Implicit (and Explicit) Bias and Positive Racial Identity Development

When does bias emerge in childhood and how can schools help to reduce it?

Shelby Cooley Ph.D.
Community Center for Education Results
Road Map Project Social Emotional Learning Symposium
October 7, 2016
Overview

1. Background and definitions
2. Measurement and child development research
3. Development of bias and prejudice in childhood
4. Evidence-based strategies to reduce bias in schools
5. Resilience of children and role of racial identity
Issue and role of research

• Millions of children around the world experience bias, discrimination, and unfair treatment

• Children are the victims of unfair treatment, and also the perpetrators

• Laws can change to prohibit discrimination, but negative attitudes are stubbornly pervasive

• Child development research can help us understand the origins of biases, the factors promote inclusion and adult behavior changes needed
Issue and role of research

- Accepting racial bias in peer contexts promotes acceptance of discrimination at the societal level
- Children who experience acts of prejudice have elevated risk for long-term negative outcomes
  - Lower academic achievement
  - Increased anxiety
  - Decreased motivation
  - Depressive symptomology

Misconceptions about bias in childhood

- “Children are colorblind, they do not think about themselves or others in terms of race”
- “Children only learn prejudice from their parents”
- “Children are selfish, they do not care about fairness or equality”

- Children can identify their own and others’ race from early in life
- Children organize themselves into peer groups and reject others based on their own stereotypes
- Children care very much about fairness, justice, and protecting others’ welfare
MEASUREMENT
Perception of race in infancy

- 6 months infants equally distinguish all faces across race
- 9 months infants show preference for ingroup faces and an inability to distinguish among outgroup faces
- Visual preference linked to familiarity
- Experience plays a crucial role in the development of the face processing system

Bar-Haim et al., 2006; Heron-Delany et al, 2011
I will show you 4 picture cards:

- Female Doctor
- Male Doctor
- Female Teacher
- Male Teacher

What did you see?

Martin, 1995; Ruble & Martin, 1998
6- to 9-year-old’s memory for stereotypic information

Children were more likely to remember gender stereotype-consistent occupations

Martin, 1995; Ruble & Martin, 1998
Clarke & Clarke 1947 Doll Study
Associations and Implicit Attitudes

Who is nice?
Who is mean?
Who is dirty?
Who is neat?

Ingroup bias when no other information is given

But, is that the same as prejudice?
Experiences with Prejudice

Qualitative studies using youth journaling to examining complex daily experiences with prejudice
Indirect Measures of Implicit Bias

- Social exclusion, bullying, teasing, harassment, name-calling and misattribution of other’s intentions if on the basis of race are all acts of racial bias
- Children often not realize they hold these biases
- How can we measure bias in common peer-interactions?
Biases in attributions

What is happening in this picture?

...and in this picture?

Could they be friends?

McGlothlin & Killen, 2006; McGlothlin & Killen, 2010
Example Study

• How does school composition effect 3- to 6-year-olds’ (N = 130) evaluations of interracial and same-race peer encounters?

• Are there age-related changes in children’s expectations about intensions?
  
  • 3- to 4-year-olds (n = 69)
  • 5- to 6-year-olds (n = 61)
  • White / European American
  • Evenly divided by gender
  • Diverse schools and homogeneous schools

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
Ambiguous Situations Task

- Picture cards depicting potential moral transgressions
- 3 test conditions

White -dyad

Black potential transgressor

White potential transgressor

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
Ambiguous Situations Task

• Picture cards depicting potential moral transgressions
• 3 test conditions
  - **Baseline**, intragroup
  - Attribution in **intergroup**, ambiguous situations
• 2 distractor conditions and 2 “self-interest” filler tasks

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
Measures

1. Evaluation of potential transgressor act (3-point)
   “Is he/she doing something bad, neutral or good?”

2. Evaluation of potential transgressor act (7-point)

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
### Measures

3. **Friendship Evaluation (dichotomous)**
   “Are these two friends or not friends?” (Y/N)

4. **Friendship Reasoning “Why?”**
   - Friendship history
     “They always play together”
   - Prosocial
     “Because he helped him up”
   - No intentions
     “Because she is just standing there”
   - Physical harm.
     “He pushed him and made him get hurt!”

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
“How good or bad is the potential transgressor for doing that?”

3.52
3.17
3.84
2.83
2.92
2.66

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Very good

3- to 4-year olds
5- to 6-year-olds

Neutral = 4

White dyad: 2.83
Black potential transgressor: 2.92
White potential transgressor: 2.66

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
“How good or bad is the potential transgressor for doing that?”

- White dyad: 3.52 (Very good)
- Black potential transgressor: 3.17 (Very good)
- White potential transgressor: 3.84 (Very good)

Survey questions:

1. How good or bad is the potential transgressor for doing that?

Survey takers rated the potential transgressors, with 7 being 'very good' and 1 being 'very bad'.

- White dyad: 3.52
- Black potential transgressor: 3.17
- White potential transgressor: 3.84

Statistical significance:
- p = .074

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep
Participants included 145 children, evenly divided by gender and across two age groups and 3 school compositions

- Young children 6- to 7-years-olds ($n = 72$)
- Adolescents 13- to 14-year-olds ($n = 73$)
School Diversity Matters

White children in homogeneous schools thought that “something bad” was happening more often in one picture than their peers

• Form of implicit bias

Black and White children in diverse schools did not differ in their interpretation between the two pictures

• Also optimistic about inter-racial friendship
Race relations through a child's eyes

Source: CNN
What are your thoughts on the views expressed by kids in this study?
DEVELOPMENT OF BIAS
### Prejudice does not simply appear

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Undifferentiated</th>
<th>Awareness</th>
<th>Preference</th>
<th>Prejudice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young Infants equally distinguish in- and outgroup faces.</td>
<td>Early childhood visual attention for ingroup faces</td>
<td>4- to 5-year-olds can express racial &amp; ethnic preferences.</td>
<td>7- to 9-year olds ethnic prejudice may manifest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience plays a crucial role in the development of the face processing system</td>
<td>Aware of group memberships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race is a salient feature even in early life</td>
<td>This leads to a desire to portray the ingroup positively</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May manifest in outgroup derogation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased prejudice if peer group has a norm of exclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competition and perception of threat</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kinzler & Spelke, 2011; Cooley, Eleenbass & Killen, 2016; Nesdale, 2004; Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin & Maass, 2007
Prejudice does not simply appear

Children’s identification with a social group leads to a preference for the ingroup, yet there are the events, contexts and perceptions that lead to prejudice.

Nesdale, 2004 ; Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin & Maass, 2007
Influence

- Media
- Family
- Peers
- Teachers & Adults in School
- Community
Influence

Sifting through conflicting messages about race

They actively interpret these messages

Adopt the beliefs about race that fit their own experiences and interpretation of the world
REDUCING BIAS
Schools are critical in reducing bias

- Biases are expressed through peer exclusion and discrimination in schools

- Teachers can help reduce biases

  - Set up students for positive inter-racial friendships
  - Prepare students to detect biases
  - Encouraging consideration of fairness and justice
Encouraging Diverse Friendships

Interacting with peers of diverse backgrounds is most likely to result in friendships when these four conditions are present:

- Cooperation
- Equal status
- Joint goal
- Adult support

Allport, 1954
Example Classroom Activity

Cooperation: The interaction is cooperative
Multi-racial groups of 4-6 students

Equal status: Both groups “come in” with equal status
Established with a new activity where both groups can excel

Joint goal: Everyone is working toward a joint goal
Student gain expertise about one feature of the project and
the opportunity to teach it to the rest of the group

Adult support: Students feel like teachers support friendships
Evaluation is based on how well the group improves the
performance of each individual member

Allport, 1954; Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005
Teacher Perception Tool

www.tolerance.org/teacher-perception-tool
Jigsaw Classroom
www.jigsaw.org

Sesame Street
www.sesamestreet.org

All Together Now
www.alltogethernow.org.au
Interracial Friendships Matter Most

Cross-group friendships are the most significant predictors of prejudice reduction

• However, cross-group friendships decrease with age
• Additionally, not all families live in ethnically or racially diverse neighborhoods and schools

Allport, 1954; Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005
**Promoting positive outgroup attitudes**

- Extended Contact hypothesis
- Simple knowledge of ingroup members being friends with outgroup members may reduce bias

- Extended Contact can focus on:
  - Decategorization
  - Common in-group identity
  - Dual identity
  - Intervention-based reading activity

Brewer & Miller, 1984; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2003; Cameron, Rutland & Housain, 2011; Wright, et al., 1997
Parents’ Influence

The “colorblind” approach is not effective

- Worry about creating biases by talking about race and systems of oppression
- But, children already have opinions about race
- Teachers and parents can give children the tools to notice and reject bias and discrimination

Talk about racial exclusion with children and don’t wait until there’s a high-pressure situation to resolve

e.g., Bigler & Liben, 2007
Summary

School diversity reduces implicit biases and boosts expectations for inter-racial friendship in elementary school.

Youth-of-color feel safer and less lonely, and report higher self-worth.

Adolescents with more inter-racial friendships are more likely to judge inter-racial exclusion as wrong, and to assert that they would intervene if they witnessed it.
Summary

Direct conversations about race in a safe supportive school environment promotes trust and positive attitudes.

Children and adolescents have more positive racial attitudes.

Young children-of-color schoolers experience less name-calling, teasing, in settings with a trusting adult.
Assumptions about who is “like me”

Stereotypes that other groups are “all the same”

Worries about being excluded oneself

Fears about rejection and fitting in
What makes these conversations challenging for adults? What are some structural supports that can help teachers and parents?
RESILIENCE OF YOUTH
New Directions

- Focus on children and youth-of-color
- Developmental changes in how children accommodate information from peers and parents.
  - Parents can contribute to the acquisition and maintenance of prejudicial attitudes
  - Also central in communicating positive messages about group membership

Nesdale, 2004; Pahlke, Bigler & Suizzo, 2012
Racial Identity Development

• Racial and ethnic identity development is a complex process of learning about social status, group and self.

• Central to children’s perceptions of prejudice and intergroup social exclusion (Brenick & Killen, 2014).

• Racial and ethnic minority children gain messages from parents about ingroup pride and messages about structural oppression, preparing children for the world of bias (Brown & Bigler, 2005).
Racial Identity Development

- Children with strong ethnic identities are more cognizant of covert bias in their peer groups (e.g., Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, 2016; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Yip & Douglass, 2011).

- Children’s intergroup attitudes are associated with their developing racial and ethnic identities (e.g., Cooley, Butler & Killen, in prep; Phinney et al., 2007).
Racial and Ethnic Identity Matters

African American children and adolescents with stronger racial identities evaluate covert instances of bias to be more negative than their same-race peers.

Children-of-color with stronger racial and ethnic identities are more perceptive of prejudice and intergroup social exclusion.

Brenick & Killen, 2014; Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, 2016; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Yip & Douglass, 2011
Final Thoughts

• Schools matter!
• Reducing bias in childhood is not an academic “add-on”
• Time spent promoting inclusion and acceptance is time spent helping children build the tools they need for interpersonal, academic, civic, and workplace success
• By adulthood, it is more difficult to change biases
• Childhood is the time to intervene!
Equity and Justice in Developmental Science: Implications for Young People, Families, and Communities

Social Exclusion Based on Group Membership is a Form of Prejudice

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, 2016
Resources

Society for Research in Child Development social policy reports:

www.srcd.org/publications/social-policy-report
Black Youth in the Road Map Project Region

Sample of Efforts and Organizations

- Urban League
- EOGOAC
- Washington Commission of African American Affairs
- School Districts
- Black Male Think Tank
- Highline College
- City of Seattle: Our Best
- UW: Brotherhood Initiative
- Black Education Strategy Roundtable
Black Youth in the Road Map Project Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Students</th>
<th>Number in Cohort</th>
<th>Percent Completed</th>
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<tr>
<td>9,674</td>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
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Completed a 2-year or 4-year postsecondary degree by age 24

Data Source(s): OSPI CEDARS student-level database via ERDC; National Student Clearing House (NSC). Data prepared by CCER
## Black Youth in the Road Map Project Region

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Students</td>
<td>9,674</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1,805</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4,576</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiracial</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1,587</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islander</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>1,228</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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*Completed a 2-year or 4-year postsecondary degree by age 24*

Data Source(s): OSPI CEDARS student-level database via ERDC; National Student Clearing House (NSC). Data prepared by CCER
Percent Road Map Project 9th graders who experienced one or more suspensions or expulsions in 2014-15

Data Source(s): OSPI CEDARS student-level database via ERDC; National Student Clearing House (NSC). Data prepared by CCER
Percent of 9th graders experienced one or more suspensions or expulsions in 2014-15

Grand Total: 14%

- U.S. Born, English Only: 14%
- African Born, Any Language: 14%
- U.S. Born, Multi-lingual: 14%

Data Source(s): OSPI CEDARS student-level database via ERDC; Data prepared by CCER
Percent Road Map Project Black/African American 9th graders who experienced one or more suspensions or expulsions in 2014-15

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Over 1-in-5 experienced exclusionary discipline in 9th grade

Data Source(s): OSPI CEDARS student-level database via ERDC; Data prepared by CCER
JOIN US TODAY!

- 10 Listening Sessions (Oct-Nov)
  - 6 Youth Session (4 male, 2 female)
  - 3 Parent
  - 1 Direct Service provider

- Brief school climate, family engagement and racial identity survey

- Open-ended questions on vision for positive school, existing supports, discipline data and race disaggregation.
Youth Listening Session Form

Thank you for participating in this listening session! Adults often make a lot of decisions, but do not rely on the wisdom of young people. They often make assumptions about young people, which affect your school and your identity. This will be a symposium. Participation is voluntary and parents or family members unless you do not want to participate. Please write down your ideas, what you think your school and your identity is like, which racial and ethnic groups would you use? You can choose as many as apply to you and write in if you don’t see your group.

I. Describing a new school

If you could design a school that you want to learn more about or study in what would it be? There is a new school in the building through words or images. You can write down your ideas, what you think your school and your identity is like, which racial and ethnic groups would you use? You can choose as many as apply to you and write in if you don’t see your group.

Please draw or write using large paper or a computer.

II. Describing myself

If you were writing a true story about yourself and wanted to tell people about your likes, which racial and ethnic groups would you use? You can choose as many as apply to you and write in if you don’t see your group.

Please check all that apply or write in:

- American Indian
- African American
- Hispanic/Latino/Mexican
- Asian
- Native
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Cambodian
- Indonesian
- Thai
- Vietnamese
- Chinese
- Other

Select one and write it here:

There are four reasons why I have chosen this one. Every time you see this word on a test it means being a part of this group.

After reading each question, check one box. If you don’t want to answer select “no answer.”

1. How much do you feel...
2. How proud are you about being...
3. How important is it to you that you are...
4. How much do you like or not like being...

There are people from all different places who are in racial groups. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- I feel safe when I am at school.
- My culture and ethnicity are respected at my school.
- I feel connected to one or more adults at my school.
- If I get behind my schooling, there will be an adult at my school to help me make a plan to get caught up.
- I am satisfied with the college and career activities at my school.
- My teachers believe that all students can do well.
- My teachers have high expectations of me.
- My teachers are clear about what I am supposed to learn.
- I trust my teachers.
- If I tell a teacher or another adult that someone is bullying me, that person will do something to help.
- My friends expect me to go to college.
- Students at my school are very respectful of my culture and ethnicity.
- Racism and bias is not an issue at my school.

III. Thinking about my school

IV. Black/African American Communities

A. Why do you think it is helpful (or not helpful) to look at communities would you improve these groups (e.g., the label or how they are represented)?

- Most people think that Black/African American communities are just as smart as people from other ethnic and racial groups.
- People think that Black/African American communities are just as good as people from other ethnic and racial groups.
- People from other ethnic and racial groups think that Black/African American communities have done important things.

V. School Supports

C. What do you like most about the school you attended? In what ways is this school different from the school you attended?

D. How should students feel when they walk in to school? What are steps that schools, parents, and communities can do to ensure students feel honored and engaged in school?

VI. What did you think of this listening session?

I enjoyed participating in this listening session. I felt heard in this process. I want to be involved in planning the symposium.

Additional Comments

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Page 3 of 4

Page 4 of 4
Listening Sessions
• School Climate
• Racial identity
• Adult Beliefs
• Youth experiences

CCER Database
• Pre-K
• K12 Enrollment
• Attendance
• Discipline
• Postsecondary
Listening Sessions + CCER Database

Regional Partners
Families and Youth

Collaborative Report
Symposium (early 2017)
Disaggregation Method
Thank you!

Shelby Cooley Ph.D.
Research Scientist
Community Center for Education Results

scooley@ccedresults.org
1. Question: Road Map Project Landscape Analysis
   - State and Local Government
   - District Administrators and Superintendents
   - Advocacy Organizations
   - Teachers and Service Providers
   - Family and Community
   - Black Youth

2. Prioritize: Youth, Family, Provider & Community member Meetings

3. Research: Test community questions, refine analyses & disaggregation methods

4-5. Engage & Make sense: State of Road Map Project Region Black Youth Provider Symposium

6. Strategize. After work been circulated, reconvene & reflect. What did we learn? What are next steps?

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   - State and Local Government
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6. Strategize: Youth, Family, Provider & Community Member Meetings

7. Act: Release summative research, intervention & policy recommendations

OSPI Disaggregation of Black Student Data per HB#1541

Community Collaborative Research Framework (Ishimaru & Lott, 2015; Pillsbury, 2015)

1. Question. What questions do we have? How will we use what we learn?
2. Prioritize. What data and convening process will help us attend to equity and answer our questions?
4. Engage. Include additional leaders, stakeholder groups and providers
5. Make sense. Hold collaborative inquiry. What does the data tell us? What other questions remain?
6. Strategize. After work been circulated, reconvene & reflect. What did we learn? What are next steps?
7. Act. Change policies and practices, build new relationships and discover new questions for inquiry