

American = White?

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Six studies investigated the extent to which American ethnic groups (African, Asian, and White) are associated with the category “American.” Although strong explicit commitments to egalitarian principles were expressed in Study 1, Studies 2–6 consistently revealed that both African and Asian Americans as groups are less associated with the national category “American” than are White Americans. Under some circumstances, a dissociation between mean levels of explicit beliefs and implicit responses emerged such that an ethnic minority was explicitly regarded to be more American than were White Americans, but implicit measures showed the reverse pattern (Studies 3 and 4). In addition, Asian American participants themselves showed the American = White effect, although African Americans did not (Study 5). The American = White association was positively correlated with the strength of national identity in White Americans. Together, these studies provide evidence that to be American is implicitly synonymous with being White.

In 1937, the Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York invited the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal to study the “Negro problem” in America. The main message from Myrdal’s now classic study was captured in the title of his book, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Myrdal, 1944). Contrary to expectations that White Americans would express prejudice without compunction, Myrdal found that even 60 years ago in the deep South, White citizens clearly experienced a moral dilemma, “an ever-raging conflict” (p. xliiii) between strong beliefs in equality and liberty for all and the reality of their actions and their history.

The ethnic makeup of the United States is much different now than it was in the 1930s, both in the sheer number and diversity of ethnic groups that consider the United States their home. It is arguably the case that for many citizens, especially those with immigration histories that began with disadvantage, greater access to political, legal, and economic rights is now possible, as is the

expectation of inclusion and egalitarian treatment in daily social conduct. In spite of the vast changes that make contemporary American life markedly different than the society Myrdal (1944) observed, the American “dilemma” that he spoke of is visible right below the surface. Much has been written about the topic of implicit preferences in recent years, and here we shift the focus to examine a particular sociocognitive fracture: that between the conscious and unconscious assigning of the attribute “American” to three ethnic groups: White, Asian, and African Americans.

A dissociation between high ideals of egalitarianism and the usually less high practice of it is a characteristic of all societies at all times, but the American situation may well be a particularly suitable testing ground. America has a most unique immigration policy (see <http://uscis.gov>) that produces the most rapidly changing citizenry in national origin compared with that of any other country. As such, the American democratic system necessitates public discourse about the rights of groups and the disparity between ideals and action, principles and practice, prescribed protections and actually available ones. These circumstances provide the location to examine basic questions of national and ethnic identity and their relationship: What are the qualities deemed essential to being American? Who is (most) American in publicly expressed values? Do less conscious responses follow consistently or do they diverge from these expressed endorsements? Do groups differ in the assessment of Americanness to their own and other groups? What are the implications for other forms of equality if the most basic attribute of nationality is unequally distributed?

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Some Facts and Issues

The United States is a pluralist society composed of identifiable ethnic groups. A core principle defining the nation is an explicit commitment to the ideal that all people are created equal, irrespective of ethnic and cultural background (Lipset, 1996; McClosky & Zaller, 1984; Myrdal, 1944; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). This core value of American society plays a prominent role

in its laws and in the debate around social policies. In addition, surveys of political attitudes reveal a strong public endorsement of egalitarian principles (Sears, Henry, & Kosterman, 2000). Equality is not a unitary concept (Pole, 1993; Rae, 1981), and support for this basic value varies across the ideological spectrum (Federico & Sidanius, 2002). However, a vast majority of Americans subscribe to the idea that individuals should not be treated differentially on the basis of the color of their skin, their origin, or their cultural heritage. Although different conceptions of American identity are analytically distinguishable, most Americans hold an inclusive definition of national identity (Citrin, Haas, Muste, & Reingold, 1994; Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Citrin, Wong, & Duff, 2001). Allegiance to universalistic values, especially equality, appears to be the most important feature defining what it means to be American. In the present research, we focused on a single fundamental dimension of equality—the degree to which the quality “American” is given to Americans of varying ethnic origin.

Although contemporary research in the social sciences is replete with new approaches and analyses of prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination, it has had surprisingly little to say about the role of such processes as it concerns the core concept of national identity. The simple question, “Who’s American?” has not been posed directly. On the basis of the “American creed,” the ideals that guide the majority American viewpoint that Myrdal (1944) described and that are true today, the answer would be resoundingly one of inclusion of all groups. From our knowledge of research on implicit attitudes and beliefs, there is reason to expect that the case may not be so simple. We posit that a modern American dilemma exists, and it is the tension not only between abstract ideals and concrete reality as noted in the 1930s but between one’s own consciously stated beliefs and less consciously elicited responses. The center of this dilemma is rooted in a more general inability to implicitly adopt what is explicitly endorsed.

Implicit and Explicit Ethnic American Associations

In the present research, our goal is to provide a direct test of the distribution of the concept “American” across ethnic groups and to examine its vicissitudes. Over the past 2 decades, a substantial body of research has revealed that thoughts and feelings about social groups may operate at two distinct levels. A useful distinction has emerged between attitudes and beliefs toward social groups as reflecting controlled and conscious processes on the one hand and automatic and less conscious processes on the other (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Devine, 1989; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). The development of new techniques has made it possible to investigate implicit cognitions about social groups (Fazio et al., 1995; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Nosek & Banaji, 2001). The aim of the present research is to capitalize on theories and methods available to investigate a new dimension of the inclusion of ethnic groups under the umbrella of American identity.

The use of techniques assessing implicit social cognition is more urgent in some cases than others. Such tools are particularly relevant when assessments of implicit social cognition purport to reveal a different picture than responses based on more deliberative processes. As documented, equality in the treatment of all

citizens is a core value in American society. Such a value is likely to be reflected in consciously expressed attitudes and beliefs indicating inclusivity of all ethnic groups. In other words, people may be externally and/or internally motivated to be egalitarian (Plant & Devine, 1998). Detecting unconscious or automatic associations in this domain may reveal mechanisms that undermine or depart from the intended endorsement of equality. It is our contention that conscious assumptions of egalitarianism in viewing social groups will influence explicit reports, whereas deviations from this principle will emerge on assessments that cannot be consciously controlled—these are instead dominated by the history of intergroup relations within the United States, the actual hierarchy of social groups, and an internalization of that hierarchy in understanding who prototypically represents the nation. The idea of an ethnic hierarchy among U.S. citizens may be disavowed consciously and, at the same time, revealed in implicit responses.

This analysis suggests another reason for tools that capture automatic or unconscious associations—they can bring to the fore the subtle but crucial ways in which sociocultural realities shape social cognition. For example, there is good evidence that members of disadvantaged groups express strong commitment to their group’s cause and report highly favorable attitudes and group-supportive beliefs. Yet, on implicit measures, members of disadvantaged groups internalize the social standing of their group and reveal either negative attitudes and beliefs toward their own group or, in weaker form, simply do not show the in-group-favoring bias that advantaged group members do (Banaji & Baron, 2004; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002a; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002; Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, & Swanson, 2002). It is interesting to note that the conscious learning of group pride can overshadow the effects of covert acculturation when measured through explicit self-evaluations but still emerge on measures that tap less controllable responses.

The history of the social evolution of groups in American culture has given them each a unique place. The length of immersion in American society is tightly linked to the timing of arrival in the United States, the numerical status of the group, and asymmetries in access to power and resources. The standing of various groups in present-day American society cannot be dissociated from the facts surrounding their immigration, nor can it be untied from the daily experience members of each group have of their own and other groups. Implicit associations reflect the knowledge that an individual has acquired through repeated personal experience within a particular cultural context. Thus, individually endorsed and culturally learned beliefs may differ from each other in mean level such that one may be positive and the other negative. Further, within each type of belief or attitude (conscious and unconscious), there are noticeable individual differences—implicit beliefs and attitudes are no more likely to be monolithically identical across individuals. They vary, and such variability has psychological meaning (Banaji, 2001). Toward the end of this investigation, we examine the predictive power of the degree of inclusiveness of ethnic minorities into the national category “American” for the strength of individuals’ identification with the nation.

Explaining Ethnic American Associations

Predictions about the relative inclusion of ethnic groups in the national identity can be grounded in previous research and theoretical models. Social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) posits that relations between ethnic groups in the United States are characterized by inequalities in power and social status. Furthermore, the theory assumes that White Americans, who enjoy more power and higher status than other ethnic groups, are seen as “owning” the nation, whereas ethnic minorities sit at the margin of American society. This proposition has been used to account for variations in national attachment as a function of ethnic group membership (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001; Sinclair, Sidanius, & Levin, 1998). Similar predictions can be derived from the exemplar-based model of social judgment developed by Smith and Zárate (1992). According to this model, within a culture, particular person attributes may come to be perceived as expected or default values. In Western cultures, White racial identity and male gender are treated as cultural expectations. Evidence for this “White male norm” hypothesis comes from experiments showing that membership in nonnormative groups receives greater attention than membership in normative groups because of its incongruence (Stroessner, 1996; Zárate & Smith, 1990). This model is also consistent with research showing greater similarities between stereotypes of men and their nationalities than between stereotypes of women and their nationalities (Eagly & Kite, 1987). In addition, evidence for cultural “default” values emerge from research on the role of category norms in lay explanations (Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991): Attributes of atypical or deviant exemplars are more likely to be the focus of explanations and to be perceived as mutable. In the present context, this family of models would predict that when individuals encounter the category “American,” they recruit typical and more recently activated exemplars to instantiate the category. Given that White Americans, as a group, have been immersed in American society for an extensive period of time and constitute the numerical majority, they are more likely to be thought of as prototypical or representative of the category “American” than members of other ethnic groups.

Overview

The present studies were designed to test the meaning of the concept “American” and whether it is faithfully applied to all social groups as implicitly as it is likely to be applied explicitly. In particular, we focused on three ethnic groups, White, Asian, and African American, to observe the degree to which they are conceived of as American. We began by collecting data to assess conscious beliefs and values concerning American identity and the extent to which ethnic groups are included in the category “American” (Study 1). Study 2 compared the extent to which ethnic groups are associated with the concept “American” using both implicit (Implicit Association Test [IAT]; Greenwald et al., 1998) and explicit (self-report) measures. Studies 3 and 4 were designed to ease the association of Black and Asian Americans with the category “American” by using Black athletes (Study 3) and famous Asian Americans (Study 4). These experiments were created to reduce the default American = White association. In Study 5,

we compared the implicit American = White effect among White, Asian, and African American participants to observe the effects of own group membership on the ethnic–national association. Study 6 was conducted to measure mechanisms that underlie the association between ethnic and national identity and, in particular, to test the variation in one’s own national identity for excluding other groups from the national category “American.”

Study 1: Explicit Beliefs About American Identity

The goal of Study 1 was to explore conscious beliefs and values about what it means to be American and the degree to which three ethnic groups are considered American. Lay definitions of American identity were captured by obtaining ratings of the importance of various qualities that make for a “true American.” Research on political attitudes has suggested that various conceptions of the identity “American” may be distinguished (Citrin et al., 1990, 1994, 2001). Some attributes may stress the importance of universalistic values such as equality or self-reliance, aspects that would be most consistent with a liberal tradition. Other attributes may reflect a more exclusionary definition of American identity. For example, being born or having lived most of one’s life in the United States may be seen as a prerequisite to being American. In this study, the relative weight ascribed to various attributes that define American identity was explored in a most general way. The extent to which each of three different ethnic groups (African, Asian, and White Americans) were viewed as American was also examined.

Method

Participants

Participants were 135 undergraduates at Yale University. One hundred fourteen participants (56 men, 58 women) were U.S. citizens. Results are based on responses provided by U.S. citizens only. The sample included 77 White Americans, 18 Asian Americans, 9 Latino Americans, 8 African Americans, and 1 individual of multiethnic background. One participant declined to provide this information. Five U.S. citizens were not born in the United States. Including or removing these participants in the analyses did not affect the results.

Procedure

Data were collected at the end of the class period of a lecture course held in a large auditorium, with participation being voluntary.

Ethnic American associations. First, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which African Americans, Asian Americans, and White Americans were regarded as American. For each group, participants were asked to

bring to mind individuals who were born in the United States and are citizens of the United States. In your mind, how “American” are people who belong to the following groups? That is, how strongly are they identified with America and all things American?

For each ethnic group, participants were asked to indicate their opinion on a 7-point scale with labels ranging from *Not at all American* to *Absolutely American*. It is worth stressing that participants were asked to report their personal beliefs (rather than their perceptions of commonly held beliefs or cultural norms). In addition, the instructions stated explicitly

Table 1
Definition of American Identity: Means, Standard Deviations, and Factor Loadings for Principal-Components Analysis, Study 1

Item	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	F1	F2	F3	F4
Vote in elections	5.61	1.45	.21	-.10	.62	.19
Respect America's political institutions and laws	5.29	1.72	.68	-.06	.32	-.26
Treat people of all races and backgrounds equally	5.28	1.79	-.02	-.06	.81	-.17
Try to get ahead on your own effort	5.06	1.43	.24	.08	.73	.06
Feel American	4.96	1.71	.67	.31	.16	-.17
Be able to speak English	4.69	1.82	.22	.40	.43	.23
Have American citizenship	4.58	1.96	.12	.72	.08	.12
Be patriotic	3.85	1.69	.79	.27	.18	.16
Defend America when it is criticized	3.71	1.73	.77	-.05	.04	.29
Have lived in America for most of one's life	3.37	1.65	.24	.79	-.02	.10
Have been born in America	2.54	1.55	.00	.82	-.14	.06
Believe in God	1.89	1.32	.11	.08	.17	.81
Be a Christian	1.56	1.23	-.07	.22	-.08	.81

Note. Loadings of absolute size higher than .33 are italicized. F = factor.

that there were no right or wrong answers to these questions, and participants were invited to answer honestly.

Judgments of equality. Next, participants were reminded that in the United States, the law requires that all people, irrespective of their ethnic background, be treated equally. They were asked whether they thought that in all aspects of public life (hiring/promotion, political rights, legal rights) African Americans, Asian Americans, and White Americans should be treated the same or whether one specific ethnic group (African, Asian, or White Americans) should have priority, greater access, or greater protections. In addition, participants reported their personal commitment to egalitarian standards; they indicated to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "In my mind, I truly believe that I ought to treat members of different ethnic groups equally." Responses were provided on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Definition of American identity. Participants completed a measure assessing the criteria people subjectively use to define "what makes someone a true American." This measure has been used previously in large surveys of political attitudes (Citrin et al., 1990, 1994, 2001). Participants were told that "some people say that there are certain qualities that make a person a true American, while others say that there is not anything that makes one person more American than another." For a set of 13 attributes, participants indicated the extent to which each attribute is an important attribute of being a true American using 7-point instead of 4-point scales (see Table 1).

Results and Discussion

Judgments of Equality

A large majority of participants from this sample (88.4%) agreed with the idea that in all aspects of public life, African Americans, Asian Americans, and White Americans should receive equal treatment. About a tenth of the sample (11.6%) expressed the view that priority should be given to African Americans. In addition, participants expressed an unambiguous personal commitment to egalitarian principles. They strongly agreed with the idea that they ought to treat members of different ethnic groups equally (on a 7-point scale, $M = 6.67$, $SD = 1.07$).

Definition of American Identity

Means and standard deviations for responses provided on the "true American" measure are presented in Table 1, with items ranked according to their perceived importance. To explore the structure underlying the interrelations among these beliefs, a principal-components analysis was performed on this set of items, specifying that factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 be retained. A four-factor solution was extracted, accounting for 63.2% of the variance. Factor loadings after varimax rotation are also presented in Table 1. The interpretation of the four factors was straightforward. Factor 1 consisted of items capturing emotional attachment to the American nation—close to what is traditionally defined as patriotism, given the affective dimension of most items that load on this factor. Items capturing a nativist definition of the American identity loaded on Factor 2—that is, was born in America, have spent most of one's life in America, and have American citizenship. Factor 3 encompassed civic values such as equality, democracy, or striving for self-improvement. Factor 4 was composed of two items referring to religious orientation. One item did not load clearly on any of the four factors—the ability to speak English.

For each factor, items with the strongest loadings were aggregated in order to compare the perceived importance of these dimensions. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) performed on the four scores that constitute each factor revealed highly significant differences between these criteria, $F(3, 309) = 215.17$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .66$.¹ Given that all pairwise comparisons were significant at $p < .01$, a clear hierarchy emerged. The most important dimension was the endorsement of civic values such as equality, democracy, or independence ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.17$); followed by an emotional

¹ In this article, the Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used when the sphericity assumption was not met in ANOVAs involving a repeated measure with three or more levels. Moreover, multiple pairwise comparisons were always performed using the Bonferroni adjustment procedure. In this article, the measure of effect size reported for ANOVAs is the partial eta squared.

attachment to the nation such as patriotism ($M = 4.45, SD = 1.31$); then nativist ideas ($M = 3.50, SD = 1.39$); and finally, religious beliefs ($M = 1.73, SD = 1.09$). The definition of the American identity that is transparent from these data incorporates three major components. Indeed, participants consider civic values (democracy, self-involvement, and a belief in equality) to be key components of American identity. Less importance is placed on affective ties to the nation (e.g., patriotism, defending America when it is criticized) and on nativist ideas (e.g., been born or have spent most of one's life in America). In this sample, religious convictions were clearly excluded from criteria deemed important, reflecting a common belief among many Americans regarding the separation of church and state. It is worth noting that equal treatment of people of all races and backgrounds emerged among the most important qualities that define a true American.

Ethnic American Associations

The data reported so far capture an abstract endorsement of egalitarianism. That notwithstanding, the question regarding explicit beliefs about the Americanness of different ethnic groups remains open. Are all ethnic groups equally included in the concept "American"? Participants were asked to judge three ethnic groups on their degree of Americanness. In answering this question, they were specifically instructed to consider individuals from each ethnic group who were born in the United States, lived in the United States, and were U.S. citizens. An ANOVA was performed to determine whether participants differentiated ethnic groups on this question. Two participants did not complete this measure. A highly significant effect emerged, $F(1, 154) = 93.82, p < .01, \eta^2 = .46$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that all the comparisons were highly significant ($p < .01$). The groups could be ranked in terms of their association with the concept "American" as follows: White Americans ($M = 6.53, SD = .61$), African Americans ($M = 6.26, SD = .74$), and Asian Americans ($M = 5.49, SD = 1.20$). A comparison of the effect sizes (Cohen's d) revealed the key contrasts emerging from participants' responses.² A large effect size was obtained for both comparisons involving Asian Americans; this ethnic group was clearly seen as less American than both White ($d = 1.00$) and African ($d = 0.92$) Americans. The difference between African and White Americans was less pronounced ($d = 0.50$, medium effect).

Three key findings emerged from Study 1. First, participants expressed strong explicit commitment to egalitarian principles in the treatment of ethnic groups. Second, they held and highly valued a nonexclusionary definition of American identity. In contrast to these egalitarian abstract principles, when considering Americans who hold U.S. citizenship and were born in this country, the view is that some ethnic groups are simply less American than others—not in rights and liberties but in the degree to which they embody the concept "American." More precisely, Asian Americans were clearly perceived as being less American than both White and African Americans. Although to a somewhat lesser extent, African Americans, who have lived in the United States since the 17th century, were also seen as less American than White Americans.³ These findings emerged despite the fact that participants were asked to consider individuals who were born in the United States and are U.S. citizens.

Study 2: Implicit and Explicit Tests of American Identity

Study 2 was designed to test both implicit and explicit measures of the ethnic–national associations for three groups: White, Asian, and African Americans. The findings from Study 1 indicate that a strong belief in equality is an important component of American identity. At the same time, ethnic groups are differentiated in terms of their inclusion in the national identity. A relevant research question concerns the extension of this finding to implicit inclusiveness of all groups into the concept "American." Participants completed three IATs (Greenwald et al., 1998). This technique assesses the direction and strength of associations between two pairs of concepts. The IAT is based on the assumption that the extent to which concepts are associated is revealed in the ease or speed with which they can be mentally paired or combined. In the past few years, several studies have demonstrated the use of the IAT as a measure of implicit associations that are interpreted as measures of evaluation, stereotypes, self-concept, and identity (for reviews, see Banaji, 2001; Greenwald et al., 2002; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001).

Method

Participants

Participants were 28 undergraduates at Yale University (16 men, 12 women), all White Americans, who received partial course credit for their participation.

Stimuli

For this study, we developed an IAT measuring ethnic–national association. The new measure assessed the strength of implicit associations between three ethnic groups (African, Asian, and White Americans) and the concept "American" (relative to "foreign"). To represent the concept "American," eight pictures were created that represented such symbols as U.S. flag, Capitol building, \$1 bill, bald eagle, 25-cent coin, Mt. Rushmore, and U.S. map in blue or red. These stimuli were matched with eight foreign symbols that could not easily be associated with any specific group: flag of Kiribati (colors were changed to green and orange, bird was removed); United Nations building in Geneva, Switzerland; Ukrainian bill (100 Hryven); Flemish lion (emblem of region in Belgium); 20-cent Swiss coin;

² Cohen's d is interpreted as suggested by Cohen (1988) as follows: <0.3 reflects a small effect, around 0.5 reflects a medium effect, and around 0.8 reflects a large effect.

³ In this study, the sample was predominantly composed of White Americans. We examined whether responses provided by White and non-White participants differed reliably. Participants' ethnicity moderated the extent to which ethnic groups were differentiated in terms of their association with the concept "American"; $F(1, 154) = 3.63, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03$. White and non-White participants significantly differentiated the three ethnic groups in the same direction ($p < .01$), but non-White participants expressed stronger distinctions than White participants. It is also worth mentioning that non-White participants ($M = 2.04, SD = 1.37$) considered religious orientation a more important criterion to define American identity than White participants ($M = 1.55, SD = 0.87; p < .03$). However, the means on this dimension were well below the midpoint of the scale, suggesting that religious orientation was not a core factor of the American ethos for both groups. No other reliable differences emerged between White and non-White participants in this data collection.

Armillary sphere (Ariana Park, Geneva, Switzerland); and map of Luxembourg (rotated 90° to the left; green or orange). Participants had no difficulty categorizing these stimuli as American and foreign symbols, respectively. Pictures of American and foreign symbols were 78 mm wide × 62 mm high or smaller.⁴

To represent the ethnic groups, black-and-white pictures of White, African, and Asian Americans were used. For each ethnic group, 10 faces (5 men, 5 women) were selected; we chose individuals displaying neutral facial expressions. Participants were explicitly told that all of these individuals were Americans. Pictures of human faces from the three ethnic groups were 55 mm wide × 62 mm high.

Procedure

After reviewing informed consent, participants were seated individually in a small room with a desktop computer.

Implicit ethnic American associations. The IATs were administered on PCs running Inquisit (Draine, 1998). First, to acquaint participants with the symbols used to represent the concepts “American” and “foreign,” each stimulus appeared in the middle of the screen for 1,500 ms under the appropriate label. Participants were simply instructed to watch the stimuli carefully. The order of presentation of the eight stimuli within category was randomized across participants.

Each IAT designed for this study captured the relative association between the concepts “American” versus “foreign” and a pair of ethnic groups. All possible comparisons among the three groups, White, African, and Asian Americans, were of interest. Thus, participants completed three IATs measuring the strength of association between the attribute “American” (relative to “foreign”) and (a) White versus Asian Americans, (b) White versus African Americans, and (c) African versus Asian Americans.

For each task, stimuli were presented sequentially at the center of the computer screen. Participants were asked to categorize each stimulus as quickly as possible by pressing a key that was either toward the left or the right of the keyboard. Response times were recorded from the onset of a stimulus to its correct classification. Correct responses terminated a trial and initiated the subsequent trial, following a 400-ms intertrial interval. Categorization labels were positioned at the top left and right of the screen to indicate the particular pairing that was requested. The labels used for the ethnic groups were “White Am.,” “Asian Am.,” and “African Am.” The attribute dimension was labeled “American” and “Foreign.” If a stimulus was incorrectly classified, a red “X” appeared below the stimulus; participants had to provide the correct answer to move on to the next trial. Each block included 12 practice trials and 30 test trials. Stimuli were selected alternatively from each pair of concepts. The same number of stimuli was presented for each concept.

Each IAT included two blocks of trials. For example, to measure the relative association between White versus Asian Americans and American versus foreign, participants completed two blocks of trials. In one block, they paired, as quickly as possible, American symbols with White faces while pairing foreign symbols with Asian faces. In another block, the opposite pairing was achieved. This time American symbols were paired with Asian faces, and foreign symbols were associated with White faces. A similar IAT was completed for the other interethnic comparisons (White vs. African Americans and African vs. Asian Americans). Thus, participants completed a total six combined tasks. The order of the blocks was randomized across participants.

Explicit associations with American culture. Next, participants completed a short computerized questionnaire. They were asked to report their opinion about the strength of the ties between each ethnic group (White Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans) and American culture. The exact wording of the question was: “How strong are the ties between [ethnic group] and the American culture?” Responses were provided on 10-point scales ranging from 1 (*Very weak*) to 10 (*Very strong*).

Although this measure focuses on a more specific aspect of American identity than the measure used in Study 1, it is comparable to the implicit task in the sense that it taps the strength of association between ethnic groups and important aspects of American society.

Demographic information. Participants completed a short demographic questionnaire that included items such as country of birth, ethnicity, gender, and age. Finally, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results and Discussion

Explicit Associations With American Culture

First, we compared the extent to which each ethnic group was explicitly associated with American culture. An ANOVA revealed that the three ethnic groups differed in the extent to which they were perceived as having ties with the American culture, $F(2, 54) = 26.71, p < .01, \eta^2 = .50$. This significant effect was further analyzed by pairwise comparisons. Asian Americans ($M = 6.39, SD = 1.85$) were perceived as having weaker ties to American culture than both White Americans ($M = 8.32, SD = 1.70, d = 1.10$) and African Americans ($M = 8.03, SD = 1.50, d = 1.16$). These two groups were not strongly differentiated on the explicit self-report measure ($d = 0.23$): Both African Americans and White Americans were perceived as having strong ties to the American culture. These results echo the findings of Study 1 in which a different explicit measure was used. In both cases, the data reveal a relative exclusion of Asian Americans, whereas the distinction between White and African Americans was less sharp.

Implicit Ethnic American Associations

In this article, IAT data were analyzed following the improved algorithm recommended by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003). Trials with latencies >10,000 ms were eliminated. No participants responded faster than 300 ms on more than 10% of the trials. The difference between the mean response latency for the two blocks of trials, divided by its associated pooled standard deviation, was computed. This index (IAT D effect) reflects the direction and the strength of the IAT effect, and as recommended, statistical analyses were always performed on the IAT D index. For ease of interpretation, mean response latencies for each block are also reported. In this and all remaining studies, the IAT D effect is taken to reflect the direction and the strength of the relatively less controllable association between concepts representing ethnic groups (African, Asian, White) and the attribute “American” (relative to “foreign”).

White–Asian Americans comparison. Results indicate that participants were faster to respond to pairings of American symbols and White American faces ($M = 643$ ms) than to pair American symbols with Asian American faces ($M = 801$ ms). A one-sample t test revealed that the IAT D effect differed significantly from 0 ($M = 0.54, SD = 0.40, t(27) = 7.20, p < .01, d = 1.36$). This first result of a White–Asian comparison reveals an exceptionally large effect demonstrating, at least among White

⁴ Pictorial stimuli used for the studies reported in this article may be obtained by writing to the authors.

American students, a strong automatic association between American and White compared with American and Asian.⁵

White–African Americans comparison. It was easier for participants to pair American symbols with White faces ($M = 659$ ms) rather than with African American faces ($M = 768$ ms). The IAT D effect was highly significant and consistent with the pattern obtained above ($M = 0.34$, $SD = 0.52$), $t(27) = 3.43$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.65$; thus, a strong automatic association exists between American and White Americans compared with American and African Americans.

African–Asian Americans comparison. No difference was observed in the third comparison pairing American symbols with African American faces ($M = 706$ ms) rather than with Asian American faces ($M = 739$ ms). The automatic association between American and African Americans was equal to the association between American and Asian Americans ($M = 0.05$, $SD = 0.43$), $t(27) = .64$, $p > .5$, $d = 0.12$.

The effect sizes obtained for each interethnic comparison at both explicit and implicit levels of responding are presented in Figure 1. The data show that patterns of implicit associations are at times consistent with explicit beliefs and at times quite discrepant from explicit statements. Specifically, Asian Americans were viewed as less American than White Americans at both explicit and implicit levels of responding. However, African and White Americans were not strongly differentiated on explicit measures of ethnic–national association. Yet African Americans were implicitly assessed to be less associated with the concept “American” than were White Americans. The weak correlations between effects observed on the implicit and explicit measures gave further support to the idea that implicit and explicit ethnic American associations are distinct ($r = -.15$, $p > .43$, for the White–Asian Americans comparison and $r = .10$, $p > .61$, for the White–African Americans comparison). However, these correlations should be interpreted with caution because the small sample size prevented us from correcting for measurement error (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001).

As noted above, the IAT captures relative associations between pairs of concepts. On the basis of the results of Study 2, one could

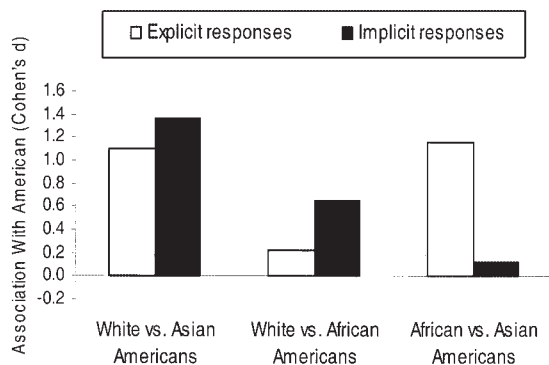


Figure 1. Study 2: Strength of explicit and implicit associations with American (Cohen's d) and pairs of ethnic groups. For each pair of ethnic groups (e.g., White vs. Asian Americans), a positive effect size indicates a stronger association between the first ethnic group (e.g., White Americans) and American, whereas a negative effect size reflects a stronger association between the second ethnic group (e.g., Asian Americans) and American.

argue that ethnic minorities are not seen as being less American than Whites but that these ethnic groups remain more closely linked to the concept “foreign.” The possibility that members of ethnic minorities are seen as preserving ties with another culture is particularly relevant in the case of Asian Americans. The assumption is that as recent immigrants, Asian Americans are less assimilated than groups that arrived earlier (Europeans, Africans). In a separate data collection ($N = 20$), we used a technique, the Go/No-Go Association Task (Nosek & Banaji, 2001), that allows assessment of implicit associations more independently. More precisely, the Go/No-Go Association Task was used to compare the strength of associations between two different target groups (White vs. Asian Americans) and one given concept (either “American” or “foreign”). Results of this study revealed that the two ethnic groups differed in the extent to which they were automatically associated with the concept “American,” $t(19) = 3.74$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.86$. Asian Americans ($M = 1.48$, $SD = 0.89$) were less strongly associated with the concept “American” than White Americans ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 0.83$). The two ethnic groups also clearly differed in the extent to which they were associated with the concept “foreign,” $t(19) = 6.04$, $p < .01$, $d = 1.39$. White Americans ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 0.68$) were less strongly associated with the concept “foreign” than Asian Americans ($M = 2.39$, $SD = 0.80$). The important point is that Asian Americans were not merely viewed as foreigners; they were also excluded from the concept “American” when the occasion for inclusion was relatively easier. A large effect size was obtained even when we used a technique developed to overcome the stark automatic linkage produced by the relative index of ethnic–national associations.

Study 3: Can the Effect Be Removed by Using a Field Dominated by African Americans?

Results of Study 2 provide evidence for an automatic American = White association. The goal of Studies 3 and 4 was to attempt to disrupt this propensity to equate American with White. In Study 3, we sought circumstances in which members of an ethnic minority may be viewed as more American than Whites.

Considering specific fields in which a minority group is more associated with America is an obvious way to achieve this goal, and we selected the strong and well-known association of Black Americans representing the United States in international sports events. Sports such as basketball or track and field are highly dominated by Black athletes, and it seemed worthwhile to test whether this specific circumstance under which Black athletes are seen as good representatives of America would raise the association of Black + American to equate the White + American association.

The Olympic games provided an appropriate setting to test the hypothesis: Athletes are selected to represent the country, they are repeatedly paired with national symbols (flags, outfits, or national

⁵ In this study, the label “White Americans” was used because most people make use of these terms to refer to this ethnic group. In a pilot study, an effect in the same direction also emerged with the label “European Americans” ($d = 0.63$), although it was weaker than the effect obtained with the label “White Americans” ($d = 1.26$).

anthem), and their successes elicit pride and joy among fellow Americans. During the Olympic games, one would expect that in a sport such as track and field, Black athletes would be seen as more prototypical or dominant exemplars of America than White athletes. In Study 3, implicit and explicit associations between Black and White athletes and the concept "American" were compared. In addition, the verbal labels used in previous experiments to denote the categories were replaced by faces to avoid any possibility that the effect was a function of the labels used to refer to ethnic groups.

There are multiple ways of symbolizing the concept "American." One can use official symbols, cultural icons, landmarks, or monuments. These different symbolic representations are not interchangeable and may, in some cases, be more strongly linked to one particular ethnic group rather than to another. In Study 2, an official or political image of the United States was activated, and it could be argued that symbols such as the Capitol are linked to the political arena, Mt. Rushmore to the contributions of presidents, and currency to economic resources, all more associated with White America, thereby producing the American = White effect obtained in the previous study. In Study 3, changes were made to the stimuli to remove this possible interpretation.

Previous research has consistently demonstrated automatic or unconscious race preferences: White American individuals display a more negative implicit attitude toward African Americans than toward White Americans (Cunningham et al., 2001; Fazio et al., 1995; Greenwald et al., 1998; Nosek & Banaji, 2001; Nosek et al., 2002a; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). Initially, an explanation in terms of familiarity had been raised to account for this finding: The effect would stem from a lack of familiarity with the stimuli used to represent the category "African American." Further research ruled out this alternative explanation. In particular, it has been clearly established that asymmetries in familiarity do not account for IAT effects (Dasgupta, McGhee, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2000; Ottaway, Hayden, & Oakes, 2001; Rudman, Greenwald, Mellott, & Schwartz, 1999). Given that the present studies were the first to test the ethnic-national association, the role of familiarity needed to be readdressed. Thus, a measure of familiarity with the exemplars used to represent ethnic groups was incorporated in the design.

Three issues were considered in Study 3. First and most important, we examined whether the effect of Study 2 could be reduced or even reversed in a field highly dominated by Black athletes. Second, the labels used to represent the ethnic groups were replaced with pictures. Third, the stimuli used to represent the concept "American" did not include any references to domains where African Americans are typically underrepresented (political arena) or disadvantaged (economic resources). Finally, the role of familiarity in implicit ethnic-national associations was tested while controlling for obvious differences in familiarity of Black and White athletes.

Method

Participants

Participants were 60 undergraduates at Yale University (37 men, 23 women), all of whom were White Americans. Participants were paid \$3.00

in return for their participation. Twenty-seven participants completed the study during the 2 weeks preceding the 2000 summer Olympic games; the remaining 33 participants completed the study during the Olympic games. This variable, time of measurement, had no effect on implicit or explicit measures.

Stimuli

Pictures of track and field athletes who represented the United States during the 2000 Olympic games were gathered from the Internet using various search engines. All pictures were converted to a standard format of 42 mm wide \times 48 mm high. Only the face and shoulders of each athlete were displayed. We selected pictures showing athletes competing in a sporting event. The final set of pictures included eight Black athletes (four men and four women) and eight White athletes (four men and four women). The names of the Black athletes whose pictures were presented were Allen Johnson, Angelo Taylor, Floyd Heard, Gail Devers, Inger Miller, Jon Drummond, Michele Collins, and Regina Jacobs. The set of White athletes included Adam Goucher, Amy Acuff, Curt Clausen, Deena Drossin, Karol Damon, Mark Croghan, Pascal Dobert, and Suzy Favor-Hamilton. The American and foreign stimuli were adapted to be more relevant to the sport domain. In particular, symbols that were associated with the political arena (Capitol building or Mt. Rushmore) or the economic domain (bills or coins) were removed, and a blue and red "U.S.A." logo was included for a total of five American and five foreign symbols (two U.S. and foreign maps in different colors were used; see *Stimuli* section of Study 2).

Procedure

Implicit ethnic American associations. A large hall through which students pass regularly was the recruiting spot. Those who agreed to participate were taken to a quiet location of the hall and seated at a table where they completed all tasks on a laptop computer. As in the previous study, participants were acquainted with the symbols representing the concepts "American" and "foreign." Then, they completed an IAT measuring the strength of association between the concepts "Black athletes" and "White athletes" and the attributes "American" and "foreign." The words *American* and *foreign* appeared as labels for the attribute to be categorized, whereas the face of a Black athlete (Duane Ross) and a White athlete (Kevin Little) signified the two ethnic groups. This was done to avoid using verbal labels that may have contributed to the larger association of American with White in Study 2. Participants were informed that all the athletes were to represent the United States during the forthcoming or ongoing Olympic games. Instructions always emphasized that individuals appearing on the screen were to be categorized as Black or White athletes.

As usual, in one set of trials, participants paired as rapidly as possible American symbols with Black athletes and foreign symbols with White athletes. In the alternative set of trials, they made the reverse pairing of American symbols with White athletes and foreign symbols with Black athletes. Each block included 12 practice trials and 30 test trials. As usual, the order of these blocks was counterbalanced.

Explicit ethnic American associations. To assess participants' explicit assessments of the strength of belief in the ethnic-national association for each of the two groups, Black athletes and White athletes, we developed a measure specifically suited for this study. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with six statements about Black and White American athletes. They were aware that they would be answering the same question for each of the two categories of Black athletes and White athletes, and they were instructed to think of the athletes as a group (Black athletes and White athletes) rather than as individual athletes. The six statements were "Black/White athletes contribute significantly to the glory of America," "Black/White American athletes

dominate athletes from other countries,” “We should celebrate the triumphs of Black/White athletes less” (reverse scored), “Black/White athletes make me feel proud to be an American,” “Black/White athletes represent what America is all about,” “I am not moved by the sight of a Black/White athlete carrying the American flag” (reverse scored). Responses were given on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). The order of presentation of the 12 items was randomized across participants. This measure was tailored to capture the relative inclusion of Black athletes and White athletes in the national identity. The items focused on the sport domain and were less abstract than those used in Studies 1 and 2. The explicit measure created for this study is comparable to the implicit task in the sense that it assesses the strength of association between Black and White athletes and the category “American.” As in the previous data collections, instructions provided to participants stressed that we were interested in their honest reactions and opinions (rather than their perception of commonly held beliefs or cultural norms). They were explicitly told that there were no right or wrong answers to any of these questions.

Explicit ratings of familiarity. To measure participants’ familiarity with the individual athletes depicted in the pictures, each of the 16 athletes was presented sequentially in the middle of the screen. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they were familiar with each athlete. Ratings were provided on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*Not familiar*) to 7 (*Very familiar*).

Results and Discussion

Explicit Ethnic American Associations

We first present the results on the explicit measure. Responses to the six items capturing the association between each category of athlete and American were averaged for Black athletes ($\alpha = .67$) and White athletes ($\alpha = .71$). A paired-samples *t* test showed that Black athletes ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 1.07$) were judged to be more strongly associated with American than White athletes ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 1.06$), and this difference was statistically significant and of moderate magnitude, $t(59) = 4.41$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.57$. The reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) of this measure was relatively low. Therefore, responses provided for Black and Whites athletes were compared on each item. The two groups were significantly differentiated on five items: Black athletes were seen as contributing to the glory of America, $t(59) = 3.39$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.44$; as dominating athletes from other countries, $t(59) = 3.19$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.42$; as worth celebrating their triumphs, $t(59) = 2.35$, $p < .02$, $d = 0.31$; and as representing what America is all about, $t(59) = 1.99$, $p = .05$, $d = 0.26$, to a greater extent than White athletes. The only two items that did not show a reliable difference were capturing pride elicited by these athletes, $t(59) = 0.13$, ns , $d = 0.02$, and their association with the American flag, $t(59) = 1.63$, $p < .11$, $d = 0.21$.

Explicit Ratings of Familiarity

For the measure of familiarity, we aggregated ratings provided for Black athletes ($\alpha = .82$) and White athletes ($\alpha = .87$). Participants reported being more familiar with Black athletes ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.32$) than with White athletes ($M = 1.96$, $SD = 1.06$). A paired-samples *t* test confirmed that this difference was significant, and the effect size was quite large, $t(59) = 7.76$, $p < .01$, $d = 1.00$. Taking the two explicit self-report measures together, participants were both more familiar with Black than White ath-

letes and reported a stronger association between Black athletes and American than White athletes and American.

Implicit Ethnic American Associations

The IAT measured the automatic association of each category of athlete and the attribute “American,” providing a direct comparison with the explicit assessment of this association reported above. On this measure, the two groups were also differentiated ($M = 0.24$, $SD = 0.48$), $t(60) = 3.80$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.49$, but in the opposite direction from that obtained on the explicit measure. Indeed, participants were faster to pair White athletes and American symbols and Black athletes and foreign symbols ($M = 751$ ms) than when the concept–attribute pairs were combined in the opposite order ($M = 823$ ms).

The findings of this study are of considerably greater importance, given the stronger conditions built into the design to remove the American = White effect obtained in Study 2. We began with a domain, namely sports, in which a clear association between Black and American existed compared with White and American. These circumstances provided an opportunity to observe a stronger automatic association between Black + American than White + American. Yet such an effect was not found. Rather, a clear dissociation between explicit expressions and implicit responses was obtained (see Figure 2). On the self-report measure, Black athletes were more strongly associated with the attribute “American” than were White athletes. However, on the measure of implicit associations, the reverse was found, with White athletes being more strongly associated with the category “American” than Black athletes. It seems that the American = White automatic association cannot easily be reversed to be in line with conscious beliefs. The correlation between the effect observed on the implicit and explicit measures was significant but relatively weak ($r = .27$, $p < .04$).

It is worth stressing that the effect size on the implicit measure in this study ($d = 0.49$) is in the same range as the effect size obtained for the White–African American association in Study 2 ($d = 0.65$). It is remarkable that such a robust association emerged,

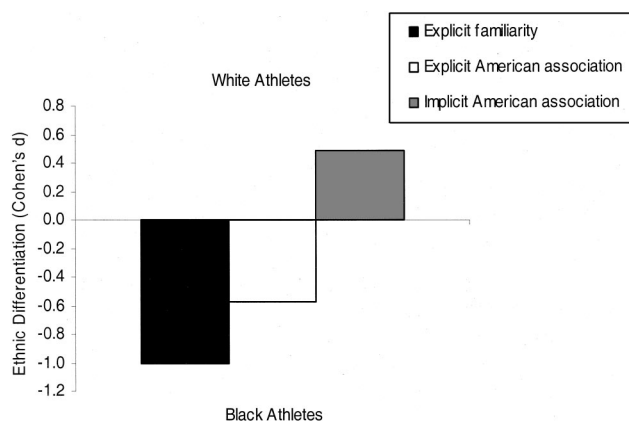


Figure 2. Study 3: Differentiation between White versus Black athletes in terms of explicit familiarity and explicit and implicit associations with American (Cohen’s *d*).

given that many factors should, if anything, have led to the opposite result.

This study design was based on the assumption that in the domain of sports such as track and field, Black (compared with White) athletes will be viewed as better exemplars of the category “American.” Responses provided on the explicit measure supported this assumption. However, no such effect was visible on the implicit measure of national–ethnic association, with the American = White effect emerging in this study as well. In addition to the main test provided in this study, more minor procedural variables, including familiarity, were changed so as to negate the American = White effect. These too remained virtually ineffective in changing the dominant implicit association of American = White. Despite all these factors, it remained easier to pair American symbols with White individuals rather than with individuals who are African American. That this group has not recently arrived in the United States and is regarded as strongly American, and even more American than White Americans in the domain of sports, did not offer protection at the level of automatic associations of Americanness.

Study 4: Can the Effect Be Removed by Comparing Asian Americans With White Europeans?

Study 3 demonstrated a clear dissociation between implicit and explicit beliefs about the interrelations between ethnicity and American identity. Study 4 was a more radical attempt to test the pervasiveness of the American = White association. An experimental condition was designed such that the individuals who made up each category were famous Asian Americans (i.e., unmistakably American) and famous White foreigners (i.e., unmistakably foreign).

In other words, we examined whether the ethnic–national association favoring White groups would still emerge even when factual knowledge pointed in the opposite direction. Would blatant representation of well-known Asian Americans bend the otherwise difficult association between Asian and American compared with White? In particular, because measures of automatic association, like any other measure, produce results that are shaped by the comparison category that is activated in the measurement context, we get away from White Americans as the comparison. Second, by using well-known individuals in both categories, White foreigners (e.g., Hugh Grant) and Asian Americans (e.g., Connie Chung), we did not simply ask that participants believe Asians and Whites to be American citizens but gave them known Asian Americans and White foreigners. By both removing the comparison group of White Americans (and using White foreigners instead) and using famous individuals rather than strangers, we created the best opportunity we could imagine of detecting an Asian + American association compared with the White + American association.

Method

Participants

Participants were 37 undergraduates at Yale University (17 men, 20 women), all of whom were White Americans. Participants were paid \$3.00 in return for their participation.

Stimuli

The American and foreign stimuli used in this study were identical to those of Study 2. The individuals constituting the national groups (American vs. foreign) and the ethnic groups (Asian vs. White) were names of celebrities selected on the basis of two pretests. We created a list of celebrities (movie stars, singers, and athletes), including 27 Asian Americans, 27 White Americans, and 27 White Europeans. To assess the fame of these celebrities, the list of celebrities was mixed with 81 names of noncelebrities, a third of which were of Asian origin (e.g., Sarah Kwon, Brian Pang, and Debby Lin). We submitted the list of 162 names to a sample of 15 undergraduates at Yale University. They were asked to read each name and to indicate for each name whether they believed the person to be a famous person with confidence. Names included in the final sets of stimuli in Study 4 were recognized by at least 80% of the respondents. Moreover, the final sets of names were equated in terms of fame; that is, participants were equally likely to recognize the celebrities in each set.

The list of 81 famous persons was submitted to a second sample of 17 undergraduates at Yale University. This time, we asked them to indicate if each person was an American. We required that the consensus among participants be 75% or better for a name to be included in the final sets of stimuli.

On the basis of these two pretests, we created three sets of four names: Asian American (Connie Chung, Kristi Yamaguchi, Lucy Liu, and Michael Chang), White American (Ben Stiller, Sandra Bullock, Tara Lipinski, and Robert Duvall), and White European (Elizabeth Hurley, Gérard Depardieu, Hugh Grant, and Katarina Witt) celebrities. In contrast to Study 3, participants were highly familiar with the exemplars used to represent each category.

Procedure

Data were collected in a manner similar to Study 3. As in the previous studies, participants were acquainted with the symbols used to represent the concepts “American” and “foreign.” Then, they completed two IATs. In both cases, the direction and the strength of the association with the concept “American” (relative to “foreign”) was assessed, but the ethnic stimuli were names of Asian American and White American celebrities in one task, whereas the same Asian American celebrities were compared with White European celebrities in the other task. The labels used were identical in both IATs: “American” versus “Foreign” and “White” versus “Asian.” We dropped the reference to “American” for the ethnic labels because of the obvious inaccuracy of requiring classification of Europeans as White Americans.

Each block included 12 practice trials and 30 test trials. The pretest data had indicated that most students were familiar with the names of celebrities used as the stimulus sets. Participants in the main study were explicitly told that the names used were the names of famous persons. To ensure that participants would have no difficulty categorizing the stimuli on the basis of ethnicity, the names of the celebrities were displayed in two columns on the screen, each column containing the names of each group to be included in that particular task. Assessing ethnic American associations requires that these stimuli be categorized as a function of their ethnicity (rather than their national origin). Reminding participants of the ethnicity of the stimuli prior to taking the IAT prepared them for this deliberate aspect of the task. Average error rate on test trials was low (6.02%), indicating that participants had little difficulty completing the tasks. Two procedural variables were counterbalanced: the order of the two IATs and the order of each block within a given IAT.

Results and Discussion

White Americans Versus Asian Americans Comparison

A significant IAT D effect emerged when the IAT involved a comparison between White Americans and Asian Americans ($M = 0.63$, $SD = 0.54$), $t(36) = 7.18$, $p < .01$, $d = 1.18$, replicating the result of Study 2. It was cognitively easier to pair American symbols with White American celebrities ($M = 821$ ms) than with Asian American celebrities ($M = 1,098$ ms).

White Europeans Versus Asian Americans Comparison

A difference in ease of pairing was also obtained in this task ($M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.53$), $t(36) = 4.69$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.77$. It is noteworthy and surprising that it was easier for participants to pair American symbols with names of White European celebrities ($M = 887$ ms) than with names of Asian American celebrities ($M = 1,055$ ms).

Comparing the Effects

A paired-samples t test was used to compare the two IAT effects. The American = White association was stronger when the White stimuli were Americans rather than Europeans, $t(36) = 2.55$, $p < .02$, $d = 0.43$.

In an attempt to remove the robustness of the American = White association, celebrities known to be White and foreign were compared with celebrities known to be Asian and American. In the particular configuration implemented in this study, each individual's nationality was known in a way that the previous experiments with unfamiliar individuals could not have ensured. Yet the data reveal a striking dissociation between what is consciously known and acknowledged and what is automatically produced when conscious control is relatively unavailable (see Figure 3). Indeed, the strong implicit association between White and American emerged even when the situation obviously pointed to a relatively stronger

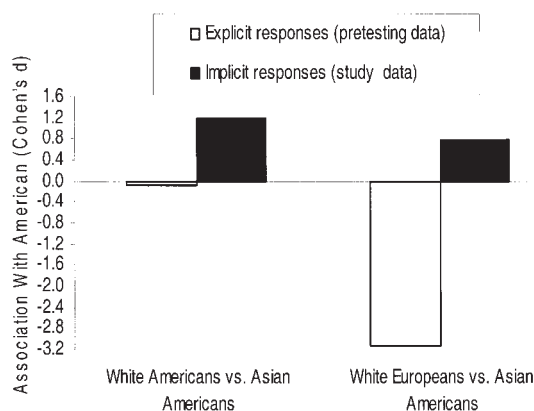


Figure 3. Study 4: Strength of explicit and implicit associations with American (Cohen's d) and White celebrities (Americans or Europeans) versus Asian American celebrities. A positive effect size indicates a stronger association between White celebrities and American, whereas a negative effect size reflects a stronger association between Asian American celebrities and American.

Asian + American association. In other words, even though participants were fully aware that someone like Gérard Depardieu is not American and that Connie Chung is indeed American, it remained easier to make the White + American connection. Once again, the present findings do not support an account of IAT effects in terms of familiarity. The materials used in this study were carefully constructed to ensure that participants were equally familiar with the stimuli used to represent the ethnic categories. Despite this fact, ethnic categories were differentially associated with the concept "American" (relative to "foreign").

The results of Study 4 are also inconsistent with another alternative interpretation of the IAT. Recent commentaries have raised the possibility that the IAT captures associations with the category as specified by the label and is insensitive to the specific exemplars used to represent each category (De Houwer, 2001; Fazio & Olson, 2003). Our findings are not consistent with this account. The IAT effect was stronger when the task involved White American celebrities rather than White Europeans (even though the labels used in the task were identical). This demonstrates that the IAT is sensitive to variations in the exemplars used (see also Mitchell, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003; Steffens & Plewe, 2001). In spite of such variation as a function of the stimuli, making variation in stimuli a legitimate way to vary the meaning of categories, we still found the strong American = White association.

Study 5: Does Automatic Ethnic–National Identity Vary as a Function of Group Membership?

A common feature of the data presented so far (Studies 2–4) is that the respondents who demonstrated the American = White effect were always White Americans. An important issue for both theory and practice is the question of whether this effect is restricted to members of the majority group, that is, those in whose psychological and political interest it may be to hold such a belief implicitly even if not explicitly. It is conceivable that members of ethnic minorities, even those who arrived in the United States more recently, may not show the same effect, because it is in the interest of their group, and therefore themselves, to view their group as American. Putting aside motivational explanations for expecting group differences, Asian Americans are likely to "know" that they and many other Asians in their family and friendship circles are U.S. citizens, a fact not easily announced to those outside the group who have more fleeting experiences with those inside the group. Both types of arguments suggest that the obtained effect of American = White ought to account for the behavior of White Americans and not the members of the ethnic minority.

We have suggested that implicit associations about ethnicity and American identity are reflections of sociohistorical realities that have contributed to asymmetries in power, resources, and status between ethnic groups. However, if the propensity to link White with American is exclusively found among White Americans, ethnic American associations would be best conceptualized as a general tendency to view in-group members as being more prototypical of a superordinate category than out-group members and would be consistent with research based on the "ingroup projection model" (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). This conclusion would be particularly warranted if

symmetrical patterns of associations were obtained for individuals who are Asian or African Americans—that is, if each ethnic group viewed its own group as being more American than the other two ethnic groups.

On the other hand, Jost and Banaji (1994; see also Jost et al., 2004) have suggested that members of disadvantaged, low-status, or minority groups may hold widespread beliefs or attitudes about social groups that reflect and legitimize existing distinctions between groups on the basis of status, power, or roles. For example, members of disadvantaged (often minority) groups do not show in-group favoritism to the same extent as members of advantaged (often majority) groups do (Nosek et al., 2002a), and under some circumstances, members of disadvantaged groups even show out-group favoritism (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002; Lane, Mitchell, & Banaji, 2003). If that is the case, it is possible that members of ethnic minorities may not “give” their own group the attribute “American,” thereby showing the same effect as revealed by the majority group.

In Study 5, the influence of participants’ ethnicity on implicit ethnic–national identity was systematically examined. The main goal was to compare the strength of the ethnic–national association observed in Studies 2–4 in participants drawn from three ethnic groups of Americans. In Study 5, we replicated the design of Study 2 with this data collection, including participants who were White, Asian, and African American.

Considering explicit measures, we know from previous research (Citrin et al., 1990, 1994, 2001) as well as the results of the present Study 1 that different dimensions or attributes appear to underlie the concept of American identity. In this study, we also explored the ranking of beliefs about equality, patriotism, and native status by each of these three groups of Americans. More important, we investigated how ethnic groups were perceived or differentiated along these attributes. Previous research has not examined the extent to which core features of American identity might be ascribed to different target groups. Are some ethnic groups seen as being more egalitarian, patriotic, or having native status to a greater extent than others? Addressing this issue provides a more complete picture of the criteria that people rely on to include or exclude some ethnic groups from the national identity.

Method

Participants

Participants were 97 undergraduates at Yale University: 35 White Americans (16 men, 19 women), 30 African Americans (11 men, 19 women), and 32 Asian Americans (15 men, 17 women). Thirteen Asian American participants and 4 African American participants were not born in the United States. This factor did not produce reliable differences on the measures, and hence their data are included in all analyses. Participants were paid \$7.00 or received partial course credit in return for their participation.

Procedure

Implicit ethnic American associations. In all aspects, the first part of the study was identical to that of Study 2. Participants completed three IATs measuring the strength of ethnic–national associations. Each IAT focused on a different interethnic comparison: White versus Asian American, White versus African American, and African versus Asian American.

Explicit assessments of American identity. Next, participants completed a computerized questionnaire assessing the explicit counterparts of each IAT. In this study, a more sophisticated measure of explicit ethnic American associations was used. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent the criteria defining what makes someone a true American could be attributed to members of different ethnic groups. In this report, we focused on the attributes that loaded most strongly on the three key factors extracted in Study 1 (civic values, patriotism, and native status). For each ethnic group, participants indicated to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “White/African/Asian Americans treat people of all races and backgrounds equally” (egalitarian); “White/African/Asian Americans are patriotic” (patriotic); and “Most individuals of European/African/Asian descent, who live in this country, have been born in America” (native status). Responses were provided on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). The questions were worded to capture participants’ personal beliefs rather than their perceptions of commonly held beliefs about the characteristics of these ethnic groups. The order of the statements was randomized across participants. After completing this measure, participants indicated their opinion about the importance of each criterion in defining a true American (see Study 1).

Demographic information. Participants completed a short demographic questionnaire that included items such as country of citizenship, country of birth, country of origin of the family, ethnicity, gender, and age.

Results and Discussion

Implicit Ethnic American Associations

The IAT D effect assessing the strength of the implicit association with the concept “American” (relative to “foreign”) was computed for each interethnic comparison. Means and standard error of the means for each task, as a function of participants’ ethnicity, are presented in Figure 4. A 3×3 ANOVA with participants’ ethnicity as between-subjects factor and interethnic comparison as within-subjects factor was performed. The interaction between these factors was highly significant, $F(4, 188) =$

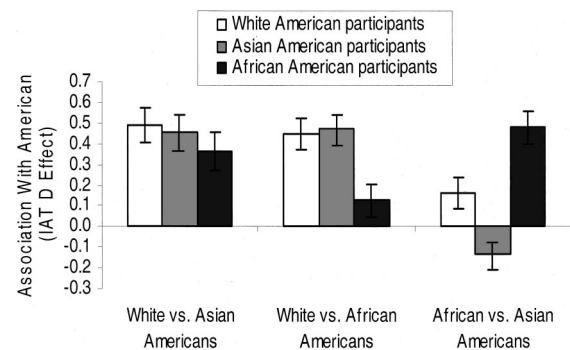


Figure 4. Study 5: Strength of implicit associations with American (IAT D effect) and pairs of ethnic groups (targets) as a function of participants’ ethnicity. For each pair of ethnic groups (e.g., White vs. Asian American targets), a positive mean indicates a stronger implicit association between the first ethnic group (e.g., White American targets) and American, whereas a negative mean reflects a stronger implicit association between the second ethnic group (e.g., Asian American targets) and American. Error bars represent the standard error of the mean. IAT D effect = implicit association test difference between the mean response latency for the two blocks of trials, divided by its associated pooled standard deviation.

9.21, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .16$. Follow-up analyses were conducted to identify the basis of this interaction.

White versus Asian American targets. For this comparison, the effect of participants' ethnicity was not visible ($F < 1$). Participants from all three ethnic groups associated White + American more quickly than Asian + American. The finding of note here is that Asian Americans showed an effect in the same direction as White and African Americans.

White versus African American targets. A significant effect of participants' ethnicity emerged for the comparison between White and African American targets, $F(2, 94) = 6.07, p < .01, \eta^2 = .11$. White ($M = 0.45, SD = 0.42$) and Asian ($M = .47, SD = .41$) Americans associated White Americans with the concept "American" to a greater extent than African Americans. African American participants did not display a similar effect ($M = 0.13, SD = 0.49$) and showed an equal association of White and Black with American.

African versus Asian Americans. Participants' ethnicity also affected the strength of ethnic-national identity when judgments of African American targets were compared with Asian American targets, $F(2, 94) = 14.45, p < .01, \eta^2 = .24$. African American participants ($M = 0.48, SD = 0.44$) differed from White ($M = 0.16, SD = 0.46$) and Asian ($M = -0.13, SD = 0.43$) American participants on this task: African American participants were the only group to clearly associate African Americans more strongly than Asian Americans with the concept "American."

Explicit Assessments of American Identity

Lay definitions of American identity were examined as a function of participants' ethnicity. We focused on the three attributes that best defined the dimensions that emerged as important criteria in Study 1: equality, patriotism, and native status. The religious dimension was dropped, because results of Study 1 revealed that it was not a key component of American identity for a similar sample of undergraduates.

A 3×3 ANOVA was performed with participant's ethnicity as between-subjects factor and attribute as within-subjects factor. The main effect of attribute was highly significant, $F(2, 157) = 47.88, p < .01, \eta^2 = .34$. In line with the findings of Study 1, a clear hierarchy between the three criteria emerged. Pairwise comparisons ($p < .01$) indicated that equality ($M = 5.65, SD = 1.63$) was the most important criterion, followed by patriotism ($M = 4.56, SD = 1.58$), and then native status ($M = 3.38, SD = 1.78$). The interaction between participants' ethnicity and the attribute was not significant ($F < 1$), suggesting that the definition of American identity was consensual across ethnic groups.

Explicit Ethnic American Associations

Next, we examined the extent to which attributes defining American identity were ascribed to each ethnic group. Means and standard deviations are provided in Table 2. For each attribute, we performed a 3×3 ANOVA with participants' ethnicity as between-subjects factor and target group as within-subjects factor.

Egalitarianism. The main effect of target group was highly significant, $F(2, 188) = 23.65, p < .01, \eta^2 = .20$. African American targets ($M = 3.93, SD = 1.35$) and Asian American

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations for Explicit Assessments of American Identity, Study 5

Target group	Participants					
	White Americans (n = 35)		African Americans (n = 30)		Asian Americans (n = 32)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Egalitarian attribute: Treat people of all races and backgrounds equally						
White Americans	3.49 _a	1.38	2.53 _a	1.43	2.81 _a	1.09
African Americans	4.34 _b	1.30	3.90 _b	1.12	3.50 _b	1.48
Asian Americans	4.54 _b	1.31	3.03 _a	1.45	3.56 _b	1.79
Patriotic attribute: Are patriotic						
White Americans	5.29	1.10	5.40 _a	0.97	5.50 _a	1.02
African Americans	5.31	1.11	4.03 _b	1.30	4.75 _b	1.19
Asian Americans	4.91	0.92	3.83 _b	0.99	4.28 _b	1.22
Native status: Most of them were born in America						
White Americans	6.03 _a	0.95	5.20 _a	1.21	5.38 _a	1.31
African Americans	6.31 _a	0.83	5.70 _a	0.92	5.65 _a	1.23
Asian Americans	4.71 _b	1.38	3.60 _b	1.28	3.69 _b	1.51

Note. For each measure, means in the same column with different subscripts are reliably different ($p < .05$) using the Bonferroni adjustment procedure.

targets ($M = 3.75, SD = 1.64$) were perceived as being more egalitarian than White American targets ($M = 2.97, SD = 1.36$). The interaction between participants' ethnicity and target group was significant, $F(4, 188) = 2.63, p < .04, \eta^2 = .06$, and revealed that White and Asian American participants displayed the pattern described above, but African American participants rated their own group as being more egalitarian than the other two ethnic groups.

Patriotism. The main effect of target group was highly significant, $F(2, 188) = 32.78, p < .01, \eta^2 = .26$. White American targets ($M = 5.39, SD = 1.03$) were perceived as being more patriotic than African American targets ($M = 4.73, SD = 1.30$) and Asian American targets ($M = 4.37, SD = 1.13$). The interaction between participants' ethnicity and target group was significant, $F(4, 188) = 5.72, p < .01, \eta^2 = .11$. The pattern described above emerged for African and Asian American participants, but White American participants did not differentiate ethnic groups on this attribute. In other words, minority groups were the ones who reported lower patriotism associated with their groups.

Native status. The main effect of target group was highly significant, $F(2, 168) = 84.43, p < .01, \eta^2 = .47$. Not surprisingly, Asian American targets ($M = 4.03, SD = 1.48$) were described as less native than African American targets ($M = 5.91, SD = 1.04$) and White American targets ($M = 5.56, SD = 1.21$). The interaction between participants' ethnicity and target group was not significant ($F < 1$), showing that all groups showed this pattern equally.

In this study, we examined the role of participants' group membership on ethnic-national identity and found that Asian

American participants displayed implicit associations similar to those of White Americans. Asian Americans viewed their own group as being less American than Whites. As Jost and Banaji (1994; see also Jost et al., 2004) would claim, these data are consistent with the notion of system justification, in which members of minority or disadvantaged groups do not always claim positive outcomes for their own groups, thereby contributing to the status quo that retains existing hierarchies.

African American participants, on the other hand, displayed a more evenhanded national–ethnic association in the White–African association. Although viewed by White and Asian participants to be less American, they themselves perceived their own group to be just as American as White Americans and more American than Asian Americans. Implicit associations are rooted in experience, they bear the mark of cultural socialization, and they reflect differences between ethnic groups at these levels. African Americans, perhaps because of the presence of other minorities viewed as less American than they, do not internalize the belief that resides in the minds of White Americans in the same manner as Asian Americans do. In one case, the African American one, we have the situation of contradictory beliefs between White Americans and African Americans about their status as Americans. In the other case, the Asian American one, we have agreement between the two groups that Asians are less American. Each signifies a problematic psychological situation.

White Americans always perceived themselves as more American than the comparison. African Americans equated themselves to White Americans and saw themselves as more American than Asian Americans. Asian Americans perceived themselves as less American than the dominant groups and as American as African Americans. The main point emerging from these data is that implicit ethnic American associations are not merely the reflection of a tendency to view the in-group as being more American than out-groups. Although this effect may play a role in the propensity to ascribe the attribute “American” to ethnic groups, it is strongly constrained or counteracted by other factors such as length of immersion in American society and asymmetries in terms of power, social, or numerical status.

The results of this study also provide some exploratory evidence of lay beliefs about American identity. Members of different ethnic groups agreed on the relative importance of equality, patriotism, and native status to define what it means to be a true American. We also examined the differential application of each component of American identity (equality, patriotism, native status) to three major ethnic groups in America. Here clear differences emerged. Of particular interest is the finding using explicit measures that ethnic minorities were not systematically viewed as lacking important attributes of the essence of what it means to be American. Not surprisingly, Asian Americans were seen as less likely to be born in the United States. However, the same ethnic group was rated as respecting a core value of American society, namely treating people of all races and background equally, to a greater extent than White Americans. African Americans were characterized as being more egalitarian but as having weaker emotional bonds to the nation than White Americans.

These perceived distinctions are consistent with well-established variations in terms of values and belief systems between different ethnic groups. For example, there is support for the

notion that members of a high-status group, such as White Americans, are more likely to endorse antiegalitarian beliefs than members of ethnic minorities (Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000). More interesting is the fact that these perceptions were not consensual. Indeed, on these measures, divergences in opinion emerged between members of different ethnic groups. It is interesting that White American participants were often less prone to express distinctions between ethnic groups than were members of ethnic minorities themselves. For example, they did not differentiate the target groups in terms of their affective attachment to the American nation. Their reluctance to express explicit distinctions reflect egalitarian conscious beliefs that stand in contrast to their inability, at a less conscious level, to grant the attribute “American” to ethnic minorities.

Study 6: Interrelationships Between Ethnic and National Identity

To explore the consequences of the strength of association between ethnic group and the nation, we considered several questions: What does the group–national connection imply, psychologically and politically? Is the level of national identification lower among individuals who have internalized the idea that their group is less American? What else does such an association predict? Social dominance theory posits that the relationship between ethnic and American identities is asymmetrical across ethnic groups (Sidanius et al., 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001; Sinclair et al., 1998). That is, these two identities strongly converge for the dominant group (White Americans), whereas they are distinct or in conflict for members of ethnic minorities. Moreover, White Americans often display a stronger national identification than members of ethnic minorities.

In Study 6, these predictions were newly tested using techniques tapping implicit American and ethnic identities. Social identities are typically conceptualized as including a cognitive component and an affective component (Brown, 2000; Tajfel, 1974). In the present study, we examined the extent to which participants identified with “American” and their ethnic group and the extent to which they showed a preference for these groups. Evidence for a strong implicit pro-American attitude has been documented previously. Typically, the category “American” automatically or unconsciously elicits relatively favorable evaluations among American participants (Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Monteith, 2001; Cunningham, Nezlek, & Banaji, 2004; Rudman et al., 1999). The present study extended past research in that national attachment was assessed not only in terms of attitude but also in terms of identification. In other words, we examined the extent to which the category “American” is implicitly valued and defined as an in-group by individuals who either belong to the White majority or to an ethnic minority.

Study 6 was conducted to address three specific and related questions. First, we compared the strength of national identities among Asian and White Americans. How strongly do members of these groups value and identify with the category “American”? Second, we examined to what extent ethnic and American identities overlap or are distinct for these two groups. More precisely, we predicted a stronger merging between these identities for White Americans than for Asian Americans. Finally, and most important,

we tested whether the implicit ethnic–national association accounted for the strength of own national identity in White and Asian American participants. For individuals belonging to or identified with White Americans, the propensity to equate American with White should foster their attachment to the national identity. That is, the more they view their own ethnic group as being relatively more American, the more they themselves should associate with America. The American = White association should have contrasting implications for Asian Americans. Indeed, the more they internalize the relative exclusion of their group from the national identity, the harder it could be for them to define America as an in-group. By performing such an analysis, we moved beyond demonstrations of the American = White effect and looked at the underlying psychological balancing that must take place when particular attributes (such as the quality “American”) are easily allowed or denied as a function of group membership. It also allowed a test of a fundamental principle of social psychological thinking: that one’s attitudes and beliefs are creations of the larger social group in which the individual exists.

Method

Participants

Participants were 71 undergraduates at Yale University: 37 White Americans (11 men, 26 women) and 34 Asian Americans (11 men, 23 women). Eleven Asian American participants were not born in the United States. This factor produced only one reliable difference that is reported below. Participants were paid \$7.00 in return for their participation.

Procedure

Following the procedures of previous studies, participants completed a series of IATs. The pairs of concepts combined in each IAT are presented in Table 3. As in previous studies, the strength of implicit ethnic American association was measured. In addition, implicit American and ethnic identities were assessed using the same sets of stimuli (American and foreign symbols and faces of White or Asian Americans).

The cognitive component of group identities (identification) was measured using pronouns or terms referring to in-groups (*we, our, ourselves*) versus out-groups (*they, other, themselves*). The labels were the pronouns *we* and *they*. In contrast to previous measures of implicit identification (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002b), this task puts an emphasis on the collective aspect of group identities (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Devos & Banaji, 2003; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). Terms such as *we* or *ourselves* imply a more collective identity than terms describing the individual self, such as *I* or *me*. It captures to what extent participants construe a group as an in-group rather than as an out-group.

The affective attachment to the group (attitude) was assessed using 10 pleasant (e.g., *gift, rainbow, friend*) and 10 unpleasant (e.g., *death, evil, disaster*) words selected from published norms (Bellezza, Greenwald, & Banaji, 1986). The labels used were “Pleasant” and “Unpleasant” as in several standardized uses of this task.

The order of the tasks was randomized across participants. After the IATs, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire that included items such as country of citizenship, country of birth, country of origin of the family, ethnicity, gender, and age.

Results and Discussion

For each IAT, we performed an independent-samples *t* test to compare the direction and intensity of implicit associations displayed by White and Asian American participants. One-sample *t* tests were used to determine whether the IAT D effect differed significantly from zero. Means, standard deviations, and results of statistical analyses are presented in Table 4.

Ethnic American Associations

Replicating the results of Study 5, both White American and Asian American participants displayed an American = White association (see Table 4), although the effect was weaker for Asian American participants in this study than in the previous data collection.

American Identity and Attitude

The data provide evidence for strong implicit American identity (see Table 4). Not only was it easier for participants to associate American symbols with pleasant words rather than with unpleasant words, they could also more readily pair the same symbols with pronouns designating in-groups rather than out-groups. In other words, the category “American” (relative to “foreign”) automatically elicited positive feelings and a sense of belonging. The critical point is that no significant differences between Asian and White American participants emerged. Thus, the concept “American” evoked an in-group and positive affective reactions to the same extent for Whites and for members of an ethnic minority.

Ethnic Identity and Attitude

The IATs assessing ethnic identities revealed very straightforward differences between Asian and White American participants (see Table 4): participants showing signs of identification and preferences for the ethnic group they belong to. More precisely, it was easier for participants to pair pronouns referring to an in-group

Table 3
Implicit Association Tests: Pairs of Concepts Combined, Study 6

Implicit Association Test	Pair 1	Pair 2
Ethnic–American association	White American–Asian American	American–foreign
American identification	American–foreign	We–they
American attitude	American–foreign	Pleasant–unpleasant
Ethnic identification	White American–Asian American	We–they
Ethnic attitude	White American–Asian American	Pleasant–unpleasant

Table 4
Means and Standard Deviations for Implicit Association Tests, Study 6

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t(df)</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnic–American association					
White American participants	0.62	0.42	1.46	8.91 (36)	.000
Asian American participants	0.24	0.53	0.45	2.64 (33)	.013
Ethnic difference			0.40	3.35 (69)	.001
American identification					
White American participants	0.58	0.40	1.45	8.82 (36)	.000
Asian American participants	0.51	0.40	1.28	7.49 (33)	.000
Ethnic difference			0.09	0.74 (69)	.461
American attitude					
White American participants	0.63	0.43	1.45	8.84 (36)	.000
Asian American participants	0.49	0.46	1.06	6.20 (33)	.000
Ethnic difference			0.16	1.33 (69)	.189
Ethnic identification					
White American participants	0.19	0.42	0.45	2.76 (36)	.009
Asian American participants	−0.21	0.36	−0.59	−3.42 (33)	.002
Ethnic difference			0.52	4.31 (69)	.000
Ethnic attitude					
White American participants	0.15	0.56	0.26	1.60 (36)	.118
Asian American participants	−0.15	0.41	−0.36	−2.12 (33)	.041
Ethnic difference			0.31	2.54 (69)	.013

and pleasant words with faces of individuals with whom they shared the same ethnic background than with faces of individuals of a different ethnicity.⁶

These data also indicate that the American = White effect cannot be reduced to a form of pro-White automatic attitude. Even though American symbols were highly valued, pairing these symbols with faces of White and Asian individuals produced a pattern of associations that differ, in terms of direction and intensity, from that observed on a measure tapping implicit ethnic attitudes. Specifically, Asian American participants displayed a significant implicit preference for their ethnic group (in-group favoritism), yet they showed the American = White effect. In addition, responses provided by White American participants indicated that their propensity to link Whites to American was much stronger than their automatic pro-White attitude.

Interrelations Among Ethnic and American Identities

The IAT D effects were standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 (*Z* score). Indexes of American ($r = .27$, $p < .02$) and ethnic ($r = .30$, $p < .01$) identities were created by collapsing measures of identification and attitude, which were significantly correlated. More precisely, the standardized IAT D effects on the identification and attitude tasks were averaged to provide overall indexes of American and ethnic identity for each participant. Collapsing measures of cognitive and affective attachments to national or ethnic groups increased power in the analyses as response latencies to more trials were taken into account. Bivariate correlations between American and ethnic identities revealed important differences between White and Asian American participants. The strength of American and ethnic identity were associated for White American participants ($r = .40$, $p < .02$), whereas no significant association between these two indexes was found for Asian American participants ($r = .00$). These findings are consistent with data reported by Sidanius et al. (1997) and

support the idea that American and ethnic identities overlap for White Americans, whereas these identities are distinct for an ethnic minority such as Asian Americans. However, these bivariate correlations cannot support the claim that the American = White association shapes the interconnections between participants' national and ethnic identities.

The most important question addressed in this study pertains to the implications or correlates of the relative inclusion or exclusion of ethnic groups from the national identity. For White American participants, the propensity to associate their ethnic group with the concept "American" should be conducive of a strong national identity. In other words, the more they display the American = White association, the more they should value and identify with the category "American." In contrast, the relative exclusion of their group from the national identity could undermine the ease with which Asian American participants cherish and feel part of the national identity. Thus, the relationship between the American = White association and American identity should vary as a function of participant's ethnicity or ethnic identification.

To test these hypotheses, hierarchical regression analyses were used (for similar analyses, see Greenwald et al., 2002; Nosek et al., 2002b). First, the implicit ethnic American association and participants' ethnicity were regressed on implicit American identity (Step 1). These two predictors accounted for a significant proportion of the variance, $R^2 = .15$, $F(2, 68) = 5.80$, $p < .01$. More important, the implicit ethnic American association ($\beta = .38$, $p < .01$) was a significant predictor of implicit American identity. When an interaction term between the implicit ethnic American association and participants' ethnicity was introduced (Step 2),

⁶ Foreign-born Asian American participants ($M = -.41$, $SD = .28$) identified more strongly with their ethnic group than U.S.-born Asian American participants ($M = -.12$, $SD = .36$), $t(32) = 2.39$, $p < .03$, $d = 0.84$.

$R^2 = .19$, $F(3, 67) = 5.15$, $p < .01$, the proportion of variance explained increased marginally, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $F(1, 67) = 3.43$, $p < .07$. Although the interaction was only marginal ($\beta = .28$, $p < .07$), simple slopes revealed that the implicit ethnic American association accounted for American identity among White American participants ($\beta = .64$, $p < .01$) but not among Asian American participants ($\beta = .00$).⁷ Instead of considering ethnicity as a binary variable, a similar analysis was conducted using the strength of participants' ethnic identity as a predictor. Results were highly convergent with those obtained in the first analysis. Once the strength of the American = White association, the strength of participants' ethnic identity, and the interaction between these terms were introduced in the regression, a significant proportion of variance was accounted for, $R^2 = .20$, $F(3, 67) = 5.47$, $p < .01$. Here also, the interaction did not reach conventional significance levels ($\beta = .20$, $p < .10$), but it suggested that the more participants identified with White Americans, the more the American = White implicit association was conducive of a strong implicit American identity.

The results of this study provide strong evidence for implicit national identity. The category "American" automatically elicits a positive evaluation. It is also clearly incorporated in the collective aspect of the self. A comparison of the mean levels of American identity for Asian and White Americans revealed that these two groups displayed equally strong American identity. This finding is counterintuitive, because Asian Americans, at the same time, internalized the idea that their group does not fully belong to the national entity. These data are in line with results of a previous study showing that African Americans felt as strongly American as White Americans but were aware that they were not perceived as being American (Barlow, Taylor, & Lambert, 2000). A major difference between this previous study and the results obtained here is that we provide evidence for a discrepancy between beliefs about the group and the self operating outside of conscious control.

The equally strong level of American identification among White and Asian Americans should not eclipse important differences in the interrelations among ethnic and American identities. In line with social dominance theory (Sidanius et al., 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001; Sinclair et al., 1998), ethnic and American identities were inextricably linked for White Americans, whereas these identities were distinct for Asian Americans. Moreover, the relative inclusion of ethnic groups in the American identity clearly accounted for the strength of American identity. Although these findings should be replicated with larger and more diverse samples, they provide initial support for the idea that the implicit American = White association is conducive of a strong national identity for White Americans. The pattern obtained did not suggest that this implicit belief prevented Asian Americans from developing an American identity. Asian Americans found ways to achieve a national identity despite the pervasiveness and the internalization of implicit thoughts excluding their group from the national identity. It remains to be seen whether this finding can be generalized beyond a sample of undergraduate Asian Americans attending an Ivy League school. To some extent, these successful students embody core aspects of American identity that may foster their attachment to the American nation. Even on the basis of the current findings, a clear asymmetry characterized the interrelations between ethnic and American identities for the White majority and

the ethnic minority. In contrast to White Americans, Asian Americans cannot rely on their ethnicity to achieve a national identity. For White Americans, these two identities tend to be merged beyond the level of conscious awareness.

General Discussion

At the onset of this article, a simple yet unexplored question was raised: Do people differentiate ethnic groups in their inclusion into the category "American"? The conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of the six studies presented here is unambiguous. To be American is to be White. This finding is itself noteworthy, particularly because it sits in opposition to the explicit assessment that to be American is to endorse civic values such as equality and expressed commitment to egalitarian principles. On the most generic and straightforward explicit measure of ethnic American associations (Study 1), Asian Americans, and to a lesser extent African Americans, are not viewed as being as American as White Americans. Measures designed to tap the nuances of explicit ethnic American associations reveal variations that should not be overlooked. More precisely, distinctions between ethnic groups vary as a function of the criterion used to define Americanness (Study 5) or domain (Study 3). The important point emerging from explicit responses is that ethnic minorities are not systematically conceived of as being less American than White Americans. In several cases, ethnic groups are not differentiated (Study 5), or ethnic minorities are even seen as embodying the national identity to a greater extent than Whites (Studies 3 and 5).

In contrast to the nuances emerging from deliberate responses, implicit associations reveal a very consistent and robust American = White association. Considering data provided by White Americans, the relative association between the concept "American" and White versus Asian Americans was tested on five occasions (Studies 2, 4 [on two measures], 5, and 6). A similar test was conducted three times for the comparison between White and African Americans (Studies 2, 3, and 5). In all cases, a clear and highly significant American = White association was obtained. The magnitude of these findings is substantiated by the effect sizes reported. More important, the American = White association emerged even when conditions or factors that should reduce or reverse the effect were deliberately taken into account (Studies 3 and 4). The propensity to equate American with White cannot easily be overridden and is sometimes completely dissociated from conscious beliefs or knowledge about ethnic-national associations.

Care is needed to interpret the dissociation between measures of ethnic-national identity. In many cases, deviations from an abstract egalitarian principle are observed at both levels. Even on responses under volitional control, more often than not, ethnic

⁷ According to Greenwald et al. (2002), a weak interaction effect is to be expected in the present case given that one of the predictors, namely the ethnic American association, is polarized toward its positive end. After standardization, numeric zero values for this predictor reflect a nonnegligible propensity to link American with White rather than zero strength of association between these concepts. Under these circumstances, the zero-order correlation of this predictor with the dependent variable (national identity) should be positive, and the interaction should be attenuated. The observed pattern of interrelations fits with these expectations.

groups are not equally included in the American identity. The conclusion that can be drawn from a comparison between explicit and implicit ethnic American associations is that the propensity to equate American with White is more resistant—in the sense that it cannot be completely overridden—at the implicit level compared with what transpires from responses based on more deliberate processes. Only under specific circumstances does the strength of the implicit American = White association stand in sharp contrast to what is consciously granted to members of various ethnic groups. The robust American = White association is consistent with the idea that group-based hierarchies shape implicit ethnic American associations. If, as social dominance theory (Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001) would posit, asymmetries in terms of power and status is the critical factor, one would expect African Americans to be more strongly excluded from the national identity than Asian Americans, an ethnic group positioned more favorably on the social ladder. The data presented in this report are not consistent with this more subtle prediction. In addition, this theory does not easily account for the impact of group membership on ethnic American associations.

Although the exemplar-based model of social judgment (Smith & Zárate, 1992) was not developed to investigate ethnic–national associations, our findings are largely consistent with the notion that White Americans are construed as prototypical exemplars of the category “American.” In other words, the cultural “default” value for “American” is “White.” Prototypes or normative standards can be defined on various grounds. At this point, the relative contribution of factors such as numerical or social status cannot be assessed. The impact of group membership is consistent with the “ingroup projection model” (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) but can also easily be integrated into a more strictly social–cognitive approach (see Smith & Zárate, 1992).

Testing systematically the value of alternative theoretical models is a matter for future studies. At this point, we can conclude that the overall patterns of findings are consistent with the idea that implicit associations are reflections of sociocultural realities. Length of immersion in American society, asymmetries in terms of power, and social or numerical status are intertwined factors playing a major role in ethnic relations in American society. They also shape thoughts that occur outside conscious awareness. The American = White association, then, is best viewed as the product of converging factors that have contributed to ensure a dominant position to White Americans. The robustness of the American = White association should not overshadow important variations. In the present report, reliable differences in terms of intensity, if not direction, were reported (Studies 4–6). Data collected via the IAT demonstration Web site (<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit>) also highlight both the generality and the variability of the American = White effect. A task focusing on a comparison between European and Asian Americans revealed that the basic effect was found even among non-Asian respondents living outside the United States but that its magnitude was weaker than that observed for non-Asian respondents residing in the United States.

Ultimately, this line of research has implications for the understanding of intergroup relations in pluralistic societies. In particular, it raises important questions regarding the interconnections between ethnic and national identities. Although most researchers who study social identity would acknowledge that individuals

simultaneously belong to a variety of social groups, there has been surprisingly little work on the interrelations among multiple social identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Our research sheds light on the interplay between more or less inclusive social identities. A common assumption is that distinctions between subgroups should weaken when a more inclusive categorization criterion becomes salient (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Banker, 1999). The present research suggests that subgroups may differ in the ease with which they are included in a superordinate identity. The propensity to equate American with White may facilitate the integration of ethnic and American identities for White Americans but not for members of groups excluded from the national identity. We began to address this issue in Study 6, although further investigations are required to fully grasp the interconnections between ethnic and national identities. A related point concerns the correlates or consequences of national attachment for reactions toward ethnic minorities. The conception of American identity emerging from implicit responses reflects the hegemony of White Americans and may foster what Sidanius and Petrocik (2001) referred to as “exclusionary patriotism.” According to this view, the strength of American identity is conducive to antagonism toward ethnic minorities. Instead of promoting unity and solidarity, expressions of patriotism or national identity could go hand in hand with a relative exclusion of ethnic minorities from the national identity (Li & Brewer, 2004). With the clarity of the present result of American = White serving as a basis, these important issues can now provide the foundation for future work.

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