

Are we there yet? A Mapping review to identify and organize bias research in medical education curriculum

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Abstract

BACKGROUND

Medical schools and residency programs often incorporate training to reduce physician biases towards patients and their conditions. In order to organize available literature, a mapping review was conducted to identify the categories of bias studied within medical student (MS), resident (Res) and mixed populations. Studies were further characterized based on their research goal as either documenting evidence of bias or bias intervention or both.

METHODS

Online databases (PubMed, PsycINFO, WebofScience) between 1980 and 2021 were searched for articles. All references were imported into Covidence for independent screening of studies. Conflicts were resolved by reviewers and the same protocol was followed for full text reviews. Studies were sorted by goal: 'evidence of bias' (EOB) and/or 'bias intervention' (BI), and by population (MS or Res or mixed). Further, biases were mapped into descriptive categories.

RESULTS

A total of 139 articles fit the inclusion criteria for data extraction. The mapping analysis generated 11 categories of bias and showed that bias against race/ethnicity, specific diseases/conditions, and weight were the most researched topics. Of the studies included, there was a higher ratio of EOB:BI studies at the MS level. While at the Res level, a lower ratio of EOB:BI was found.

CONCLUSIONS

This study should be of interest to institutions, program directors and medical educators who wish to specifically address a category of bias and identify where there is a dearth of research. This study also underscores the need to introduce bias interventions at the MS level.

Background

Physician bias ultimately impacts patient care by eroding the physician-patient relationship¹⁻⁴. To overcome this issue, many physicians are required to report a varying number of hours of implicit bias training as part of their recurring licensing requirement. Research efforts on the influence of implicit bias on clinical decision-making gained traction after the "Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care" report published in 2003⁵. This report sparked a conversation about the impact of bias against women, people of color, and other marginalized groups within healthcare. Opportunities within the medical school curriculum have been created to evaluate biases at an earlier stage and provide instruction to reduce them⁶⁻⁸. Although the meaning of 'bias' is broad and encompasses several types of attitudes and predispositions⁸, the impact of bias on healthcare and medicine is singular: inequality in healthcare treatment.

Several reviews, narrative or systematic in nature, have been published in the field of bias research in medicine and healthcare⁹⁻¹¹. Many of these reviews have a broad focus on implicit bias and they often fail to define the patient's specific attributes- such as age, weight, disease or condition against which physicians hold their biases. However, a recent systematic review did categorize implicit bias among physicians and nurses to highlight its role in healthcare disparities¹². In addition to the specific bias, the professional stage of the candidate that hold these biases should also be considered. Identifying these two determinants may be beneficial in developing tailored efforts for bias intervention. To address these deficits in the field and provide clarity, we utilized a mapping review approach to categorize the

literature based on a) the bias addressed and b) the study goal within medical students (MS), residents (Res) and a mixed population (MS and Res).

To our knowledge, no literature review has organized bias research by specific categories held solely by medical trainees (medical students and/or residents) and quantified intervention efforts. We did not perform a quality assessment or outcome evaluation of the bias intervention strategies, as is standard with mapping review methodology¹³. By generating a comprehensive list of bias categories researched among medical trainees, we highlight areas of opportunity for future implicit bias research within the medical curriculum. We anticipate that the results from this mapping review will be useful for educators, administrators, and stakeholders seeking to implement active programs or workshops that mitigate specific biases in pre-clinical medical education. Additionally, behavioral scientists who seek to support clinicians, and develop debiasing theories and models may also find our results useful.

Methods

We conducted an exhaustive and focused mapping review and followed the methodological framework as previously described^{14,15}. This study aligned with the four goals of a scoping review¹⁵. We followed the first five out of the six steps outlined by Arksey and O'Malley's to ensure our review's validity 1) identifying the research question 2) identifying relevant studies 3) selecting the studies 4) charting the data and 5) collating, summarizing and reporting the results¹⁴. We did not follow the optional sixth step as we did not have a strong rationale for undertaking consultations with key stakeholders¹⁶. Further, we used a Covidence systematic review software, Veritas Health Innovation, Melbourne, Australia that aided in managing steps 2–5 presented above.

Research Question, Search Strategy And Inclusion Criteria:

The purpose of this study was to identify trends in bias research at the medical school and residency level. Prior to conducting our literature search we developed a research protocol which detailed the inclusion criteria, and search syntax with the assistance from our medical librarian. Search syntax was adjusted to the requirements of the database. We searched PubMed, Web of Science, and PsycINFO using MeSH terms shown below.

Bias* [ti] OR prejudice*[ti] OR racism[ti] OR homophobia[ti] OR mistreatment[ti] OR sexism[ti] OR ageism[ti]) AND (prejudice [mh] OR "Bias"[Mesh:NoExp]) AND (Education, Medical [mh] OR Schools, Medical [mh] OR students, medical [mh] OR Internship and Residency [mh] OR "undergraduate medical education" OR "graduate medical education" OR "medical resident" OR "medical residents" OR "medical residency" OR "medical residencies" OR "medical schools" OR "medical school" OR "medical students" OR "medical student") AND (curriculum [mh] OR program evaluation [mh] OR program development [mh] OR language* OR teaching OR material* OR instruction* OR train* OR program* OR curricul* OR workshop*

Our inclusion criteria incorporated studies which were either original research articles, or review articles that synthesized new data. We excluded publications that were not peer-reviewed or supported with data such as narrative reviews, opinion pieces, editorials, perspectives and commentaries. We included studies outside of the U.S. since the purpose of this work was to generate a comprehensive list of biases. Physicians, regardless of their country of origin, can hold biases against specific patient attributes¹². Furthermore, physicians may practice in a different country than where they trained¹⁷. Manuscripts were included if they were published in the English language for which full-texts were available. Since the goal of this mapping review was to assess trends, we accepted studies published from 1980–2021.

Our inclusion criteria also considered the goal and the population of the study. We defined the study goal as either that documented evidence of bias or a program directed to mitigate a bias. Evidence of bias (EOB) had to originate from the

medical trainee regarding a patient attribute. Bias intervention (BI) studies involved strategies to counter biases such as activities, workshops, seminars or curricular innovations. The population studied had to include medical students (MS) or residents (Res) or mixed. We defined the study population as 'mixed' when it consisted of both MS and Res. Studies conducted on other healthcare professionals were included as long as MS or Res were also studied. Our search criteria excluded studies that documented bias against medical professionals (students, residents and clinicians) either by patients or medical school or healthcare administrators among several others, and was focused on studies where the biases were solely held by medical trainees (MS and Res).

Data Extraction And Analysis:

Following the initial database search, references were downloaded and imported into Endnote™ 20, a reference management tool. References were bulk uploaded into Covidence and duplicate references were removed. After the initial screening of title and abstracts, full-texts were reviewed. Screening and full text review were completed independently by authors. Conflicts were resolved by deliberation and referring to the inclusion and exclusion criteria detailed in the research protocol. The level of agreement between the 2 authors for full text reviews as measured by inter-rater reliability was 0.72 (Cohen's Kappa).

A data extraction template was created in Covidence to extract data from included full texts. Data extraction template included the following variables; country in which the study was conducted, year of publication, goal of the study (EOB, BI or both), population of the study (MS, Res or mixed) and the type of bias studied. Final data was exported to excel for quantification. We followed the Enhancing Transparency in Reporting the Synthesis of Qualitative Research (ENTREQ)¹⁵ and Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA)¹⁶ guidelines. Results from this mapping review study are meant to provide a visual synthesis of existing bias research and identify gaps in knowledge.

Results

Study Selection

Our search strategy yielded a total of 892 unique abstracts which were imported into 'Covidence' for screening. A total of 86 duplicate references were removed. Then, 806 abstracts were screened, followed by a full text review of 287 papers against the inclusion criteria for eligibility. Full text review yielded 139 studies which were used for data extraction (Fig. 1).

Publication Trends In Bias Research

First, we mapped the studies to demonstrate the timeline of research focused on bias within the study population of our interest (MS or Res or mixed). Our analysis revealed an increase in publications with respect to time (Fig. 2). Of the 139 included studies, fewer studies were published prior to 2001, with a total of only 8 papers being published from the years 1985–2000. A substantial increase in publications occurred after 2004, with 2019 being the peak year where most of the studies pertaining to bias were published (Fig. 2).

Overview Of Included Studies

We present a descriptive analysis of the 139 included studies in Table 1 based on the following parameters: study location, goal of the study, population of the study and the category of bias studied. All of the above parameters except the category of bias included a denominator of 139 studies. Several studies addressed more than one bias characteristic therefore, we documented 163 biases sorted in 11 categories over the 139 papers. The bias categories that we generated

and their respective occurrences are listed in Table 1. Of the 139 studies that were included, most studies originated in the United States (n = 89/139, 64%) and Europe (n = 20/139, 20%).

Table 1

Mapping of all included studies fitting our search strategy with references (n = 139). Studies mapped based on bias(es) studied may belong to more than one or more category. All other mapping parameters (location, goal, population) contain mutually exclusive criteria.

| PARAMETER | NO. (%) | REFERENCES |
|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Study Location | | |
| United States | 89/139 (64%) | |
| Europe | 20/139 (14%) | |
| Asia | 9/139 (6%) | |
| Canada | 7/139 (5%) | |
| Australia/New Zealand | 6/139(4%) | |
| Central/South America | 5/139 (4%) | |
| Multi-national | 3/139 (2%) | |
| Goal of Study | | |
| Document Evidence of Bias (EOB) | 69/139 (50%) | |
| Bias Intervention (BI) | 51/139 (37%) | |
| Both (EOB + BI) | 19/139 (14%) | |
| Population of Study | | |
| Medical Student (MS) | 105/139 (76%) | |
| Residents (Res) | 19/139 (14%) | |
| Mixed MS [and] Res | 15/139 (11%) | |
| Category of Bias Studied | | |
| Race or Ethnicity | 39/163 (24%) | 34-72 |
| Disease or condition | 29/163 (18%) | 7,42,48,69,73-96 |
| Weight | 22/163 (13%) | 4,47,59,97-113 |
| LGBTQ+ | 21/163 (13%) | 47,48,59,69,92,95,114-128 |
| Age | 16/163 (10%) | 129-142 |
| Non-Specified | 15/163 (9%) | 8,51,57,64,143-156 |
| Biological Sex | 10/163 (6%) | 105,157-165 |
| Socioeconomic Status | 7/163 (4%) | 34,47,56,57,61,70,166,167 |

*Publication in 2022 was published online ahead of print.

| PARAMETER | NO. (%) | REFERENCES |
|---|------------|------------|
| Physical disability | 1/163 (1%) | 168 |
| Rural/Urban | 1/163 (1%) | 169 |
| *Publication in 2022 was published online ahead of print. | | |

Mapping Of Included Research By Bias Category

We grouped the 139 included studies depending on the patient attribute or the descriptive characteristic against which the bias was studied (Table 1). By mapping the studies into different bias categories, we aimed to not just quantitate the amount of research addressing a particular topic of bias but also reveal the biases that are understudied or untouched.

Through our mapping analysis, we generated 11 descriptive categories against which bias was studied: Age, physical disability, education level, biological sex, disease or condition, LGBTQ+, non-specified, race/ethnicity, rural/urban, socio-economic status, and weight (Table 1.). Most bias categories that we generated such as age, education level, LGBTQ+, race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, and weight are self-explanatory. Within the bias category named 'biological sex', we included papers that studied bias against individuals perceived as women/females. Papers that studied bias against gender-identity or sexual orientation were included in its own category named, 'LGBTQ+'. The bias category, 'disease or condition' that we generated was broad and included research on bias against any patient with a specific disease or a condition or lifestyle. Studies included in this category researched bias against any physical illnesses, mental illnesses, or sexually transmitted infections. It also included studies that addressed bias against a treatment such as transplant or pain management. It was not significant to report these as individual categories but rather as a whole with a common underlying theme. Rural/urban bias was when bias was held against a person based on their place of residence. Studies grouped together in the 'non-specified bias' category explored bias without specifying any descriptive characteristic in their methods. These studies did not address any specific bias characteristic in particular but consisted of a study population of our interest (MS or Res or mixed). Based on our mapping analysis, the top five most studied bias categories in our included population within medical education literature were: racial or ethnic bias (n = 39/163, 24%), disease or condition bias (n = 29/163, 18%), weight bias (n = 22/163, 13%), LGBTQ + bias (n = 21/163, 13%), and age bias (n = 16/163, 10%) which are presented in Table 1.

Mapping Of Included Research By Population

In order to understand the distribution of bias research based on their populations examined, we mapped included studies in one of the following: medical students (MS), residents (Res) or mixed (Table 1.). The following distributions were observed: medical students only (n = 105/139, 76%), residents only (n = 19/139, 14%) or mixed which consisted of both medical students and residents (n = 15/139, 11%). In combination, these results demonstrate that medical educators have focused bias research efforts primarily on medical student populations.

Mapping Of Included Research By Goal

A critical component of this mapping review was to quantify the research goal of the included studies within each of the bias categories. We defined the research goal as either to document evidence of bias (EOB) or to evaluate a bias intervention (BI) (See Fig. 1 for inclusion criteria). Some of the included studies focused on both, documenting evidence in addition to intervening biases and those studies were grouped separately. The analysis revealed that 69/139 (50%) of the included studies focused exclusively on documenting evidence of bias (EOB). There were fewer studies (n = 51/139, 37%) which solely focused on bias interventions such as programs, seminars or curricular innovations. A small minority of the included studies were more comprehensive in that they documented EOB followed by an intervention strategy (n =

19/139, 11%). These results demonstrate that most bias research is dedicated to documenting evidence of bias among these groups rather than evaluating a bias intervention strategy.

Research Goal Distribution

Our next objective was to calculate the distribution of studies with respect to the study goal (EOB, BI or both), within the 163 biases studied across the 139 papers as calculated in Table 1. In general, the goal of the studies seems to favor documenting evidence of bias with the exception of race/ethnic bias which is more focused on bias intervention (Fig. 3.). Fewer studies were aimed at both, documenting evidence then providing an intervention, across all bias categories.

Further, we also calculated the ratio of EOB, BI and both (EOB + BI) within each of our population of interest (MS; n = 122, Res; n = 26 and mixed; n = 15) for the 163 biases observed in our included studies. Over half (n = 64/122, 52%) of the total bias occurrences in MS were focused on documenting EOB (Fig. 4.). Contrastingly, a shift was observed within resident populations where most biases addressed were aimed at intervention (n = 12/26, 41%) rather than EOB (n = 4/26, 14%) (Fig. 4.). Studies which included both MS and Res (mixed) were primarily focused on documenting EOB (n = 9/15, 60%), with 33% (n = 5/15) aimed at bias intervention and 7% (n = 1/15) which did both (Fig. 4.).

Discussion

Addressing biases at an earlier stage of medical career is critical for future physicians engaging with diverse patients, since it is established that bias negatively influences provider-patient interactions¹⁸, clinical decision-making¹⁹ and reduces favorable treatment outcomes². We set out with an intention to explore how bias is addressed within the medical curriculum. An obvious question we posed was how has the trend in bias research changed over time, more specifically a) what is the timeline of papers published? b) what bias characteristics have been studied in the physician-trainee population and c) how are these biases addressed? With the introduction of 'standards of diversity' by the Liaison Committee on Medical Education, along with the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC) and the American Medical Association (AMA)^{20,21}, we certainly expected and observed a sustained uptick in research pertaining to bias. As shown here, research addressing bias in the target population (MS and Res) is on the rise, however only 139 papers fit our inclusion criteria. Of these studies, nearly 90% have been published since 2005 after the "Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care" report was published in 2003⁵. However, given the well documented effects of physician held bias, we anticipated more research pertaining to bias at the medical student or resident level.

A key component from this study was that we generated descriptive categories of biases. Sorting the biases into descriptive categories helps to identify a more targeted approach for a specific bias intervention, rather than to broadly reduce bias as a whole. In fact, our analysis found a number of publications (labeled "non-specified bias" in Table 1.) which studied implicit bias without specifying the patient attribute or the characteristic that the bias was against. In total, we generated 11 descriptive categories of bias from our mapping review which are shown in Table 1 and Fig. 3. Further, our bias descriptors grouped similar kinds of biases within a single category. For example, the category, "disease specific stigma" included papers that studied bias against any type of disease (Mental illness, HIV stigma, diabetes) or a condition (Pain management) although the diseases or conditions themselves grouped under the same bias category are unique.

Previous implicit bias intervention strategies have been shown to be ineffective when biased attitudes of participants were assessed after a lag²². Understanding the descriptive categories of bias and previous existing research efforts, as we present here is only a fraction of the issue. The theory of "cognitive bias"²³ and related branches of research²⁴⁻²⁸ have been studied in the field of psychology for over three decades. Thereafter, psychologists have classified cognitive

bias errors into different types, grounded in heuristics²⁹. It is only recently that cognitive bias theory has been applied to the field of medical education, to explain its negative influence on clinical decision-making pertaining only to racial minorities^{1,2, 10-12,30}. In order to elicit meaningful changes with respect to targeted bias intervention, it is necessary to understand the psychological underpinnings (attitudes) underlying a certain descriptive category of bias (behaviors). It calls for a push for deeper understanding of one's attitude/s underlying one's biased behavior/s³¹. The questions we need to ask ourselves are: a) Can these descriptive biases be identified under certain type/s of cognitive errors that elicits the bias and vice versa b) Are we working towards a change in attitudes or a change in behaviors? and c) What are ways in which we can positively influence an attitude change in order to overcome a specific behavior over longer periods of time? And most importantly, are we creating a culture of voluntary debiasing enrollment by participants as opposed to mandating it? Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach, a marriage between cognitive psychologists and medical educators, is key in targeting biases held by medical students, residents and ultimately future physicians. This review may also be of interest to behavioral psychologists keen on providing targeted debiasing strategies to clinicians depending on the characteristics (age, weight, sex or race) the portrayed bias is against.

The next element in change is directing intervention strategies at the right stage in clinical education. Our study demonstrated that most of the research collected at the medical student level was focused on documenting evidence of bias. The ratio of research in favor of intervening strategies soared only at the resident level (see Fig. 3). However, it would be prudent to begin the bias intervention processes earlier in learning, rather than debiasing at a later stage³².

This study has limitations. First, the list of the descriptive bias categories that we generated was not grounded in any particular theory so assigning a category was subjective. Further, we did not attempt to categorize these bias characteristics (Table 1) into various types of cognitive errors³³ as it is out of our scope of expertise. However, this would be an opportunity for future research. Additionally, our review did not assess the effectiveness of the intervention strategies mentioned in the included research articles. Future work would aim at evaluating quality and assessing the effectiveness of strategies over time.

Conclusion

This review provides a visual analysis of the known categories of bias addressed within the medical school curriculum and in residency programs in addition to providing a comparison of studies with respect to the study goal within medical education literature. The results from our review should be of interest to community organizations, institutions, program directors and medical educators interested in knowing and understanding the types of bias existing within healthcare populations. It might be of special interest to researchers who not only wish to further explore any category of bias that exist in medical education literature but also those who wish to explore other types of biases that have been untouched within medical school and resident populations, thus filling the gaps existing in bias research.

Despite the number of studies designed to provide bias intervention for MS and Res populations, and an overall cultural shift to be aware of one's own biases, biases held by both medical students and residents still persist. Further, psychologists have recently demonstrated the ineffectiveness of some bias intervention efforts^{22,31}. So, to answer the question, "Are we there yet?", it is unrealistic to expect these biases to be eliminated altogether. However, effective intervention strategies grounded in cognitive psychology should be implemented earlier on in medical training. Our focus should be on providing evidence-based approaches and safe spaces for an attitude change, so as to induce actionable behavioral changes.

Abbreviations

MS: Medical student

Res: Resident

EOB: Evidence of bias

BI: Bias intervention

Declarations

Ethics approval and consent to participate: Not applicable

Consent for publication: Not applicable

Availability of data and materials: The datasets used and/or analyzed during the current study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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Figures

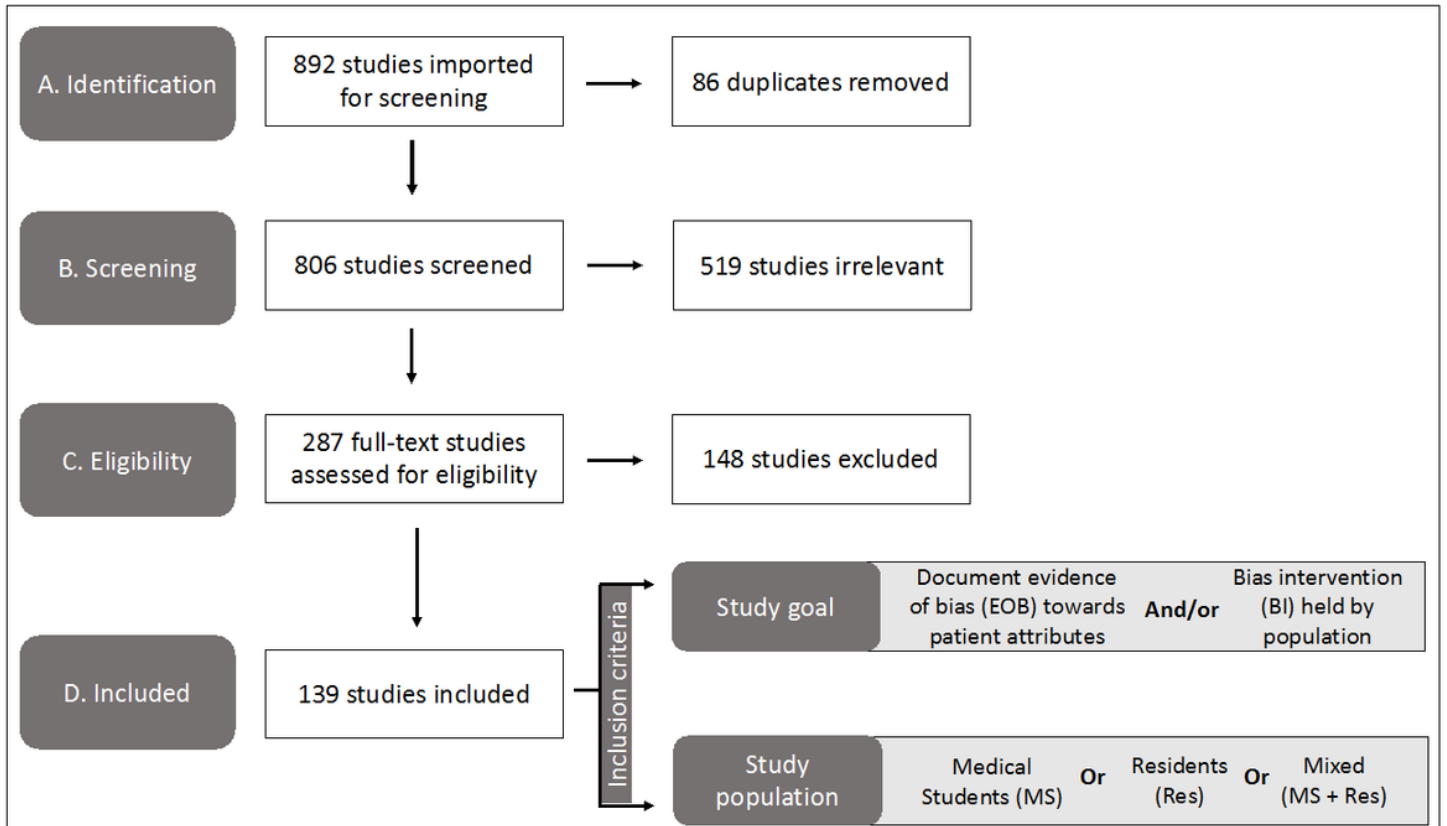


Figure 1

PRISMA diagram of the study selection process used in our mapping review to identify the bias categories that have been reported within medical education literature. Study took place from 2021-2022. Abbreviation: PRISMA, Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses.

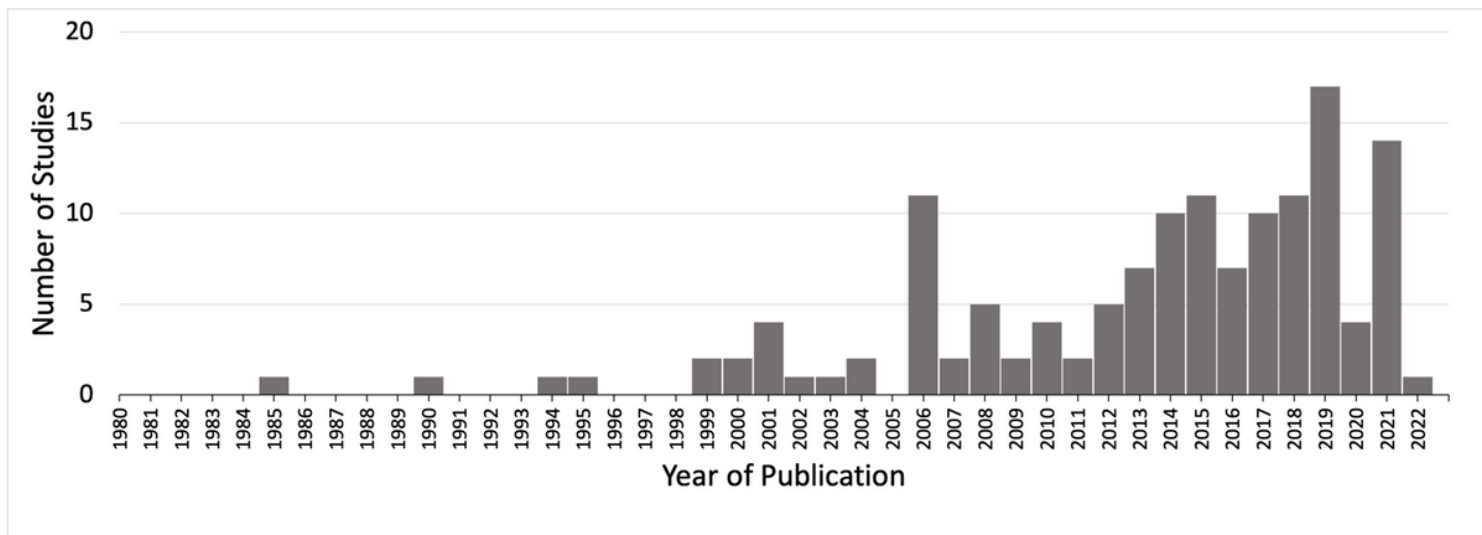


Figure 2

Studies matching inclusion criteria mapped by year of publication. Search criteria included studies addressing bias from 1980-2021 within medical students (MS) or residents (Res) or mixed (MS + Res) populations.

*Publication in 2022 was published online ahead of print.

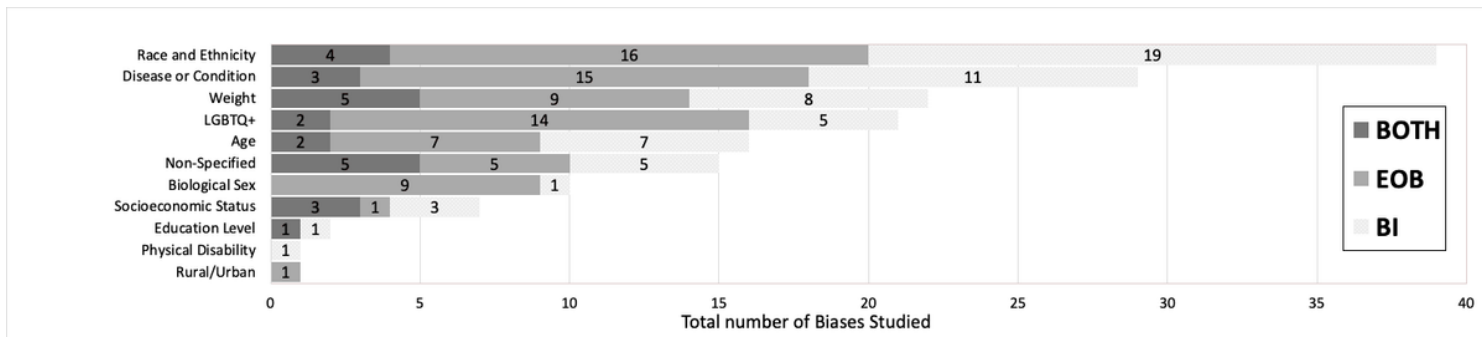


Figure 3

Mapping of total biases (n=163) within medical students or residents or a mixed population based on the *bias category*. Dark grey indicates studies with a dual goal, to document evidence of bias and to intervene bias. Medium grey bars indicate studies which focused on documenting evidence of bias. Light grey bars indicate studies focused on bias intervention within these populations. Numbers inside the bars indicate the total number of biases for the respective study goal.

*Non-specified bias includes studies which focused on implicit bias but did not mention the type of bias investigated.

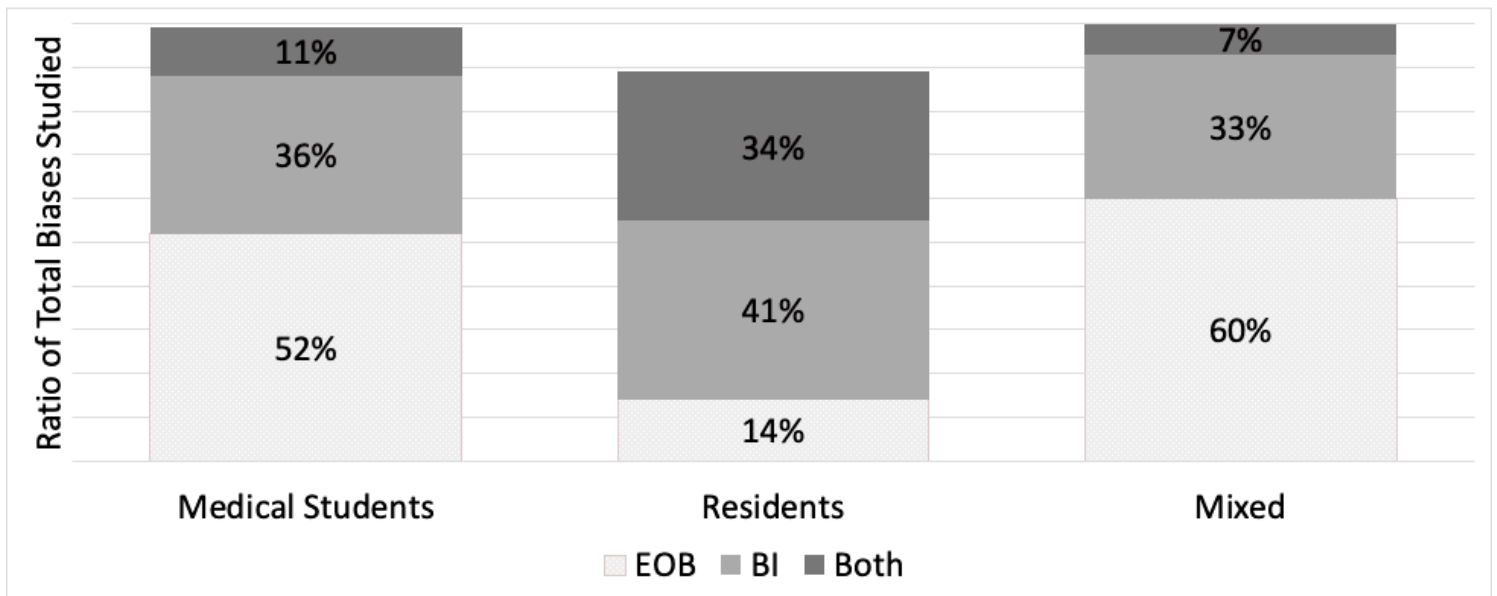


Figure 4

A ratio of the study goal for the total biases (n=163) mapped within each of the study population (MS, Res and Mixed). A study goal with a) documenting evidence of bias (EOB) is depicted in dotted grey, b) bias intervention (BI) in medium grey, and c) a dual focus (EOB + BI) is depicted in dark grey.

*N=122 for medical student studies. ^bN=26 for residents. ^cN=15 for mixed.