The Science of Diversity and the Impact of Unconscious Bias

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National Institutes of Health Office of the Director Scientific Workforce Diversity

Today's Agenda

- Why diversity matters
 - Why & How
- Unconscious bias as hurdle
 - Judgment and Decision-making
 - Everyday Interaction
- Strategies to mitigate influence of unconscious bias
- NIH/Scientific Workforce Diversity
 - Our approach

Shining a Light on the Problem: Racial Disparity in NIH R01s



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STUDY AT A GLANCE

Race, Ethnicity, and NIH Research Awards

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NEWS & ANALYSIS

BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH FUNDING

NIH Uncovers Racial Disparity in Grant Awards

The initial surprise was that R01 proposals from black Ph.D. scientists (including 45% non-U.S. citizens) were extremely rare. They totaled only 1.4% of all applications, compared with 3.2% for Hispanics and 16% for Asian scientists. (By contrast, African Americans make up about 13% of the U.S. population.) About 60% of all proposals

| R01 applications from Ph.D.s analyzed | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|
| Unique Ph.D. investigators | | |
| R01 applications from black Ph.D.s | | |
| Expected awards to black applicants if same success chance as whites | | |
| Actual awards to black applicants | | |
| | | |

The Biomedical Career Path Is Really a Funnel Underrepresented Groups (%)



Gender Gap in Academic Medicine 2013 – 2014

At the current rate of improvement, attaining gender parity will take a very long time (48 years nationwide)



Adapted from: The state of women in academic medicine 2013-14: AAMC Report Diana M. Lautenberger, et. al.

Why Diversity Matters Capitalizing on the Opportunity

- Excellence, creativity, innovation
- Broadening scope of inquiry solutions to complex problems in increasingly complex world
- Impact of workforce diversity on health disparities
- Ensuring fairness
 - Changing demographics
 - Leveraging the U.S. intellectual capital



Impact of Workforce Diversity on Health Disparities: The Evidence

Patients' Beliefs About Racism, Preferences for Physician Race, and Satisfaction With Care

Frederick M. Chen, MD, MPH⁴ George E. Fryer, Jr, PbD² Robert L. Phillips, Jr, MD, MSPH² Elisabeth Wilson, MD, MPH³ Donald E. Pathman, MD, MPH⁴



Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care

- Underrepresented racial, ethnic minority health professionals disproportionately serve racial, ethnic minority and other underserved populations (Cantor 1996; Komaromay et al. 1996)
- Racial, ethnic minorities more likely to receive better interpersonal care from practitioners of their own race or ethnicity (Chen 2005; Garcia et al. 2003)



Racial bias in pain assessment and treatment recommendations, and false beliefs about biological differences between blacks and whites

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Edited by Susan T. Fiske, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, and approved March 1, 2016 (received for review August 18, 2015)

Approximately 50% white medical students and residents falsely believe that:

- Black (vs. white) patients feel less pain
- More likely to suggest inappropriate treatments for black (vs. white) patients

Diversity of Thought: Driving Force of Innovation

- Cognitive Diversity increases:
 - Creativity
 - Search for novel information
 - Search for novel perspective
 - Better decision making



Diversity and Performance

• Examined size and gender composition of top 1,500 management firm from 1992-2006 (collected from S&P).

Representation of females at top management \rightarrow increase of \$42 million in firm values on average.

Firms that value innovation saw even greater gains – *\$44 million.*



Dezsö, C. L., & Ross, D. G. (2012). Strategic Management Journal, 33(9), 1072-1089.



Diversity and Quality Science

- 2.57 million scientific papers between 1985-2008 (only authors with U.S. addresses).
- Surnames of co-authors

Papers written by a diverse groups:

- Receive more citations
- Published in journals with higher impact factor



Freeman, R. B., & Huang, W. (2014). National Bureau of Economic Research, No. w19905.

Diversity and Financial Decision Making

Ethnically homogenous financial traders vs. Ethnically heterogeneous financial traders



Less able to accurately predict stock prices (33% decline)

More likely to accept inflated prices (contributes to financial bubble) and when bubbles burst, crashed more severely.



"Diversity facilitates friction that enhances deliberation and upends conformity."

Levine, S. S., Apfelbaum, E. P., Bernard, M., Bartelt, V. L., Zajac, E. J., & Stark, D. (2014). Ethnic diversity deflates price bubbles. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 111(52), 18524-18529.

Diversity and Jury Decision Making

| Racially homogenous jurors | s. Racially het | <u>erogeneous jurors</u> |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | HETEROGENEOUS | |
| Measure | All-White Group | Diverse Group |
| Deliberation Length, in mins | 38.49 | 50.67 |
| # of case facts discussed | 25.93 | 30.48 |
| # of factual inaccuracies | 7.28 | 4.14 |
| # of uncorrected inaccurate statements | 2.49 | 1.36 |

Sommers, S. R. (2006). On racial diversity and group decision making: identifying multiple effects of racial composition on jury deliberations. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 90(4), 597.

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Why?

- Simply being exposed to diversity can change the way you think:
 - Anticipate differences
 - Encourage consideration of alternatives
 - Dissent provokes more thought when it comes from someone who is different from us.
 - Opinion dissent in diverse groups contribute to novelty and integrative complexity
- Diversity can be a catalyst for change, growth, and innovation.

Hurdles to Diversity

- Easy answers have not been sufficient.
- Implicit or unconscious processes can be a hurdle to reaping the benefits of diversity.
- We are exposed to approximately 11 million pieces of information at any moment.
 - We process about 40 every moment.
- Nobel prizing winning neuroscientist, Eric Kandel, estimates that 80-90% of our mind works unconsciously.
 - Must use shortcuts and past knowledge to make assumptions, aka "Mind Habits"
 - These habits influence our thoughts, judgment, and interpretations

Wilson, T. (2002). Strangers to Ourselves: Discovering the Adaptive Unconscious.

.5



Meanwhile, we believe...



Fact: Ingrained mind habits often produce errors in how we perceive, judge, and make decisions.



Unconscious Bias

DEMO 1



"We see what we look for, and look for what we know" - Goethe



DEMO 2



DEMO 3



Categorization

- We ALL innately and automatically categorize (e.g., stereotype).
- And these categorizations alter and impact our perceptions and judgments without awareness.

Fact: We activate stereotypes without awareness.

Fact: We are all biased

Macrae, C.N. & Bodenhausen G. V. (2001) British Journal of Psychology, 92, 239-255.

CANON AUSTRALIA - "A photograph is shaped more by the person behind the camera than what is in front of it."



Who is a "Scientist"?



Barman, CR. (1999). J. Science Teacher Education, 10(1), 43-54

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But You Don't Look Like Scientist!

• Feminine women are deemed less likely to be a scientist.



Banchefsky, S., Westfall, J., Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2016). But You Don't Look Like A Scientist!: Women Scientists with Feminine Appearance are Deemed Less Likely to be Scientists. Sex *Roles*, 1-15.



NO Differences in Likelihood Of Being

Scientist vs.

Teacher

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* Low likelihood for males to be teachers

Banchefsky, S., Westfall, J., Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2016). But You Don't Look Like A Scientist!: Women Scientists with Feminine Appearance are Deemed Less Likely to be Scientists. Sex *Roles*, 1-15.



High likelihood of scientist (low likelihood of teacher)

High likelihood of teacher (low likelihood of scientist)

Banchefsky, S., Westfall, J., Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2016). But You Don't Look Like A Scientist!: Women Scientists with Feminine Appearance are Deemed Less Likely to be Scientists. Sex Roles, 1-15.



Evaluation In Academic Science



Both <u>male and</u> <u>female</u> faculty members:

Rated female student as less competent, less hireable, and offered less salary (\$3.7K) and mentoring.

Even though the female was rated more likeable.

All ps<.05



Evaluation of Identical Resume



50% difference in call back rates. White applicant can expect 1 call back for every 10 jobs and 15 for black applicants.

Black applicants do not see increase in callbacks with improvement in their credentials. (ps<.0001)

This study has just been replicated (2015)– with similar findings and show that education level (college education) does not seem to matter for Black applicants!

Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2003). National Bureau of Economic Research. Nunley, J. M., Pugh, A., Romero, N., & Seals, R. A. (2015).. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*.

Motherhood Penalty / Fatherhood benefit

Four Identical applications:



Correll, Benard & Paik (2007) American Journal of Sociology, 112 (5), 1297-1338.

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Motherhood Penalty / Fatherhood benefit



Compared to nonmothers, mothers were:

- Received about 50% of call backs
- Rated less competent
- Less likely to be recommended for hire
- Offered less pay (11k)
- Lower likelihood of promotion
- Seen as less committed
- Less days allowed late
- Required higher score on exams (4.5 pts higher)

Correll, Benard & Paik (2007) American Journal of Sociology, 112 (5), 1297-1338.

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Motherhood Penalty / Fatherhood benefit

Compared to nonfather, fathers were:

- Offered more pay (6k)
- Higher likelihood of promotion
- Seen as more committed
- Allowed more days late



Correll, Benard & Paik (2007) American Journal of Sociology, 112 (5), 1297-1338.

Recommendation Letters for Medical Faculty



Trix, F., & Psenka, C. (2003). Exploring the color of glass: Letters of recommendation for female and male medical faculty. *Discourse & Society*, 14(2), 191-220

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Strategies to Mitigate the Influence of Unconscious Bias

WHAT CAN WE DO?

How can we control what we are not consciously aware of?

What Does Not Work

Thought/Stereotype Suppression

("Color blind"- race or gender)

Trying not to think about stereotypes often back fires-"Suppression rebound"

Macrae et al. (1994) Monteith et al. (1998)

Belief in Personal Objectivity

Belief in your ability to be objective.

"When people feel that they are objective, rational actors, they act on their group-based biases more rather than less"

It's not whether you have biases. It's about which one is your bias?

Uhlman & Cohen (2007)

Managing the Unconscious

• We can learn to adapt and correct for our unconscious biases.



Educational Intervention Works!

- 92 departments, matched by school/college
- Randomized controlled intervention vs. not
- Intervention group reported:
 - Greater personal bias awareness
 - More motivation to promote gender equity
 - More confidence in being able to enact gender equity
 - Feel that it would be personally beneficial to promote gender equity in one's department
- Persisted 3 months later

What's Your Motivation?

Start by reminding yourself of your intrinsic motivations.



Legault, L., Gutsell, J. N., & Inzlicht, M. (2011). Ironic effects of antiprejudice messages How motivational interventions Can reduce (but also increase) prejudice. *Psychological Science*

Use Habit Breaking Routine

Plan out in advance when, where, and how to act on one's goal in an <u>if-then</u> format:

"If I encounter a member ______ group, Then I will think ______."

- Interrupts routine behavior
- Uses situational cues
- Serve as subtle reminder
- "If I am the most senior person in the room, then I will share my ideas last."

Stewart, B. D., & Payne, B. K. (2008). Bringing automatic stereotyping under control: Implementation intentions as efficient means of thought control. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(10), 1332-1345.

Have Some Imagination

Imagining an ideal candidate can *limit diversity* because people are more likely to imagine a prototypical candidate.

"Ideal may render minorities invisible to mind's eye." Taking 30 seconds to imagine a broad scope of candidates (different ways people can imagine and assess science) can change who you consider. Mental image matters because likelihood of performing that behaviors increases with mental representations



Brown-lannuzzi, J. L., Payne, B. K., & Trawalter, S. (2012). Narrow imaginations: How imagining ideal employees can increase racial bias. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 17.

Imagine Counter-Stereotypical Individuals

Think of individuals who do not fit stereotypes

- Reduces stereotypes
- Increases creativity and cognitive flexibility



Sylvester James Gates (physicist famous for super string theory) Mae Jemison (astronaut, first black woman in space)

Jane Goodall (primatologist, famous for her work on chimp social interactions)

Neil deGrasse Tyson (astrophysicist, director of the Hayden Planetarium)

Blair, I. V., Ma, J. E., & Lenton, A. P. (2001).. Journal of personality and social psychology, 81(5), 828. Gocłowska, M. A., & Crisp, R. J. (2013). Thinking skills and creativity, 8, 72-79.



Walk a Mile in Their Shoes

Try to walk a mile in someone's shoes – adopt his/her perspective and imagine what it's like to be a member of stigmatized group.

Imagine:

• What would it be like to get a job callback for every 15 jobs when your friend gets one for every 10?

Take Your Time

- More likely to fall for cognitive errors (unconscious bias) when distracted, under time pressure, or tired.
- If possible, be rested:
 - Morning people are more likely to rely on stereotypes at night vs. night people are more likely to rely on stereotypes in the morning.
 - Sleep deprived individuals are less cognitively flexible

Creating Opportunity for Positive Interaction

- Cooperative vs. competitive
- Common identity or goals
- Norms of egalitarian beliefs
 - Expression of egalitarian goals and beliefs
 - Norms of overcoming bias



If We Do Nothing... The Cycle Reproduces Itself



Adapted from ADVANCE – University of Michigan



National Institutes of Health addresses the science of diversity

Hannah A. Valantine^{a,1} and Francis S. Collins^b

^aChief Officer for Scientific Workforce Diversity, US National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, MD 20814; and ^bDirector, US National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, MD 20814

Cross-Cutting Challenges

- Science of diversity: what is the impact of diversity on the quality and outputs of research?
- Identifying psychological and social factors that mitigate individual and institutional barriers to workforce diversity
- Which evidence-based approaches to training and persistence in biomedical research work? And in which contexts?
- Develop a scalable strategy to effectively disseminate and sustain diversity within the nationwide scientific workforce



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What are the *psychosocial factors* that affect workforce diversity and how can they be mitigated?

Evidence

- Effects of bias on hiring
- Social science interventions are effective for mitigating bias, stereotype threat

Question

Effects of bias on review?

Actions

- Implicit bias interventions in NIH search committees
- Measuring hallmarks of success and their impact on career progression
- Testing anonymized review to detect potential bias

NIH IRP Stadtman Search Implicit Bias Intervention Pilot

Experimental Intervention Group





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Which <u>evidence-based approaches</u> to training and persistence in biomedical research work?

Evidence

- Research experience, mentoring important for career success
- Gender/racial representation in science leadership low

Actions

- Funding research on recruitment/retention in science careers
 - Experimental training awards (BUILD)
 - National mentoring network (NRMN)

Implementation of a Major ACD WG Recommendation NIH Diversity Program Consortium Pipeline, Mentoring, Evaluation

Awards made October 2014 BUILD: 10 sites

NRMN CEC

Total: \$250 million (5 yrs)

BUILD

- California State University Long Beach
- California State University Northridge
- Morgan State University
- Portland State University
- San Francisco State University
- University of Alaska Fairbanks
- University of Detroit Mercy
- University of Maryland Baltimore County
- University of Texas El Paso
- Xavier University of Louisiana

NRMN

- Boston College
 - Morehouse SM; U. Min.; U. North Texas; U. Wisconsin

CEC

• University of California Los Angeles



NRMN Innovation — http://nrmnet.net/

- Diverse leadership across race, ethnicity, gender, geography
 - Mentoring, networking, mentor training, professional development
- **Regional hubs** (5) building capacity
 - Partnership (majority, HBCUs, HSIs, and TCUs), BUILD recipients, societies
 - Via a proven online web portal
- URM postdocs and junior faculty focus on grantsmanship
 - Proven track record in mentoring trainees to successfully prepare fundable NIH grants
- "Train-the-trainer" large-scale implementation of mentoring
 - Include cultural responsiveness and competency



How can we <u>sustain diversity</u> within the nationwide scientific workforce?

Issues

- Scientific workforce diversity is a shared responsibility with shared benefit
- Many programs are "islands" of success
- Unlinked programs create, sustain career transition gaps

Actions

- Evaluating, inventorying existing diversity programs
- Shaping public-private partnership for joint-sector involvement (Hubs of Innovation) to seal gaps in career progression

Retiring the Pipeline ...



Integrated National Strategy for Scientific Workforce Diversity



- Overarching Goal: To eliminate transition barriers and achieve sustainable transformation in scientific workforce diversity
- Identify gaps (postdoc -> faculty/other research careers)
- Draw evidence from existing regional programs
- Focus on transition to independent careers
- Needed: Program linkages across career stages

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NIH Scientific Workforce Diversity, led by Dr. Hannah Valantine, harnesses the power of a diverse scientific workforce to illuminate discoveries for human health.



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GREAT MINDS THINK DIFFERENTLY...



