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Aliens in their Own Land? Implicit and Explicit Ascriptions of National Identity to Native Americans and White Americans

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Abstract

Legally, ethnic groups in the United States do not differ in the extent to which they are granted citizenship: all American citizens are equally American. But do ethnic groups differ in the extent to which they are psychologically granted a national identity? Prior work on this issue has focused mostly on Asian Americans. Here we look at the national identity as it pertains to the original Americans, Native Americans. A sample of Internet users ( $N = 44,878$ ) completed an Implicit Association Test (IAT) assessing the direction and strength of associations between Native Americans and White Americans and the attribute American relative to foreign. In contrast to explicit ascriptions of national identity, Native Americans were less strongly associated to the concept American than were White Americans. This effect was displayed by all ethnic groups, except by American Indian or Alaskan Native respondents. In addition, the American = White effect was more pronounced among self-identified conservatives than among self-identified liberals. These results reveal the propensity to implicitly equate American with White American.

Keywords: Implicit cognition, stereotypes, social identity, Native American, American Indian, ethnicity, political orientation

## Aliens in their Own Land? Implicit and Explicit Ascriptions of National Identity to Native Americans and White Americans

National identities provide individuals with rights and responsibilities and offer protections that are not granted to foreigners. Legal manifestations of national identity exist in the form of citizenship and formal documents that support it, but psychological forms of identity can vary in systematic ways that can support or contradict the legal facts of citizenship. Devos and Banaji (2005) provided evidence that the quality American was “given” to a lesser extent to Asian Americans than to White Americans on an implicit measure that assessed the associations indirectly (see also Cheryan & Monin, 2005). This result could stem from a fact of immigration timing: as a group Asian Americans arrived after European Americans on the continent and therefore might be seen to be less strongly American. If that is the case, the result should be reversed when testing for relative national identity among White and Native Americans, the latter predating Americans of European descent by being the original Americans. On the other hand, if implicit national identity continues to favor White Americans, then timing of arrival on the continent is not the sole basis of psychological granting of national identity. Instead, greater social or numerical status might produce differences in ascriptions of national identity.

The present research examined to what extent Native Americans and White Americans were implicitly and explicitly differentiated in terms of their association with the concept American.<sup>1</sup> Partially because of the small numbers of living Native Americans and their marginalized status in American society, the group tends to be lumped with immigrant minorities in spite of its historically distinct status (Marker, 2000). Because of their historical and current positions in American culture, Native Americans are perhaps the most psychologically interesting social group to pose a test of the propensity of modern Americans to bestow them with status of American. The present study tests whether American Indians are indeed American on par with White Americans or “aliens in their own land” (LaFromboise, 1998).

A majority of Americans subscribe to the idea that individuals should not be treated differentially based on the color of their skin, their origin, or their cultural heritage (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). In line with an explicit commitment to equality, most Americans hold an inclusive and pluralist definition of the American identity (Citrin, Wong, & Duff, 2001). From this perspective, and considering the fact that Native Americans were recognized U.S. citizenship in 1924 with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act (Deloria, 1988), the American identity should be equally ascribed to Native Americans and White Americans.

This being said, other considerations may undermine the extent to which Native Americans are seen as an integral part of America. First, American Indians and Alaskan Natives are a relatively small ethnic minority (approximately 2.8 million people, less than 1% of the total population) in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, 2004). Numerical status or distinctiveness is known to play a role in the extent to which groups serve as cultural defaults (Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Smith & Zárate, 1992; Stroessner, 1996; Zárate & Smith, 1990). Accordingly, Native Americans could be seen as less representative of the category American than White Americans or even other ethnic minorities (African, Asian, and Latino Americans).

American Indians have also experienced long oppressions by other arriving in North America. By the end of the 18th century, warfare and diseases had reduced the population of native people to 10% of its original size (Oswalt, 1988). Forced relocation to Indian reservations and removal of children from their families to boarding schools had a profound impact on this group (Kawamoto, 2001). Moreover, American Indians continue to face limited educational and economic opportunities (Belcourt-Dittloff & Stewart, 2000). Recent research lends support to the idea that the relative status of these groups shape intergroup images (Alexander, Brewer, & Livingston, 2005): White college students hold an image of Natives as dependent, whereas college students from a Native American nation hold an imperialist and barbarian image of Whites. In addition, reminding White Americans of violence perpetrated against Native Americans intensified the extent to which they infra-humanized Native Americans (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006). Taking into account the hierarchical nature of ethnic relations (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001), leads to the prediction that White Americans are more likely to be thought of as being prototypical of the category American than are Native Americans.

Finally, depictions of American Indians frequently reinforce common misconceptions (Bell, Esses, & Maio, 1996; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Mihesuah, 1996; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Stereotypes rely heavily on the notion that Native Americans are “exotic others.” In U.S. History textbooks, Native Americans are often portrayed as if they were extinct or as a different culture that typically only includes unusual or strange components (Hawkins, 2005). Convergent observations could be made based on the use of inaccurate or simplified representations of Native Americans in the tourism industry, news media, advertisements, and sports (Magelssen, 2002; Merskin, 2001; Miller, 1999; Pewewardy, 2004; Sanchez, 2003). By caricaturing cultural differences, these representations reduce the likelihood that Native Americans can be construed as typical, modern Americans.

In sum, people may hold multiple and sometimes discordant views about the extent to which the American identity is associated with these groups. Depending on the determinants of the psychological ascription of national identity, Native Americans could be construed as more, less, or equally American than White Americans. These alternative conceptions may reveal discrepancies between more or less intentional thoughts. Over the past two decades, a substantial body of research has established that thoughts or feelings about social groups can operate automatically and deliberately. More precisely, a theoretical distinction is made between responses based on controlled or deliberate processes and responses that are not available to introspection or cannot be consciously controlled (Devos, in press; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). An appealing feature of techniques developed to assess implicit social cognition is the possibility of revealing associations that are unknown or unwanted to the possessor (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

In the present research, we examined the extent to which an implicit measure reveals knowledge that is distinct from parallel explicit assessments regarding national identity. Explicit responses typically reflect processes of propositional reasoning concerned with the validation of beliefs or attitudes (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). The explicit endorsement of a statement is based on its subjective validity (or “truth value”) and on the extent to which it is consistent with other statements held valid. Length of immersion of a group in America and egalitarian principles are likely to come into play when individuals deliberately assess the extent to which Native Americans and White Americans are American. Based on the fact that American Indians

were the first inhabitants in Northern America, they should be granted the attribute American to a greater extent than immigrants from European countries. If individuals subscribe to the idea that every American citizen should enjoy the same legal and political rights, they should not differentiate groups or individuals based on their ethnicity or cultural background and should view Native Americans and White Americans as being equally American.

In contrast, performances on an implicit measure are typically driven by processes of pattern activation that depend on a pre-existing structure of associations in memory and the particular set of input stimuli encountered in a given context (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). Everyday images of prominent Americans – all the U.S. presidents, most political and social leaders, celebrities, and a majority of the population – reinforce associations of America as White. As a result, the American identity might be associated with the ethnic identity of being White – so much so, that even deliberate, conscious rejection cannot alter this association. In sum, we anticipated that the American identity would be more strongly associated with Native Americans than with White Americans on measures tapping deliberative processes, whereas the reverse pattern would emerge on a measure of associations that cannot be consciously controlled (American = White effect).

A second goal of the present research was to examine the extent to which implicit and explicit associations were sensitive to group or individual differences. More precisely, we sought to document the fact that indirect measures, as well as self-reports, reveal meaningful differences based on respondents' ethnicity and political orientation. Competing hypotheses can be stated for the impact of ethnicity on ethnic-American associations. Previous research showed that the American = White effect was not restricted to White American respondents. In particular, Asian American participants viewed their own group as being less American than Whites on implicit and explicit measures (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005). These findings are consistent with the notion that members of minority or disadvantaged groups sometimes display beliefs or attitudes that do not serve the interest of their group (Jost & Banaji, 1994) and not claiming national identity for one's own group would be evidence of such a state of affairs. If the perception of Native Americans as marginal to modern American is internalized by Native Americans themselves, and this is not inconceivable given the trauma that has resulted from the massive loss of lives and removal of their dominance (Brave-Heart & DeBruyn, 1998), they and White Americans should equally show weakened association of national identity for Native Americans.

However, in contrast to other ethnic minorities, it could be argued that most Native Americans have an identity that is profoundly connected to a sense of place (Marker, 2000). For example, when questioned by an anthropologist on what the Indians called America before European immigrants came, an American Indian said simply: "Ours" (Deloria, 1988). From this perspective, one would predict a more symmetric pattern of ethnic-American association: White American and Native American respondents would both construe the ingroup as being more American than the outgroup. This hypothesis is consistent with the ingroup projection model in that both groups would view ingroup members as being more prototypical of a superordinate category than outgroup members (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). The present dataset offered us the opportunity, for the first time, to test these competing hypotheses for a comparison between Native Americans and White Americans.

If the extent to which groups are assigned the American identity partially reflects group-based hierarchies, one would expect ethnic-American associations to covary with ideological or political placement. Recent models building on classic and contemporary work on the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1998) posit that conservatives are less concerned with equality and more likely to display intergroup biases than are liberals (Jost, 2006; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). More precisely, people who identify themselves as conservatives tend to show implicit and explicit preferences for higher status groups over lower status groups, disadvantaged groups, or groups seeking social changes or egalitarian reforms to a greater extent than people who identify themselves as liberals (Conover & Feldman, 1981; Cunningham, Nezlek, & Banaji, 2004; Nosek, Jost, & Banaji, 2007; Nosek, Smyth et al., 2007; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996; Whitley, 1999). The American = White effect should not be equated with an evaluative bias favoring White Americans over ethnic minorities, but it is inconsistent with egalitarian principles and is expressing a greater inclusion of White Americans than other ethnic groups in the national identity. If implicit and explicit distinctions reflect the relative status of White Americans and Native Americans in the U.S., one would expect self-identified conservatives to be less likely to ascribe the American identity to Native Americans than self-identified liberals.

## Method

### *Participants*

Data were collected between May 2002 and May 2006 on two drop-in Web sites: the Southern Poverty Law Center site (SPLC: <http://tolerance.org/>) and the Demonstration site of Project Implicit (Demo: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/>). The task was first made available on the SPLC Web site and was transferred to the Demonstration site in May 2004.

Visitors were included in the dataset if they completed the IAT or the questionnaire portion of the study ( $N = 74,509$  sessions). Of sessions with demographic reports, demographic classifications for the total sample were as follows: 62.2% female, 37.8% male; 4.8% American Indian or Alaskan native, 3.2% Asian or Pacific Islander, 4.4% Black (not of Hispanic origin), 4.4% Hispanic, 72.1% White (not of Hispanic origin), 7.0% multi-racial, and 4.0% other; 92.2% reported U.S. citizenship and 7.8% were citizens of other countries. The mean age was 31 ( $SD = 13$ ); and 56.4% of the participants 25 or older had a bachelor's degree or more education. Based on the current postal code provided by visitors, regional representation was: 6.0% New England, 18.2% Pacific Coast, 17.4% Mid-Atlantic, 26.2% Midwest, 11.0% West, Mountain, and 21.1% South.

While very large, this dataset should not be mistaken as being representative of a definable population. There are selection influences that determine who learns and visits the site, choice of tasks, and completing the measures. None of the results are interpreted as reflecting a random sample of the population of the U.S. nor do they require such interpretation. The diversity of this sample is much greater than that of most laboratory studies.

### *Stimuli*

To represent the target groups, sixteen black-and-white pictures of Native Americans and White Americans were used. For each group, four men and four women were selected. Pictures were cropped at the torso. We explicitly choose to represent the concept American via

exemplars that were not indicative of White America. For example, we did not use the American flag or monuments that are explicitly the creation or representation of European Americans.

Given the potential influence of stimuli properties on IAT effects (Bluemke & Frieze, 2006; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Govan & Williams, 2004; Mitchell, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003), two versions of this IAT were created. One version (Landmark-IAT) used pictures of natural scenes from the American landscape that can be easily associated with Native Americans: Old Faithful (Wyoming), Niagara Falls (New York), Grand Canyon (Arizona), Devil's Tower (Wyoming), and Redwood Forest (California). These natural landmarks were contrasted with recognizable foreign natural landmarks: Amazon River (Peru), Antarctica, Mt. Everest (Nepal), Rainforest (Costa Rica), and Sahara Desert (Africa).

The second version (Location-IAT) used five names of cities or states with names of Native American origin: Ohio, Miami, Missouri, Seattle, and Utah. These stimuli were contrasted to five names of European cities or countries: France, Italy, Moscow, Oslo, and Warsaw. Both stimulus sets highlight the connection of Native Americans to America and therefore creates tests that if anything, should provoke an easier association of America with Native Americans. The test can be sampled at <https://implicit.harvard.edu/>. Stimuli used for these tasks can be obtained at <http://projectimplicit.net/stimuli.php>.

### *Procedure*

Visitors found the Web sites through media coverage, course assignments, blog or chatroom discussions, personal recommendation, search engines, Web sites that provided a link, or accidentally. They were presented with background information about implicit attitudes and stereotypes and invited to participate and receive feedback about their performance. Visitors who decided to participate could select from a list of tasks. Study sessions lasted approximately 10 minutes and consisted of administration of the IAT and a brief questionnaire. For most sessions, the order of the IAT and questionnaire was randomized.

*Implicit association test.* In line with previous research (Devos & Banaji, 2005), the Implicit Association Test (IAT, Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) was adapted to measure the direction and strength of the associations between two groups (Native Americans and White Americans) and two attributes (American and foreign). The technique is based on the assumption that the strength of associations between two pairs of concepts can be revealed by the ease with which participants discriminate (or combine) stimuli representing these concepts under different conditions. The technique does not require introspective access and minimizes the role of conscious control or intention (Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2006). Respondents were assigned to one of two versions of the task (Landmark-IAT vs. Location-IAT). Exemplars representing each of the categories appear at the center of the computer screen and participants categorize them into one of the four categories as quickly as possible using two computer keys.

More precisely, the IAT included seven blocks of trials with the following categorization rules: (B1) 20 trials sorting the group exemplars (e.g., e key for Native Americans, i key for White Americans); (B2) 20 trials sorting the attribute exemplars words (e.g., e key for American stimuli, i key for foreign stimuli); (B3) 20 trials sorting all four exemplar types with one group and one attribute sharing a response key and the other group and attribute sharing the other response key (e.g., e key for Native Americans and American stimuli, i key for White Americans and foreign stimuli); (B4) 40 trials using the same sorting rules as B3; (B5) 40 trials

sorting the concept exemplars as in B1, but with the key mappings reversed (e.g., e key for White Americans, i key for Native Americans); (B6) 20 trials sorting all four exemplar types, but reflecting the change in key mapping in B5 (e.g., e key for White Americans and American stimuli, i key for Native Americans and foreign stimuli); (B7) 40 trials using the same sorting rules as B6. Blocks B3, B4, B5, and B6 comprise the primary data for analysis. The seven blocks were presented in the order described above, or with the sorting combinations of B1, B3, and B4 exchanged with B5, B6, and B7.

Group labels were presented in green font and attribute concepts in white, all on a black background, to emphasize that individuals were to be categorized by their ethnicity, not whether they were American or foreign. If a participant made an error in sorting during any of the response trials, a red “X” appeared just below the exemplar and remained there until they corrected the error.

*Self-report measures.* A single-item measure was constructed to parallel the relative nature of the IAT. Participants were asked to indicate which statement best describes their belief among the following options: -4 = I strongly consider Americans of European descent to be more American than American Indians, -3 = I moderately consider Americans of European descent to be more American than American Indians, -2 = I somewhat consider Americans of European descent to be more American than American Indians, -1 = I slightly consider Americans of European descent to be more American than American Indians, 0 = Both are equally American, 1 = I slightly consider American Indians to be more American than Americans of European descent, 2 = I somewhat consider American Indians to be more American than Americans of European descent, 3 = I moderately consider American Indians to be more American than Americans of European descent, 4 = I strongly consider American Indians to be more American than Americans of European descent.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, participants completed separate assessments of the association between ethnic groups and the concept American: “In your mind, how *American* are people who belong to the following groups? That is, how strongly are they identified with America and all things American?” Responses were provided for four groups (Native Americans, White Americans, Asian Americans, and Black Americans) using 7-point scales labeled as follows: 1 = Not at all American, 2 = Barely American, 3 = Slightly American, 4 = Moderately American, 5 = Fairly American, 6 = Strongly American, 7 = Absolutely American.

*Demographic survey.* Participants were asked to provide demographic information such as gender, age, ethnicity, political orientation, education, country of primary citizenship and country of residence, and current postal code.

At the end of the session, participants were debriefed, provided feedback about their IAT performance and additional background materials such as answers to frequently asked questions about the IAT and this test in particular.

## Results

### *Data Preparation*

IAT data were analyzed following the algorithm recommended by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003). For each IAT, the difference between the mean response latency for the double categorization blocks, divided by its associated pooled standard deviation, was

computed. This quotient was computed separately for B3 vs. B6 and B4 vs. B7; the two values were then averaged. In the present case, this index ( $D$ ) reflects the extent to which the concept American was linked to the target groups. A positive mean indicates that the concept American was more strongly associated with the White American group than with the Native American group. A negative mean would suggest that the concept American was more strongly linked with the Native American group than with the White American group.

Self-report measures were coded to parallel the format of the IAT. More precisely, the relative measure of association to America was reverse coded so that a positive score reflects a stronger association between the concept American and Americans of European descent and a negative score reflects a stronger association between the concept American and American Indians. Following the same logic, a difference score was computed for the ratings provided separately for White Americans and Native Americans. Given the very large size of the present dataset, even small or trivial effects are highly significant. Thus, effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ ) will be the focus for reporting findings.

### *Basic Effects and Correlations among Measures*

First, we compared the extent to which the American identity was explicitly associated with each group. On the comparative statement, participants explicitly considered American Indians to be more American than Americans of European descent ( $N = 41,966$ ,  $M = -0.76$ ,  $SD = 1.79$ ,  $d = -0.42$ ). When the extent to which these two groups were identified with America was assessed separately, there was a similar, though smaller, effect: Native Americans were seen as being more American than White Americans ( $N = 61,879$ ,  $M = -0.11$ ,  $SD = 1.56$ ,  $d = -0.07$ ). This difference across measures could be attributed to the format of the questions (comparative statement vs. independent ratings), the labels used to designate the groups ("American Indians" vs. "Native Americans" and "Americans of European descent" vs. "White Americans"), or the fact that respondents were asked to rate two other ethnic groups in one case and not in the other.

On both measures, more than 50% of respondents expressed the idea that both groups were equally American (57.4% on the comparative statement and 55.6% on the independent ratings). In addition, the distribution of the responses on the independent ratings indicated that both groups were clearly viewed as American. The two most extreme response options (6 = Strongly American and 7 = Absolutely American) accounted for 78.2% of the responses for "White Americans" and 79.2% of the responses for "Native Americans" suggesting that the weak difference between the two independent ratings was a consequence of most people granting all groups American identity. When the two groups were contrasted directly, more substantial differences were elicited.

On the IAT, participants more strongly associated the concept American with White Americans than with Native Americans ( $N = 44,878$ ,  $\alpha = .82$ ,  $M = 0.23$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ,  $d = 0.46$ ), directly opposite of the effect observed with the self-report measures.<sup>3</sup> The two versions of the IAT yielded a similar effect. Response latencies were shorter when participants combined pictures of American landmarks with faces of White Americans and pictures of foreign landmarks with faces of Native Americans than when they performed the opposite pairing ( $N = 22,157$ ,  $\alpha = .82$ ,  $M = 0.20$ ,  $SD = 0.49$ ,  $d = 0.40$ ). Likewise, participants more easily combined names of cities or states in the U.S. with White Americans and names of European locations with Native Americans than the reverse ( $N = 22,666$ ,  $\alpha = .82$ ,  $M = 0.26$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ,  $d = 0.51$ ).

In sum, the present data document a striking dissociation between mean levels of explicit and implicit associations. Explicitly, responses might reflect an intentional reasoning that Native Americans should be considered more American than Whites despite the pervasive societal and historical images of America as White. While such an explicit association might make sense when a person is confronted with a question like “Who is more American: White Americans or Native Americans?”, the implicit associative representation of American = White is not subject to such reasoning. Everyday images of prominent Americans reinforce associations of America as White.

The data also revealed substantial interindividual variability in implicit and explicit associations. Figure 1 summarizes the distribution of 44,878 IAT scores. On the IAT, a majority of respondents displayed an American = White effect, but there was no evidence of consensus. Performances on the IAT were positively correlated with the single-item explicit measure ( $r = .18$ ) and with the difference score computed based on the separate ratings ( $r = .19$ ). The strength of these associations were similar for the Landmark-IAT ( $r_s = .19, .19$ ) and the Location-IAT ( $r_s = .16, .18$ ). The two self-report measures were positively correlated ( $r = .43$ ).<sup>4</sup>

### *Impact of Ethnicity and Country of Citizenship*

Next, we examined variations in effect magnitudes across ethnic groups. In Table 1, effect sizes are reported separately for the two versions of the IAT (Landmark-IAT vs. Location-IAT) and the two explicit measures (single-item vs. difference score). Implicitly, all the ethnic groups displayed a stronger association between the concept American (relative to foreign) and White Americans than Native Americans, except American Indians or Alaskan Natives who displayed an effect in the opposite direction. For them, the concept American was more strongly associated with their own group than White Americans. It is worth noting that White American respondents displayed the strongest effect. Although individuals who did not belong to the target groups also showed an American = White effect, in most cases it was weaker than that obtained among White respondents. Multi-racial respondents, in particular, showed a small American = White effect. Overall, the two versions of the IAT yielded very similar patterns of effect sizes for each ethnic group (Table 1). American Indian-Alaskan Native respondents showed a stronger propensity to automatically link their own group to the concept American when the attribution dimension was symbolized using natural landmarks than when it was represented using names of locations. In addition, White respondents displayed a stronger American = White effect on the Location-IAT than on the Landmark-IAT.

Explicitly, when the two groups were directly contrasted (single-item), members of all ethnic groups reported that American Indians were more American than Americans of European descent. This effect was particularly pronounced among American Indian-Alaskan Native and Black respondents and weaker among White and Asian respondents. With the combined measure American Indian-Alaskan Native respondents showed the strongest effect (Table 1). The effect for White respondents was negligible, no difference in the attribution of American identity to Whites or Natives, and Asian respondents reported that Whites were slightly more American than Native Americans.

In sum, both implicit and explicit measures demonstrated variation in attributions of American identity as a function of respondent ethnicity. To illustrate the pattern of findings, effect sizes (Cohen’s  $d$ ) on the IAT and the single-item measure as a function of respondents’ ethnicity are reported in Figure 2. Striking discrepancies between mean levels of implicit and

explicit assessments were documented for all ethnic groups, except American Indian-Alaskan Native respondents. Modest positive correlations between implicit and explicit responses were very stable across ethnic groups and measures (Table 1).

The large sample size afforded the opportunity to examine variations as a function of citizenship. The vast majority of the dataset consisted of American citizens (92.2%), but it also included 4,644 respondents who indicated that they were not U.S. citizens, representing 6.2% of White respondents, 6.7% of American Indian-Alaskan Native respondents,<sup>5</sup> and 10.7% of respondents of other ethnic backgrounds. A comparison of effect sizes as a function of citizenship and ethnicity revealed that White Americans displayed a much stronger implicit American = White effect ( $d = .57$ ) than Whites who were not U.S. citizens ( $d = .25$ ), but citizenship had little impact on explicit measures (respectively,  $ds = -.38, -.40$  for the single-item measure, and  $ds = -.03, .01$  for the difference score). In addition, country of citizenship did not appear to be a major source of variation for American Indian-Alaskan Native respondents (respectively,  $ds = -.23, -.16$  for the IAT,  $ds = -.79, -.98$  for the single-item measure, and  $ds = -.46, -.60$  for the difference score) or respondents of other ethnic backgrounds (respectively,  $ds = .32, .26$  for the IAT,  $ds = -.56, -.63$  for the single-item measure, and  $ds = -.16, -.18$  for the difference score). In sum, U.S. citizenship emerged as a critical factor only for implicit associations among White respondents. Arguably, citizenship is confounded with country of residence. On the Demonstration website, visitors were asked to report separately their country of primary citizenship and their country of residence. Not surprisingly, most White Americans were living in the United States ( $N = 10,985$ ) and most White respondents who were not U.S. citizens were living in another country ( $N = 678$ ), but the sample also included a small number of U.S. citizens living abroad ( $N = 90$ ) and non-U.S. citizens living in the United States ( $N = 138$ ).<sup>6</sup> A robust implicit American = White effect was found for White Americans who resided ( $d = .64$ ) or did not reside ( $d = .52$ ) in the United States, whereas non-U.S. citizens displayed a weaker effect whether they lived in the United States ( $d = .25$ ) or not ( $d = .29$ ).

### *Impact of Political Orientation*

Next, we examined variations in effect magnitudes as a function of political orientation. Visitors categorized themselves on a continuum ranging from “Strongly conservative” to “Strongly liberal.” A 7-point scale was used on the SPLC site and a 6-point scale was used on the Demonstration site. In Table 2, effect sizes are reported separately for the SPLC and demonstration sites and the two explicit measures. Implicitly, the magnitude of the American = White effect was stronger at the conservative end of the political spectrum. This pattern held whether political orientation was assessed using a 7-point (SPLC site) or 6-point (Demonstration site) scale. Political orientation also emerged a source of variation on the explicit measures. On the difference score, respondents who defined themselves as strongly liberal considered that Native Americans were more American than White Americans, whereas respondents who self-categorized themselves as strongly conservative expressed the view that White Americans were more American than Native Americans. A similar trend emerged when the two target groups were directly contrasted to one another (single-item), except that the effect ranged from American Indians being considered as more American than Americans of European descent for strong liberals to little distinction between these groups for strong conservatives (Table 2). In sum, political orientation was associated with differences in American = White associations on both implicit and explicit measures. To illustrate the pattern of findings, effect sizes (Cohen’s  $d$ ) on the IAT and the single-item measure as a function of political orientation are reported in

Figure 3. Once again, variations in the direction and strength of the effects were not accompanied by substantial variations in the correlations between implicit and explicit assessments (Table 2). These correlations were stable across the political spectrum.

*Implicit and Explicit Associations as a Function of Region of Residence, Percentage of Native Americans in the State of Residence, Gender, Age, and Level of Education*

To document the generalizability of the basic findings, effect sizes for implicit and explicit measures as a function of several demographic variables are reported in Table 3. Little variations in effect sizes emerged across regions of residence. Potential variations as a function of the percentage of Native Americans in the state of residence were also examined. Based on data from the census (U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, 2004), we contrasted states where Native Americans represent less than 1%, between 1 and 5%, and more than 5% of the total population. Effect sizes did not vary substantially as a function of this factor.<sup>7</sup> Very similar patterns of implicit and explicit associations were displayed by women and men. By and large, the direction of implicit and explicit effects was consistent across age groups and levels of education. These data show the stability and robustness of the findings.

### General Discussion

Surprisingly, contemporary research on prejudice and stereotyping has had little to say about the role of such processes as it concerns the core concept of national identity. Direct test of the ascription of the American identity across ethnic groups have rarely be conducted (cf. Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005). The goal of the present research was to determine to what extent the American identity was implicitly and explicitly associated with Native Americans and White Americans. The specific socio-historical circumstances defining the position of these groups in America raised intriguing questions for research on lay definitions of American identity: Are American Indians viewed as the “true Americans” or are they conceived of as “foreigners in White America”? The answer to this simple question differs drastically whether we examine responses based on deliberate processes or responses that cannot be consciously controlled. Interest in research on implicit social cognition lies in its ability to reveal associative knowledge or evaluations that are distinct from parallel explicit assessments. In the realm of stereotypes and prejudices, implicit measures often document stronger biases than explicit measures because the motivation to avoid these biases, whether for personal or social reasons (Plant & Devine, 1998), produces more egalitarian explicit responses, but is relatively ineffective at changing implicit responses. The present dataset reveals a striking dissociation between implicit and explicit responses. At a conscious or deliberate level, Native Americans were viewed as being more American than White Americans. Implicitly, the opposite was observed. Native Americans were less strongly associated with American than were Whites. In sum, there is a stark distinction between what is consciously known and what is automatically produced when conscious control is relatively unavailable (see also Devos & Banaji, 2005). The pattern obtained at the explicit level suggests that length of immersion of a group in America and egalitarian principles shape responses reflecting propositional reasoning. Respondents are more likely to consciously endorse the idea that American Indians are more American than Americans of European descent or that both groups are equally American because these statements are subjectively valid and are consistent with other ideas or principles held valid (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). In contrast, implicit responses are tapping processes of pattern activation that depend on a pre-existing structure of associations in memory and the particular set of input stimuli encountered in a given context (Gawronski & Bodenhausen,

2006). From this perspective, everyday images and daily experiences contribute to shape strong associations between being White and being American that cannot be consciously altered.

In addition, this large dataset points to meaningful group and individual differences in implicit associations. Clearly, the implicit American = White effect is not restricted to White Americans; it is also displayed by other ethnic groups. However, American Indians and Alaskan Natives show a reversal of the effect and are the only group to do so implicitly. The impact of ethnicity is most consistent with the ingroup projection model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). According to this model, individuals have a propensity to perceive the ingroup as being more prototypical of a superordinate category than are outgroups (Waldzus et al., 2003; Wenzel et al., 2003). An important contribution of the present research is to provide evidence for this phenomenon through assessments of responses that cannot be consciously controlled. The ingroup projection model easily accounts for pattern of responses displayed by White and American Indian-Alaskan Native respondents. However the data cannot be reduced to ingroup vs. outgroup effects because respondents who do not belong to the target groups displayed an American = White effect implicitly.

Unambiguously, ethnic-American associations are also linked to political orientation: self-identified conservatives showed a stronger implicit American = White effect than self-identified liberals. This finding fits with the picture emerging from research on political orientation (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003): conservatives are more likely to display intergroup biases than are liberals. More precisely, people who identify themselves as conservatives hold implicit beliefs that contribute to maintain the *status quo* in that they benefit advantaged (rather disadvantaged) groups. Although ethnic-American associations should not be equated with prejudices or attitudes, the effect of political orientation reported in the present paper substantiates the idea that the ease or difficulty with which a national identity is ascribed to a group partially reflects the position of this group in society (Sidanius et al., 1997; Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001). The hierarchical nature of ethnic relations fosters the idea that Whites own the nation, whereas ethnic minorities are placed psychologically at the margins.

The impact of ethnicity and political orientation on implicit ethnic-American associations challenges the notion that the IAT merely captures culturally shared knowledge (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001). As explained earlier, an important aim of indirect measures is to assess responses that may be disavowed by individuals. The impact of ethnicity and political orientation suggest that implicit ethnic-American associations reflect traces of experiences within a given social or cultural context. Unless one assumes a complete separation between the self and the cultural milieu, this associative knowledge is an integral feature of the individual embedded in that environment (Banaji, 2001). Further research is needed to fully understand the processes underlying variations based on ethnicity and political orientation on the relative ascription of the American identity to Native Americans and White Americans.

As Fryberg and Markus (2003) noted, “Being American Indian is not only a self-generated claim; it is also a result of similar categorization and treatment by mainstream society. Thus, having an American Indian identity is a two-fold process that requires self-identification and being identified by others” (p. 326). This research reveals a clear discrepancy between self and other identification on implicit measures, while masking such a discrepancy on explicit measures. On self-report measures, Native Americans are identified as American but non-Native Americans do not yield such an ascription on an implicit measure of national identity.

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Authors' Note

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## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the terms “Native Americans” or “American Indians” are used to designate indigenous people of North America collectively. “Native Americans” is the term preferred in academic settings, but the terms “American Indians” or “Indians” are used in Indian communities. More precisely, Native Americans in the company of ingroup members tend to refer to each other as “Indians,” whereas they define themselves as “Native Americans” when interacting with outsiders (Garrett & Pichette, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> This measure was available only for data collected through the SPLC site.

<sup>3</sup> The measure of internal reliability (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) is based on  $D$  scores computed from four IAT parcels (trials 1-15, 16-30, 31-45, 46-60).

<sup>4</sup> In line with previous research, a stronger effect on the IAT was obtained when participants completed the American + White Americans task first ( $d = 0.55$ ) than when they started with the American + Native Americans task ( $d = .37$ ). It should be noted that the basic effects and correlations reported in this section did not substantially vary as a function of site (SPLC vs. Demonstration) or order of measures (IAT first vs. questionnaire first).

<sup>5</sup> The majority of these respondents (76.2%) were Canadian citizens.

<sup>6</sup> These numbers are based only on respondents who provided IAT data.

<sup>7</sup> Even in Alaska, where more than 15% of the population is American Indian-Alaskan Native, effects obtained ( $d = .46$  for the IAT,  $d = -.42$  for the single-item measure, and  $d = -.10$  for the difference score) were very similar to those reported for the total sample.

Table 1

*Implicit and explicit associations as a function of respondents' ethnicity: Effect sizes and implicit-explicit correlations*

	Implicit Association Tests		Self-Report [Single-Item]			Self-Report [Difference Score]		
	$d_{\text{Landmark-IAT}}$	$d_{\text{Location-IAT}}$	$d$	$r_{\text{Landmark-IAT}}$	$r_{\text{Location-IAT}}$	$d$	$r_{\text{Landmark-IAT}}$	$r_{\text{Location-IAT}}$
American Indian-Alaskan Native	-0.30	-0.17	-0.79	.14	.15	-0.46	.11	.17
White-not of Hispanic origin	0.49	0.61	-0.38	.19	.19	-0.03	.14	.17
Asian or Pacific Islander	0.45	0.49	-0.33	.14	.21	0.09	.25	.21
Black-not of Hispanic origin	0.41	0.47	-0.73	.11	.09	-0.13	.19	.22
Hispanic	0.46	0.45	-0.54	.07	.19	-0.14	.19	.16
Multi-racial	0.09	0.21	-0.59	.20	.18	-0.21	.20	.19
Other or Unknown	0.26	0.36	-0.41	.20	.14	-0.14	.14	.14

*Note.* IAT and self-report values are Cohen's  $d$ s with positive scores indicating a stronger association between American and White Americans, and negative scores indicating a stronger association between American and Native Americans. Effect sizes and implicit-explicit correlations are reported separately for the two versions of the IAT (Landmark vs. Location) and the two explicit measures (single-item vs. difference score).

Table 2

*Implicit and explicit associations as a function of respondents' political orientation: Effect sizes and implicit-explicit correlations*

	Implicit Association Test		Self-Report [Single-Item]		Self-Report [Difference Score]			
	$d_{\text{SPLC}}$	$d_{\text{Demo}}$	$d_{\text{SPLC}}$	$r_{\text{SPLC}}$	$d_{\text{SPLC}}$	$r_{\text{SPLC}}$	$d_{\text{Demo}}$	$r_{\text{Demo}}$
Strongly liberal	0.17	0.22	-0.65	.14	-0.22	.11	-0.23	.17
Moderately liberal	0.27	0.27	-0.55	.10	-0.14	.13	-0.10	.19
Slightly liberal	0.37	0.48	-0.46	.17	-0.10	.18	-0.07	.17
Neutral	0.51	-	-0.36	.20	-0.09	.20	-	-
Slightly conservative	0.54	0.69	-0.33	.11	-0.02	.13	0.02	.19
Moderately conservative	0.64	0.72	-0.27	.15	0.05	.15	0.09	.19
Strongly conservative	0.69	0.79	-0.04	.19	0.27	.24	0.17	.20

*Note.* IAT and self-report values are Cohen's  $d$ s with positive scores indicating a stronger association between American and White Americans, and negative scores indicating a stronger association between American and Native Americans. Data were collapsed across versions of the IAT. Effect sizes and implicit-explicit correlations are reported separately for the two sites (SPLC vs. Demo). Political orientation was measured using a 7-point scale on the SPLC site and a 6-point scale on the Demonstration site. The single-item measure was available only for data collected through the SPLC site.

Table 3

*Implicit and explicit associations as a function of respondents' region of residence, percentage of Native Americans in the state of residence, gender, age, and level of education*

	Implicit Association Test	Self-Report [Single-Item]	Self-Report [Difference Score]
<b>Region of Residence</b>			
New England	0.44	-0.45	-0.10
Pacific Coast	0.39	-0.47	-0.10
Mid-Atlantic	0.49	-0.44	-0.08
Midwest	0.53	-0.39	-0.03
West, Mountain	0.40	-0.40	-0.10
South	0.53	-0.46	-0.08
<b>Percentage of Native Americans</b>			
Less than 1%	0.51	-0.44	-0.08
Between 1-5%	0.43	-0.43	-0.08
More than 5%	0.39	-0.37	-0.07
<b>Gender</b>			
Women	0.46	-0.49	-0.10
Men	0.47	-0.33	-0.03
<b>Age</b>			
< 20	0.54	-0.27	0.01
20-29	0.43	-0.43	-0.03
30-39	0.44	-0.51	-0.12
40-49	0.42	-0.54	-0.17
50-59	0.46	-0.51	-0.15
60+	0.57	-0.40	-0.09
<b>Level of Education (Age &gt; 25)</b>			
Some high school or less	0.35	-0.55	-0.21
High school degree	0.61	-0.55	-0.17
Some college	0.58	-0.57	-0.17
College graduates	0.31	-0.47	-0.11
Advanced degree	0.28	-0.48	-0.09

*Note.* IAT and self-report values are Cohen's *ds* with positive scores indicating a stronger association between American and White Americans, and negative scores indicating a stronger association between American and Native Americans. Data were collapsed across versions of the IAT.

## Figure Captions

*Figure 1.* Histogram summarizing 44,878 IAT scores for the American-Native tasks completed between May 2002 and May 2006. The dark bars indicate faster sorting of *White American with American* and *Native American with Foreign*, gray bars indicate faster sorting of *Native American with American* and *White American with Foreign*. The bar height indicates the number of respondents who scored within that range. The IAT effect (D score) has a possible range of -2 to +2. Data were collapsed across IAT versions.

*Figure 2.* Effect sizes on the IAT and self-report measure (single-item) as a function of respondents' ethnicity. Positive scores indicate a stronger association between American and White Americans, and negative scores indicate a stronger association between American and Native Americans. Data were collapsed across IAT versions.

*Figure 3.* Effect sizes on the IAT and self-report measure (single-item) as a function of respondents' political orientation (Data from SPLC site only). Positive scores indicate a stronger association between American and White Americans, and negative scores indicate a stronger association between American and Native Americans. Data were collapsed across IAT versions.

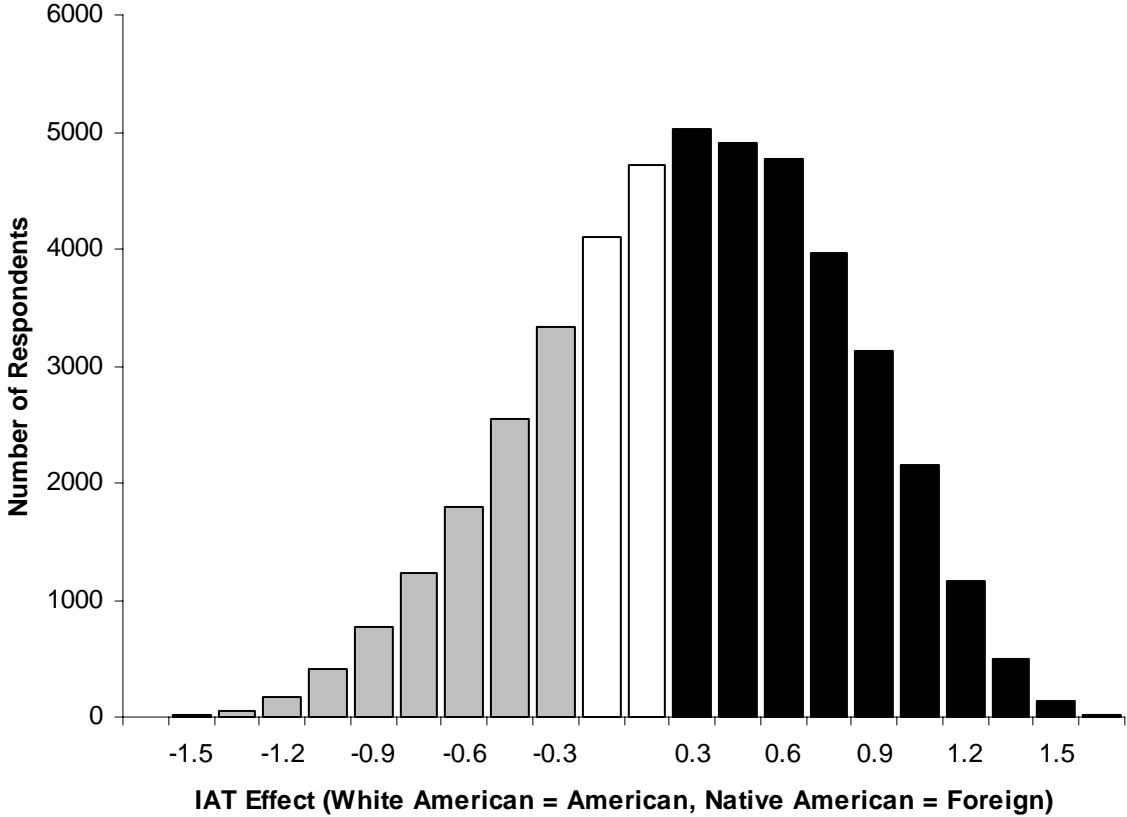


Figure 1

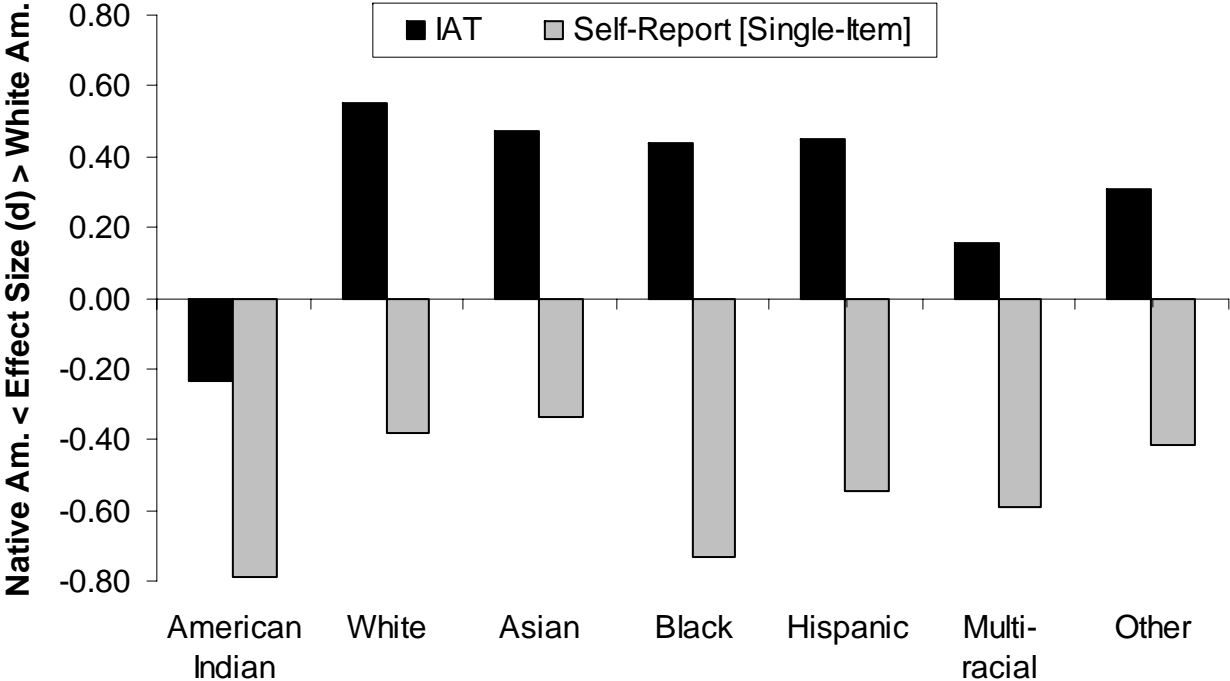


Figure 2

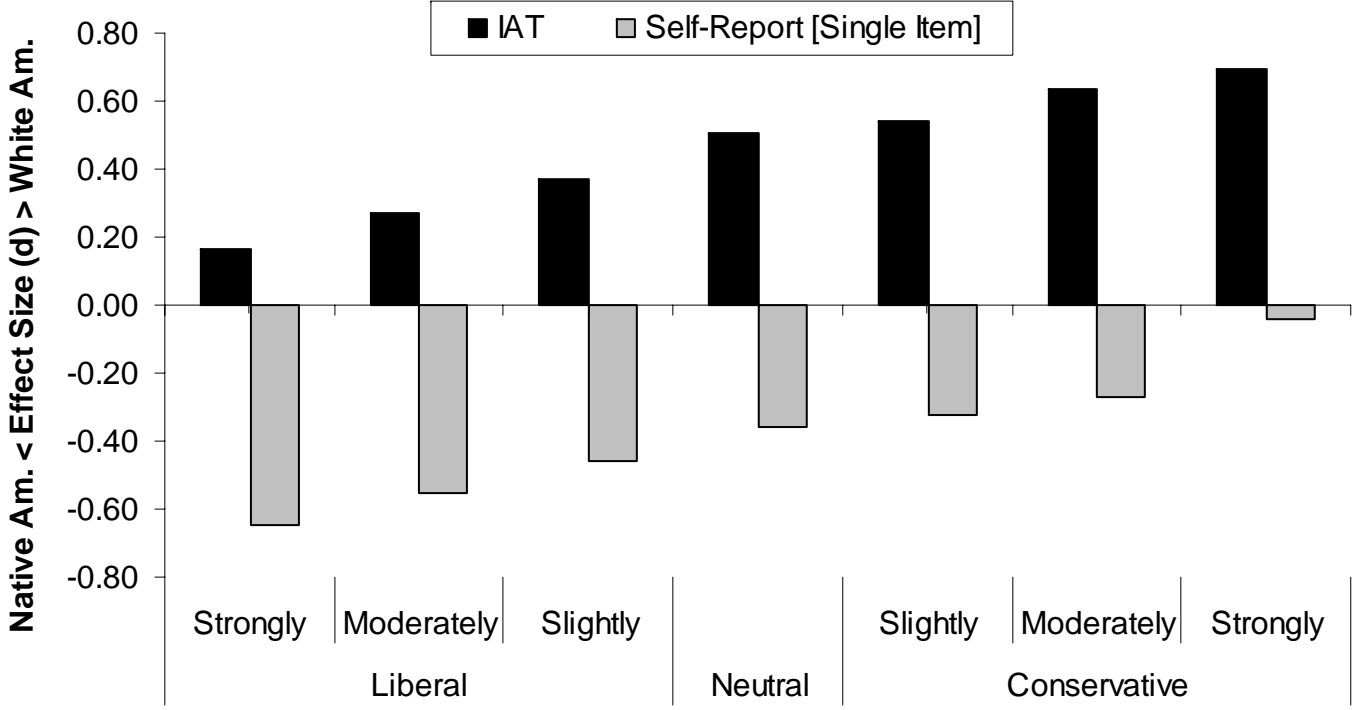


Figure 3