

The Science of Unconscious Bias

Toni Schmader
Department of Psychology
University of Arizona

Outline of Presentation

- Understanding unconscious associations
- Demonstration of our biases
- How unconscious bias affects our behavior
- Breaking free of biases

Being of Two Minds

Reflective system for controlled processing

- Conscious, explicit
- Effortful, requires motivation
- Takes more time



Reflexive system for automatic processing

- Often unconscious, implicit
- Requires little effort
- Fast



- Different neural structures distinguish the two
- Satpute & Lieberman (2006)

The Reflexive System Uses Implicit Associations

- Cognitive links between concepts that co-vary
- Bring one to mind, others are activated
- Activation can happen unconsciously
 - ...can be at odds with conscious goals
 - ...can influence judgment and behavior

Unconscious Gender Biases

- Unequal gender distribution of men and women in certain roles creates implicit associations
 - Eagly (1987); Glick & Fiske (1996)
- With domains...
 - Work = male; Family = female
 - Science = male; Arts = female
- That generalize to traits...
 - Male = independent, competent
 - Female = cooperative, warm



One Way to Measure Unconscious Bias

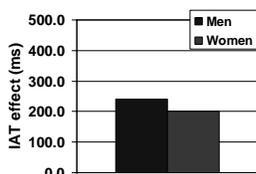
- The Implicit Association Test (IAT)
Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz (1998)
 - Measures strength of association between concepts
 - Based on premise that associated concepts will be easier to categorize together



Men and Women both Show Implicit Gender Biases

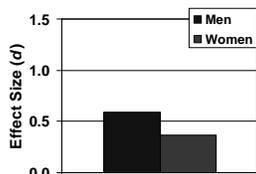
Association of
math = male &
arts = female

Nosek et al. (2002)



Association of
men = independent &
women = communal

Rudman & Glick (2001)



Data on the IAT

(Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2005)

Total N Effect Size (d)

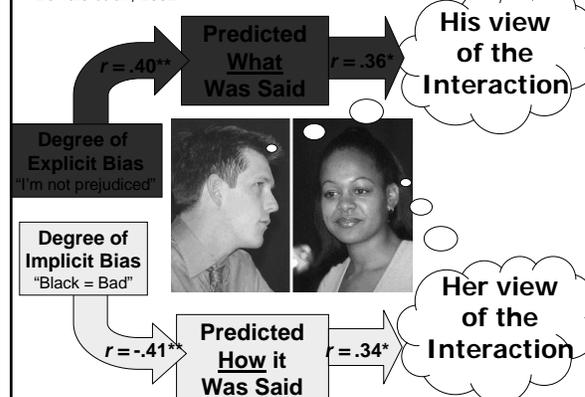
Category	Total N	Effect Size (d)
Yale IAT Web site	7,639	.05
Bush-Gore attitude	21,925	1.02
Black-White attitude	11,911	.86
Gender-Science stereotype	19,574	1.35
Old-Young attitude	17,929	.81
Black-white attitude	7,186	1.07
Dark-Light attitude	5,254	.73
Gender-Science stereotype	12,269	.93
Native-White stereotype	4,495	.34
Gay-Straight attitude	27,220	.78

In comparison, effect size for gender differences in complex mathematical problem solving: $d = .29$
Hyde, Fennema, & Lamon, 1990

Implications for Behavior

- Implicit **racial biases** predict...
 - Amygdala activation (fear response)
 - Phelps et al. (2000)
 - Lower performance ratings
 - Amodio & Devine (2006)
 - Avoid the other group
 - Amodio & Devine (2006); Phills & Kawakami (2005)
 - More negative interactions
 - Dovidio et al., (2002); McConnell & Leibold (2001)

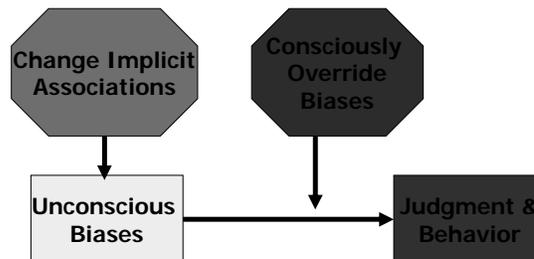
Dovidio et al., 2002



Implications for Behavior

- Implicit **gender biases** ...
 - Predict biased ratings of job candidates
 - Rudman & Glick (2001)
 - Might be manifested in letters of recommendation
 - Schmader et al. (2008), Trix & Psenka (2003)
 - Men are more often described with superlatives & as having ability
 - Women are more often described as working hard
 - Can contribute to women's weaker association with math
 - Even among math & science majors
 - Nosek et al. (2002)

A Two Strategy Solution



1) Overriding Unconscious Bias

- Be motivated to control bias
- Be aware of the potential for bias
- Take the time to consider individual characteristics and avoid stereotyped evaluations

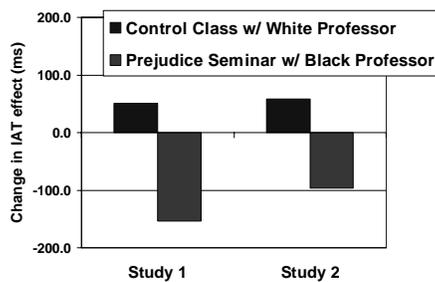
Example

When writing evaluations, avoid:

1. **Using first names for women** or minority faculty and titles for men (*Joan* was an asset to our department." –vs.- "Dr. *Smith* was an asset to our department.")
2. **Gendered adjectives** ("Dr. Sarah Gray is a *caring, compassionate* physician" –vs.- "Dr. Joel Gray has been very *successful with his patients*")
3. **Doubt raisers** or negative language ("although her publications are not numerous" or "while not the best student I have had, s/he")
4. **Potentially negative language** ("S/he requires only minimal supervision" or "S/he is totally intolerant of shoddy research")
5. **Faint praise** ("S/he worked hard on projects that s/he was assigned" or "S/he has never had temper tantrums")
6. **Hedges** ("S/he responds well to feedback")
7. **Unnecessarily invoking a stereotype** ("She is not overly emotional"; "He is very confident yet not arrogant"; or "S/he is extremely productive, especially as someone who attended inner city schools and a large state university")

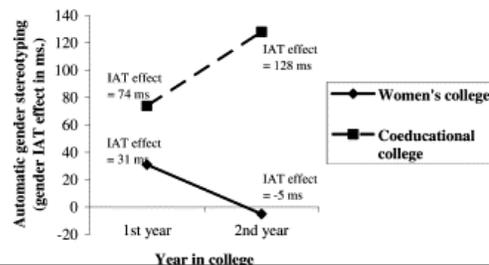
2) Changing Unconscious Bias

- The effectiveness of education (Rudman et al., 2001)



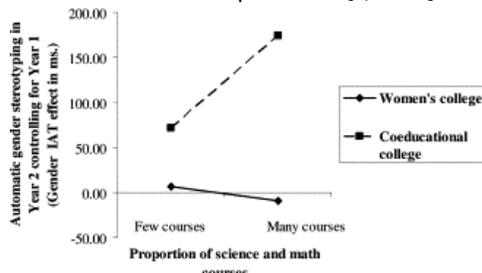
2) Changing Unconscious Bias

- The effectiveness of education (Rudman et al., 2001)
- The effectiveness of exposure (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004)



2) Changing Unconscious Bias

- The effectiveness of education (Rudman et al., 2001)
- The effectiveness of exposure (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004)



Take-Away Points

- Implicit bias is distinct from conscious motivation
- We all have these biases due to cultural exposure
- They can affect behavior unless we override them
- They can be changed with education and exposure

Questions, comments, insights?



Take other Implicit Associations Tests Online:
<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/>