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Conceptions of national identity in a globalised world: Antecedents and consequences

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The emergence of nation states is a relatively recent phenomenon in human history. Yet its impact on everyday life is ubiquitous. The purpose of the present article is to synthesise research from several social science disciplines to identify similarities and differences between legal and structural definitions of nation states studied by political scientists and historians and psychological conceptions of nation states studied by social psychologists. Using a social psychological lens, we investigate how nation states as political institutions influence psychological conceptions of national identity and how these conceptions have unique effects on perceivers' attitudes, behaviour, and inclusion of diverse ethnic groups within the nation. Four research questions guide this article. First, how do modern nation states define citizenship legally and to what extent do these definitions fit psychological conceptions of nationality that individuals report explicitly or implicitly? Second, to what extent do these implicit and explicit conceptions of national identity influence majority group members' actions and decisions in both positive and negative directions? Third, what types of perceiver characteristics (e.g., national identification, political ideology, status, social dominance) influence attitudes, behaviour, and inclusion of ethnic minorities and immigrants? And finally, in what ways do conceptions of nationality impact the self-concept and well-being of ethnic minorities and immigrants within a nation? We summarise extant research that addresses each question and conclude by identifying unanswered questions and avenues for future work.

Keywords: National identity; Implicit vs. explicit; Ethnic vs. civic; Ethnic diversity; Intergroup relations.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF NATIONS

Contemporary historians, political scientists, and sociologists view nations and nationhood as socio-historical constructions or hypothetical constructs; not natural kinds that are primordial in origin and static over time (Anderson, 1983; Brubaker, 1994, 2004a; see also Smith, 2008, 2001). Nations are cultural artefacts that are relatively young in historical time. They started emerging at the end of the eighteenth century because of the confluence of specific social and historical forces. Once some nations had cropped up, the general process of nation creation spread to other regions of the world where they merged with local political and ideological constellations specific to the region. The best way to understand the invention of nations is by comparing it with two cultural systems that preceded it—religious communities and dynasties (Anderson, 1983). These two cultural systems, in their heyday, were taken for granted as frames of reference, very much as nationality is today. Religious communities were originally bound by sacred symbols and sacred languages; dynastic rule comprised kingdoms whose legitimacy derived from divinity not from their subjects. Kingdoms organised everything around a high centre and expanded by warfare and dynastic marriages that brought together diverse populations under new auspices.

In the sixteenth century the advent of significant changes in print technology, travel, and colonial conquest started the demise of sacred languages and the fragmentation, pluralisation, and territorialisation of sacred communities. The invention of print technology allowed knowledge and new ideas to be written down, cheaply reproduced, and disseminated in vernacular languages to new markets. With greater dissemination of ideas through print technology, colonial conquest, and travel, even the most committed followers of specific religions had to contend with the pluralism of religions. The subsequent advent of the Age of Enlightenment (1700–1800) and Age of Revolution (1775–1848) further weakened the legitimacy of divinely ordained social structures as well as hierarchical social structures.

The disintegration of the two prior cultural systems created an opening for a new form of community and set the stage for the modern nation. Anderson (1983) defines the nation as an *imagined political community* that is *limited* and *sovereign*. It is *imagined* because the national group is large enough that its members will never know all fellow members, yet each individual member identifies with their nation and feels a sense of connection with other members within the nation. The nation is also *limited* because no matter how big it is and how large the population, every nation has finite boundaries beyond which lie other nations—boundaries that define who is “us” and who is “them”. The nation is also imagined to be *sovereign or free*. And finally, it is an *imagined community*, which is to say regardless of actual inequality that may exist in a nation, it is envisioned in ideal form as a horizontal fraternity. It is this fraternity that makes

it possible for millions of people to feel a deep sense of attachment to their nation and to be willing to die for this imagined community.

THE ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGY IN ILLUMINATING CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Research on nations as political institutions has remained fairly disconnected from the psychology of nations—specifically, how nations as political institutions influence psychological conceptions of nationality in individuals' minds that, in turn, influence their judgements and actions (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Yet nationality expresses itself in banal everyday ways in individuals' psychological experiences (Billig, 1995, 1996) as well as in emotional and extreme ways (Hooghe, 1992; see also Gellner, 1994; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). It is the frame of reference taken for granted in everyday life as one scans the news, thinks about the state of the economy, buys or avoids products depending on where they are made, or considers which political candidate to support. The importance of psychological conceptions of nationality is implied in Anderson's (1983) definition of the nation as an imagined political community where one feels psychologically connected to other group members and perceives a common fate with them.

The overarching purpose of the present article is to synthesise existing research from multiple disciplines on nations as political institutions in order to articulate the various ways in which nationality is represented in individuals' minds, which in turn influence individuals' attitudes, behaviour, and decision making. Four research questions guide this article, which are visually illustrated in Figure 1. First, how do modern nation states define citizenship legally and to what extent do these definitions fit psychological conceptions of nationality? As illustrated in Figure 1, research shows that our conceptions of national identity sometimes emphasise common ethnic ancestry among citizens and at other times emphasise common values and responsibilities among citizens. Moreover, these conceptions of the national group are sometimes explicitly articulated by citizens, while at other times they are fairly implicit, revealing themselves only when measured indirectly. In the language of social psychology, people's conceptions of national character are essentially stereotypes, which may be *descriptive* in nature or "what is" (where citizens are viewed as prototypical based on observation) or they may be *prescriptive* in nature or "what should be" (where citizens are idealized as "true" citizens). Prescriptive stereotypes are ones that perceivers may be motivated to protect and defend. For example, a prescriptive national stereotype might involve the belief that there are ethnic, racial, or religious criteria that determine nationality irrespective of how long one has lived within a nation.

Second, to what extent do conceptions of the national identity influence majority group members' actions and decisions in both positive and negative ways? We describe research showing that perceiving one's nation in terms of

shared values among citizens produces positive actions towards individuals who are viewed as value-consistent even if they are dissimilar from the self on other dimensions (e.g., ethnic minorities and immigrants). However, perceiving one's nation in terms of shared ethnic culture among citizens produces positive actions towards individual citizens who fit that definition (e.g., ethnic majority in the nation) but negative actions towards other citizens who don't fit that definition (e.g., ethnic minorities and immigrants). Perceivers are sometimes aware of how their construal of nationality affects their actions and decisions, but at other times they are fairly unaware (see Figure 1).

Third, how do individual differences in perceivers' characteristics shape the impact of psychological conceptions of the national identity on intergroup outcomes? We describe research showing the ways in which perceivers' strength of national identification and their political ideology influence how conceptions of their nation impact attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour. In other words, individual characteristics of perceivers interact with conceptions of the national identity to shape majority group members' attitudes, behaviour, and judgements of ethnic minorities and immigrants (see Figure 1).

Finally, how do psychological conceptions of nationality impact self-conceptions and the well-being of ethnic minorities and immigrants within the nation? We describe research showing how individuals who are minorities or immigrants

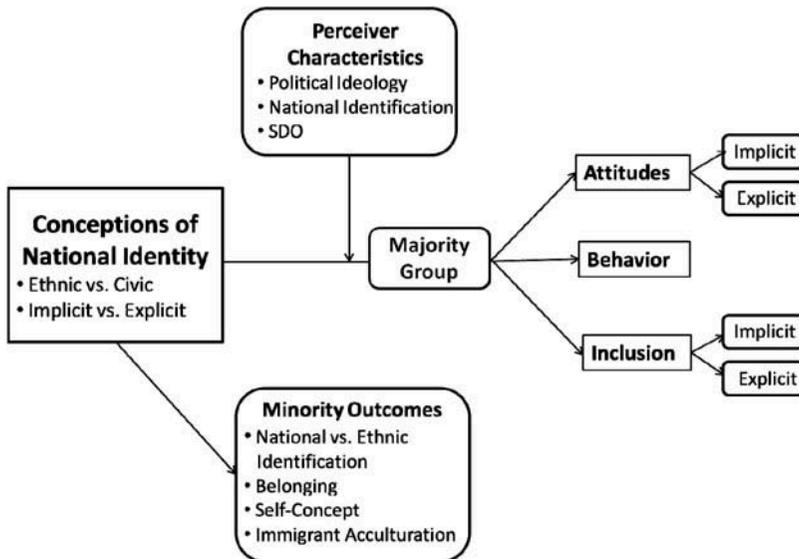


Figure 1. Integrated model of national identity conceptions on: (a) majority group members' attitudes, behaviour, and inclusion of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the nation; and (b) minority group members' well-being and self-conceptions.

negotiate their sense of self as they strive for belonging in the national group (see Figure 1). The sections that follow unpack these complex literatures. At the end of this article we raise questions and issues that are unresolved and ripe for future work.

VARYING DEFINITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: HOW DO LEGAL DEFINITIONS FIT PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONHOOD?

A simple and logical way to determine who belongs in a country is by referring to legal definitions of citizenship and immigration laws that determine who is permitted in the country (Dasgupta & Yogeewaran, 2011). Although one might rely on such legal conceptions of nationhood to determine who belongs in the country, research has shown that people's subjective beliefs about nationality are not always based on such clear-cut definitions of national belongingness, but rather on prototypes or perceptions of the most typical representative of the group (e.g., Barsalou, 1985; Rosch & Mervis, 1975). Research emerging from the social identity perspective (Abrams, Hogg, & Marques, 2005; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) argues that the prototype of the ingroup accentuates boundaries between ingroups and outgroups, allowing people to maintain a clear distinction between "us" and "them". This prototype, therefore, allows people to feel that their ingroup is positively distinctive from other related outgroups, thereby fulfilling a core motivational need for positive ingroup distinctiveness (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). In the context of national groups this implies that, although nations have legal definitions for who belongs in the country and who doesn't, these may or may not line up with psychological prototypes of who belongs in the country.

Around the world, legal definitions of who belongs can be found in citizenship laws which are often classified to reflect two primary principles—*jus sanguinis* (right of blood) and *jus soli* (right of soil; Levanon & Lewin-Epstein, 2010; Pehrson & Green, 2010). According to a *jus sanguinis* model of citizenship, national belongingness is based on descent or heritage from a particular group. Citizenship is therefore granted to any individual if they possess particular bloodlines or cultural heritage (e.g., Ireland, Israel, Greece, and Bulgaria). In contrast, citizenship in the *jus soli* model is based on birth in a territory of the country. According to this model, citizenship in such a nation is granted to any individual regardless of their heritage as long as they are born within the national territories (e.g., USA, Canada, Argentina, and Guyana). In recent years, some nations have begun to utilise a combination of these two models by offering citizenship to individuals born within the nation only if the individual also has some heritage in the country. For example, some nations (e.g., New Zealand, South Africa, UK, and Australia) now grant citizenship to an individual born in the country only if at least one parent is a citizen or resident of

the country. In addition to these central categories of citizenship, many countries also follow a principle of *jus domicile* (right of residence) which entitles people who have legal residence in a country for a certain period of time to gain citizenship through a process of naturalisation (e.g., USA, New Zealand, Sweden, Chile; Levanon & Lewin-Epstein, 2010).

These different models of citizenship are often embedded in particular psychological conceptions of nationhood. In the social sciences, much research going back several decades has argued that nations can be broadly defined in civic or ethnic terms (e.g., Brubaker, 2009, 2004b; Smith, 2008, 2001, 1991). Ethnic national identity refers to nations defined by shared ethnicity and ancestry. According to such a conception of nationality, only people with ancestral blood ties to the nation grounded in descent, religion, language, or culture qualify for national belongingness. Nations by this definition are fixed and seen as natural entities that reflect a particular group (e.g., Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; Janmaat, 2006; Pehrson & Green, 2010; Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012). By contrast, civic national identity refers to countries defined by political membership and subscription to specific rights, responsibilities, and ideals. According to this conception of nationality, citizens who embrace certain values and institutions and are willing to engage in public life can be considered part of the nation. Nations are therefore seen as a political community where citizens share common ideals, rights, and responsibilities (Bloemraad et al., 2008; Janmaat, 2006; Pehrson & Green, 2010; Smith, 2001; Wright et al., 2012).

Although nations can be conceived as having either an ethnic or civic conception of national identity (e.g., Germany vs. France; Brubaker, 1992), in some cases people in the same country can endorse both civic and ethnic conceptions of nationality simultaneously. For example, Americans simultaneously tend to endorse a civic national identity (e.g., emphasising the importance of respecting America's institutions and laws, working for the betterment of one's community, treating people fairly, freedom of speech, etc.) alongside a belief in a more ethnic national identity (e.g., having European ancestors, being Christian, speaking English, etc.; Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dittmann, Purdie-Vaughns, & Eibach, 2011; Schildkraut, 2007). Similarly, in New Zealand and Scotland, people tend to endorse both civic and ethnic conceptions of their national group simultaneously (Sibley, Hoverd, & Liu, 2011; Wakefield et al., 2011). These varied findings suggest that although psychological conceptions of a nation may sometimes map onto legal definitions of citizenship, these might diverge at other times.

Although the ethnic versus civic conceptions of nationality have been used to describe national identity in many parts of the world, their use has been challenged or refined to reflect a broader reality. For example, Smith (1991) argued that instead of viewing the ethnic versus civic dimensions as two separate ones, they might instead be better used to reflect two poles of the same dimension. Others have argued that the ethnic versus civic distinction has been simplified to

suggest that the ethnic conception is exclusive while the civic is inclusive when they can be deconstructed further to capture elements of the other. For example, while an ethnic conception may include characteristics that outgroup members cannot gain, such as ancestry or race, it can also be based on other characteristics such as shared language and religion which an outgroup member can theoretically gain (for a summary, see Janmaat, 2006). Similarly, while a civic national identity has been taken to imply values of liberalism and democracy, some countries in Latin America have actually struggled with military dictatorships in the past despite their civic conceptions of nationality (Janmaat, 2006; also see Wright, 2011; Wright et al., 2012). Despite the limitations of the ethnic versus civic conceptions of nationality, this distinction has been quite useful in providing a framework for understanding the psychological nature of nationality.

Implicit and explicit construals of nationality

Although people may consciously possess ethnic or civic conceptions of what it takes to be a “true” member of the national group, these perceptions of who belongs in the country can differ depending on whether one assesses such sentiments explicitly or implicitly. Specifically, conscious thoughts about national belonging using self-report measures sometimes diverge from implicit or unconscious thoughts about national identity assessed using reaction time tools such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) or a Go/No-Go Association Task (GNAT; Nosek & Banaji, 2001). Over the last few decades much social psychological work has explored the nature and consequences of implicit social cognition in everyday life (for reviews, see Dasgupta, 2004; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009; Nosek et al., 2007).

In the context of nationality, such research has begun to show that people’s conscious beliefs about who belongs in their country may sometimes converge with their implicit or unconscious beliefs, while at other times they may diverge considerably. For example, in the American context, although people may endorse principles that support a civic conception of national identity, nationality is implicitly granted to some ethnic groups more easily than others suggesting a more ethnic conception of nationality (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Devos & Ma, 2008; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, Adelman, Eccleston, & Parker, 2011; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, & Gomez, 2012). For example, when a sample of mostly White American participants were asked to define what makes someone a true American, they tended to endorse a number of civic national identity statements such as “vote in elections”, “respect America’s political institutions and laws”, etc. (Devos & Banaji, 2005). However, across a number of studies, both majority White Americans and even some ethnic minority Americans (Hispanic and Asian American, but not Black Americans) show a strong implicit

association between American nationality and White ethnicity, suggesting a more ethnic conception of national identity (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Ma, 2008; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010).

Furthermore, people's explicit and implicit beliefs about national belongingness vary as a function of which ethnic minority group is being evaluated. For example, when White Americans were explicitly asked to rate how strongly they associate Black versus White Americans with American nationality, they rated both groups as equally American. However, when their implicit sentiments were measured using an IAT, these same participants perceived Whites to be more strongly associated with American nationality than Blacks (Devos & Banaji, 2005). At other times, explicit and implicit beliefs about these groups' national belongingness converge. For example, both White and Asian American participants explicitly and implicitly rated East Asian¹ Americans to be less authentically American than Whites (even when explicitly told that they are all U.S. citizens) regardless of whether such sentiments were assessed using self-report questionnaires or an IAT (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Ma, 2008; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). These effects emerge even when assessing implicit associations with nationality among famous White and East Asian individuals (Devos & Ma, 2008). For example, both White and non-White Americans explicitly rated an East Asian American celebrity (Lucy Liu) as more American than a British celebrity (Kate Winslet), suggesting that they consciously recognised Lucy Liu as American and Kate Winslet as British. However, when such sentiments were assessed indirectly using a GNAT, Lucy Liu was implicitly perceived to be less American than Kate Winslet, especially when they were categorised on the basis of their ethnic identity (i.e., East Asian vs. White faces with American vs. Foreign symbols) rather than their personal identity (Lucy Liu vs. Kate Winslet with American vs. Foreign symbols; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Ma, 2008).

Several studies now demonstrate that Whites are implicitly perceived to be more American than Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and even Native Americans (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Ma, 2008; Devos et al., 2010; Nosek et al., 2007; Yogeeswaran, Adelman, Parker, & Dasgupta, 2014, 2012, 2011; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Using a process dissociation procedure, research reveals that the tendency to perceive Whites as more authentically American than ethnic minorities is driven by an automatic accessibility bias suggesting that associations between ethnicity and American identity come to mind effortlessly and with little awareness (Devos & Heng, 2009).

¹ The term East Asian in this research generally refers to people of Chinese, Japanese, or Korean descent. However, the term Asian American is often broadly used to describe people from any part of Asia including South Asia (e.g., India, Pakistan), South East Asia (e.g., Philippines, Vietnam), as well as East Asia (e.g., China, Japan).

Data from other nations further illuminate our understanding of the nature and meaning of these implicit national associations. For example, data from New Zealand reveals that White New Zealanders equally associate both White European New Zealanders (Pakeha) and indigenous New Zealanders (Maori) with “New Zealand” national identity (Sibley & Barlow, 2009; Sibley & Liu, 2007). Although Maori represent a similar-sized population of New Zealand as Black and Hispanic Americans in the USA, White Americans are alone seen as prototypical of American national identity, while Maori are equally included within New Zealand national identity, suggesting that these prototypes are not simply a reflection of the numerical status of the group. Similarly, data comparing implicit national identity in Australia and New Zealand reveal that White Australians tend to implicitly perceive White Australians as being more prototypically “Australian” than the Aboriginal or indigenous people of Australia, while New Zealanders implicitly perceive both Maori and White New Zealanders as equally defining of the nation state (Sibley & Barlow, 2009). These findings may reflect differences in their symbolic representation within the nation as the indigenous peoples in both Australia and New Zealand continue to be disadvantaged socially and economically. In fact, data reveal that the more New Zealanders support the symbolic incorporation of Maori within the national identity (e.g., support for singing the national anthem in both English and Maori, performing the Haka at international sports events, using Maori greeting ceremonies at formal events, etc.), the more they tend to have bicultural associations where both Maori and White European ethnicity are equally associated with the national identity (Sibley, Liu, & Khan, 2010).

Taken together, these results suggest that implicit conceptions of who authentically belongs in the country might not relate simply to which group is in the majority or which group has indigenous status, but rather which groups are symbolically represented within the national identity. As a case in point, Asian New Zealanders are implicitly perceived to be less-authentic members of the nation even though they represent a comparable population size to Maori in New Zealand (Sibley & Liu, 2007). Implicit conceptions of who belongs in the country are therefore strongly grounded in symbolic representations of different ethnic groups within the nation state (see Sibley et al., 2010).

HOW DO VARYING CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONALITY INFLUENCE ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOUR, AND INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES AND IMMIGRANTS IN THE NATION?

Implicit and explicit beliefs about the prototypical citizen impact attitudes, behaviour, and political support

Are beliefs about who belongs in the country simply private cognitions that remain confined to one’s mind, or do they impact one’s attitudes and behaviour

towards others? Some of our early research (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010) began to explore this question by examining whether the extent to which majority group members implicitly perceive ethnic minorities as being authentically American predicts their behaviour and judgements towards ethnic minority members of the nation. In our first two studies White American undergraduates signed up for two allegedly unrelated studies separated by a week. In the first session they completed a demographics questionnaire and a self-report questionnaire assessing the extent to which they perceived White and East Asian Americans in general to be patriotic and loyal to the country. Participants in this first session also completed an IAT assessing the extent to which they implicitly associated White versus East Asian American faces with American symbols (e.g., US flag, bald eagle, Statue of Liberty) versus foreign symbols (e.g., Italian flag, Swedish coat of arms, Pyramids).

A week later the same participants returned to a different lab where they were provided with a job description for a forensic analyst position at either the National Security Agency (NSA) or a private corporation (PriceWaterhouseCooper). The job descriptions were identical with the sole exception that the NSA position also asked that the candidate had unquestionable loyalty to the USA (language taken directly from real job descriptions posted on the NSA's website). After reading the job description, participants were provided with résumés for five equally qualified individuals who were allegedly shortlisted for the job. Three résumés included European American names (e.g., Allen McMillan, Susan Cutting), while two others had East Asian American names (e.g., Sung Chang, Meilin Huang). To ensure that participants knew that all these candidates were U.S. citizens by birth, all résumés included information on place of birth, and explicitly stated that the candidate was a U.S. citizen. Participants were then asked to evaluate each of these candidates and rank them in order of preference for either the job in national security or a private corporation (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010).

Across two studies, data revealed that the more White majority group members implicitly associated White relative to East Asian faces with American nationality, the less likely they were to hire qualified East Asian American candidates (relative to equally qualified White American candidates) for the job in national security. However, the extent to which participants implicitly associated White versus East Asian faces with American nationality had no relation to participants' ranking of White versus East Asian candidates for an identical position at a private corporation (see [Figure 2](#)). This tendency to discriminate against Asian American candidates was mediated by greater doubts about the national loyalty of Asian Americans as an ethnic group (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). These findings suggest that even though these beliefs about who is prototypical of the nation are implicit and automatic, they predict a more deliberate process such as job hiring.

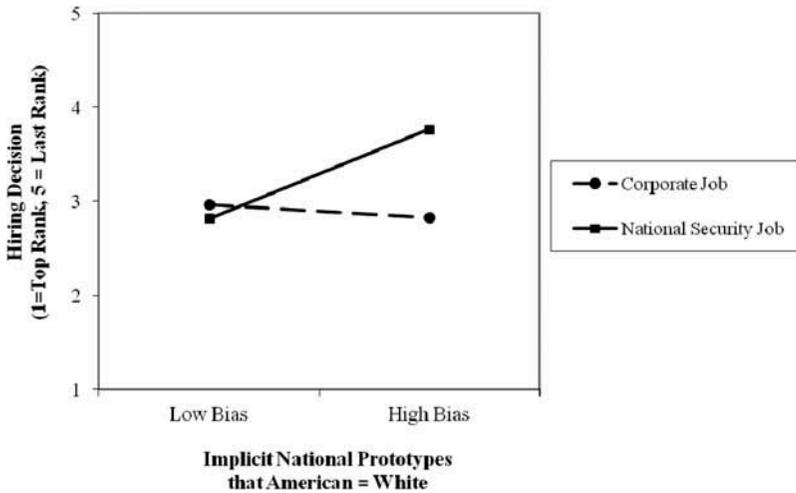


Figure 2. Implicit beliefs about the prototypical American predict willingness to hire East Asian American candidates for a national security job vs. private corporation job. © 2010 by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc. Reproduced from Yogeewaran and Dasgupta (2010) with permission of << SAGE Publications Ltd.>>/<< SAGE Publications, Inc.>>., All rights reserved. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.

Building on these findings, other recent work has examined the impact of these implicit beliefs about national belonging on voting intentions in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. Across four studies using American undergraduates from all races, Devos and Ma (2013) measured the extent to which Barack Obama was implicitly perceived to be American relative to Tony Blair (someone clearly not American), Hillary Clinton, and John McCain using several different IATs. They also measured the extent to which Barack Obama was explicitly perceived to be American relative to Tony Blair, Hillary Clinton, and John McCain using self-report measures. After completing these measures, participants indicated the extent to which they would support Obama's candidacy. Across several studies, data revealed that the extent to which Obama was implicitly perceived to be American (relative to Clinton, McCain, and Blair) predicted increased willingness to vote for him and donate to his campaign. Similarly, the extent to which Obama was explicitly perceived to be American relative to others predicted greater willingness to vote for Obama and donate to his campaign (Devos & Ma, 2013).

Collectively, these studies demonstrate that implicit and explicit beliefs that certain ethnic groups are more prototypical of the nation than others have consequences for people's behaviour and judgements towards these minority groups. From these data we know that perceptions of who authentically belongs in the country predict whom people are willing to hire for jobs that require national loyalty and their willingness to support particular political candidates.

Ethnic vs. civic conceptions of nationality influence reactions towards ethnic minorities and immigrants

While the above research demonstrates that the extent to which individual's perceive specific ethnic groups to be part of the nation has important consequences, other research has examined how broader conceptions of the nation in ethnic vs. civic terms impact how majority group members feel, behave, and include ethnic minorities and immigrants within the national group. For example, across several studies, Wakefield et al. (2011) made the civic or ethnic national identity of Scotland salient and examined its impact on majority group members' evaluations, behaviour, and inclusion of ethnic minority targets within Scotland. In Wakefield et al.'s first study, White Scottish undergraduates were made to think of Scottish national identity in either civic or ethnic terms by randomly assigning them to look over a list of nominees allegedly shortlisted for the award of "Scot of the Year". The list included either a monocultural set of names (all White Scottish), or included an ethnically diverse group of names (both White and non-White Scottish). Participants then read an interview with an audience member at the awards ceremony who was either of White or Chinese ethnicity. This individual was introduced as a teacher from Scotland who in the interview criticises certain aspects of Scottish society. All participants then completed measures of participants' reception of the target's criticism, perceptions of the target's Scottishness, and the importance of various criteria for being considered Scottish. Data revealed that participants exposed to a civic national identity were significantly more receptive of criticism of Scotland from a person of Chinese descent and perceived this individual to be more Scottish compared to those exposed to an ethnic conception of Scottish identity. Moreover, this effect was mediated by the extent to which participants perceived the Chinese heritage target to be authentically Scottish. However, civic versus ethnic conceptions of national identity had no differential impact on participants' reaction towards a White target that was critical of Scotland (Wakefield et al., 2011).

In a later study, White Scottish undergraduates were exposed to a civic or ethnic conception of Scottish national identity. Following this manipulation, participants witnessed a Chinese-descent Scot allegedly drop some items, and researchers measured the number of items participants helped to retrieve. Similar to the earlier study, the extent to which participants perceived the confederate to be Scottish was also measured. Data revealed that participants exposed to a civic national identity engaged in more helping behaviour towards the Chinese-heritage target in need of assistance than those exposed to an ethnic conception of the national identity. Furthermore, this increased helping was mediated by greater inclusion of the target within the Scottish national identity (Wakefield et al., 2011).

In other work, conceptions of one's nation in ethnic versus civic terms have been found to impact reactions towards immigrants who express differing motivations for becoming a citizen. For example, in one study American and German

undergraduates read a transcript of an interview with an immigrant who justified obtaining American or German citizenship for affective reasons (e.g., “I am proud to be American/German”; “The way I am, I feel American/German and I am glad that in the law, now I am”) or pragmatic reasons (e.g., “I decided to become an American/German citizen because American/German citizenship makes it easier for me to travel worldwide”). American participants tended to reject the immigrant target to a greater extent when the individual emphasised pragmatic as opposed to affective reasons for becoming an American citizen since it violated the civic ideology of American nationality. However, German participants rejected the immigrant target to a greater extent when the individual emphasised affective as opposed to pragmatic reasons for becoming a German citizen, presumably because it violated the ethnic heritage-based conception of German nationality (Ditlmann et al., 2011).

Some of our own research in the American context has further advanced our understanding of when and why majority group members may include or exclude ethnic minorities from the national group. Across several studies we examined how emphasising ethnic groups’ fit or lack thereof with the ethnic vs. civic conceptions of American national identity impacts the implicit and explicit inclusion of ethnic groups within the nation state (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). Additionally, we investigated the psychological processes underlying these effects by (a) testing whether exposure to ethnic minorities who exemplify the civic conception of national identity bolsters perceptions of America’s uniqueness in the world (thereby enhancing national distinctiveness); and (b) testing whether exposure to ethnic minorities whose lack of fit with the ethnic conception of national identity is made salient threatens mainstream norms, values, and ideals (thereby threatening perceptions of national distinctiveness). We examined if such enhancement or threat to national identity motivates greater inclusion vs. exclusion of ethnic minorities from the nation.

In a first study, White American undergraduates were exposed to biographical descriptions of six East Asian American or six White American individuals who made significant contributions to the country (thereby promoting their fit with the civic prototype of American national identity). These individuals were scientists, government officials, military personnel, or journalists who all clearly contributed to the betterment of the country. Within these biographies, half of all participants were provided with information suggesting that these individuals had strong ties to their ethnic heritage (e.g., “... Some of his fondest childhood memories come from dinner conversations with his parents and siblings in Japanese [German]. As a child, his parents always encouraged him to speak Japanese [German] as a way of preserving his Japanese [German] heritage. Eric [Peter] believes that this emphasis has helped him maintain a connection to his ethnic heritage.”). The other half of participants were told nothing about the targets’ ethnic identification (e.g., “... Some of his fondest childhood memories come from dinner conversations with his parents and siblings. As a child, his parents always encouraged him to grow his vocabulary and

communicate effectively. Eric [Peter] believes that this emphasis has helped him in his professional career.”). All participants were then asked to complete an IAT measuring the extent to which they implicitly associated East Asian versus White faces with American versus foreign symbols. Data revealed that exposure to East Asian targets who embraced their ethnic heritage reduced the extent to which their ethnic group was implicitly included within the national identity relative to when no information about their ethnic allegiance was provided. By contrast, exposure to White Americans who embraced their ethnic heritage had no impact on the extent to which their group was considered legitimately American, suggesting that embracing ethnic heritage is costly for ethnic minorities who do not fit with the ethnic conception of American nationality, but such consequences do not emerge for White Americans embracing their ethnic heritage (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012).

In a later study we simultaneously manipulated the extent to which ethnic minorities were seen as fitting or violating both the civic and ethnic conception of American national identity. To do so, White American undergraduates were randomly assigned to read biographies of six Hispanic Americans who were in similar professional domains as the ones used before. However, this time we simultaneously manipulated two independent variables to promote their fit or lack of fit with both the ethnic versus civic conception of national identity. First, these individuals were either described as embracing their ethnic heritage (similar to the previous study) or no such information about ethnic identification was made salient. Orthogonally we manipulated the extent to which these individuals were seen as fulfilling the civic conception of national identity by either framing their professional contributions as benefiting the national group as a whole or only their local community such as their workplace, city, or neighbourhood (i.e., national service vs. local service). After reading these biographies, participants completed two measures capturing the extent to which they perceived these individuals to be enhancing versus threatening America’s distinctiveness in the world. Participants finally completed an IAT measuring the extent to which participants implicitly associated Hispanic versus White faces with American versus foreign symbols and a measure assessing the extent to which Hispanic Americans were explicitly seen as American.

Data revealed that exposing White participants to Hispanic Americans who engage in national service by working for the betterment of the country (emphasising fit with the civic conception of national identity) increased implicit inclusion of Hispanic Americans as a group within the nation relative to emphasising their contributions to their local community alone (see [Figure 3](#)). This tendency to implicitly and explicitly include ethnic minorities was mediated by the extent to which these individuals were seen as bolstering America’s uniqueness in the world (i.e., enhancing national distinctiveness). A similar pattern of results emerged when using explicit inclusion of Hispanics as the dependent measure. In contrast, exposing majority group members to Hispanic Americans who embrace their ethnic heritage (emphasising lack of fit with the ethnic conception

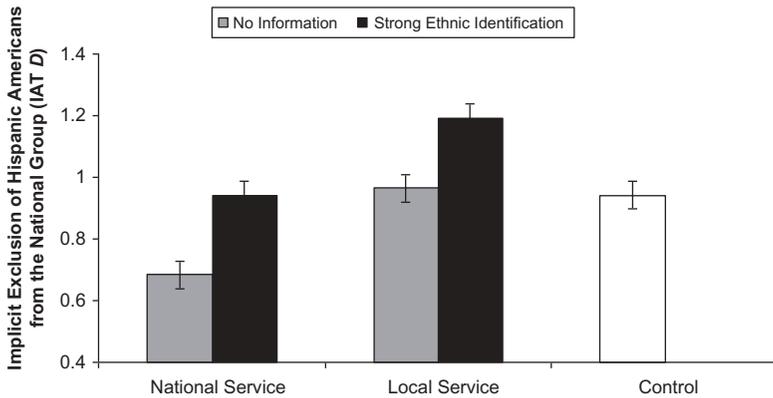


Figure 3. Effect of emphasising ethnic minorities' fit with civic vs. ethnic national identity on implicit exclusion of Hispanic Americans from the nation state. © 2012 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Reproduced from Yogeeswaran et al. (2012) with permission of John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., All rights reserved.

of national identity) led to greater implicit exclusion of the entire ethnic subgroup from the nation relative to playing down these targets' ethnic identification (see Figure 3). This increased exclusion was mediated by the extent to which these Hispanic American targets were seen as blurring the lines between what was American and foreign (i.e., threatening national distinctiveness; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). A similar pattern of results emerge when explicit inclusion of Hispanic Americans in the nation is used as the dependent measure instead.

A central theme evident in the above findings is that ethnic identification can be costly for minority groups, but not necessarily for majority groups. Other research further supports these findings. For example, across five studies, Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) demonstrated that simply emphasising minorities' identification with their racial/ethnic subgroup can lead to increased derogation and discrimination towards these minority individuals. For example, in one study White undergraduates were asked to complete an impression formation task where they were provided a questionnaire allegedly completed by another student whom they were asked to evaluate. This target was a Black male who appeared to show strong, moderate, or low ethnic identification as indicated by their self-reported responses on a questionnaire. Participants were then asked to self-report their attitudes towards the target on a series of measures. Data revealed that strongly identified Blacks were evaluated less favourably than both moderately and weakly identified Blacks (the latter two were not evaluated differently from each other). Later studies confirmed the same effect using Latino American targets as well.

In an analogous manner, Dovidio and colleagues (2010) demonstrated that White Americans expressed more positive attitudes and were more willing to

help a Black American target who emphasised his superordinate identity as a university student relative to when he emphasised his racial group membership alone (Black identity) or when he defined himself with both a racial group membership and university status (i.e., Black student; Dovidio et al., 2010). These findings suggest that expressing strong ethnic identity can be personally costly for minority individuals. Interestingly, neither White nor Black Americans showed differential levels of prejudice towards a European American target who was perceived to be strongly versus weakly identified with his Scottish heritage (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), further supporting the finding that strong ethnic identification is not costly for White majority group members.

Building on these findings, we wondered if strong ethnic identification among minority groups is costly in itself or if strong ethnic identification in certain contexts can be especially threatening to the majority group (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). Are people more reactive to expressions of ethnic identity that occur in public spaces, but not necessarily those that are maintained in the privacy of one's home? To test this question, a sample of predominantly White American undergraduates were randomly assigned to read biographies of six Native American individuals (three male and three female) who embraced their ethnic identity in public and private contexts, or in private contexts only—in the control condition participants read about six nature reserves. In the first two conditions the biographies of the Native American targets were identical, with the exception that the public expression condition framed each target as speaking their native language in both the privacy of their home and in public places among family and friends (e.g., "... Thomas continues speaking Lakota Sioux both at home and in public with his family and friends"). In the private expression condition we framed the context of ethnic identity expression as being limited to the privacy of one's home (e.g., "Although Thomas continues speaking in Lakota Sioux at home with his family and friends, he only speaks English when he is out in public.") Individuals in both conditions were specifically described as being strongly connected to their ethnic heritage (e.g., "Jim 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. The major difference was that the targets in the public expression condition used their ethnic language both at home and in public, while the private condition maintained it only at home. After reading these biographies, participants completed a self-report measure of the extent to which they explicitly perceived Native Americans as authentically American and a GNAT assessing the extent to which Native Americans were implicitly included within the national group. Data revealed that exposure to Native Americans who publicly expressed ethnic identity led to less inclusion of their entire ethnic group within the nation both implicitly and explicitly. This evidence is striking because even the original inhabitants of the USA are perceived to be less American for speaking a language other than English in public (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011).

In a subsequent study, a sample of mostly non-Polish White American undergraduates were exposed to biographies of either Chinese American or Polish American individuals who were seen as expressing ethnic identity in public spheres or only in the privacy of their home. We specifically chose Chinese and Polish Americans as the target group of interest since both groups immigrated to the USA in similarly large waves over the past 100 years. Participants in each of the experimental conditions received six biographies (three male and three female) of Polish or Chinese American individuals who were matched in physical appearance, age, sex, and the content of the biographies were identical with the exception of their cultural background. The manipulation of public and private expressions of ethnic identity was virtually identical to the previous study. Once again, participants' inclusion of each ethnic group was measured using a self-report measure and a GNAT to capture both explicit and implicit inclusion within the nation state (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011).

Data revealed that seeing both Polish Americans and Chinese Americans express ethnic identity in public places relative to private spaces led to greater exclusion of both groups at the explicit level (see Figure 4 Panels A and B). However, at an implicit or unconscious level, such public expressions of ethnic identity led to greater exclusion of only Chinese Americans as a group (Figure 4 Panel C), but this did not lead to greater exclusion of Polish Americans as an ethnic group (Figure 4 Panel D). These findings suggest that, at a conscious level, White majority and ethnic minority groups are held to the same standard on the costs of expressing ethnic identity—speaking a language other than English in public places elicits greater exclusion of the whole group. However, at an implicit or unconscious level, White majority group members are perceived as authentic members of the nation regardless of how and where they express their ethnic identity, while ethnic minorities are pushed farther away from the national identity when a subset of individuals from their group embrace ethnic identity in public spaces (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011).

Taken together, these findings suggest that emphasising an ethnic conception of national identity can lead to greater exclusion and less helping towards ethnic minorities. Moreover, expressions of ethnic identity can be costly for ethnic minorities (especially when expressed in public spheres) potentially because it highlights ethnic minorities' lack of fit with an ethnic conception of the national group. Highlighting ethnic identity for minorities may threaten the positive distinctiveness of the national group and challenge the status quo, leading to greater exclusion and prejudice of an ethnic minority group as a whole. By contrast, emphasising a civic conception of the national group and playing up ethnic minorities' fit with this conception of the nation helps increase inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national identity and promotes positive behaviour towards such individuals. Embracing ethnic identity for Whites or making salient an ethnic or civic conception of the national group does not seem to have any differential effect on inclusion, attitudes, or behaviour towards majority group

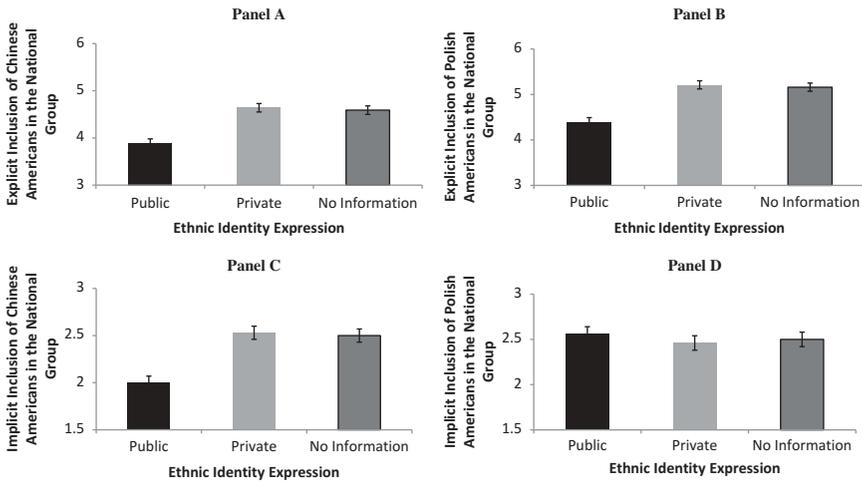


Figure 4. *Panel A.* Effect of public vs. private ethnic identification on explicit inclusion of Chinese Americans within the nation state. *Figure 4 Panel B.* Effect of public vs. private ethnic identification on explicit inclusion of Polish Americans within the nation state. *Figure 4 Panel C.* Effect of public vs. private ethnic identification on implicit inclusion of Chinese Americans within the nation state. *Figure 4 Panel D.* Effect of public vs. private ethnic identification on implicit inclusion of Polish Americans within the nation state.

members, possibly because people tend to automatically grant these individuals prototypical status in the nation.

DO PERCEIVER CHARACTERISTICS MODERATE THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CONCEPTIONS ON ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS ETHNIC MINORITIES AND IMMIGRANTS?

National identification

How do individual differences in perceivers' national identification and political ideology shape their reactions towards ethnic minorities and immigrants? Some research has examined the extent to which perceivers' national identification interacts with their conceptions of nationhood to shape their attitudes and behaviour towards ethnic minorities and immigrants. For example, using data from 31 nations, Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown (2009) found that the majority group members' national identification predicted greater anti-immigrant prejudice in countries where people held more ethnic conceptions of their nation (i.e., those believing that one must have ancestry in a nation to be a true member of the state). However, national identification did not predict anti-immigrant

prejudice in nations where majority group members maintained a civic conception of their national group (i.e., those believing that having citizenship alone qualifies one to be a true member of the state).

In a similar vein, Pehrson, Brown, and Zagefka (2009) also examined the extent to which adolescents' national identification predicted their attitudes and behavioural intentions towards asylum seekers and immigrants using a longitudinal cross-lagged design. In one study British school students completed a two-session study 6 weeks apart. In the first session, participants completed measures of national identification and national group essentialism (i.e., the extent to which participants believed that their national identity was natural, immutable, and blood-based). Six weeks later participants indicated their intention to support a hypothetical organisation that either prevented asylum seekers from living in the area or protected the rights of asylum seekers in the area, by indicating their willingness to sign a petition, write to their Member of Parliament, donate money to the group, or attend a demonstration held by that group. Data revealed that the more participants identified with the national group, the more support they expressed for an anti-asylum seeker group, but only among individuals who had moderate or high levels of essentialist beliefs that their national identity was blood-based. Similarly, strong national identification predicted decreased support for a group that protected the rights of asylum seekers among those with strong or moderate levels of beliefs that their national identity is blood-based and not among those with weaker beliefs that their national identity was blood-based (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka 2009).

Coming at this from a different angle, others have examined whether identification with an ethnic subgroup predicts the extent to which people hold an ethnic versus civic conception of their national group as a whole; an ethnic versus civic conception of the national group is in turn expected to further fuel anti-immigrant sentiments. Across two studies Meeus and colleagues (2010) found that Belgian secondary school and university students who identified more strongly as Flemish endorsed a more ethnic conception of Flemish identity which in turn fuelled a greater sense of threat to Belgian national identity and increased prejudice towards Moroccan immigrants. These findings suggest that identification with one subgroup can in turn predict stronger ethnic as opposed to civic conceptions of their national group as a whole, which has important consequences on their attitudes towards immigrants.

In other research looking at the effects of framing national identity differentially using historical messages, Smeekes and colleagues (2011) examined the extent to which historical representations of the nation as tolerant versus Christian in heritage impacts acceptance and tolerance of immigrants within the nation (Smeekes et al., 2011). Specifically, in one study, native Dutch undergraduates read either a historical narrative on the Christian roots of the Netherlands or an unrelated passage in a control condition. All participants then indicated their support versus opposition towards Muslim immigrants'

rights in the Netherlands and indicated their national identification. Data revealed that while high national identifiers showed significantly more opposition towards Muslim rights relative to low national identifiers in a baseline control condition, making salient the Christian roots of the Netherlands led both low and high national identifiers to express equally high levels of opposition towards Muslim rights (Smeekes et al., 2011). This suggests that making salient the Christian roots of the Netherlands mobilised even low national identifiers to express opposition towards Muslim rights.

In a later study, native Dutch undergraduates were exposed to either a historical narrative on the Christian roots of the Netherlands or the humanist and tolerant history of the Netherlands (in the control, they read about an unrelated topic). Once again, participants indicated their support versus opposition towards Muslims' rights to express cultural identity and their own national identification. Data revealed that when religious tolerance was seen as defining of national history, low national identifiers showed significantly less opposition towards Muslim expressive rights than high identifiers construing their national history in that fashion. However, making salient a historical narrative which emphasises the Christian roots of the Netherlands heightened even weak national identifiers' opposition to Muslims rights such that high and low national identifiers were no different from each other in their opposition towards Muslim rights (Smeekes et al., 2011).

In other work, native Dutch high school students were asked to read a few quotes about the importance of religious tolerance in Dutch history and then wrote about why religious tolerance is an important part of Dutch national identity. In a control condition participants read a few quotes about the Dutch history of water maintenance and then wrote a few lines about its importance to Dutch nationality. All participants then completed measures of national identification, acceptance of Muslim expressive rights, and the extent to which they believed that the Muslim way of life was incompatible with a Western way of life. Data revealed that highly identified Dutch nationals who read and wrote about religious tolerance in their country showed greater acceptance of Muslim immigrants to express their religious identity in the Netherlands relative to others in the control. Moreover, this tendency was mediated by reduced perceptions that their own way of life was incompatible with that of Muslims (Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2012).

In some of our own recent work we have examined the impact of perceivers' national identification on their attitudes towards majority and minority ethnic groups when members of these groups express ethnic identity in public versus private spaces (Yogeeswaran et al., 2014). Specifically, we carried out two studies using the same target groups described earlier (i.e., Native Americans, Chinese Americans, and Polish Americans). However, this time we first measured non-Polish White American undergraduates' national identification prior to the study. White American participants in these studies first read biographical

descriptions of Native Americans, Chinese Americans, or Polish Americans who expressed ethnic identity in either private or public places. After reading these, all participants then completed GNATs assessing their implicit attitudes towards these groups and self-report measures assessing explicit attitudes towards these groups.

Data revealed that the more White Americans identified with the national group, the more implicit and explicit prejudice they expressed towards ethnic minorities when a subset of individuals from the group had expressed ethnic identity in public relative to private spaces. However, when ethnic identification was maintained in the privacy of one's own home, then participants' own level of national identification had no bearing on implicit or explicit evaluations of the ethnic group. By contrast, Whites' national identification predicted more explicit prejudice towards the White ethnic group (i.e., Polish Americans) when a subset of individuals from the group embraced ethnic identity in public relative to private spaces, but perceivers' national identification had no predictive effect on implicit attitudes towards the group (Yogeeswaran et al., 2014).

Taken together, these findings suggest that the extent to which majority group members identify with the national group shapes attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants when different conceptions of the national identity or ethnic identity are salient or manifested. However, moving beyond the context of attitudes towards specific groups, perceivers' national identification has also been found to influence the extent to which people support discriminatory immigration policies when the similarities versus differences of immigrants to the national ingroup are highlighted (Carpenter, Zárate, & Garza, 2007; Storari & Green, 2012; Zárate, García, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004). Specifically, in a recent study from Switzerland (Storari & Green, 2012), low national identifiers were found to support discriminatory immigration policies (i.e., policies that restricted immigrants' rights and opportunities) when differences between the national ingroup and immigrants were made salient. However, high national identifiers were somewhat more likely to support discriminatory immigration policies when similarities rather than differences were made salient, because doing so threatens the positive distinctiveness of the national group.

Political ideologies

Similar to the important role that national identification plays in shaping attitudes and inclusion of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the nation, research has also examined the impact of perceivers' own political orientation via individual differences in their political ideology as liberal vs. conservative and their level of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). For example, in our own research examining the effect of implicit beliefs about the prototypical American on discriminatory behaviour and judgements (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010), we examined the moderating role of perceivers' political ideology on

discriminatory judgements. Building on research in political psychology demonstrating that conservatives place greater emphasis on ingroup loyalty and establishing group boundaries (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009; Haidt & Graham, 2007), we wanted to examine if implicit beliefs about the prototypical American would differentially impact conservatives relative to liberals in their evaluations of public policy. Similar to our earlier studies, White American undergraduates were recruited for a two-session study. During the first session they completed an IAT assessing the extent to which they associated White vs. East Asian ethnicity with American versus foreign symbols, a self-report questionnaire assessing the extent to which participants explicitly perceived White vs. Asian Americans as patriotic and loyal to the country, and a measure of their political ideology. A week later the same participants returned to a different lab and experimenter who provided them with an op-ed allegedly published in a popular news magazine (the article was in fact mostly adapted from *Newsweek*). The author of the op-ed was manipulated by virtue of their name being White American or East Asian American. Participants were told that the author was an American advocating for a new policy that would improve the current immigration system. The op-ed argued that the current immigration system was deterring highly qualified professionals from seeking employment in the USA, thereby creating a shortage of scientists and engineers in the domestic market. The author went on to propose a new immigration policy that would increase the number of work visas and possibly offer permanent residency or citizenship to legal immigrants who have achieved advanced degrees in science, mathematics, or engineering in the USA as a way to compensate for the shortage of engineers and scientists in the domestic market. All participants were then asked to evaluate this proposed policy on the extent to which they perceived it as helping versus harming the American economy and America's ability to compete in the global market (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010).

Results revealed that the more White participants perceived the prototypical American to be White relative to East Asian, the more negatively they evaluated the immigration policy proposed by the East Asian American author. However, these implicit beliefs about the prototypical American had no impact on evaluations of the same policy when it was proposed by the White American author (see Figure 5; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Once again, this tendency for implicit beliefs about the prototypical American to predict more negative evaluations of the policy written by the East Asian American author was mediated by stronger beliefs that East Asian Americans would not be sufficiently loyal to the country. Further analyses revealed that individual differences in perceivers' political ideology shaped the influence of these implicit beliefs on judgements of the policy. Specifically, only among politically conservative participants (but not their more liberal counterparts) did implicit beliefs about the prototypical American predict more negative evaluations of the policy proposed by the East Asian American author, but not the White author (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta,

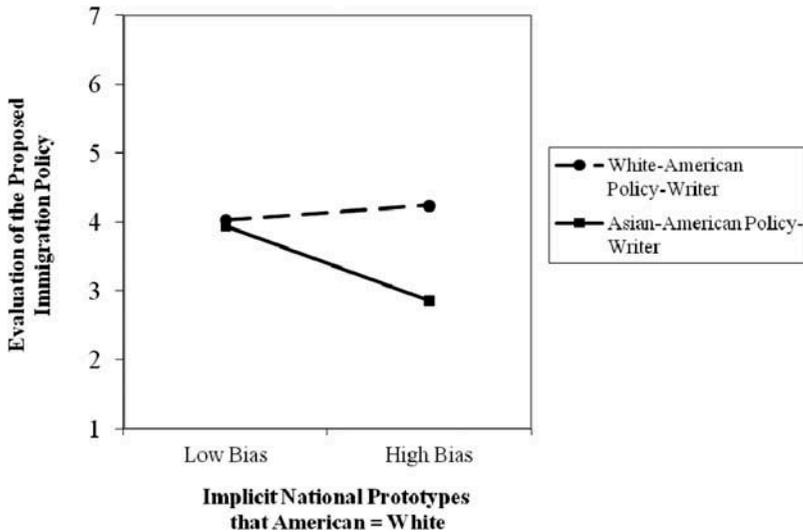


Figure 5. Implicit beliefs about the prototypical American predict evaluations of an immigration policy proposed by a White vs. East Asian American policy-writer. © 2010 by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc. Reproduced from Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2010) with permission of << SAGE Publications Ltd.>>/<< SAGE Publications, Inc.>>. All rights reserved. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.

2010). This stronger tendency among conservatives was also mediated by stronger beliefs that East Asian Americans would not be sufficiently loyal to the country.

Other research has also highlighted the importance of considering both ideological attitudes as well as conceptions of national character together in understanding attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants. In one study, for example, researchers activated either national identity or a common national ingroup with immigrants to test its effects on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration among people who were high versus low in SDO. Comparing Canadian and German undergraduates, these researchers examined the impact of activating a common national identity with immigrants by asking participants to estimate the percentage of Canadians/Germans whose parents and grandparents were born outside Canada or just a national identity by asking participants about the extent to which they nationally identify among majority group members (Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006). Results revealed that attitudes towards immigrants and immigration became more positive among Canadians high in SDO when a common national ingroup was activated relative to the baseline control condition and when national identity alone was activated. However, for German participants high in SDO, making salient their common

national ingroup with immigrants significantly increased negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration relative to the baseline control condition and when national identity was simply made salient. Participants low in SDO were not differentially impacted by the type of national identity activation used in either country (Esses et al., 2006).

These findings suggest that majority group members' own ideological attitudes may interact with their psychological conceptions of the nation state to elicit different reactions towards immigrants and immigration. These findings build on other research demonstrating the relationship between ideological attitudes and anti-immigrant sentiments. A recent meta-analysis, for example, revealed that SDO was a strong predictor of anti-immigrant attitudes in countries with a high unemployment rate among immigrants, while right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) was a strong predictor of anti-immigrant attitudes in countries where immigrants were perceived as increasing the crime rate and not being helpful to the economy (Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010).

Collectively, these findings demonstrate that perceivers' own national identification and political ideologies interact with psychological conceptions of one's nation to shape their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour towards ethnic minorities and immigrants. When a nation is defined in ethnic relative to civic terms, national identification elicits greater hostility towards ethnic minorities and immigrants. Similarly, political conservatives and those high in SDO may react especially negatively towards ethnic minorities and immigrants when they perceive these groups as not belonging in the country or when national identity is made salient.

HOW DO CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IMPACT ETHNIC MINORITIES' AND IMMIGRANTS' ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOUR, AND SELF-CONCEPTIONS?

While the research thus far has focused on demonstrating the impact of psychological conceptions of national identity on majority group members' attitudes, behaviour, and inclusion of others within the national group, we now focus on the consequences of national identity to ethnic minorities and immigrants.

National vs. ethnic identification among ethnic minorities

Extant research has examined the extent to which majority group members, ethnic minorities and immigrants identify with the national group and feel a sense of belongingness in the nation, and their meta-perceptions of their groups' belongingness in the country. With respect to national identification and patriotism, the evidence here has been somewhat mixed. Majority group members in some studies have been found to more strongly identify with the national group and show higher levels of patriotism than ethnic minorities (e.g., Citrin, Sears,

Muste, & Wong, 2001; Dowley & Silver, 2000; Elkins & Sides, 2007; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). However, other studies have shown that majority and minority groups show similar levels of patriotism and identify equally strongly with the nation (e.g., De la Garza, Falcon, & Garcia, 1996; Dowley & Silver, 2000; Sears, Citrin, Cheleden, & van Laar, 1999; Sibley & Ward, 2013). Recently, Staerklé, Sidanius, Green, and Molina (2010) utilised data from 33 countries and found that the gap in national identification among ethnic majority and minority groups (i.e., majorities identifying more strongly than minorities) was higher in nations with lower levels of social inequality (more egalitarianism) compared to countries with greater levels of social inequality. One explanation for this is that people in more egalitarian welfare states tend to make a clearer demarcation between citizens who are entitled to benefits and those who are not. However, it may also be that more egalitarian societies tend to attract new immigrants continually relative to those with greater social inequality (Staerklé et al., 2010). Other research suggests that minority groups may identify more strongly with the national identity in countries like Canada that support the simultaneous maintenance of cultural heritage while promoting a superordinate national identity, relative to other countries like the USA that tend to be more assimilationist (Van Oudenhoven, 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). Taken together, these results suggest that the extent to which individuals identify with the nation is influenced by both their ethnic status in society and the social context in which they live.

Interestingly, even when ethnic minorities identify just as strongly with the national group as do majority group members, they often believe that others perceive them as less authentically belonging in the nation than majority group members (Barlow, Taylor, & Lambert, 2000; Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992). For example, Cheryan and Monin (2005) found that Asian Americans identified with the national group to a similar extent as White Americans; however, the same Asian Americans also report believing that other Americans might not view them as legitimately American. White Americans did not experience such a discrepancy between how they viewed themselves and how they thought others perceived them. Similarly, Barlow et al. (2000) found that Black Americans identified just as strongly with American nationality as White Americans, but believed that they were viewed as less American than Whites. In other words, self-identification with the nation was stronger than meta-perceptions about their perceived belongingness in the nation.

The extent to which ethnic minorities identify with the national group has also been explored using implicit reaction time measures (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010). These studies shed light on the extent to which such individuals may internalise these two differing identities as they navigate their marginal status in the national group. For example, Devos and Banaji (2005) showed that both White and Asian American participants equally identified with

American nationality when assessed implicitly using an IAT. Moreover, both groups showed equally favourable implicit attitudes towards America. However, Asian American participants still implicitly perceived their own ethnic group as a whole to be less authentically American than Whites (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010). To examine how ethnic minorities might reconcile identification with the nation and ethnic group simultaneously, other work has examined implicit national versus ethnic identification among Mexican American and East Asian or South East Asian American undergraduates (Devos, 2006). Using several IATs, data revealed that both Mexican American and Asian American undergraduates strongly identify with both an American national identity and a Mexican or Asian cultural identity. When identification with American vs. Mexican or East Asian identities was compared, data revealed no difference in the strength of identification with each, suggesting that these bicultural individuals are able to simultaneously show strong allegiance to both their Mexican/East Asian heritage as well as their American national identity at an implicit level (Devos, 2006).

However, as evidenced in a large literature on bicultural identity, such individuals may struggle with integrating their national and ethnic identities as a cohesive aspect of their self-concept (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). This struggle may emerge when ethnic minorities feel that others perceive them as foreigners in their own country. For example, Huynh and colleagues (2011) in one study had Asian American and Hispanic American participants complete a series of measures including those of perceived discrimination, awareness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype, perception of conflict between ethnic and national identities, and a sense of belonging in America. Results revealed that even after controlling for perceived discrimination, the more Hispanic and Asian American participants were aware of the perpetual foreigner stereotype, the more they experienced conflict between their ethnic and national identities. Moreover, this perpetual foreigner stereotype also predicted a decreased sense of belonging within the nation (Huynh et al., 2011).

Research on this topic also reveals that, among ethnic minorities, the extent to which they implicitly identify with the national group has no effect on the extent to which they perceive their own group as belonging in the nation. However, for majority group members, the more strongly they identify with the national group at an implicit level directly predicts the extent to which they construe their group as prototypical of the nation. For example, Devos et al. (2010) demonstrated that the extent to which Hispanic Americans implicitly included their own ethnic group in the nation had no relation to the extent to which they implicitly self-identified with the nation. However, for White Americans, the more strongly they implicitly self-identified with the nation, the more strongly they possessed implicit beliefs that the prototypical American was White. These findings suggest that even when ethnic minorities strongly identify with the nation state, they do not automatically project their ethnic group onto the national definition. Instead,

ethnic minorities may internalise the belief that their own group does not belong in the country, which might reflect a tendency for system justification (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004) or social dominance (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; see Devos & Banaji, 2005).

Do people's doubts about the national belongingness of ethnic minorities impact minorities' own thoughts, feelings, and behaviour? Some research has begun to examine this question by examining how ethnic minorities feel and behave when challenged about their belongingness in the country (i.e., identity denial). For example, Asian Americans in one study were either told by a White experimenter that they needed to be American to participate in the study or directly provided the dependent measures in a control condition. All participants completed measures of their current affect and then measures of their engagement and pride with American and Asian culture and practices. Data revealed that Asian Americans who were told that they needed to be American to participate in the study (i.e., those faced with identity denial) experienced significantly more negative affect and reported greater participation in mainstream American practices than Asian Americans in a control condition, almost as a way of "proving" their American allegiance. However, experiencing such identity denial did not impact the extent to which these Asian American participants expressed engagement with their Asian ethnicity, suggesting there was no distancing from their ethnic heritage (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

In other work, Guendelman and colleagues (2011) found that Asian Americans were significantly more likely to consume an unhealthy American food dish after having their national belongingness questioned (similar to before) than when no such threat was elicited (Guendelman et al., 2011). Research examining how chronic experiences as a perpetual foreigner impact psychological well-being among ethnic minorities has also revealed some important implications of such identity denial. For example, Huynh et al. (2011) found that the extent to which ethnic minorities report being targets of a perpetual foreigner stereotype is a moderate predictor of higher depression, decreased hope, and lower life satisfaction among some ethnic minority groups (Huynh et al., 2011).

Immigrant acculturation into the mainstream nationality

Moving beyond national belonging among ethnic minorities, other research has examined the psychological consequences of ethnic minorities' and immigrants' assimilation (or lack thereof) into mainstream national culture. Much of this work emerged from early work by Berry (1974, 1980) examining how a new minority immigrant engages with the host society and weighs the extent to which they wish to maintain their cultural identity and engage in majority culture. According to Berry's model, if an immigrant wishes to maintain their cultural heritage and engage with the majority culture, then the acculturation strategy they utilise is called *integration*. If an immigrant wishes to engage with majority culture, but

has little desire to maintain cultural identity, then the acculturation strategy is called *assimilation*. If an immigrant wishes to hold on to cultural heritage, but avoids majority culture, then they engage in *separation*. And finally, if an immigrant shows little interest in cultural maintenance, but also has little belonging with majority culture, then the resulting acculturation strategy is *marginalisation* (e.g., Berry, 1997, 1980; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

Of particular interest in the present review, research on acculturation strategies has demonstrated that immigrants engaging in integration of their ethnic and national identities tend to experience the best psychological outcomes for both the individual and broader intergroup relations within that society (e.g., Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry & Sam, 1996; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998; Ward, 2010; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In general, ethnic and national identities tend to be positively correlated and coexist more easily in settler nations such as Canada, the USA, and New Zealand. However, in historically colonial or non-settler societies like Germany, Norway, and the Netherlands, these tend to be negatively correlated (Ward, 2010), illustrating the importance of the social and historical national context (Phinney et al., 2001; also see Verkuyten, 2010).

In line with this, recent research on the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; for a review, see Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010) highlights the importance of examining the relative fit between immigrants' style of acculturation and the broader social context in shaping intergroup relations. Specifically, this model argues that researchers need to go beyond studying immigrants' strategy of acculturation in isolation and also consider the national-level policies surrounding immigration (i.e., are national policies pluralist, civic, assimilationist, or ethnist?), along with the acculturation preferences of members of majority culture (i.e., do members of the host society endorse integration, assimilation, segregation, exclusion, or individualism?) to understand the complex intergroup relations between immigrants and their host society (for a review, see Bourhis et al., 2010). This model illustrates the importance of taking both immigrants' and majority group members' perspectives while considering policies and definitions of national character in our increasingly globalised world (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In this article we have tried to synthesise several bodies of research in psychology, political science, and sociology on varying conceptions of national identity and how these impact intergroup relations within the nation state. By bringing together data from several different countries, the present review explored how people's conceptions of nationality interact with their degree of national identification and political ideology to influence their attitudes, behaviour, and

inclusion of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the nation. We also examined the ways in which ethnic minorities' and immigrants' thoughts, feelings, behaviour, and self-conceptions are shaped by their psychological conceptions of the nation. As in any research, there are several limitations to our understanding of the topic, but these also raise the need for future exploration.

Conceptions of national identity and its impact around the world

Although some research has examined implicit and explicit conceptions of national identity and how these might impact attitudes, behaviours, and inclusion of ethnic minorities within the national identity, much of this work has been limited to nations with a relatively short history or at least those with some form of civic national identity (e.g., USA, New Zealand, Scotland; e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010; Sibley & Liu, 2007; Sibley et al., 2010; Wakefield et al., 2011; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2010). It would be fruitful for future work to explore such questions in the context of nations with long-standing histories and those with predominantly ethnic conceptions of nationhood (e.g., nations in many parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa). What messages might be especially influential in promoting intergroup harmony in such nations? Perhaps emphasising the importance of tolerance to the national identity would suffice in promoting positive attitudes towards minorities in such ethnic nations, as evidenced in work from the Netherlands (Smeekees et al., 2012, 2011); however, more work is surely needed in this area. Furthermore, given historical conflict and change that has affected concepts of nationhood in parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe, there is a need for future work to explore how people in these countries define who belongs in the country and who does not, both implicitly and explicitly, and when such conceptions of nationhood impact attitudes, behaviour, and inclusion of minority groups. Such research will also help to establish if the findings outlined in this article are unique to these specific socio-cultural contexts or if they are in fact generalisable to other populations.

Another avenue ripe for future work is to go beyond the current conceptions of nationhood in ethnic vs. civic terms and redefine the superordinate national identity in such a way that neither majority nor minority groups can claim prototypicality of the nation (Reynolds, Batalha & Subasic, *in press*). Creating a plural and inclusive national identity that redefines the nation and its character in terms of its diversity will make each group indispensable parts of the national fabric, thereby promoting intergroup harmony (Reynolds et al., *in press*). This presents a promising avenue for future exploration, especially in countries that can easily be perceived as immigrant nations.

Further research is also needed to examine the disjuncture between broader conceptions of national identity (e.g., as ethnic vs. civic nations) and people's subjective perceptions of national belongingness as revealed implicitly versus

explicitly. Such a disjuncture might exist because people may endorse an inclusive national identity in *principle*, but in *practice* reject certain groups implicitly and explicitly (cf. Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007). More work is needed in this area to better understand whether legal or psychological conceptions of nationhood can transform subjective perceptions of national belonging, and if so, how this change might occur over time. Such an understanding can help us better understand how to promote broader social changes in ways that create social harmony in diverse nation states.

Socio-cultural ideologies and national identity

Recent research in social psychology has tried to better understand the impact of promoting sociocultural ideologies of assimilation, colourblindness, and multiculturalism to achieve harmonious relations between social groups within the nation state (for recent reviews, see Plaut, 2010; Verkuyten, 2006). While assimilation calls for ethnic groups to shed aspects of subgroup identities and embrace the common superordinate national identity (Gordon, 1964), multiculturalism argues that intergroup harmony is best achieved when we recognise and celebrate these cultural identities (Moghaddam, 2008). Colourblindness, unlike both the other ideologies, argues that intergroup harmony is best achieved when we de-emphasise or ignore altogether subgroup membership (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). From much psychological literature it appears that promoting multiculturalism is promising for intergroup relations as it is implicated in positive intergroup interactions and prejudice reduction relative to colourblind and assimilationist ideologies (e.g., Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009; Wolsko et al., 2000). However, the findings from the literature are not uniformly positive either. Other research demonstrates that multiculturalism can backfire and lead to more negative intergroup outcomes because majority group members perceive multiculturalism as threatening to the national ingroup and as excluding majority group members' values and practices (e.g., Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011; Verkuyten, 2009). In conflict-laden situations, multiculturalism can in fact promote more negative interactions and attitudes (e.g., Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011).

Some of our own recent work has tried to shed light on these discrepant findings by considering the implications of different construals of multiculturalism on perceptions of the national identity. Utilising research from construal-level theory (e.g., Freitas, Gollwitzer, & Trope, 2004; Trope & Liberman, 2010), which argues that actions and goals can be construed more abstractly by focusing on *why* the action or goal is important or more concretely by focusing on *how* to achieve that action or goal, we examined the impact of construing multiculturalism abstractly versus concretely on perceptions of the national identity and in turn outgroup prejudice. In our first two experiments we randomly assigned

White American undergraduates to read either an abstract construal of multiculturalism that focused on the broader goals of the ideology (actually the same manipulation used in previous social psychological research on multiculturalism) or a concrete construal of multiculturalism that provided participants with the same information followed by specific steps needed to implement multiculturalism. After reading these passages, participants completed a measure assessing the extent to which they felt that diversity was threatening or enhancing national identity, and then they completed a measure of their prejudicial attitudes towards Hispanic Americans. Data revealed that when majority group members abstractly construed multiculturalism by focusing on the broad goals of the ideology, they perceived diversity as enhancing the national identity, which in turn mediated decreased prejudice towards Hispanic Americans relative to a no-information control. By contrast, when White majority group members concretely construed the same ideology by focusing on its implications and how it can be achieved, they perceived diversity as more threatening to the national identity and this in turn mediated increased prejudice towards Hispanic Americans relative to a no-information control condition.

In a later experiment we expanded on these findings in several ways. First, utilising political psychology research demonstrating that conservatives tend to show greater preference for the status quo (e.g., Jost et al., 2004) and greater opposition to diversity policies (e.g., Citrin et al., 2001), we examined whether individual differences in perceivers' political ideology shaped their responses to abstract versus concrete construals of multiculturalism. Additionally, we examined whether these construals of multiculturalism not only impact symbolic threats to the national identity, but also pose realistic threats to national resources. In this new experiment White Americans recruited online were provided with a short paragraph describing multiculturalism and then randomly assigned to construe multiculturalism more abstractly by engaging in a series of questions asking *why* one would engage in multiculturalism versus a series of questions asking *how* one would go about achieving multiculturalism. After performing this task, participants completed a measure of the extent to which participants' perceived diversity as symbolically threatening national identity versus realistically threatening access to national resources. All participants then completed a measure of their prejudicial attitudes towards Hispanic Americans and their willingness to engage in intergroup contact.

Data revealed that participants who construed multiculturalism more concretely (relative to more abstractly) perceived diversity to be more threatening to the national identity and such threats in turn mediated greater prejudice and social distancing from ethnic minorities. Interestingly, these abstract versus concrete construals of multiculturalism had no differential effect on realistic threats to national resources. This tendency for concrete construals of multiculturalism to increase outgroup prejudice and social distancing was particularly evident among political conservatives, suggesting that perceivers' own political ideology shaped

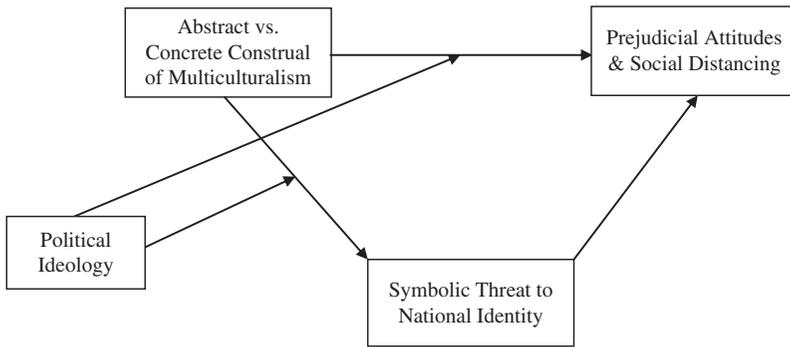


Figure 6. Conceptual diagram on the indirect effect of abstract vs. concrete multiculturalism constructs on prejudice and social distancing from ethnic minorities via symbolic threat to national identity. © 2014 American Psychological Association. Reproduced from Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2014) by permission of the American Psychological Association. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder. The use of APA information does not imply endorsement by APA.

the level of threat they perceived to the national identity (see Figure 6; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

Future work is needed to examine how these sociocultural ideologies (i.e., multiculturalism, assimilation, and colourblindness) interact with ethnic versus civic conceptions of national character to influence intergroup outcomes. For example, multiculturalism may be an effective strategy for promoting intergroup harmony in immigrant nations that have a more civic conception of national identity, but might elicit greater hostility among majority group members in nations with a more ethnic conception of nationality (see Guimond et al., 2013). Furthermore, future research might also examine how these sociocultural ideologies can shape people's very conceptions of their national character. For example, does promoting an ethnic conception of national identity lead people to show greater endorsement of assimilationist or colourblind ideologies? Or does promoting a civic conception of nationality promote endorsement of multicultural ideologies (or vice versa)?

National identification among majority vs. minority groups

Another avenue for future work is to try and reconcile divergent findings regarding national identification among majority versus minority groups. While some research has revealed that ethnic minorities tend to identify just as strongly with the nation as majority group members, other work suggests that ethnic minorities tend to identify less strongly than their ethnic majority counterparts. Although some recent evidence suggests that these mixed findings are moderated by the social and economic inequalities present in a nation (Staerklé et al., 2010), future

work is needed to understand *why* this may be the case and what other moderators may explain this divergence in the literature. Moreover, as a small body of recent work suggests that ethnic minorities and majorities identify equally strongly with the national group at the *implicit* level (e.g., Devos, 2006; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010), this raises the question: Do ethnic minority and majority group members tend to identify equally strongly with the national group at the implicit level, but not so consistently at the explicit level? If so, why might this be the case? This issue is of much importance as nations experience increasing cultural diversity through immigration and globalisation and strive to identify ways in which they can try and incorporate their minority and immigrant populations in ways that prevent fragmentation of social groups within society.

Another avenue ripe for future exploration is to examine differences in ethnic identification versus national identification at the implicit and explicit level among first, second, and third generation immigrants in nations that have ethnic versus civic conceptions of nationhood. Given that nations with an ethnic national identity by definition do not consider those that do not share specific bloodlines as legitimate members of the nation, it would be important to establish if second or third generation immigrants in such nations feel disconnected from the national identity relative to their counterparts in more civic nations or if subjective identification at the implicit level is relatively similar in nations with both ethnic and civic conceptions of national identity after a certain generation. In a similar vein, it would also be fruitful for future work to examine whether framing national identity in civic versus ethnic terms impact *minorities' own* subjective identification with the national group and their desire to engage with the majority culture. It might be that ethnic minorities and immigrants express greater national identification and desire to engage with the national identity when it is framed in civic terms as opposed to more ethnic terms. Such work would help us to better understand how ethnically diverse societies can try and incorporate their diverse populations in ways that promote harmony between majority and minority subgroups.

CONCLUSION

The research described here provides a starting point for future exploration as social psychologists try to shed light on the complex ways in which national identity impacts attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour towards cultural outgroups within the nation. This research is especially timely as immigration and globalisation continue to increase cultural diversity in many countries around the world. Such growing diversity has led to contentious debate among politicians, scholars, and everyday citizens alike on the dangers versus benefits of diversity to the very essence of the national identity. These debates underscore the growing need for social psychologists to investigate these issues that lie at the heart of intergroup relations.

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