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Will the "Real" American Please Stand Up? The Effect of Implicit National Prototypes on Discriminatory Behavior and Judgments

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Abstract

Three studies tested whether implicit prototypes about who is authentically American predict discriminatory behavior and judgments against Americans of non-European descent. These studies identified specific contexts in which discrimination is more versus less likely to occur, the underlying mechanism driving it, and moderators of such discrimination. Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated that the more participants held implicit beliefs that the prototypical American is White, the less willing they were to hire qualified Asian Americans in national security jobs; however, this relation did not hold in identical corporate jobs where national security was irrelevant. The implicit belief–behavior link was mediated by doubts about Asian Americans' national loyalty. Study 3 demonstrated a similar effect in a different domain: The more participants harbored race-based national prototypes, the more negatively they evaluated an immigration policy proposed by an Asian American but not a White policy writer. Political conservatism magnified this effect because of greater concerns about the national loyalty of Asian Americans.

Who is an American? The most logical way to answer this question is to refer to the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which defines American citizenship as follows: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." Notwithstanding the constitutional definition of national belonging, psychological research suggests that people's subjective sense of who is authentically American is driven by their perceptions of who seems most typical or representative of the national category rather than constitutionality (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; see also Murphy, 2004; Waldzus, Mummendey, & Wenzel, 2005). The present research seeks to examine the social costs of being seen as atypical by one's fellow ingroup members in the context of nationality. Specifically, do people's subjective perceptions of who is authentically American lead to discriminatory behavior against Americans who are perceived to be nonprototypical? Does this occur only in contexts where national loyalty is salient, or is it a generalized form of bias that occurs across all contexts? Finally, are individuals who are particularly concerned about national loyalty more likely to discriminate against nonprototypical Americans?

Social Identity Theory and Perceptions of Ingroup Prototypicality

Research in social and cognitive psychology has established that people's subjective perceptions of who (or what) belongs in a social or nonsocial category is driven not by a checklist of attributes necessary for category membership but instead by people's perceptions of who (or what) seems typical or representative of the category (Murphy, 2004). Building on these findings, research emerging from the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) argued that in the case of social groups, people's perceptions of typicality and "psychological fit" have a strong impact on their judgments of individual category members, even when those individuals are fellow ingroup members (Abrams & Hogg, 2004; Hogg, Hains, & Mason, 1998;

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Hogg & Van Knippenberg, 2003; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Turner et al., 1987; Wenzel, 2001). For example, prototypical ingroup members are perceived to be more effective leaders than nonprototypical ingroup members (Hogg et al., 1998). Prototypical ingroup members are also seen as more influential and important to the ingroup than nonprototypical members (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). Of importance to our research, prototypical ingroup members are judged to be more loyal to the ingroup than their nonprototypical counterparts (Hogg & Van Knippenberg, 2003). Moreover, people feel justified in excluding nonprototypical subgroups from a superordinate group (Wenzel, 2001). These studies collectively suggest that in the case of *ingroups in particular*, prototypical members benefit from their central status in the group because positive attributes of the ingroup are applied to them more readily than to nonprototypical individuals (Hogg & Van Knippenberg, 2003; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus et al., 2005; Wenzel, 2001).

These findings are consistent with the idea that people seek to maintain positive distinctiveness of their ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987) by excluding nonprototypical individuals whose presence blurs intergroup boundaries (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Reid & Hogg, 2005). Although social identity research has shown that people explicitly prefer prototypical over nonprototypical ingroup members, it has not investigated three important related questions: First, do beliefs about ingroup prototypicality translate into discriminatory behavior and judgments even when those beliefs are implicit in nature? Second, are prototypical ingroup members favored and nonprototypical individuals disfavored across all social contexts, or do these effects emerge *only* in situations where assumptions about ingroup loyalty are applicable (cf. Yzerbyt, Dardenne, & Leyens, 1998)? Third, if concerns about ingroup loyalty are a critical ingredient that triggers discrimination, will individual differences in ideological beliefs that emphasize ingroup loyalty moderate the relation between beliefs about ingroup prototypicality and discriminatory behavior? The present research examines these questions in the context of American ethnic groups.

The Role of Race-Based Prototypicality in National Group Membership

The importance of perceived prototypicality is vividly illustrated in the case of people's perceptions of who is authentically American. Although Americans tend to endorse an inclusive definition of national identity (Citrin, Wong, & Duff, 2001) in which race and ethnicity are rarely mentioned as defining characteristics of who is American, recent studies have demonstrated that White Americans as well as many ethnic minorities are faster at associating American symbols and institutions with Whites than with Asians, Latinos, or Blacks, even though they may not explicitly report these associations (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Devos & Ma, 2008). This effect remains unabated even when comparing how quickly people associate all-American symbols with famous American ethnic minorities (e.g., Michael Jordan) compared to famous White Europeans (e.g., Hugh Grant; Devos & Banaji, 2005). The American-is-White prototype is even stronger when perceivers' attention is focused on the famous individuals' race than on their individual name (Devos & Ma, 2008). Collectively, these studies suggest that one's mental representation of the prototypical American is automatically associated with being White more so than other racial groups, even though people might not explicitly state that Whites are more "truly" American than ethnic minorities.

Our goal is to theoretically and empirically expand this new literature by addressing three important questions that have been left unanswered thus far. First, do implicit prototypes about who is American predict behavior toward and judgments about individual Americans or are they simply private cognitions that remain confined to one's mind?[1] We investigate this question from the vantage point of White American perceivers because as the majority group in the United States, they may be more likely than ethnic minorities to act on their implicit race-based prototypes to maintain social inequalities in which their group is heavily favored.

Second, if implicit prototypes linking race to nationality are found to encourage discriminatory behavior, is this translation from belief to action triggered by specific types of situations or does it occur across all contexts? Although research on implicit social cognition has shown that implicit prejudice predicts discriminatory behavior (see Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009), these studies focused on the straightforward bivariate correlation between implicit cognition and behavior by preselecting situations in which behavioral discrimination was predicted to occur. This literature has not investigated the question: Is implicit bias *only* likely to translate into action in situations where a stereotypic attribute of the target group is salient and relevant but not in other situations where that same stereotype is irrelevant? We sought to address this question in the context of White Americans' implicit beliefs about nationality and its impact on their behavior and judgments of fellow Americans.

Drawing on social judgeability theory (e.g., Yzerbyt et al., 1998) and the correspondence effect in classic attitude research (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), we propose that the implicit prototype that American-is-White will *not* translate into behavioral bias equally in all situations but rather will be moderated by social context—when the context highlights national loyalty (e.g., national security jobs), perceivers' judgments will be heavily influenced by their implicit prototype of who seems "truly" American. However, when the context does not highlight national loyalty (e.g., corporate jobs), implicit

national prototypes will have no impact on perceivers' decision making. This prediction is consistent with social judgeability theory (Corneille, Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Walther, 1999; Yzerbyt et al., 1998; Yzerbyt, Schadron, Leyens, & Rocher, 1994), which refers to the process by which people assess whether stereotype-relevant knowledge is applicable or relevant to a subsequent judgment. The greater the match between the stereotype and the judgment context, the greater is the applicability of the stored knowledge to the judgment at hand. Applying social judgeability to our research, we predict that when the target job is in American national security, the stored knowledge about who seems authentically American will become more relevant to hiring decisions than when the target job is in the corporate world.

Third, if perceived loyalty to the country is a key ingredient driving the link between implicit national prototypes and discrimination against ethnic minorities, then individuals who are chronically invested in ingroup loyalty ought to be more prone to this form of bias. Recent research suggests that political conservatives are more invested in ingroup loyalty, in knowing who can and cannot be trusted in the ingroup, and in maintaining group boundaries than are political liberals (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Janoff-Bulman, 2009). This suggests that conservatives (more than liberals) may have more doubts about the national loyalty of American ethnic minorities. Thus, we predict that political ideology as an individual difference variable ought to moderate our predicted effect: White Americans who are politically conservative are likely to show a stronger relation between implicit national prototypes and increased discrimination compared to Whites who are politically liberal.

Overview of the Present Research

Three studies tested the predictions articulated here. Study 1 examined whether implicit national prototypes predict discriminatory hiring decisions for a national security job such that Asian American applicants are hired less often than their White counterparts. Moreover, we tested whether this link between implicit prototypes and hiring bias is mediated by greater suspicions about Asian Americans' loyalty to the nation.

Whereas Study 1 *measured* the perceived loyalty of ethnic minorities as the predicted mediator, Study 2 sought to make a stronger case for the causal role of loyalty by *manipulating* the relevance of national loyalty across two employment contexts—we selected one employment context in which national loyalty was highly relevant (national security job) and another in which national loyalty was irrelevant (identical job in a private corporation). We predicted that implicit national prototypes would produce hiring discrimination against Asian Americans in the national security job but not in the corporate job that required identical

qualifications (except for national loyalty) and had identical responsibilities. In other words, the perceived lack of fit between Asian American applicants who seem to be nonprototypically American and a national security job that emphasizes loyalty to the United States will make people reluctant to hire them. However, implicit national prototypes will not influence White Americans' judgments of the same Asian Americans applying for an identical corporate job where loyalty to the country is irrelevant.

Study 3 expanded this investigation beyond hiring decisions to a new measure of biased judgments—differential support for an immigration policy as a function of the race of the policy writer. We predicted that stronger implicit national prototypes would elicit more negative evaluations of a new immigration policy proposed by an Asian American writer, but not if the same policy was proposed by a White American. Study 3 also investigated whether individual differences in ideological beliefs that emphasize ingroup loyalty would moderate the predicted belief–behavior link. We predicted that race-based national prototypes would elicit more negative evaluations of a policy proposed by an Asian (but not White) American, especially among perceivers whose political beliefs emphasized the importance of ingroup loyalty compared to others whose political beliefs did not.

Study 1

Participants volunteered for two allegedly unrelated studies separated by 1 week. In the first session, they completed a measure to assess their implicit national prototypes and another measure to assess their perceptions of White and Asian Americans' loyalty to the country. One week later, in an allegedly unrelated study, participants simulated the process of making hiring decisions for a forensic investigator job at the National Security Agency (NSA).

Method

Participants. Forty-seven White American undergraduates participated in this study for course credit (37 females and 10 males).

Measures and Manipulations

Implicit national prototypes. An Implicit Association Test (IAT) was used to measure the relative strength of association between American nationality and two racial groups—White versus Asian Americans—using response latency as an indirect indicator of belief strength (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Six East Asian faces and six White faces were used to represent the racial groups (three males and three females within each group); six American symbols (e.g., American flag) and six foreign symbols (e.g., Italian flag) were used to represent nationality. Participants completed a total of seven blocks of trials starting with

a single-category practice block where they categorized American and foreign symbols (20 trials) followed by another single-category practice block where they categorized White and Asian American faces (20 trials). Next, these two tasks were combined by having participants classify all four types of stimuli simultaneously using two response keys only in the third block (20 trials) and fourth block (50 trials). Half of the participants were instructed to use one key to categorize White+American stimuli and a different key to categorize Asian+foreign stimuli, and the remaining participants were instructed to use opposite keys (i.e., Asian+American and White+foreign). Next, participants completed another single-category practice block in which the response key assignment for White and Asian American faces was switched (20 trials) followed by two blocks (20 trials + 50 trials) of simultaneous categorization of all four types of stimuli. Those who had previously classified White+American stimuli together and Asian+foreign stimuli together completed the reverse stimulus pairings in these last two blocks.

If participants implicitly envision the prototypical American as White, they should be faster to group together White faces and American symbols with one response key and Asian faces and foreign symbols with a different response key (White+American|Asian+foreign) compared to the opposite combinations (White+foreign|Asian+American). Thus, the IAT served as an implicit measure of who is prototypically American.

Perceived loyalty of White and Asian Americans to the nation. Using three items, participants rated the degree to which most White and Asian Americans were "patriotic," "loyal to the country," and likely to "defend America when it is criticized." Response scales ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). These items were adapted from Devos and Banaji (2005).

Hiring decision task. Participants read a job description for a forensic investigator at the NSA. The position called for an individual who examines potential breaches to the nation's security by identifying and analyzing forensic evidence (e.g., text documents) from criminal investigations related to national security, thereby defending the country from foreign threats. Most elements of the job description were culled from actual jobs listed on the NSA's website. It called for an individual who: (a) had a master's degree in forensic science or criminology, (b) had at least 5 years of work experience in a relevant job, (c) has excellent critical thinking skills, and (d) is loyal to the United States. We created equally qualified resumes that ostensibly belonged to a short list of the five best candidates who had applied for this job. Each resume included the name of the candidate, the person's gender, date and place of birth, citizenship, educational background, and employment history. All resumes were matched for age, education, prestige of the academic institutions from which they had graduated, and prior work experience. The pairing of resumes with the five

names of job candidates was counterbalanced between subjects such that each resume was paired an equal number of times with each of the five names. Applicants' race was indicated by their names: Two of the candidates had Chinese-sounding names (e.g., Sung Chang, Meilin Huang) and three of the candidates had European-sounding names (e.g., Allen McMillan, Susan Cutting).[2] To ensure that participants knew that the Asian American candidates were U.S. born, the resumes included place of birth and all resumes explicitly mentioned that the candidates were American citizens. Candidates' gender was manipulated between subjects such that participants either received a set of five resumes with male names or female names to ensure that race differences in hiring decisions, if obtained, would be clearly observed holding gender constant.[3] The dependent variable was the overall hiring rank order; participants gave their top choice a rank of 1 and their last choice a rank of 5.

Procedure

Session 1. In the first experimental session, participants were told that they would complete a series of unrelated tasks including a hand–eye coordination task and several questionnaires. They first completed an IAT, followed by an unrelated filler task, then items assessing how much they perceived White and Asian Americans to be loyal to the United States, and finally a demographic questionnaire that asked questions about their age, race, sex, and citizenship. Once completed, participants were thanked and excused.

Session 2. One week later, the same participants arrived at a different location, where they were greeted by a different experimenter. The new location, new experimenter, and separation in time were all designed to bolster the cover story that Sessions 1 and 2 were "two separate and unrelated studies." Participants first completed two filler tasks after which they received the job description for the forensic investigator position at the NSA. They were asked to read the job description, imagine the ideal person for the job, and then write a short description about the ideal job candidate and his or her qualifications, work habits, loyalty to the organization, and personality traits. After this, participants completed the hiring decision task in which they read five resumes of individuals who were ostensibly a subset of finalists being considered for the NSA job. Three of the applicants were White American and two were Asian American. Participants' task was to rank order the candidates in terms of hiring preference. Finally, all participants completed a postexperimental questionnaire in which they were asked to recall the race of each candidate as a manipulation check and guess the hypotheses of the study. All participants correctly guessed the race of the candidates and none guessed the hypotheses of the study. Participants were then thanked and debriefed.

Results and Discussion

Implicit national prototype. Based on the algorithm proposed by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003), all trials with latencies greater than 10,000 ms were deleted[4]; none of the participants responded faster than 300 ms on more than 10% of the trials, which is another data-trimming criterion. The average latency with which participants associated American symbols with White faces and foreign symbols with Asian faces was subtracted from the average latency with which they completed the opposite pairings (Asian+American|White+foreign) to create a difference score, which was then divided by its pooled standard deviation to create an IAT D score. This IAT D score is an index of the strength with which participants associate American with White compared to Asian. As expected, results showed that on average participants were significantly faster at pairing all-American symbols with White faces compared to Asian faces ($M = 383$ ms; IAT $D = 0.99$), $t(46) = 13.38$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

Perceived national loyalty of White and Asian Americans. A composite for the perceived loyalty of White and Asian Americans was created by separately averaging the three items for White Americans ($\alpha = .82$) and Asian Americans ($\alpha = .85$). On average, participants perceived White Americans to be significantly more loyal to the United States ($M = 5.17$) than Asian Americans ($M = 3.84$), $t(46) = -7.35$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed). To obtain an index of the relative perceived loyalty for the two ethnic groups, we calculated a difference score by subtracting loyalty ratings given to White Americans from those given to Asian Americans such that positive difference scores indicated that Asian Americans were seen as more loyal to the nation compared to Whites.

Relations between implicit national prototypes and hiring decisions. For the dependent measure, hiring rank 1 was participants' top choice and 5 was their last choice for hire. Hiring ranks given to all White American candidates were averaged together, as were the rank orders given to all Asian American candidates. Recall that our primary prediction was that implicit national prototypes would predict less willingness to hire Asian Americans compared to White Americans for the NSA job. In line with this prediction, regression analyses revealed that participants who possessed stronger implicit prototypes that American-is-White were less likely to hire Asian American candidates, $B = 0.80$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = .002$. Note that the use of rank order implies that the hiring rank given to White and Asian American candidates are nonindependent such that knowing the relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring rank for one group gives us the relation for the other group.

We also examined whether implicit prototypes predicted the likelihood that participants would list an Asian American versus a White American candidate as their top choice. A logistic regression revealed that the more participants implicitly believed that the prototypical American-is-White, the less
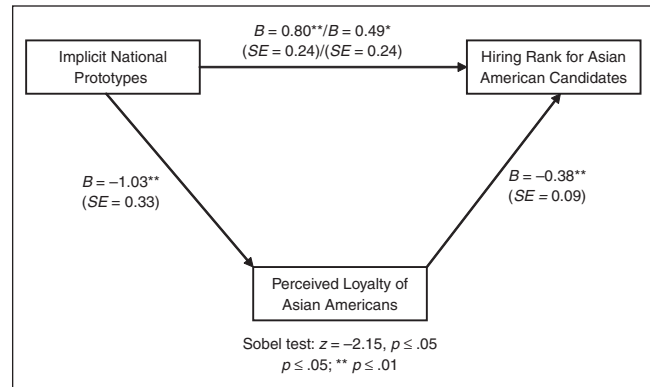
Figure 1. Asian Americans' perceived national loyalty mediates the relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring of Asian American job candidates
*p < .05. **p < .01.

likely they were to list an Asian American candidate as their first choice for the job, $B = -1.87$, $SE = 0.85$, $p = .03$.

Do doubts about the loyalty of Asian Americans mediate the relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring decisions? A series of regressions were conducted to test for mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986; see Figure 1). An initial regression revealed that the more participants implicitly envisioned the prototypical American as White, the less likely they were to evaluate Asian Americans as loyal to the United States, $B = -1.03$, $SE = 0.33$, $p < .003$. A second regression established that the perceived loyalty of Asian Americans predicted less willingness to hire Asian American candidates for the NSA job, $B = -0.38$, $SE = 0.09$, $p < .001$. Finally, we examined the relation between implicit prototypes and hiring decision after controlling for the perceived national loyalty of Asian Americans in the same regression and found that the beta for this relation was significantly reduced, $B = 0.49$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = .05$, as confirmed by a Sobel test, $z = -2.15$, $p = .03$ (Preacher & Leonardelli, 2003; Sobel, 1982). Thus, as illustrated in Figure 1, questioning the loyalty of Asian Americans to the United States partially mediated the relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring discrimination.[5]

Study 2

While Study 1 provided promising data showing that implicit prototypes about who is American predict discriminatory hiring decisions in a national security job, two issues remain unresolved. First, because doubt about the national loyalty of Asian Americans was a measured variable rather than a manipulated variable, the *causal effect* of national loyalty on anti-Asian discrimination remains equivocal. Relatedly, it remains unclear whether implicit national prototypes predict generalized racial discrimination or whether its effect is specific to situations where national loyalty is salient. Based on

social judgeability theory (Yzerbyt et al., 1998) and attitude–behavior correspondence (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), we predict that strong implicit prototypes that American-is-White ought to encourage discriminatory hiring decisions against Asian Americans only in a national security job where the salience of national loyalty and patriotism arouses doubts about the "fit" of Asian Americans in that job. However, the irrelevance of national loyalty and patriotism for a similar corporate job ought to attenuate the link between implicit prototypes about nationality and anti-Asian discrimination. To test this hypothesis, Study 2 manipulated the employment context to compare hiring decisions in an NSA job where national loyalty was critical (same as Study 1) versus an identical job at a private corporation unrelated to national security.

Method

Participants. Eighty-five White American undergraduates participated in this study for course credit (62 female and 23 male).

Measures and Manipulations

The measures and procedures of this study were virtually identical to Study 1 with a few exceptions. First, job type was manipulated between subjects such that participants completed a hiring task for a job in either national security or a private corporation. Second, as a manipulation check, participants were asked to judge the degree to which national loyalty and organizational loyalty were important for employees at each type of job (see next for details). Third, in addition to overall hiring rank, participants ranked job candidates on their perceived qualification and likely conscientiousness on the job.

Manipulation of job type and hiring decision measures. The description of the national security job was identical to that used in Study 1. For the private corporation, participants were given a job description with the same job title at the financial service company, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC). This description was virtually identical to the NSA job and required exactly the same professional skills and eligibility requirements except that it did not mention loyalty to the country. The resumes of job candidates used in this study were identical to those in Study 1.

Importance of loyalty to the nation and loyalty to the organization. As a manipulation check, all participants rated how important they thought it was for the holder of the target job to: (a) be loyal to the United States, (b) protect the country's best interests, (c) defend the United States from criticism, and (d) be dedicated to the United States on a scale of 1 (*not at all important*) to 7 (*very important*). Participants also rated how important it was for the holder of the target job to: (a) be loyal to the organization, (b) protect the organization's best interests, (c) defend the organization from criticism, and (d) be dedicated to the organization.

Procedure

As in Study 1, participants completed several allegedly unrelated tasks including an IAT that assessed their implicit national prototypes followed by an unrelated filler survey and a demographic questionnaire. They returned 1 week later to a different location where they received a job description for a forensic investigator position at either the NSA or PwC. They were asked to imagine the ideal person for the job and write a short description of that person's qualifications, work habits, loyalty to the organization, and personality traits. Participants then evaluated five candidates for the job (NSA or PwC) by rank ordering them in terms of perceived qualification, on-the-job conscientiousness, and overall hiring decision.[6] Finally, participants were asked to rate how important it was for a person in this job to be loyal to the nation and loyal to their employment organization. This measure served as a manipulation check to ensure that the national security job did in fact differ from the private corporation job in terms of the importance given to national loyalty. Participants then completed a postexperimental questionnaire, and were thanked and debriefed. All participants correctly guessed the race of the candidates and none guessed the hypotheses.

Results and Discussion

Implicit national prototypes. Using the same procedure as Study 1, an IAT D score was calculated for each participant.[7] None of the participants responded faster than 300 ms on more than 10% of the trials, and therefore, none were deleted from the analyses that follow. Overall, participants were significantly faster at associating American symbols with White faces and foreign symbols with Asian faces than vice versa (IAT effect = 354 ms, IAT $D = 0.87$), $t(84) = 19.80$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

Manipulation check: Importance of national loyalty by job type. To test whether the national security versus corporate job differed in terms of the importance of national loyalty (4 items; $\alpha = .94$), a t test compared the two jobs and found, as expected, that participants thought national loyalty was significantly more important for the national security job ($M = 6.03$) than the private corporation job ($M = 4.56$), $t(82) = -4.50$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed). However, participants thought organizational loyalty (4 items; $\alpha = .85$) was equally important for both the national security job ($M = 6.26$) and the corporate job ($M = 6.00$), $t(82) = -1.12$, $p = .26$ (two-tailed).

Relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring decisions. Regression analyses examined the relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring decisions by job type. As predicted, results revealed a significant two-way interaction between implicit prototypes and job type, $B = 1.12$, $SE = 0.40$, $p = .01$ (see Figure 2). Following Aiken and West's (1991) guidelines, simple slope analyses revealed that in the national security job, the more participants held an implicit prototype that American is White, the less willing
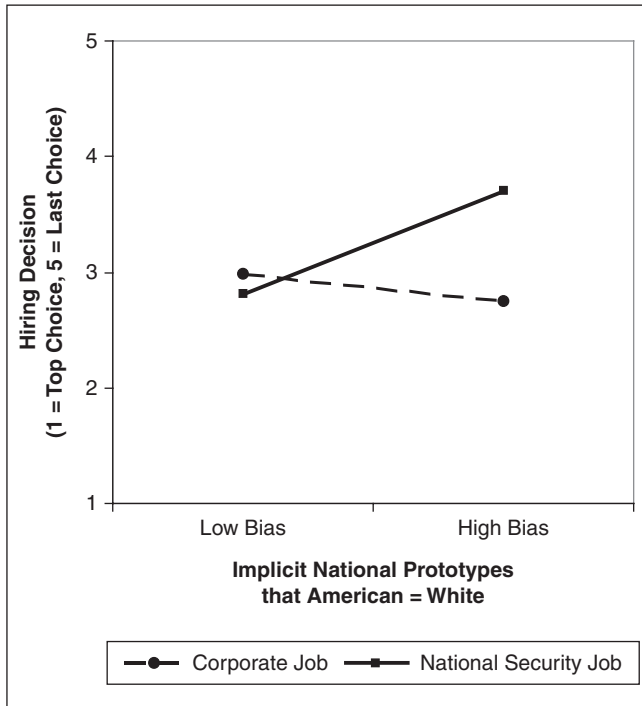
Figure 2. Relation between implicit national prototypes and willingness to hire Asian Americans for a national security job versus private corporate job

they were to hire Asian American candidates, $B = 0.90$, $SE = 0.30$, $p = .003$. However, when the same job was in a private corporation, participants' implicit prototypes did not influence their willingness to hire Asian American candidates, $B = -0.23$, $SE = 0.27$, $p = .41$.

We also tested whether implicit prototypes of who is authentically American would predict participants' likelihood of listing an Asian American candidate as their first choice in the NSA versus PwC job. A logistic regression tested the main effects and interaction of implicit prototypes and job type on the likelihood that participants' first choice was an Asian American candidate. Similar to the previous results, the interaction between implicit prototypes and job type was significant, $B = -2.96$, $SE = 1.28$, $p = .02$. Simple slope analyses revealed that the more participants held implicit national prototypes, the less likely they were to list an Asian American candidate as their top choice in the NSA job, $B = -2.25$, $SE = 1.02$, $p = .03$; however, this relation was nonsignificant in the PwC job, $B = 0.71$, $SE = 0.76$, $p = .35$.

Finally, when perceived qualification and likely conscientiousness on the job were used as the dependent variable (two items; $\alpha = .68$), regression analyses found a significant Implicit Prototypes × Job Type interaction that was identical to the hiring results, $B = 0.75$, $SE = 0.35$, $p = .04$. Test for simple slopes revealed that the more participants implicitly envisioned the prototypical American as White, the less

qualified they perceived Asian American candidates to be for the national security job, $B = 0.67$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .01$. However, this relation was nonsignificant for the corporate job, $B = -0.08$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = .74$.

In sum, Study 2 replicated and extended the findings of Study 1 by demonstrating that participants who implicitly envisioned "true" Americans to be White were less willing to hire non-White individuals (Asian Americans), but only when the job made national loyalty salient (national security job), not when the job made national loyalty irrelevant (private corporation). In other words, implicit prototypes about who is American do not elicit generalized racial discrimination or ingroup favoritism but rather more targeted discrimination in domains where patriotism is important because these are contexts where Asian Americans are suspect in the eyes of some beholders.

Study 3

Study 3 was driven by two goals. First, we sought to generalize the findings of Studies 1 and 2 to a different domain beyond hiring decisions by testing whether implicit national prototypes would predict differential support for a newly proposed immigration policy depending on the policy writer's race (White or Asian American). Second, we sought to extend our earlier finding that doubts about national loyalty is the underlying mechanism driving the link between national prototypes and discrimination by testing whether the strength of the prototype–behavior link is moderated by individual differences in political ideology given that political conservatives place more importance on ingroup loyalty and group boundaries than political liberals (Graham et al., 2009; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Conservatives may be especially likely to question the ingroup loyalty of members they perceive as nonprototypical, and these suspicions may, in turn, encourage more negative evaluations of policies proposed by Asian Americans, but not White Americans, especially when these policies have to do with protecting the nation's borders.

Method

Participants. Seventy-five White American undergraduates participated in this study for course credit or $15 (52 female and 23 male).

Measures and Manipulations

Implicit national prototypes. The same IAT from Studies 1 and 2 were used to measure implicit national prototypes.

Perceived loyalty of White and Asian Americans to the nation. The perceived loyalty of Asian Americans and White Americans was assessed using the same three items used in Study 1.

Political ideology. Three items from Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) were used to measure political

ideology. Participants were asked to indicate their political views on: (a) foreign policy issues, (b) economic issues, and (c) social issues, by marking a position on three 7-point scales anchored by 1 (*very liberal*), 2 (*liberal*), 3 (*slightly liberal*), 4 (*middle of the road*), 5 (*slightly conservative*), 6 (*conservative*), and 7 (*very conservative*).

Manipulating race of the policy writer. Participants were randomly assigned to read an opinion-editorial (op-ed) published in a news magazine that expressed the opinions of an author who was allegedly either White American (Allen McMillan) or Asian American (Sung Chang). Participants were informed that the author was an American citizen who was proposing a new policy to improve our immigration system. The op-ed argued that our current immigration policy was deterring highly skilled professionals from seeking legal employment in the United States and creating a shortage of scientists and engineers. The author proposed a new immigration policy that would allow more foreign professionals to obtain legal employment in the United States by increasing the number of work visas and perhaps by also offering permanent residency or citizenship to legal immigrants who pursued advanced degrees in science, mathematics, or engineering, to compensate for the shortage of American scientists and engineers in the domestic labor market.

Evaluation of the proposed immigration policy. Participants were asked to evaluate the likely impact of the proposed immigration policy on the United States. Specifically, they judged the extent to which "the proposed policy would hurt versus help: (a) the U.S. economy, (b) American workers, and (c) America's ability to compete in the global market" on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*hurt very much*) to 7 (*help very much*).

Procedure. Participants took part in two allegedly "unrelated studies" separated by 1 week. In the "first study" they completed an IAT, items assessing White and Asian Americans' loyalty to the country, a political ideology measure, and a demographic questionnaire along with some filler tasks. One week later, participants returned for a "second study" where they read an op-ed about a new immigration policy allegedly written by a White American or an Asian American. Participants were asked to summarize the content of the article and evaluate the impact of the proposed policy on the United States. Participants then completed a postexperimental questionnaire where they were asked to guess the purpose of the study and recall the race and nationality of the policy writer, which served as a manipulation check. All participants correctly guessed the race and nationality of the policy writer and none guessed the hypotheses of the study.

Results and Discussion

Implicit national prototypes. As in previous studies, an IAT *D* score was calculated for each participant.[8] None of the participants responded faster than 300 ms on more than 10% of the trials; thus, none were deleted from the analyses
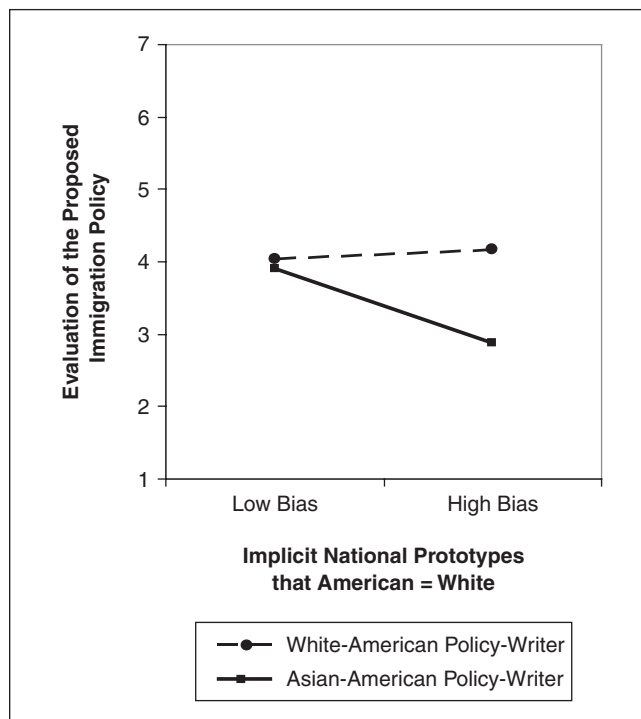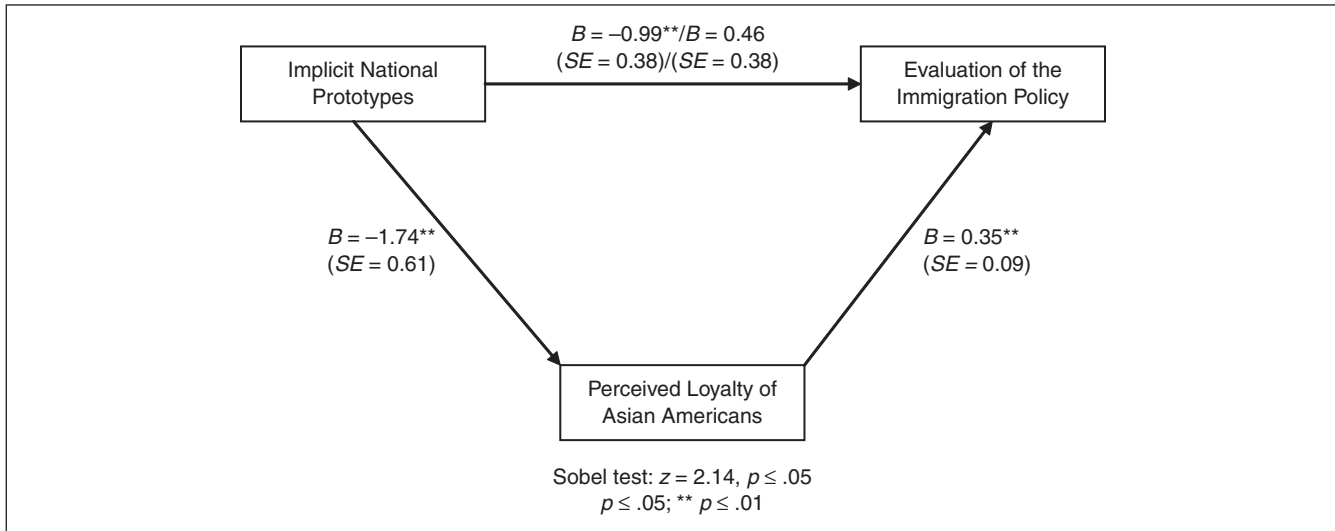
Figure 3. Relation between implicit national prototypes and evaluations of an immigration policy proposed by a White versus Asian American policy writer

that follow. Once again, on average, participants were faster at associating American symbols with White faces and foreign symbols with Asian faces than vice versa (IAT effect = 301 ms, IAT *D* = 0.79), $t(74) = 13.84$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

Perceived loyalty of White and Asian Americans. Participants perceived White Americans to be significantly more loyal to the country ($\alpha = .86$; $M = 5.00$) than Asian Americans ($\alpha = .90$; $M = 4.03$), $t(74) = -5.07$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Similar to Study 1, a relative index of national loyalty was calculated by subtracting loyalty ratings of White Americans from Asian Americans.

Political ideology. Recall that we measured political ideology using three items derived from Pratto et al. (1994). These items showed high internal consistency ($\alpha = .87$) and were combined into a single index. Participants' political ideology scores captured the full range of the scale from 1 to 7 ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.36$).

Do implicit national prototypes predict differential evaluations of the proposed immigration policy depending on the policy writer's race? Regression analyses revealed a significant two-way interaction between implicit prototypes and race of the policy writer on evaluations of the immigration policy, $B = -1.22$, $SE = 0.44$, $p = .01$ (see Figure 3). Following Aiken and West's (1991) guidelines, tests for simple slopes revealed that the more participants implicitly envisioned the prototypical American to be White, the more negatively they evaluated an

Figure 4. Asian Americans' perceived national loyalty mediates the relation between implicit national prototypes and evaluations of a policy proposed by an Asian American
$*p < .05. **p < .01.$
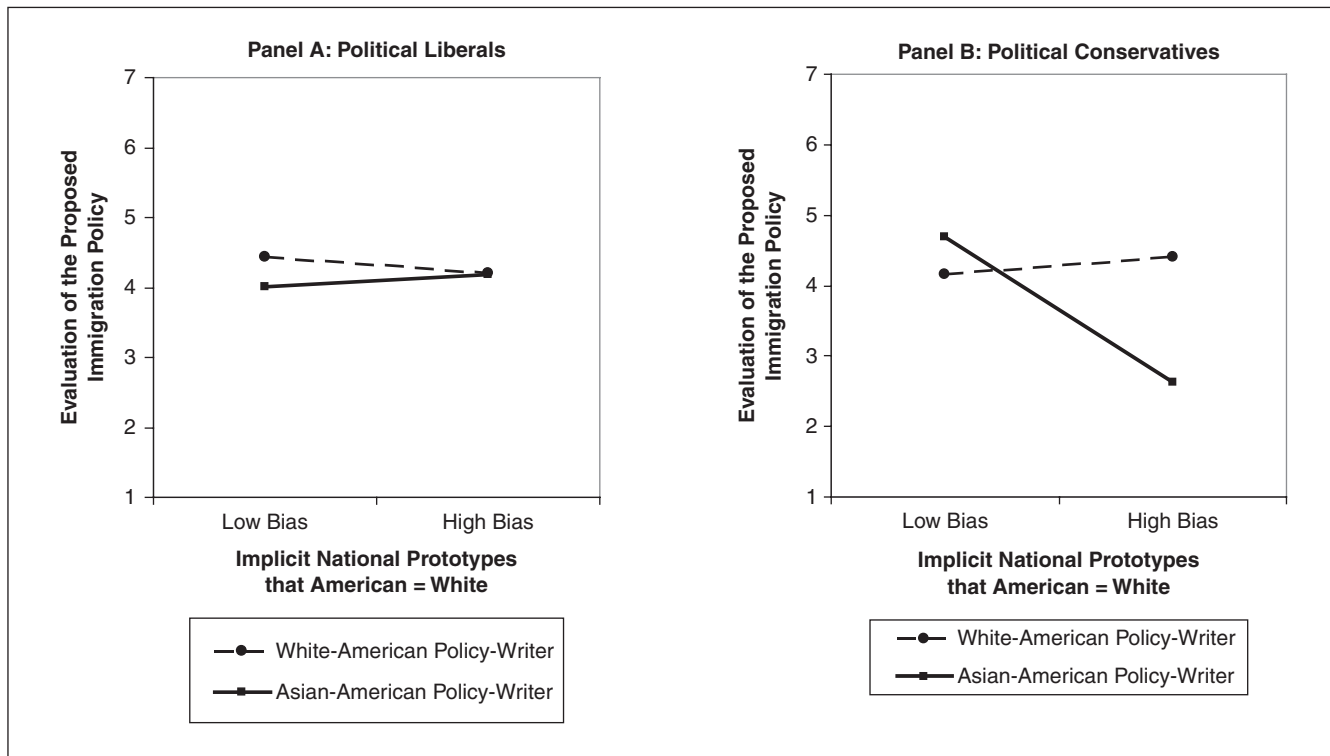
immigration policy proposed by an Asian American, $B = -0.99$, $SE = 0.34$, $p < .01$, but not when the same policy was proposed by a White American, $B = 0.23$, $SE = 0.28$, $p = .40$.

Do doubts about Asian Americans' loyalty to the country mediate the relation between implicit prototypes and policy evaluations? To test this hypothesis, we conducted three regression analyses. The first regression found that stronger implicit national prototypes predicted greater doubts about Asian Americans' national loyalty, $B = 1.74$, $SE = 0.61$, $p = .007$. A second regression found that greater doubts about Asian Americans' national loyalty significantly predicted more negative evaluations of the policy proposed by the Asian American policy writer, $B = 0.35$, $SE = 0.09$, $p < .001$. A third regression revealed that controlling for the effect of Asian Americans' perceived national loyalty erased the direct relation between implicit national prototypes and evaluations of the policy proposed by the Asian American policy writer, $B = -0.46$, $SE = 0.38$, $p = .23$ ($z = 2.14$, $p = .03$; Preacher & Leonardelli, 2003; Sobel, 1982), confirming that doubts about Asian Americans' national loyalty mediated the relation between implicit prototypes about "real Americans" and negative evaluations of a policy authored by an Asian American (see Figure 4).

Does political conservatism moderate the relation between implicit national prototypes and policy evaluations? To test this question, we conducted a regression in which implicit prototypes, political ideology, race of the policy writer, and all possible interaction terms were entered as predictors, and policy evaluation was the outcome variable. As expected, results revealed a significant three-way interaction among implicit prototypes, race of policy writer, and political ideology, $B = 0.84$, $SE = 0.35$, $p = .02$ (see Figure 5). This

interaction was decomposed by analyzing the simple slopes following guidelines proposed by Aiken and West (1991). We conducted two analyses by centering political ideology at 1 *SD* above the mean (more conservative participants) and 1 *SD* below the mean on political ideology (more liberal participants). For liberal participants, the interaction between implicit prototypes and race of policy writer was not significant, $B = 0.41$, $SE = 0.60$, $p = .50$. Specifically, implicit prototypes did not predict policy evaluations for either the White American policy writer, $B = 0.16$, $SE = 0.41$, $p = .70$, or Asian American policy writer, $B = -0.25$, $SE = 0.44$, $p = .58$ (see Figure 5, Panel A). However, for relatively conservative participants, the interaction between implicit prototypes and race of policy writer was highly significant, $B = 2.55$, $SE = 0.65$, $p < .001$. Specifically, implicit prototypes predicted more negative evaluations of the policy proposed by the Asian American policy writer, $B = -2.18$, $SE = 0.54$, $p < .001$, but not the White American policy writer, $B = 0.37$, $SE = 0.35$, $p = .29$ (see Figure 5, Panel B).

Do doubts about Asian Americans' national loyalty mediate the relation between implicit prototypes and policy evaluations for political conservatives? To address this question, we tested whether the interaction between implicit prototypes and political ideology on policy evaluations for the Asian American policy writer condition was mediated by the perceived national loyalty of Asian Americans as an ethnic group (see Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). First, a regression examined whether implicit prototypes, political ideology, and the interaction term significantly predicted evaluations of the proposed policy in the Asian American policy writer condition. The interaction term was statistically significant, $B = -0.76$, $SE = 0.31$,

Figure 5. Relation between implicit national prototypes and evaluations of a policy proposed by a White American versus Asian American policy writer for politically liberal (Panel A) and politically conservative (Panel B) participants

$p = .02$, indicating that stronger implicit national prototypes predicted more negative policy evaluations for political conservatives, $B = -2.18$, $SE = 0.60$, $p = .001$, but not political liberals, $B = -0.25$, $SE = 0.48$, $p = .61$.

A second regression using the same predictors but a different dependent variable (i.e., perceived national loyalty of Asian Americans) also showed a significant interaction between implicit prototypes and political conservatism, $B = 1.36$, $SE = 0.40$, $p = .002$, indicating that stronger implicit national prototypes elicited more doubts about the loyalty of Asian Americans among politically conservative participants, $B = 4.08$, $SE = 0.78$, $p < .001$, but not among relatively liberal participants, $B = 0.61$, $SE = 0.62$, $p = .34$.

A third regression tested whether the interaction between implicit prototypes and political ideology would predict policy evaluations after controlling for the perceived national loyalty of Asian Americans. Results revealed that the interaction term was no longer significant when controlling for the perceived national loyalty of Asian Americans, $B = -0.35$, $SE = 0.33$, $p = .29$. Additionally, the indirect effect of perceived loyalty remained statistically significant, indicating that the magnitude of the interaction was significantly reduced by controlling for perceived loyalty, $z = 1.97$, $p = .05$ (Preacher & Leonardelli, 2003; Sobel, 1982; see Figure 6).[9] In sum, for political conservatives, the effect of implicit

prototypes on opposition to an immigration policy proposed by an Asian American was driven by greater doubts about this ethnic group's loyalty to the country.

General Discussion

Across three studies we found that implicit prototypes about who is authentically American extend beyond private thoughts and translate into discriminatory action and judgments against Asian Americans, lending credence to Takaki's (1993) argument that despite many generations of American roots, some ethnic groups are treated as perpetual "strangers from a foreign shore." Studies 1 and 2 showed that the more participants implicitly envisioned the prototypical American as White, the less willing they were to hire qualified Asian Americans (compared to equivalent White Americans) in contexts where national loyalty was at stake (national security jobs), but not in contexts where national loyalty was irrelevant (corporate jobs). Moreover, this link between national prototypes and discriminatory action was mediated by greater suspicions about Asian Americans' loyalty to the United States. Study 1 measured the perceived national loyalty of Asian Americans as the mediator, and Study 2 manipulated national loyalty across two employment contexts to provide a more rigorous test of the causal effect of national loyalty on
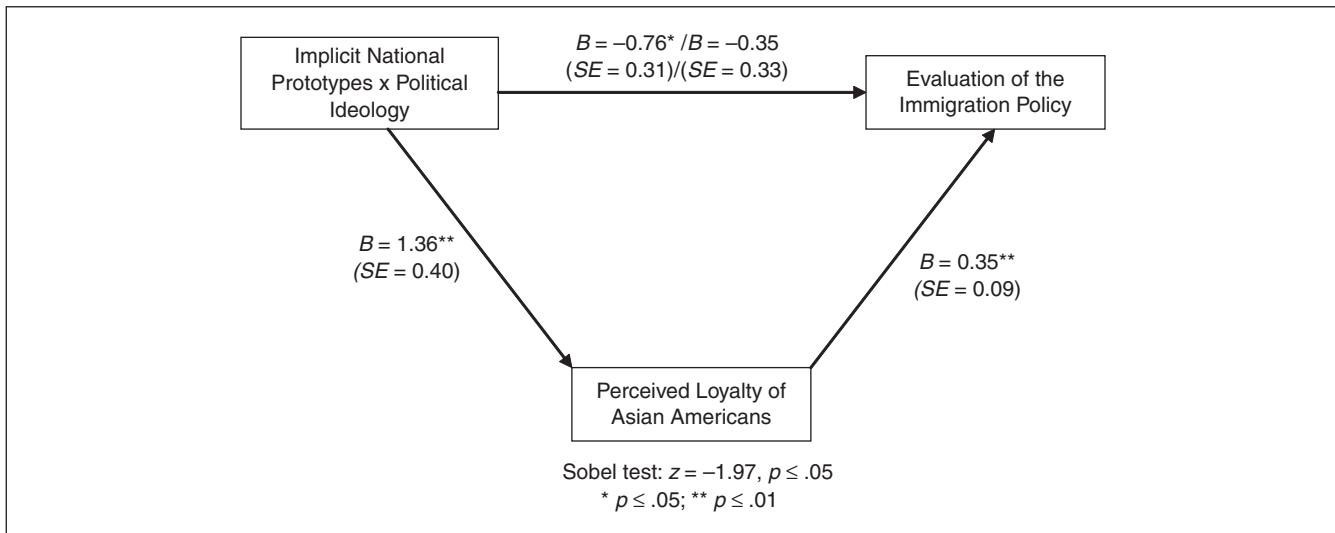
Figure 6. Asian Americans' perceived national loyalty mediates the relation between implicit national prototypes and political ideology on evaluations of a policy proposed by an Asian American policy writer
*p < .05. **p < .01.

hiring discrimination against Asian Americans. Together, these findings suggest that discriminatory action driven by national prototypes is different from generalized antiethnic bias or generalized ingroup favoritism on the part of White perceivers; rather, it is context specific.

Study 3 expanded our findings to a different context and demonstrated that implicit national prototypes also predict negative evaluations of an immigration policy proposed by an Asian American but not an identical policy proposed by a White American. Importantly, political conservatism (an ideology that emphasizes ingroup loyalty and establishing group boundaries) strengthened the link between implicit national prototypes and discriminatory judgments. Political conservatives were more likely than liberals to act on implicit race-based prototypes while making policy decisions related to national borders because of their greater suspicions about the loyalty of nonprototypical ingroup members (i.e., Asian Americans in this case). These findings connect the concept of ingroup distinctiveness to theories of political ideology by building on recent research demonstrating that political conservatives are especially interested in protecting group boundaries and emphasizing ingroup loyalty (Graham et al., 2009; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Janoff-Bulman, 2009). Our data reveal that political conservatives are more likely than liberals to suspect the loyalty of ingroup members they see as nonprototypical and resist their proposed policies as a way of strengthening the distinctiveness of the race-based national prototype.

Future Directions

An important avenue for future research is to examine whether this automatic tendency to grant American identity to Whites more easily than ethnic minorities leads to discrimination for both White and ethnic minority participants. Research by Devos and colleagues (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010) has found that many ethnic minorities (e.g., Asian, Latino, and Native Americans) implicitly associate American with White as much as their White American peers, although their explicit judgments are quite different from their White peers. This pattern of results is reminiscent of other findings showing that disadvantaged groups sometimes exhibit less ingroup favoritism than advantaged groups and may sometimes even implicitly favor the high-status outgroup (see Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). However, social identity research suggests that ethnic minorities are likely to prefer their ethnic ingroup and consider ingroup attributes to be prototypical of the national group (see Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus et al., 2005). These two opposing predictions beg resolution: Will the implicit national prototype that American-is-White produce discrimination against nonprototypical ethnic minorities regardless of perceivers' own ethnicity? Or will ethnic minorities be less likely to act on implicit national prototypes than their White counterparts? This remains an open question for future work.

A second avenue for future research is to generalize these findings to other target groups. It may be that implicit national prototypes will predict discrimination against all non-White minority groups; alternatively, such bias may be limited to groups that have recent immigration histories in the United States (e.g., Asians and Latinos) but not other ethnic groups with longstanding immigration histories (e.g., Black Americans) or others who were the original people of the land (e.g., Native Americans).

One might also examine whether the present results generalize to other multiethnic countries. Recent research by Sibley and Liu (2007) demonstrated that European New Zealanders (Pakeha) perceived both Pakeha and Maoris (the native people of the land) as equally representative of the national group; however, they perceived Asians as less prototypical of New Zealand. This raises the question: Will implicit national prototypes in New Zealand translate into discrimination against its citizens of Asian descent?

Finally, future work could test whether the present findings might be moderated by other individual difference variables besides political ideology. For example, implicit national prototypes may lead to discrimination against nonprototypical ingroup members among individuals who are strongly authoritarian (Duckitt, 2001) because such individuals may be particularly motivated to protect existing Anglo-Protestant norms guiding American society. The present research provides a starting point to address myriad such questions.

Implications for Law and Politics

The current research has important implications for law, politics, and public policy because it shines a light on the disjuncture between legal definitions of citizenship as described in the U.S. Constitution (Chen & Hanson, 2004) and subjective perceptions of national belonging. These data show that subjective perceptions that one is not sufficiently American can trump constitutional definitions and bias people's decision making in profound ways. An iconic example of this disjuncture in recent history is the much publicized case of Dr. Wen Ho Lee, an Asian American nuclear scientist working at the government laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico. Dr. Lee was accused of spying for China and stealing U.S. nuclear secrets by a federal grand jury in 1999. After spending 278 days in solitary confinement and being called the "spy of the century," the U.S. government dropped charges of espionage and Judge James Parker offered an apology to Dr. Lee for the federal government's mishandling of the case (Barry, 2001; Scheer, 2000). One interpretation of this case is that Dr. Lee's case went as far as it did despite inadequate evidence because he did not fit the prototype of the loyal, trustworthy, "real" American, which may have distorted people's interpretations of his intentions and actions.

Beyond law, consider the implications of our findings for the 2008 presidential election. Barack Obama's campaign for the U.S. presidency was accompanied by much debate about his loyalty and belongingness in the country (Beinart, 2008; Picard, 2008). Doubts about Obama's national loyalty and belongingness were likely to have been influenced by his hybrid race, unique name, and (mis)perceived religion (Beinart, 2008; Todd, Murray, & Montanaro, 2008). One voter's comment captured this sentiment perfectly: "I just don't feel he's a true American" (Todd et al., 2008). For Obama's candidacy for president of the United States to have been successful, he had to overcome considerable doubt about his patriotism fueled by his nonprototypicality.

The implications of the present research will become especially important as the United States becomes increasingly multiethnic. The U.S. census projects that by the year 2050, the White population will decline from 70% to 50%, whereas the Hispanic population will grow from 12% to 25%, and the Asian population from 4% to 10%. These changes in the American ethnic landscape come at a time of increased concern about threats to national security and political efforts to identify who is likely to be disloyal to the country and, in the most extreme case, who is likely to be a terrorist. With all these changes in the foreseeable future, it is vital to understand how Americans define who belongs in the country and who does not, how it affects their behavior, and how such beliefs might be changed when appropriate.

Notes

1. Two unpublished studies have examined the relation between implicit beliefs about Barack Obama's nationality and voting preference before the 2008 presidential election (Devos, Ma, & Gafud, 2008). However, these studies did not test whether national prototypes in general (without a focus on a specific individual) might predict discriminatory treatment of ethnic minorities as a group.

2. We did not use an equal number of White and Asian American job candidates to avoid suspicion given the low percentage of Asian Americans in the population. Additionally, it made a convenient cover story to describe these candidates as the top five on a short list.

3. Gender of the candidates did not moderate any of the effects in the study and therefore will not be discussed further ($ps > .30$)

4. We reanalyzed these data using an alternative data-trimming strategy to ensure that the results were not due to the particular algorithm recommended by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003). Specifically, we deleted trials for which response latencies were 3 *SD* away from the sample mean (1.41% of trials) before computing Implicit Association Test *D* scores. These results are identical to those reported in the Results section. Regressions revealed that implicit national prototypes predicted less willingness to hire Asian American candidates, *B* = 0.70, *SE* = 0.23, *p* = .004. Moreover, doubts about the loyalty of Asian Americans mediated the relation between implicit national prototypes and hiring decisions (z = –2.30, *p* = .02).

5. The reverse mediation model revealed that implicit stereotypes about nationality did not mediate the effects of perceived loyalty on hiring decisions (*p*s > .10).

6. Similar to Study 1, gender of the candidates did not moderate any of the effects in the study (*p*s > .40).

7. We also analyzed the results of Study 2 by deleting trials that were 3 *SD* above and below the mean (1.34% of trials) and found virtually identical results—that is, a significant two-way interaction between implicit prototypes and job type, *B* = 1.10, *SE* = 0.40, *p* = .007. Simple slope analyses revealed that in the national security job, implicit national prototypes predicted less willingness to hire Asian American candidates, *B* = 0.82, *SE* = 0.24, *p* < .01. However, when the same job was in a private corporation, implicit national prototypes did not influence hiring decisions, *B* = –0.28, *SE* = 0.31, *p* = 38.

8. We also analyzed the results of Study 3 by deleting trials that were 3 *SD* above and below the mean (1.60% of trials) and found virtually identical results. That is, regression analyses revealed a significant two-way interaction between implicit prototypes and race of the policy writer on evaluations of the immigration policy, *B* = 1.10, *SE* = 0.42, *p* = .01. This interaction effect was mediated by participants' doubts about Asian Americans' loyalty to the United States (z = 2.05, *p* = .04). Moreover, this effect was stronger among politically conservative than liberal participants, as revealed by a significant three-way interaction among implicit prototypes, race of policy writer, and political ideology, *B* = 0.89, *SE* = 0.33, *p* = .01.

9. Similar to Study 1, the reverse mediation model revealed that implicit prototypes did not mediate the effects of (a) perceived loyalty on evaluations of the policy or (b) a Perceived Loyalty × Political Ideology interaction on evaluations of the policy (all *p*s > .40).

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