:

Belief that men are more likely than women to possess raw ability/aptitude



Gender Gaps in Academic Fields:

Women are underrepresented in fields that emphasize the need for raw ability/aptitude rather than effort

Same gender-brilliance bias found in evals on [RateMyProfessor.com](https://www.ratemyprofessor.com)

The Accumulation of (Dis)advantage

Valian (1998)

- Members of some groups (e.g., white men) are frequently a little bit overrated.
- Others are often a little bit underrated.
- Small differences stack up over time to create significant advantages or disadvantages.

Computer Model

(Martell, Lane, & Emrich 1996)

<http://doesgenderbiasmatter.com/>

- Simulation of company with 8 levels, from entry-level employee all the way up to CEO.
- Began with equal numbers of men and women.
- Modeled promotions over time.
- Assumed a 1% bias in favor of promoting men.
- After many promotions, highest level: 65% men.
- “even minute disadvantages can have substantial long-term effects” (Valian 1998, 3)
- Are we making mountains out of molehills?
- “mountains are molehills, piled one on top of the other” (4-5).

Not just promotions: microbehaviors in communication

Lilia Cortina et al. (2011)

- Women—esp. women of color—experience more incivility in the workplace than men.
- “Paid little attention to your statements or showed little interest in your opinions”
- “Doubted your judgment on a matter over which you had responsibility.”
- Spoken to condescendingly, interrupted more often
- Women who endure these experiences
→ more likely to quit

Real-world field studies find that...

- Jamal and Lakisha are 50% less likely to get a callback for an interview than Greg and Emily, despite identical résumés
- White men with a criminal record are more likely to get callbacks than black men without a criminal record
- All-white juries are more likely than racially mixed juries to convict black defendants
- Black men are more likely to be later proven innocent by DNA evidence
- Black drivers and pedestrians are more likely to be stopped and searched, but less likely to have drugs or contraband
- Black (& Latinx & Asian) renters and home buyers are shown fewer units, and quoted higher prices
- Also less likely to get responses on Craigslist, and have to charge less on AirBnB...

... and On and On and On...

- Gov't officials (sheriff, congress, librarian) are less likely to respond to emails from black constituents
- Professors respond more to emails and online discussion posts from white men than from any other group
- Doctors provide worse medical care to black patients
- Black and Latinx children wait longer in the ER and get less pain medication
- Used-car salespeople start at higher prices and bargain less with black customers
- Black servers get less money than whites in tips
- Bus drivers less likely to let blacks than whites ride if they can't pay
- Ebay auctions showing black hand holding iPod receive fewer bids
- (One possible exception to these patterns!
Getting into college, maybe because universities try to push back against constant discriminatory trends...)



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!

Brainstorm in Small Groups

- What are some contexts where you observed, or participated in, biased decision-making or behavior?
- Did you do anything in the situation?
 - If so, what?
 - How was it received?
 - What might you do differently in the future?

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

What to Say, Concretely

(<https://www.luc.edu/safetynet/resources/bystander/>)

- *To the person acting not so good:*
 - “Could you clarify what you meant to say? What I heard you say was _____, but maybe you mean to say _____.”
 - “I wonder if you realize how that feels/comes across.”
 - “I know you well enough to know that you would not want to hurt someone...”
 - “I am saying something because I care about you...”
 - “What you said earlier really bothered me...”
 - “I don’t like what you just did.”
- *To the person being targeted* (for “everyday” bystanding)
 - “I didn’t like what so-and-so said about X at the meeting.”
 - “Do you want me to talk to so-and-so for you?”
 - “Do you want to arrange a meeting with you, me, and...?”
 - “Is everything OK?”

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...

Messages

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.”

Scenarios

- You are the Search Chair. Senior male faculty walks into meeting to discuss candidates and says, “So which one of these guys are we going to hire?” Do you say anything or let it go? If you say something, what?
- Equity Liaison says, “I think we should look at the women also.”
- Search Chair, “I’m looking forward to evaluating all the humans.”

- Post-interview dinner. Senior faculty member intends to say: “Now that the on-campus interview is all over, here’s what the day-to-day challenges of teaching at [Uni] are like”
- Actually said: “Now that this trash is done, let me tell you what [Uni] is really like.”
- A committee member felt uncomfortable in their gut, but did not speak up.
- Later the candidate said that single comment deterred them from coming. (“That guy said my work was trash.”)
- What might you say in this scenario?

Scenarios

- During interview, candidate asks about students at [Uni].
- Member of search committee says, “They’re like students anywhere. Sometimes you want to smack them over the head.”
- (Candidate thinks, “Wow, I am not coming to this school.”)
- What do you do?
- Another committee member says, “That was not a good joke. Actually, our students...” and goes on to sing their praises.
- Candidate reports that in that instant the candidate went from a definite no to taking [Uni] seriously again.

Scenarios

- What will I do if:
- one candidate (or candidates) appears to be receiving a more favorable evaluation than another (or other) candidate based upon either:
- a characteristic which it is illegal for us to consider; or,
- a fact about the candidate, their institution, for example, which appears to have been weighted such that other candidates with very similar qualifications seem to have been unfairly excluded?

Scenarios

- A Committee Member: “Well, this person is from a military institution. Do you really think they’ll be a good fit for us? I mean for our Cal Poly culture?”
- A non-committee faculty member in the department asks the candidate, “We have some good K-12 schools in this area. Do you have any school-age kids?”

Scenarios

- Interactive scenarios for MIT Active Bystanders
- More scenarios on No More
- Useful videos to show students, colleagues, etc.
 - Bystander Effect demo
 - “What Would You Do?” ABC News
 - Race and gender biases in bystander interventions

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

Impostor Syndrome

- Chronic feelings of inadequacy, self-doubt, and fraudulence that persist even in the face of information to the contrary.

(<http://counseling.caltech.edu/general/>)

- Perfectionist procrastination (anxiety getting started because “I’m not good enough to do a good job”)
- Perfectionist over-preparation (“if I put in enough effort in advance, they can’t know I’m a fraud”)
- Ignoring or downplaying successes
- Attributing success to pure luck

The Imposter Cycle

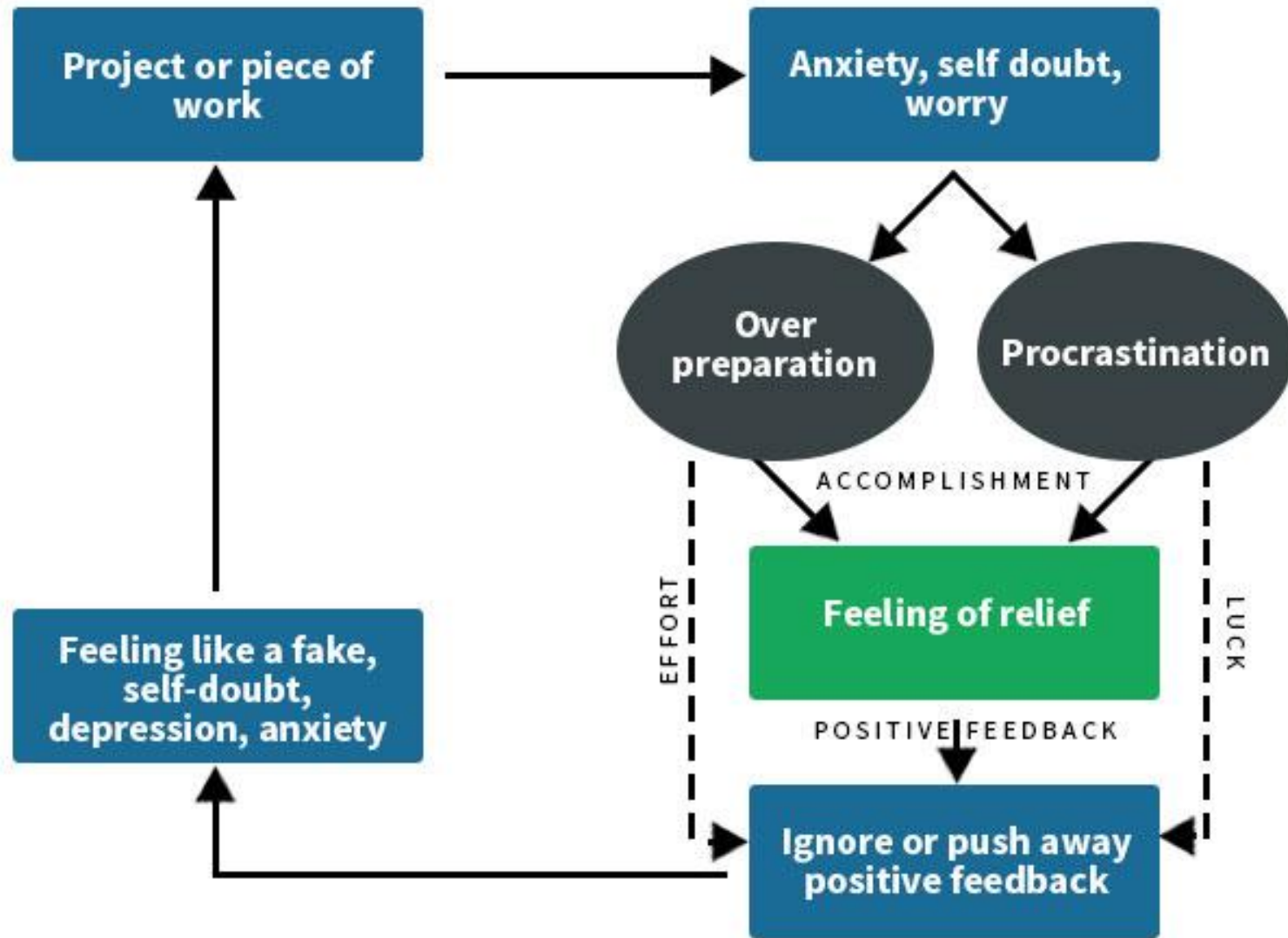


Diagram based on Clance (1985)

Retrieved from <https://thehustle.co/why-70-percent-of-millennials-have-impostor-syndrome>

Impostor Syndrome among High-Achievers

- “I have written eleven books, but each time I think, ‘uh oh, they’re going to find out now. I’ve run a game on everybody, and they’re going to find me out.’”
~ *Maya Angelou*
- “Any moment, someone’s going to find out I’m a total fraud.”
~ *Emma Watson*
- “No matter what we’ve done, there comes a point where you think, ‘How did I get here? When are they going to discover that I am, in fact, a fraud and take everything away from me?’”
~ *Tom Hanks*

Are We All Impostors??

- About 70% of people experience at least some moments of impostor self-doubt
- In many studies, men are just as likely as women to experience Imposter Syndrome (!?)
 - Do men tend to be better at hiding it?
 - Are men more pressured to hide it?
 - Do women and PoC tend to feel it more intensely?
 - Or are men just more likely than women to be perceived and treated as confident, competent, and belonging, because of implicit biases and stereotypes?
- What can be done about it?

Do's

- Own your achievements
 - Don't deflect, say "thanks!"
- Keep a record of compliments, support, and well wishes
- Label your stress
 - "This is Impostor Syndrome!"
- Talk about Impostor Syndrome with peers, mentors, and advisers
- Accept that you're not perfect

and Don'ts

- Don't dwell on comparisons with others
 - Take a social media break
- Don't just try harder
- Don't blame it all on luck
- Don't blame yourself for your second thoughts
- Don't make major decisions while you're down

Raising Doubt in Letters of Recommendation for Academia: Gender Differences and Their Impact

Juan M. Madera¹ • Michelle R. Hebl² • Heather Dial² • Randi Martin² • Virginia Valian³

- Doubt Raisers
 - Negativity (“somewhat challenging personality”)
 - Hedges (“might not be the best”)
 - Faint Praise (“needs only minimum supervision”)
 - Irrelevancy (“active in church”)
- Study 1: 624 letters for 174 applicants for psych TT
- Coders blind to study purpose read letters with all gender & identifying information redacted
- ~25% more doubt raisers for female applicants
- Even controlling for...
 - ... total pubs, 1st-author pubs, journal impact factor, # of honors, school ranking, # of courses taught, letter length...
- Study 2: Even 1 doubt raiser reduces rating of applicant

Honors, Awards, Raises...

(Treviño et al. 2015; Castilla 2008, 2015)

- Study on management faculty:
women less likely to receive named professorship
- Esp. when position goes to internal candidate
- Again: controlled for research productivity, years of experience, etc.
- Women with endowed chairs averaged significantly higher performance scores than men w/ chairs
- “Numbers” and “scores” are not enough:
- Women, Blacks, Latinx, and foreign-born workers paid less than white men with equivalent performance scores

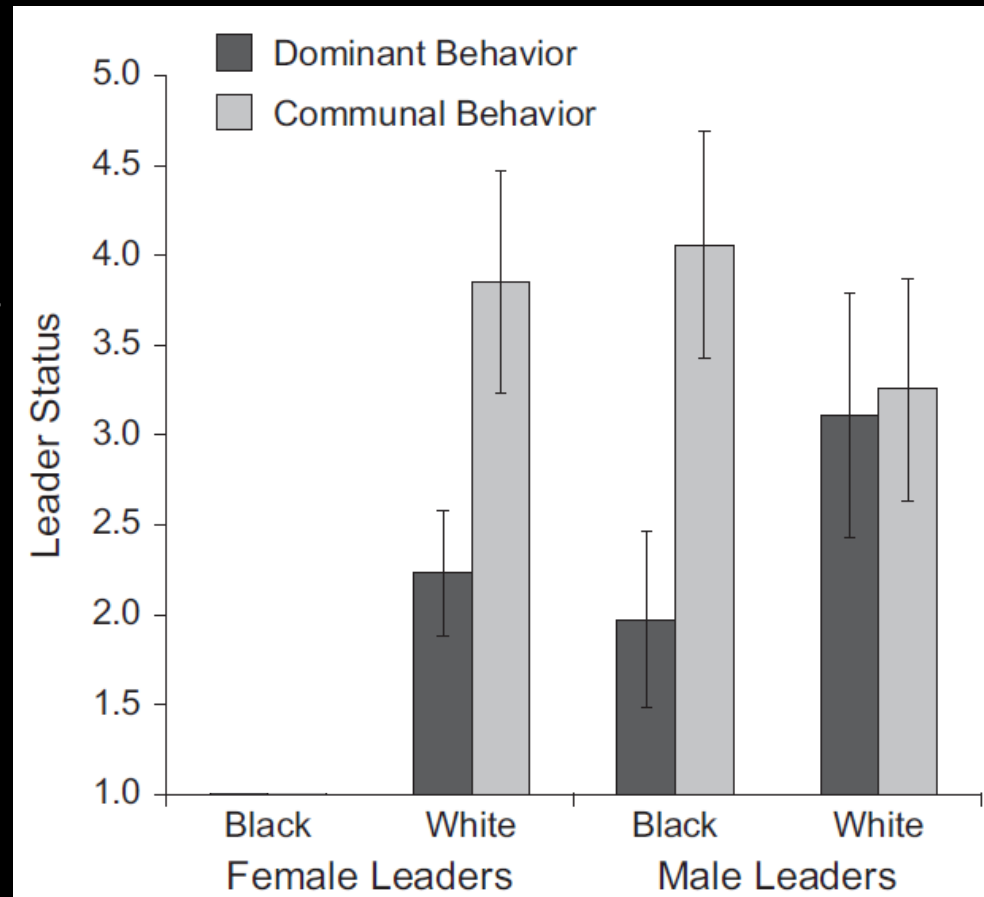
Student Evaluations of Instructors

- Women instructors receive the highest ratings if they are both agentic and sensitive (assertive/ambitious and nurturing/empathetic)
- Men instructors receive highest ratings just for being agentic (Arbuckle and Williams 2003)
- Women get better reviews in intimate seminars than in large classes (Martin 2013 interview)
- Very strong biases against both “difficult” and “unattractive” instructors (Wallisch and Cachia 2018)

Intersecting Biases?

Race, Gender, and Leadership Style

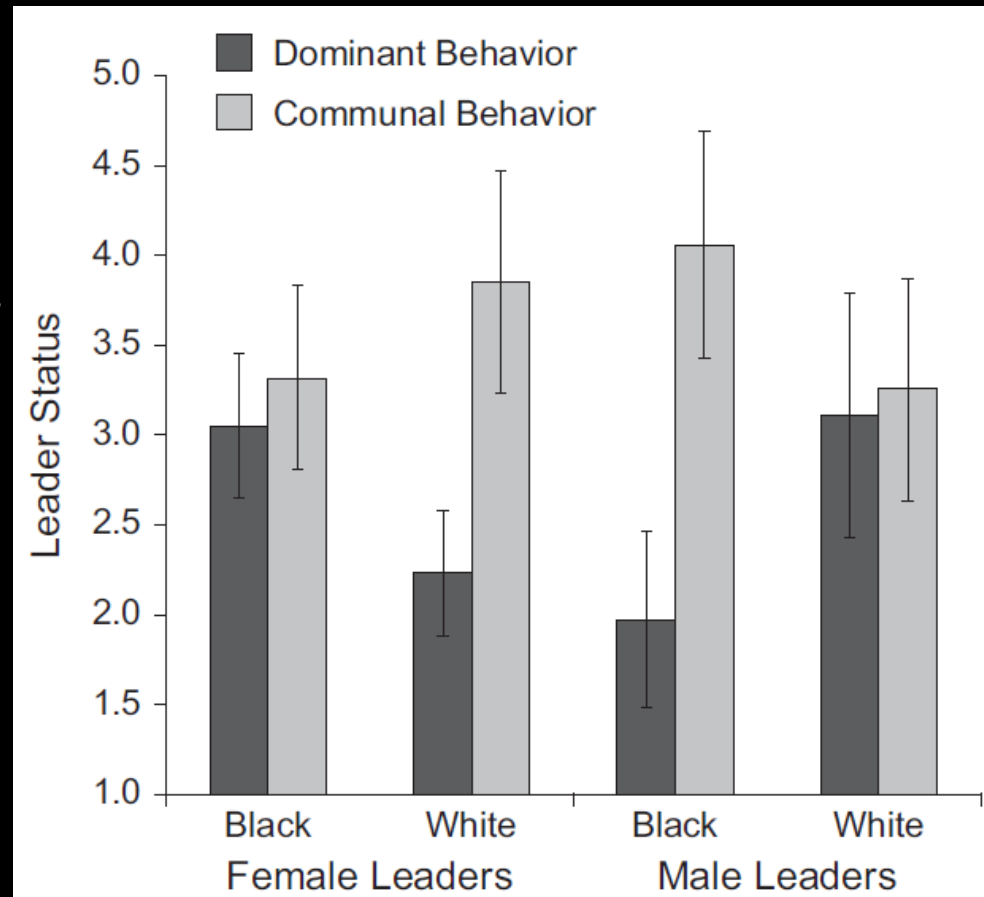
- Agentic and dominant vs. Communal and nurturing
- Leader says: “I demand [encourage] that you take steps to improve your performance”
- Participants were asked:
How well do you think the leader handled the situation with the employee?
How respected, admired, effective is this leader?
(Livingston et al. 2012)



Intersecting Biases?

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Opportunities & Obstacles at the Intersection

- “Black women are perceived as being dominant but not competent.
 - Asian American women are perceived as being competent but passive [not dominant].
 - White women are perceived as primarily communal without being seen as particularly dominant or excessively competent.
 - ... Black women are the least likely to suffer agentic penalties, whereas Asian American women... are most likely to suffer agentic penalties” (Rosette et al. 2016).
 - Black women are more likely to suffer penalties when they fail to be agentic (too nurturing)...
- Different patterns of expectation, favoritism, and discrimination for people occupying distinctive social locations

An Inclusive Academy

Achieving Diversity and Excellence

Abigail Stewart and Virginia Valian

Ch.2: Benefits of Diversity and Inclusion

Ch.4: How Careers Progress for Different Groups

Ch.5: Recruitment

Ch.6: Evaluating candidates

Ch.7: Retaining faculty

Ch.8: Faculty success

Ch.9: Evaluating & promoting faculty

Ch.11: Formal & Informal Leadership!

Aren't things getting better?

- Some studies find changes in bias
 - One lab study found that STEM faculty prefer to hire women over men when both are described as “superstars” (Williams and Ceci 2015)
- Others don't
 - Bias still emerges when there is more ambiguity (Moss-Racusin et al. 2012)
- Sobering meta-analysis of field studies on hiring
 - Whites receive 36% more callbacks than blacks and 24% more than Latinx (Quillian et al. 2017)
 - No decline in anti-black bias since 1989, controlling for numerous factors (applicant education, study method, etc.)

Biases about Ourselves?

(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
- Even apparently “positive” stereotypes can have problematic effects.