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Sidelining Bias: A Situationist Approach To Reduce the Consequences of Bias in Real-World Contexts

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Complete List of Authors:	Okonofua, Jason; University of California Berkeley Research, Psychology Harris, Lasana ; University College London, Experimental Psychology; Leiden University, Social and Organisational Psychology Walton, Gregory; Stanford University, Department of Psychology
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Sidelining Bias:

A Situationist Approach To Reduce the Consequences of Bias in Real-World Contexts

Jason A. Okonofua[1*], Lasana T. Harris[2], & Gregory M. Walton[3]

[1]Deparment of Psychology; University of California, Berkeley, 94720
[2]Department of Experimental Psychology; University College London, UK
[3]Department of Psychology; Stanford University, 94305
* Corresponding author: 2121 Berkeley Way West, Berkeley, CA 94703; okonofua@berkeley.edu; 510-642-5292

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Abstract:

It has become common practice to conceptualize bias as an automatic response, cultivated through exposure to bias in society. From this perspective, combating bias requires reducing a proclivity for bias within individuals as in many "implicit-bias training" efforts common in industry. We introduce an alternative approach that begins with the presumption that people are inherently complex, that is, including multiple, often contradictory patterns of selves and goals. When we conceptualize the person this way, we can ask when biased selves are likely to emerge and whether we can *sideline* this bias—alter situations in potent ways that elevate alternative selves and goals that people will endorse and for which bias would be non-functional. Using both classic and contemporary examples, we show how sidelining bias has led to meaningful improvements in real world outcomes, including higher achievement and reduced school suspensions, recidivism to jail, and stereotyping in mass advertisements.

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Do I contradict myself?
Very well then I contradict myself,
(I am large, I contain multitudes)
-Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself*

People are complicated: We have enormous capacity for both good and evil. Seminary students preparing a lecture on the "Good Samaritan" may help a bystander in need but walk right on by if they are running a few minutes late (Darley & Batson, 1973). This *situationism*—the power of seemingly "small" changes in situations to influence behavior—is a profound lesson of social psychology (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Yet surprisingly, this insight has not been adequately integrated into an understanding of social bias, which we define as an affective (prejudice) and cognitive (stereotype) response that drives negative treatment (discrimination) because of a perception of another person's social group membership. This paper addresses a specific problem: When people are liable to behave in biased ways that harm others, how can we effectively intervene to encourage more positive, prosocial, and nonbiased behavior?

In modern society, it is common to take a direct approach. Many organizations (e.g., schools, corporations) attempt to rid staff of undesirable biases by way of "implicit-bias trainings," which typically make people aware of bias and offer cognitive strategies to mitigate it (but see Kawakami et al., 2008). There is no doubt that there is value in broad public education efforts about bias. There is, moreover, a particular need to recognize systematic forms of bias so we can begin to grapple with these as a society (Rucker & Richeson, 2021). Yet, research shows that such trainings or "bias-reduction" strategies are often ineffective and may even backfire in real-world contexts (Forscher et al., 2019; Lai et al., 2016; Paluck et al., 2021). One challenge is

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that if bias is "in the air" it may be so ubiquitous and multiply reinforced that it may be difficult to counter directly. Certainly, an older tradition also emphasizes the potential to reduce bias through broad and sustained situational factors, especially intergroup contact, particularly under certain conditions (e.g., equal status, Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Yet such approaches may often not be available to organizations. What then can organizations do (Onyeador et al., 2021)?

Common bias-reduction trainings make a strong assumption that the cause of biased behavior lies in deeply-embedded internal qualities of the person. But what if we focused on the interplay between the person and the situation, especially the perspective from which the person makes sense of the situation (Ross & Nisbett, 2011)? From this perspective, even if we are all exposed to bias and have the potential to behave in biased ways, this is not all we are, could be, or want to be. The critical questions become, "How do situations evoke biased or non-biased potentials in us?" and "How can we alter situations to become the better selves we really want to be?"

We call this approach "sidelining bias." On this metaphor, imagine the person as a sports team comprised of many players (working selves). Each player can each pull the team in a different direction. If one player has the potential to hinder the team's potential to win the game in a given circumstance (e.g., a biased working self) then the strategy is to substitute that player and bring in someone else better suited for the situation. You want to get that problematic player off the field, to sideline them. The potential for bias still exists on the team (in the person) but it's latent. It's no longer active. It's been benched.

Thus, we theorize that it is often helpful to begin by conceptualizing people as inherently complex; as including multiple, often contradictory selves, identities, and goals. In doing so we

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integrate social bias with advances in basic theorizing about the development of personality and motivation, including McConnell's (2011) multiple self-aspects framework, which describes the self as "a collection of multiple, context-dependent selves" (p. 3), Mischel and Morf's (2003) theory of personality as a cognitive-affective processing system comprised of many if-then contingences (*if* X situation, think, feel, and behave *Y*), and Dweck's (2017) theory of personality and motivation, which posits that "BEATs" (sets of Beliefs, Emotions, and Action Tendencies) develop to serve needs and, then, arise in specific situations to help the person accomplish goals relevant to these needs.

From this broad perspective, people develop and can have available multiple ways of interpreting the world, of feeling, and of acting. We call these working selves. These working selves can remain latent and inactive until they become functional and would help the person work toward their goals in a situation, when they may come online to guide behavior (see Moskowitz, 2002). It is entirely possible for a person to have some working selves that are biased (e.g., a political ideology self) and others that are non-biased or even anti-biased (e.g., a professional self). When we conceptualize the person this way, we can begin to identify when negative or biased selves are likely to emerge (Spencer et al., 2016). We can learn how to alter situations to elevate alternative positive working selves—namely, by foregrounding ideal goals that people will endorse, around which they can organize their thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the situation, and for which bias would be non-functional. (As we will see, these are often prosocial goals defined by professional roles.) The goal is to "sideline" bias, to reduce its accessibility in a real-world context or its relevance to the goals the person is seeking to achieve and thus its hold on consequential behavior.

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The sidelining approach is fundamentally different from common bias-reduction approaches (Figure 1; Table 1). First, this approach treats bias (or non-bias, or anti-bias) as an expression of the working self and the kinds of goals that this self can pursue in a context. This shifts responsibility and causality from bad individuals (e.g., "racists") to bad contexts (those that elicit biased selves and behaviors). The sidelining approach thus challenges the architects of contexts to recognize these dynamics and, where necessary, to change contexts to elicit better selves and behaviors (Fiske, Harris, & Cuddy, 2004; Murphy & Walton, 2013).

Second, the sidelining bias approach aims at *expressions* of bias, not necessarily the underlying bias *itself* (or the latent potential for bias) and, thus, on improving long-term, real-world consequences of inherent importance (e.g., yearlong school suspension rates). To achieve these gains, the sidelining approach requires a different mechanism of lasting influence. Rather than attempting to change a deeply rooted aspect of the person, the sidelining approach aims to redirect how individuals interact in a pivotal context, including how they make sense of and respond to treatment from others in recursive cycles that can produce lasting effects (Walton & Wilson, 2018).

Third, a significant challenge bias-reduction approaches face is that, in focusing on increasing awareness and recognition of bias, they can come off as deficit-based, as representing people in negative ways, and consequently, provoke reactance, even despite intentions to do otherwise (Brannon et al., 2018). By contrast, the sidelining approach is asset-based; it identifies people in pivotal roles in circumstances in which bias is available and can contribute to discrimination. Then, people may be asked to reflect on ideals they hold in their role and how they are or can work toward these ideals and thus behave in positive, prosocial ways to realize this ideal, sometimes in the face of the possibility of bias. Thus, people are never defined as

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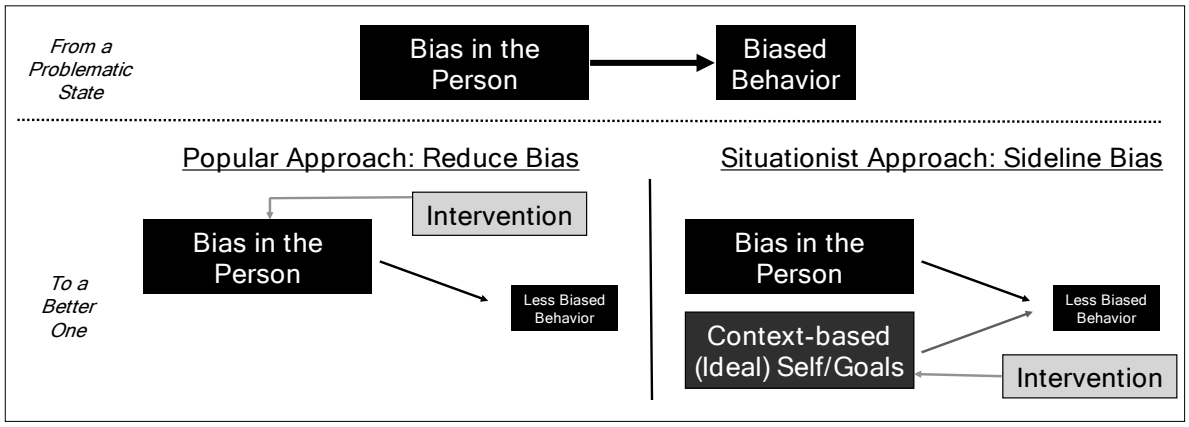
biased; they are assumed to be morally good or, at least, to have the potential to become so. Moreover, by beginning in asset-based ways, this approach creates space to strategically integrate discussions of bias as required. In the next sections, as we discuss examples of sidelining bias, we explore ways in which bias is and is not directly raised in intervention procedures.

Figure 1. Two approaches to contending with bias.



Note. The bias-reduction approach emphasizes bias in the person and aims to reduce bias and in turn discrimination. The sidelining bias approach aims to elevate an alternative self and ideal goals that control behavior, which would otherwise remain latent, mitigating discrimination.

Table 1. Comparing two approaches to contending with bias.

	Popular Approach: Reducing Bias	**Situationist Approach: Sidelining Bias**
Goal	To change the person, by training bias out of them.	To activate an alternative working self with ideal goals endorsed by the person for which bias would be not functional, reducing the impact of bias on behavior.

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Focus	Individual differences	Contextual differences
Approach to Intervention		
Interventions typically address bias…	primarily and explicitly.*	secondarily or not at all.
Interventions treat people as…	problematic, with deficits.	good, with strengths, working toward ideal goals.
The primary outcomes are…	measures of bias in the person.	real-life consequences of bias of inherent importance.

Note. * Not all reducing-bias interventions address bias explicitly (e.g., Kawakami et al., 2008).

Next, we present classic and contemporary research to show how a focus on context-based goals can sideline bias. Unlike research that has sought to reduce bias *itself* or focused solely on lab settings, we follow theory that recommends focusing on tests of interventions with the following qualities: (1) random assignment to treatment or control conditions, so as to identify causal effects; (2) longitudinal assessment of outcomes; and (3) the use of outcomes of inherent, real-world importance (Campbell & Brauer, 2020; Okonofua et al., 2020). These interventions span a variety of procedures, as we will see (Tables 2 and 3).

Implications for Intervention

Classic and contemporary research illustrates ways to elevate ideal goals within contexts, goals that are incompatible with discrimination and that people will endorse, and shows that this can improve behavior.

Sidelining Bias in Peer Interactions

Classic research shows the potential to sideline bias to improve peer relations (Table 2). For instance, Sherrif's Robbers Cave study (1961) elevated "superordinate goals," such as the

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need to repair a shared water supply, to reduce animosity between two groups of boys, despite no direct effort to reduce bias. Likewise, Aronson's "jigsaw classroom" (2002) used cooperative learning techniques to create "common goals" around learning and teaching across group lines in newly desegregated classrooms, replacing competitive norms. This both improved liking across racial-ethnic lines and reduced inequalities in achievement.

In more recent research, Murrar and colleagues (2020) implemented signs and videos in college classrooms highlighting inclusivity norms held by students. This led all students to perceive a more inclusive climate in class and, especially among students from marginalized backgrounds, to improve their class experience (e.g., sense of belonging) and to earn better grades.

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Table 2. Interventions that sideline bias in peer behavior by elevating alternative context-based goals.

Intervention	Participants and Context	Potential Biased Self	Intervention to Elevate a Self With Ideal, Context-Based Goals	Outcome
Robbers Cave (University of Oklahoma et al., 1961)	24 twelve-year-old boys separated into two groups of twelve, orchestrated to create a competitive context and enhance in-group solidarity and out-group hostility.	"Rattlers" versus "Eagles" camp teams, competitive selves biased against one another	Approach: Change to objective features of the situation A situation in which there is a need to work together to secure resources, such as to restore a water supply, to pool money to watch a favorite movie, and to bring tools to prepare food, build a campsite, and repair a means of transportation. Bias is not mentioned.	Reduced outgroup hostility
Jigsaw Classroom (Aronson et al., 2002)	303 5th and 6th grade students in recently racially desegregated	White, Black, and Mexican American students competitive	Approach: Change to objective features of the situation A situation in which there is a need to work together	Increased empathy and liking for other students within and across group lines; increased

	elementary schools.	selves, potentially racially biased against one another	to learn and perform well. Each child was responsible for learning a portion of an assignment and then for teaching that portion to other students in "jigsaw" groups. Later, children were tested on the whole assignment. Thus, all children were incentivized to get along and help others learn. Bias is not mentioned.	performance for racial-minoritized students.
Descriptive Norm Marketing (Murrar et al., 2020)	2,490 racially diverse college students.	Students' competitive selves with negative treatment of students from marginalized backgrounds	Approach: Change to cues to social norms in the situation A situation that makes salient inclusive norms among peers. Students saw videos and posters representing norms of inclusivity at their school. Bias is mentioned as counter-normative.	All students perceived a more inclusive climate . Students from marginalized backgrounds reported higher belonging and more positive treatment from peers and professors and earned higher grades.

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Sidelining Bias in Hierarchical Interactions: Elevating Ideal Professional Selves

Some of the most egregious discrimination occurs among people in positions of authority or influence, such as teachers or law enforcement officers. Yet people in positions of power also often have role-based goals that are incompatible with bias (e.g., helping children to grow). Can we elevate foundational professional goals in education, criminal justice, and advertising, such as to serve others through one's work (Grant & Hofmann, 2011)? Would this improve outcomes among those they serve and mitigate disparities that result from bias?

Teachers' Response to Misbehavior in Class: The Empathic-Discipline Intervention. Evidence suggests that bias contributes to racial disparities in school discipline (Okonofua &

Eberhardt, 2015). Rather than attempt to rid teachers of racial bias, researchers focused on evoking teachers' professional goals to help all children learn and grow. In this "empathic-discipline" intervention teachers reviewed exemplary models of how other teachers respond to students when they misbehave, including understanding and valuing students' perspectives and maintaining caring, respectful relationships, rather than treating students in punitive ways or exiting the relationship (Okonofua et al., 2016). Teachers were asked to review stories and then to share their own expertise, as experienced teachers, regarding how they maintain positive relationships with students, even when students misbehave, to help new teachers. Thus, the intervention focused on teachers' professional goals to help and support children. Moreover, there was a particular focus on helping those students who face systemic biases, whose identities are regularly threatened at school and may thus be most sensitive to negative treatment (see Table 3). From this perspective, stereotyping students and discriminating against them would not be functional (Okonofua et al., 2020) (Table 4).

In two randomized placebo-controlled trials with teachers of thousands of students across twenty cities, the intervention meaningfully cut suspension rates and reduced racial disparities in suspension rates by 45% over the intervention year and the subsequent school year (Okonofua et al., 2022; Okonofua et al., 2016).

Table 3. Interventions that sideline bias in hierarchical contexts by elevating alternative context-based goals.

Intervention	Participants and Context	Potential Biased Self	Intervention to Elevate Context-Based Goals	Outcome
Empathic-discipline (Okonofua et al., 2022; 2016)	Middle school teachers' relationships with racially diverse students	Teachers may view racially stigmatized students as troublemakers who interfere with their ability to	Approach: Structured reflection exercise A reading-and-writing exercise in which teachers reflect on their goals to understand, value, and respect students' perspectives,	Reduced suspension rates for primarily racially stigmatized students, reducing racial

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		teach effectively and, thus, punish them more severely.	especially when students misbehave, and to maintain positive relationships to help students improve. Bias is mentioned secondarily.*	disparities in suspension rates by 45%
Relationship-orienting (Walton et al., 2021)	Middle and high school teachers' relationships with formerly incarcerated students	Teachers may view formerly incarcerated students as "criminals" who won't try and will disrupt their classrooms.	Approach: Structured reflection exercise for students and new, personalized information for teachers about a student. A letter tells a teacher that a child reentering school from juvenile detention has specifically requested support from them, introduces this child personally, and asks for their support of the child. Bias is not mentioned.	Reduced school discipline citation rates and rates of recidivism back to jail by 40 percentage-points.
Empathic-supervision (Okonofua et al., 2021)	Probation and parole officers' (PPOs) relationships with adults on probation or parole	Officers may view adults on probation or parole as "criminals" likely to reoffend.	Approach: Structured reflection exercise A reading-and-writing exercise in which PPOs reflect on their goals to value and respect clients' perspectives, especially when they struggle, and how helping them succeed can serve them and protect their community. Bias is mentioned indirectly as a belief that would make one hypocritical.	Reduced rates of violations to terms of sentence and rates of recidivism
Unstereotyped (Tan et al., *under review)*	Professional advertisers	Advertisers may produce stereotypic representations based on consumer data.	Approach: Structured reflection A professional workshop in which advertisers reflect on their goals to create campaigns that go beyond simple demographic categories and not revert to stereotypes. Bias is raised secondarily, as a barrier to realizing ideal goals.	Less stereotypical communications

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Note. * The materials included specific content designed (1) to help teachers to a non-pejorative interpretation of any actual differences in students' rates of misbehavior they may observe in class along racial-ethnic or social-class lines and (2) to reinforce their commitment to taking an empathic approach especially with students from stigmatized racial-ethnic or lower social-class backgrounds. Specifically, teachers read how, even as all adolescents crave respect from adults, these backgrounds can be especially vigilant to cues of disrespect because often they have heard discouraging stories from others about how their group is treated in school. Thus, teachers read, listening to, understanding, and sustaining relationships with students in these groups is particularly important. Critically, this content, which surfaces identity threat among students, neither accuses teachers of being biased nor blames students for disproportionate misbehavior.

Teachers' Support for Justice-Involved Youth: The Relationship-Orienting Intervention. One of the most disadvantaged groups in school are children who have been convicted of a crime and spent time in juvenile detention. These students, disproportionately boys and racial-minoritized students, are readily seen as potential sources of violence—not as children facing challenges and striving to meet them. These stereotypes can guide how teachers interact with students when they transfer to class from prison. In another study, researchers developed an intervention to elevate youth's own voices in introducing themselves to an educator (Walton et al., 2021). A few days after reentering school from juvenile detention, youth reflected on their positive goals, challenges, and how developing positive relationships with adults can help. They were also asked to identify an adult in school who could be important for them and what they would want that person to know about who they are as a person. These responses were then included in a 1-page letter to the educator of the student's choosing asking for the educator's support. Tested in a small, initial randomized controlled trial, this "relationship-orienting" intervention reduced recidivism to juvenile detention through the semester following release from 69% to 29%. In an additional study, with the letter as compared to not, teachers expressed more positive and less negative responses to the student. They saw the young person as a student to help, not as a criminal (Table 4).

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As with the empathic-discipline intervention, the relationship-orienting intervention helped teachers become their best professional self in relationships with students. Biases based on race, gender, or criminal history are dysfunctional for this goal.

Probation and Parole Officers' Support for Clients: The Empathic-Supervision Intervention. A key factor in recidivism among adult offenders is the relationship between formerly convicted and sentenced individuals and their probation or parole officer. A return to prison is often due to a violation to the terms of their sentence and is reported by the officer; yet when incidents are ambiguous, officers exert judgment. A positive relationship with an officer can also provide support for adults on probation or parole to prevent violations; yet biases may interfere with such relationships. Can these biases also be sidelined, by evoking an officer's professional goals?

The "empathic supervision" intervention focuses on officers' goals to serve their communities. Interviews with officers found they shared a goal to help their clients as means to support their neighborhoods. In the intervention, a 30-minute online module, officers consider how showing care and concern for the individuals they supervise can help those individuals come to trust and respect them in return, allowing them to more effectively address their needs and keep their communities safe, welcoming, and thriving. Thus, the treatment highlights officers' professional goals and the means to attain them in ways that make bias against formerly incarcerated people dysfunctional, sidelining it (Table 4). Over the course of ten months, relative to a randomized control condition, the intervention reduced documented violations and reduced recidivism by 11% among the approximately 20,000 adults on probation or parole the officers served (Okonofua et al., 2021).

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Sidelining Bias in Mass Communications: The Unstereotyped Intervention.

Stereotypical representations of social groups (e.g., racial and ethnic groups, gender roles) dominate advertisements in mainstream media (Grau & Zotos 2016; Mastro & Stern 2003) to pernicious effect (Behm-Morawitz & Mastro 2009; Halliwell & Dittmar 2004).

To ameliorate such effects, researchers elevated the professional goal of advertisers creating brand communications in the United States, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands to be creative (Tan et al., under review). Again, there was no direct focus on reducing bias. Instead, a one-day workshop emphasized how being an effective advertising professional means viewing the consumer as a unique human being, and how this is the antithesis of stereotyping.

The intervention targeted a crucial step in the development of an advertisement campaign, the generation of a label from consumer data, which represents a typical consumer and guides an entire campaign, including the content and placement of advertisements. Advertisers created a label before and after the workshop. As compared to a randomized control group of advertisers who did not attend the workshop, those who attended the workshop produced labels that were 35% less stereotypical pre to post within the treatment group, as rated by an independent sample from the general public in each country (Tan et al., under review). The results suggest that elevating creativity goals can reduce stereotyping in advertisements that reach and affect millions of consumers around the world (cf. Murrar et al., 2020).

Table 4. Open-ended responses from intervention participants that illustrate the sidelining process.

Intervention	Speaker and Context	Open-Ended Responses
Empathic-discipline (Okonofua et al., 2016)	Teachers, when asked "What are some of the ways that you try to build positive relationships with your students, or things that you would like to try in the future	"[I] greet every student at the door with a smile every day no matter what has occurred the day before"
		"[I] answer their questions thoughtfully and respectfully no matter what their academic history with me has been"

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	to improve your relationships with your students?"	"I NEVER hold grudges. I try to remember that they are all the son or daughter of someone who loves them more than anything in the world. They are the light of someone's life!"
Relationship-orienting (Walton et al., 2021)	Teacher, on receiving the 1-page letter introducing a child reentering school from juvenile detention, describing his/her goals and values, challenges, and requesting the teacher's support.	"First thoughts, in complete honesty, would be 'oh great' or 'why me'. I would think about what problems he may add to my class. But, as I read more of the letter and see that [student name] CHOSE ME to be his mentor/confidant, I am immediately reminded that he is a child that has made some mistakes and wants to change. He deserves that chance and, if I can, I want to help. Reading about his passions made me see him more as a person than just another student with problems."
		"Part of the news about [student name] is that I have been chosen as a mentor. I think that any fears I might have had regarding conflict with a student recently released from a JJC would be ameliorated by this fact. The introduction letter would lead me to anticipate a positive relationship. [student name] has goals and he has challenges. My job as an educator is to help students meet their goals and overcome their challenges. I would look forward to working with [student name]."
Empathic-supervision (Okonofua et al., 2021)	Probation and parole officers, when asked to write a letter to a new officer in their department	"You have chosen a wonderful career becoming a Parole/Probation Officer. Although at times the job can be demanding and somewhat stressful, it is also very rewarding and fulfilling. Prior to working in the Criminal Justice System, most people have a certain perspective regarding crime and the people who commit it. Although some of what you think and see on T.V. or in the media is accurate, it is the not whole picture. Upon becoming an officer and being assigned a caseload, you get to meet people from all 'walks of life' and will interact with a side of the world most people only see and hear about on T.V. and in the media. It is not all bad. Although we do not get news or media

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		coverage for the work we do, it is very satisfying and personally gratifying for you to know that you can make and are making a difference in the lives of offenders and keeping the community you live in safer."
Unstereotyped (Tan et al., *under review*)	Advertising professionals, when asked to describe the impact of the intervention	"There are certain things you need to understand about yourself and the creative process to make sure you're not just veering back into stereotypes and to deliver really exciting creative content."
		"The decisions that you make don't just affect your clients, they affect humanity, and that is, you know, a great responsibility."
		"Stereotype's not about casting, it's not just about the look of what you create, it is really about the whole process of creation."

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Where Else Can We Sideline Bias?

By appreciating the complexity of people, the sidelining approach helps people at risk of behaving in bad, biased, and harmful ways behave in ways that are good, anti-biased, and supportive of others. Both for theory and for application, it is exciting to consider the array of real-world spaces in which it may be possible to sideline bias. For example, can we elevate physicians' prosocial and professional motivations to improve equity in health? How could sidelining work in law enforcement? Beyond specific professional roles, are there ways to sideline bias more broadly, such as by elevating ideal moral selves? As we explore these contexts, can we learn more about the relative effectiveness and fit of different methods to activate non-biased selves and goals, such as specific changes to situations (Aronson et al., 2002), cues to social norms (e.g., Murrar, et al., 2020), active reflection methods (e.g., Okonofua et al., 2022), and exposure to novel, personalized information (Walton et al., 2021)?

Many of the examples we have given involve, at least in part, deliberated processes over time. Could sidelining also help in heated moments shaped by automatic processes, such as on-

the-spot decisions by an officer in potentially threatening situations (Sassenberg et al., 2021)? Individual differences are also exciting to explore, including in the availability of both biased and non- or anti-biased working selves. Do such individual differences moderate the sidelining approach?

It is also exciting to consider how we might use the sidelining approach to erode the very potential for bias over time? Although the consequences of biased and nonbiased behavior may often be interpersonal, such as improving versus worsening trust, they can also be intrapersonal. As contexts elicit non-biased goals and selves more frequently, and as people use these more, could people become less biased (Moskowitz et al., 1999)? Relatedly, can we integrate the sidelining approach with general bias education efforts? Once a sidelining approach has been implemented and people are working toward ideal goals, will they then be more receptive and less threatened by information about social bias (cf. Rucker & Richeson, 2021)?

Social psychology gained early prominence through dramatic demonstrations that even normal people could behave in terrible ways in specific situations. The sidelining approach seeks to accomplish the inverse: To help normal people behaving in biased ways behave more positively, helping everyone—both them and those with whom they interact—flourish.

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Recommended Readings

A noteworthy example of how good people can do bad things based on context:

Fiske, S. T., Harris, L. T., & Cuddy, A. J. (2004). Why ordinary people torture enemy prisoners. *Science, 306 (5701)*, 1482-1483. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1103788

A key article that evidences how bias reduction does not necessarily translate to a reduction in biased behavior:

Burns, M. D., Monteith, M. J., & Parker, L. R. (2017). Training away bias: The differential effects of counterstereotype training and self-regulation on stereotype activation and application. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 73,* 97–110. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.06.003

Theoretical foundations of situationist tradition in social psychology

Ross, L., & Nisbett, R. E. (2011). *The person and the situation: Perspectives of social psychology*. Pinter & Martin Publishers.

Theoretical foundations of multiple working selves or goals

Markus, H. & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology, 38(1),* 299-337.

Morris, M. W., Chiu, C. Y., & Liu, Z. (2015). Polycultural psychology. *Annual review of psychology, 66*, 631-659.

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Behm-Morawitz, E. and D. Mastro (2009). The effects of the sexualization of female video game characters on gender stereotyping and female self-concept. *Sex Roles, 61*(11-12): 808-823.

Brannon, T. N., Carter, E. R., Murdock-Perriera, L. A., & Higginbotham, G. D. (2018). From backlash to inclusion for all: Instituting diversity efforts to maximize benefits across group lines. *Social issues and policy review*, *12*(1), 57-90.

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