

Jennifer L. Eberhardt

INSIDE THE BIG IDEAS

Biased: Uncovering the Hidden Prejudice That Shapes What We See, Think, and Do

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR



JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT IS A PROFESSOR

of psychology at Stanford. She has a Ph.D. from Harvard, and is the recipient of many prestigious awards, including a 2014 MacArthur "genius" grant. Media coverage of her research has appeared in *The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, WIRED, Vox,* and more, and her work has been featured on the BBC, PBS, and NPR. She has been elected to the National Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was named one of *Foreign Policy's* 100 Leading Global Thinkers. She is widely considered one of the world's leading experts on racial bias.

A LETTER FROM DANIEL PINK

Dear Next Big Idea Club Member:

Reading is a cerebral act. When we read, the words in the book march into our brains, perform their magic dance, and leave footprints on our memory.

But every so often, books come along that register not just in the brain, but also in the gut. These books feel less like a performance in the mind and more like a punch to the midsection. They leave us staggering, gasping, wondering what the heck just happened.

Our latest Next Big Idea Club selection is one of those books.

Evolutionary psychologists have long known that human beings are categorical creatures—we rely on categories to help us understand the world and move through it. But perhaps the most fundamental human categorization may also be the most pernicious: *Us and them*.

Biased examines the science of us and them, particularly when it comes to race. Jennifer Eberhardt—an eminent social psychologist, Stanford University professor, and MacArthur "genius" grant recipient—takes us through experiment after experiment, field study after field study, revealing how deeply implicit bias infiltrates everyday life.

For example, African-American drivers are disproportionately more likely than white drivers to be stopped for routine traffic violations—and treated with less respect during the subsequent police encounters. Digitally manipulating a face of a supposed criminal defendant to give him darker skin and more stereotypically black features leads people to impose harsher punishments. Black job applicants with clean records receive no more callbacks for interviews than white applicants with criminal records. Houses inhabited by African-American families fetch lower prices on the real estate market than identical houses in the same neighborhood owned by white families.

As the evidence accumulates, the effect is dizzying. Sometimes I'd complete a chapter, shut the book, and just shake my head in disbelief.

But *Biased* is no mere recitation of research, nor is it a 300-page scolding. Dr. Eberhardt writes with empathy and nuance, deftly weaving in her own story and including tales of her own fallibility.

The result is that, in the end, she leaves us with both hope and solutions. Bias may be inherent, but its consequences are not inevitable. Dr. Eberhardt shows what all of us can do—as leaders, as educators, as parents, as citizens—to reduce bias, to widen the circle of who constitutes "us."

I've been telling everyone I know to read this book, even though—actually, *because*—portions of it can be painful. Sometimes a punch in the gut can wake us up, engage our brains, and maybe even open our hearts.

All the best, Daniel Pink





OVERVIEW

In her career as a social psychologist and Stanford University professor, Dr. Jennifer L. Eberhardt has dedicated herself to researching and teaching about implicit bias, the unconscious attribution of particular qualities to members of a social group. Implicit bias is all about the assumptions you make about other races, genders, and more without even realizing it—and it affects everyone. It's a product of both the architecture of our brains and the disparities in our society, influencing our perception, our attention, our memory, and our actions—all despite our conscious awareness or deliberate intentions.

Biased aims to reveal the many surprising ways that implicit bias affects all sorts of decisions we make during the normal course of our lives—the homes we buy, the people we hire, the way we treat our neighbors. But just as importantly, the book highlights that neither our evolutionary path nor our present culture dooms us to be held hostage by these biases. Change is possible—it simply requires an open-minded attention that is well within our reach.

Read on for 8 Big Ideas from *Biased: Uncovering the Hidden Prejudice That Shapes What We See, Think, and Do.* And be sure to visit the Next Big Idea Club member portal to view exclusive Insight Videos featuring Dr. Jennifer L. Eberhardt

A Special Request: As a researcher, Dr. Eberhardt is curious about your thoughts and experiences involving bias. She invites you to share what you're grappling with, what worries you, and what moves you—both in the book and in your life. If you'd like to contact her, either write a message in the Next Big Idea Club Facebook group or, if you'd rather send a private note, you can email her directly at jennifer@nextbigideaclub.com. All emails will remain anonymous.

BIASED

JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

8 BIG IDEAS

1) The Surprising Science of Recognition

When Jennifer Eberhardt was twelve years old, her family moved to a nearly all-white suburb. At her new middle school, she was surrounded by white faces for the first time—and to her surprise, she had trouble distinguishing one from another.

She tried training herself to pay attention to features that she had never needed to notice before—eye color, various shades of blond hair, freckles—but all the faces would just blend together in her mind. Initially, she had worried about being ostracized because she wasn't one of them. But ironically, *she* was the one stumbling over racial differences.

Why was it so difficult for her to recognize students of another race? Years later, Dr. Eberhrdt was still intrigued by this question, so she and a team of Stanford neuroscientists recruited dozens of white and black volunteers, and subjected them to functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scans. This technique allowed them to track the brain's changes in blood flow, which indicate neural activity, while they showed the volunteers a series of faces of black and white strangers. As they suspected, there was, indeed, neural activity corresponding with a same-race advantage in the face-recognition process.

For nearly fifty years now, scientists have observed that people are much better at recognizing faces of their own race than faces of other races—a finding dubbed the "other-race effect." By the time babies are three months old, their brains react more strongly to faces of their own race than faces of people unlike them. That race-selective response only grows stronger as children move into adolescence, which suggests it is driven, in part, by the circumstances of our lives. We learn what's important—the faces we see every day—and over time, our brain builds a preference for those faces, at the expense of skills needed to recognize others who seem less relevant. Race, as it turns out, can exert influence over some of the brain's most basic functions.

2) The Danger of Stereotypes

Categorization—grouping like things together—is something we all do, and it allows us to organize the overload of stimuli that constantly bombard us. It helps our brains make judgments more efficiently by relying on patterns that seem predictable. We place animals, food, furniture, and everything else into categories, then fill every category with information, and imbue it with feelings that guide our actions toward things in that category.



But when we categorize people into social groups, the beliefs we have about those social groups are called "stereotypes." We all use stereotypes to help us make sense of other people, but stereotypes are often culturally generated and culturally specific. In the United States, blacks are so strongly associated with threat and aggression that white people struggle to accurately read the facial expressions of black people. For example, a black man who is excited might appear angry. Fear can be misread as outrage, silence taken as belligerence.

Once, a police officer told Dr. Eberhardt an unforgettable story about working undercover. "I saw a guy, at a distance, who didn't look right," he told her. "This guy looked similar to me—black, same build, same height. But this guy had a scruffy beard, unkempt hair, ripped clothes, and he looked like he was up to no good." The officer grew more concerned, certain that the man had a gun on him. As he got closer to a nearby office building, he lost sight of the man and began to feel panicked. And then, suddenly he saw the guy again, but now he was *inside* the office building. The officer could see the man clearly through the glass wall, walking in the same direction and at the same pace as he was walking.

Finally, he turned abruptly to confront the man. The man stopped too. And when the officer looked him in the eyes, a shock went through him. "I realized that I was staring at myself," he said. "I was the person I feared. I was staring at my own reflection through the mirrored wall. That entire time, I was tailing myself; I was profiling myself."

How much of who we are and how we feel is dictated by things outside our awareness or control? How often are we really the tolerant, fair-minded person we want to be? And how can we learn to check ourselves and mute the negative impact that bias can have?

3) Selective Attention and Procedural Justice

Decades of research have shown that people care just as much about how they are treated during an interaction as they do about the outcome of that interaction. In the policing context, this suggests that people stopped by police care just as much about how officers treat them as they do about whether or not they get a ticket. Both research and real-life experience have shown that if officers act in accordance with a few simple tenets—giving people voice, treating them with fairness and respect—citizens will be more inclined to think of the police as legitimate authorities, and will therefore be more likely to comply with the law.

But why do officers need to be reminded of these principles? Because one of the primary barriers to good policing is the cynicism that officers develop while working the streets.

BIASED

JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

It's easy for officers to get beaten down by fighting crime. Over time, they become bitter about putting their lives on the line for people who do not seem to respect them or appreciate their efforts. They also get worn down by living in a constant state of hypervigilance. But as their cynicism grows, their vision narrows. The 3% of people who are actively engaged in violent crime in the city dominate their attention, and they begin to see all the residents of the communities they serve through this tiny window.

That selective attention is not something limited to the police; it is a basic feature of brain functioning. Just as our brains use categorization to create a sense of coherence and control over a chaotic world, our brains use selective attention as well. Based on our goals and expectations, we make choices—often unconsciously—about what we attend to and what we do not.

Perhaps the most famous demonstration of selective attention was developed by the cognitive psychologists Daniel Simons and Christopher Chabris. They ask people to watch a silent, 30-second video clip of two teams of people passing around a basketball. Unsuspecting viewers are instructed to count the exact number of passes made by the team in the light-colored shirts. People are so focused on accurately counting the number of passes that more than half of them fail to see the person in a gorilla suit, who enters the scene on the right, pauses in the middle for a chest pound, and then walks off camera to the left. Their attention is so focused on the task at hand that their brain records the gorilla as irrelevant.

The "invisible gorilla" reminds us of how selective our social perception may be. Many officers who patrol diverse, high-crime communities come to view the racial disparities in policing as the sole result of who commits the crimes. People who live in those communities view those disparities as a result of police bias, because they know that the majority of their neighbors are not criminals.

In procedural justice training, officers are taught to reorient their view—to think about every interaction with the public as they would a bank transaction. They can use that interaction to make a deposit that will increase trust and improve police-community relations, or they can allow it to become a withdrawal, decreasing trust and increasing police-community tension. Each interaction has the capacity to influence people well beyond the individual officer and resident directly involved.

4) We Are All Human, and Nothing Less

As the slave trade to Europe and the Americas became a flourishing economic system, the subjugation and brutalization of millions of Africans was rationalized by science with false theories, which decreed that the dark-skinned captives were



less than fully human, positioning them just above chimpanzees.

Historically, marginalized groups in countries all over the world are often discredited through animal imagery. Disfavored immigrant groups—like Mexicans in the United States, Jews in Germany, the Roma in Italy, Muslims across the European continent—are frequently likened to insects, rodents, and other vermin known to invade spaces, spread disease, or breed rapidly.

When millions of Irish immigrated en masse to the United States in the mid-19th century—on the same converted cargo ships that had carried enslaved Africans to American shores—they were greeted by blatant prejudice. Signs that proclaimed "No Irish Need Apply" were accompanied by simian images of Celtic ape-men with sloping foreheads and monstrous faces.

But over time, the Irish were able to leave those ugly caricatures behind, and become white in the eyes of society. Blacks, however, remain strapped to the ape association by a history of slavery, present-day disparities in almost every domain of life, and a collection of overlapping racial stereotypes that reinforce those inequities. Blacks are seen as cognitively challenged, big, dangerous, aggressive, violent, unrestrained brutes—the very features that, unfortunately, many associate with apes.

This kind of animal imagery is as grotesque as it is problematic, and it can shape how the public evaluates the choices that police officers make.

Dr. Eberhardt and her colleagues conducted a study in which they showed people a video of officers beating a suspect that the study participants could not clearly see. Some were led to believe the suspect was white, others that he was black. When they exposed the viewers subliminally to ape-relevant words before watching the film, they were more likely to view the brutal police treatment as justified, but only if they believed the suspect was black. Primed subliminally by words like "baboon," "gorilla," and "chimpanzee," they were more likely to believe that the black suspect's behavior made that kind of police violence necessary, and that he deserved the beating he received. That's how strong the ape association can be—even when we're not consciously aware of it, it can influence our judgment.

As social threats rise, cultural norms shift, and group polarization turns extreme, we are exposed to ever-more brazen displays of dehumanization, which threaten to magnify our worst impulses. But there is hope—our brains, our minds, are molded and remolded by our experiences and our environments. And the power to change our ways of thinking, to scrub away the residue of ancient demons, is in our hands.

BIASED

JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

5) Home Sweet Home

In the 21st century, bias has found both an ally and adversary in technology. With everyone carrying a camera in their pocket, technology can document and share disturbing displays of bias that might have been invisible before: black teens accosted and ejected by a white resident from a North Carolina community pool, Latino restaurant employees yelled at and threatened for speaking Spanish in New York City, an Asian-American woman whose Airbnb reservation was canceled because of her ethnicity.

But technology can also be used to stigmatize innocent targets. Nextdoor is a social networking service with tens of millions of users, and it serves as a giant online chat room for neighborhoods. Recently, Nextdoor was struggling with its "crime and safety" category—there were too many posts with racist overtones, messages that labeled blacks and Latinos "suspicious" for just walking down a street, sitting in a car, talking on a cell phone, or knocking on a door. As one of the founders told Dr. Eberhardt, "Most people weren't consciously racial profiling... They just knew when they'd seen something that made them uncomfortable and compelled them, for safety's sake, to share it."

The Nextdoor team began digging through the research on how to deal with bias, searching for techniques that would preserve users' freedom to flag danger when they see it, but would also protect people from being unfairly targeted. They soon found studies showing how bias is most likely to surface when we're fearful and moving quickly. Technology makes it easy to express ourselves at a moment's notice, but unfortunately, that speed leads us to rely too heavily on subconscious bias.

So to curb racial profiling, the Nextdoor team had to slow people down. That meant adding steps to the process of posting about "suspicious people," forcing people to look past the broad category of race, and think about specific characteristics. They developed a checklist of three reminders that people have to click through before they can post about a "suspicious person":

- **1. Focus on behavior.** What was the person doing that concerned you, and how does it relate to a possible crime?
- **2. Give a full description,** including clothing, to distinguish between similar people. Consider unintended consequences if the description is so vague that an innocent person could be targeted.
- **3. Don't assume criminality based on someone's race or ethnicity.** Racial profiling is expressly prohibited.



Adding this bit of thoughtful friction was wildly successful, reducing the incidence of racial profiling on Nextdoor by more than 75%. The company even adapted the process for international use, with customized filters for European countries.

Ultimately, we see our neighborhoods as an extension of our homes, and home is the place where you let your guard down—where you expect to feel safe, loved, and comfortable. But living with diversity means becoming comfortable with people who might not look or think like you, who don't share your experiences or perspectives. That process can be challenging, but it's a golden opportunity to expand your horizons and examine your buried biases.

6) The Power of Context

In 1967, Bernice Donald was one of four black girls enrolled at the previously all-white Olive Branch High in Mississippi. School segregation had just been ruled unconstitutional, but the white students had no intention of accepting blacks as peers. They called the black girls ugly names and refused to associate with them—and their teachers weren't much better. In algebra class, Bernice's teacher assigned her a seat at the very front of the room, in a row all by herself, not permitting any other students to sit next to her.

Proponents of school desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s assumed that simply bringing people into personal contact with one another would allow everyone to replace broad, harmful stereotypes with individual names and faces, thereby making communities more tolerant and improving race relations. But simply sitting in the same classroom isn't enough to remedy time-worn prejudices—the benefits of interracial contact are conditional. As social psychologist Gordon Allport has pointed out, an interaction has a much greater chance of piercing bias if it is between people of equal status, is condoned by authorities, and is personal rather than superficial.

When you're stamped with the badge of inferiority, that stigma is communicated to and absorbed by the people around you. When you're routinely demeaned by a teacher whose authority others trust, the norm of inequality, not inclusiveness, is being endorsed. In fact, spending time with groups you're determined to dislike can actually translate to validation in a biased mind: *I thought these people were stupid*; now *I* know they are.

Allport also found that contact can exacerbate conflict if it involves competition or creates anxiety for those who take part. The encounters need to be long and frequent enough that the groups involved become comfortable with one another,

BIASED

JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

and feel that they have common goals or bonds. That's what helps dissolve the boundaries created by out-group distinctions—and what paved the way to acceptance for Bernice.

In her senior year of high school, the Honor Society planned a trip to New York City. As an honors student, Bernice was invited along—but she was nervous to travel with a group of hostile white students.

During the trip, she walked around Manhattan with the group, and like the rest of her southern troupe, she was wired for hospitality. But when the teenagers tried smiling and speaking to strangers, their greetings went unreturned. Bernice explained: "We'd be walking down the streets of Manhattan, looking at the New Yorkers, going, 'Hello, hello.' And they would look at us as if we were Martians. They just kept walking." Suddenly Bernice and her classmates were all outsiders, demoted collectively in Manhattan to second-class status. That experience was a turning point. "It caused us to focus on what we had in common, more so than how we were different." That feeling of togetherness lasted the entire trip.

Bernice didn't know it then, but she was experiencing the power of context to weaken bias. When we're faced with a common enemy, research has shown, our biases can temporarily dissolve by the urge to band together and survive. Even the harshest of group boundaries can be realigned when we are under threat. Being shunned by those New Yorkers allowed Bernice's classmates to see her, for the first time, as one of them. She finally had a taste of what it felt like to be an equal—and perhaps they experienced what it was like to be outcasts, shunned by the crowd.

7) The Risks of Color Blindness

Try not to notice skin color. If you don't allow yourself to think about race, you can never be biased.

That may sound like a fine ideal, but it's difficult to accomplish, and unsupported by science. Our brains, our culture, and our instincts all lead us to use color as a sorting tool, but the color-blind message is so esteemed in society that our children pick up the idea that noticing skin color is somehow rude. By the age of ten, children tend to refrain from discussing race, even in situations where mentioning race would be useful, like trying to describe the only black person in a group.

When we're afraid, unwilling, or ill-equipped to talk about race, we leave young people to their own devices to make sense of the conflicts and disparities they see.



In fact, the color-blind approach can actually impede our move toward equality; when people focus on not seeing color, they may also fail to see discrimination.

In one study, researchers exposed sixty mostly white 4th- and 5th-grade students to a videotaped message promoting racial equality. For some of the children, valuing *color blindness* was encouraged: "We all have to work hard to support racial equality. That means we need to focus on how we are *similar* to our neighbors, rather than how we are different. We want to show everyone that race is not important and we are all the same."

For the remaining children, valuing *diversity* was encouraged: "We all have to work hard to support racial equality. That means we need to recognize how we are *different* from our neighbors, and appreciate those differences. We want to show everyone that race is important because our racial differences make each of us special."

Next, all of the children listened to stories, some of which had clear racial components, like a black boy being intentionally tripped by another child simply because he was black. But when asked about the story, only 50% of those in the color blindness group identified the action as discriminatory. In the diversity-minded group, nearly 80% saw discrimination as a factor. Even the children's teachers were influenced; those in the color blindness group rated such hostile actions as less problematic, and were less inclined to intervene to protect the targeted child.

Despite good intentions, encouraging children to remain blind to race actually dampened their detection of discrimination. It left minority children to fend for themselves in an environment where the harm they endured could be neither seen nor remedied.

8) Change Is Possible

With implicit bias so consistently and pervasively distorting our judgment, it's easy to become disheartened, to believe that there's nothing we can do to combat our prejudices. But the fact of the matter is that change is possible.

As we saw with the users of Nextdoor, people are most vulnerable to implicit bias when they are thinking, speaking, and acting quickly. Without time to thoughtfully evaluate their judgments, they rely more heavily on their minds' default outlook. So the next time your find yourself jumping to a quick conclusion about someone—as we all do—simply slow down and ask yourself: "What specifically is making me feel this way? How much do I really know about this

INSIDE THE BIG IDEAS BIASED JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

person? Am I making any assumptions here?" In this way, you can take your focus away from stereotypes and toward the specific individual in front of you.

We can also combat our implicit biases by daring to discuss our differences in nonjudgmental, empathetic ways. Many of us believe that to talk about race is to risk sounding racist, but as we saw with the study on color blindness, failing to acknowledge race leaves us blind to discriminatory and unjust behavior. So it's not only acceptable, but preferable, to speak up about the fact that race is a real differentiating quality among us, and it leads to unique benefits and challenges as we move through the world. By recognizing someone's race, we honor a key component of their identity, and begin to accept them for who they are.

Lastly, remember that every person you meet is a unique individual. They experience joy, and sadness, and love. They have a favorite food, and a biggest fear, and a friend who treasures them. When we pause to imagine the full complexity and richness of someone's life, they become more than just a skin color, or a gender, or a face—they become a human being, just like us. And that is the beginning of true understanding.



TALKING POINTS

Here are some of the most memorable stories, facts, and statistics from Biased, ideas worth sharing with everyone you know.

Adults shape the lens through which children see the world. In one study, researchers showed preschoolers videos of a woman greeting and engaging with two adults. She greets one of the adults by smiling, leaning toward her, using a warm tone of voice, and happily sharing a colorful toy. She greets the other adult by scowling, leaning away, using a cold tone of voice, and reluctantly handing over the colorful toy. After watching the video, the preschoolers are asked to point to the adult they prefer. 75% of the time, children point to the adult who was treated well. When asked to whom they would like to give the toy, 69% of the time they chose the adult who was treated well.

According to a meta-analysis of 18.5 million traffic stops across the country between 2010 and 2016, black drivers are more than twice as likely as white drivers to have been stopped for a high-discretion equipment violation—like a broken light, an expired tag, or a faulty turn signal—as opposed to a moving violation.

Celebrated 19th-century French scientist Paul Broca is best known for finding proof that brain functioning is localized, a breakthrough discovery that radically changed how scientists understood the brain. But **Broca's interest in brain localization theories was tied to his interest in polygenism,** which posits the view that the human races are of different origins. Broca (incorrectly) argued that the frontal lobes responsible for higher reasoning were grossly underdeveloped in blacks, while the occipital lobes that handle sensory processing were overdeveloped. He offered a scientific rationale for the presumed intellectual inferiority of blacks, and used physical distinctions to explain social inequality.

A 2017 poll by Phi Delta Kappa, the professional organization for educators, found that 70% of parents would like to have their child in a racially diverse school. But 57% prize proximity over diversity, and only one-quarter of those who would like a diverse school say they'd be willing to make a longer commute to get to one. As a consequence, research by the UCLA Civil Rights Project shows that the number of intensely segregated schools—where less than 10% of students are white—has more than *tripled* in the past thirty years.

Studies have shown that blacks and Asians are subject to stereotypes that can resonate unfavorably with employers or recruiters. So in 2013, a team of

BIASED

JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

researchers interviewed dozens of black and Asian university students who were actively job hunting. Many of the students had scrubbed their résumés of references that could draw attention to their race, anglicizing their names (relying on nicknames or initials), omitting ethnic affiliations (like heading the Black Students Association), and even adding interests that are typically associated with white people, like wilderness treks. This practice is so widespread that it even has a name: whitening the résumé.

The University of Colorado, Boulder did a study using a "shoot—don't shoot" computer simulation, where participants were told that if they see somebody holding a gun, they should press a button labeled "shoot," and if they see someone holding a harmless object, they should press a button labeled "don't shoot." The study found that sometimes the way to curb bias is not by attempting to rid people of a racial association that they have had throughout their lives, but instead to simply train them to do their jobs better. The skills they develop through goal-driven, repetitive practice can override the effect of bias on their actions.

INTERACTIVE

Launched at Harvard University in 1998, Project Implicit offers "implicit association tests," or IATs, that are designed to uncover participants' unconscious biases about other demographic groups. It measures the strength of associations between concepts (e.g., black people, gay people) and evaluations (e.g., good, bad) or stereotypes (e.g., athletic, clumsy).

Some of these tests, for example, present a series of faces and words one at a time. The faces are of black and white people, and the words are good ("joy," "peace," etc.) or bad ("nasty," "evil," etc.) The IAT then measures bias by tracking the speed at which participants can categorize the faces as black or white and the words as good or bad.

To take an IAT and investigate your own associations about race, religion, gender, or another category, visit **implicit.harvard.edu.** You can complete an entire IAT in about 10 minutes.

If your test results are discouraging, don't worry. Unconscious bias affects everyone—even those who firmly believe in equality and justice—and it often lies outside your conscious control. Recognizing it is the first step toward creating better, more fulfilling interactions with the people around us.



QUIZ

1) Implicit bias is:

- A) a way of calling someone racist.
- B) only relevant when it comes to criminal justice.
- C) a distorting lens that's a product of both the architecture of our brain and the disparities in our society.
- D) exclusively about race.

2) Implicit racial bias can influence many important decisions we make in our lives, such as:

- A) where we live.
- B) where we work.
- C) the people we hire.
- D) All of the above.

3) Research has shown that s	something as simple as driving a taxi can offer
lessons in how	can retrain our brains to function
differently.	

- A) basic practice and repetition
- B) idle reflection
- C) failure
- D) economic incentive

4) Categorization:

- A) is a fundamental tool that our brains are wired to use.
- B) applies not just to people, but also to things.
- C) first appeared in the context of Western philosophy in the work of Plato, who introduced the approach of grouping objects based on their similar properties.
- D) All of the above

BIASED

JENNIFER L. EBERHARDT

5) Of the thousand or so people who are shot to death by police officers in the United States each year, of those fatal encounters begin with a traffic
stop for something as innocuous as a loud muffler or a broken taillight.
A) 1%
B) 6%
C) 11%
D) 20%
6) The United States has the highest incarceration rate of any industrialized nation in the world. We account for only 4.4% of the world's population, but house 22% of the world's prisoners. In 2017, more than Americans were behind bars.
A) 100,000
B) 500,000
C) 1.2 million
D) 2.1 million
7) In an online study, people who were house-hunting on Craigslist were asked to evaluate a hypothetical home being sold. The only change in the description of the home was whether the owners were a white or black family. The house-hunters' response to the house being sold by the black family was to:
A) set the value as \$22,000 less than the house being sold by the white family.
B) predict that more would need to be done to spruce it up to attract buyers.
C) picture a neighborhood with limited access to shopping, inferior city services, mediocre schools, and less well-maintained properties.
D) All of the above
8) Research supports the notion that can lead people to be more open-minded and act more fairly, particularly when they have time to reflect on their choices.
A) avoiding any discussion of race
B) raising the issue of race and discrimination explicitly
B) raising the issue of race and discrimination explicitly C) hurrying people to make a decision



- 9) According to social psychologist Gordon Allport, interracial contact has a much greater chance of piercing bias when the interactions meet a long list of conditions, including that the contact is:
 - A) between people of equal status.
 - B) condoned by authorities.
 - C) personal rather than superficial.
 - D) All of the above
- 10) One effective strategy to help unlock the potential of minority students is the use of "wise feedback." For example, a teacher's note on an essay that reads, "I'm giving you these comments because I have high expectations, and I know that you can reach them." Wise feedback convey to students that they are not being judged through the lens of a stereotype. This intervention succeeds only if:
 - A) students feel valued.
 - B) students are able to trust adults who hold authority roles.
 - C) A and B
 - D) white students don't receive similar notes.

