TÍTULO PROYECTO: AS SMART AS YOU ARE THOUGHT TO BE: EFFECTS OF SKIN TONE CATEGORIZATION ON SCHOOL PERFORMANCE THROUGH THE STEREOTYPICAL EDUCATIONAL BELIEFS THAT ARE RELATED TO IT

DISCIPLINA PRINCIPAL: PSICOLOGIA SOCIAL
GRUPO DE ESTUDIO: SICOLOGIA
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COMUNA:
CIUDAD: Santiago
REGIÓN: METROPOLITANA
INFORME FINAL
PROYECTO FONDECYT INICIACION

OBJETIVOS
Cumplimiento de los Objetivos planteados en la etapa final, o pendientes de cumplir. Recuerde que en esta sección debe referirse a objetivos desarrollados, NO listar actividades desarrolladas.

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<th>Nº</th>
<th>OBJETIVOS</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Specific research goal 1.1: To explore the joint effects of skin tone and ethnicity on educational expectations. As having a darker skin tone and having Mapuche descent are clearly related, it is yet to be investigated whether they have distinct and cumulative effects on educational expectations.</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>Results from a 2 (Blanco versus Moreno) x 2 (Non-indigenous versus Mapuche) between-subjects experimental study (Study 1) discard the hypothesis that within-race skin tone categorization and categorization on the basis of ethnicity have interacting effects on educational expectations. Instead, the absence of a significant main effect of ethnicity categorization and of an interaction between ethnicity and skin tone categorization showed that skin tone categorization influences the nature of educational expectations even when controlling for ethnicity. Concretely, it was found that a “moreno” student with exactly the same calcifications than a “blanco” student was expected to have overall lower levels of achievement in his academic career, lower scores on the PSU, lower chance of entering higher education and also lower chances of obtaining a university degree. Thus, the effect of within-race skin tone categorization was independent of any information about ethnicity.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Specific research goal 2.1: To explore the joint effects of skin tone and socio-economic background on educational expectations. As dark complexioned individuals generally belong to lower socio-economic levels, skin tone and socio-economic background are related variables. Therefore, it is yet to be investigated whether they have distinct and cumulative effects on educational expectations.</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>Results from a 2 (blanco versus moreno) x 3 (lower, middle, and upper class) between-subjects experimental study (Study 2) confirmed the hypothesis that SES and skin tone categorization would have distinct and cumulative effects, implying that skin tone influences educational expectations over and above the effects of SES. Concerning, SES categorization, it was found that the higher the student’s SES, the higher the educational expectations were and this independently of the student’s skin tone. Concerning, skin tone categorization, it was found that educational expectations were lower for the “moreno” student as compared to the “blanco” student and this independently of the SES background. Thus, the effect of within-race skin tone and SES categorization displayed independent effects on educational expectations.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>General research goal 1: Determine whether Chilean students hold more negative educational expectations for people with a dark skin tone as compared to people with a white skin tone (=skin tone bias).</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>Results from 2 experimental studies (Study 1 and Study 2) confirmed the hypothesis that within-race skin tone categorization affects educational expectations and this even after controlling for student’s ethnic and SES background. Thereby results from the first research phase prove that the general preference for white complexioned over dark complexioned individuals can have consequences in an important life domain, like education. Specifically, it was found that less promising academic careers were expected for a “moreno” student in comparison with a “blanco” student. These results are methodologically supported by the fact that the target models representing either the “moreno” or the “blanco” student, were carefully selected on the basis of the results of an elaborated pilot study. Thereby, alternative explanations for the effect, like differences in attractiveness levels could be excluded as both pictures were rated to be equally attractive (among other variables).</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Specific research goal 2.1: To explore whether there is a substantial relation between skin tone and socio-economic background on the one hand and school performance on the other hand.</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>The hypothesis that within-race skin tone and SES categorization have additive and independent effects on school grades was tested and confirmed in a multilevel structural model. An important finding was, however, that within-race skin tone bias was at work at the individual level. It is, thus, not the case that more “blanco” classes would perform better than more “moreno” classes. Instead, differential social categorization on the basis of skin tone appearance occurs between the students of a single classroom, leading to differential educational performance in the direction that “blanco” students tend to score better than “moreno” students. The effect of SES categorization on educational performance was, however, at work at the classroom. This implies that social comparison on the basis of SES within a classroom doesn’t lead to differential educational performance. Rather, the findings of the present study indicated that higher SES classes tend to score better than lower SES classes.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Specific research goal 2.2: To explore possible mediating variables (stereotype threat and achievement motives as composed by self-efficacy and perceived opportunities) explaining the relationship between skin tone and socio-economic background and actual school performance.</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>Mediating effects differed depending on the type of social categorization that was involved. Concerning the influence of within-race skin tone categorization and school grades the hypothesis H2.2 was confirmed as self-efficacy fully mediated the relation. The more “blanco” a student identified himself to be, the more self-efficient he felt, which in turn, positively influenced his school grades. Concerning the relation between SES categorization and school grades, H2.2 was not confirmed as the proposed mediators didn’t turn out to be relevant. Another factor, social exclusion, presented itself as a mediator for the abovementioned relation, implying that low SES classes are generally more characterized by social exclusion mechanisms, which in turn, tend to decrease the school grades of the students in this class.</td>
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Specific goal 2.3: To explore possible moderating variables (at the level of both the individual students as well as the class as a whole) influencing the relationship between skin tone and socioeconomic background and actual school performance.

TOTAL

Moderating effects depended on the type of social categorization. Concerning within-race skin tone categorization, hypothesis H2.3 was not confirmed as no moderating effects occurred. Regarding the effects of SES categorization on school grades, the hypothesis about the moderating variables was confirmed as positive teacher expectations and the absence of differential treatment among the students on the basis of SES were found to have the potential to diminish the effects of SES bias. Interventions concerning SES bias should take into account that teachers should try to inhibit discriminative student behavior and that they themselves should be aware to express positive expectations towards all students. These results lead to the provisional conclusion that skin tone is not publically recognized as a factor to provoke bias and that it therefore becomes difficult to tackle it. Probably, awareness interventions might diminish its negative effects on educational outcomes.

Otro(s) aspecto(s) que Ud. considere importante(s) en la evaluación del cumplimiento de objetivos planteados en la propuesta original o en las modificaciones autorizadas por los Consejos.
The present research aimed at showing that in Chile within-race skin tone categorization affects educational expectations (research goal 1) and even actual school grades in the high school context (research goal 2). The form in which this result section was written was more like a discussion of the results. For all information about the method, procedures, statistical analyses and detailed results, we want to refer to the extended results section that can be found in anexo 8.

**Research goal 1**

The first research goal was to determine whether a stereotype about skin tone appearance in the educational contexts exists by investigating whether Chilean university students hold more negative educational expectations for dark complexioned ("moreno") as compared to white complexioned individual ("blanco") high school students. Moreover, the relation with two other important social demarcators, indigenous ethnic background (Study 1) and socio-economic status (Study 2) was investigated. The present research phase aimed at testing the following hypotheses:

H1.1: It is expected that skin tone influences educational expectations even when other important social categories, ethnicity and socio-economic background, are taken into account.

H1.2: As skin tone is an important marker to categorize people as having an ethnicity, it is expected that categorization on the basis of skin tone and on the basis of ethnicity will have interacting effects on educational expectations.

H1.3: It is expected that SES and skin tone categorization have distinct and cumulative effects on educational expectations.

To test these hypotheses, two experimental studies with a similar research design were conducted in a sample of university students. The procedure came down to an experimental vignette format in which participants received information about the school record of a high school student. Skin tone was manipulated by providing a picture of either a “blanco” or a “moreno” student. Those pictures were carefully selected in a pilot study. In this pilot study, the “blanco” picture proved to be evaluated as having more “blanco” skin tone and facial features, to look more European, and to look Chilean. The “moreno” picture was evaluated as having more “moreno” skin tone and facial features, to look more Latino, and to look Chilean. Both pictures were found to have emotion-neutral facial expressions and both pictures were evaluated similarly on a set of emotional expressions, as well as on attractiveness indicators.

In Study 1 (N = 99), the perceived ethnicity of the target student was experimentally manipulated by providing information about the ethnic background (Mapuche versus non-indigenous descent). Additionally, the last name was changed according the intended origin. In this way a 2 (skin tone: blanco-moreno) * 2 (ethnicity: Mapuche-no Mapuche Chilean) between-subject design was created in which each participant was presented with one specific student from one of the four experimental conditions. Results from this study can be consulted in Table 1. Manipulation checks demonstrated that the manipulations worked as intended. In Study 2 (N = 122), SES was manipulated by varying the city district and the parents’ educational and occupational levels so that they would represent a typical family from the lower (city district: Puente Alto; educational level father: incomplete basic education; occupational level father: construction worker; educational level mother: incomplete basic education; occupational level mother: housewife), the middle (city district: La Florida; educational level father: technical degree; occupational level father: bank clerk; educational level mother: high school; occupational level mother: saleswoman), or the upper Chilean economic class (city district: Las Condes; educational level father: higher education at university level; occupational level father:
engineer; educational level mother: higher education at university level; occupational level mother: lawyer). In this way a 2 (skin tone: blanco-moreno) * 2 (SES: lower–middle–upper class) between-subjects design was created. Results from this study can be consulted in Table 2. Manipulation checks demonstrated that the manipulations worked as intended.

Results from these two experimental studies confirmed the hypothesis that within-race skin tone categorization affects educational expectations even when the target student’s ethnic and SES background was controlled for (H1.1), proving that the stereotype in which less promising academic careers are expected for a “moreno” student in comparison to a “blanco” student exists. Contrary to the hypothesis H1.2, Study 1 showed that there were no significant effects of ethnic categorization or of an interaction between ethnicity and skin tone categorization. A possible explanation for the fact that skin tone categorization is completely driving the effect could be related to the mestizo character of the Chilean population in which “pure Chilean” and “pure Mapuche” groups hardly can be found. What is more, many Mapuches don’t endorse their indigenous heritage because of progressive acculturation processes. In that sense, categorization between a dark-skinned person and a Mapuche can from an outsider perspective be unimportant leading to similar discriminative processes. Although the manipulation check confirmed that the manipulation was successful, I found it beneficial to conduct a follow-up study (funded by Mide UC) in which pictures from model with an actual Mapuche descent were used as target pictures. Very similar results as in Study 1 were observed, so that the conclusion that skin tone categorization drives the effect in first impression formations of educational expectations is further confirmed.

Study 2 confirmed the hypothesis H1.3 by showing that SES and skin tone categorization have distinct and cumulative effects, implying that skin tone influences educational expectations over and above the effects of SES. Concretely, regarding SES categorization, it was found that the higher the student’s SES, the higher the educational expectations were and this regardless whether a “blanco” or a “moreno” student was presented. Parallel to this, regarding skin tone categorization, it was found that educational expectations were lower for the “moreno” student as compared to the “blanco” student and this regardless whether this student was believed to stem from the lower, middle or upper class.

A limitation of the present studies was that the within-race skin tone bias effect in educational expectations was only tested for a university participant group. We chose this participant group, because peers, due to their similarity to themselves, constitute an important reference group for students when evaluating the legitimacy of the stereotypical content and its applicability for the self-concept. However, the famous study of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) showed the importance of investigating teacher expectations in a study in which the expectancy of possible student improvement was induced in a teacher group and actually caused such an improvement in their students. When the teacher’s attitudes towards a specific student coincides with the content of the stereotype, the student of the devalued group becomes insecure about his own capacities and/or feel demotivated to pursue further ambitions regarding their academic track, possibly leading to a decrease in school performance (Weinstein, Gregory, & Strambler, 2004). Because of the important impact that teacher expectations can have on actual school performance, I designed a follow-up study (funded by Mide UC) with a school teacher participant group. In this study, it was shown that school teachers display within-race skin tone bias to the same extent than university students do. Results of this study are reported together with the results of Study2 in a manuscript that will be soon submitted for publication in the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology (consult Anexo 7). The fact that both university students and high school teachers display within-race skin tone
Another limitation of the present study was that the gender of the target student was not taken into consideration. Both national and international research has shown that gender influences educational outcomes, where boys on average outperform girls on standardized test for mathematics and girls outperform boys on standard test for languages (Ministerio de Educación de Chile [MINEDUC], 2012; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2013). As gender is also influential in the educational domain, it would be interesting to investigate whether the within-race skin tone bias effect occurs equally for girl target students. Therefore, I conducted a follow-up study in which it was found that within-race skin tone bias in educational expectations occurs to the same extent for male and female target students. This finding supports again the idea that within-race skin tone bias is widespread in Chile. Results are addressed in the same manuscript that was referred to above (consult Anexo 7).

In sum, the objective of the study to demonstrate the existence of within-race skin tone bias has been met. Although this form of bias is not as widely discussed as a possible source of discrimination as is the case for indigenous ethnicity and SES, it has been proven to be a driving force in the formation of educational expectations on the basis of a first impression of a target student. Results of the present study are methodologically supported by the fact that the target models representing either the “moreno” or the “blanco” student, were carefully selected on the basis of the results of an elaborated pilot study. Thereby, alternative explanations for the effect, like differences in attractiveness levels could be excluded as both pictures were rated to be equally attractive. The manipulation checks (also for the SES and ethnicity manipulations) that were implemented at the end of the experimental studies further confirmed that the experimental manipulations were perceived by the participants as was intended. Finally, because the experiment had a between-subjects (and not a within-subject) design, participants were ignorant of the existence of the different experimental conditions, which is necessary to avoid compliance effects. In fact, the comments made by the different participants were positive and lacked insight in what results were hypothesized.

**Research goal 2**

The second research goal was to explore the effect of within-race skin tone categorization in an applied context, namely in high school students. This allowed investigating whether within-race skin tone categorization has an impact on school grades, where Chilean students with a “blanco” appearance would have higher grades than Chilean students with a “moreno” appearance. It was again considered important to take the influence of SES categorization into account, because certainly in Chile SES tends to have strong effects on educational outcomes (Mizala, Romaguera & Ostoic, 2005). Next to this, the present work attempts to identify both mediating and moderating factors of the categorization biases. Mediating factors explain how global social categorization can have an effect on individual educational performance through predictors that more closely relate to the personal domain, like test anxiety and achievement motives. Moderating effects explore psychological factors or environmental circumstances that might diminish the effects of social categorization on educational outcomes. The following hypotheses were proposed:

H2.1: It is expected that there will be a substantial relation between categorization on the basis of skin tone and socio-economic background on the one hand and school grades on the other.
H2.2: Two variables are expected to mediate the relationship between skin tone and socioeconomic background school grades: stereotype threat as test performance anxiety and the achievement motives

H2.3: Four variables are believed to moderate the relationship between skin tone categorization and school grades both at the individual as at the class level: experiencing positive teacher expectations, experiencing equal treatment by the teacher, rejection of stereotypes related to categorization, endorsement of the malleable nature of intelligence.

A survey study was applied to 428 high school students from the 11th and 12th grade (terceros y cuartos medios) from 12 different high schools and 32 different classes in Greater Santiago. Schools of different socioeconomic statuses and academic records were approached and invited to participate in a study about the relationship of social factors that affected academic achievement, such as social support, classroom climate and discrimination factors like physical appearance. Once the principal of the school agreed on the school joining the project, an agreement that established the participation of the school was signed and informed consents were handed over to parents. Drop out caused by the lack of unreturned parent consents was about 50%, explaining why only half of the amount of cases proposed in the original research proposal was obtained, while the proposed number of classrooms was acquired. Students in possession of the informed consent of their parents were invited to participate in the study and asked to sign an informed consent. Scales for the measures involved in the proposed analyses turned out to have good internal consistencies and to display meaningful relations between each other (Table 3). At this point, it is important to indicate that analyses were done on the basis of self-reported school grades and not on the basis of actual school grades. At the time of writing the final report, I was still in the process of gathering the actual grades. Nevertheless, the correlation between the self-reported and the already gathered actual school grades (about 83% of the total) is .85, representing a very high concordance between the actual and the self-reported grades and indicating that the self-reported school grades are a good proxy for the actual school grades.

Figure 1 displays the results of a latent variable multilevel analysis testing the relationship between within-race skin tone categorization and school grades at both the individual and the classroom level. The results of that analysis confirmed H2.1 as both within-race skin tone and SES categorization displayed independent and additive effects on school grades. An important finding was that within-race skin tone bias is at work at the individual level. It is, thus, not the case that more “blanco” classes would perform better than more “moreno” classes. Instead, the effect is at work within the class room, implying that differential social categorization on the basis of skin tone appearance occurs between the students of a single class room, leading to differential educational performance in the sense that “blanco” students tend to score better than “moreno” students. On the contrary, the effect of SES categorization on educational performance was at work at the classroom level. This implies that social comparison on the basis of SES within a class room doesn’t lead to differential educational performance. Rather, the findings of the present study indicated that higher SES classes tend to score better than lower SES classes.

In line with hypothesis H2.2, a latent variable mediation analysis shows that self-efficacy is a full mediator of the relation between within-race skin tone categorization and school grades, indicating that this relation can be completely explained by self-efficacy (consult Figure 2). Thus, the more “blanco” a student identifies himself to be, the more self-efficient he feels within the school context, which in turn, positively influences his actual school grades. The other proposed mediating variables proved to also display mediating effects, but these mediating processes
proved to explain much less of the variance of the original relation. Concerning the relation between SES categorization and school grades, H2.2 was not confirmed as the proposed mediators didn’t turn out to be relevant. Another factor, social exclusion, presented itself as a mediator for the abovementioned relation, and although this variable only partially explained the relation, it provoked a substantial decrease in the statistical relation of the initial relation at the class room level. This implies that low SES classes are generally more characterized by social exclusion mechanisms, which in turn, tend to decrease the grades of the students in their class. Remarkable is the fact that within-skin tone categorization bias tends to relate to an individual component of school performance (e.g., self-efficacy), whereas SES categorization bias tends to relate to more blatant forms of social exclusion. This is in line with the idea that within-race skin tone bias doesn’t go along with blatant expressions of bias, but that instead it has rather subtle expression forms. The fact that we didn’t find a full mediation for the effect of class room SES categorization on school grades, might have been because we didn’t take any structural (versus psychological) variables into account. Variables like the lack of access to qualitative education or to school material in general (e.g., having internet or a qualified and motivated teacher corps) are expected to explain the effects of SES categorization bias to a greater extent.

Moderating effects depended on which form of social categorization was taken into account. Concerning within-race skin tone categorization, hypothesis H2.3 was not confirmed as we didn’t find any moderating effects. In other words, in this research project we were not able to identify school related variables that have the potential to diminish the effects of within-race skin tone categorization on school grades. Regarding the effects of SES categorization on school grades, hypothesis H2.3 was partially confirmed. Specifically, I was able to detect some factors that have the potential to diminish the effects of SES bias, namely positive teacher expectations and the absence of differential treatment among the students on the basis of SES. Interventions oriented on decreasing the impact of SES (at the class room level) on school grades should take into account that teachers should try to inhibit discriminative student behavior on the basis of SES and that they themselves should be aware to express positive expectations towards all types of students.

In sum, the present research added to the academic literature which provides rather scarce information about the effects of within-race skin tone categorization in the educational context. Thereby, it was not only demonstrated that stereotypes about the lower educational performance of “moreno” as compared to “blanco” students exists, but that these stereotypes also tend to have a self-fulfilling character. Specifically, it was shown that “blanco” students tend to have higher grades than “moreno” students and this independently of the SES level of the school. In other words, the effect occurred in lower, middle and upper class schools. When trying to explain why this effect occurs, we encountered that the self-ascribed academic competence plays an important role. “Moreno” students tend to think that they are less competent than “blanco” students, which in turn, leads to lower school grades. The present research wasn’t able yet to identify factors that might diminish this skin tone bias effect. One could think, for example that teachers can make a difference by showing equally positive educational expectations towards all students. This research showed, however, that this is not the case. What could be important is that the Chilean society becomes aware of the existence and the impact of skin tone related stereotypes. Anecdotally, day to day experience learns that within-race skin tone differentiation is seen to be humorous, relating to playful and even affectionate behavior. Probably, interventions that increase the awareness that within-race skin tone bias exists and that differentiation on this basis is not as innocent as it may seem, might be helpful to diminish the negative effects that it has on educational outcomes. Further research should explore this issue in more detail.
In November 2012, I presented the work related to the first research goal of the present Fondecyt research project to the principal investigators of the "Centro de Estudios de Políticas y Prácticas en Educación (CEPPE). As a result, they decided to provide me with additional funding of internal grants which allowed me to perform 3 more studies that are directly related to the work presented in the present final report. These 3 studies had the following contributions.

1) **Study 2 was replicated in a school teacher sample.** In this study, it was shown that school teachers display within-race skin tone bias to the same extent than university students do. Results of this study are reported together with the results of Study 2 in a manuscript that will be soon submitted for publication in the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology (consult Anexo 7). The fact that both university students and high school teachers display within-race skin tone categorization bias to the same extent supports the idea about the widespread impact that this form of bias can have in the educational domain. Within this respect, the study of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) showed the importance of investigating teacher expectations in a study in which the expectancy of possible student improvement was induced in a teacher group and actually caused such an improvement in their students. When the teacher’s attitudes towards a specific student coincides with the content of the stereotype, the student of the devalued group becomes insecure about his own capacities and/or feel demotivated to pursue further ambitions regarding their academic track, possibly leading to a decrease in school performance (Weinstein, Gregory, & Strambler, 2004). Therefore, the fact that teachers display within-race skin tone bias as well is a very important finding.

2) **Within-race skin tone categorization was replicated in a female target student study.** In Study 1 and Study 2 of the present final report, the gender of the target student was not taken into consideration. Both national and international research has shown that gender influences educational outcomes, where boys on average outperform girls on standardized test for mathematics and girls outperform boys on standardized test for languages (Ministerio de Educación de Chile [MINEDUC], 2012; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2013). As gender is also influential in the educational domain, it was interesting to investigate whether the within-race skin tone bias effect occurs also for girl target students. Therefore, I conducted a follow-up study in which it was found that within-race skin tone bias in educational expectations occurs to the same extent for male and female target students. This finding supports again the idea that within-race skin tone bias is widespread in Chile. Results are addressed in the same manuscript that was referred to above (consult Anexo 7).

3) **Within-race skin tone categorization was replicated in Mapuche target students.** Although Study 1 manipulates ethnic background, pictures of real Mapuche target students were not included in the experimental design. Although the manipulation check confirmed that the manipulation was successful, I found it beneficial to conduct a follow-up study in which pictures from models with an actual Mapuche descent were used as target pictures. Very similar results as in Study 1 were observed, so that the conclusion that skin tone categorization drives the effect in first impression formations of educational expectations is further confirmed.

These additional studies further support the findings of the final Fondecyt report that within-race skin tone bias in educational expectations exists. Thereby, it was shown that the phenomenon is widespread in Chile. Communication of the findings of this Fondecyt project in popular press seems important as awareness about the existence of within-race skin tone bias seems crucial in its remediation.
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