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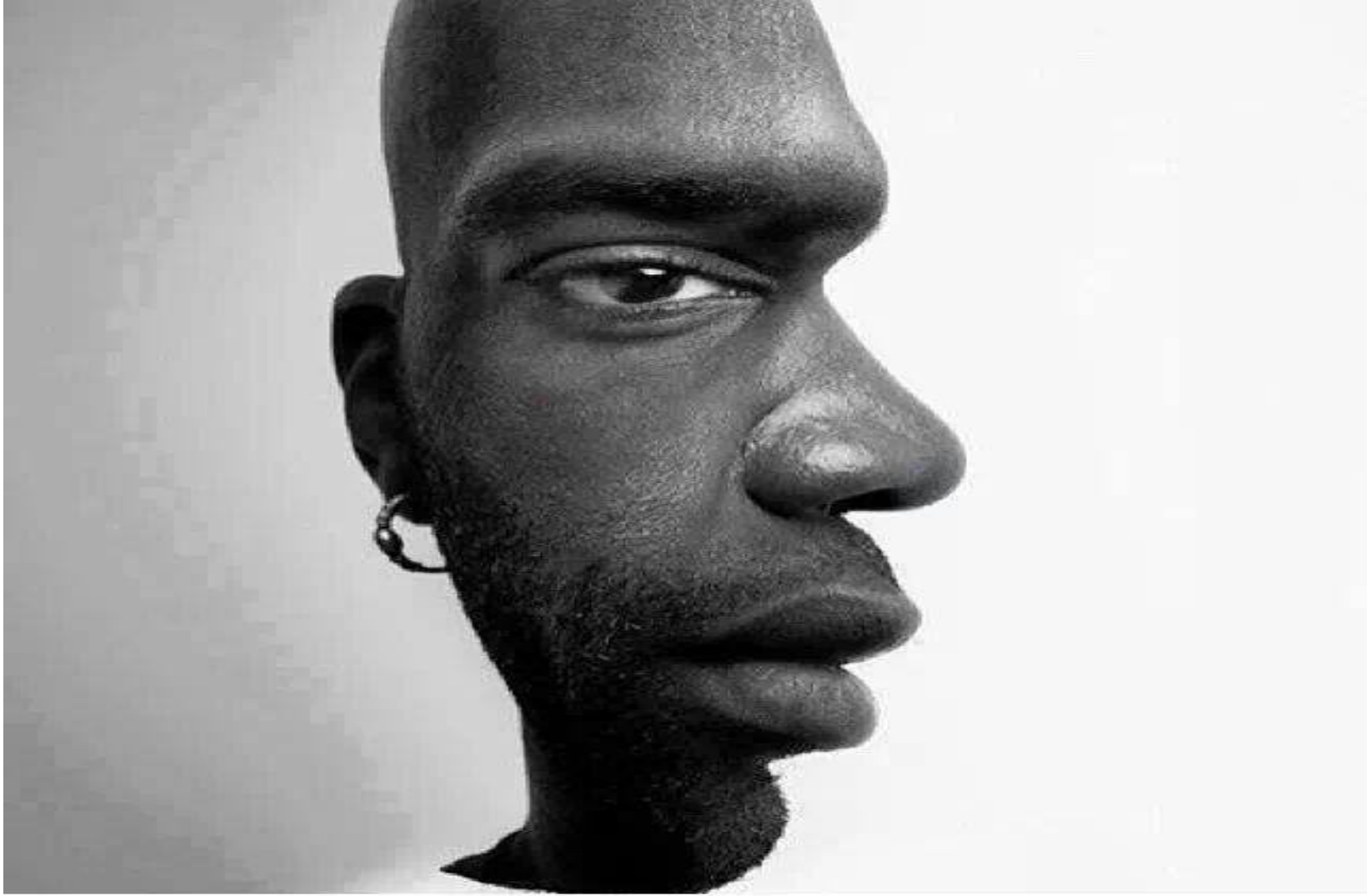
If you are interested in Dr. Marks and the NTIRE team providing implicit bias training for your agency, please send an email to bryant.marks@ntire.training.

The Hidden Biases of Good People: Implications for Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and the Communities They Serve

Rev. Dr. Bryant T. Marks, Sr.
National Training Institute on Race & Equity (NTIRE)
Psychology Professor, Morehouse College

- A matter of perspective…



What face do you see?

Implicit Bias: Questions of the Day

1. What is implicit bias?
2. What does implicit bias look like in the real world?
3. Why does implicit bias exist?
4. How is implicit bias measured?
5. How does implicit bias affect the target of bias?
6. How does implicit bias affect community-police interactions and outcomes?
7. How can implicit bias be reduced at the individual level?
8. How can we reduce the impact of implicit bias on the interactions between ethnic minorities and police?

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Who/what is better?

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Beatles or Rolling Stones

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Beyonce or Alicia Keys

The Accident

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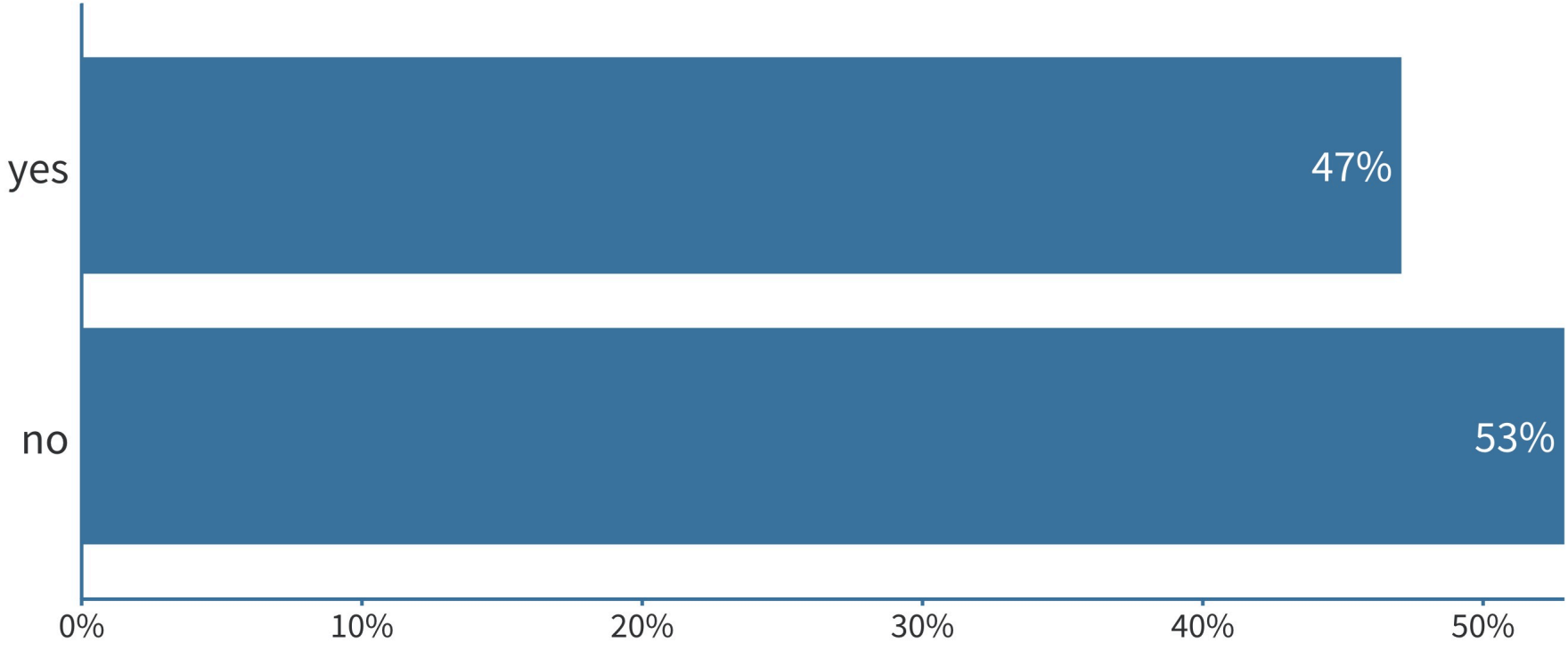
We all have biases...

...but the impact of our biases on others depends on the roles we play in society

Please take out your cellphones

Have your participated in implicit bias training in the past two years that lasted one hour or longer?

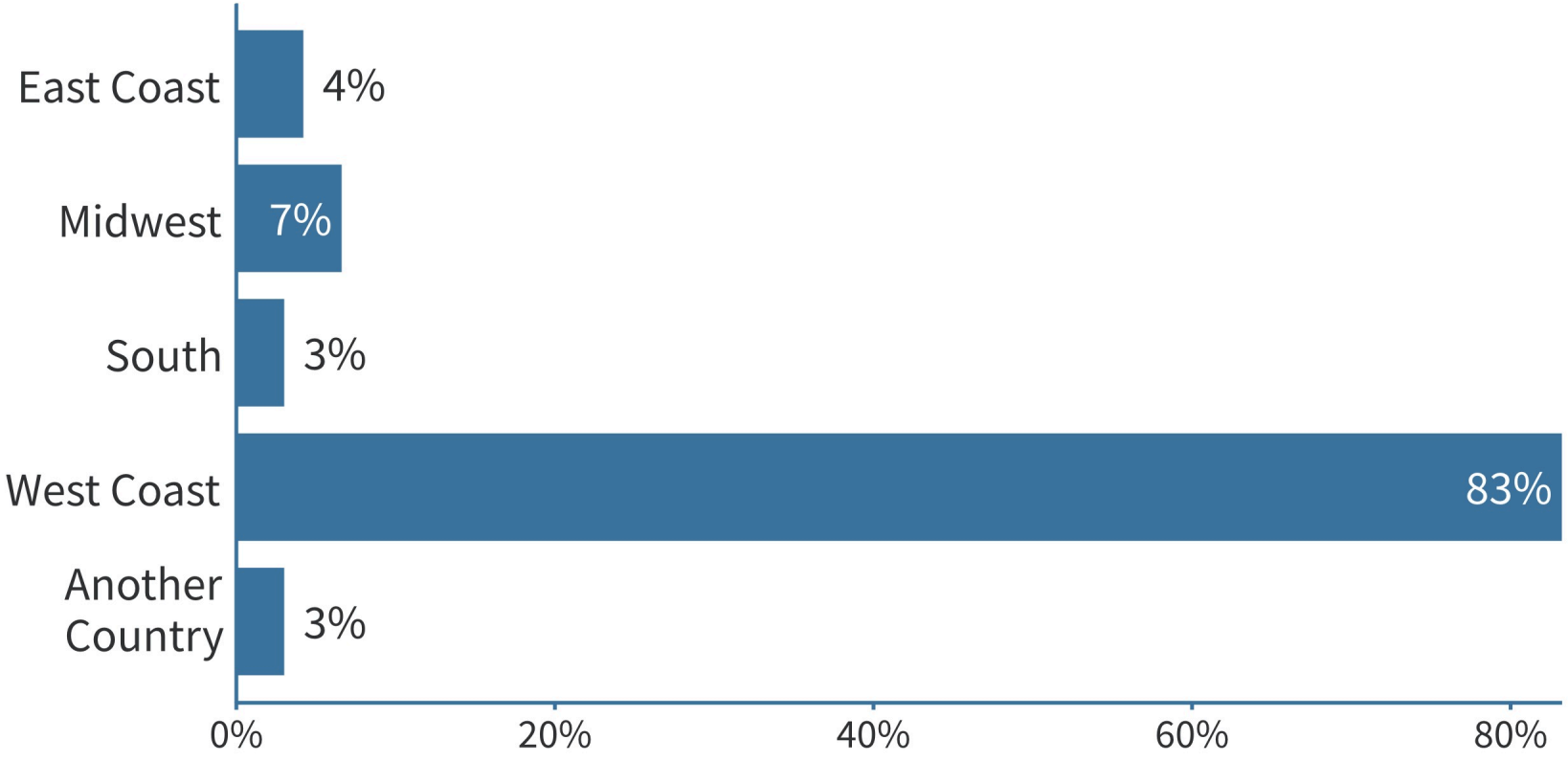
Poll locked. Responses not accepted.



Total Results: 155

For the most part, I grew up in:

Poll locked. Responses not accepted.

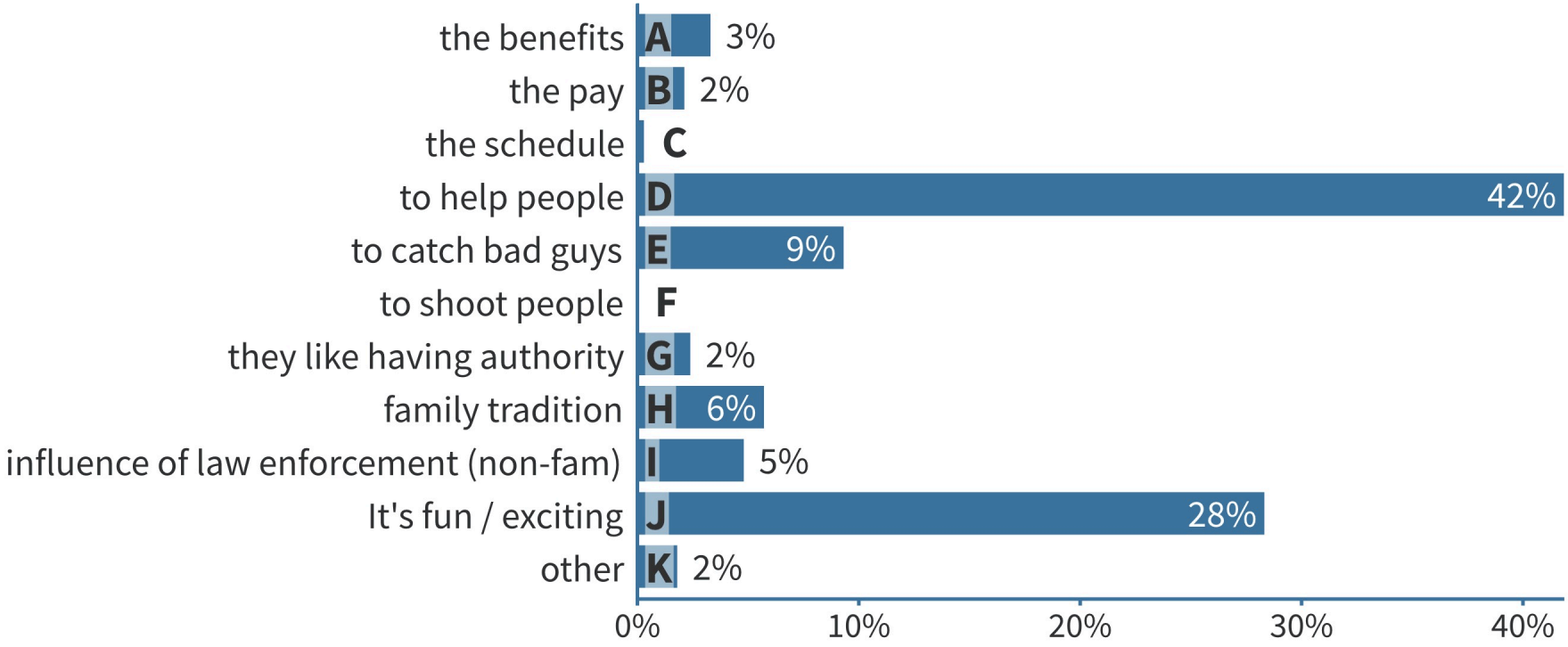


Total Results: 167

Why do you think people become police officers? (2X)

Respond at **PollEv.com/empathy** Text **EMPATHY** to **37607** once to join, then **A, B, C, D, E...**

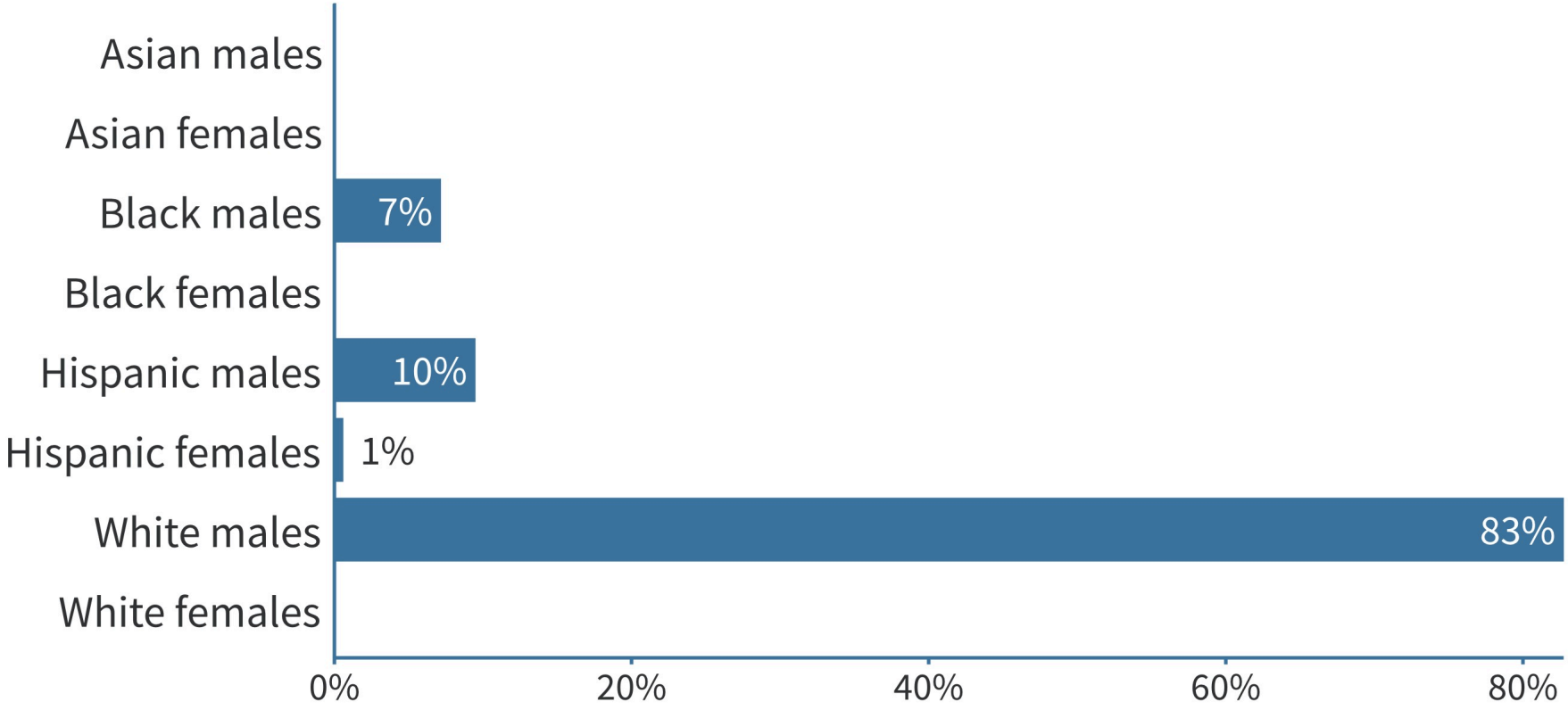
Answers to this poll are anonymous



Total Results: 332

Who is most likely to be arrested for committing a crime in your jurisdiction?

Poll locked. Responses not accepted.



Total Results: 168

Why do you think that the group you just selected engage in criminal activity? (phrases; 2X)

Respond at **PollEv.com/empathy** Text **EMPATHY** to **37607** once to join, then text your message

"Family influence"
11 days ago

"Addiction"
11 days ago

"Fund their lifestyle"
11 days ago

"Gang activity."
11 days ago

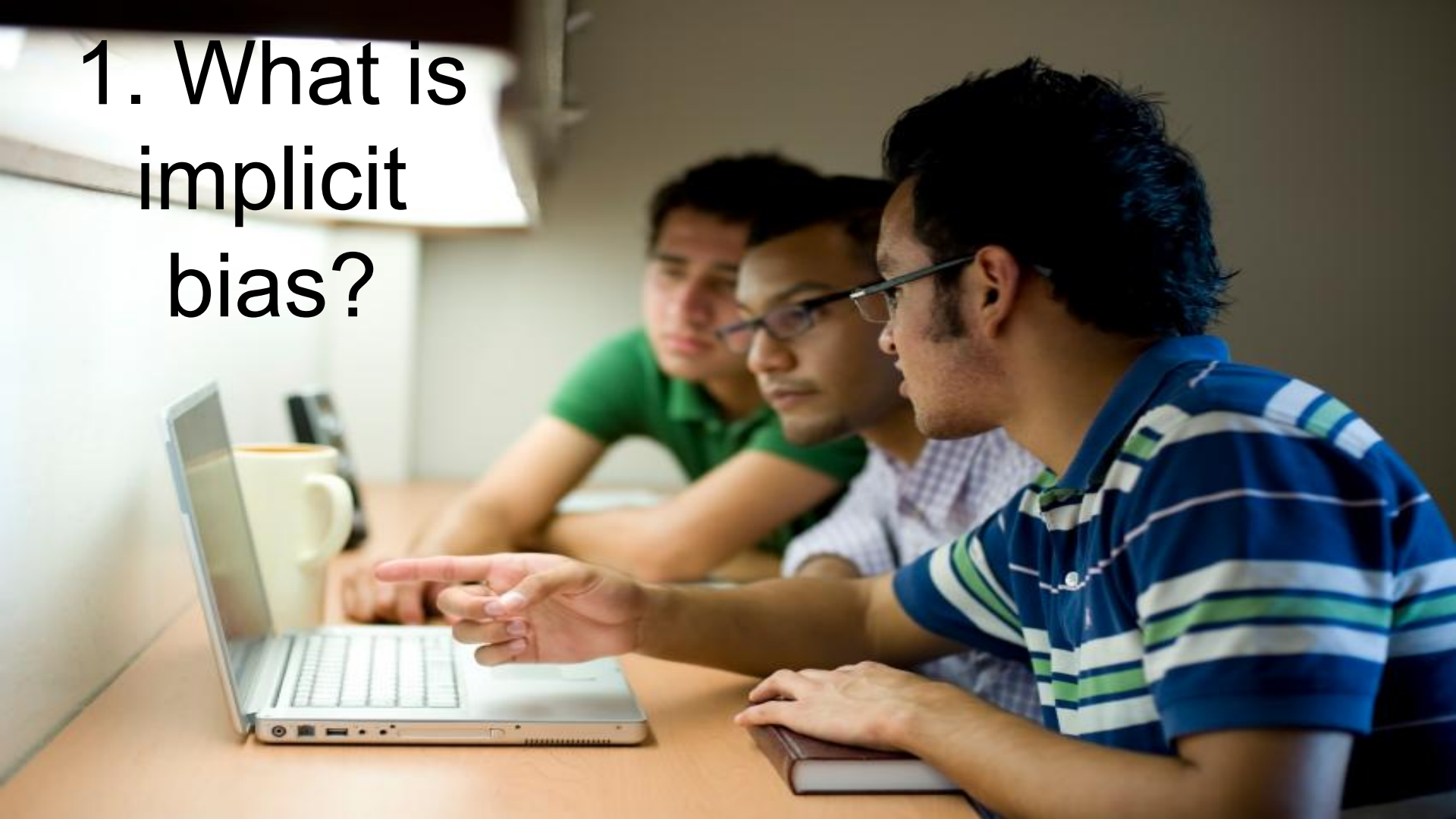
"Demographics of jurisdiction"
11 days ago

"Up bringing"

Total Results: 214

The Person
AND
The Situation

1. What is implicit bias?



When Americans think of people from New York City, what words/phrases come to mind? (1-2 words; no spaces in 2-word responses; 2x)

Poll locked. Responses not accepted.

Total Results: 207

When Americans think of young Black males, what words/phrases come to mind? (2x)

Poll locked. Responses not accepted.

Total Results: 202

Key Terms

Stereotypes: a generalization about a group in which identical characteristics are assigned to all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members (e.g., gender, elderly, professors)

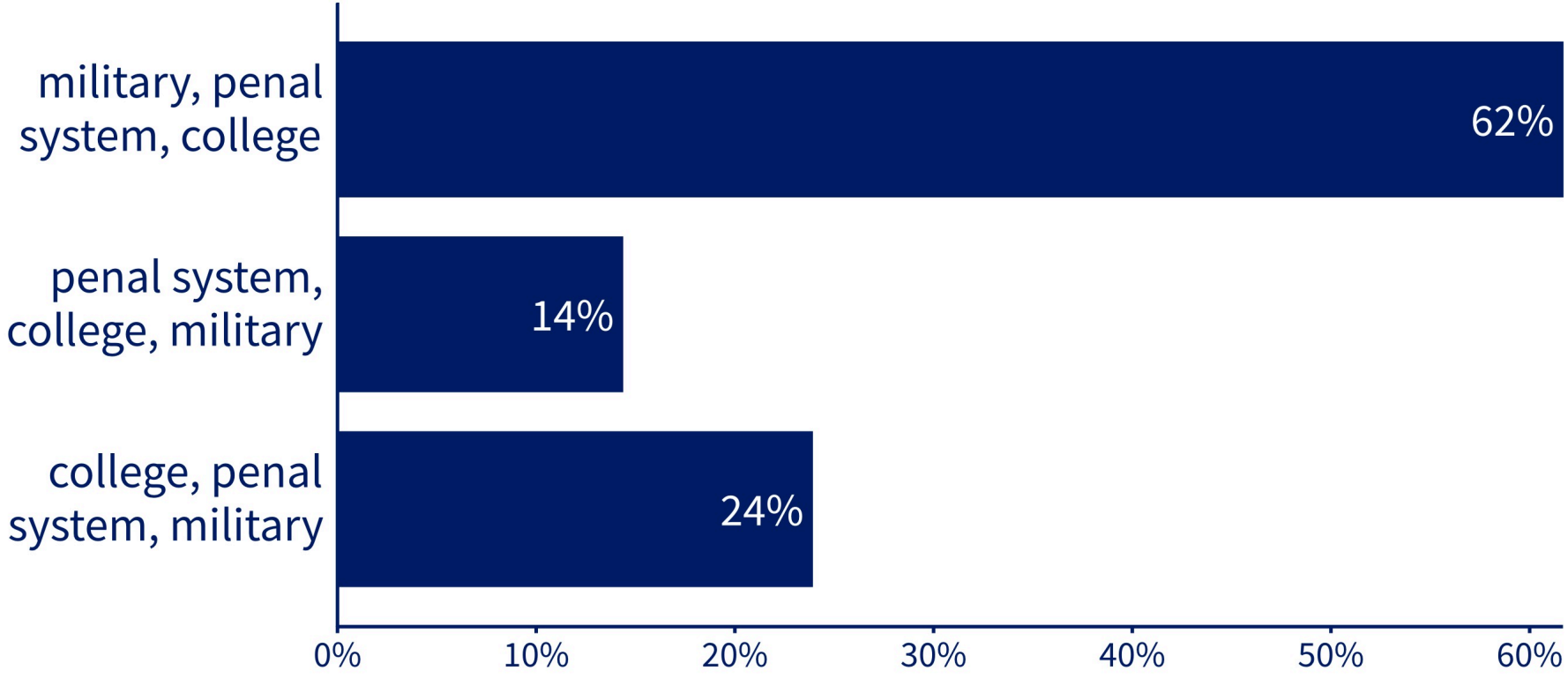
- Stereotypes: Beliefs that associate groups with traits
  - New York City People = Rude

Key Terms

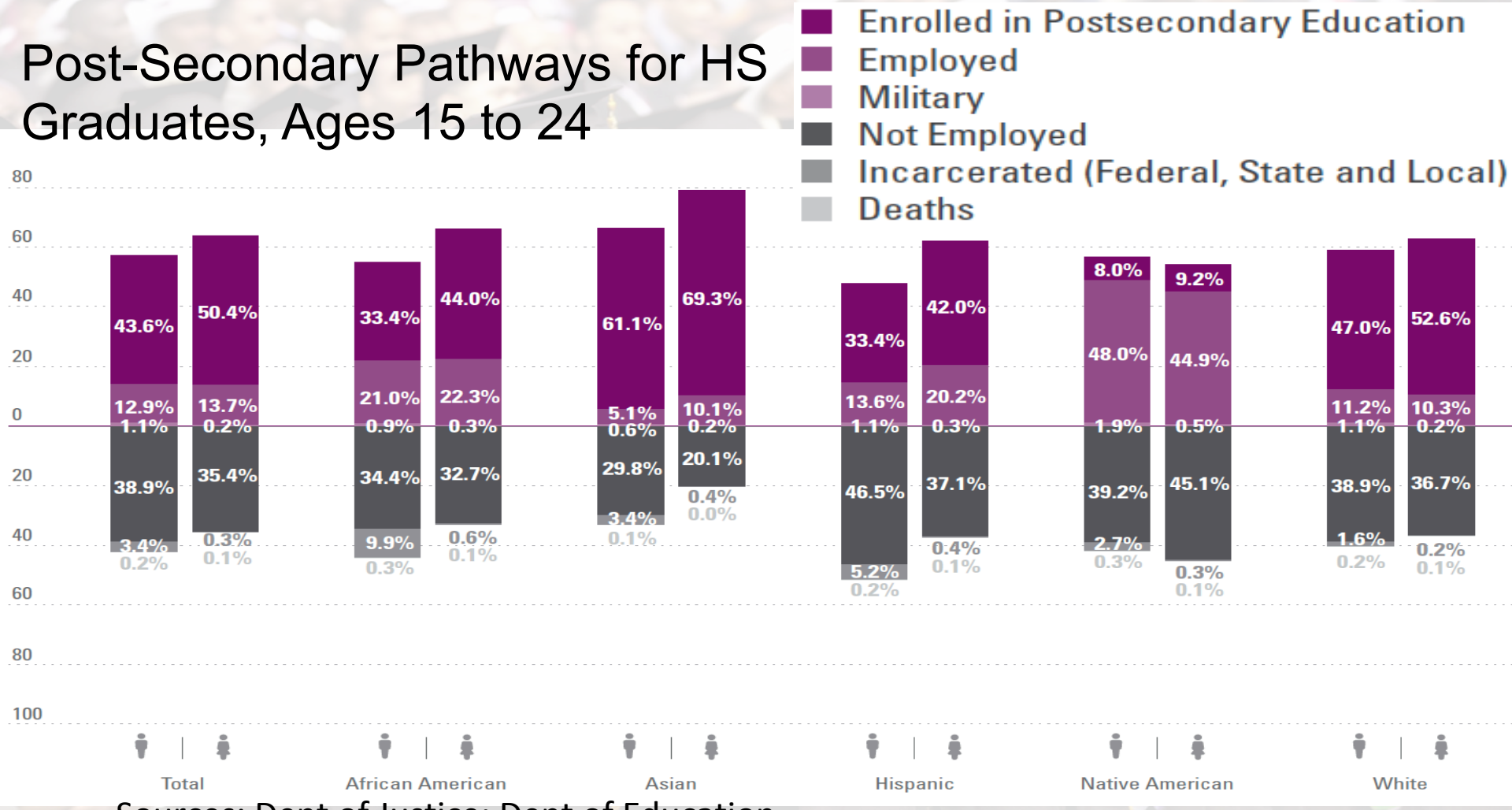
- **Stereotypes**: *Beliefs* that associate groups with traits
  - **Kernel of truth**: it is sometimes the case that a group of people possess a characteristic to a greater extent than other groups, but it doesn't mean that every member of the group is will possess the trait.
  - Just because something is true of some of the group, doesn't mean it's true of all of the group
  - Example: young Hispanic males

Which of the following describe the number of 15-24 year old Hispanic males, from highest to lowest?

Poll locked. Responses not accepted.



Post-Secondary Pathways for HS Graduates, Ages 15 to 24



Sources: Dept of Justice; Dept of Education

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Stereotypes

- **Kernel of truth**: it is sometimes the case that a group of people possess a characteristic to a greater extent than other groups, but it doesn't mean that every member of the group will possess the trait (e.g., Hispanic males in prison vs. college)

- **Subtypes**: categories for people who don't fit a general stereotype (e.g., "different" New Yorkers) .

Stereotypes: Your Turn

- Think of a stereotype about police officers
- Form a group with 1-2 other people
- Share the stereotypes you just thought about
- Select one stereotype and **agree** on a rough percentage of police officers to whom it actually applies
- **Agree** on a rough percentage of firefighters and active corrections officers to whom the police officer stereotype applies

Social Tactic: Do not argue personal experience; ask questions to reveal the kernel of truth

Prejudice

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Prejudice: a *positive or negative* attitude, judgment, or **feeling** about a person that is generalized from attitudes or beliefs (stereotypes) held about the group to which the person belongs; a prejudgment that involves liking or disliking (e.g., registered sex offender)

Prejudice

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- Prejudice is based on social comparison with other groups in which one's group is the point of reference (the norm/ ideal)
- Many people think they are normal (e.g., attire, speech, music, elec devices), but

Social Tactic: Notice difference, but do not assign value (judging something to be inherently better or worse)

Discrimination

Discrimination: negative or positive behavior toward someone based on positive or negative attitudes one holds toward the group to which that person belongs; it's the behavioral manifestation of prejudice (e.g., job opportunities; legislation; interest rates) .

Implicit Bias Defined

- **Implicit Bias:** mental associations of certain groups with specific traits (e.g. stereotypes) below conscious awareness, which are often followed by subconscious prejudice (dis/liking) and/or discrimination (behavior) in a manner that typically benefits oneself or one's group and/or disadvantages out-groups; tends to involve a limited or inaccurate perception of others

Cultural Competence Defined

Cultural Competence: the integration of skills and cultural knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific workplace policies, programs, and behaviors for the purposes of increasing the quality of workplace interactions and service delivery. (LA County's working definition; Adapted from the National Association of Social Workers)

Three levels of the isms

Individual (Race, sex, age) ism: observation of derogatory statements or behaviors committed by individuals (racial slurs); blatant/covert; active/passive; does not require systematic power

Institutional isms: institutional extension of individual beliefs in which constituted institutions (e.g., schools, health, housing, salaries) are manipulated to maintain the advantage of one group over others; requires power

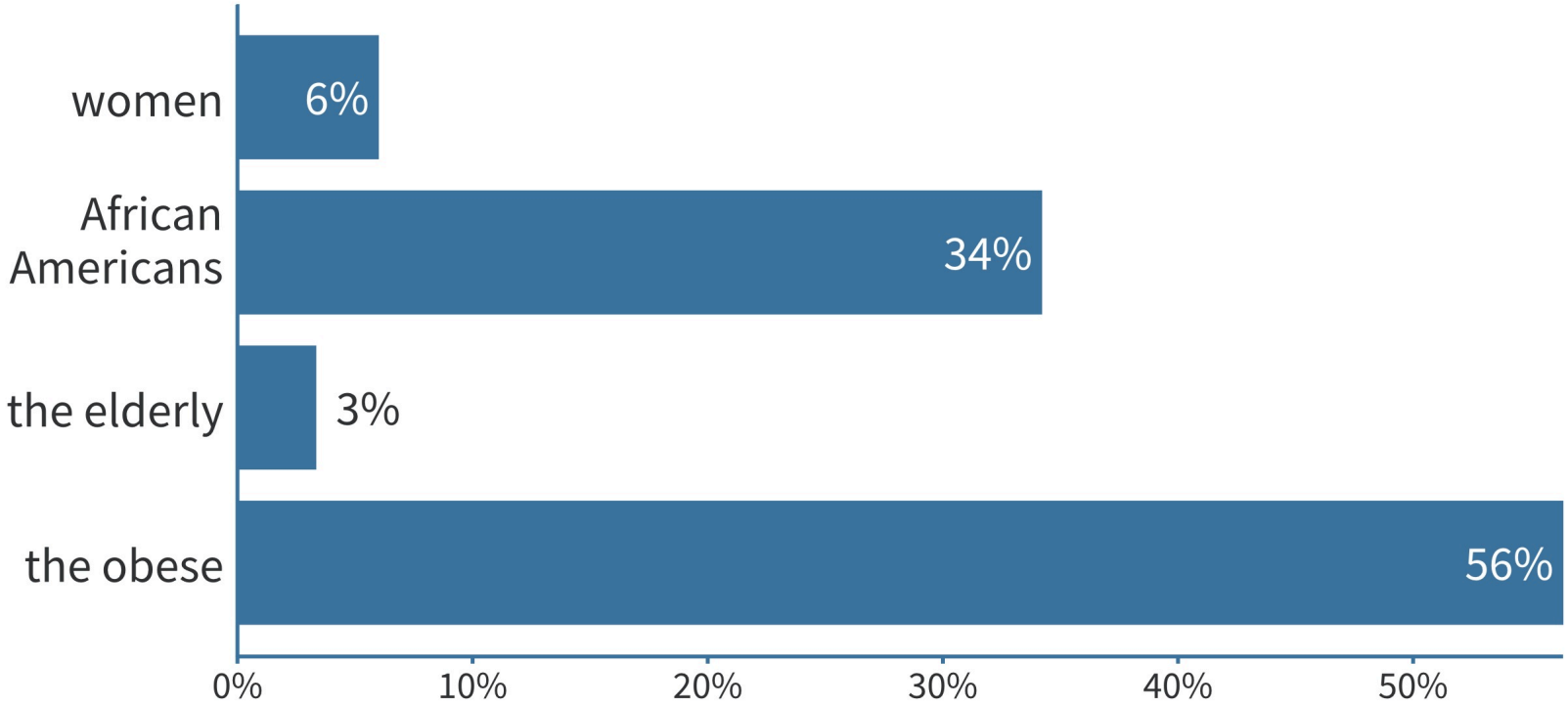
Cultural isms: the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one group's cultural heritage over that of another (e.g., music, language, religion, beauty); requires power

Implicit Bias Findings

- We all have biases, but the impact of our biases on others depends on the roles we play in society
- Implicit bias is more prevalent than explicit bias because our minds are cognitive machines that encode and store many associations between groups and traits that we have not consciously processed
  - We have biases toward numbers, shapes, and colors
  - In the U.S.: race, gender and age
- Implicit bias is a stronger predictor of day to day behavior than explicit bias because much of our behavior/thoughts are automatic
- The potential impact of implicit bias on behavior can be over-ridden by conscious effort

According to the implicit associations test, Americans' strongest negative implicit attitudes are toward...

Poll locked. Responses not accepted.



Total Results: 149

Common Biases and Targets

- Most bias arises from external characteristics
  - Racial bias (Racism)
  - Gender bias (Sexism)
- Arabs and Muslims
  - Prejudice and discrimination increased in U.S. after September 11, 2001
- People who are overweight
- LGBTQ communities
- Undocumented individuals
- Americans' strongest negative bias is toward elderly people followed by obese people

Matters of perspective: what do you see?

IMAGINE

2. What does implicit bias look like in the real world?

All things being equal yet unequal…

- Taller employees receive higher wages than their shorter counterparts (Schick & Steckel, 2015)

- Qualifications being equal (credit score, financial history, income, etc.), Blacks and Hispanics were less likely to be approved for **mortgages**, and paid higher interest rates on when they were approved (U.S. Housing and Urban Development report, 2000)

- Previous performance being equal, K-12 teachers have lower expectations and display less social comfort with Af Am students than White students (various researchers)

All things being equal yet unequal…

- People who show negative implicit bias towards Latinos are more likely to oppose both illegal **AND** legal immigration (Perez, 2015)

- Symptoms being equal, African Americans are less likely to receive most effective treatment for illnesses, even after matching them on income and insurance coverage (Nat'l Academy of Sciences' *Unequal Treatment* report, 2002)

- Regular weight job applicants were less likely to be recommended to be hired for a job when they were seen (photo) sitting next to an obese applicant than when sitting alone or next to a regular weight person. (Hebl & Mannix, 2003)

What a difference an “S” makes…

All things being equal yet unequal…

- Crime and circumstances being equal, Af Am's are more likely to be stopped, searched, arrested, receive poor plea deals, convicted, receive longer sentences, receive the death penalty, declined probation and declined a pardon (DOJ/BJS, U.S. Census, Stanford Univ., multiple academic and journalistic studies)

- Non-Blacks perceive young Black men as bigger (taller, heavier, more muscular) and more physically threatening (stronger, more capable of harm) than young White men. (Wilson, Hugenberg & Rule, 2017)

What face did you see?

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All things being equal and unequal…

- When taking numerous factors into account (e.g., seriousness of the primary offense, number of prior offenses, etc.), Black males with prominent Afrocentric features (i.e., dark skin, a wide nose, and full lips) were most likely to:
  - receive longer sentences from judges (Blair, Judd, and Chapleau, 2004)
  - receive death penalty conviction from juries when victim was White (Pizzi, Blair, and Judd, 2005)
  - be mistaken for a suspect by police (Eberhardt, 2004)

.

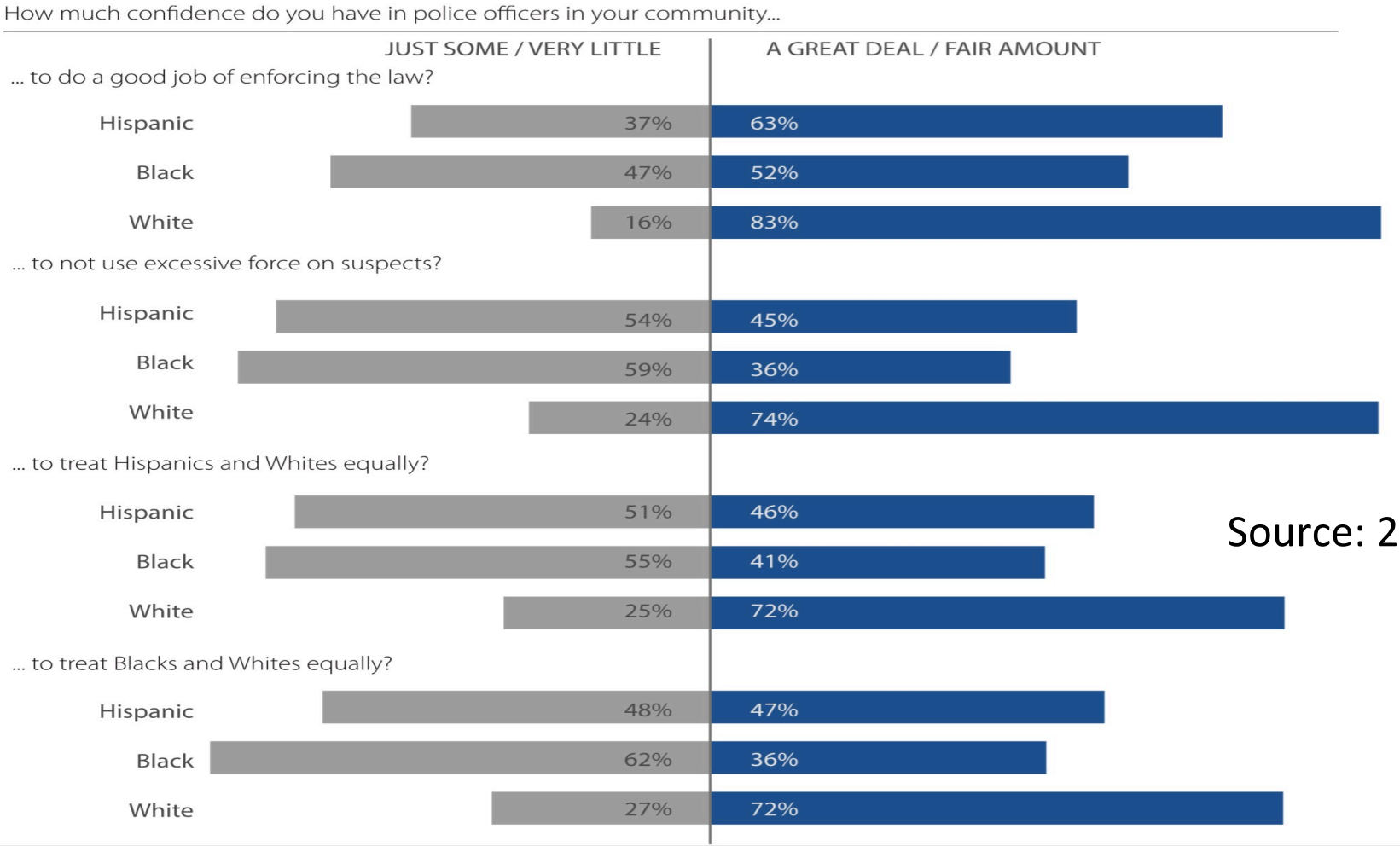
(See chapter 3 of *The New Jim Crow* for a review)

Implicit Bias and Criminal Procedure

Implicit bias occurs in moments of discretion, where various decisions/actions can be justified. It can affect:

- **Arrests**: dismissal, reduction, or number of charges filed
- **Grand Jury**: charges sought; how to present a case or narrative
- **Plea negotiations**: how open one is to alternatives; willingness to compromise
- **Trial**: jury selection, sentence recommendations

Figure 2. Community members' confidence in their police officers



Source: 21st CP R

Officer Involved Shootings in U.S.

In 2015

- 990 civilians fatally shot by police
- 96% Male
- Age: under 18, 2%; 18-24, 17%; 25-34, 31%; 35-44, 21%; 45+, 28%
- Northeast=7%; MidW=14%; South=43%; West=37%
- 25% involved mentally ill individuals
- 25% involved fleeing suspects
- 75% were attacking police or another civilian
- 18 officers were criminally charged: 9 for 2015 cases, 9 for 2011-2014 cases; 10 cases on video (
- 11 of the 65 officers charged in fatal shootings over the past decade were convicted. (ave 6.5/yr)

(Source: Washington Post & Nix 2017 independent analysis; consistent with findings from independent analysis of national crime and U.S. census data)

Officer-Involved Shootings, 2015

Variable	White		Black		Other		Total	
Armed	463	93.5%	220	85.3%	187	89.0%	870	90.3%
Unarmed	32	6.5%	38	14.7%	23	11.0%	93	9.7%
	495		**258**		**210**		**963**	
Attack	395	79.8%	183	70.9%	131	62.4%	709	73.6%
Non-attack	83	16.8%	63	24.4%	66	31.4%	212	22.0%
Undetermined	17	3.4%	12	4.7%	13	6.2%	42	4.4%
Total	**495**		**258**		**210**		**963**	

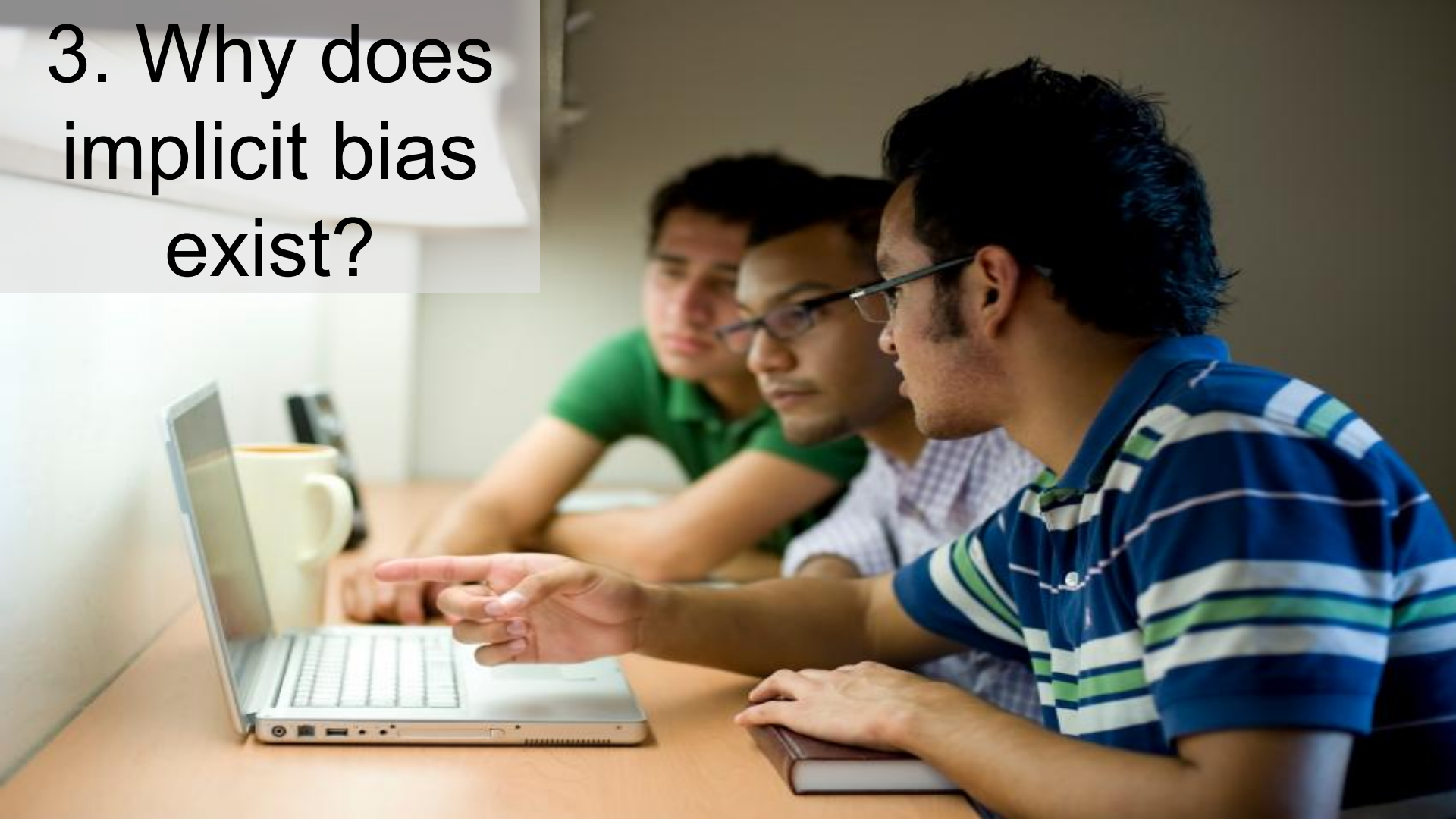
Armed = civilians in possession of a firearm, knife, sharp object, or some other deadly weapon (e.g., blunt object)

Attack = if, prior to their demise, civilians were firing a weapon at a person, attacking with nongun weapons, or pointing/brandishing a firearm.

aTwenty-seven cases are excluded from this table because of missing race information.

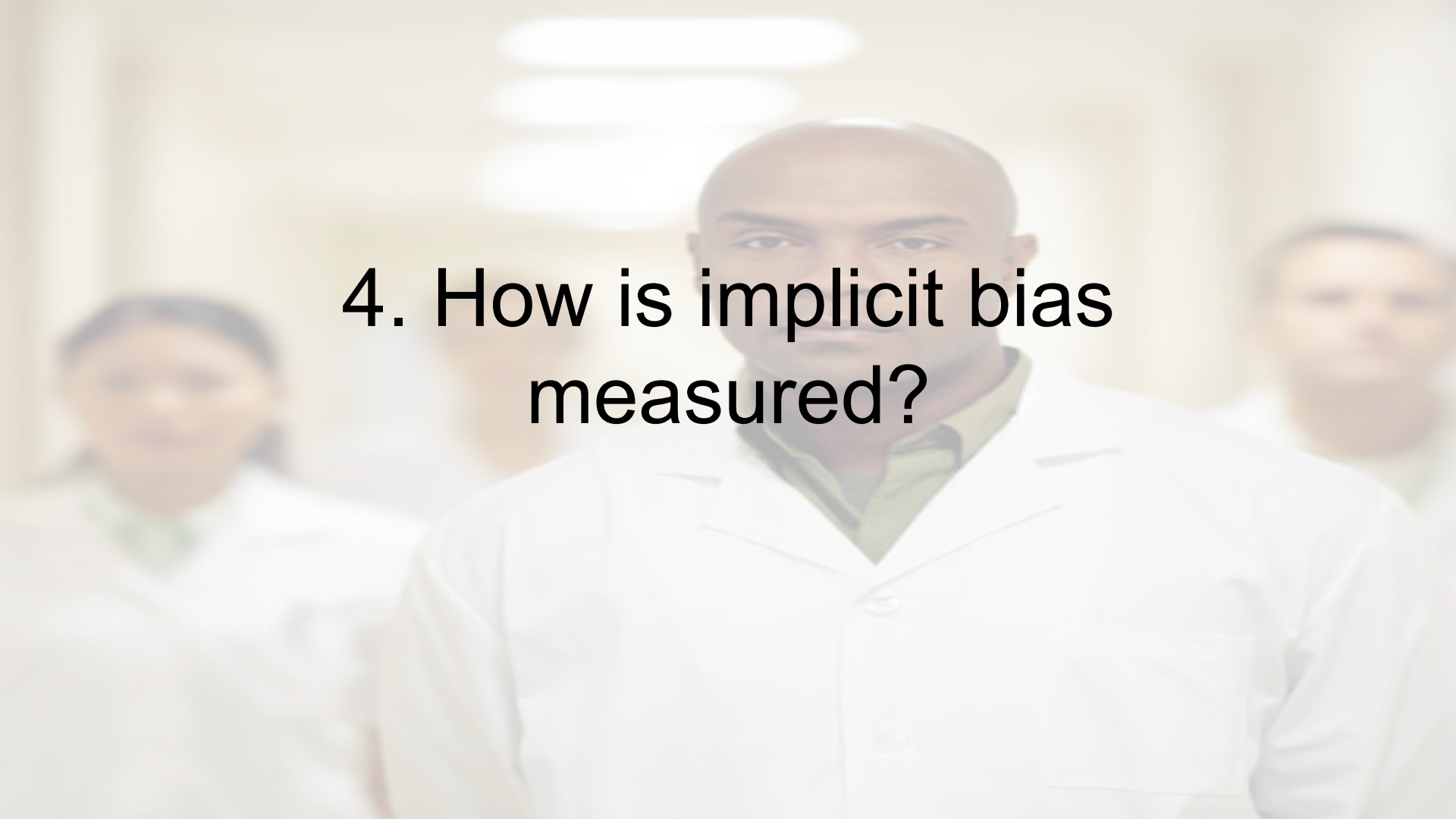
b Cases involving an undetermined threat level were excluded from multivariate regression models.

3. Why does implicit bias exist?



Why Bias Exists

- **Minimal group effect**: In-group favoritism occurs even when group membership is random
- **Competition** over scarce resources leads to intergroup hostility and conflict (gas, food, water)
- **Bias and self-esteem:**If other groups are inferior, my group ("I") must be superior
- **Rationalization for Oppression**: powerful group retains power through use of stereotypes and prejudices
- **Socialization/Exposure**: we learn it
  - Influence of family, teachers, peers, media, and experience (your fiancé)
- **Lack of exposure** to the diversity within other groups .



4. How is implicit bias measured?

Measures of Implicit Bias

- **The Implicit Associations Test (IAT):** measures the strength of subconscious associations between concepts/groups (e.g., Hispanic people, gay people) and evaluations (e.g., good, bad) or stereotypes (e.g., athletic, clumsy)
- The IAT is not perfect, but it does correlate with certain implicit and explicit behaviors.

Sexuality IAT

Sexuality **('Gay - Straight' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to distinguish words and symbols representing gay and straight people. It often reveals an automatic preference for straight relative to gay people.

Native IAT

Native American **('Native - White American' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to recognize White and Native American faces in either classic or modern dress, and the names of places that are either American or Foreign in origin.

Age IAT

Age **('Young - Old' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to distinguish old from young faces. This test often indicates that Americans have automatic preference for young over old.

Gender-Career IAT

Gender - Career**.** This IAT often reveals a relative link between family and females and between career and males.

Race IAT

Race **('Black - White' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to distinguish faces of European and African origin. It indicates that most Americans have an automatic preference for white over black.

Skin-tone IAT

Skin-tone **('Light Skin - Dark Skin' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to recognize light and dark-skinned faces. It often reveals an automatic preference for light-skin relative to dark-skin.

Weapons IAT

Weapons **('Weapons - Harmless Objects' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to recognize White and Black faces, and images of weapons or harmless objects.

Presidents IAT

Presidents **('Presidential Popularity' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to recognize photos of Barack Obama and one or more previous presidents.

Asian IAT

Asian American **('Asian - European American' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to recognize White and Asian-American faces, and images of places that are either American or Foreign in origin.

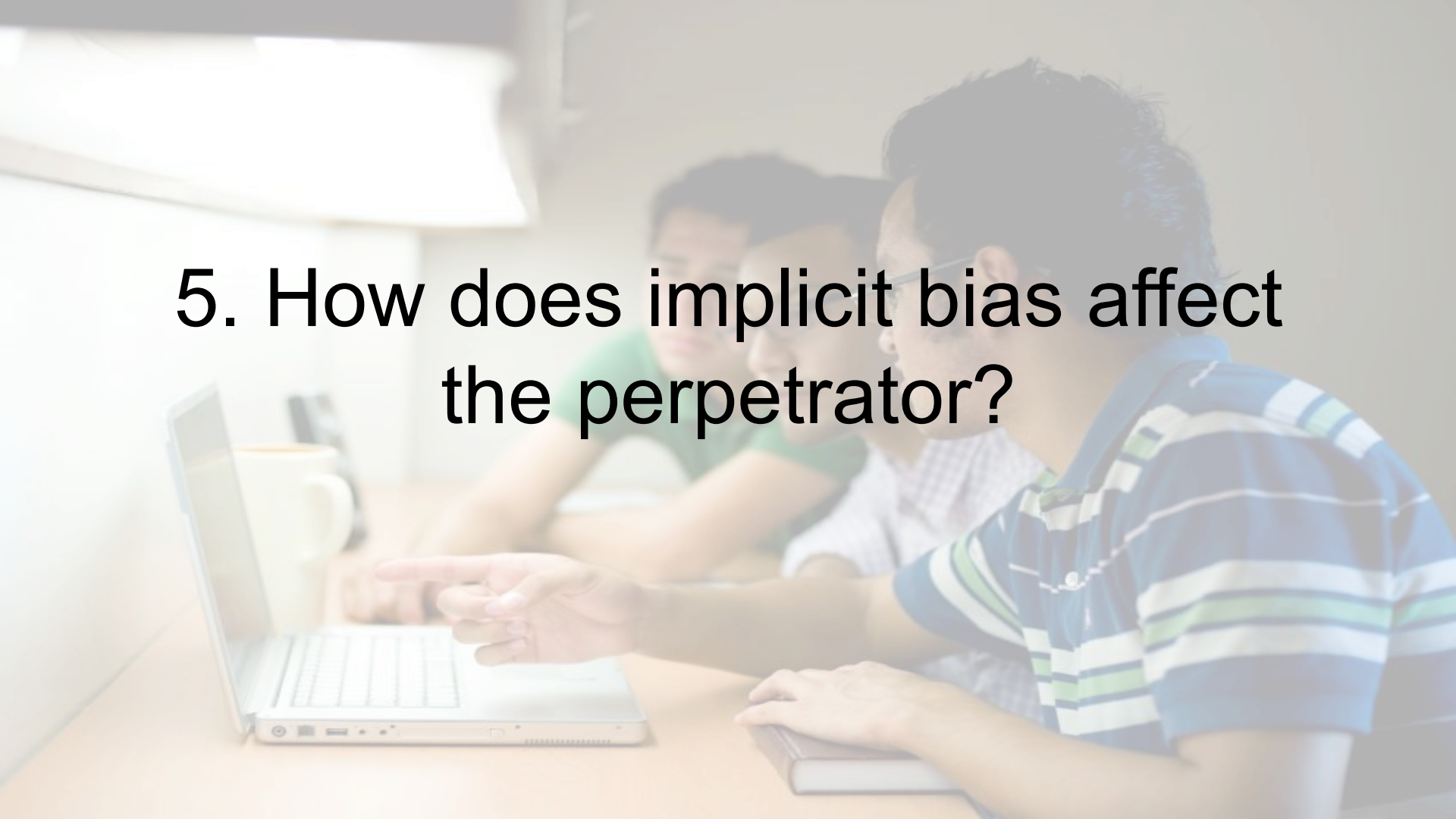
Weight IAT

Weight **('Fat - Thin' IAT).** This IAT requires the ability to distinguish faces of people who are obese and people who are thin. It often reveals an automatic preference for thin

Implicit Associations Test Findings

- 75% of participants that took the Black/White race IAT show positive bias toward Whites
- African Americans are split 50/50 between Black and White preference
- Asian Americans were perceived as “less American” than White Americans by White **AND** Asian Americans
- Showing a preference does not mean that you are prejudiced or will discriminate, but it does suggest that you have stored certain associations between groups and traits in memory
- Taking it over typically yields similar results
- Left/right handedness doesn’t matter
- Many people, particularly liberals and members of minority groups, have difficulty accepting their implicit bias .

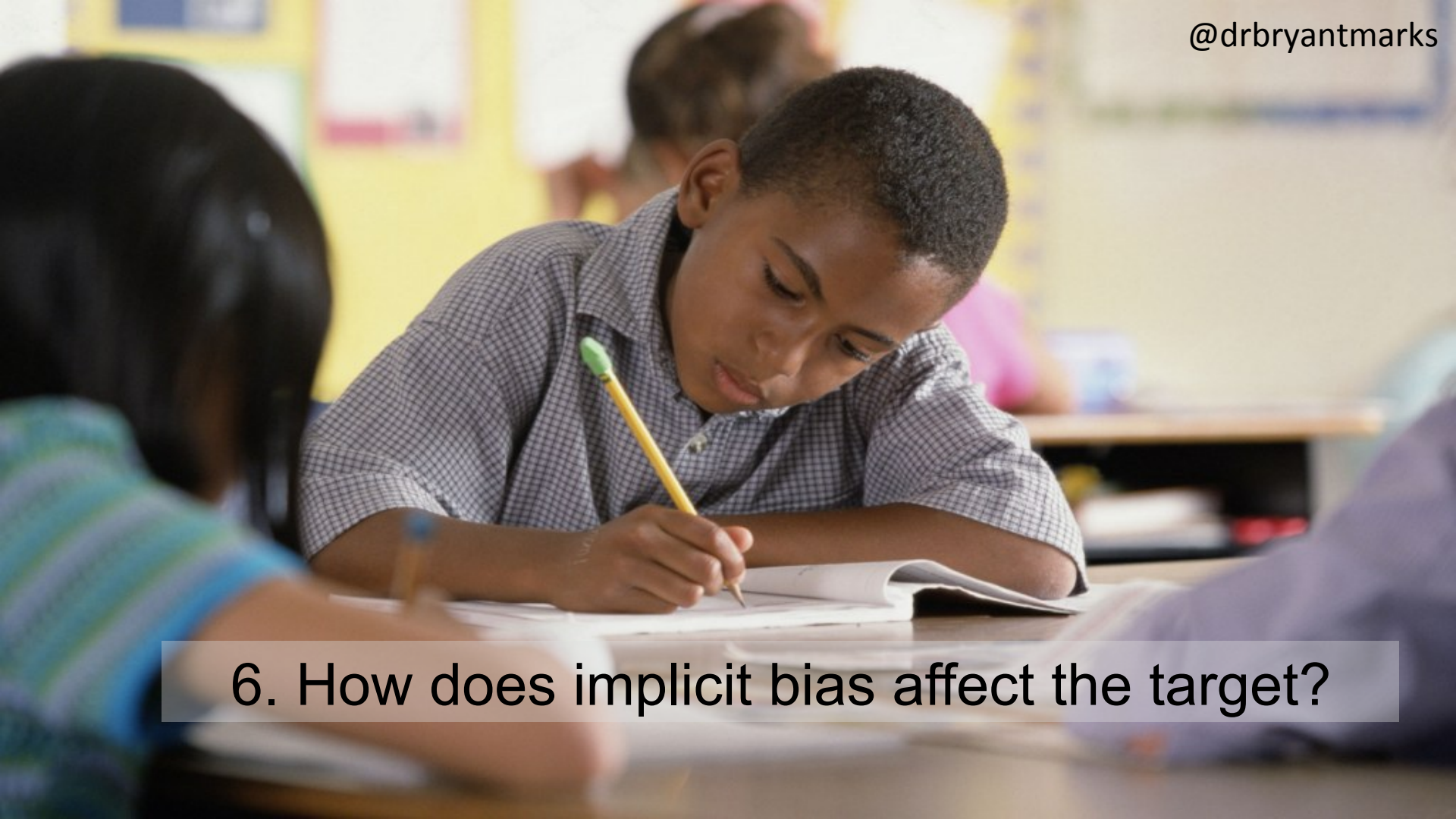
Source: Project Implicit / Harvard University



5. How does implicit bias affect the perpetrator?

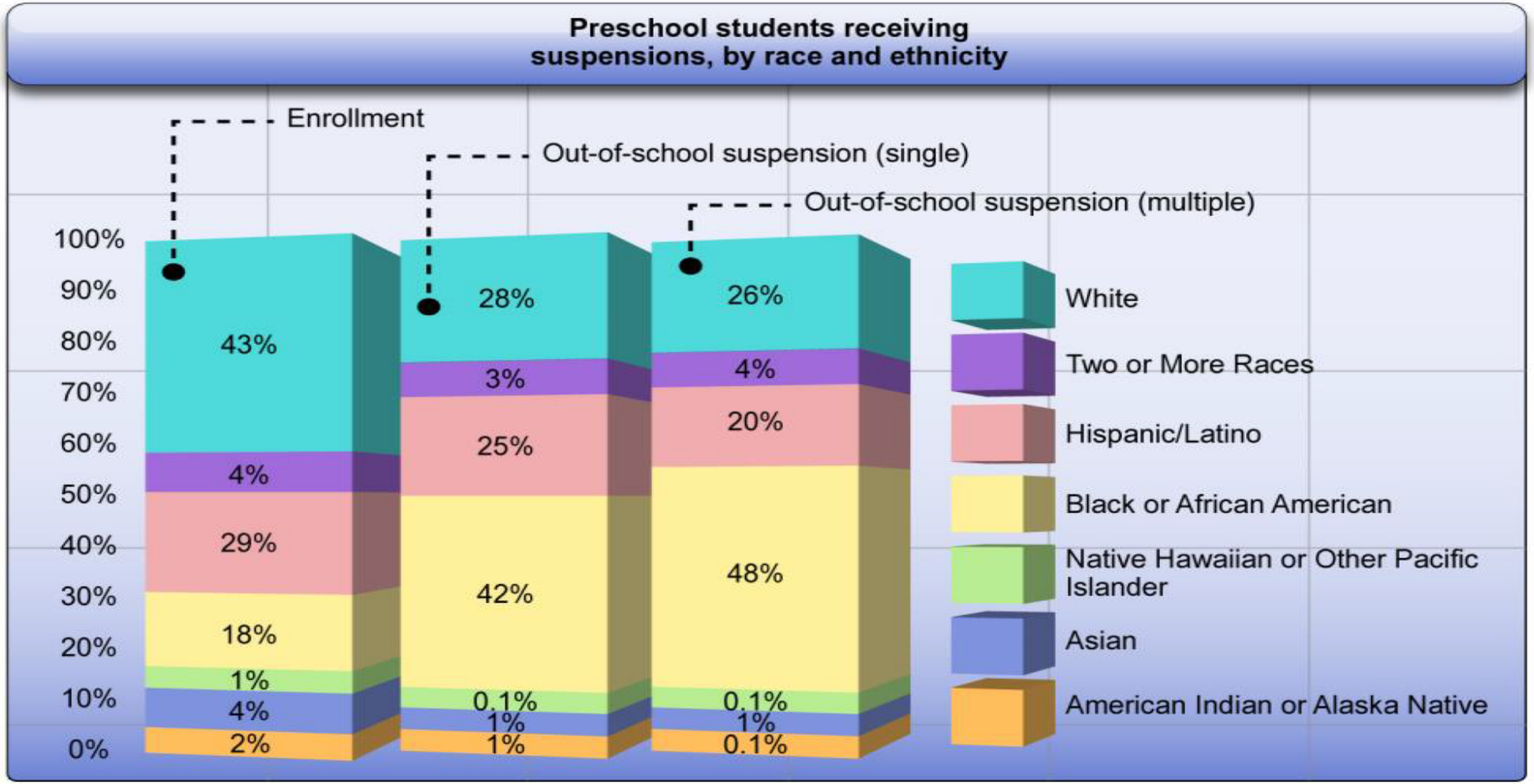
Impact of Bias on Those Who Hold It

- Implicit bias influences important day-to-day behaviors (bank loans, medical decisions, verdicts, etc.), but not explicitly racist behaviors (racial slurs, sexist jokes, etc.)
- Exaggerate similarities of an out-group ("they're all alike"), yet appreciate the diversity of the in-group.
  - Eyewitnesses are more accurate identifying people of their own racial group
- Exaggerate between group differences (e.g., Hispanics and Asians have different child-raising values)

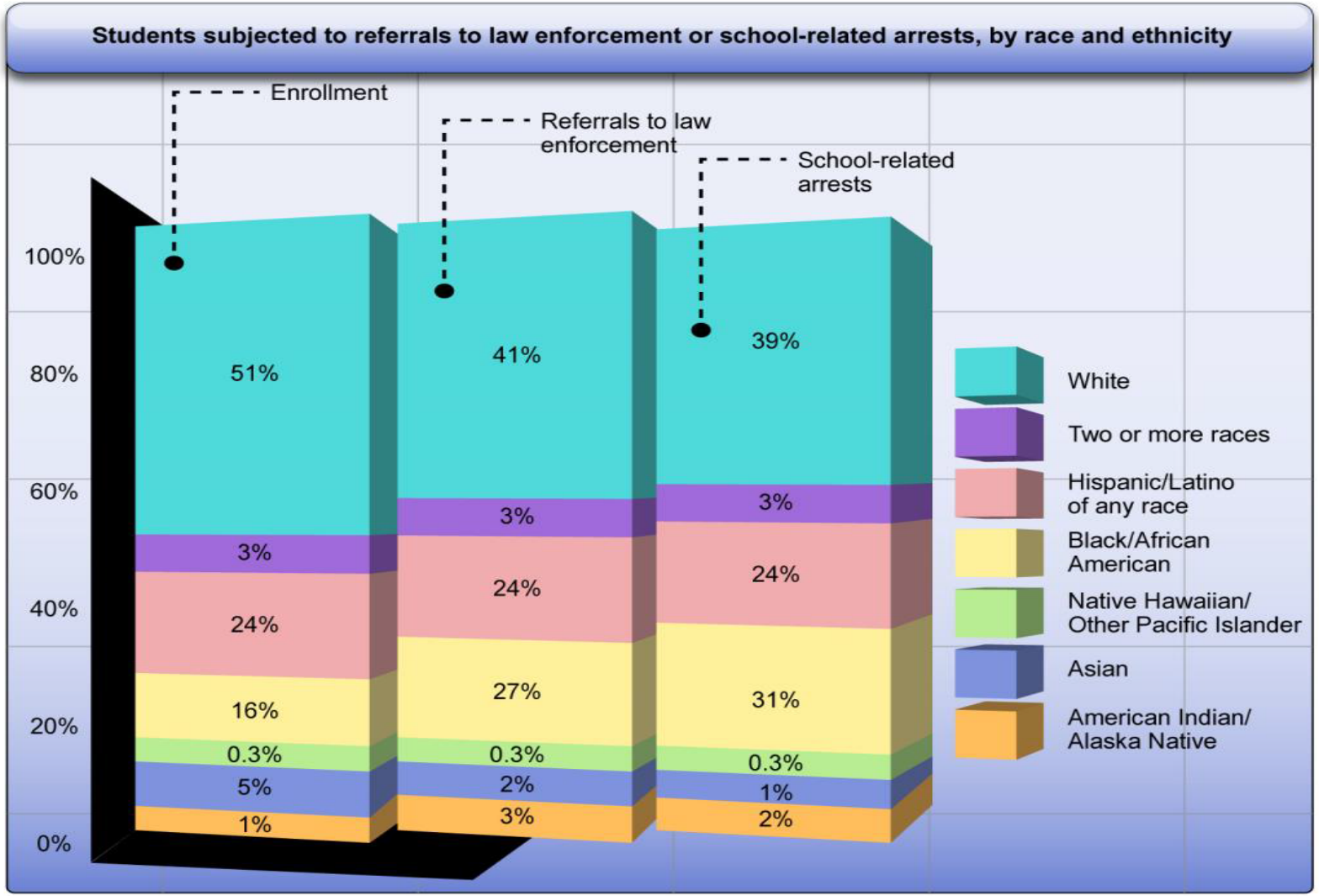


6. How does implicit bias affect the target?

Education and Identity


Preschool students receiving suspensions, by race and ethnicity
Enrollment
Out-of-school suspension (single)
Out-of-school suspension (multiple)
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
43%
4%
29%
18%
1%
4%
2%
28%
3%
25%
42%
0.1%
1%
1%
26%
4%
20%
48%
0.1%
1%
0.1%
White
Two or More Races
Hispanic/Latino
Black or African American
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
Asian
American Indian or Alaska Native

Which doll looks like you?


Students subjected to referrals to law enforcement or school-related arrests, by race and ethnicity
Enrollment
Referrals to law enforcement
School-related arrests
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
51%
3%
24%
16%
0.3%
5%
1%
41%
3%
24%
27%
0.3%
2%
3%
39%
3%
24%
31%
0.3%
1%
2%
White
Two or more races
Hispanic/Latino of any race
Black/African American
Native Hawaiian/ Other Pacific Islander
Asian
American Indian/ Alaska Native

Impact of bias on target group

- **Coping Strategies**: developing ways to deal with prejudice and the various isms (e.g., educating the ignorant; "telling them off"; appealing to authorities)

- **Attributional Ambiguity:** not knowing whether one's outcomes is due to one's group membership
  - The targets of prejudice experience ambiguity about the causes of events (both good and bad events)

- **Stereotype Threat:** being in a situation where you stand the chance of confirming a negative stereotype about a group to which you belong (e.g., police eating/not eating doughnuts in public in uniform)

How can implicit bias be managed/ reduced?

Five Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Personal Level (Devine et al., 2012)

1. Individuation

This strategy relies on preventing stereotypic inferences by obtaining specific information about group members (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

- Using this strategy helps people evaluate members of the target group based on personal, rather than group-based, attributes (e.g., interests, hobbies, favorite movie/color/ book/musicians; clothing, style, tech preferences, apps, etc.)

Five Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Personal Level (Devine et al., 2012)

2. Perspective taking

This strategy involves taking the perspective in the first person of a member of a stereotyped group.

- Perspective taking increases psychological closeness to the stigmatized group, which ameliorates automatic group-based evaluations (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). (Black male brand)
- Usually requires communication, understanding, and some level of empathy

Matters of perspective

Five Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Personal Level (Devine et al., 2012)

3. Counter-stereotypic imaging

- Imagine in detail counter-stereotypic others (Blair et al., 2001).
- These others can be abstract (e.g., Muslim family eating dinner), famous (e.g., Muhammad Ali), or non-famous (e.g., a personal friend).
- The strategy makes positive exemplars salient and accessible when challenging a stereotype's validity.

Five Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Personal Level (Devine et al., 2012)

4. Stereotype replacement

- Replace stereotypical responses with non-stereotypical responses.
- Involves recognizing that a response is based on stereotypes (e.g., math teacher asking Asian students to join the math club on the 1st day of class); labeling the response as stereotypical, and reflecting on why the response occurred.
- Next, one considers how the biased response could be avoided in the future and replaced it with an unbiased response (Monteith, 1993)

Five Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Personal Level (Devine et al., 2012)

5. Increasing opportunities for contact

Positive contact can alter perceptions of the group or directly improve evaluations of the group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

- Seek opportunities to encounter and engage in positive interactions with out-group members
- Interact with and/or develop genuine relationships with **several** out-group members; learn their history & culture
- Increased exposure to associations of outgroups and positive traits/achievements (to reduce Af Am bias: visit Nat'l Msm Af Am Hist/Culture; watch "13th"; read Nile Valley Civilizations by Tony Browder; watch Blackish; positive statistics)

How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

Although interventions have reduced implicit bias in the short term (hrs – a few days), long term reduction has been elusive. Promising strategies for police include:

- **5.9 Implicit bias training; Become aware of your biases and recognize that you may unconsciously apply them to others**
- **Read *Blindspot, The New Jim Crow, and Ghettoside***

How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

-Increase exposure to associations of targets of bias and positive traits/achievements (positive pictures in police stations; documentaries; books; museums; movies; TV)

-Expand the in-group (policing as a community-officer partnership; seeing others as fellow Angelinos/Americans/human beings)

- **1.5.3 Police can interact with and/or develop genuine relationships with several outgroup members and try to understand their history and culture**
- 1.8 Develop diverse police force
- 4.5.2 Involve youth in police training, ride-alongs, problem solving teams, role playing, etc.
- **Positive out-of-uniform contacts with the community (sports, church, barber shop, etc.)**

How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

Employ **accountability** structures and significant consequences for biased behavior

- 1.3.1 Law enforcement make all policies available for public review and post stats on stops, arrests, summonses and crime disaggregated by race and gender online (and by officer for internal purposes)
- 2.2.2/2.2.3 Independent investigators and prosecutors of cases involving police shootings/excessive force
- 2.2.6 Incident review/approval boards
- **Read the LA PD mission statement or one of your core values at the beginning of each shift, even if your not on the street**

8. How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

Employ **accountability** structures and significant consequences for biased behavior

- 2.11.1 Police provide business cards to citizens
- **2.13 Adopt no-tolerance polices for profiling/ discrimination**
- 3.3.3 Wide use of body and dash cameras
- **Objective justification for asking about probation/ parole status; sensitivity to when and how to ask**
- **Objective justification for handcuffing motorists**
- **Use citation, complaint, video, and other data to identify potential bias**

8. How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

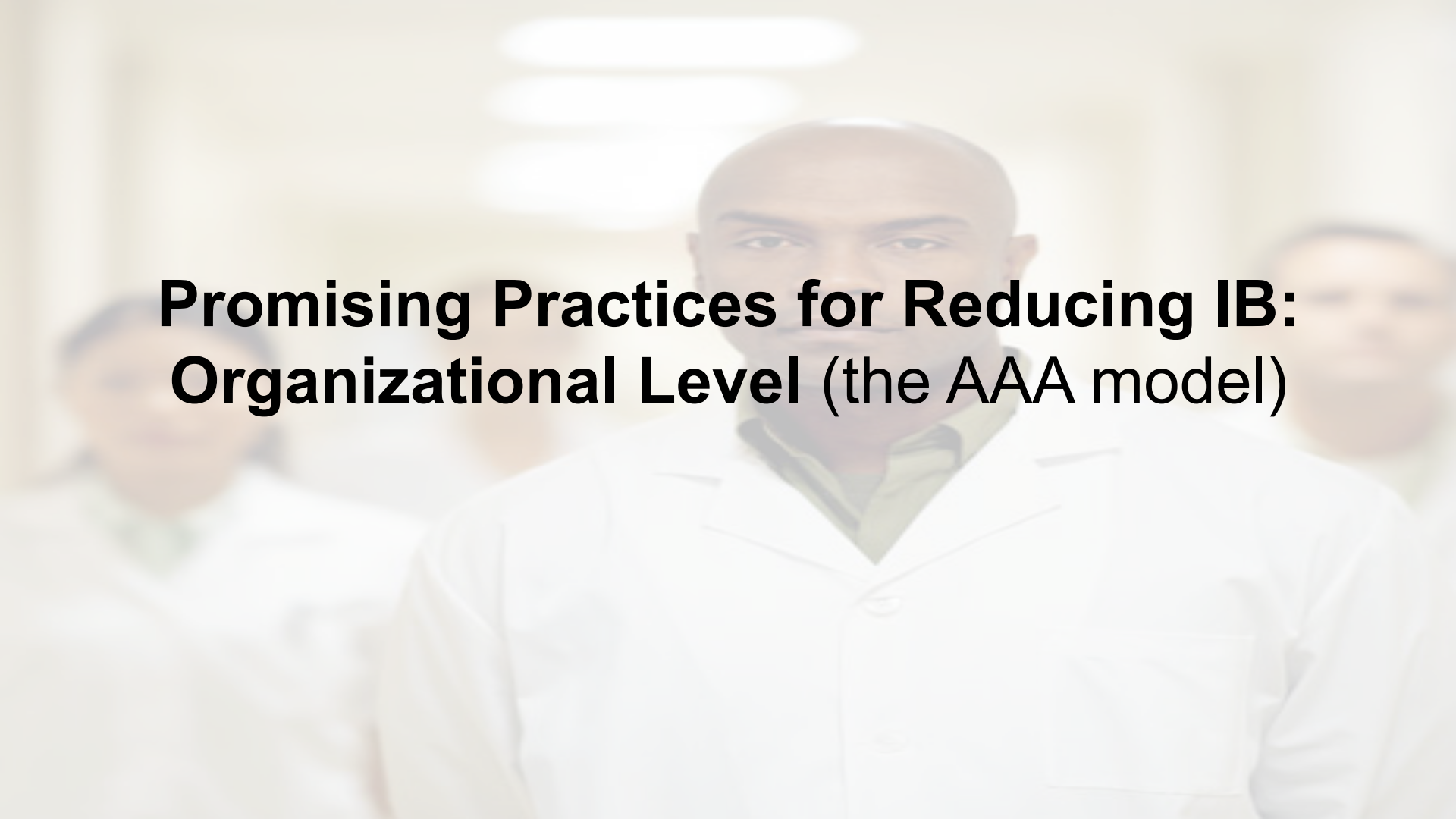
"Blind" yourself from learning a person's gender, race, etc. when you're making a decision about them (memorize/practice statements and behavior in advance)

- 2.2.1 Training emphasis on **de-escalation**, patience, alternatives to arrests or summonses as appropriate
- 5.7 Training in general interpersonal interaction and tactical skills
- **Knock on doors of nearby houses after shots fired**

8. How can we reduce the potential impact of implicit bias on policing?

“Blind” yourself from learning a person’s gender, race, etc. when you’re making a decision about them (memorize/practice statements and behavior in advance)

- 6.3.1 Limit continuous hours of policing (lack of sleep impairs judgment)
- 6.4.2 Expand use of bullet-proof vests (officers will feel safer regardless of citizens they encounter) .



Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Organizational Level (the AAA model)

Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Organizational Level (the AAA model)

- **A**ssessment: Analyzing existing data to identify systemic implicit bias in organizations
  - Potential IB within an organization
  - Potential IB in service delivery and impact
- **A**wareness: Discussing data that suggests IB with leadership, personnel, and stakeholders
- **A**ction: Creating bias-reducing practices and policies built on
  - **T**ransparency
  - **S**tandards
  - **A**ccountability

Promising Practices for Reducing IB: Organizational Level (the AAA model)

(Implement policies and practices that involve TSA)

- **Transparency**: a willingness to share data, rationale for policies and practices, good news and bad news (internally or externally as appropriate)
- **Standards**: there should be clear, evidence-based, procedures and standards that guide behavior and practice that are easily available and can be reasonably assessed
- **Accountability**: there should be policies/practices that *consistently and explicitly* assess whether standards and goals are being met and *consistently* provide rewards or corrective feedback

Take Home Messages

- We all have implicit biases, even toward our own group, but the impact of our biases on others is influenced by the roles we play in society
- IB has multiple causes, but exposure to associations of certain groups with specific traits is critical
- Implicit bias often, but doesn't always, affect our day to day feelings toward and treatment of others
- Data, not just emotions or anecdotes, reveal implicit bias
- Extreme behavior by a few members of a group (police) toward specific outgroups (racial minorities) can cause bias among outgroups (minorities not trusting police)
- It is easier to reduce biased behavior than biased thinking or feelings; start there, by implementing a few vital bias reducing strategies

Thank You and Selfie!

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- Questions???