

# In the Eyes of the Beholder: National Identification Predicts Differential Reactions to Ethnic Identity Expressions

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Two studies examined how perceivers' national identification influences their implicit and explicit attitudes toward White and non-White ethnic groups whose members express their ethnic identity overtly in public or discreetly in private spaces. Results revealed that at a conscious level, White American perceivers' national identification elicited more negative attitudes toward both White and non-White ethnic groups when members embraced their ethnic heritage in public rather than in private. However, at an unconscious level, White perceivers' identification with the national group led to less favorable attitudes toward non-White ethnic groups, but not White ethnic groups, when their group members embraced ethnic identity in public. By integrating research on national identification, ethnic identity expression, and prejudice, the present research highlights some conditions under which majority group members' national identification affects how they perceive ethnic subgroups within the nation.

*Keywords:* national identification, ethnic identity, prejudice, public vs. private, implicit vs. explicit

In recent decades, immigration and globalization has increased cultural diversity in many parts of the world including North America, Europe, and Australasia. In the United States, for example, immigration from Latin America and Asia has reshaped the American populace from being predominantly White citizens of European descent to being much more ethnically diverse, with more than one third of the nation comprising ethnic minorities. This trend is expected to continue for decades to come. The U.S. Census Bureau (2012) projects that by the year 2043, the United States will transform from a nation where two thirds of its citizens are White American to become a “majority-minority” nation, wherein ethnic groups that were previously numeric minorities collectively comprise more than half of the nation and non-Hispanic Whites comprise less than half the American population.

Such growing diversity highlights the importance of better understanding how to facilitate positive relations among diverse ethnic groups within the nation. Today, buzz words like *diversity* and *multiculturalism* have become part of most Americans' vocabulary and are an integral component of public discourse in

business, education, law, and politics. Americans hear about the importance of diversity in their everyday lives, often endorse principles of ethnic diversity, and believe that people can be American regardless of their background as long as they embrace core national values and ideals (Brubaker, 1992; Schildkraut, 2003, 2007; Tsai, Mortensen, Wong, & Hess, 2002). Research also shows that diversity messages promote positive intergroup relations among diverse groups within the nation (e.g., Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006).

Yet at the same time, other research shows that reactions to diversity are not always positive. While White Americans tend to endorse broad principles of ethnic diversity within the nation, they also perceive diversity as threatening to the national group and excluding of Whites (e.g., Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Given the importance of diversity to intergroup relations within pluralistic nations like the United States, the present research seeks to identify how White American perceivers' national identity influences their reactions to ethnic minority groups. Specifically, we examine to what extent White perceivers' national identification influence their attitudes toward ethnic minorities who embrace their ethnic heritage in public or in private?

## The Relation Between National Identification and Attitudes Toward Ethnic Outgroups

For several decades, social psychologists have been interested in understanding how ingroup identification influences attitudes toward ingroups and outgroups. An assumption emerging from the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999) has been that people who are strongly identified with the ingroup are more likely to show preference for their ingroup relative to outgroups compared with others who are weakly identified with the ingroup because the ingroup is psychologically more central to

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their self-concept (e.g., Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; for a review, see Brown, 2000). However, empirical evidence revealed that the direct association between ingroup identification and intergroup attitudes is surprisingly weak or nonsignificant (e.g., Brown, 2000; Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Some researchers have criticized the pursuit of a simplistic relationship between identification and intergroup differentiation on the ground that it ignores complex factors that may be at play, like the content of the social identity and the nature of ingroup boundaries (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

More recent empirical work has begun to suggest that the relation between ingroup identification and intergroup attitudes is indeed more nuanced such that the relationship occurs under some circumstances, but not others. For example, some research reveals that high ingroup identification predicts greater intergroup bias only in contexts where the value or distinctiveness of one's ingroup is threatened (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001; Voci, 2006; see meta-analyses by Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). For instance, Voci (2006) demonstrated that the relation between Northern and Southern Italians' ingroup identification and outgroup attitudes was quite weak at baseline. However, when the ingroup's value or distinctiveness was threatened, strong ingroup identification predicted more negative attitudes toward the outgroup. In line with this finding, meta-analyses reveal that high ingroup identifiers, but not low ingroup identifiers, express biases against outgroups when they are motivated to seek ingroup distinctiveness (Jetten et al., 2004).

In the context of national identification in particular, Pehrson and colleagues (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009) found that people's national identification predicts greater prejudice toward outgroups, but this depended on perceivers' definition of their nation (also see Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010). Specifically, using both cross-sectional and longitudinal approaches, Pehrson and colleagues find that people who are strongly identified with their nation express greater prejudice toward immigrants and asylum seekers only if they define their nation in ethnic terms, but not if they define their nation in civic terms. Extending these findings, in the current research, we argue that two factors are likely to influence majority group members' attitudes toward ethnic groups in the context of pluralistic nations: (a) how publicly (or overtly) ethnic group members express their cultural identities; and (b) how strongly perceivers identify with their nationality.

### The Consequences of Expressing One's Ethnic Identity

Recent research from social psychology has examined how White American perceivers respond to individuals and their ethnic subgroups who are seen as embracing their cultural heritage (Dovidio, Gaertner, Schnabel, Saguy, & Johnson, 2010; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Kaiser & Spalding, 2013; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, Adelman, Eccleston, & Parker, 2011; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, & Gomez, 2012). Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009), for example, demonstrated that Whites exhibit greater prejudice toward ethnic minorities who are strongly identified with their ethnic group compared with others who are weakly identified. Similarly, when White Americans encounter minority individuals who strongly identify with their ethnic heritage, it leads them to overgeneralize

and construe their entire ethnic group as less American (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). This effect occurs because strong ethnic identity on the part of racial/ethnic minorities threatens the distinctiveness of the United States in the eyes of White perceivers (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). Ethnic minorities are especially viewed as less American if they display their ethnic identity in public, but not if they do so in the privacy of their home (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). These findings collectively suggest that although people may embrace principles of ethnic diversity, expressing one's ethnic identity—particularly in public spaces—lead perceivers to reject these individuals because such ethnic identity threatens the status quo and positive distinctiveness of what is means to be American. In the current research, we integrate prior work examining the link between group identification and prejudice with recent work on ethnic identity expression to test whether perceivers' national identification shape their attitudes toward ethnic outgroups whose members embrace their ethnic heritage publicly and openly versus privately and discreetly.

### Goals of the Current Research

Two studies investigated whether perceivers' national identification predicted their explicit and implicit evaluations of White and non-White ethnic groups whose members embrace their ethnic heritage in public versus private spaces. Two predictions guide this work. First, we propose that White American perceivers' national identification will lead to more negative attitudes toward ethnic groups whose members embrace their cultural heritage publicly because such expressions threaten the status quo, values, and prototype of the national group (see Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Yogeeswaran et al., 2011; Zárate & Shaw, 2010; Zárate, Shaw, Marquez, & Biagas, 2012). In contrast, White perceivers' national identification will have no impact on attitudes toward ethnic groups whose members embrace ethnic identity in private because such discreet ethnic identity expressions do not challenge people's desire to avoid cultural change (e.g., Zárate et al., 2012) and do not threaten mainstream values, norms, or the status quo (see Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). In other words, White perceivers' national identification will only lead to outgroup negativity when the ethnic minority group's expressions of ethnic identity bleed into public life and threaten the values, norms, and status quo of mainstream America (Study 1).

Second, we predict that White perceivers' national identification will have the same effect on their explicit attitudes toward White and non-White ethnic groups, but have differential effects on their implicit attitudes toward the same two groups. Specifically, at a conscious level, national identification will lead to more unfavorable attitudes toward both White and non-White ethnic groups whose members express their ethnic identity in public rather than private. However, at an unconscious level, perceivers' national identification will lead to less favorable attitudes toward non-White ethnic groups whose members embrace ethnic identity in public, but not White ethnic groups who do the same. This prediction builds on our past research where we had manipulated White and non-White groups' expressions of ethnic identity (public vs. private) and examined its effect on the extent to which they were viewed as authentically American at an implicit versus explicit level (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). Our past work had shown that while public expressions of ethnic identity made both White

and non-White ethnic groups be viewed as less American at the explicit level, only non-White ethnic groups were seen as less American at an implicit level (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). The present research expands on this work in two important ways: first, we examine how *perceiver characteristics* (Whites' national identification) shape their reactions toward ethnic identity expressions. And second, we focus on *attitudes toward ethnic groups* as the primary outcome variable, which is purely affective in nature and one of the most central topics in social psychology, whereas prior work on this topic had focused on *national inclusion*, which is cognitive in nature given its focus on social categorization. Much psychological research has highlighted the importance of distinguishing between categorization and attitudes (for a review, see Park & Judd, 2005), so the current work serves as a useful extension of prior work.

We used language as a marker of ethnic identity in the present research because language represents a very fundamental way in which ethnic culture is experienced, expressed, and transmitted from generation to generation (see Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). Language is often a ubiquitous carrier of culture which allows people to become immersed in the group's norms, practices, and values (Fishman, 1999; Haarman, 1986; Kinzler, Shutts, & Correll, 2010). In some cultural groups, language is the only distinctive characteristic that defines one's ethnic group, and moving away from one's ethnic language is sometimes perceived as rejecting and distancing oneself from the ethnic group (Bailey, 2000; Fought, 2006; Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). For all these reasons, language was chosen as the marker of ethnic identity expression in the current studies.

## Study 1

Study 1 measured White participants' identification with the national group. These participants read about a small sample of Native American individuals who were described as embracing their ethnic identity in public or in private. We expected that national identification would lead to more unfavorable attitudes toward Native Americans as a group if perceivers had previously read about Native American individuals who displayed their ethnic identity in public. However, White perceivers' national identification would have no bearing on their attitudes toward Native Americans if they had previously been exposed to Native Americans who expressed their ethnic identity in the privacy of their home.

## Method

**Participants.** A total of 96 (84 women and 12 men) White American undergraduates received course credit for participation (mean age = 20.06). All participants were U.S. citizens self-identified as having White European heritage.

**Design.** Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions in which they saw pictures and biographies of: (a) six Native Americans (3 men, 3 women) who expressed ethnic identity by speaking native languages in public and private spheres; (b) six Native Americans (3 men, 3 women) who expressed ethnic identity by speaking native languages in private spheres only; or (c) six nature reserves (the control condition). In the first two conditions, the biographies of Native American individuals were identical, except that in the public identification condition individ-

uals were described as speaking their native language with family and friends *both* in private and public (e.g., "Jim practices using the Navajo language in his day-to-day life irrespective of whether he is on his college campus, shopping, at the bank, or home among his family and friends"), whereas in the private ethnic identification condition the same individuals were described as speaking their native language in private *only* (e.g., "Jim practices using the Navajo language when he is at home among his family and friends"). Individuals in both conditions were described as being strongly connected to their ethnic heritage (e.g., "he loved the Navajo language so much that he decided to teach it as a way of feeling proud and connected to his ethnic roots") and as being native English speakers (e.g., "he grew up speaking English and not knowing much about Seminole traditions"). The only difference was that in the private condition, target individuals currently practiced using their ethnic language with family and friends at home only, whereas in the public condition they practiced speaking the ethnic language with family and friends at home and in public. In the control condition, participants read descriptions of national parks in the United States with no mention of ethnicity (e.g., "Yellowstone National Park is located in the states of Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho"). These manipulations were mostly adapted from our previous work (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011).

## Measures

**National identification.** Six items adapted from previous research (Phinney & Ong, 2007) assessed participants' self-reported level of national identification. On a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 5 = *strongly agree*), participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with statements such as: "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own national group," "I feel a strong sense of attachment toward my own national group." These items were averaged to form a composite measure of national identification ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

**Explicit attitudes toward Native Americans.** Nine items adapted from the Attitudes toward Blacks scale (Brigham, 1993) were used to measure participants' attitudes toward Native Americans. Participants were asked to respond on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*) on the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with statements such as: "I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to Native Americans"; "I would rather not have Native Americans live in the same apartment building I live in." These nine items were highly reliable ( $\alpha = .86$ ) and were therefore collapsed to form an index of explicit attitudes toward Native Americans where higher numbers indicated more negative attitudes.

**Procedure.** After giving written consent, participants completed a demographic survey with questions about gender, age, race, ethnicity, and their level of national identification. They were then randomly assigned to one of three conditions in which they read about Native Americans who either expressed their ethnic identity privately or publicly, or they read about national parks (control condition). All participants then completed a measure assessing their explicit attitudes toward Native Americans. Finally, participants were thanked and debriefed.

## Results and Discussion

Multiple regression analyses were conducted to test whether perceivers' national identification predicted their attitudes toward Native Americans and whether these effects would be moderated by public versus private expressions of ethnic identification. Dummy coding was used to represent the conditions, and the public identification condition was set as the reference group for the interaction tests. The two dummy-coded variables, participants' national identification, and two interaction terms were entered as predictors in the analysis. All reported regression coefficients are unstandardized. As expected, the analysis revealed a significant interaction between national identification and the ethnic identity manipulation on participants' attitudes toward Native Americans,  $\Delta R^2 = .071$ ,  $F(2, 88) = 3.76$ ,  $p = .027$  (Figure 1). Using Aiken and West's (1991) guidelines, we tested the relationship between the strength of identification and attitudes within each experimental condition. As predicted, stronger national identification was significantly associated with more prejudicial attitudes toward Native Americans in the public identification condition ( $b = 0.67$ ,  $SE = 0.24$ ,  $p = .008$ ). However, there was no relationship between national identification and attitudes in either the private identification condition ( $b = -0.11$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $p = .58$ ) or in the neutral condition ( $b = -0.09$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $p = .63$ ).

Collectively, Study 1 suggests that identification as American leads to more prejudice toward Native Americans (the original inhabitants of the American continent) when a small subset of individuals from the group speak a language other than English in public spheres. However, perceivers' identification as American had no impact on their attitudes toward Native Americans when a subset of individuals from the same group expressed ethnic identity in private spheres only, or when no information about ethnic identity expression was provided.

### Study 2

Study 2 sought to extend the previous findings in two ways: (a) by testing whether White and non-White ethnic groups are held to the same standard regarding the acceptability of ethnic identity expression; and (b) by examining both explicit and implicit attitudes toward the ethnic groups of interest. To generalize our findings beyond one group, we chose two ethnic groups that immigrated to the United

States in similarly large numbers over the last 100 years (Daniels, 1990; Yogeeswaran et al., 2011): Chinese Americans (non-White ethnic group) and Polish Americans (White ethnic group). After measuring White participants' self-reported national identification, they were exposed to pictures and biographies of either Chinese American or Polish American individuals who expressed their ethnic identity publicly or privately. We then measured participants' implicit and explicit attitudes toward each ethnic group. Thus the design of this study was 2 (Target Group: Chinese, Polish)  $\times$  2 (Ethnic Identity Expression: Private, Public) between-subjects design. We dropped the control condition in this study because Study 1 had shown no difference between the control condition and the private identification condition.

## Method

**Participants.** A total of 180 (136 women and 44 men) non-Polish White undergraduates received course credit for participation (mean age = 20.25). All participants were U.S. citizens self-identified as White European, but not having any Polish heritage.

**Manipulation of target groups and ethnic identity expression.** Participants received biographical descriptions of 6 individuals (3 men and 3 women) who were either Chinese American or Polish American. Similar to Study 1, all targets were described as strongly connected to their ethnic heritage and either expressed ethnic identity privately (by speaking Chinese or Polish with family and friends at home) or publicly (by speaking Chinese or Polish with family and friends at home and in public places).

## Measures

**National identification.** The same six items utilized in Study 1 were used to measure participants' national identification ( $\alpha = .82$ ).

**Explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans and Polish Americans.** The same 9 items used in Study 1 were appropriately modified to assess participants' explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans ( $\alpha = .86$ ) and Polish Americans ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

**Implicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans and Polish Americans.** A Go/No-Go Association Task (GNAT; Nosek & Banaji, 2001) was used to assess participants' implicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans and Polish Americans. The GNAT is a speeded search task in which stimuli appear one at a time on the screen and participants are told to categorize specific stimuli that belong to two categories by giving a "go" response while ignoring all other distracter stimuli ("no-go" response). In this particular GNAT, participants were exposed to 4 types of stimuli that were randomly displayed one at a time on a computer screen: 6 Chinese American last names (e.g., Chung, Zhao), 6 Polish American last names (e.g., Borowski, Czerwinski), 6 positive words (e.g., friendly, paradise), and 6 negative words (e.g., filth, horrible). In the first block, Chinese and Polish last names were flashed on screen twice each for 1,500 ms to familiarize participants with names associated with each ethnic group. Participants then completed 48 practice trials where they categorized Chinese and Polish last names, as well as good and bad words. This was followed by 2 data collection blocks of 60 trials each. In one such block they were asked to give a "go" response to Chinese American names and positive words (Chinese + Good) while ignoring all other stimuli ("no-go"); in the second data collection block they were asked

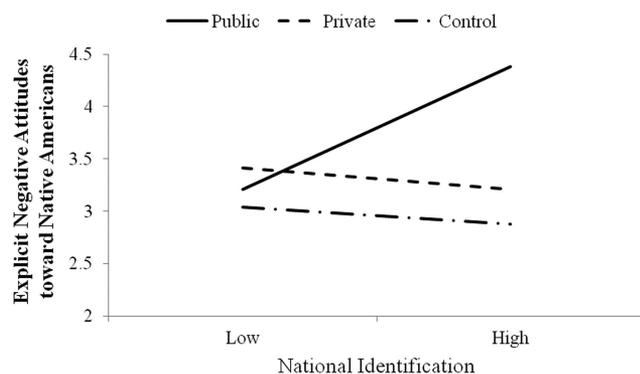


Figure 1. Explicit prejudicial attitudes toward Native Americans as a function of national identification and the type of identity expression.

to give a “go” response to Polish American names and positive words (Polish + Good) while ignoring all other stimuli (“no-go”). Participants were given 600 ms to respond on these trials. The order of these two blocks was counterbalanced between-subjects. An important strength of the GNAT is that it allows us to examine participants’ attitudes toward Chinese Americans *independent of* their attitudes toward Polish Americans and vice versa.

**Procedure.** The procedure for this study was virtually identical to Study 1. Participants gave written consent prior to participation and then completed a demographic survey and a measure of national identification. They were then randomly assigned to one of four biography conditions described earlier. All participants then completed measures assessing their implicit and explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans and Polish Americans. The order of these tasks was counterbalanced between-subjects.

## Results and Discussion

**Explicit attitudes.** We conducted a series of multiple regression analyses to examine the effects of national identification on participants’ implicit and explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans and Polish Americans who displayed their ethnic identity publicly versus privately. Ethnic identity expression was dummy coded for the two conditions, and national identification along with the single interaction term were also included as predictors in the analysis. As was the case in Study 1, all reported regression coefficients are unstandardized.

**Explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans.** As predicted, the analysis revealed a significant interaction between national identification and ethnic identity expression on explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans ( $b = 0.67, SE = 0.30, p = .031, \Delta R^2 = .042$ ; Figure 2). White participants’ national identification predicted significantly more unfavorable explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans in the public ethnic identification condition ( $b = 0.74, SE = 0.24, p = .003$ ). However, White participants’ national identification was not associated with attitudes toward Chinese Americans in the private identification condition ( $b = 0.071, SE = 0.18, p = .70$ ).

**Explicit attitudes toward Polish Americans.** Similar to explicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans, multiple regression analyses revealed a significant interaction between national identification and ethnic identity expression on explicit attitudes to-

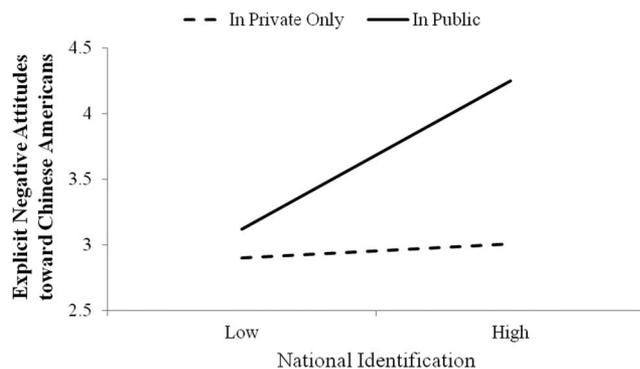


Figure 2. Explicit prejudicial attitudes toward Chinese Americans as a function of national identification and type of ethnic identity expression.

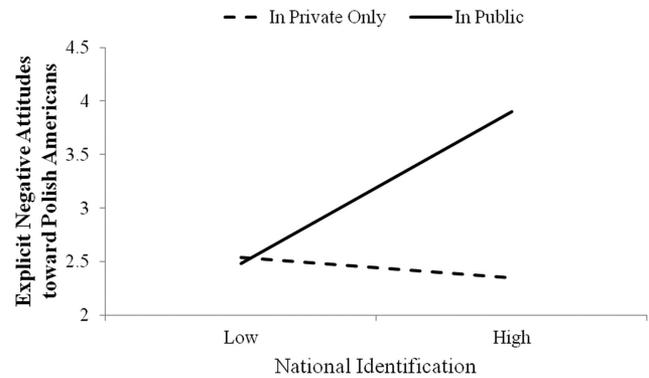


Figure 3. Explicit prejudicial attitudes toward Polish Americans as a function of national identification and type of ethnic identity expression.

ward Polish Americans ( $b = 1.06, SE = 0.40, p = .009, \Delta R^2 = .070$ ; Figure 3). The simple slope analyses of national identification again revealed that White participants’ national identification was associated with more unfavorable explicit attitudes toward Polish Americans, but this was the case only in the public identification condition ( $b = 0.94, SE = 0.26, p = .001$ ), and not in the private identification condition ( $b = -0.12, SE = 0.30, p = .68$ ).

**Implicit attitudes.** Signal detection analysis was used to analyze data from the GNAT. Participants’ ability to differentiate signal from noise was captured by  $d'$ . When stimuli designated as signal are strongly associated in participants’ mind (e.g., Polish + Good) the task should be subjectively easier, participants should make fewer errors, and the  $d'$  should be large. In contrast, when stimuli designated as signal are weakly associated in participants’ mind (e.g., Chinese + Good) the task should be subjectively more difficult, participants should make more errors, and  $d'$  should be smaller. In sum, larger  $d'$  indicates more favorable attitudes toward the group.

**Implicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans.** Multiple regression analyses revealed a significant interaction between national identification and ethnic identity expression on implicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans ( $b = -0.53, SE = 0.22, p = .016, \Delta R^2 = .058$ ; Figure 4). Specifically, in the public condition, White participants’ national identification predicted less favorable

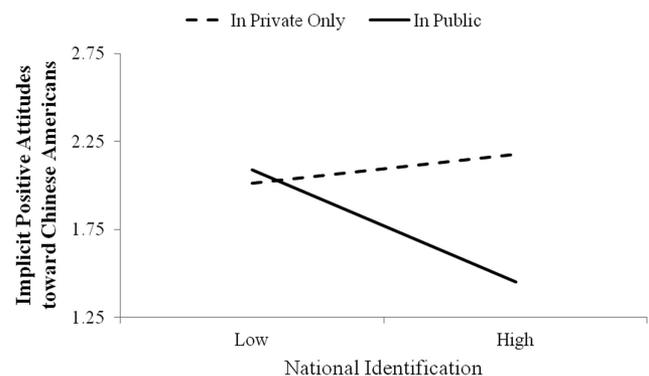


Figure 4. Implicit positive attitudes toward Chinese Americans as a function of national identification and type of ethnic identity expression.

implicit attitudes ( $b = -0.42$ ,  $SE = 0.17$ ,  $p = .017$ ). However, in the private condition, White participants' national identification was unrelated to implicit attitudes toward Chinese Americans ( $b = 0.11$ ,  $SE = 0.13$ ,  $p = .41$ ).

**Implicit attitudes toward Polish Americans.** Supporting our prediction that national identification will have no impact on implicit attitudes toward Polish Americans irrespective of whether they embrace their ethnic identity in public or private, we found no significant interaction between White participants' national identification and target individuals' ethnic identity expression on implicit attitudes toward Polish Americans ( $b = -0.17$ ,  $SE = 0.30$ ,  $p = .57$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .004$ ). White participants' national identification was unrelated to implicit attitudes toward Polish Americans in both the public ( $b = -0.21$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $p = .29$ ), and private ( $b = -0.04$ ,  $SE = 0.22$ ,  $p = .84$ ) conditions.

In sum, Study 2 revealed that at a conscious level, White perceivers' identification with the national group predicted more negative attitudes toward both White and non-White ethnic groups when a small subset of individuals from these groups spoke a language other than English in public places relative to when they did so in the privacy of their home. However, at an unconscious level, White perceivers' national identification only predicted more bias against a non-White ethnic group whose members spoke a language other than English in public places. National identification had no effect on White perceivers' implicit attitudes toward a White ethnic group regardless of whether they had seen a subset of individuals from the group speak a language other than English in public or private.

### General Discussion

The current research examines how perceivers' national identification impacts attitudes toward White and non-White ethnic groups whose members embrace their ethnic heritage in public versus private spaces. Across two studies, our data reveal that national identification leads to more negative attitudes toward both White and non-White ethnic outgroups when a subset of individuals from these groups emphasize their ethnic identity in public spheres, but not when such individuals confine their ethnic identification to the privacy of their home. These effects emerge for both White and non-White target groups at the explicit or conscious level. However, at an implicit or unconscious level, perceivers' national identification influences their attitudes toward non-White, but not White ethnic groups. These findings suggest that while social norms may motivate perceivers to consciously hold White and non-White ethnic groups to the same standard (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sears, Henry, & Kosterman, 2000) regarding the acceptability of ethnic identity expression, the prototype of American nationality as White (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010) unconsciously grants White ethnics the liberty to express ethnic identity in any context without it having any consequences for perceivers' implicit attitudes toward their entire group.

These findings advance research examining the relationship between social identification and intergroup attitudes (e.g., Brown, 2000) by examining the impact of perceivers' own social (national) identification on their reactions to others' expressions of ethnic identity. Recent research suggests that ingroup identification does not uniformly lead to ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation and the

relation between group identification and outgroup attitudes is moderated by several factors, including threats to the ingroup and national definitions (e.g., Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Voci, 2006). The present findings lends support to that idea by demonstrating that identification with the national group only leads to more negative attitudes toward ethnic outgroups in contexts where ethnic identity is expressed in public places since such expressions may threaten the values, distinctiveness, and status quo of the nation (cf. Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012; Zárate et al., 2012). However, the extent to which perceivers identify with the national group has no bearing on their attitudes toward both White and non-White ethnic groups whose members embrace their ethnic heritage in the privacy of their home potentially because such expressions do not challenge the status quo or mainstream norms and values. These findings further recent work on ethnic identity expression (e.g., Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Kaiser & Spalding, 2013; Yogeeswaran et al., 2011, 2012) by demonstrating that perceivers' own strength of identification with their national group influences how they perceive and respond to ethnic identity expressions among White and non-White groups. These findings suggest that opposition toward ethnic clothing, bilingualism, and other expressions of ethnic identification in public spaces may specifically occur when White individuals are strongly identified with the national group and not so much among individuals who are weakly identified with the nation. Citizens strongly identified with their national group may be especially sensitive to potential threats to the status quo and national prototype thereby retaliating against any cue perceived as a threat.

### Limitations and Future Directions

One avenue for future research is to examine what specific types of threat may underlie the reason that public expressions of ethnic identity elicit more prejudice toward ethnic subgroups. We believe that public expressions are not only threatening to the norms, values, and distinctiveness of the national group (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011, 2012), but they also challenge the status quo and people's desire to engage in cultural inertia and avoid change (Zárate & Shaw, 2010; Zárate et al., 2012; also see Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). In contrast, private expressions of ethnic identity have little impact on mainstream norms, values, and the status quo because they do not bleed into broader society. While some research demonstrates that ingroup identification leads to outgroup prejudice only under threats to the value and distinctiveness of the ingroup (e.g., Voci, 2006), it is unclear whether only a specific type of threat (e.g., distinctiveness, status, etc.) or combinations of these are at play in the present work.

Another area for future exploration involves distinguishing what form of national identification predicts outgroup attitudes. Recent work distinguishes between attachment to one's national group and glorification of one's national group (e.g., Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006). Does national attachment or glorification predict evaluations in the present context? Our measure of national identification mostly resembles a measure of national attachment suggesting that future work may wish to test the impact of national glorification on attitudes toward ethnic outgroups whose members embrace ethnic identity in public versus private spaces.

Another question of interest is whether the current findings would generalize to all White and non-White ethnic groups or if it

is specific to a smaller subset of target groups. Given the strong implicit tendency for Americans of all races to perceive Whites as more legitimately American than ethnic minorities (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010), it may be the case that all White ethnic groups are given the liberty of expressing ethnic identity in public without implicitly facing a backlash for doing so. However, if perceivers use characteristics other than race in their construal of the national prototype (e.g., secular clothing, Christian faith), they may also implicitly reject White ethnic groups whose members publicly embrace cultural identities that challenge the status quo and deviate from such a national prototype (e.g., Orthodox Jews wearing traditional clothing). The current research provides a starting point for many such future explorations.

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