

Implicit (and Explicit) Bias and Positive Racial Identity Development

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

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Community Center for Education Results

Road Map Project Social Emotional Learning Symposium

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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



Kaiser, et al., 2009 ; Neblett, et al., 2008 ; Seaton, et al. 2012

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

6- to 9-year-old's memory for stereotypic information

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

Male
Doctor

Female
Teacher

Children were more likely to remember gender stereotype-consistent occupations

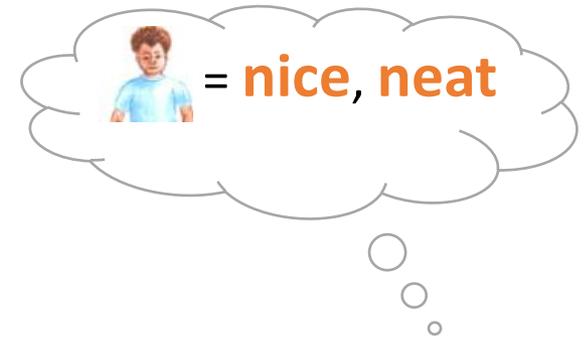
Martin, 1995; Ruble & Martin, 1998

Clarke & Clarke 1947 Doll Study

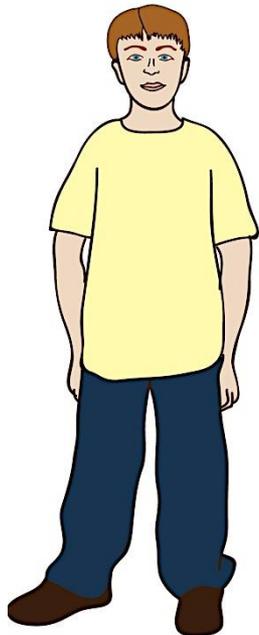


Clarke & Clarke, 1947

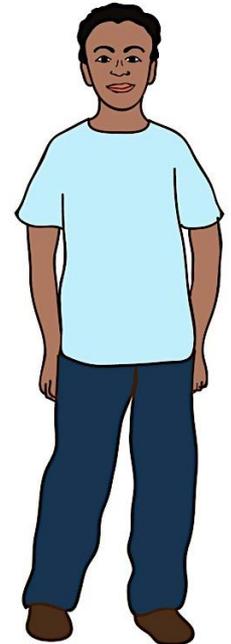
Associations and Implicit Attitudes



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



Charlie



Danny

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

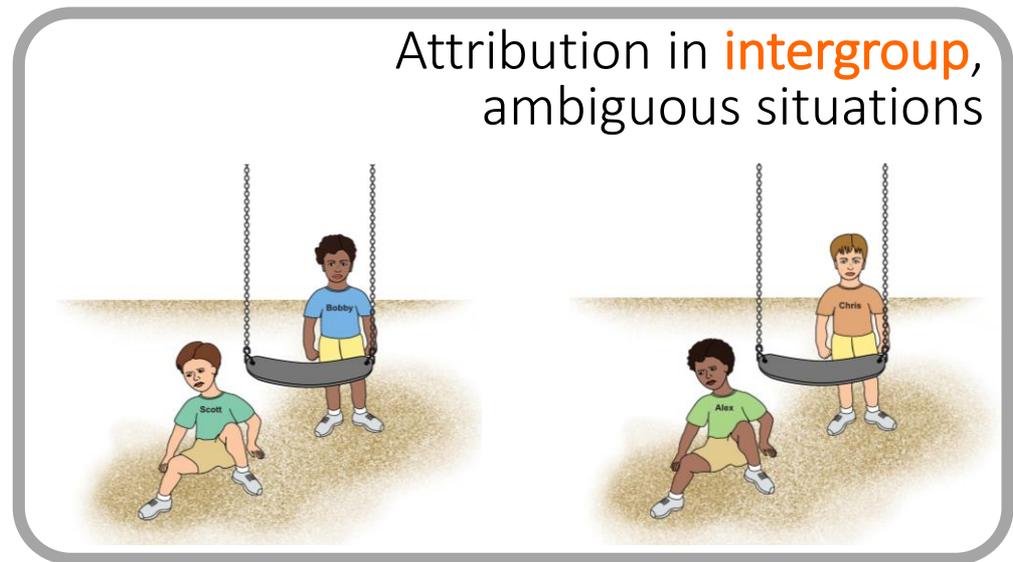


White potential transgressor

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep

Ambiguous Situations Task

- Picture cards depicting potential moral transgressions
- 3 test conditions

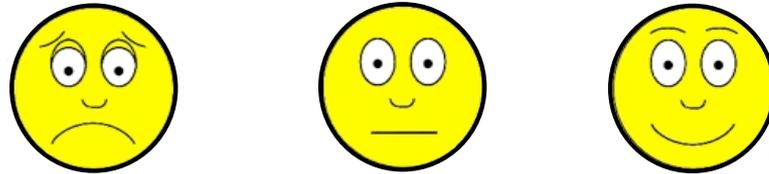


- 2 distractor conditions and 2 “self-interest” filler tasks

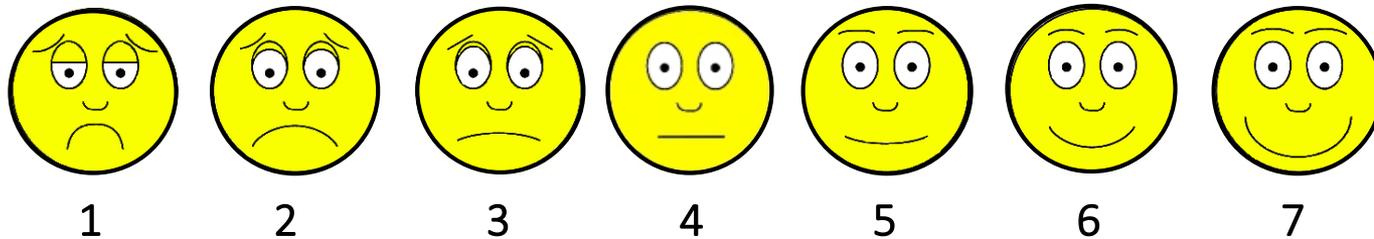
Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep

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)



1

2

3

4

5

6

7

How bad?

How good?

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep

Measures

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

4. Friendship Reasoning “Why?”



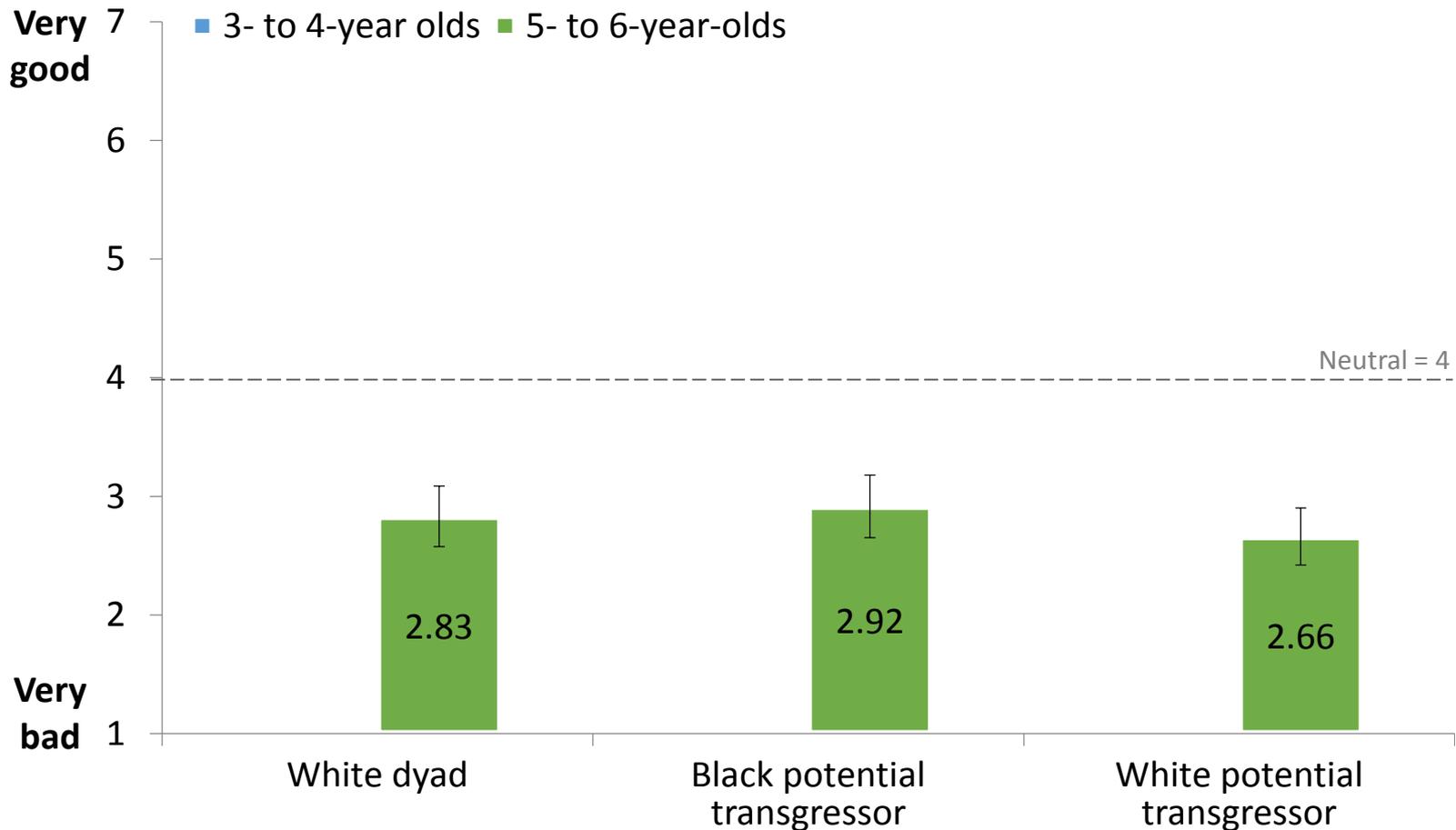
- Friendship history
“They always play together”
- Prosocial
“Because he helped him up”



- No intentions
“Because she is just standing there”
- Physical harm.
“He pushed him and made him get hurt!”

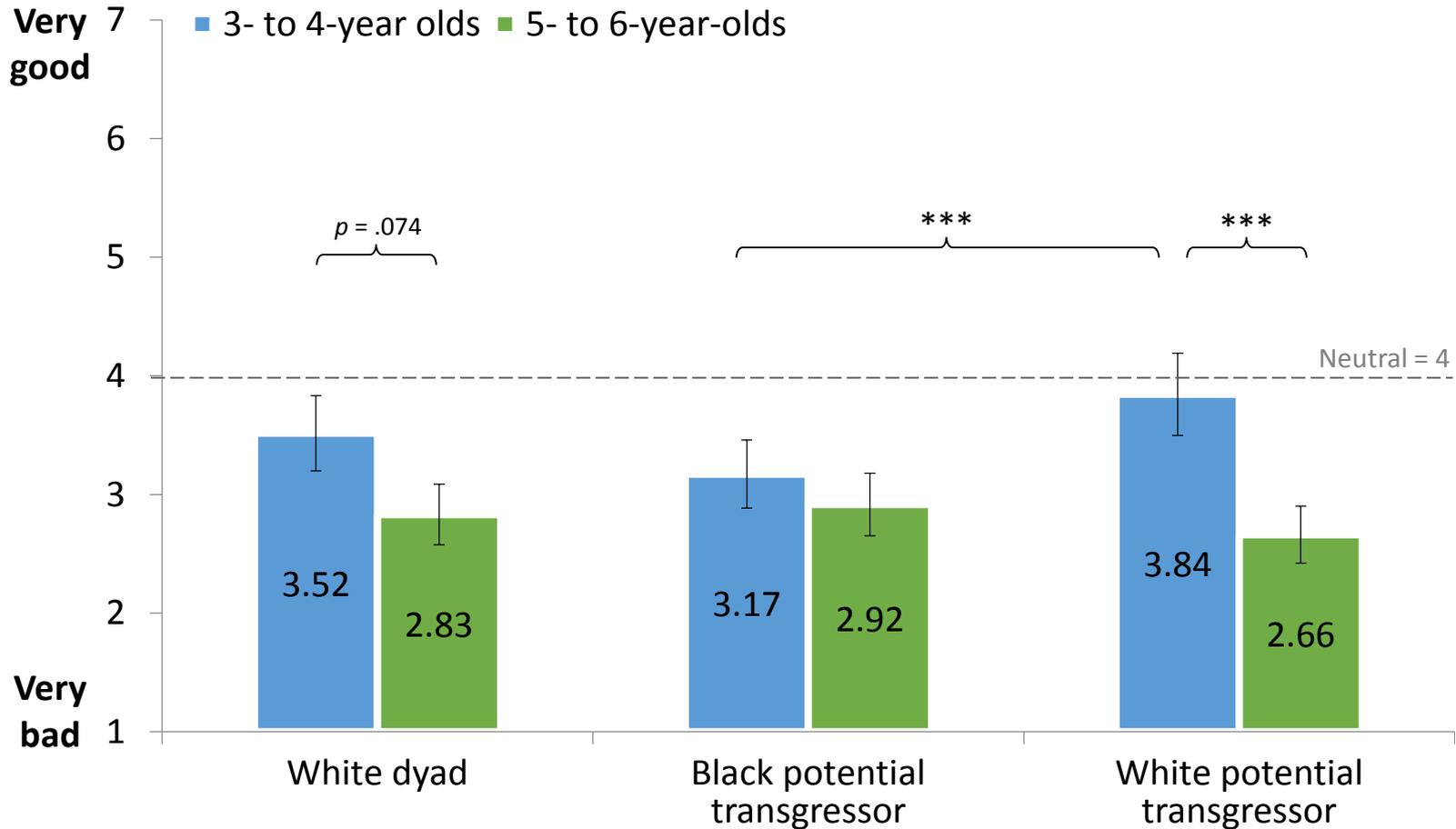
Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep

“How good or bad is the potential transgressor for doing that?”



Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep

“How good or bad is the potential transgressor for doing that?”



Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen, in prep



AC360: Kids on Race Consulting Project

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

A man in a dark suit and striped tie stands in front of a large screen. The screen displays the title 'KIDS ON RACE THE HIDDEN PICTURE' in large, bold, white and green letters. The background of the screen is dark with some faint, repeating text like 'KIDS ON RACE' and 'THE HIDDEN PICTURE'. The man is looking slightly to the right of the camera.

KIDS ON RACE THE HIDDEN PICTURE

CNN

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

Young Infants
equally distinguish in-
and outgroup faces.

Early childhood
visual attention for
ingroup faces

4- to 5-year-olds
can express racial &
ethnic preferences.

7- to 9-year olds
ethnic prejudice
may manifest.

Undifferentiated

Experience plays a
crucial role in the
development of the
face processing
system

Awareness

Aware of group
memberships
Race is a salient
feature even in early
life

Preference

This leads to a
desire to portray the
ingroup positively
May manifest in
outgroup derogation

Prejudice

Increased prejudice
if peer group has a
norm of exclusion
Competition and
perception of threat

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

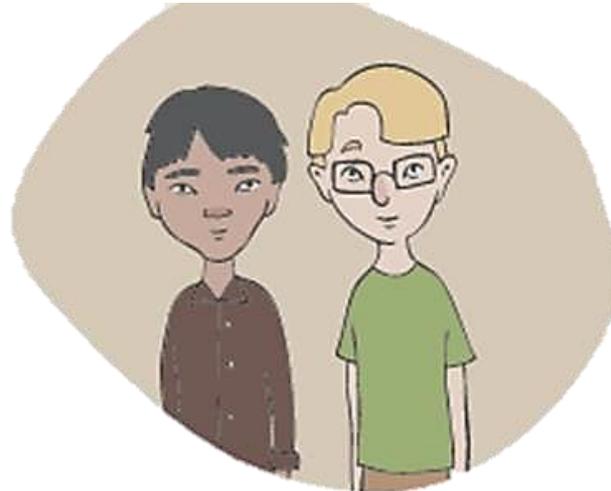
Influence



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



TEACHING TOLERANCE

A PROJECT OF THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER



Jigsaw Classroom

www.jigsaw.org



Sesame Street

www.sesamestreet.org

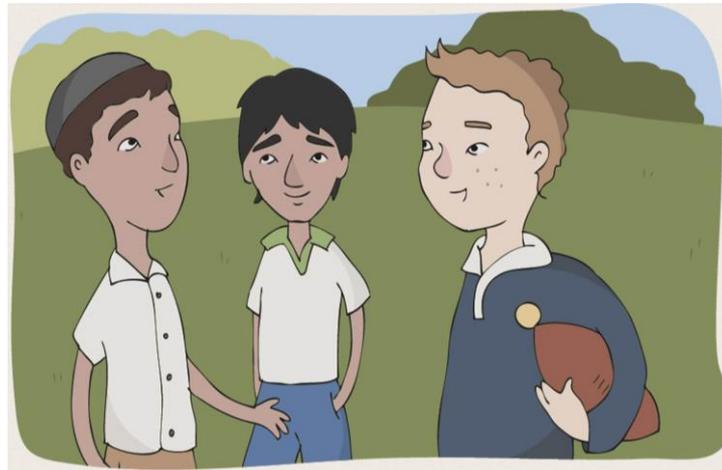


All Together Now

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.

Additionally Challenges

Elementary School



Assumptions about
who is “like me”

Middle School



Stereotypes
that other
groups are “all
the same”



Worries about
being excluded
oneself

High School



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.

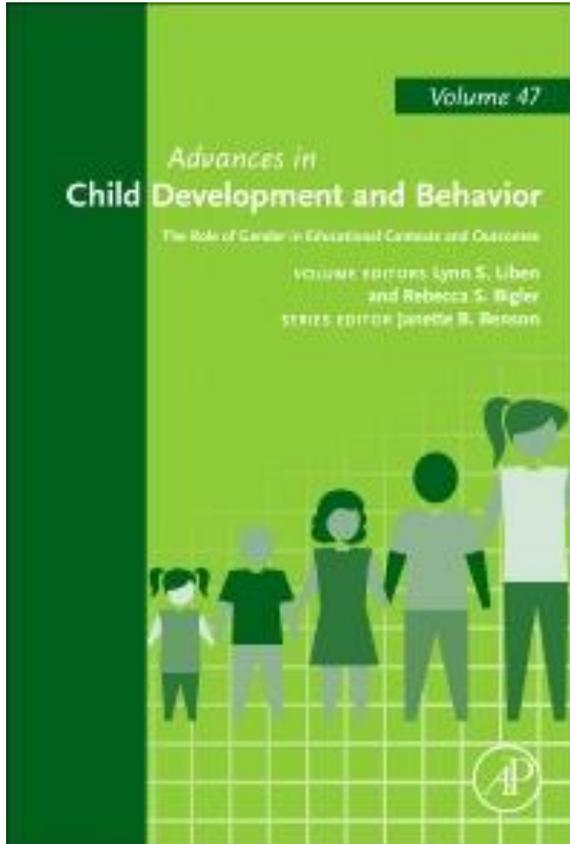
Children-of-color with stronger racial and ethnic identities are more perceptive of prejudice and intergroup social exclusion

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!

Resources



Chapter 4

Social Exclusion Based on
Group Membership is a
Form of Prejudice

Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen,
2016

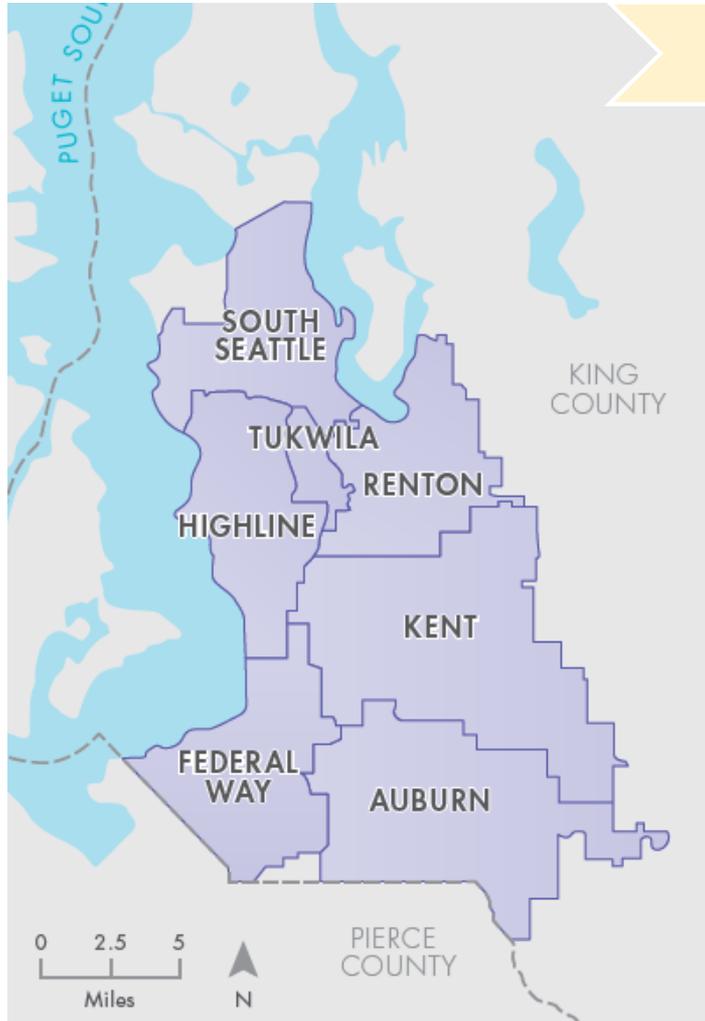
Equity and Justice in Developmental Science: Implications for
Young People, Families, and Communities

Resources



Society for Research in Child
Development social policy reports:
[www.srcd.org/publications/social-
policy-report](http://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

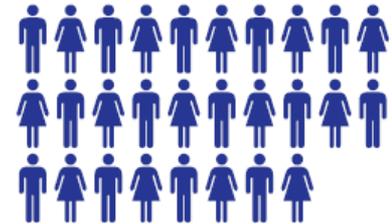
UW: Brotherhood Initiative

Black Education Strategy Roundtable

Black Youth in the Road Map Project Region

	Number in Cohort	Percent Completed
All Students	9,674	28%

28%



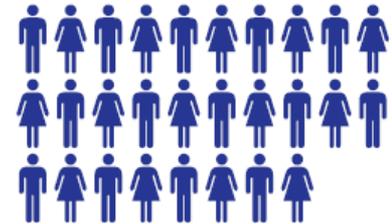
Completed a 2-year or 4-year postsecondary degree by age 24

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

	Number in Cohort	Percent Completed
All Students	9,674	28%
Asian	1,805	35%
White	4,576	34%
Multiracial	154	29%
African American	1,587	18%
Pacific Islander	121	16%
Hispanic/Latino	1,228	13%
American Indian	152	11%

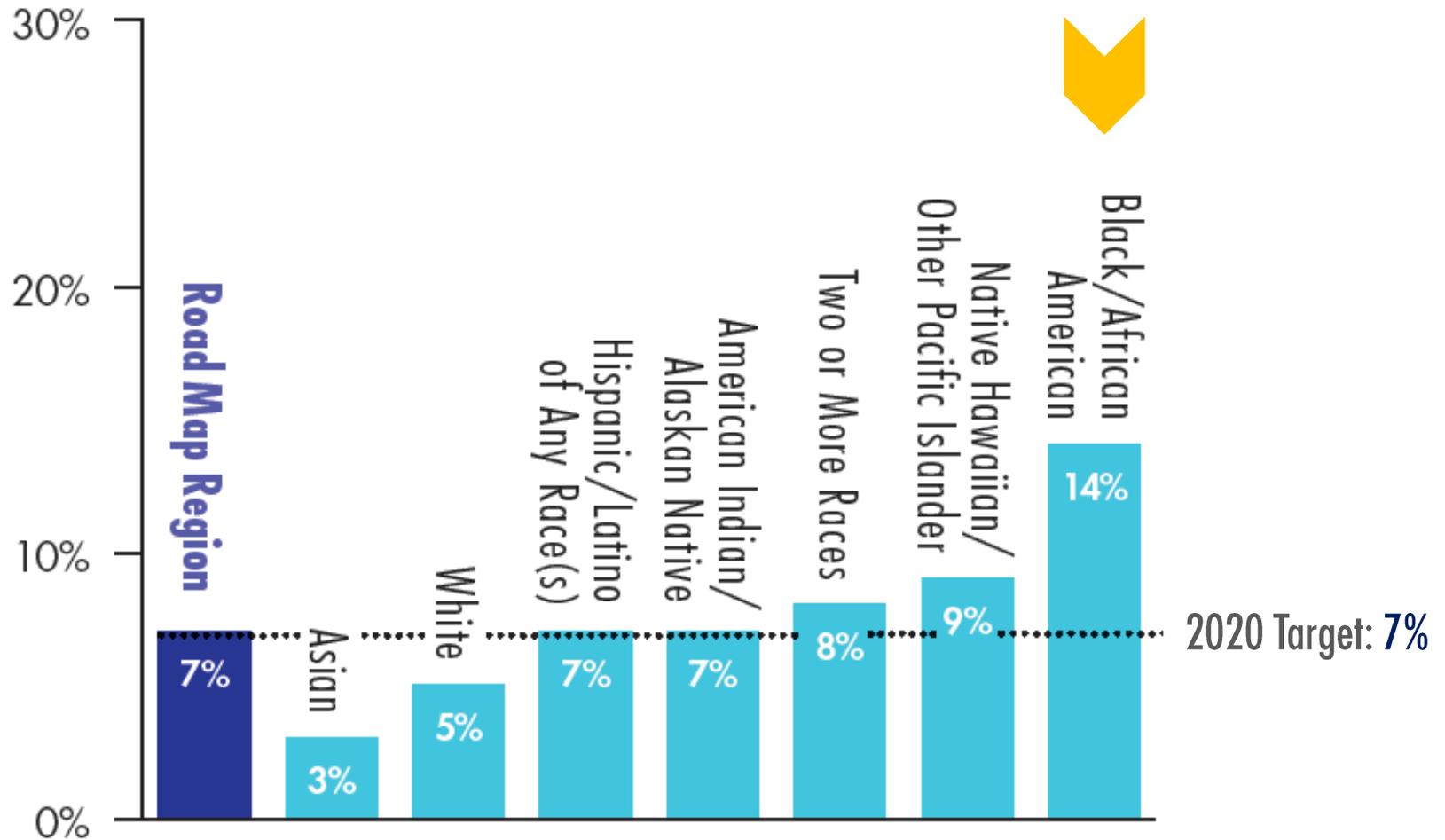
28%



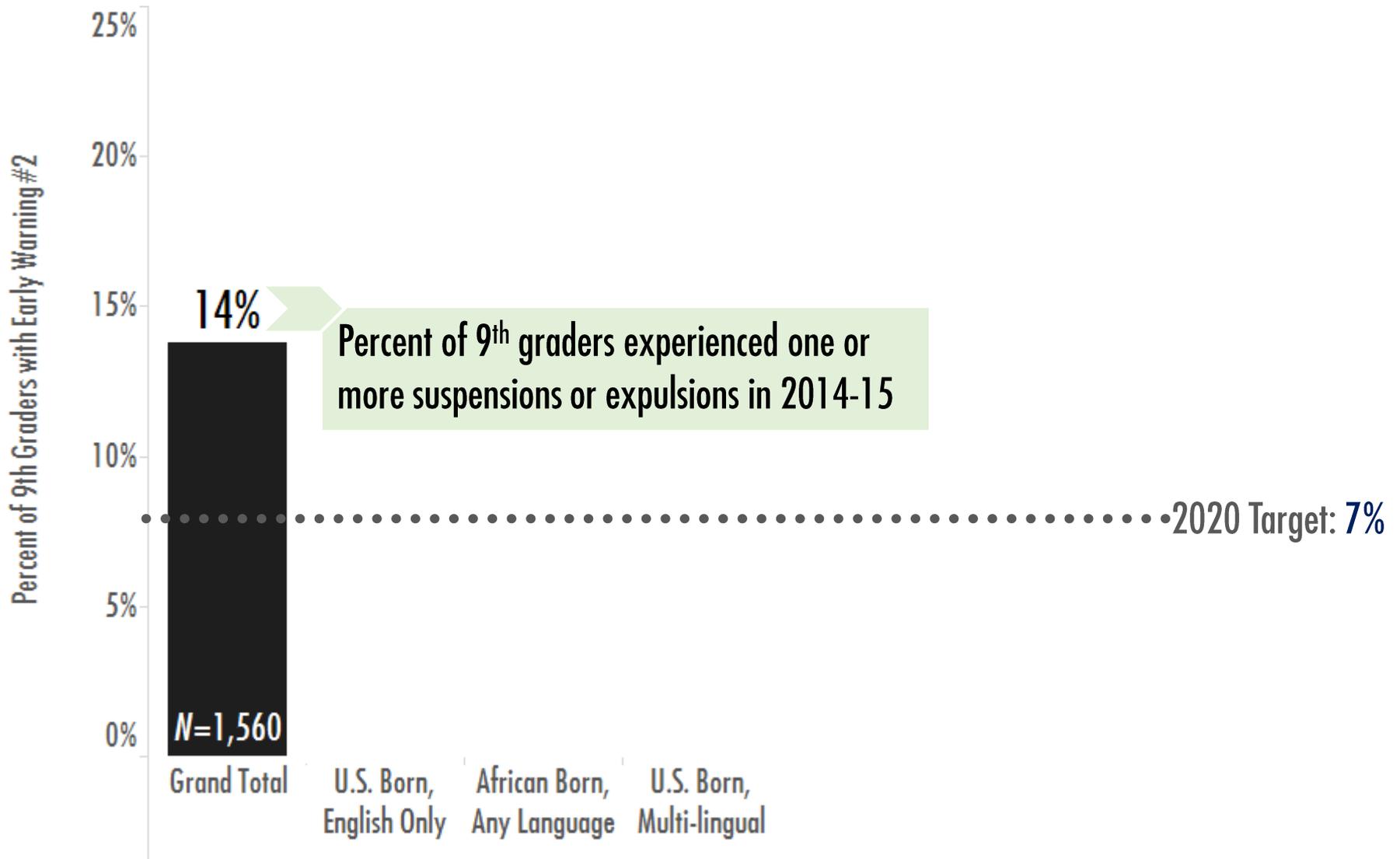
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Percent Road Map Project 9th graders who experienced one or more suspensions or expulsions in 2014-15

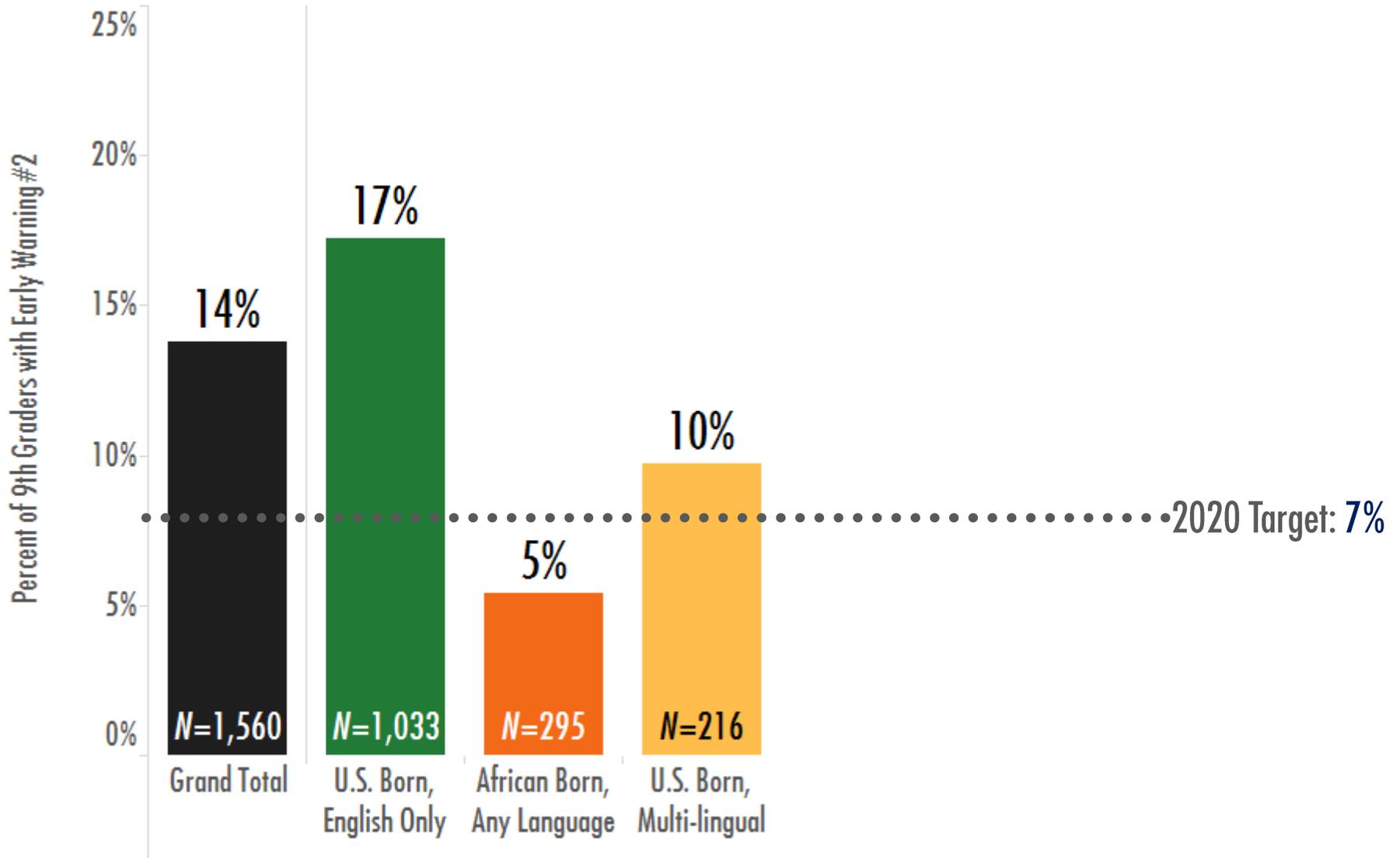


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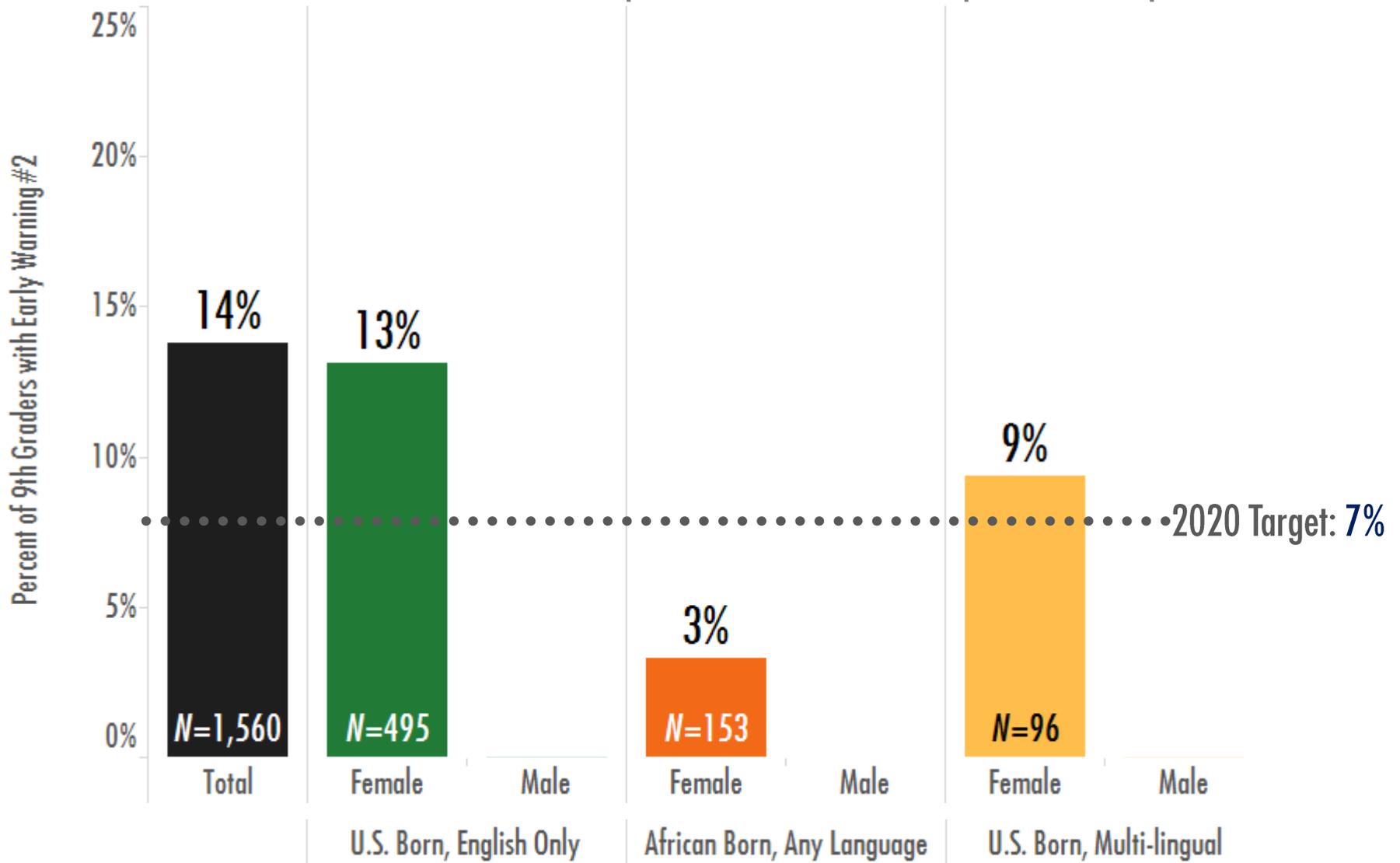
Data Source(s): OSPI CEDARS student-level database via ERDC; Data prepared by CCER

Percent Road Map Project Black/African American 9th graders who experienced one or more suspensions or expulsions in 2014-15



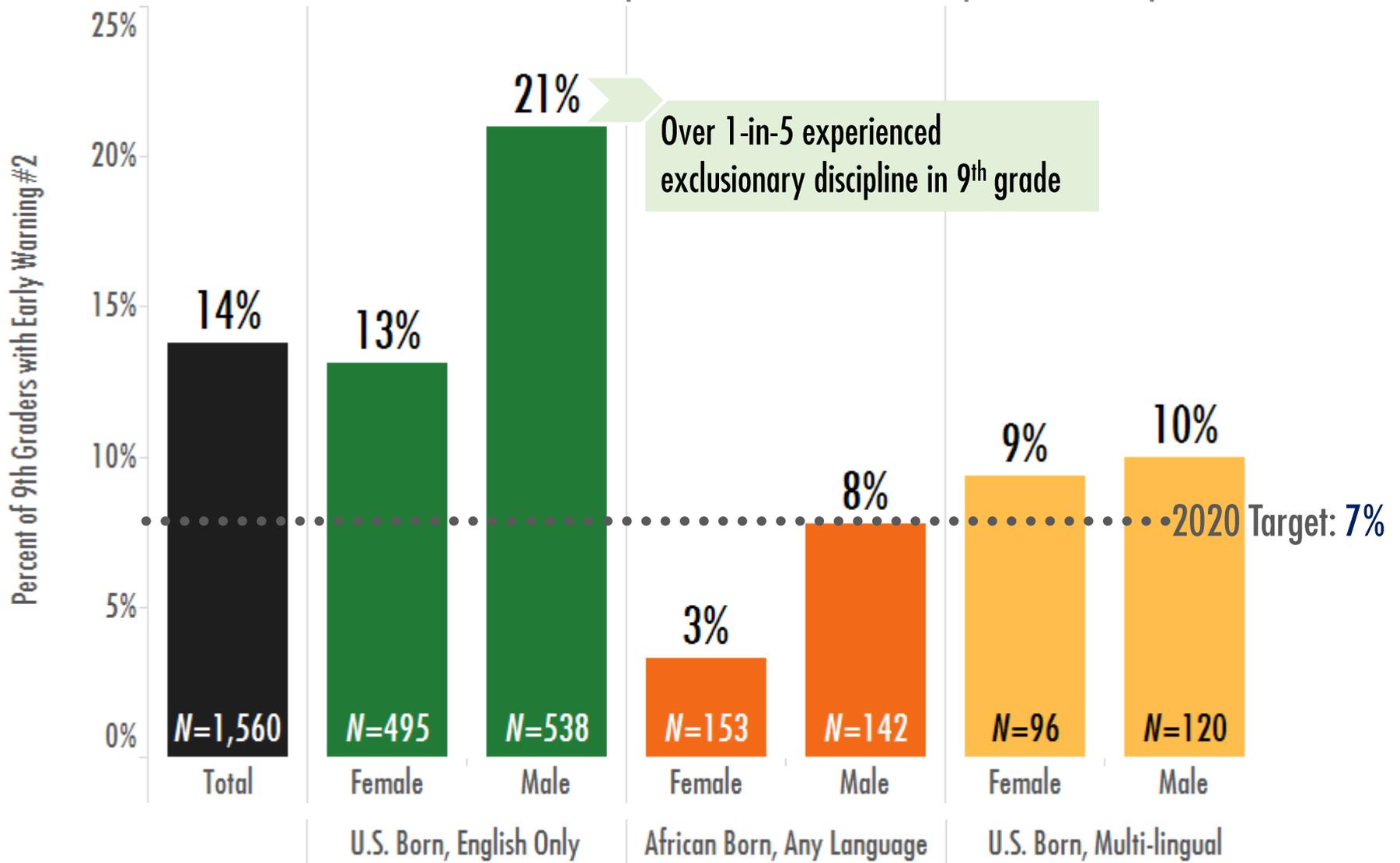
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JOIN US TODAY !



- 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. The goal of this conversation is to learn what you think about your school and your identity. This will give you a chance to share your thoughts at a symposium. Participation is voluntary and you do not need to have a parent or family members unless you do not want to. There are no right or wrong answers.

I. Designing a new school

If you could design a school that you would like to attend, what would it be like? Write down words or draw pictures that describe what you want to learn more about or study in class.

Please draw or write using large paper or a separate sheet of paper.

Page 1 of 4

II. Describing myself

If you were writing a true story about yourself and wanted to tell people about what you're 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 check all that apply OR write-in

- | | | | |
|--|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Black/African American | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic/Latino | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chehalis | <input type="checkbox"/> African American | <input type="checkbox"/> Mexican | <input type="checkbox"/> Korean |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tulalip | <input type="checkbox"/> Somali | <input type="checkbox"/> Honduran | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lummi | <input type="checkbox"/> Ethiopian | <input type="checkbox"/> Salvadorian | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nisqually | <input type="checkbox"/> Eritrean | <input type="checkbox"/> Cuban | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Suquamish | <input type="checkbox"/> Kenyan | <input type="checkbox"/> Puerto Rican | <input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Senegalese | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Taiwanese |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Haitian | | <input type="checkbox"/> Laotian |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ | | <input type="checkbox"/> Honduran |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> Filipino |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

Select one and write it here:

Thanks! Let's talk about **this** one. Every time you see this **★orange star** 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 some people who are from different racial groups. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

5. Most people think that ★s are just as smart as people from other ethnic and racial groups.
6. People think that ★s are just as good as people from other ethnic and racial groups.
7. People from other ethnic and racial groups think that ★s have done important things.

Page 2 of 4

III. Thinking about my school

How much do you agree or disagree with these statements? If you don't want to answer an item select "no answer"

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

⏸ PAUSE HERE PLEASE

IV. Black/African American Communities

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

B. We just looked at one small example, but what information would you want to learn more about? And why is this important to you?

Page 3 of 4

V. School Supports

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

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?

Thank you for participating! Your input and experiences are valuable and will be used to create a region-wide symposium on Black education in South King County as well as a report on outcomes for Black students. We will also send out a high-level summary of insights from these sessions to all participating youth, parent and direct services providers.

VI. What did you think of this listening session?

	Yes	Somewhat	No
I enjoyed participating in this listening session	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt heard in this process	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want to be involved in planning the symposium	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Additional Comments

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!

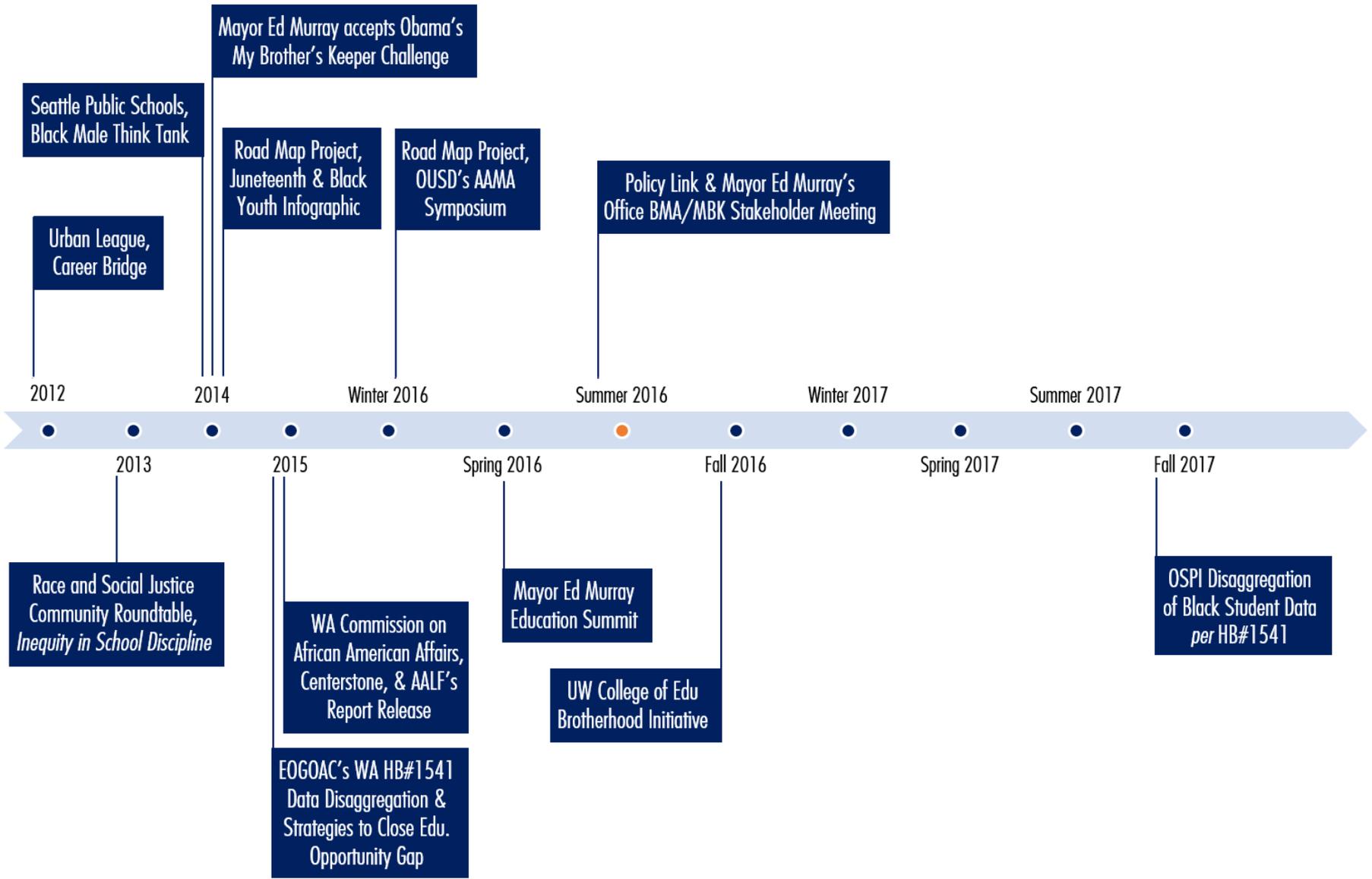
Shelby Cooley Ph.D.

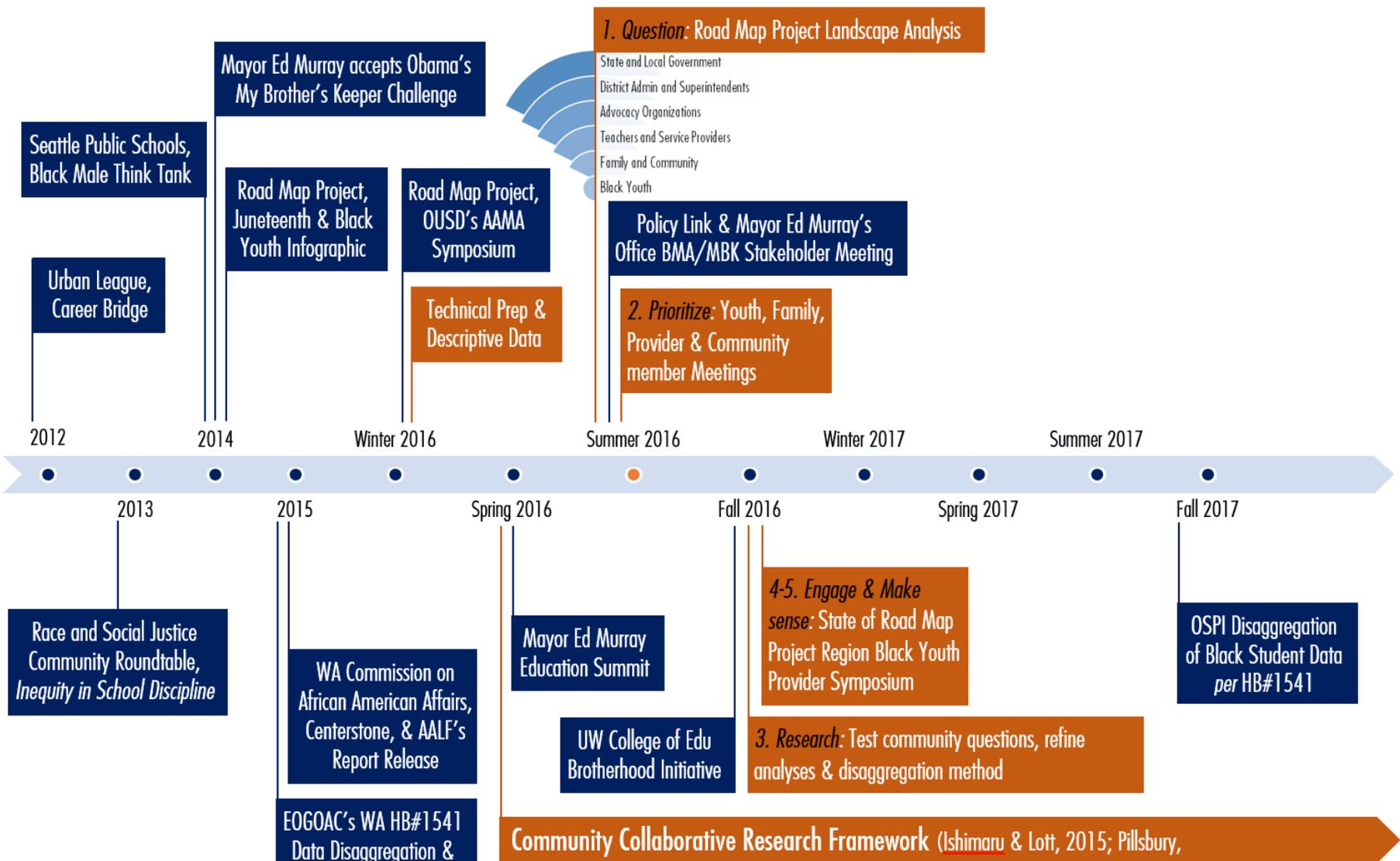
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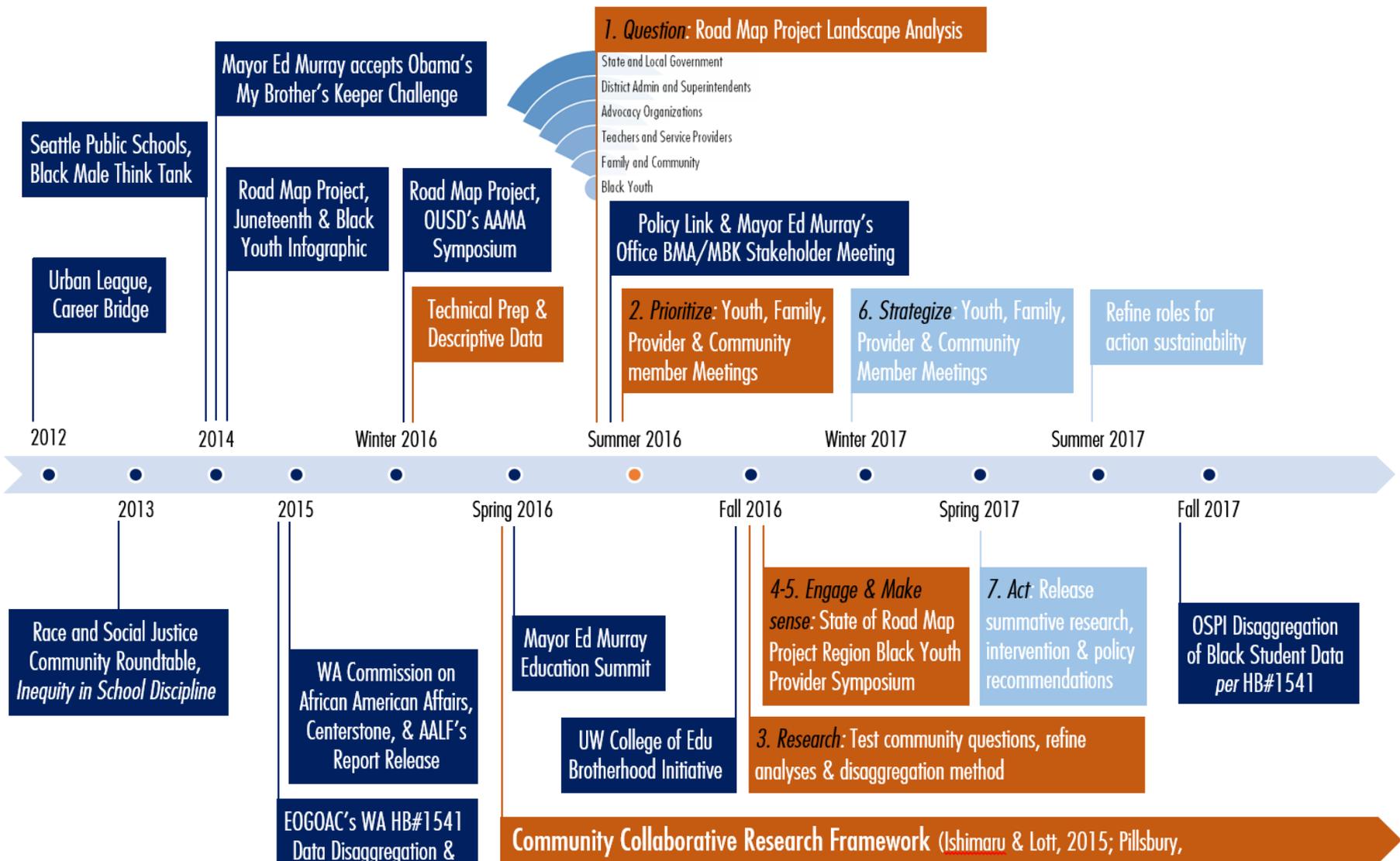








1. **Question.** What questions do we have? How will we use what we learn?
2. **Prioritize.** What data and convening process will help us attend to equity and answer our questions?
3. **Research.** Conduct analysis and materials for broader review.
4. **Engage.** Include additional leaders, stakeholder 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



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