

Implications of a Dimension of Perceived Cultural Foreignness for Intergroup Relations

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**Abstract**

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The United States' racial and ethnic landscape continues to undergo transformative shifts. One driving force of this large-scale demographic change has been post-1960s immigration from Latin America and Asia. While social psychology's understanding of race has been largely influenced by the White-Black relationship, the expanded presence of Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and other racial and ethnic minority groups has underscored the need to better incorporate their experiences into our scholarship and research. The current dissertation proposes a two-dimensional Racial Position Model that integrates a new dimension of perceived cultural foreignness into the study of American race relations. Along the traditional dimension of perceived inferiority, African Americans and Latino Americans are positioned as lower status and inferior to White Americans, while Asian Americans occupy an intermediary position. In

addition, along a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness, Latino Americans and Asian Americans are positioned as foreign to White Americans, while African Americans occupy an intermediary position.

Using this two-dimensional model as a guiding framework, the current dissertation explores how a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness deepens our understanding of three topics important to contemporary race relations. Paper 1 reveals that the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness capture and distinguish among African Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans' distinct experiences with racial stereotyping and prejudice. Paper 2 demonstrates that White Americans perceive growing African American, Latino American, and Asian American populations in their local communities to pose distinct intergroup threats that correspond with groups' perceived inferiority and foreignness. Furthermore, these distinct threats predict Whites' desires to move away. Finally, Paper 3 investigates whether White Americans show reduced support for the inclusion of minorities from immigrant backgrounds in redistributive policies compared to native-born minorities, due to perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness. Taken together, this dissertation provides insight into how we may better address the changing conditions of studying race in an increasingly multiethnic nation by exploring how the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness together shape the experiences of racial and ethnic groups in contemporary American society.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

The United States' racial and ethnic landscape continues to undergo transformative shifts unseen by any other large, advanced nation (Kotkin, 2010). One driving force of this large-scale demographic change is immigration. With the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the United States abolished the use of national-origins quotas, replacing an immigration system that favored European immigrants with one that gave equal footing to immigrants of all nationalities (Alba & Nee, 2003). Since then, the foreign-born population of the United States has increased from under 10 million to nearly 50 million as of 2015 (Colby & Ortman, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2015).

The racial and ethnic makeup of this contemporary wave of immigrants is distinct from waves prior. Whereas Europe was the dominant source of immigration to the United States throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, immigration since the 1960s has consisted in large part of migrants from Latin America and Asia (Alba & Nee, 2003). As a result, Latino American and Asian American populations have grown at exponential rates across the last half-century (Pew Research Center, 2015). The changing demographics of American society raises important questions about how Latino Americans and Asian Americans have been positioned within U.S. race relations. Specifically, in what ways do these groups fit within our existing psychological understanding of race? Conversely, in what ways do the experiences of these groups require a new theoretical framework?

The present chapter is divided into three sections. First, I review the ways in which the field of social psychology has approached the study of race relations. Second, I present a new dimension of intergroup perception that may capture race relations in the United States more

fully by attending to racial and ethnic groups' perceived cultural foreignness. Third, I provide an overview of three enclosed manuscripts that incorporate a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness in the domains of racial prejudice, intergroup threat, and redistributive justice.

### **Part 1: Social Psychology's Study of Race**

Since its birth as a field, social psychology has been interested in investigating dynamics between racial and ethnic groups (Duckitt, 1992). One particularly prominent relationship that has guided the direction of this research in the United States is the relationship between White Americans and African Americans. These groups are widely understood to be stratified hierarchically based on differences in perceived status and power, such that White Americans are positioned as the dominant group in American society, and African Americans as the subordinated group that is perceived as low status and inferior (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Using this guiding framework, research has illuminated the nature of Black-White relations. African Americans are devalued relative to White Americans due to stereotypes about their inferior competence and education (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Devine, 1989), occupational prestige (King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, & Mendoza, 2006; Koenig & Eagly, 2014), and socioeconomic status (Brown-Iannuzzi, Dotsch, Cooley, & Payne, 2017; Devine, 1989). Such stereotypes often shape interracial interactions between White and African Americans (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010), as well as contribute to the discrimination faced by African Americans in academic (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), occupational (Pager, 2007), and criminal justice contexts (Hetey & Eberhart, 2018).

In recent decades, Latino Americans and Asian Americans have garnered more empirical attention. Latino Americans are often rendered into an inferior, low-status position like that of African Americans (O'Brien & Major, 2005) and are targeted by similar stereotypes (Fiske et al.,

2002; Wilson, 1996) and forms of prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Dittmann, & Lagunes, 2010; Quillian, Pager, Hexel, & Arnfinn, 2017). Conversely, Asian Americans are perceived to be higher in status than African Americans or Latino Americans (Fiske et al., 2002), and may be protected from low-status stereotypes while encountering a distinct set of “model minority” stereotypes instead (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2011; Siy & Cheryan, 2013).

A single hierarchy of perceived inferiority has served as a generative framework for investigating Black-White relations and a useful starting point for incorporating Latino Americans and Asian Americans into social psychological research. Indeed, traditions of racial discrimination against African Americans have often been extended to other racial and ethnic minority groups throughout history (Feagin, 2000). However, due to the historical and contemporary dynamics of U.S. immigration, Latino Americans and Asian Americans’ experiences may also differ from those of African Americans in meaningful ways. More fully capturing these experiences may require systematically broadening our study of race relations beyond a single dimension of inferiority-based racial hierarchy.

## **Part 2: A Dimension of Perceived Cultural Foreignness**

I propose that systematically integrating a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness into the study of race relations may allow us to better understand the distinct forms of subordination faced by different racial and ethnic minority groups, particularly Latino Americans and Asian Americans. Indeed, evidence from history, sociology, and law has demonstrated the critical ways in which perceptions of groups’ foreignness have affected their trajectories in the United States. Below, I provide both interdisciplinary and social psychological support for this new dimension.

## **Evidence in History and Law**

Certain racial and ethnic groups have long been positioned as unassimilable foreigners in the American collective imagination. This perceived foreignness often served as the basis for Latino Americans and Asian Americans' legal exclusion from American life. For example, deemed impossible to assimilate, Chinese immigrants were denied a pathway to citizenship (Haney-Lopez, 2006). The status of Chinese immigrants as "ineligible aliens" precluded them from full civic and economic participation, and eventually precluded them from entry into the United States altogether; this was soon followed by a ban against all persons from the Asiatic region in 1917 (Ancheta, 1998). Even once granted, Asian Americans' citizenship could be effectively renounced, such as in the World War II internment of Japanese Americans (Ngai, 2004), who were thought to be immutably loyal and bound to "an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom and religion" (DeWitt, 1943).

Although not formally barred from citizenship or entry in the same way as Asian Americans, Latino Americans were also subject to government-sanctioned exclusion and discrimination. During the Great Depression, half a million Mexican Americans—the majority of whom were U.S. citizens—were forcibly repatriated to Mexico to save jobs for "true Americans" (Johnson, 2005). This cycle was repeated in the 1950s, when over a million Mexican Americans were deported (Haney-Lopez, 2006). Furthermore, the passage of new restrictive immigration policy in the 1920s, and its enforcement at the U.S.-Mexico border, turned thousands of Mexican immigrants into a new class of "illegal aliens" who were perceived to have no "rightful presence" in the United States (Ngai, 2004).

The positioning of Latino Americans and Asian Americans as foreign outsiders has been reinforced through decades of social and political discourse. At the height of anti-Asian

sentiment during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, political figures described Asian immigrants as refusing to adapt to “our habits, mode of dress, or our educational system” (Ancheta, 1998), concluding that “they are not the stuff of which American citizens can be made” (Limerick, 1987). Similarly, throughout the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, news media popularized narratives of Latino Americans as a “flood” or “invasion” of unwanted outsiders (Massey & Pren, 2012; Santa Ana, 2002). In his infamous article (2004), Harvard professor Sam Huntington warned: “the persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages.” Taken together, for Latino Americans and Asian Americans, the ways in which they have been formally treated by the state and socially constructed in the American mind were and continue to be profoundly shaped by perceptions of their unassimilable foreignness.

### **Evidence in Social Psychology**

A growing body of empirical social psychological research has also explored the relationship of different racial and ethnic groups to the American identity. Specifically, White Americans are robustly perceived to be the most “American” (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2010). This effect is especially pronounced at the implicit level, where White Americans are associated with American symbols to a greater degree than African Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans (for a review, see Devos & Muhammed, 2014). While racial and ethnic minority groups in general are perceived as less American than Whites, there is evidence for “shades of Americanness” (Dovidio et al., 2010), such that Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Arab Americans may be perceived as especially un-American.

From perceivers' perspectives, this "American=White" association may lead to specific forms of racial prejudice and discrimination. For example, a stronger tendency among White Americans to equate being American with being White predicted discrimination against Asian Americans in national security contexts, due to increased doubt of Asian Americans' loyalties (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). White Americans were also more likely to support tougher treatment of Latino immigrants compared to White immigrants, particularly if they perceived American identity to be based on Anglocentric traits (e.g., speaking English; Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams, 2013). From targets' perspectives, being excluded from the American identity may lead to lower levels of national identification and attachment (Sidanius et al., 1997; Huo & Molina, 2006; Molina, Phillips, & Sidanius, 2015). Asian Americans and Latino Americans are especially likely to report experiencing a "perpetual foreigner syndrome," such that regardless of their birthplace or citizenship, they are stereotyped as foreigners in the United States (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh, 2012), and experience the regular denial of their American identity (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Sanchez, Chaney, Manuel, & Remedios, 2018).

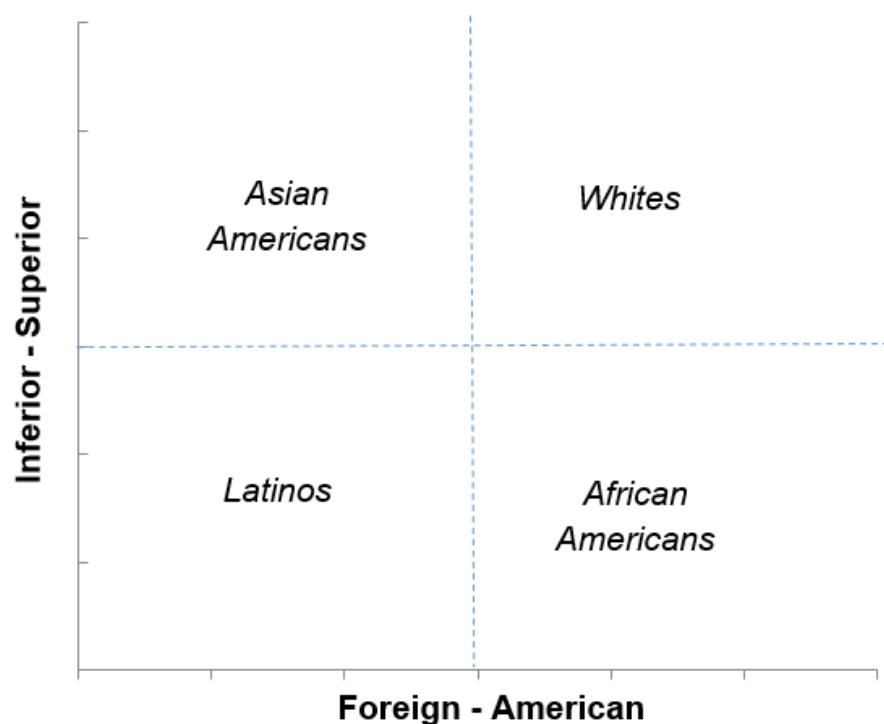
### **Part 3: A New Framework for the Study of Race Relations in the United States**

I propose that race relations in the United States can be captured by two dimensions of perceived inferiority and perceived cultural foreignness (see Figure 1). Along the traditional dimension of perceived inferiority, African Americans and Latino Americans are cast as lower status and inferior to White Americans, while Asian Americans occupy an intermediary position. In addition, along a new dimension of perceived cultural foreignness, Latino Americans and Asian Americans are cast as foreign to White Americans, while African Americans occupy an intermediary position. The integration of these two dimensions reveals the unique location of each of these groups in American society: African Americans and Native Americans are

positioned as inferior and American, Latino Americans and Arab Americans as inferior and foreign, Asian Americans as superior and foreign, and White Americans as superior and American.

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*Figure 1.* The proposed two-dimensional Racial Position Model.



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### **Cultural Foreignness as Perceived Distance from the American Category Prototype**

Cultural foreignness is defined as the extent to which a group is perceived to deviate from the “American” category prototype and better fit the features of a “foreign” category instead. Indeed, within a shared superordinate category, subgroups differ in the extent to which they are perceived to be representative of that category (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). Specifically, superordinate categories tend to be represented in ways that privilege the characteristics of the dominant subgroup (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001). To the extent that other

subgroups are perceived to deviate from these prototypical characteristics, they may be precluded from full inclusion in the superordinate category. Indeed, subgroups that are perceived as less prototypical may be afforded less status or resources, and face greater discrimination (e.g., Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007).

A wide range of features comprises the American prototype. First, being perceived as American may involve objective criteria such as birthplace and citizenship (Schildkraut, 2011). To the extent that group members are perceived largely to have been born outside of the United States and holding foreign citizenship, a group may be positioned as more foreign. For instance, a significant proportion of current Latino Americans (34.2%) and Asian Americans (65.2%) are foreign-born immigrants (Vespa, Armstrong, & Medina, 2018).

However, Americanness is not based solely on citizenship. The American prototype also includes ethnocultural features such as speaking English and practicing Christianity (e.g., Schildkraut, 2002; 2003; 2011). Other work suggests that along with linguistic and religious heritage, American culture encompasses elements of food, style of dress, music, recreation, and other cultural customs and traditions (Schwartz et al., 2012; Woodard, 2011). To the extent that a group is perceived largely as speaking foreign languages (e.g., Spanish, Chinese), practicing non-Christian religions (e.g., Islam, Catholicism), and engaging in other foreign cultural practices, they may be positioned as more foreign.

Finally, the American prototype consists of features such as political and civic engagement, and devotion to American values such as democracy and industriousness (Park-Taylor et al., 2008; Schildkraut, 2011; Smith, 1997; Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012). To the extent that a group is perceived as civically unengaged, they may be positioned as more foreign. For instance, Latino Americans and Asian Americans both have long been perceived to be

uninterested in participating in American civic life (Kim, 1999). In addition, a group may be positioned as more foreign to the extent that they are perceived as ideologically opposed to American ideals. For instance, Arab Americans may be perceived to be devoted to an expressly anti-American ideology (Pew Research Center, 2017), which may contribute to their positioning as extremely foreign.

Taken together, what classifies groups as foreign or American is unlikely to be reducible to a single feature or characteristic. Rather, groups vary along a continuum of perceived foreignness and Americanness, as determined by their possession of a “fuzzy set of attributes” (McCloskey & Glucksberg, 1978; Rosch & Mervis, 1975). Furthermore, a group’s perceived foreignness is likely influenced by several historical and contemporary factors, including but not limited to: the length of their immersion in American society, the United States’ international relations with their country of origin, the circumstances surrounding their arrival (e.g., voluntary or involuntary immigration, refugee status), the extent to which ties with their home societies and cultural heritages were forcibly severed (e.g., as was the case with African Americans; Feagin, 2000), tribal sovereignty, and the cultural narratives and legal practices that have surrounded their presence.

### **Contributions of a Two-Dimensional Framework**

A new Racial Position Model makes three contributions to the social psychological literature. First, a two-dimensional framework allows us to identify the discrete experiences of different racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States. A host of research has documented the negative effects of experiencing prejudice for health and well-being (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), as well as the role of stereotypes in preserving disparities in education (e.g., Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), the labor market (e.g., Pager,

2007), and the criminal justice system (e.g., Goff, XX). However, different racial and ethnic minority groups may each face distinct forms of prejudice and stereotyping. Chapter 2 demonstrates that the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness capture and distinguish among the experiences of African Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans. Understanding when groups' experiences meaningfully diverge and converge may help us better predict how and under what circumstances different groups are vulnerable to facing racial bias.

Second, a two-dimensional framework allows us to examine how perceptions of inferiority and foreignness underlie patterns of racial inequality in the United States. Although racial diversity has increased, racial segregation in schools and neighborhoods persists. Segregation is one of the strongest contributing factors to racial disparities in economic and educational outcomes (Massey & Denton, 1998). However, White Americans' reluctance to live among different racial and ethnic minority groups may be rooted in distinct reasons. Chapter 3 demonstrates that White Americans perceive growing African American, Latino American, and Asian American populations in their local communities to pose distinct intergroup threats that correspond with groups' perceived inferiority and foreignness. Furthermore, these threat reactions predict White Americans' desires to move away. Understanding the perceived threats that underlie White Americans' avoidance of different racial and ethnic minority populations may help us better tailor interventions to improve White Americans' willingness to integrate.

Third, a two-dimensional framework allows us to better understand how a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness affects racial equity efforts in the United States. One vital tool for reducing inequality has been the use of policies that redistribute resources and opportunities to racial and ethnic minority groups (Skrentny, 2002). However, different racial and ethnic minority

groups may not all be considered suitable beneficiaries. Chapter 4 demonstrates that White Americans show reduced support for the inclusion of minorities from immigrant backgrounds in redistributive policies compared to native-born minorities, due to perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness. Understanding how White Americans' support for racial redistributive policies is influenced by perceptions of foreignness may help us identify barriers to immigrant minorities' inclusion in racial equity efforts.

## **Chapter 2**

Two axes of subordination: A new model of racial position

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### Abstract

Theories of race relations have been shaped by the concept of a racial hierarchy along which Whites are the most advantaged and African Americans the most disadvantaged. However, the recent precipitated growth of Latinos and Asian Americans in the United States underscores the need for a framework that integrates more groups. The current work proposes that racial and ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged along two distinct dimensions of perceived *inferiority* and perceived *cultural foreignness*, such that the four largest groups in the United States are located in four discrete quadrants: Whites are perceived and treated as superior and American, African Americans as inferior and relatively American compared to Latinos and Asian Americans; Latinos as inferior and foreign; and Asian Americans as foreign and relatively superior compared to African Americans and Latinos. Support for this Racial Position Model is first obtained from targets' perspectives. Different groups experience distinct patterns of racial prejudice that are predicted by their two-dimensional group positions (Studies 1 and 2). From perceivers' perspectives, these group positions are reflected in the content of racial stereotypes (Study 3), and are well-known and consensually recognized (Study 4). Implications of this new model for studying contemporary race relations (e.g., prejudice, threat, and inter-minority dynamics) are discussed.

### Two axes of subordination: A new model of racial position

[African Americans] had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race...

—Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. 393, 1857

Individuals of Japanese ancestry are condemned because they are said to be ‘a large, unassimilated, tightly knit racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom and religion.’

—Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214, 1944

A look into some of America’s notorious acts of racial inequality provides critical evidence for how different groups have been positioned, and the harmful accompanying consequences. With *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, one of the most significant cases in Supreme Court history, the perceived inferiority of African Americans to Whites was reason to deny them their freedom, rights, and citizenship. A century later, *Korematsu v. United States* defended the mass internment of both immigrated and native-born Japanese-Americans on the basis of their perceived foreign culture, loyalties, and way of life. Both the Dred Scott and Korematsu decisions positioned an entire racial or ethnic minority group as being in some way subordinate. However, the specific dimensions along which these groups were subordinated, though both costly, do not appear to be the same.

### **A Unidimensional Racial Hierarchy**

Racial position, or a racial or ethnic group’s perceived “positional arrangement” relative to others (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999), is most commonly conceptualized by scholars as a hierarchy along which Whites are positioned as the dominant and most advantaged group in American society, while African Americans are disadvantaged and devalued (e.g., Sidanius &

Pratto, 1999). This unidimensional racial hierarchy has served as a valuable framework for exploring race relations in the United States.

However, there remains less clarity regarding how other groups are positioned. Since lifting its last racial immigration quotas in the 1960s, the United States has seen dramatic demographic shifts. Latinos and Asian Americans, the two fastest growing groups, together comprise nearly a quarter of the United States population (Colby & Ortman, 2014). While some work contends that Latinos do not face the same degree of discrimination as do African Americans (Sears & Savalei, 2006), other work has suggested that Latinos and African Americans are similarly stereotyped (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), or that Latinos may be perceived even more negatively than African Americans (Axt, Ebersole, & Nosek, 2014). The hierarchical position of Asian Americans is similarly variable. Some work has grouped Asian Americans alongside African Americans and Latinos as commonly disadvantaged minority groups (Craig & Richeson, 2012), some work has found that Asian Americans face discrimination to a similar extent as Latinos but not African Americans (Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006), and still other work has separated Asian Americans into a middle tier in which they are perceived to be higher in status than African Americans and Latinos, but lower than Whites (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; O'Brien & Major, 2005).

In the current paper, we argue that examining racial position along two distinct dimensions rather than one will clarify the location of different racial and ethnic groups in the United States, and set the stage for novel predictions about prejudice, threat, and inter-minority dynamics. Along a dimension of perceived *inferiority*, groups are ranked by their perceived

intellectual, economic, and occupational prestige<sup>1</sup>. This dimension has served as our field's main framework for exploring race relations. However, groups may also be ranked along a second dimension of perceived *cultural foreignness*. These dimensions together contribute to shape groups' racial positioning in American society.

### **The Racial Position Model**

A rich body of interdisciplinary literature has called for not only incorporating more racial and ethnic groups into our scholarship and research, but also exploring the unique ways in which these groups have been perceived and treated through history and into the modern day (e.g., Omi & Winant, 1994). Indeed, many groups have been othered in American society, but not in uniform ways (Takaki, 1993). Historians have traced the development of racial belief systems and sociopolitical practices casting African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans as inherently inferior groups to Whites (e.g., Acuña, 1981; Fredrickson, 2002; Jordan, 1968), and those casting Mexican Americans, Filipino Americans, Japanese Americans, and Chinese Americans<sup>2</sup> as foreign groups composed of unwanted, unassimilable strangers (e.g., Molina, 2014; Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1989). Theoretical analyses of United States civil rights and law demonstrate how these two forms of inferiority- and foreignness-based racial subordination have been codified by federal and state legislation (Ancheta, 1998), and how rectifying such inequality has in turn required two corresponding forms of civil rights initiatives (e.g., school desegregation vs. bilingual education; Brilliant, 2010).

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<sup>1</sup> Our definition of a group's perceived inferiority/superiority is consistent with common social psychological definitions of perceived status (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002). However, status has also been conceptualized more broadly as the cultural evaluation of a group's social value (e.g., Ridgeway, 2014). In order to have our model be relevant across fields, we opt to refer to this vertical dimension as perceived inferiority/superiority rather than perceived status.

<sup>2</sup> Asian Americans have also been cast as inferior to Whites in the past (e.g., Almaguer, 1994). However, since the 1960s, the now-prominent model minority stereotype portrays Asian Americans instead as a high-achieving and successful group that at times even surpasses Whites (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2011).

Political scientist Claire Jean Kim (1999; see also Xu & Lee, 2013) uses evidence from history and law to theorize that Whites have strategically positioned African Americans and Asian Americans along the dual axes of inferior/superior and foreigner/insider. Asian Americans are positioned as inferior to Whites but valorized relative to African Americans; simultaneously, they are ostracized as foreigners relative to both Whites and African Americans. These axes operate together to “[shape] the opportunities, constraints, and possibilities with which subordinate groups must contend” (p. 107).

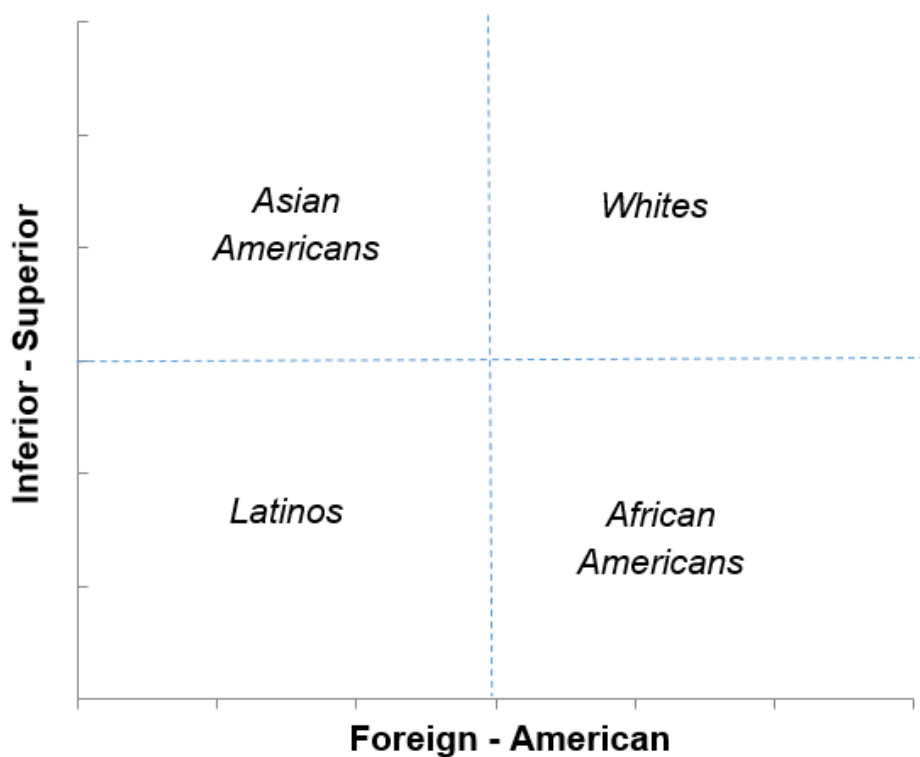
These works provide the foundation for a new social psychological model in which racial and ethnic groups in the United States are positioned according to their perceived *cultural foreignness-Americanness* in addition to their perceived *inferiority-superiority*. These two dimensions are distinct, but correlated. Indeed, low-status groups tend to be excluded from American national identity (e.g., Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997); reciprocally, groups perceived as national outsiders are afforded less status (e.g., Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). Thus Whites hold the most advantaged overall position while racial and ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged in discrete ways along both dimensions.

Our model examines the positioning of the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States as a starting point. Though important heterogeneity exists within each of these groups (a point we return to in the General Discussion), racial subordination often involves a masking of such intra-group distinctions (Omi & Winant, 1994). Mapping these groups along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness may reveal that each group is positioned within a unique quadrant (see Figure 1): Whites are treated and perceived as superior and American; African Americans as inferior and relatively American compared to Latinos and Asian Americans; Latinos as inferior and foreign; and Asian Americans as foreign and relatively

superior compared to African Americans and Latinos. A two-dimensional Racial Position Model allows us to empirically differentiate and predict groups' experiences with racial prejudice. Furthermore, from perceivers' perspectives, this model allows us to predict the ways in which these groups are culturally stereotyped and perceived.

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Figure 1. The four-quadrant pattern predicted by the Racial Position Model.



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### A Dimension of Perceived Cultural Foreignness

We use *cultural foreignness* to refer to a group's perceived distance away from the superordinate category prototype, and towards the prototype of an antithetical category. The prototypical features of a superordinate category often resemble the features of the dominant group within that category (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Miller, Taylor, &

Buck, 1991). These features can take on a moral or prescriptive quality, such that deviation is judged negatively and even punished (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Hensen, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). Groups may be perceived to deviate from the superordinate category prototype to differing degrees. Groups that deviate to some degree may still be perceived to fit within the superordinate category, while others may be positioned even further along this continuum, to such a degree that they are perceived to better fit a foreign category instead.

For racial and ethnic groups in the United States, nationality is a highly relevant superordinate category. The American prototype consists of three primary components: devotion to core American ideals such as democracy, equality, and industriousness; respect for and engagement in social and political service; and shared Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, which includes speaking English and practicing Christianity (Alba & Nee, 2003; Citrin, Haas, Muste, & Reingold, 1994; Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Schildkraut, 2007; Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012). This last ethnocultural component has been especially influential in determining which groups are more or less American than others (Sidanius et al., 1997). Indeed, Whites are robustly perceived to be the most American (Devos & Banaji, 2005; for a review, see Devos & Mohamed, 2014). In comparison, racial and ethnic minority groups are each perceived to deviate from the American prototype to differing degrees.

Certain minority groups, though deviating from the American prototype, may still be perceived to fit within the American superordinate category. For example, African Americans are perceived as violating American values such as the Protestant work ethic (Kinder & Sears, 1981) and occupying a space outside of mainstream American identity (Du Bois, 1903).

However, African Americans are also perceived to share in American birthplace and language, and have played a salient role in American economic and political history (Sears & Savalei, 2006). Elements of Black culture (e.g., music, dance, style) have been adopted by the American mainstream (hooks, 1992). Thus, although African Americans are seen as culturally different and less American relative to Whites (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Rydell, Hamilton, & Devos, 2010), they may nevertheless be considered closer to the American prototype than to that of a foreign nation.

Other groups may be perceived to deviate even further from the American prototype, to the degree that they are closer to a foreign prototype instead. For example, Latinos and Asian Americans are often considered “unfit for and uninterested in the American way of life” (Kim, 1999, pg. 112), and tend to be associated with the linguistic, religious, domestic, and cultural practices of their foreign countries of origin (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Rivera, Forquer, & Rangel, 2010; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007; Sue et al., 2007). Finally, other groups (e.g., Arab Americans) may occupy the extreme end of the foreignness dimension, where they are perceived to fit a foreign prototype that is antithetical to and antagonistic towards what it means to be “American.” Indeed, following the September 11, 2001 attacks, the Arab world has been perceived by Americans to be at war with the United States, and Arab Americans are widely associated with anti-American violence and terrorism (Hitlan, Carrillo, Zarate, & Aikman, 2007; Panagopoulos, 2006).

While the current work focuses on the United States, a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may apply beyond the United States to explain the experiences of racial and ethnic groups that are perceived and treated as outsiders in other national contexts (e.g., Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). This dimension may

also apply beyond national superordinate categories. For example, women's perceived cultural "foreignness" may shape their experiences within male-dominated environments. Indeed, women in STEM fields (Cheryan, Ziegler, Montoya, & Jiang, 2016), upper management (Heilman, 1983; 2001), and the military (Pazy & Oron, 2001) may encounter prejudice not only based on beliefs about their inferior abilities, but also about their lack of fit with the masculine prototype of their respective domains. Thus a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may shed light on the experiences of marginalized groups more broadly.

### **Other Dimensions of Intergroup Relations**

Other models have also proposed that groups are evaluated along multiple discrete dimensions. Below we review three prominent models and identify points of similarity and differentiation. First, the seminal Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) demonstrates that groups are judged by their competence and warmth. The SCM is applicable across many social groups, from women to the elderly. Focusing on its specific predictions for racial and ethnic groups, Whites are stereotyped as high in both competence and warmth, and Asian Americans as being higher in competence than in warmth. African Americans and Latinos tend to be in the middle on both competence and warmth dimensions. Second, image theory (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999; Alexander, Brewer, & Livingston, 2005) demonstrates that outgroup stereotypes arise based on three dimensions of intergroup relations: relative power, relative status, and goal compatibility. Finally, the ABC model of stereotype content (Koch, Imhoff, Dotsch, Unkelbach, & Alves, 2016) demonstrates that social groups are distinguished according to the two primary dimensions of agency/socioeconomic success and conservative-progressive beliefs.

The primary point of overlap between the Racial Position Model and these other models is our inferiority dimension, which converges with other dimensions that reflect groups' status and prestige (e.g., agency/socioeconomic success, Koch et al., 2016; competence, Fiske et al., 2002; relative status and relative power; Alexander et al., 1999). However, the Racial Position Model has three points of distinction. First, our foreignness dimension signifies an important contribution: we argue that this dimension is theoretically and empirically distinct from the other dimensions reviewed above. Secondly, while the models above are valuable and expansive approaches for examining intergroup perceptions more broadly, our model was developed with a focus on race and ethnicity. This allows us to specifically incorporate a dimension that has powerfully shaped United States race relations and that may capture key experiences of groups historically perceived as foreigners, such as Latinos and Asian Americans. Finally, the Racial Position Model may be able to distinguish the experiences of African Americans and Latinos, who are often clustered together by other models (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Fiske et al., 2002; Koch et al., 2016).

### **Implications of the Racial Position Model**

American social psychology's study of race relations has been justifiably shaped by the relationship between African Americans and Whites (Duckitt, 1992). However, a one-size-fits-all approach may obscure different patterns of experiences among racial and ethnic minority groups, or render invisible those experiences to which the traditional framework is not sensitive. In comparison, a two-dimensional Racial Position Model may better capture qualitative distinctions in how different groups in the United States are treated and perceived.

First, in line with previous research, we predict that a group's position along the inferiority dimension predicts the extent to which group members face prejudice and

stereotyping based on their perceived intellectual, socioeconomic, and cultural inferiority (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). African Americans and Latinos may both face this form of inferiority-based treatment to a greater extent than do Asian Americans. Extant literature has demonstrated commonality in the experiences of African Americans and Latinos (e.g., Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010), as both groups are subject to stereotypes related to their perceived incompetence (Fiske et al., 2002; Steele, 1997), low socioeconomic status (Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997; Devine, 1989), and violent and criminal nature (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Wilson, 1996). Conversely, as a “model minority,” Asian Americans often face prejudice and stereotyping related to their perceived competence and achievement instead (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Siy & Cheryan, 2013).

Next, we predict that a group’s position along the foreignness dimension predicts the extent to which group members face prejudice and stereotyping based on their perceived deviation from the prototypical features of the American superordinate category. Latinos and Asian Americans may face this form of foreignness-based treatment to a greater extent than do African Americans. Latinos and Asian Americans are stereotyped as not being born in the United States or speaking English (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Dittmann, & Lagunes, 2010; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011), and encounter prejudice based on suspicions regarding their citizenship (Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams, 2013) and loyalty to the United States (Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Both groups report experiencing this “perpetual foreigner syndrome” to a similar extent (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh, 2012) and more frequently than either African Americans or Whites (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

Our model also lays the groundwork for additional theoretical predictions that help to illuminate the nature of race relations in an increasingly multiethnic nation. For example, our

model has implications for understanding Whites' relations with different racial and ethnic minority groups. Whites perceive minority groups as posing an overall threat to their dominant group position (e.g., Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014); however, the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness may correspond with discrete threats, such that the threats evoked by a specific minority group are determined by its two-dimensional position relative to Whites. Our model has further implications for understanding relations among racial and ethnic minority groups.

Solidarity may be easier to achieve between groups that share a position along a dimension and have similar resulting experiences with prejudice (e.g., Latinos and Asian Americans), than between groups that are positioned separately along both dimensions (e.g., African Americans and Asian Americans).

Before delving into these areas of future investigation, the first task—and the goal of the current paper—is to establish the two-dimensional Racial Position Model and test its predictions for how racial and ethnic groups are treated and perceived in the United States. Across four studies, the current work seeks to investigate several questions: How are the largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States positioned along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness in the mind of the American public (Preliminary Evidence)? From targets' perspectives, does the Racial Position Model successfully predict groups' real-world experiences with racial prejudice (Studies 1 and 2)? Are experiences based on perceived foreignness coherent and distinct from other forms of experiences (Study 2)? From perceivers' perspectives, does the Racial Position Model predict the stereotype content of different racial and ethnic groups (Study 3)? How are the inferiority and foreignness dimensions related to each other and to other dimensions of intergroup perception (Study 4)? Are groups' two-dimensional positions shared cultural knowledge, such that there is consensus among members of different groups (Study 4)?

Finally, does our model extend to other racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Native Americans, Arab Americans), and to both the men and women within each group (Study 4)?

### **Preliminary Evidence Using Nationally Representative Data**

We analyzed General Social Survey (GSS; Smith, Marsden, Hout, & Kim, 2013) data collected in 1990<sup>3</sup> to provide preliminary evidence for our two-dimensional model. In this dataset, a total of 1,372 participants (56% female, 1150 White, 159 Black, and 63 “Other”) were asked to rate the characteristics of different social groups. Participants rated four relevant groups: “Asian Americans,” “Blacks,” “Hispanic Americans,” and “Whites.” To assess perceptions along the inferiority dimension, we examined participant ratings of groups’ wealth ( $1 = Rich$ ,  $7 = Poor$ ; reverse scored).<sup>4</sup> To assess perceptions along the foreignness dimension, we examined participant ratings of groups’ patriotism ( $1 = Patriotic$ ,  $7 = Unpatriotic$ ; reverse scored). For each group, perceived wealth and patriotism were weakly correlated,  $r_s = .08 - .18$ .

A 2 (dimension)  $\times$  4 (racial group) repeated-measures ANOVA<sup>5</sup> found a main effect of dimension,  $F(1, 1130) = 1080.75$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .49$ , and of racial group,  $F(3, 3390) = 927.45$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .45$ . These effects were qualified by a significant dimension  $\times$  racial group interaction,  $F(3, 3390) = 130.79$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .10$ . Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections.

Along the inferiority dimension, Whites ( $M = 4.50$ ,  $SD = .87$ ) were rated as more wealthy than all other groups,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .71$ . Asian Americans ( $M = 3.74$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) were rated as more wealthy than Hispanic Americans and Blacks,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .73$ . Finally, ratings of

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<sup>3</sup> Although the GSS has been conducted more recently, ratings of groups’ patriotism were only collected in 1990.

<sup>4</sup> We also conducted a version of these analyses using participant ratings of groups’ intelligence instead of wealth as a proxy for the inferiority dimension, and obtained the same pattern of results.

<sup>5</sup> For all ANOVAs throughout the current paper involving repeated measures analyses, Greenhouse–Geisser estimates were used when assumptions of sphericity were violated.

Hispanic Americans ( $M = 2.87$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) and Blacks ( $M = 2.89$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ) did not differ,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .02$ .

Along the foreignness dimension, Whites ( $M = 5.53$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ) were rated as more patriotic than all other groups,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .78$ . Blacks ( $M = 4.51$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ) were rated as more patriotic than Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .11$ . Finally, Asian Americans ( $M = 4.35$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ) were rated as more patriotic than Hispanic Americans ( $M = 4.19$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ),  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .12$ .

These nationally representative data provide preliminary evidence that racial and ethnic groups in the United States are differentially perceived along these two dimensions according to American public opinion. In our studies below, we provide further support for the Racial Position Model from the perspectives of both targets and perceivers.

### **Studies 1 and 2: The Racial Position Model and Targets' Experiences of Prejudice**

We began our investigation of a two-dimensional Racial Position Model from the perspective of targets. Study 1 asked participants to recall a recent personal experience of racial prejudice. Study 2 asked participants to rate their overall experiences with racial prejudice. Together, these studies tested whether the Racial Position Model captures the qualitatively distinct forms of prejudice experienced by members of the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States.

#### **Study 1: Does the Racial Position Model Predict Real-World Experiences with Racial Prejudice?**

In this study, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites reported on their most recent experience of racial prejudice. Congruent with each group's hypothesized position, we predicted that African Americans would be more likely to experience prejudice based on their

perceived inferiority than perceived foreignness; Latinos would be likely to experience both forms of prejudice; Asian Americans would be more likely to experience prejudice based on their perceived foreignness than perceived inferiority; and Whites would be unlikely to experience either form of prejudice. In addition, we examined whether the Racial Position Model would capture experiences of racial prejudice to a greater extent than other relevant dimensions (e.g., warmth).

### Method

**Participants.** To limit participant self-selection, we did not advertise this study as being related to racial prejudice, nor restrict participation to specific groups. Based on the racial and ethnic composition of Amazon Mechanical Turk (Huff & Tingley, 2015), we aimed to collect responses from at least 1000 participants in order to obtain at least 50 responses from each target group.

A total of 1009 Amazon Mechanical Turk workers living in the United States completed an online study for monetary compensation. All 280 individual responses from self-identified mono-racial African American, Latino, and Asian American participants were included in the coding process<sup>6</sup>. In addition, out of the total 649 responses from White participants, we included a randomly selected subset of 100 responses to be coded. The final sample was 380 participants (45% female; 113 African American, 92 Asian American, 75 Latino, 100 White). The mean age was 28.60 years ( $SD = 8.95$ ).

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<sup>6</sup> We also received 80 responses from Native Americans, Arab Americans, Black/White multiracial individuals, Latino/White multiracial individuals, and others. However, the sample sizes of each of these groups were ultimately too small (i.e., <10) to meaningfully analyze.

**Materials and coding process.** Participants responded to the following open-ended item: “Describe a recent personal experience in which you were the target of racial prejudice. Please be as specific as possible.” Participants then reported demographic information.

Prior to being coded, responses were stripped of explicit mentions of participant race. For example, a response that originally read, “He assumed that because I was black I was shoplifting,” was edited to read, “He assumed that because I was [race redacted] I was shoplifting.”

Coders were one Latina female and one White non-binary research assistant, both hypothesis-blind. Kappa statistics and percent agreement are reported in Table 1. A third hypothesis-blind Asian American female research assistant was used to resolve disagreement between the two primary coders. 3.6% of the total cases needed to be resolved.

Responses were coded for the following categories: Inferior, Foreign, Superior, American, Incompetent, Cold, Competent, Warm, and No Experience. We included categories that corresponded with both the negative (e.g., Inferior) as well as positive (e.g., Superior) end of each dimension, as positive evaluations can also be construed by targets as being prejudiced (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Siy & Cheryan, 2013). Responses were coded as “1” to indicate that a specific underlying belief was present, or as “0” to indicate its absence. Responses could be coded as “1” for multiple categories, or for none of the provided categories. See Table 1 for detailed category descriptions and example responses. The full coding scheme can be found in our online supplement.

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*Table 1.* Categories with coder reliabilities (kappa, percent agreement) in Study 1.

Category	Description	Example response	Kappa	% Agree
Inferior	the respondent was perceived to be of inferior or low status	“I was being followed because I looked like a bum trying to steal some stuff”	.62	85.5
Foreign	the respondent was perceived to be ‘outside’ of American culture and identity	“an old man spoke to me as if he thought i didn't know english”	.76	93.4
Superior	the respondent was perceived to be of superior or high status	“his buddies kept on about how im just a rich little white boy”	.61	96.3
American*	the respondent was perceived to be part of American culture and identity	“They do not seem to like us at all just for the fact that we are very Americanized”	.44	98.7
Incompetent*	the respondent was perceived to be incompetent, unintelligent, unskilled	“I experience racial prejudice with just proving my abilities”	.39	98.4
Cold*	the respondent was perceived to be cold, untrustworthy, unsociable	“people think I am very timid and shy”	.28	98.7
Competent	the respondent was perceived to be competent, intelligent, skilled	“People assume that I know how to fix computers”	.84	99.2
Warm*	the respondent was perceived to be warm, good-natured, sincere	N/A	.00	99.5
No experience	the respondent explicitly states that they have not experienced racial prejudice	“Racial prejudices have never been a problem of mine”	.84	97.9

*Note.* Fewer than 2% of total responses were coded as “1” for the starred categories. This may explain these categories’ low kappa values, as kappa is affected by the prevalence of positive observations (Viera & Garrett, 2005), such that low kappa values do not necessarily reflect low overall agreement.

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## Results

**What are the experiences of each group?** The majority of responses (200 out of 380) were coded under at least one category<sup>7</sup>. Below, we present the most prevalent category(s) for each group. We also specifically compare the prevalence of foreignness- and inferiority-based experiences of prejudice within each group. See Table 2 for a more comprehensive report of the frequency of responses coded per category.

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*Table 2.* Frequencies and percentages of reports of prejudice in Study 1.

Category	Participant Race			
	African Americans (n = 113)	Latinos (n = 75)	Asian Americans (n = 92)	Whites (n = 100)
Total Responses Coded	60 (53.1%)	47 (62.7%)	57 (62.0%)	36 (36.0%)
Inferior	56 (49.6%)	25 (33.3%)	22 (23.9%)	8 (8.0%)
Foreign	1 (0.9%)	24 (32.0%)	37 (40.2%)	1 (1.0%)
Superior	1 (0.9%)	0	7 (7.6%)	8 (8.0%)
American	0	0	0	4 (4.0%)
Incompetent	4 (3.5%)	1 (1.3%)	1 (1.1%)	0
Cold	0	0	1 (1.1%)	0
Competent	0	0	11 (12.0%)	0
Warm	0	0	0	0
No Experience	2 (1.8%)	7 (9.3%)	2 (2.2%)	16 (16.0%)

*Note.* Percentages are calculated within participant race.

<sup>7</sup> 180 responses were not coded under any of the provided categories. For the majority of these responses (67.8%), at least one of our primary coders reported that the response described an experience of racial prejudice (e.g. "I was bullied"), but did not give enough information about the specific beliefs underlying the experience. Other recurring themes among responses that were not coded included respondents reporting on being accused by others of never experiencing racism or of being racist; respondents reporting on their interracial relationship being derogated; and respondents reporting on being perceived by others as "acting White."

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***African Americans' experiences of racial prejudice.*** Approximately half of African Americans' responses were coded as Inferior, making it their most common category (e.g., "She watched me when ever I touched something. I guess she felt like a black person would not have money to shop in the store").

A McNemar's test found that African Americans were more likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority (49.6%) than prejudice based on perceived foreignness (0.9%; e.g., "a guy asked me where I was from. [...] Then he asked me, with a straight face, if I was a Nigerian scam artist"),  $p < .001$ .

***Latinos' experiences of racial prejudice.*** Approximately one-third of Latinos' responses were coded as Inferior (e.g., "People thought that I was uneducated and low class because of my race which is Hispanic"), and a similar proportion were coded as Foreign (e.g., "They ask me what part of Mexico that I am from and all of my family members live and have lived in the US for over 200 years").

A McNemar's test found that Latinos were equally likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority (33.3%) and prejudice based on perceived foreignness (32%),  $p = 1.00$ .

***Asian Americans' experiences of racial prejudice.*** Over one-third of Asian Americans' responses were coded as Foreign, making it their most common category (e.g., "He pulled back his eyes and started yelling, "Ching Chong, go back to your country!").

A McNemar's test found that Asian Americans were more likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived foreignness (40.2%) than prejudice based on perceived inferiority (23.9%; e.g., "the driver believed I was a terrible driver. At the next stoplight, the

individual pulled up in the lane next to me and said that I could not drive with my eyes half-open”),  $p = .02$ .

***Whites’ experiences of racial prejudice.*** No Experience was the most common category for Whites (16.0%; e.g., “As far as I am aware, I have never been the target of racial prejudice”).

A McNemar’s test found that Whites were more likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority (8.0%; e.g., “playing football in school a lot of the time i was looked down upon thinking i wasnt as fast as other people because im white”) than prejudice based on perceived foreignness (1.0%; e.g., “[he] gave me a hard time for being English and when I trash talked back a little he told me to go home and drink a cup of tea”),  $p = .04$ , although neither occurred frequently.

**Which groups most frequently experience inferiority- and foreignness-based prejudice?** Different groups’ experiences with each form of prejudice were compared using a series of  $2 \times 4$  chi-square tests of homogeneity. Significant omnibus tests were followed by Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons of each of the six  $2 \times 2$  contingency tables (MacDonald & Gardner, 2000). See Table 3 for the statistical results of each pairwise comparison. Logistical regression analyses found no main effects or interactions with participant gender.

***Inferiority-based prejudice.*** There was a significant overall difference in groups’ experiences with inferiority-based prejudice,  $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 46.25, p < .001, \phi = .35$ . African Americans and Latinos were equally likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice. African Americans were also more likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice than Asian Americans, while Latinos and Asian Americans did not statistically differ. Finally,

African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans were each more likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice than Whites.

***Foreignness-based prejudice.*** There was a significant overall difference in groups' experiences with foreignness-based prejudice,  $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 87.74, p < .001, \phi = .48$ . Latinos and Asian Americans were equally likely to report experiences of foreignness-based prejudice. Both groups were more likely to report experiences of foreignness-based prejudice than African Americans or Whites. Finally, African Americans and Whites did not statistically differ.

To examine whether results were driven by the higher percentage of foreign-born Latino and Asian American participants, we ran our analyses with all foreign-born participants excluded (3.5% of African Americans, 16.0% of Latinos, 41.3% of Asian Americans, 3.0% of Whites). The omnibus chi-square test remained significant,  $\chi^2(3, N = 323) = 67.56, p < .001, \phi = .46$ . U.S.-born Latinos and U.S.-born Asian Americans were equally likely to report experiences of foreignness-based prejudice, and both more likely than U.S.-born African Americans or U.S.-born Whites. U.S.-born African Americans and Whites did not statistically differ.

***No experience with racial prejudice.*** There was a significant overall difference in groups' lack of experience with racial prejudice,  $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 20.81, p < .001, \phi = .23$ . Whites were more likely to report not having experienced racial prejudice than African Americans and Asian Americans. There were no other differences among groups,  $ps > .10$ .

***Superior, American, Incompetent, Cold, Competent, and Warm categories.*** For each of these categories, over 20% of cells had low expected frequencies (i.e.,  $<5$ ; Cochran, 1954), making chi-square analyses inappropriate.

Table 3. Statistical results of the 2×2 contingency chi-square tests in Study 1.

Comparison	df	N	$\chi^2$	p	$\phi$
Inferiority-based prejudice					
African Americans v. Latinos	1	188	4.84	.03	.16
African Americans v. Asian Americans	1	205	14.15	< .001	.26
African Americans v. Whites	1	213	43.59	< .001	.45
Latinos v. Asian Americans	1	167	1.81	.18	.10
Latinos v. Whites	1	175	17.98	< .001	.32
Asian Americans v. Whites	1	192	9.20	.002	.22
Foreignness-based prejudice (all participants)					
African Americans v. Latinos	1	188	37.85	< .001	.45
African Americans v. Asian Americans	1	205	51.95	< .001	.50
African Americans v. Whites	1	213	.008	.93	.006
Latinos v. Asian Americans	1	167	1.20	.27	.09
Latinos v. Whites	1	175	33.64	< .001	.44
Asian Americans v. Whites	1	192	46.42	< .001	.49
Foreignness-based prejudice (U.S.-born participants)					
African Americans v. Latinos	1	172	33.22	< .001	.44
African Americans v. Asian Americans	1	163	34.34	< .001	.46
African Americans v. Whites	1	206	.89	.34	.07
Latinos v. Asian Americans	1	117	.02	.88	.01
Latinos v. Whites	1	160	33.20	< .001	.46
Asian Americans v. Whites	1	151	34.41	< .001	.48
No experience of prejudice					
African Americans v. Latinos	1	188	5.66	.02	.17
African Americans v. Asian Americans	1	205	.04	.84	.02
African Americans v. Whites	1	213	13.89	< .001	.26
Latinos v. Asian Americans	1	167	4.15	.04	.16
Latinos v. Whites	1	175	1.67	.20	.10
Asian Americans v. Whites	1	192	10.78	.001	.24

Note. The Bonferroni-adjusted critical p-value threshold is  $.05/6 = .0083$ .

## Discussion

As predicted by the Racial Position Model, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites reported qualitatively distinct forms of racial prejudice that corresponded with their two-dimensional group positions. For African Americans, perceived inferiority was the main basis for their experiences with racial prejudice. However, for both Latinos and Asian Americans, perceived foreignness was another important basis for their experiences. Latinos experienced equal rates of inferiority- and foreignness-based racial prejudice, while Asian Americans' experiences most commonly involved being perceived as culturally foreign. Even among group members who were wholly American (i.e., U.S.-born Latinos and Asian Americans), nearly a third of their experiences (30.2% and 31.5%, respectively) were with foreignness-based prejudice. Furthermore, the dimension of perceived foreignness captured experiences that other dimensions, such as perceived warmth and competence, did not. Indeed, after perceived inferiority (29.2%), perceived foreignness was the second most frequent basis of prejudice, capturing 16.6% of all groups' reported experiences. The next most frequent category was No Experience (7.1%).

That groups experience predictably distinct forms of racial prejudice has important consequences for the ways in which these experiences are studied and understood. First, as racial prejudice is often characterized chiefly in terms of perceived inferiority (Duckitt, 1992), broadening the definition of prejudice to include perceived foreignness may help validate and bring awareness to different minority groups' experiences. Second, the extent to which groups share common experiences of prejudice may help elucidate inter-minority relationships (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012). For example, African Americans and Asian Americans experience different prejudices that evoke two distinct dimensions and are often non-overlapping; this lack

of common ground may play a role in amplifying the historical tensions between these groups (Kim, 2000). Finally, anti-discrimination legislation may benefit from deeper knowledge of the prejudices that different minority groups face. In order to protect African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans with equal effectiveness, civil rights initiatives may need to account for prejudice based on both perceptions of inferiority and foreignness (Ancheta, 1998).

One potentially puzzling finding from this study was that Asian Americans were as likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice as Latinos, despite Asian Americans' relatively higher perceived status (Fiske et al., 2002). A closer look at Asian Americans' responses revealed that their experiences of inferiority-based prejudice often reflected stereotypes about their physical inferiority and lack of athleticism (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). However, Asian Americans also reported experiences that corresponded with the positive end of this dimension (i.e., prejudice based on perceived superiority and competence). When these experiences are taken into account, Asian Americans' overall position on the inferiority dimension may "add up" such that they are perceived and treated as more superior than Latinos.

Study 2 goes beyond Study 1 in three ways. First, Study 2 examined whether the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness are distinct from each other and from other relevant dimensions. Second, Study 1 used a predetermined coding scheme, with coders who may have been able to ascertain and use targets' group membership to inform their coding. In Study 2, we eliminated the coders and used targets' direct interpretations of their experiences. Finally, whereas Study 1 had targets report single experiences with racial prejudice, Study 2 sought to investigate targets' overall experiences throughout their lifetimes.

### **Study 2: Are the Dimensions of Perceived Inferiority and Foreignness Distinct?**

To examine whether foreignness is distinct from inferiority and other relevant dimensions, we first identified a list of racial stereotypes that were representative of perceived inferiority, superiority, foreignness, Americanness, competence, incompetence, warmth, and coldness. Targets rated the extent to which they experienced prejudice based on each of these stereotypes. These ratings were then subjected to a principal components analysis. We predicted that experiences of foreignness-based prejudice would emerge as distinct from other forms of prejudice. In addition, we predicted that targets' self-ratings of their experiences would produce similar results to those obtained in Study 1.

### **Stereotype Selection**

Racial stereotypes were gathered from social psychological research and national survey data, and then rated on the extent to which they reflected perceived inferiority and foreignness. These methods and results are described at greater length in Study 3. The five stereotypes that were rated lowest and highest on each dimension were used in the current study. Inferior stereotypes were “drug abusers,” “uneducated,” “criminals,” “thieves,” and “burdens to society,” while superior stereotypes were “intelligent,” “rich,” “hardworking,” “ambitious,” and “confident.” Foreign stereotypes were “refusing to learn English,” “not speaking English well,” “illegal immigrants,” “taking jobs away from Americans,” and “having accents,” while American stereotypes were “fat,” “lazy,” “privileged,” “surfers,” and “racist.”

In addition, we included stereotypes that reflect competence, incompetence, warmth, and coldness (Carlsson & Björklund, 2010; Fiske et al., 2002). Competent stereotypes were “competent,” “capable,” “skillful,” and “efficient,” while incompetent stereotypes were “incompetent,” “unintelligent,” “incapable,” and “unqualified.” Warm stereotypes were “warm,”

“friendly,” “well-intentioned,” “trustworthy,” “good-natured,” and “sincere,” while cold stereotypes were “cold,” “unfriendly,” “dishonest,” and “disagreeable.”

### Method

We had a target sample size of at least 1000 participants. One thousand and sixty three Amazon Mechanical Turk workers living in the United States (57% female<sup>8</sup>; 743 Whites, 127 African Americans, 58 Asian Americans, 51 Latinos, 84 others) completed an online study for monetary compensation. The mean age was 33.69 years ( $SD = 12.19$ ).

Participants responded to the following item for each of the pre-selected stereotypes: “In general, how much do you experience prejudice because others believe you/your racial group are <stereotype>?” ( $1 = \text{Not At All}$ ,  $7 = \text{Very Much}$ ).<sup>9</sup> Participants then reported demographic information.

### Results

**What dimensions emerge from targets’ experiences?** We subjected participants’ ratings of their experiences with racial prejudice to a principal components analysis (PCA) with promax rotation. Based on an inspection of the scree plot, we extracted a three-factor solution that accounted for 66.62% of the variance.

Factor 1 (eigenvalue = 12.95, 34.07% of the variance) captured experiences with prejudice based on superior, competent, and warm stereotypes (e.g., rich, intelligent, trustworthy). Factor 2 (eigenvalue = 9.44, 24.84% of the variance) captured experiences with prejudice based on inferior, incompetent, and cold stereotypes (e.g., criminals, unintelligent,

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<sup>8</sup> There was a main effect of participant gender,  $F(2, 972) = 5.06$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ , such that overall, men reported experiencing prejudice to a greater extent than women.

<sup>9</sup> We also directly asked about each of our dimensions (e.g., How much do you experience prejudice because others believe you/your racial group are foreign?), and obtained the same pattern of results as those reported in the paper.

dishonest). Factor 3 (eigenvalue = 2.93, 7.71% of the variance) captured experiences with prejudice based on foreign stereotypes (e.g., illegal immigrants, having accents). Correlations between factors are reported in Table 4. Full pattern and structure matrices can be found in our online supplement.

We retained items that had a highest factor loading of at least .6, and a second highest factor loading of .3 or lower (Henson & Roberts, 2006). Based on this cut-off standard, the stereotypes “burdens to society,” “fat,” “surfers,” “racist,” and “privileged” did not load clearly onto any factor, and were consequently dropped from this study. Each factor’s items were then averaged ( $\alpha$ s = .93 - .97) for the following analyses (DiStefano, Zhu, & Mîndrilă, 2009). These factors are hereafter referred to as prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth (Factor 1), prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness (Factor 2), and prejudice based on perceived foreignness (Factor 3).

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*Table 4.* Factor inter-correlations in Study 2.

Factor	2	3
1. Prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth	.18	-.06
2. Prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness	-	.39
3. Prejudice based on perceived foreignness		-

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**Comparing racial and ethnic groups’ experiences with prejudice.** A 3 (factor)  $\times$  4 (participant race) mixed-design ANOVA compared the prevalence of different experiences among self-identified African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites. There was no main effect of factor,  $F(2, 1948) = 1.64, p = .19, \eta_p^2 = .002$ , but a main effect of participant race,  $F(3, 974) = 72.04, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .18$ . These effects were qualified by a significant factor  $\times$

participant race interaction,  $F(6, 1948) = 126.55, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .28$ . Below, we first report which factors were most prevalent within each group's experiences. Next, we compare the prevalence of different groups' experiences with each factor. Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

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Table 5. Ratings of experiences with racial prejudice in Study 2.

Factor	Participant Race							
	African Americans (n = 127)		Latinos (n = 51)		Asian Americans (n = 58)		Whites (n = 743)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Inferiority/coldness	4.21 <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup>	1.46	3.33 <sub>1</sub> <sup>b</sup>	1.55	2.50 <sub>1</sub> <sup>c</sup>	1.08	1.99 <sub>1</sub> <sup>d</sup>	1.01
Foreignness	2.20 <sub>2</sub> <sup>a</sup>	1.33	4.10 <sub>2</sub> <sup>b</sup>	1.97	3.85 <sub>2</sub> <sup>b</sup>	1.47	1.32 <sub>2</sub> <sup>c</sup>	0.84
Superiority/warmth	2.41 <sub>2</sub> <sup>a</sup>	1.40	2.51 <sub>3</sub> <sup>a,b</sup>	1.24	3.70 <sub>2</sub> <sup>c</sup>	1.25	3.05 <sub>3</sub> <sup>b</sup>	1.60

*Note.* Means under the same column that do not share a number subscript differ at  $p < .05$ . Means across the same row that do not share a letter superscript differ at  $p < .05$ .

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### ***What are the experiences of each group?***

*African Americans' experiences of racial prejudice.* African Americans reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness to a greater extent than other forms of prejudice,  $ps < .001, ds > 1.26$ . They reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived foreignness and prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth to the same extent,  $p = .50, d = .15$ .

*Latinos' experiences of racial prejudice.* Latinos reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived foreignness to a greater extent than other forms of prejudice,  $ps < .001, ds > .43$ .

They reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness to a greater extent than prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = .58$ .

*Asian Americans' experiences of racial prejudice.* Asian Americans reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth and prejudice based on perceived foreignness to the same extent,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .11$ . Both were more prevalent in Asian Americans' experiences than prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > 1.03$ .

*Whites' experiences of racial prejudice.* Whites reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth to a greater extent than other forms of prejudice,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .79$ . They reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness to a greater extent than prejudice based on perceived foreignness,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .72$ .

***Which groups are most likely to experience each form of prejudice?***

*Prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness.* African Americans reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness to a greater extent than Latinos,  $d = .58$ , Asian Americans,  $d = 1.33$ , and Whites,  $d = 1.76$ ,  $ps < .001$ . Next, Latinos reported experiencing this inferiority/coldness-based prejudice to a greater extent than Asian Americans,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = .62$ , and Whites,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.02$ . Finally, Asian Americans reported experiencing inferiority/coldness-based prejudice to a greater extent than Whites,  $p = .006$ ,  $d = .48$ .

*Prejudice based on perceived foreignness.* Latinos and Asian Americans did not differ in their experiences of prejudice based on perceived foreignness,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .14$ . Both Latinos and Asian Americans reported experiencing this foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than African Americans,  $d = 1.13$  and  $1.18$  respectively, as well as Whites,  $d = 1.84$  and  $2.12$

respectively,  $p$ s < .001. Finally, African Americans reported experiencing foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than Whites,  $p$  < .001,  $d$  = .79.

After excluding foreign-born participants (3.1% of African Americans, 9.8% of Latinos, 34.5% of Asian Americans, 1.7% of Whites), a one-way ANOVA testing the effect of participant race on experiences of foreignness-based prejudice remained significant,  $F(3, 932) = 195.36$ ,  $p$  < .001. A post-hoc Tukey test showed that U.S.-born Latinos ( $M = 4.10$ ,  $SD = 2.01$ ) and U.S.-born Asian Americans ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = 1.42$ ) still did not differ,  $p = .82$ ,  $d = .11$ . Both groups reported experiencing foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than U.S.-born African Americans ( $M = 2.20$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ) and U.S.-born Whites ( $M = 1.30$ ,  $SD = .80$ ),  $p$ s < .001,  $d$ s > 1.11. U.S.-born African Americans reported experiencing foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than U.S.-born Whites,  $p$  < .001,  $d = .81$ .

*Prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth.* Asian Americans reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth to a greater extent than Whites,  $p = .01$ ,  $d = .45$ , Latinos,  $p$  < .001,  $d = .95$ , and African Americans,  $p$  < .001,  $d = .98$ . Whites reported experiencing this form of prejudice to a greater extent than African Americans,  $p$  < .001,  $d = .43$ , and to a marginally greater extent than Latinos,  $p = .095$ ,  $d = .38$ . African Americans and Latinos did not differ,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .08$ .

### Discussion

Foreignness emerged as its own coherent dimension, distinct from both inferiority and warmth or coldness. Along this dimension, a clear ranking manifested, such that Latinos and Asian Americans were the groups to most commonly report experiencing prejudice based on their perceived foreignness, followed by African Americans, and finally Whites. In addition, experiences of prejudice based on perceived inferiority, incompetence, and coldness comprised a

single factor that was important to African Americans' experiences. Indeed, African Americans reported experiencing this form of prejudice to a greater extent than other minority groups. That prejudice based on perceived coldness (warmth) converged with perceived inferiority (superiority) and incompetence (competence) is consistent with literature suggesting that, rather than being orthogonal, the dimensions of warmth and status are positively related, such that warmth follows from status (Koch et al., 2016).

How do we reconcile our findings that perceived foreignness is a basis for racial prejudice, yet being American is also associated with negative stereotypes such as “lazy” and “fat”? One possibility is that American is not always a positively evaluated category (Madon et al., 2001), and Whites may at times even face a threat of being considered “too American.” Nevertheless, while being the target of such perceptions may pose an uncomfortable experience, the more consequential threat along this dimension—the one that was the more frequent basis of prejudice in this study, and that has been tied to violence, internment, deportation, and the denial of civil rights (Ancheta, 1998)—is the threat of being perceived as a foreigner.

### **Studies 3 and 4: The Racial Position Model from Perceivers' Perspectives**

Studies 1 and 2 showed that the integration of perceived foreignness and perceived inferiority is able to systematically capture different groups' real-world experiences with racial prejudice. Next, we continued our investigation of the Racial Position Model from the perspective of perceivers in order to demonstrate that groups' two-dimensional positions are not only “in the heads” of targets, but are circulated and perpetuated in American society more broadly. We examined whether the Racial Position Model is reflected in racial stereotype content (Study 3) and in direct perceptions of racial and ethnic groups (Study 4). In addition, we

investigated the Racial Position Model's ability to generalize to additional groups (e.g., Native Americans, Arab Americans), and to both the men and women within each group (Study 4).

### **Study 3: Does the Racial Position Model Predict Racial Stereotype Content?**

The purpose of Study 3 was to determine whether culturally prevalent stereotypes about African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites would reveal these groups' positions along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. Stereotypes were first pretested for the extent to which they were associated with different groups. These stereotypes were then rated on the extent to which they indicated perceived inferiority and foreignness. We predicted that stereotypes about the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States would position them into four distinct quadrants (see Figure 1).

#### **Stereotype Selection and Pretest**

We drew from extant literature on racial stereotypes (e.g., Ho & Jackson, 2001; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997) as well as national survey data about racial stereotypes in the media (e.g., the National Hispanic Media Coalition poll) to create a comprehensive initial list of over 80 stereotypes. Next, to identify the most prevalent stereotypes about different racial and ethnic groups, we conducted a pretest with students recruited from the psychology subject pool. Our stopping goal was the end of the academic term. Eighty-eight students (59% female; 54 Asian Americans, 24 Whites, 2 Latinos, 1 African American, 7 others) responded to the following item for each stereotype: "How much are <racial group> stereotyped as <trait>?" (*1 = Not At All, 7 = Very Much*). Participants rated each stereotype in relation to four groups: "Asians / Asian Americans," "Black / African Americans," "Hispanic / Latino Americans," and "White Americans." Items were blocked by stereotype, which were presented in randomized order. Within each stereotype block, the order in which groups were presented was also randomized.

Thirty-six stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint as being stereotypical of African Americans (e.g., athletic;  $ps < .05$ ). Twenty-seven stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint as being stereotypical of Latinos (e.g., illegal immigrants;  $ps < .05$ ). Thirty-three stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint as being stereotypical of Asian Americans (e.g., mathematical;  $ps < .05$ ). Twenty-one stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint (i.e., 4) as being stereotypical of Whites (e.g., privileged;  $ps < .05$ ). Altogether, 77 unique stereotypes were used for the main study (see Appendix A for the full list).

### **Method**

Our target sample size was 100 participants. We collected responses from 102 students; of these, three chose to withdraw their data. A final total of 99 (53% female; 47 Asian Americans, 32 Whites, 8 Latinos, 3 African Americans, 9 others) students completed an online study for psychology class credit. The mean age was 19.23 years ( $SD = 1.15$ ). There were no main effects or interactions with participant gender in this study.

Items were blocked by stereotype, such that participants rated the 77 pretested stereotypes one at a time, in randomized order. For each stereotype, participants first rated it on the following two items: “To what extent would a group that is stereotyped as <stereotype> be seen as inferior or superior?” ( $1 = \textit{Very Inferior}$ ,  $7 = \textit{Very Superior}$ ) and “To what extent would a group that is stereotyped as <stereotype> be seen as foreign or American?” ( $1 = \textit{Very Foreign}$ ,  $7 = \textit{Very American}$ ). These two items were presented in counterbalanced order. In addition, participants rated the stereotype on the extent to which it indicated warmth ( $1 = \textit{Not At All}$

Warm, 7 = Very Warm) and competence (1 = Not At All Competent, 7 = Very Competent)<sup>10</sup>.

Finally, participants reported demographic information.

## Results

**Correlations between dimensions.** Stereotypes' average inferior-superior and foreign-American ratings were not correlated,  $r(77) = .05, p = .65$ . In addition, foreign-American ratings were not correlated with either warmth,  $r(77) = -.09, p = .46$ , or competence,  $r(77) = -.06, p = .61$ . Inferior-superior ratings were significantly correlated with warmth,  $r(77) = .74$ , and competence,  $r(77) = .96, ps < .001$ . Finally, warmth and competence ratings were correlated,  $r(77) = .73, p < .001$ .

**Mapping racial stereotypes on the Racial Position Model.** We averaged the inferiority and foreignness ratings of each group's pretested set of stereotypes. These average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, revealing the predicted four-quadrant pattern (see Figure 2). One-sample t-tests indicated that each set of stereotypes was significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 4) on both dimensions,  $ps < .001$ .

**Comparing racial stereotype content along the two dimensions.** A 2 (dimension)  $\times$  4 (racial group) repeated-measures ANOVA examined how stereotypes about different racial and ethnic groups varied along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. There was a main effect of dimension,  $F(1, 98) = 7.43, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ , and of racial group,  $F(3, 294) = 192.68, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .66$ . These effects were qualified by a significant dimension  $\times$  racial group interaction,  $F(3, 294) = 231.72, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .70$ . Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted with Bonferroni corrections. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 6.

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<sup>10</sup> Means and standard deviations for each set of stereotypes' warmth and competence ratings are reported in our online supplement.

Along the inferiority dimension, there was no difference in the extent to which African Americans and Latinos were stereotyped as inferior,  $p = .75$ ,  $d = .10$ . Both African Americans and Latinos were stereotyped as more inferior than Asian Americans,  $d = 2.71$  and  $2.54$  respectively, and more inferior than Whites,  $d = 2.83$  and  $2.70$  respectively,  $ps < .001$ . Finally, Asian Americans were stereotyped as more inferior than Whites,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .55$ .

Along the foreignness dimension, there was no difference in the extent to which Asian Americans and Latinos were stereotyped as foreign,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .10$ . Both Latinos and Asian Americans were stereotyped as more foreign than African Americans,  $d = 1.47$  and  $1.62$  respectively, and more foreign than Whites,  $d = 2.07$  and  $2.19$  respectively,  $ps < .001$ . Finally, African Americans were stereotyped as more foreign than Whites,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .99$ .

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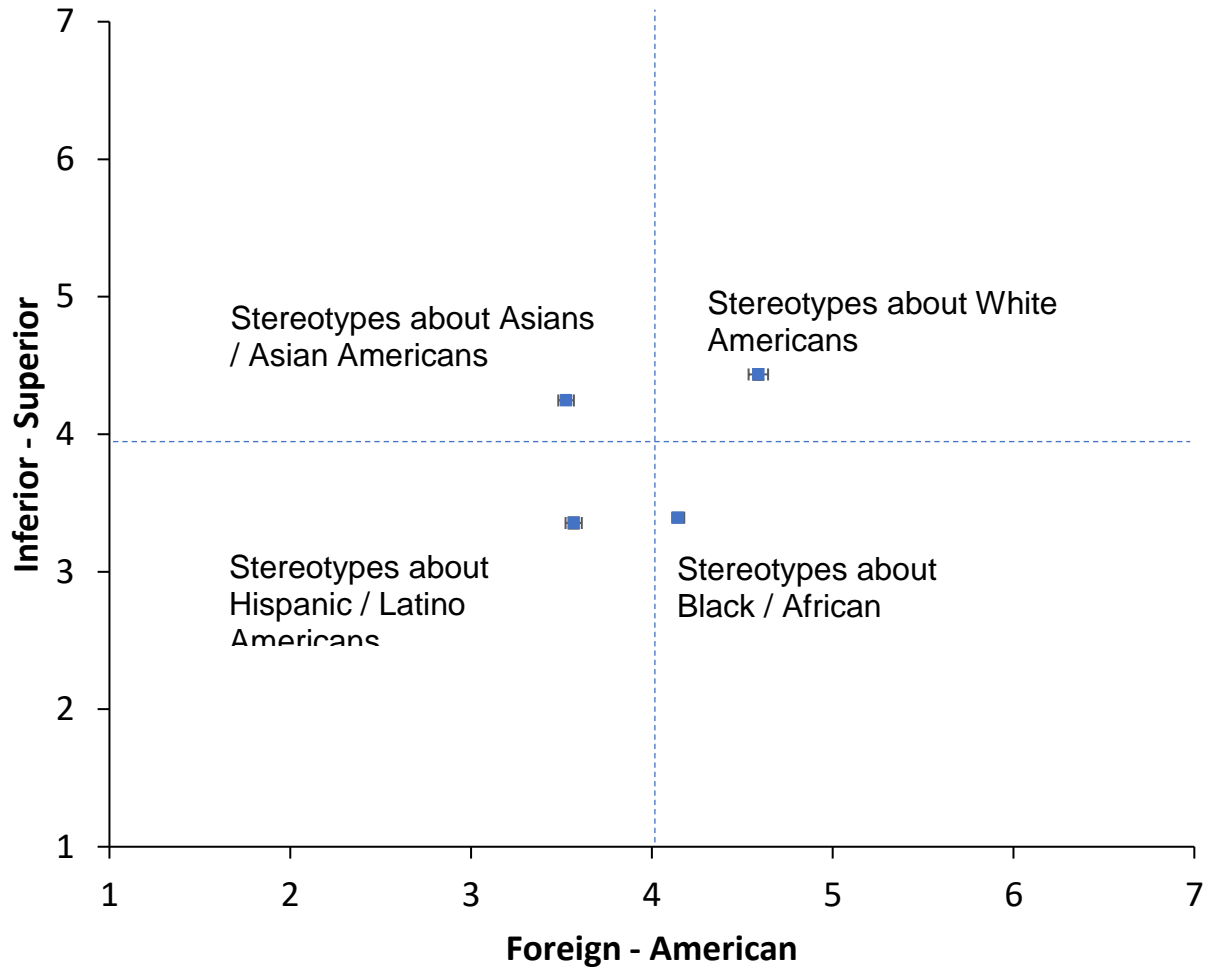
*Table 6.* Ratings of racial group stereotypes in Study 3.

Group Stereotypes	Inferior-Superior		Foreign-American	
	M	SD	M	SD
African Americans	3.39 <sub>1</sub>	0.34	4.15 <sub>1</sub>	0.33
Latinos	3.35 <sub>1</sub>	0.41	3.57 <sub>2</sub>	0.45
Asian Americans	4.25 <sub>2</sub>	0.28	3.53 <sub>2</sub>	0.43
Whites	4.43 <sub>3</sub>	0.39	4.59 <sub>3</sub>	0.54

*Note.* Means under the same column that do not share a number subscript differ at  $p < .05$ .

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Figure 2. The two-dimensional model based on perceivers' stereotypes of racial and ethnic groups in Study 3. Error bars represent indicate standard error.



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### Discussion

Stereotypes about the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States position them distinctly along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. These groups' positions come together to form a four-quadrant pattern: stereotypes about Whites characterize them as superior and American; stereotypes about African Americans characterize them as inferior and American; stereotypes about Latinos characterize them as inferior and foreign; and stereotypes about Asian Americans characterize them as superior and foreign. Such stereotypes

set the stage for attitudes and behaviors at an interpersonal level (e.g., Fiske, 1998), as well as maintain and legitimize the social systems in which intergroup relations take place (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Jost & Banaji, 1994).

While there was overall correspondence between group members' personal experiences in Studies 1 and 2, and perceivers' stereotypes of groups in this study, one notable difference emerged in the inferior positioning of African Americans and Latinos. From targets' perspectives, African Americans were the most disadvantaged group along this dimension, reporting experiences with inferiority-based prejudice more than other groups. However, perceivers' stereotypes of African Americans and Latinos positioned them equally on the inferiority dimension. The current salience of issues related to illegal immigration and border control (Dovidio et al., 2010) may lead Latinos to be perceived as similarly inferior as African Americans. However, African Americans' exceptional experiences of inferiority-based prejudice and discrimination in the United States (Sears & Savalei, 2006) may emerge through group members' reports of their own lived realities.

One benefit of examining stereotype content is that it allowed us to explore the extent to which different groups' stereotypes overlap. Groups that were similarly positioned along one dimension were targeted by many of the same dimension-relevant stereotypes. For example, of the ten most inferior stereotypes about African Americans and Latinos, seven overlapped between the two groups (e.g., "poor," "being criminals"). However, some dimension-relevant stereotypes also differed between similarly positioned groups. Interestingly, these differences seem to be driven in part by the groups' positions along the second dimension. For example, the inferior stereotypes specific to African Americans were "lazy," "dishonest," and "undisciplined," while the inferior stereotypes specific to Latinos were "illegal immigrants," "dirty," and

“violent,” which may reflect Latinos’ perceived foreignness relative to African Americans. Similarly, of the ten most foreign stereotypes about Asian Americans and Latinos, five overlapped between the two groups (e.g., “having accents,” “sticking to their own culture”). The other five were specific to each group, possibly reflecting Asian Americans’ relative perceived superiority and Latinos’ relative perceived inferiority: Asian Americans were stereotyped as “short,” “obedient,” “bad at basketball,” “having a smaller physique,” and “mathematical,” while Latinos were stereotyped as “dirty,” “having too many children,” “traditional,” “poor,” and “illegal immigrants.” This may be a useful area for future research, as it suggests that the same underlying dimension can manifest in distinct ways depending on groups’ position along the other dimension.

Finally, although the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness were positively related in Study 2, they emerged as uncorrelated in this study. This may be because ratings were conducted on stereotypes about groups (e.g., “rich”), rather than on groups themselves (e.g., “White Americans”). In Study 4, we examine perceptions of groups directly.

#### **Study 4: Generalizing the Racial Position Model to Other Groups**

The final study examined direct perceptions of racial and ethnic group positioning in American society, and went beyond the previous studies in four ways. First, to further examine the relationship between foreignness, inferiority, and other dimensions of intergroup perception, we empirically explored the correlations between these different dimensions. Second, in addition to the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States, we examined perceptions of Native Americans and Arab Americans, both of whom remain critically overlooked in social psychology. Third, we sought to be attentive to gender. Men tend to be the representatives of their race (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), nationality (Eagly & Kite, 1987), and culture

(Cuddy et al., 2015), while women are rendered “invisible” in comparison. Thus the current study tested whether a two-dimensional Racial Position Model would apply broadly to both the men and women within each group, rather than only reflecting the positions of men. Finally, we compared perceptions of group positioning across members of different racial and ethnic groups. We predicted agreement among Black, Latino, Asian American, and White perceivers, illustrating the consensual recognition of these social arrangements by those who are advantaged as well as disadvantaged by them (e.g., Ridgeway, 2014).

### Method

**Participants.** We aimed to collect data from at least 50 African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites each. In order to oversample racial and ethnic minority participants, we ran four identical versions of our study. Each included a demographic pre-screen that selectively screened for members of a different group. A total of 325 Amazon Mechanical Turk workers living in the United States (59% female<sup>11</sup>; 104 Whites, 85 African Americans, 67 Asian Americans, 69 Latinos) completed an online study for monetary compensation. The mean age was 35.30 ( $SD = 11.11$ ).

**Ratings of generic racial and ethnic groups.** Participants rated six racial and ethnic groups on different dimensions of intergroup perception: “Black / African Americans,” “Hispanic / Latino Americans,” “Asians / Asian Americans,” “Native Americans / American Indians,” “Arab Americans,” and “White Americans.” Items were blocked by group, such that

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<sup>11</sup> Participant gender moderated the dimension  $\times$  racial group  $\times$  participant race interaction,  $F(15, 1575) = 2.09$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Overall, Black men rated Whites as less superior and less American compared to Black women,  $ps < .001$ . Black men also rated Arab Americans as less foreign than Black women,  $p = .03$ . Latino men rated Native Americans as less American than Latino women,  $p = .02$ .

participants rated one group at a time, in randomized order. Within each group block, the order in which the following items were presented was further randomized.

***Perceived inferiority and foreignness.*** Participants rated each group along the two dimensions of the Racial Position Model: “To what extent are <group> seen as inferior or superior in U.S. society?” (*1 = Very Inferior, 7 = Very Superior*) and “To what extent are <group> seen as foreign or American in U.S. society?” (*1 = Very Foreign, 7 = Very American*)

***Other dimensions of intergroup perception.*** Participants also rated each group along nine additional dimensions that have been used to characterize intergroup relations. Participants indicated the extent to which each group is perceived as competent (Fiske et al., 2002), warm (Fiske et al., 2002), moral (Leach et al., 2007), sociable (Leach et al., 2007), agentic/socioeconomically successful (Koch et al., 2016), and conservative-progressive (Koch et al., 2016) in American society. In addition, participants rated each group’s level of power (Alexander et al., 2005), status (Alexander et al., 2005), and goal compatibility (Alexander et al., 2005) relative to their own group.

***Ratings of gender subgroups.*** After completing all generic racial and ethnic group ratings, participants rated male and female subgroups (e.g., “Asian / Asian American men” and “Asian / Asian Americans women”) on perceived inferiority and foreignness using the same scale as described above. Items were blocked by gender subgroup, in counterbalanced order (i.e., all male subgroups first, or all female subgroups first). Within each gender subgroup block, items were further blocked by dimension, such that participants rated gender subgroups along one dimension at a time, in counterbalanced order. Within each dimension block, the presentation order of the six racial and ethnic groups was randomized.

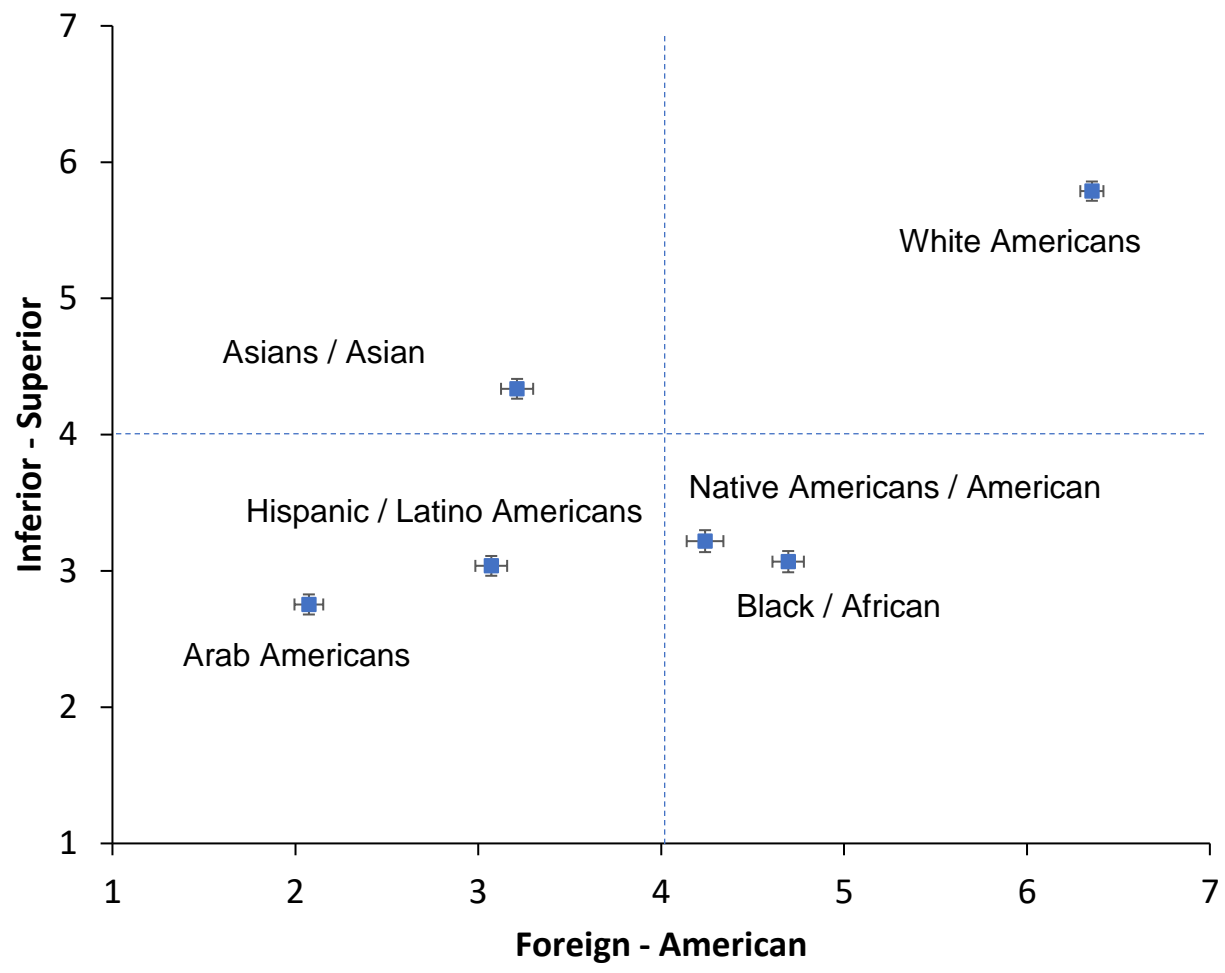
Finally, participants reported their demographic information.

### Results

**Mapping racial and ethnic groups on the Racial Position Model.** Each of the six racial and ethnic groups' inferiority and foreignness ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, revealing the predicted four-quadrant pattern (see Figure 3). One-sample t-tests indicated that the ratings of each group were significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 4) on both dimensions,  $ps < .001$ .

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Figure 3. The two-dimensional model based on perceptions of racial and ethnic groups in Study 4. Error bars indicate standard error.



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**Correlations between dimensions of intergroup perception.** For each of the six racial and ethnic groups, the correlations between ratings of that group along different dimensions of intergroup perception were obtained. These correlations were then averaged across the six groups. Average correlations are reported in Table 7. Individual correlations for each group, as well as the mean ratings of each group along each dimension, are reported in our online supplement.

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*Table 7. Average correlations between dimensions of intergroup perception in Study 4.*

Dimension	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Inferior-superior	.45	<b>.65</b>	<b>.53</b>	.49	<b>.53</b>	<b>.72</b>	.40	<b>.67</b>	<b>.72</b>	.20
2. Foreign-American	-	.40	.48	.48	.45	.43	.30	.43	.49	.21
3. Competence		-	<b>.70</b>	<b>.64</b>	<b>.71</b>	<b>.78</b>	.41	<b>.60</b>	<b>.70</b>	.34
4. Warmth			-	<b>.94</b>	<b>.93</b>	<b>.51</b>	.40	.45	<b>.59</b>	.41
5. Sociability				-	<b>.82</b>	.48	.39	.43	<b>.56</b>	.39
6. Morality					-	<b>.51</b>	.38	.44	<b>.59</b>	.39
7. Agency/socioeconomic success						-	.44	<b>.79</b>	<b>.77</b>	.22
8. Conservative-progressive beliefs							-	.40	.44	.25
9. Power								-	<b>.74</b>	.19
10. Status									-	.26
11. Goal compatibility										-

Note. Moderate correlations ( $r > .30$ ) are indicated in italics. Strong correlations ( $r > .50$ ) are in bold.

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The average correlation between ratings of groups' perceived inferiority and foreignness was of moderate strength,  $r = .45$ . In addition, ratings of groups' perceived foreignness were not strongly correlated with ratings along other dimensions of intergroup perception,  $r_s < .50$ . In comparison, status-relevant dimensions (i.e., inferiority, competence, agency/socioeconomic success, power, and status) were strongly correlated with each other,  $r_s = .60 - .79$ . These status-relevant dimensions also exhibited moderate to strong correlations with warmth and its subcomponents (i.e., sociability and morality),  $r_s = .43 - .71$ .

**Comparing perceptions of racial and ethnic group position.** A 2 (dimension: inferiority, foreignness)  $\times$  6 (racial group: African American, Latino, Asian American, Native American, Arab American, White)  $\times$  3 (gender subgroup: generic, male, female)  $\times$  4 (participant race: African American, Latino, Asian American, White) mixed-design ANOVA was conducted with dimension, racial group and gender subgroup entered as within-subjects factors, and participant race as a between-subjects factor. Below, we report on the specific interaction terms relevant to our hypotheses (see Appendix B for all effects). Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted with Bonferroni corrections. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 8.

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Table 8. Ratings of racial and ethnic groups in Study 4.

Group	Generic		Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Inferior-superior dimension						
African Americans	3.06 <sub>1</sub>	1.39	3.30 <sub>1</sub>	1.53	3.41 <sub>1,2</sub>	1.54
Latinos	3.02 <sub>1</sub>	1.29	3.15 <sub>1</sub>	1.27	3.20 <sub>1</sub>	1.42
Asian Americans	4.33 <sub>2</sub>	1.31	3.98 <sub>2</sub>	1.31	3.70 <sub>2</sub>	1.46

Native Americans	3.20 <sub>1</sub>	1.44	3.20 <sub>1</sub>	1.41	3.24 <sub>1</sub>	1.49
Arab Americans	2.74 <sub>3</sub>	1.31	2.66 <sub>3</sub>	1.36	2.52 <sub>3</sub>	1.37
Whites	5.78 <sub>4</sub> <sup>a</sup>	1.27	5.94 <sub>4</sub>	1.28	5.41 <sub>4</sub>	1.49
Foreign-American dimension						
African Americans	4.69 <sub>1</sub>	1.54	4.82 <sub>1</sub>	1.50	4.80 <sub>1</sub>	1.44
Latinos	3.06 <sub>2</sub>	1.55	3.27 <sub>2</sub>	1.43	3.38 <sub>2</sub>	1.51
Asian Americans	3.20 <sub>2</sub>	1.57	3.33 <sub>2</sub>	1.47	3.34 <sub>2</sub>	1.46
Native Americans	4.23 <sub>3</sub>	1.81	4.18 <sub>3</sub>	1.71	3.93 <sub>3</sub>	1.77
Arab Americans	2.05 <sub>4</sub>	1.39	2.23 <sub>4</sub>	1.43	2.21 <sub>4</sub>	1.48
Whites	6.35 <sub>5</sub>	1.14	6.33 <sub>5</sub>	1.32	6.21 <sub>5</sub>	1.29

*Note.* Within each dimension, means under the same column that do not share a number subscript differ at  $p < .05$ .

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***How are groups positioned?*** There was a significant three-way interaction of dimension, racial group, and gender subgroup,  $F(10, 3190) = 13.07, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$ . To deconstruct this interaction, separate 2 (dimension)  $\times$  6 (racial group) repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted at each level of gender subgroup.

*Generic racial and ethnic groups.* When no gender subgroup was specified, there was a main effect of dimension,  $F(1,322) = 39.45, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$ , and of racial group,  $F(5, 1610) = 422.64, p < .001, \eta^2 = .57$ , qualified by a significant dimension  $\times$  racial group interaction,  $F(5, 1610) = 158.54, p < .001, \eta^2 = .33$ . Along the inferiority dimension, Arab Americans were positioned as more inferior than all other groups,  $ps < .005, ds > .21$ . There was no difference among African Americans', Latinos', and Native Americans' inferior positioning,  $ps > .35, ds < .14$ . African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans were each positioned as more inferior

than Asian Americans and Whites,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .82$ . Finally, Asian Americans were positioned as more inferior than Whites,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.13$ .

Along the foreignness dimension, Arab Americans were positioned as more foreign than all other groups,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .68$ . There was no difference between Latinos' and Asian Americans' foreign positioning,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .09$ . Latinos and Asian Americans were both positioned as more foreign than Native Americans, African Americans, and Whites,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .60$ . Native Americans were positioned as more foreign than African Americans and Whites,  $ps < .001$ ,  $ds > .27$ . Finally, African Americans were positioned as more foreign than Whites,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.23$ .

*Male subgroups.* When examining male subgroups, there was a main effect of dimension,  $F(1, 323) = 60.47$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .16$ , and of racial group,  $F(5, 1615) = 414.18$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .56$ , qualified by a significant dimension  $\times$  racial group interaction,  $F(5, 1615) = 124.70$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .28$ . The way in which male subgroups were positioned relative to each other along both dimensions was identical to the pattern described above for generic groups. See Table 8 for a more comprehensive report.

*Female subgroups.* When examining female subgroups, there was a main effect of dimension,  $F(1, 323) = 70.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .18$ , and of racial group,  $F(5, 1615) = 361.35$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .53$ , qualified by a significant dimension  $\times$  racial group interaction,  $F(5, 1615) = 87.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .21$ . The way in which female subgroups were positioned relative to each other along both dimensions was identical to the pattern described above for generic groups, with one exception. Along the inferiority dimension, Asian American women were perceived as only marginally more superior than Black women,  $p = .06$ ,  $d = .19$ . See Table 8 for a more comprehensive report.

*Does participant race moderate perceptions of group position?* The four-way interaction of dimension, racial group, gender subgroup, and participant race was not significant,  $F(30, 3190) = .89, p = .62, \eta^2 = .01$ . However, participant race did weakly moderate the interaction of dimension and racial group,  $F(15, 1595) = 2.02, p = .03, \eta^2 = .02$ . Overall, Black participants positioned African Americans as less American than did White participants,  $p < .001$ . In addition, Black participants positioned Whites as less American than White participants,  $p = .02$ , and Latino participants,  $p = .047$ . There were no other differences among Black, Latino, Asian American, and White participants' perceptions of group positioning along either dimension,  $ps > .05$ .

### Discussion

Perceivers distinguished racial and ethnic groups in American society along the two positively linked dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. Foreignness was not strongly related to other dimensions of intergroup perception (e.g., status, warmth), suggesting that perceptions of racial and ethnic groups along the foreignness dimension are distinct.

Importantly, this study was able to explore the position of Native Americans and Arab Americans. Native Americans were located into the same overall quadrant as African Americans. That Native Americans were positioned as less American than Whites is consistent with previous research (Devos & Mohamed, 2014; Nosek et al., 2007), and further demonstrates that a group's position along a dimension of perceived foreignness does not simply reflect the numerical proportion of group members that are foreign-born, but instead groups' perceived incongruence with a symbolic American prototype.

Arab Americans were positioned as more foreign than any other tested racial or ethnic group. Interestingly, they were also positioned as the most inferior. One explanation may be that

our data were collected in 2016, a year that saw prominent public concerns regarding the expansion of the Islamic State (ISIL) and controversial political proposals to systematically discriminate against Muslims and Muslim Americans. As such, our findings may be capturing a specific cultural and historic moment in which Arab and Muslim Americans are perceived to hold a particularly low position in American society.

The other four groups—African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites—were located in the same four quadrants here as in Study 3. The most observable difference between the two studies is in the positioning of Whites, who were positioned as especially superior and American relative to other groups in this study. Negative White stereotypes may attenuate the degree to which Whites are perceived to rank above other racial and ethnic groups. However, when measured directly, Whites are more incontrovertibly perceived to hold the dominant group position along both dimensions.

Finally, this study captured the positions of both the men and women in each racial or ethnic group. Furthermore, the positioning of groups appears to be well-known and consensual: members of different racial and ethnic groups (i.e., African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites) each had similar perceptions of where groups are positioned along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness, with one exception. Relative to White participants, Black participants perceived Whites and African Americans to be less American. Future work should investigate the ways in which the American prototype may be differently defined among different racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Tsai, Mortensen, Wong, & Hess, 2002).

## **General Discussion**

Since its earliest history, the American social psychological study of race has been guided by Black-White relations (Duckitt, 1992). However, other groups have long existed in the United

States (Takaki, 1993), and the recent precipitated growth of Latinos and Asian Americans has underscored the need for a theoretical framework that integrates the experiences of more groups into current understandings of race relations. Across four studies, racial and ethnic groups in the United States were positioned along two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. These two dimensions were found to be positively related, but distinct. Evidence for this new Racial Position Model was obtained from both targets' and perceivers' perspectives, across college students, adults online, and the general American public.

From targets' perspectives, the dimension of perceived foreignness proved essential for being able to predict different groups' real-world experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination. African Americans' experiences were primarily shaped by their perceived inferiority. However, Latinos' experiences were shaped in equal parts by their perceived inferiority and foreignness, and Asian Americans' experiences were shaped by their perceived foreignness and superiority. These trends emerged in group members' most recent experiences of racial prejudice, as well as their experiences with prejudice throughout their lifetimes. Without the dimension of perceived foreignness, which emerged as a unitary construct, many prominent experiences of Latinos and Asian Americans would have been rendered invisible.

The Racial Position Model systematically captured not only groups' personal experiences with racial prejudice, but also how these groups are more broadly perceived in American society. From perceivers' perspectives, the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States were positioned into a distinct four-quadrant pattern. These group positions manifested indirectly through the racial stereotypes that are prevalent in American culture. When examined directly, these relative group positions were well-known by members of different racial and ethnic groups.

Finally, the Racial Position Model extended to additional racial and ethnic groups (i.e., Arab Americans and Native Americans), as well as to the men and women of each group.

Note that the primary objective of the Racial Position Model lies in explaining *what kinds* of prejudice and discrimination different groups face. Our model is not a framework for identifying which group faces the *most* prejudice and discrimination. Each group's positioning informs the texture of their experiences, rather than the amount or severity. For example, Latinos' experiences with prejudice are based both on their perceived inferiority and foreignness, while African Americans' experiences are predominantly based on their perceived inferiority. However, in terms of the quantity of these experiences, African Americans may encounter just as much, or even more overall prejudice compared to Latinos. In addition, racial positioning in our model is based on subjective perceptions of groups, rather than on groups' objective societal outcomes, such as income, education, and incarceration. It is important to consider such institutional-level indices to understand groups' full experiences of disadvantage.

However, the Racial Position Model does allow us to compare groups' experiences along a single dimension. African Americans and Latinos contend with perceptions of inferiority to a greater extent than other groups, followed by Asian Americans, then Whites. Latinos and Asian Americans contend with perceptions of foreignness to a greater extent than other groups, followed by African Americans, then Whites. These patterns are consistent across targets' qualitatively coded experiences and ratings of their overall experiences, as well as perceivers' indirect ratings of racial stereotypes and direct ratings of racial and ethnic groups.

### **Implications of a Two-Dimensional Racial Position Model**

The Racial Position Model lays the groundwork for several avenues of future research. Below, we expand on three important areas we introduced earlier: measurement of perceived discrimination, threat to Whites, and inter-minority relations.

**Measuring perceived racial discrimination.** In the assessment of perceived racial prejudice and discrimination, individuals are commonly asked to rate general items such as, “How much discrimination or unfair treatment do you think you have faced in the U.S. because of your ethnicity or race?” or, “I experience discrimination because of my ethnicity.” However, the experiences of inferiority- and foreignness-based prejudice and discrimination may predict distinct psychological outcomes. For example, experiencing inferiority-based discrimination may have consequences for targets’ racial identification (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), and their concerns about being seen as incompetent (Steele, 1997). On the other hand, experiencing foreignness-based discrimination may have consequences for targets’ national identification and their concerns about being seen as un-American (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Developing additional scales that more specifically examine experiences along either dimension may be able to refine our existing body of knowledge, and steer new theoretical predictions about the consequences of different forms of racial prejudice and discrimination.

**Group threat to Whites.** Whites often view increasing racial diversity (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Danbold & Huo, 2014) and racial progress (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014) as a threat to their dominant group position. Much of this work has aggregated racial and ethnic minority groups to represent a single source of threat. Our model suggests that different minority groups may pose distinct threats to Whites based on their two-dimensional positioning. For instance, the level of perceived threat a minority group poses to Whites’ material resources and welfare may depend on its position along a dimension of perceived inferiority. On the other hand, the level of

perceived threat a minority group poses to Whites' cultural identity and American way of life may depend on its position along a dimension of perceived foreignness.

Moreover, Whites may use the two dimensions strategically to preserve their dominant position. Specifically, Whites who are threatened along one dimension may attempt to guard against encroachment by emphasizing minorities' disadvantaged position along the second dimension. For example, beginning with his 2008 campaign and continuing well into his presidency, President Barack Obama was targeted by conspiracy theories aimed to discredit him by claiming that he was not an American citizen, and was instead born in Kenya. These birther claims have been regarded as racial backlash against Obama's rise into a position of superior status and power as the first Black president of the United States (Hahn, 2012). A two-dimensional Racial Position Model may help us understand how Whites strategically use the two dimensions to respond to threatening changes in minority position.

**Inter-minority relations.** Race relations in the United States consist not only of interactions between Whites and racial and ethnic minority groups, but between different minority groups themselves. Some work has suggested that solidarity among minority groups is possible (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012). At the same time, other work shows evidence for inter-minority distancing and derogation (e.g., McClain et al., 2006; Thornton, Taylor, & Chatters, 2012).

Our model may help illuminate when minority groups are more likely to clash or come together. African Americans and Latinos, although both positioned as inferior, are separated by a second dimension of foreignness, such that Latinos are perceived as less American than African Americans. Emphasizing this distance may exacerbate inter-minority tensions. Indeed, Latinos are sometimes seen as an invading immigrant threat to Black communities, competing for similar

jobs and hurting Black employment (Waldinger, 1997). On the other hand, although Asian Americans are separated from other minority groups along a dimension of inferiority, they share a foreign position with Latinos. Emphasizing this similarity may be able to facilitate inter-minority support. A two-dimensional Racial Position Model may clarify under what conditions solidarity is possible and how to produce such conditions to encourage positive relations among racial and ethnic minority groups.

### **Warmth as a Dimension Underlying Groups' Experiences**

Warmth is a fundamental dimension of person perception (Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968), and has also been valuable for understanding the ways in which people evaluate social groups (Fiske et al., 2002). Previous research suggests that Asian Americans' perceived lack of warmth underlies many of the racial stereotypes and prejudice that this group faces (Lin et al., 2005). Could warmth be a third dimension of racial positioning? Interestingly, our work found that a perceived lack of warmth was more relevant to African Americans and Arab Americans than to the other groups we examined. In Study 1, coldness-based prejudice was rarely mentioned in targets' most recent experiences. In Study 2, prejudice based on inferior, incompetent, and cold stereotypes loaded onto the same factor, and African Americans reported experiencing this form of prejudice to a greater extent than other groups. In Study 3, African Americans were stereotyped as the least warm. In Study 4, when warmth was separated into its subcomponents, Arab Americans were rated as both the least moral and least sociable group, with African Americans coming in second. Though more research is needed to understand which groups are affected by coldness-based prejudice, our results suggest that a dimension of perceived warmth may be more relevant to the experiences of African Americans and Arab Americans than Asian Americans.

## **The Dynamic Nature of Racial Positioning**

While our model captures how racial and ethnic groups are currently positioned, these positions have shown themselves to be dynamic throughout American history. For example, government policies undertaken in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (e.g., the restriction of immigrants' access to public services and the criminalization of undocumented hiring) helped to shift Latinos from their more intermediate status between African Americans and Whites, into a more inferior position similar to African Americans (Massey, 2007). Conversely, after being viewed as an inferior underclass of cheap labor during the 1800s, Asian Americans were reconstructed as a successful model minority during the post-Civil Rights era (Wu, 2013). Similar variability in racial position has been observed within racial groups. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a subgroup of African Americans ("the Talented Tenth") was perceived to be uniquely capable of achieving high status and forming a Black upper class (Stevenson, 2013). The positioning of Chinese and Japanese-Americans diverged dramatically during World War II as the former were granted greater opportunities for economic and occupational advancement, while the latter were detained as second-class citizens (Wu, 2013).

Groups' positioning along the cultural foreignness dimension may also be fluid. For example, certain White ethnic groups (e.g., Irish-Americans) experienced nativist prejudice and discrimination during their own major waves of immigration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but are now categorized as simply "Americans" (Waters, 1990). Will Latinos and Asian Americans also be able to cast off their perceived foreignness over time? Indeed, interracial marriage and language transition trends show evidence of these groups' gradual integration into mainstream American culture (Alba & Nee, 2003; Lee & Bean, 2010). However, we note two factors that may

constrain Latinos and Asian Americans from being able to follow the same course of assimilation as White ethnic groups.

First, the historical circumstances of Latinos and Asian Americans in the United States were deeply rooted in their perceived foreignness. Although White ethnic groups were seen as a lower and unassimilable class, their European origins and cultural heritage ultimately buffered them from the systematic denial of their civil rights (Guglielmo, 2003). In comparison, Latinos and Asian Americans were legally excluded from full participation in American civic and economic life (Blauner, 1972). The positioning of Latinos and Asian Americans as outsiders has been formally endorsed through courtrooms, institutions, and government action (Ancheta, 1998). Infamous cases such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Mexican Repatriation, Operation Wetback, and Japanese internment have shaped the trajectories of these groups in the United States. As a result, Latinos' and Asian Americans' perceived foreignness may prove to be more enduring.

In addition to their group histories, Latinos' and Asian Americans' everyday experiences may belie the broader trends indicating their assimilation. For White ethnic groups, the salience of race and ethnicity has faded with each subsequent generation (Waters, 1990). In comparison, the lives of many Latinos and Asian Americans continue to be influenced by their physical distinctiveness. Late-generation Latinos and Asian Americans, who may indeed be fairly culturally assimilated, are nonetheless misperceived and treated by others as perpetual foreigners (Jiménez, 2008; Tuan, 1999). Thus while racial position is certainly dynamic, the forecast that Latinos and Asian Americans will inevitably become full-fledged "Americans" may underestimate these groups' historical circumstances, as well as understate group members' actual experiences.

### **Future Directions**

Future research should explore the two-dimensional positioning of other groups in the United States, in particular multiracial groups and ethnic subgroups. For example, Asian/White and Latino/White multiracial individuals may be perceived as significantly more American than monoracial Asian Americans and Latinos. Ethnic subgroups may also be positioned distinctly from their broader aggregate group. For example, Caribbean-born Blacks, who tend to immigrate to the United States under better socioeconomic conditions and with distinct cultural identities (Waters, 2001), may be perceived as both less inferior and more foreign compared to U.S.-born African Americans. Similarly, ethnic subgroups such as Vietnamese and Hmong-Americans may be perceived as more inferior than Asian Americans en bloc, as they face worse economic and educational outcomes (Reeves & Bennett, 2004),

In addition, future research should examine the ways in which racial positioning manifests in other national contexts. Does the relationship between the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness differ depending on a country's dominant ideology (e.g., assimilation, multiculturalism)? How would the presence of more or less racial diversity in a country shape the national prototype and influence the extent to which groups experience prejudice based on their perceived foreignness?

Finally, future research should investigate whether the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness are employed naturally when not hypothesized a priori, and how these two dimensions may operate together. From perceivers' perspectives, which dimension takes primacy when evaluating each racial and ethnic group? Do evaluations along both dimensions occur simultaneously, or does one systematically follow the other? From targets' perspectives, is

prejudice along one dimension more harmful than prejudice along the other? Understanding how these two dimensions interact will help further develop the utility of the Racial Position Model.

### **Conclusion**

Immigration trends and America's increasing pluralism are fundamentally altering the dynamics of race relations in the United States. Although Latinos, Asian Americans, and other racial and ethnic groups have had extensive histories in the United States, their recent unprecedented growth has emphasized the importance of integrating their distinct experiences into a new model. In order to address the changing conditions of studying race in an increasingly multiethnic nation, it is crucial to go beyond our traditional concept of racial hierarchy, and to explore how the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness together shape the positions of racial and ethnic groups in contemporary American society.

### **Chapter 3**

Understanding White flight: Different racial minority populations pose distinct perceived racial threats in schools and neighborhoods.

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### Abstract

Despite growing racial diversity in the United States, there has been little improvement in racial segregation patterns. Why do Whites tend to avoid sending their children to schools and living in neighborhoods with racial and ethnic minorities? Four preregistered experiments investigate Whites' reactions towards the projected increase of different minority populations in their schools (Study 1) and residential communities (Studies 2-4). Findings reveal that Whites perceive different racial and ethnic minority groups as posing distinct racial threats, and that these threats predict Whites' avoidance of diversifying residential communities. Whites perceived the local population growth of Latinos and Asian Americans to threaten their American way of life with a foreign culture and identity (i.e., foreign cultural threat). In addition, Whites perceived Asian Americans to threaten to outperform and surpass them (i.e., high-status threat), and Latinos and African Americans to threaten to undermine their resources and welfare (i.e., low-status threat). Whites' desires to move out were predicted by different threats depending on which minority group was projected to move in. Our findings distinguish Whites' responses to different racial and ethnic minority groups and highlight the role of these distinct racial threats in maintaining racial segregation.

Understanding White flight: Different racial minority populations pose distinct perceived racial threats in schools and neighborhoods.

Despite unprecedented racial diversity in the United States, racial segregation endures. Latino-White and Asian-White segregation in American schools and metropolitan areas have remained stable over the last three decades; and Black-White segregation, though having declined moderately, remains the highest in absolute terms (Iceland & Sharp, 2013; Lichter, Parisi, & Taquino, 2015; Logan & Stults, 2011; Reardon & Owens, 2014). Such levels of school segregation contribute to racial gaps in academic achievement (Orfield & Lee, 2005; Reardon & Owens, 2014), while segregated neighborhoods often face disparate employment opportunities, health outcomes, and quality of public services and facilities (Massey & Denton, 1993; Williams & Collins, 2001).

Segregated living patterns are reinforced in part by Whites' preferences: as the racial and ethnic minority share of a community grows, so too do Whites' desires to move away (Massey & Denton, 1993; Krysan, 2002). However, the reasons that underlie Whites' flight from racially diversifying areas appear varied. For example, Whites left Hazleton, Pennsylvania as the growing Latino population became associated with crime and illegal immigration (Flores, 2014); Silicon Valley suburbs as the growing Asian American population was perceived to increase academic competition and change the neighborhood culture (Lung-Amam, 2017; Jiménez & Horowitz, 2013); and Los Angeles as the growing African American population evoked concerns about urban blight (Aliva, 2004). We hypothesize that Whites may perceive different racial threats, or concerns about the potential harm another group may cause to them or their group (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009), in response to each of these different populations.

Stereotypes are an important antecedent to perceptions of racial threat (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Racial and ethnic minority groups are stereotyped in distinct ways. Along an axis of perceived foreignness (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Zou & Cheryan, 2017), Latinos and Asian Americans are stereotyped as more foreign than African Americans. Along an axis of perceived status (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), Asian Americans are stereotyped as relatively high status while African Americans and Latinos are instead stereotyped as low status. Whites may perceive these distinctly stereotyped groups to pose corresponding distinct racial threats (see Figure 1).

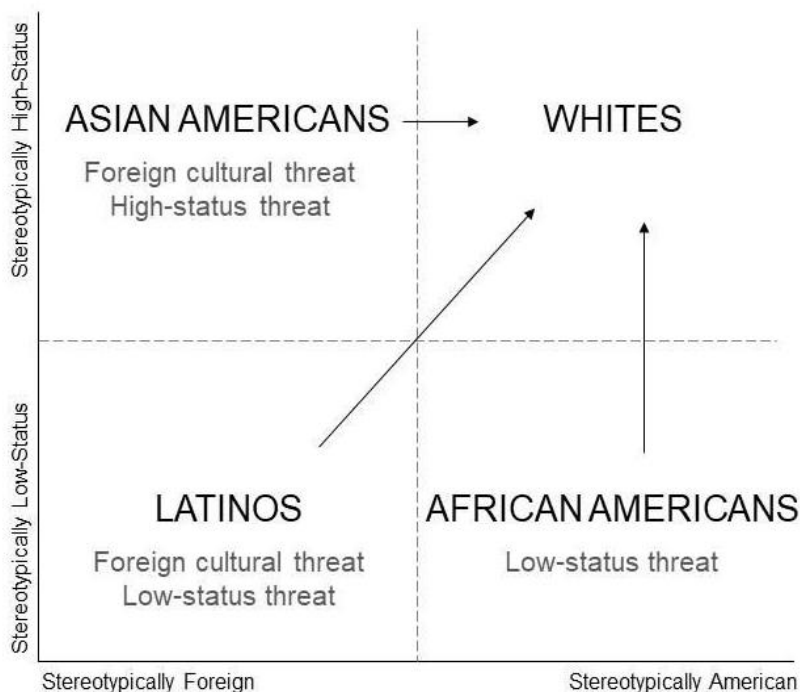
The first contribution of the current work is to introduce *foreign cultural threat* to capture Whites' reactions towards stereotypically-foreign minority groups. Foreign cultural threat, in which groups are perceived to threaten to replace Whites' American way of life with foreign cultural norms and traditions, captures a form of symbolic threat to group values, beliefs, and worldview (Stephan et al., 2009). Whites may perceive a stronger foreign cultural threat from Latinos and Asian Americans than from African Americans. Indeed, the recent unprecedented growth of Latino and Asian American populations in the United States (Colby & Ortman, 2014) has underscored the importance of studying the distinct ways in which these groups are perceived.

The second contribution of the current work is to distinguish the qualitatively distinct racial threats that Whites perceive when Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans enter majority-White schools and neighborhoods. In addition to the foreign cultural threat Whites perceive from groups stereotyped as foreign, Whites may perceive additional distinct threats from groups stereotyped as high-status and low-status. Stereotypically high-status minority groups (e.g., Asian Americans) are perceived to have already achieved success and advantage

(Fiske et al., 2002). Whites may feel threatened by these groups' potential to outperform them academically (Maddux et al., 2008) or economically (Butz & Yogeewaran, 2011). Conversely, and consistent with past research (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), Whites may perceive stereotypically low-status minority groups (e.g., Latinos and African Americans) to threaten to undermine Whites' capital, compete for resources, and pose a physical danger. We use *high-status threat* and *low-status threat* respectively to refer to these two forms of realistic threat to group power, resources, or physical and material welfare (Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Stephan et al., 2009). Taken together, while past research has aggregated minority groups (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Danbold & Huo, 2014), focused on the perceived threats posed by a single minority group (Maddux et al., 2008; Stephan et al., 2002), or found African Americans and Mexican Americans to evoke the same threat profile (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), the current paper reveals the distinct threat profiles evoked by Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans.

The final contribution of this work is to demonstrate that these distinct perceived racial threats differentially predict Whites' desires to leave diversifying residential neighborhoods. By examining predictors of Whites' desires to move, we may gain insight into how to better tailor interventions that improve Whites' willingness to integrate with different minority populations.

Figure 1. Theoretical framework for predicting the racial threats Whites perceive from different racial minority groups.



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### Pilot to Distinguish Among Racial Threats

We first conducted a pilot experiment to test measures of foreign cultural threat, high-status threat, and low-status threat, and examine how they relate to other established threats in the social psychological literature. White adults online ( $n = 356$ ) were asked to imagine living in a majority-White community that was projected to become majority-Latino, Asian American, or African American by 2025. In addition, an exploratory majority-Arab American condition was included. Participants then responded on measures of foreign cultural threat (e.g., “By 2025, foreign customs and traditions will gain prominence in this community at the expense of American ones”), high-status threat (e.g., “By 2025, Whites’ financial wealth and income will be surpassed in this community”), and low-status threat (e.g., “By 2025, Whites’ physical possessions and safety will be endangered in this community”), as well as a battery of

established intergroup threat measures from the social psychological literature, including realistic and symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 2002, Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999), prototypicality threat (Danbold & Huo, 2014), and sociofunctional threats (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

Results showed that foreign cultural threat captured Whites' distinct reactions to Latinos and Asian Americans compared to African Americans and was more effective at differentiating among these three minority groups compared to symbolic and prototypicality threat. In addition, Whites reported more high-status threat in response to Asian Americans than to Latinos and African Americans. Finally, low-status threat converged with other threats related to the undermining of in-group resources and welfare; Whites reported more of this class of threats in response to Latinos and African Americans than to Asian Americans. A full report of the results of this pilot can be found in **Appendix C**.

### **Study 1: Whites' Perceptions of Distinct Racial Threats in Schools**

Study 1 investigates whether White parents report distinct racial threats in response to the projected increase of Latino versus African American students at their child's school. Collecting open-ended reactions allowed us to examine whether the hypothesized threats appear in White parents' spontaneous responses towards these two groups. White parents online ( $n = 276$ ) were asked about their own open-ended reactions to imaginary demographic change at their child's school. In addition, we recruited another sample of White parents in-person from the local community ( $n = 251$ ). With this second sample, we reduced social desirability concerns about expressing negative stereotypes by asking them about *other* parents' reactions rather than their own. Reactions were each coded for whether or not they indicated perceptions of foreign cultural threat (e.g., "concerned with exposure to different cultural norm – music, food, language, family structure, religion"), and whether or not they indicated perceptions of low-status threat (e.g., "A

change in demographics may decrease test scores and real estate values”). Sample size, hypotheses, and analyses were preregistered.

For each sample, we conducted a mixed-effects logistic regression model<sup>12</sup> with racial group (0 = Latino students, 1 = African American students) entered as a fixed effect, and threat type (0 = foreign cultural threat, 1 = low-status threat) entered as a repeated measure. Among White parents who reported on their own reactions, there was a main effect of threat type, such that reactions were less likely to be coded as indicating perceptions of foreign cultural threat compared to low-status threat ( $\beta = -2.76$ ,  $SE = .73$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = .06$ ). There was no main effect of racial group, ( $\beta = -.36$ ,  $SE = .33$ ,  $p = .28$ ,  $OR = .70$ ). However, a significant racial group  $\times$  threat type interaction ( $\beta = 2.04$ ,  $SE = .83$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $OR = 7.71$ ) revealed that different perceived threats arose in reaction to Latino versus African American students. As predicted, White parents reported a greater proportion of foreign cultural threats in reaction to Latino students ( $M = .07$ ,  $SE = .02$ ) compared to African American students ( $M = .01$ ,  $SE = .01$ ),  $F(1, 548) = 5.72$ ,  $p = .02$ . In contrast, there was no difference in the proportion of low-status threats raised in reaction to Latino students ( $M = .14$ ,  $SE = .03$ ) and African American students ( $M = .19$ ,  $SE = .03$ ),  $F(1, 548) = 1.18$ ,  $p = .28$ .

A similar pattern of results was found among White parents who reported on *others'* reactions. There was a main effect of both threat type ( $\beta = -2.03$ ,  $SE = .38$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = .13$ ) and racial group ( $\beta = .61$ ,  $SE = .26$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $OR = 1.84$ ). A significant racial group  $\times$  threat type interaction ( $\beta = 1.13$ ,  $SE = .45$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $OR = 3.11$ ) revealed that, as predicted, White parents reported a greater proportion of foreign cultural threats in reaction to Latino students ( $M = .32$ ,  $SE = .04$ ) compared to African American students ( $M = .07$ ,  $SE = .02$ ),  $F(1, 498) = 25.84$ ,  $p <$

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<sup>12</sup> We preregistered chi-square tests, the results of which were similar and can be found in **Appendix C**.

.001. In comparison, the difference between the proportion of low-status threats raised in reaction to Latino students ( $M = .53, SE = .04$ ) and African American students ( $M = .38, SE = .04$ ) was weaker,  $F(1, 498) = 5.82, p = .02$ .

In sum, White parents spontaneously reported more perceptions of foreign cultural threat from a growing Latino student body compared to a growing African American student body. White parents also perceived low-status threat from both a growing African American and Latino student body.

#### **Studies 2-4: Whites' Perceptions of Distinct Racial Threats in Neighborhoods**

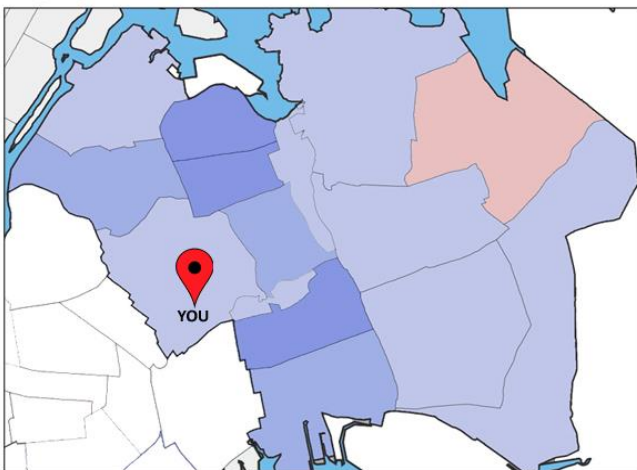
Studies 2-4 examined Whites' threat reactions to the residential population growth of Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans, as well as which threats most strongly predicted Whites' desires to move away. In each study, White adults online (total  $n = 985$ ) were asked to imagine they lived in a majority-White community that was either projected to remain majority-White (control condition), or was projected to experience major Latino, Asian American, or African American population growth (experimental conditions; **Fig. 2**). Participants then indicated their desires to move out of the community. Next, they indicated their perceptions of foreign cultural threat, high-status threat, and low-status threat. Sample sizes, hypotheses, and analyses were preregistered.

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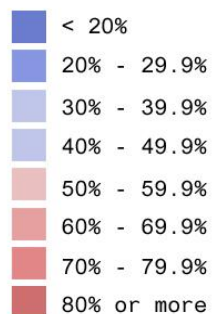
Figure 2. Studies 2-4: The census block map used for the African American condition. For the Latino and Asian versions of the experimental condition, the map key was edited to read, “% Latino or Hispanic American Population” and “% Asian American Population,” respectively.

## Racial Demographics by Census Block

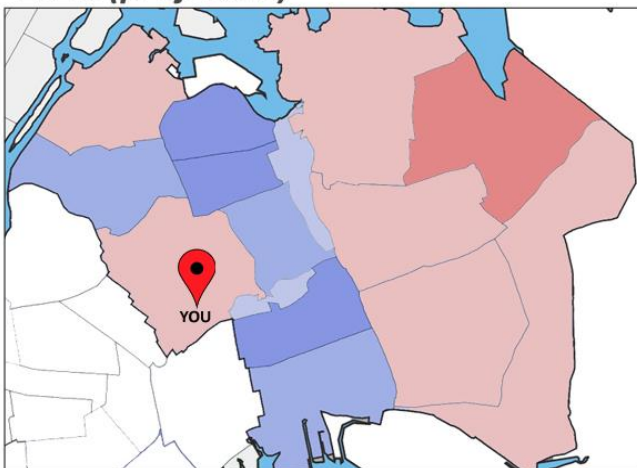
2015



### % Black or African American Population



2025 (projected)



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### **Different minority groups are perceived to pose different threats to Whites**

Internal meta-analyses were conducted on the three studies (Goh, Hall, & Rosenthal, 2016; see **Appendix C** for more details about individual studies). Every study that was run using these procedures was included in the meta-analyses. We used the MetaF.sps macro (see Lipsey

& Wilson, 2001) to perform fixed-effects models to estimate weighted mean effect sizes. See **Fig. 3** for the means from each study.

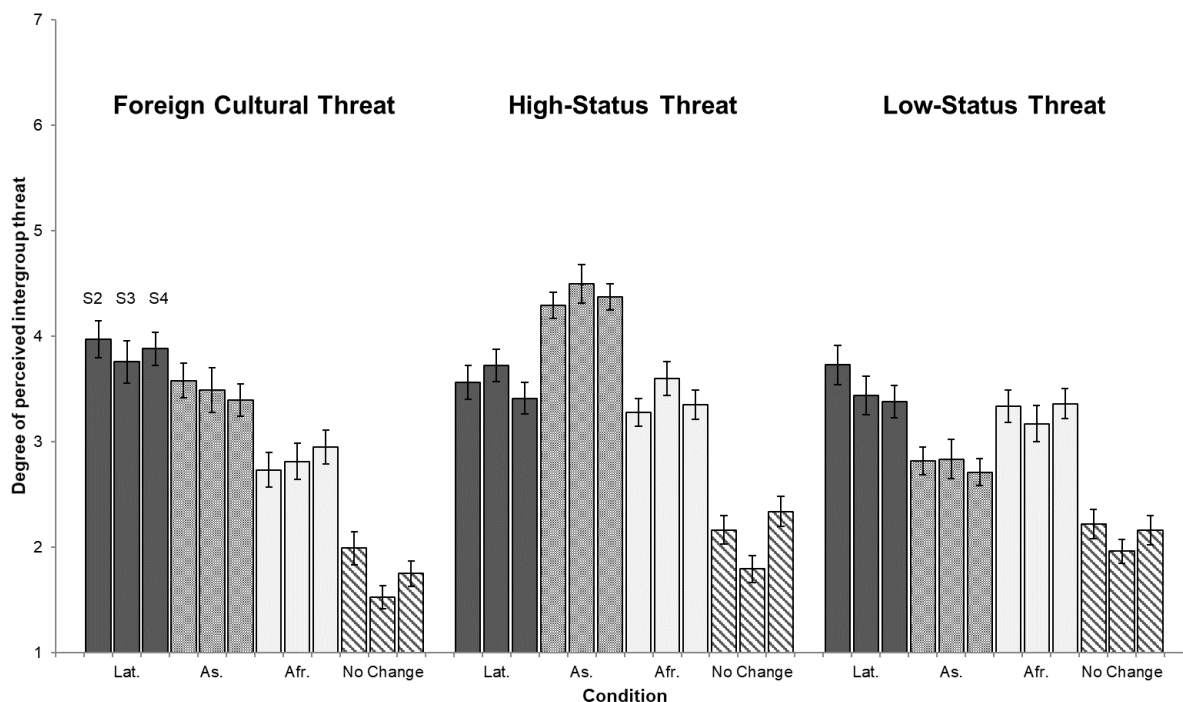
**Desires to move.** Whites' desires to move out of a community depended on which racial group was moving in,  $Q_B(5) = 293.02, p < .001$ . Whites were equally likely to want to move out in response to African American and Latino population growth,  $d = -.09, p = .32, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.27, .09]$ . Whites were more likely to move out in response to both African American,  $d = -.64, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.83, -.46]$ , and Latino population growth,  $d = -.56, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.74, -.37]$ , compared to Asian American population growth. Finally, Whites were more likely to want to move out in all experimental conditions compared to the control condition in which no demographic change was projected (African American:  $d = 1.09, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [.88, 1.30]$ ; Latino:  $d = 1.01, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [.81, 1.22]$ ; Asian American:  $d = .45, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [.26, .65]$ ).

**Foreign cultural threat.** Whites' perceptions of foreign cultural threat depended on which racial group was moving in,  $Q_B(5) = 205.40, p < .001$ . Whites perceived a greater foreign cultural threat from Latino population growth compared to both Asian American,  $d = -.25, p = .006, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.43, -.07]$ , and African American population growth,  $d = .68, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [.50, .87]$ . Whites also perceived Asian American population growth to be more threatening compared to African American population growth,  $d = .43, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [.25, .61]$ . Finally, Whites perceived a greater threat in all experimental conditions compared to the control condition in which no demographic change was projected (Latino:  $d = 1.57, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [1.35, 1.79]$ ; Asian American:  $d = 1.28, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [1.07, 1.49]$ ; African American:  $d = .83, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} [.63, 1.03]$ ).

**High-status threat.** Whites' perceptions of high-status threat depended on which racial group was moving in,  $Q_B(5) = 160.71, p < .001$ . Whites perceived a greater high-status threat in response to Asian American population growth compared to both Latino,  $d = .63, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.45, .82], and African American population growth,  $d = .78, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.59, .97]. There was no difference between Whites' perceptions of threat from African American and Latino population growth,  $d = .12, p = .21, 95\%$  CI [-.07, .30]. Finally, Whites perceived a greater threat in all experimental conditions compared to the control condition in which no demographic change was projected (Asian American:  $d = 1.89, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [1.66, 2.12]; Latino:  $d = 1.16, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.95, 1.36]; African American:  $d = 1.07, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.86, 1.27]).

**Low-status threat.** Whites' perceptions of low-status threat depended on which racial group was moving in,  $Q_B(5) = 227.54, p < .001$ . There was no difference between Whites' perceptions of threat from Latino and African American population growth,  $d = .14, p = .12, 95\%$  CI [-.04, .32]. Whites perceived both Latino,  $d = -.51, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [-.69, -.33], and African American population growth,  $d = -.39, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [-.57, -.21], to be more threatening than Asian American population growth. Finally, Whites perceived a greater threat in all experimental conditions compared to the control condition in which no demographic change was projected (Latino:  $d = 1.05, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.84, 1.25]; African American:  $d = .94, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.74, 1.15]; Asian American:  $d = .56, p < .001, 95\%$  CI [.36, .75]).

*Figure 3.* Studies 2-4: The degree to which each threat that was evoked by different minority groups. Error bars indicate standard error. Lat. = Latino population growth condition, As. = Asian American population growth condition, and Afr. = African American population growth condition.



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In sum, Whites rated each minority group as evoking each of the threats to some extent relative to the control condition in which no demographic change was projected. It may be that the rapidly increasing presence of another group not only evokes group-specific threats but is also perceived as generally threatening and evocative of a range of potential concerns. In addition, and consistent with hypotheses, Whites perceived distinct racial threats from the population growth of Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans. Perceptions of low-status threat may be even higher than reported among our participants due to norms against expressing negative stereotypes (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2012).

**Different threats predict Whites' desires to move away from different minority groups**

To directly compare racial threats to one another and examine which ones most strongly predicted Whites' desires to move out of a community projected to increase in its minority population, parallel mediation analyses were conducted using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with 10,000 bootstrap resamples (see **Fig. 4**). Data from Studies 2-4 were combined to conduct these analyses.

Panel A shows which racial threats predict Whites' desires to move out of a community with a growing Latino population (relative to the no-change control condition). Pairwise contrasts revealed that the indirect effects of foreign cultural threat and low-status threat did not differ in strength (95% CI = [-.85, .29]). Both were stronger than the indirect effect of high-status threat (95% CI = [-1.51, -.73] and 95% CI = [-1.22, -.47], respectively).

Panel B shows which racial threats predict Whites' desires to move out of a community with a growing Asian American population (relative to the no-change control condition). Pairwise contrasts revealed that the indirect effect of foreign cultural threat was stronger than both that of low-status threat (95% CI = [-.69, -.03]) and high-status threat (95% CI = [-1.12, -.25]).

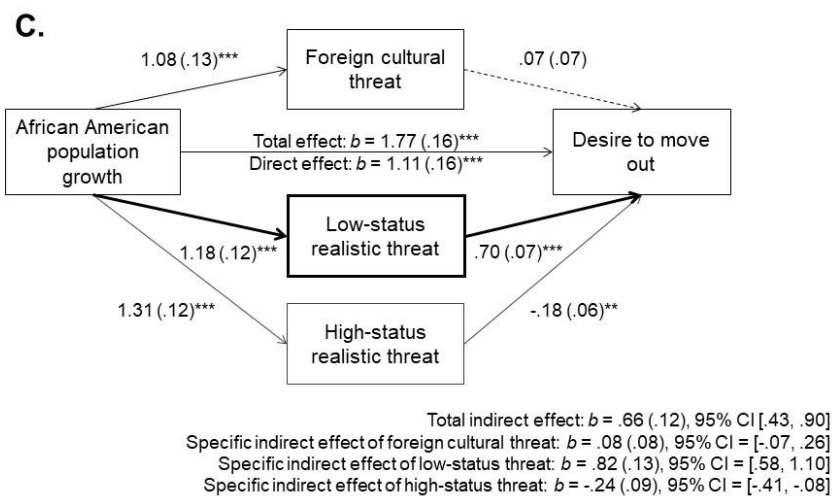
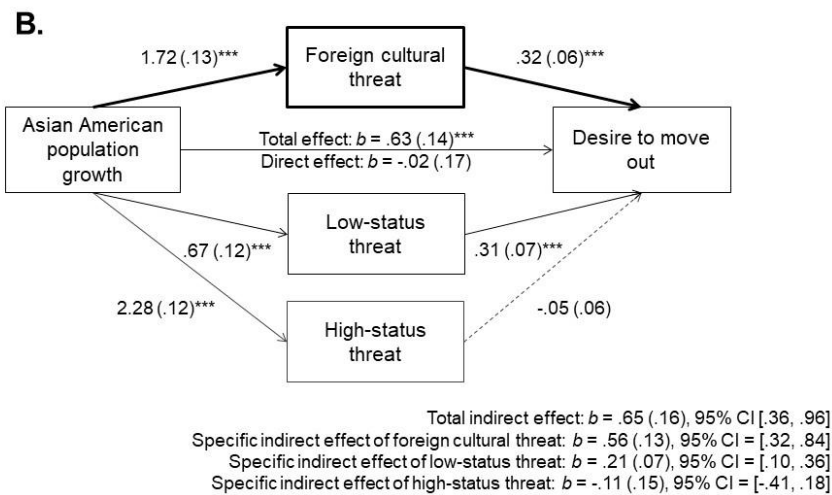
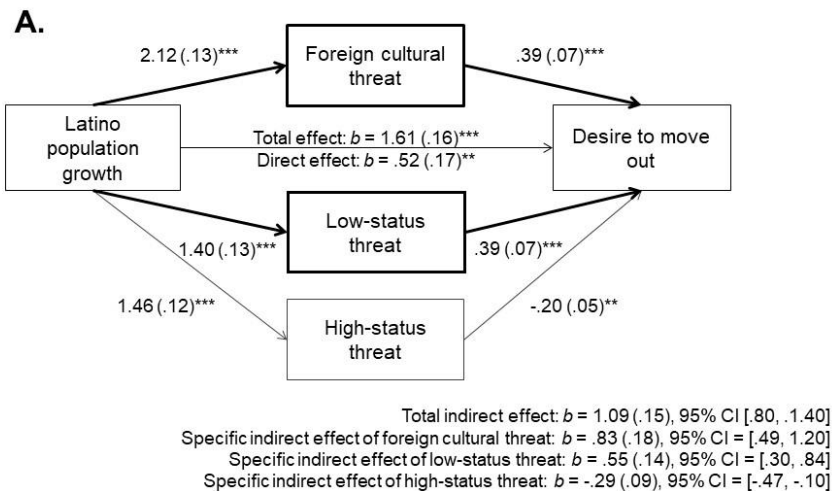
Panel C shows which racial threats predict Whites' desires to move out of a community with a growing African American population (relative to the no-change control condition). Pairwise contrasts revealed that the indirect effect of low-status threat was stronger than both that of high-status threat (95% CI = [-1.40, -.74]) and foreign cultural threat (95% CI = [.37, 1.13]).

In sum, different intergroup threats predicted Whites' desires to move out of diversifying communities. Whites' desires to move away from Latino population growth were predicted equally strongly by both low-status threat and foreign cultural threat; desires to move away from Asian American population growth were predicted most strongly by foreign cultural threat; and

desires to move away from African American population growth were predicted most strongly by low-status threat.

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Figure 4. Studies 2-4: The extent to which different racial threats mediate Whites' desires to move away from Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans. Solid lines indicate significant paths. \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .



## General Discussion

Across school and neighborhood contexts, Whites experienced unique threat reactions to the local population growth of the largest racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States. Four preregistered experiments that varied the race of the group moving in and controlled for all other factors revealed that Whites perceived Latinos and Asian Americans population growth to pose a greater foreign cultural threat than African American population growth; Asian American population growth to pose a greater high-status threat than Latino and African American population growth; and Latino and African American population growth to pose a greater low-status threat than Asian American population growth. Our meta-analyses revealed that Whites perceived Latino population growth to pose an even greater foreign cultural threat compared to Asian American population growth. The combined stereotype of Latinos' "low-status foreignness" may be considered more threatening than Asian Americans, who are stereotyped as high-status instead (Fiske et al., 2002).

One contribution of the current work is to identify the presence of foreign cultural threat, a novel symbolic threat that Latinos and Asian American are perceived as posing to Whites' American cultural norms and values. The development of a taxonomy of distinct forms of symbolic and realistic threats may be useful for understanding nuanced reactions towards different groups. For example, African Americans may be perceived as a threat to Whites' values of self-reliance and the Protestant work ethic (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Outside the realm of race, gay men and lesbians may be perceived to threaten heterosexual individuals' traditional religious and family values (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993).

The racial threats that most strongly predicted Whites' desires to move out depended on which group was projected to move in (e.g., foreign cultural threat predicted Whites' desires to

move out in response to Latino and Asian American but not African American population growth). Strategies for improving Whites' support of racial integration should therefore be attentive to the specific minority groups relevant to the local community. The threats from this research may also each have unique consequences for Whites' strategies for managing increasing diversity in their local communities. For example, in a school context, Whites' perceptions of foreign cultural threat may increase their desire for English-only instruction, while perceptions of low-status threat may increase their desire for academic tracking programs or admissions tests. In a town or neighborhood context, Whites' perceptions of foreign cultural threat may predict support for ordinances that declare English to be the official language or ban the flying of foreign flags, while perceptions of low-status threat may predict their support of local statutes against vagrancy and loitering. Different racial and ethnic minority groups may thus be faced with different forms of discrimination and policy issues, based on the distinct threats they evoke.

Future research should explore interventions that improve Whites' attitudes towards racial integration. For example, reducing Whites' desires to move away from a growing Latino population may involve intervening on both perceptions of low-status threat and foreign cultural threat, while reducing Whites' desires to move away from a growing African American population may primarily involve intervening on perceptions of low-status threat.

Despite growing racial diversity in the United States, there has been little improvement in racial integration patterns (Lichter, Parisi, & Taquino, 2015). Whites continue to seek out racially homogenous schools and neighborhoods, while avoiding or moving away from those with large non-White populations (Glazerman & Dotter, 2017; Krysan, Couper, Farley, & Forman, 2009). The current work reveals the racial threats that Whites perceive from Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans, and the extent to which these threats predict Whites'

desires to move away from different diversifying communities. By understanding the distinct threats that Whites feel in response to specific groups, we may gain insight into how to reduce Whites' aversion towards integrating with different growing minority populations.

## Method and Materials

### Study 1

For both of the following samples, target sample size, procedures, hypotheses, and analyses were preregistered prior to data collection (<https://osf.io/th2b4/>).

Two hundred and ninety-four (54% female) White parents in the U.S. completed an online study on Amazon Mechanical Turk for monetary compensation. The mean age was 39.37 years old ( $SD = 11.47$ ). Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. All participants were told to imagine that their child attended a public middle school whose student body was currently 95% White. Participants were then told that, due to a school redistricting initiative, the number of either Latino or African American students would increase from 5% to 25% at their child's student body next year. Afterwards, all participants answered the open-ended question, "What concerns might *you* have about this initiative?"

In addition, 251 White parents in the U.S. (67% female) were recruited in person from around the Seattle area (e.g., at museums, coffee shops, monorail stations, athletic games) to complete a paper questionnaire. The mean age was 48.10 years old ( $SD = 11.99$ ). Participants were randomly assigned to the same conditions as the online sample above. After reading about either an increase of Latino or African American students at their child's school, all participants answered the open-ended question, "What concerns might *other parents* have about this initiative?"

**Exclusions.** As per our preregistration, 16 participants from the online sample failed a manipulation check in which they were asked to correctly select whether they had read about Latino or African American students and were excluded from coding and analyses.

**Coding process.** For each dataset, two hypotheses- and condition-blind coders (four coders total) read participants' responses and identified the presence ("1") or absence ("0") of different concerns about how the school would be affected by its new students. Responses about the changing American culture, language, and way of life of the school were coded as perceptions of foreign cultural threat. Responses about the diminishing academic resources, safety, and welfare of the school were coded as perceptions of low-status threat. Responses could be coded as "1" for both or neither categories. Disagreements between coders (others' concerns: 10% of total cases; own concerns: 4.3% of total cases) were resolved through discussion. See **Appendix C, Table 1** for example responses and interrater reliability.

#### **Studies 2-4**

Each study's target sample size, procedures, hypotheses, and analyses were preregistered prior to data collection (<https://osf.io/aq572/>, <https://osf.io/ej8gd/>, <https://osf.io/ktp6j/>). White Amazon Mechanical Turk workers in the U.S. were recruited in each study to complete an online study for monetary compensation. Study 2 comprised 316 participants (55.1% female) with a mean age of 36.81 years ( $SD = 12.69$ ). Study 3 comprised 306 participants (53.9% female) with a mean age of 38.06 years ( $SD = 12.93$ ). Finally, Study 4 comprised 362 participants (53.0% female) with a mean age of 37.53 years ( $SD = 12.95$ ).

In each of the three studies, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in which they were told to imagine that they lived in an 80% White community. In the experimental conditions, participants were told that either Latinos, Asian Americans, or African

Americans were estimated to enter their community at increasing rates until they became the dominant group, and this information was accompanied by a corresponding census block map (**Fig. 2**). In the no change control condition, participants were told instead that no demographic change was projected to occur in their community: “Statisticians at the US Census Bureau have projected that in the year 2025, the racial makeup of your community will stay relatively the same.” This information was accompanied by a census block map that showed little change between the community’s 2015 and projected 2025 racial demographics.

**Exclusions.** As per our preregistrations, participants who failed a manipulation check in which they were asked to correctly select which group had been projected to increase in their community (Study 2: 24 participants, Study 3: 25 participants, Study 4: 36 participants) were excluded from analyses.

**Measures.** Participants first responded to a single item assessing their desires to move out: “How likely would you be to move out of this community?” (1 – *Not At All*, 7 – *Extremely*)

**Foreign cultural threat.** Three items ( $\alpha = .93 - .96$ ) assessed perceived foreign cultural threat: “By 2025, foreign cultural practices (e.g., holiday celebrations, food traditions) will overtake American practices in this community,” “By 2025, American religion, language, dress, and culture in this community will be overshadowed by foreign ones,” and, “By 2025, foreign customs and traditions will gain prominence in this community at the expense of American ones” (1 – *Strongly Disagree*, 7 – *Strongly Agree*).

**High-status threat.** Three items ( $\alpha = .88 - .92$ ) assessed perceived high-status threat: “By 2025, Whites will no longer have the highest academic achievement in this community,” “By 2025, it will be harder for Whites to be top-ranked students in the schools of this community,”

and, “By 2025, Whites’ financial wealth and income will be surpassed in this community” (1 – *Strongly Disagree*, 7 – *Strongly Agree*).

***Low-status threat.*** Three items ( $\alpha = .81 - .89$ ) assessed perceived low-status threat: “By 2025, the tax burden on Whites will increase in this community,” “By 2025, White workers in this community will be displaced from their jobs by less qualified individuals,” and, “By 2025, Whites’ physical possessions and safety will be endangered in this community” (1 – *Strongly Disagree*, 7 – *Strongly Agree*).

**Chapter 4**

White Americans are less supportive of redistributive policies for immigrant minorities  
compared to native minorities due to their perceived foreignness

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### Abstract

Redistributive policies such as affirmative action have proven effective at promoting the inclusion of racial and ethnic minority groups in various spheres of economic and education life. However, different groups may not be perceived as equally eligible for inclusion in these policies. Across three studies, we provide evidence that White Americans exhibit reduced support for affirmative action and other redistributive policies that benefit minority groups from immigrant backgrounds (e.g., Latino Americans and Asian Americans), compared to native minority groups (e.g., African Americans and Native Americans; Studies 1 & 2). In addition, we examine whether this reduced support is due to immigrant minority groups' perceived foreignness (Study 2), and whether changing White Americans' perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness increases support for redistributive policies (Study 3). By understanding how White Americans' support of redistributive policies is influenced by the immigration status of recipients, we may be able to identify barriers to certain racial and ethnic minority groups' access to resources and opportunities.

White Americans are less supportive of redistributive policies for immigrant minorities compared to native minorities due to their perceived foreignness

*“Immigrant participation is the ultimate nightmare of affirmative action.” - R. Gaull Silberman, vice chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1993*

Redistributive policies such as affirmative action remain one of the most effective ways to redress past discrimination and promote equal opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities (Bok & Bowen, 1998). However, which groups should be eligible for inclusion in these policies is not always clear or agreed upon (Skrentny, 2002; 2006). In the last half-century, the United States’ immigrant population has grown exponentially, the majority of which has consisted of non-White migrants such as Latino and Asian Americans (Colby & Ortman, 2014). The inclusion of such immigrant minorities and their descendants in redistributive policies has sparked debate and backlash (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008; Reimers, 1998). Indeed, news reports immigrants benefiting from affirmative action fueled anti-preference sentiment during the 1990s (Graham, 2002), and similar rhetoric has been employed in contemporary arguments claiming that such policies “put illegal immigrants on par with American citizens” (111<sup>th</sup> Congressional Record, 2010).

In the current paper, we hypothesize that White Americans are less supportive of redistributive policies benefiting minorities from immigrant backgrounds compared to minorities who are native-born and relatively more established. Furthermore, we propose that this effect occurs due to perceptions of immigrant minorities’ foreignness. Indeed, groups that are perceived as foreign and unassimilated outsiders may be seen as inappropriate recipients of policies that are considered to be meant for American citizens. By understanding how White Americans’ support

of redistributive policies is influenced by the immigration status of recipients, we may be able to identify barriers to immigrant minorities' access to resources and opportunities.

### **Support for Redistributive Policies**

Redistributive policies seek to create a level playing field by distributing social and economic resources and opportunities to members of disadvantaged groups, such as racial and ethnic minorities. Affirmative action in particular has been effective at increasing the representation of racial and ethnic minorities and women in various educational and occupational spheres (Bok & Bowen, 1998; Holzer & Neumark, 2000). Conversely, racial and ethnic minority student enrollment at selective colleges, namely Black and Latino student enrollment, has fallen in states that have banned the use of affirmative action (Hinrichs, 2012; Lewin & Pérez-Peña, 2015).

Since their establishment, however, affirmative action policies have been hotly contested in court (Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, & Downing, 2003), and support among the public is mixed (Norman, 2019; Crosby, Iyer, & Sincharoen, 2006). Affirmative action is less likely to be supported to the extent that individuals endorse or justify group hierarchies (Gutierrez & Unzueta, 2013; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996; Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007), or perceive the policies to pose a threat to their own group interests (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006). Support for affirmative action is also affected by how the policy is framed: for example, "soft" forms of affirmative action (e.g., outreach programs) are preferred over "hard" forms (e.g., quotas; Crosby, Iyer, & Sincharoen, 2006). Strategies such as increasing perspective-taking (Berndsen & McGarty, 2013) and feelings of group-based guilt or sympathy (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003) can also help improve individuals' support.

Less research has examined whether support for affirmative action and other redistributive policies is also influenced by the specific characteristics of the racial and ethnic minorities who stand to benefit. Some work suggests that the less a target is perceived as a minority, whether due to their mixed racial heritage (Sanchez, Good, & Chavez, 2011), higher socioeconomic status (Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2016), or lack of prototypical group attributes (Sanchez & Chavez, 2010; Wilton, Sanchez, & Chavez, 2013), the less they are preferred for affirmative action. In addition to recipients' status as minorities, the current work proposes that minorities' immigration status also affects support for their inclusion in redistributive policies. Specifically, minorities of immigrant backgrounds may be perceived as more foreign and thus considered less suitable recipients compared to minorities who are native-born.

### **The Perceived Foreignness of Immigrant and Native Minorities**

Racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States differ in their immigration status and history. Following terminology in education and sociology (Warikoo & Carter, 2009; Waters & Eschbach, 1995; Zhou, 1997), we use *native minorities* in the current paper to refer broadly to Native Americans and African Americans (e.g., who were either indigenous or forcibly incorporated through slavery into what is now considered the United States centuries ago; Feagin, 2000). We use *immigrant minorities* to refer broadly to Latino Americans and Asian Americans (e.g., whose large-scale immigration to the United States began in the 1960s, and whose current populations are in large part composed of immigrants and the children of immigrants; Alba & Nee, 2003)<sup>13</sup>. Indeed, the proportion of foreign-born Latino Americans

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<sup>13</sup> Substantial heterogeneity exists among these so-called immigrant and native minority groups; however, in both cultural narratives and demographic data, country of origin and generation status are often aggregated and subsumed by the broader category of "race". Thus in the current paper, later-generation Latino Americans and Asian Americans are subsumed as members of immigrant minority groups; similarly, first-generation Black immigrants are subsumed as members of a native minority group. We return to the potential moderating role of generation status in the General Discussion.

(34.2%) and Asian Americans (65.2%) currently living in the United States is notably larger than that of foreign-born African Americans and Native Americans (10.8% and 14.5%; Vespa, Armstrong, & Medina, 2018).

Immigrant minorities may be perceived as more foreign than native minorities. Indeed, although racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States in general tend to be perceived as less American than White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005), Asian Americans and Latino Americans are stereotyped as more foreign than African Americans and Native Americans (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Common conceptions of American identity include civic components such as engagement in American civic and political life (e.g., Schildkraut, 2007) and assimilation on metrics such as citizenship and language<sup>14</sup> (Vigdor, 2013). In addition, American identity consists of cultural components such as Anglo-European ethnocultural heritage (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sidanius et al., 1997) and participation in American cultural customs and traditions (Tsai et al., 2002). Immigrant minorities may be perceived as foreign to the extent that they are perceived to deviate from these civic and cultural components of American identity.

We propose that perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness explain Americans' reduced support for redistributive policies that benefit immigrant minorities compared to native minorities. Indeed, individuals tend to prefer allocating resources to fellow in-group members over outsiders (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Compared to native minorities, immigrant minorities may be perceived to be even further outside the bounds of the American ingroup identity, which may exclude them from being seen as appropriate recipients of the nation's resources and opportunities.

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<sup>14</sup> Speaking English is considered an ethnocultural component of American identity as well (Schildkraut, 2007). We classify it in the current paper as a civic component, as English language proficiency is a formal requirement for naturalization and American citizenship and has been used by social scientists to index immigrants' degree of assimilation (e.g., National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2015; Vigdor, 2013).

### **Alternate Explanations**

Other factors may also potentially influence support for redistributive policies for immigrant minorities compared to native minorities. First, due to the relative recency of their arrival, immigrant minorities may be perceived as having experienced less discrimination in their host country compared to native minorities. Second, compared to native minorities, immigrant minorities' past circumstances may be perceived to have less historical continuity with their present-day circumstances in the host country, which may preclude them from policies aimed to redress past inequities. Third, the host country may be perceived to be less responsible for improving the circumstances of immigrant minorities compared to native minorities. Fourth, because of their potential social networks that span across two countries (Alba & Nee, 2003), immigrant minorities may be perceived to need less support from the host country compared to native minorities. We test these alternate explanations empirically in the following set of studies.

### **Contribution of the Current Work**

Across three studies, we provide evidence that White Americans show reduced support for affirmative action and other redistributive policies for immigrant minorities compared to native minorities (Studies 1 & 2). In addition, we examine whether this reduced support is due to immigrant minorities' perceived foreignness (Study 2), and whether changing White Americans' perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness increases support for redistributive policies (Study 3). The current work contributes to the existing literature by investigating how the immigration status of racial and ethnic minorities affects White Americans' support for their inclusion in redistributive policies, and how support can be increased by decreasing perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness.

### **Study 1**

The purpose of Study 1 was to provide an initial test of whether White Americans support affirmative action and other redistributive policies benefiting Latino Americans and Asian Americans (i.e., immigrant minority groups) to a lesser extent than African Americans and Native Americans (i.e., native minority groups).

## Method

A total of 205 U.S.-born White American MTurk workers (42.4% female) completed an online survey for monetary compensation. The average age was 36.72 ( $SD = 10.65$ ). Participants were asked the following items about four groups: African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans. The order in which groups were presented was randomized.

**Support for affirmative action.** Three items ( $\alpha = .97 - .99$ ) assessed participants' support for the inclusion of different groups in affirmative action policy: "How much should [group] be able to benefit from affirmative action programs?", "How much should [group] be able to benefit from affirmative action in education?", and "How much should [group] be able to benefit from affirmative action in employment?" (1 – Not At All, 7 – Very Much)

**Support for general redistributive policies.** Three items ( $\alpha = .94 - .95$ ) assessed participants' support for general redistributive policies for different groups: "[Group] should be given financial reparations for historical discrimination," "[Group] should have access to resources that remedy historical inequalities," and "[Group] should benefit from policies that compensate for historical injustice" (1 – Strongly Disagree, 7 – Strongly Agree).

## Results

Repeated-measures ANOVAs examined participants' support for redistributive policies for different groups (see Figure 1). Greenhouse-Geisser estimates were used when assumptions

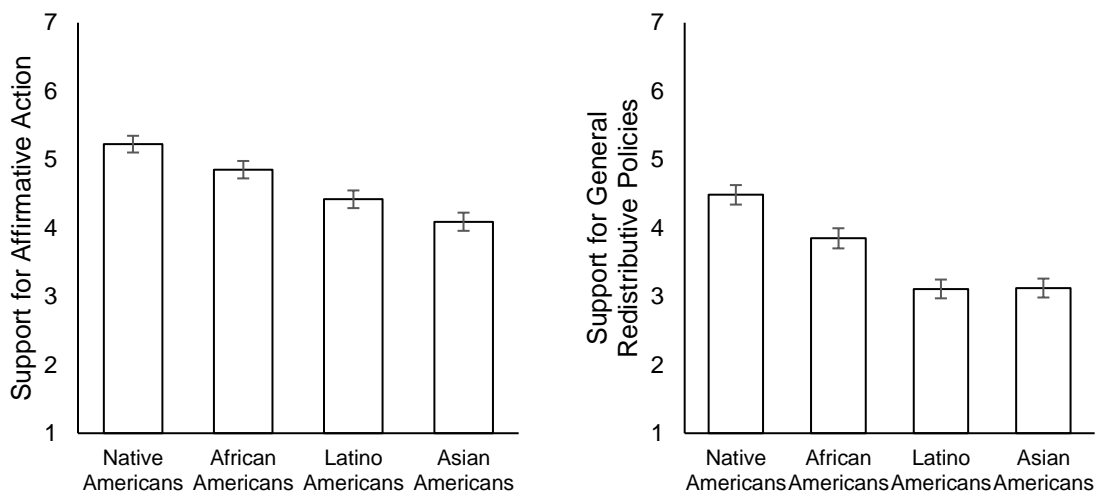
of sphericity were violated. Significant effects were followed by Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons.

**Support for affirmative action.** There was an overall difference in participants' support for the inclusion of different groups in affirmative action policy,  $F(3, 612) = 58.21, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .22$ . Participants were most supportive for affirmative action for Native Americans ( $M = 5.23, SD = 1.75$ ), followed by African Americans ( $M = 4.85, SD = 1.82$ ), then Latino Americans ( $M = 4.42, SD = 1.85$ ), and finally Asian Americans ( $M = 4.09, SD = 1.90$ ), all  $ps < .001$ .

**Support for general redistributive policies.** There was also an overall difference in participants' support for general redistributive policies for different outgroups,  $F(3, 612) = 70.59, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .26$ . Participants were most supportive of redistributive policies for Native Americans ( $M = 4.48, SD = 2.04$ ) compared to other groups, all  $ps < .001$ . They were also more supportive of redistributive policies for African Americans ( $M = 3.85, SD = 2.11$ ) compared to Latino Americans ( $M = 3.11, SD = 1.96$ ) and Asian Americans ( $M = 3.12, SD = 1.98$ ),  $ps < .001$ . There was no difference in support for Latino Americans and Asian Americans,  $p = 1.00$ .

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*Figure 1.* Mean ratings of support for affirmative action and general redistributive policies for Native Americans, African Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans. Error bars indicate standard error.



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## Discussion

As predicted, White Americans supported affirmative action and general redistributive policies for Latino Americans and Asian Americans (e.g., immigrant minority groups) to a lesser degree than for African Americans and Native Americans (e.g., native minority groups).

However, this pattern of results may reflect other distinctions between these groups beyond their immigration status and history. Study 2 builds on these findings by using a minimal groups paradigm to experimentally manipulate groups' immigration status, and by examining the mediating role of perceived foreignness compared to other alternative explanations.

## Study 2

We used a minimal groups paradigm to examine support for the inclusion of immigrant minorities compared to native minorities in redistributive policies. To remove minimal groups from the United States context, we focused on assessing support for general redistributive policies in this study rather than support for affirmative action specifically. We predicted that

support would be lower for immigrant minorities compared to native minorities, and that this effect would be explained by perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness. Specifically, we identified distinct components of perceived foreignness and tested whether they differentially mediated the effect of immigration status on support for redistributive policies. Study 2 also tested several alternative explanations.

## **Method**

A total of 190 U.S.-born MTurk workers (40% female; 15 Black, 3 Asian, 16 Latino, 1 Native American, 149 White, and 6 multiracial or other) completed an online survey for monetary compensation. The average age was 35.54 (SD = 10.91).

Participants were presented with a hypothetical country and told about two racial and ethnic minority groups that lived within this country. One group (e.g., "Group R") was described as consisting largely of native minorities: "The majority of Group R members have parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents who were born in this country." Another group (e.g., "Group L") was described as consisting largely of immigrant minorities: "The majority of Group L members immigrated to this country." The names of each group, and the order in which groups were described, were counterbalanced. Participants were then asked to rate both groups on a battery of items.

### **Measures.**

***Support for general redistributive policies.*** Three items adapted from Study 1 ( $\alpha = .93 - .94$ ) assessed participants' support for general redistributive policies for each group (e.g., "This group should benefit from policies that compensate for historical injustice").

***Perceived foreignness.*** Nineteen items ( $\alpha = .87 - .92$ ) assessed participants' perceptions of the foreignness of each group (see Table 1).

***Perceived experience with discrimination.*** Five items ( $\alpha = .91 - .95$ ) assessed participants' perceptions of each group's experience with discrimination: "How likely is it that this group has been treated unjustly in this country?", "How likely is it that this group has been targeted by racism in this country?", "How likely is it that this group has experienced discrimination in this country for a long period of time?", "How likely is it that this group has been targeted by a severe degree of discrimination in this country?", and "How likely is it that this group has faced historical discrimination in this country?" (1 – Not At All Likely, 7 – Extremely Likely)

***Perceived historical continuity.*** Two items ( $r = .76 - .82$ ) assessed participants' perceptions of the interconnectedness of each group's past with their present: "How likely is it that historical discrimination against this group in this country has affected their modern-day circumstances?" and "How likely is it that the current status of this group in this country's society is due to historical discrimination?" (1 – Not At All Likely, 7 – Extremely Likely)

***Perceived need for support.*** Two items ( $r = .49 - .62$ )<sup>15</sup> assessed participants' perceptions of each group's need for support from the host country: "How likely is it that members of this group need assistance from this country's government?" and "How likely is it that members of this group rely on support from government services?"

***Perceived responsibility of host country.*** Two items ( $r = .67 - .79$ ) assessed participants' perceptions of the host country's responsibility: "How much is this country responsible for supporting members of this group?" and "How much are members of this group the responsibility of this country?" (1 – Not Much At All, 7 – Very Much)

## Results

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<sup>15</sup> Due to the low correlation (i.e.,  $r < .70$ ), we also conducted a version of the subsequent analyses with the two items disaggregated and obtained the same pattern of results.

**Support for general redistributive policies.** As hypothesized, participants were less supportive of general redistributive policies for immigrant minorities ( $M = 4.03$ ,  $SD = 1.82$ ) compared to native minorities ( $M = 4.72$ ,  $SD = 1.75$ ),  $t(189) = 5.58$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Perceived foreignness.** To examine the underlying structure of participants' perceptions of foreignness, a principal components analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the 19 items that assessed the perceived foreignness of immigrant minorities. A two-factor solution was extracted, accounting for 59.92% of the variance. The first component (eigenvalue = 8.13) consisted of items capturing perceptions of the group's lack of assimilation to American civic society (i.e., their civic and politic engagement, patriotism, citizenship, and language). The second component (eigenvalue = 3.26) consisted of items capturing perceptions of the group's ethnocultural differences (i.e., their culture, traditions, values, and beliefs). Next, we submitted ratings of the perceived foreignness of native minorities to a second principal components analysis that forced a two-factor solution. The same two civic and cultural components emerged. Factor loadings are reported in Table 1. Items that loaded onto each factor were aggregated to create composite scores.

Participants rated the immigrant minorities as more civically unassimilated ( $M = 3.71$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ) compared to native minorities ( $M = 2.46$ ,  $SD = .84$ ),  $t(189) = -11.60$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Participants also rated immigrant minorities as more culturally different ( $M = 5.47$ ,  $SD = .94$ ) than native minorities ( $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = 1.49$ ),  $t(189) = -11.89$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Perceived foreignness mediates the effect of group on support for redistributive policies.** We conducted a within-subjects parallel mediation analysis with 10,000 bootstraps (MEMORE macro; Montoya & Hayes, 2017) to test whether lower support for redistributive policies for immigrant minorities compared to native minorities was mediated by the two

components of perceived foreignness (i.e., civic and cultural) or by alternative explanations (Figure 2).

The specific indirect effect of perceived lack of civic assimilation was significant,  $b = -.53$  (.21), 95% CI = [-.95, -.13], such that perceptions of immigrant minorities' lack of civic assimilation relative to native minorities explained reduced support for redistributive policies for immigrant minorities. The specific indirect effect of perceived ethnocultural difference was not significant,  $b = .28$  (.18), 95% CI = [-.09, .64]. The specific indirect effects of perceived experience with discrimination ( $b = -.07$  (.05), 95% CI = [-.17, .01]), perceived historical continuity ( $b = .02$  (.06), 95% CI = [-.11, .14]), perceived responsibility of the host country ( $b = -.15$  (.10), 95% CI = [-.37, .04]), and perceived need for support ( $b = -.01$  (.04), 95% CI = [-.09, .05]), were also not significant.

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*Table 1.* Factor loadings from the principal components analyses conducted in Study 2.

Item	Factor 1: Civic (Immigrant Minorities)	Factor 2: Cultural (Immigrant Minorities)	Factor 1: Civic (Native Minorities)	Factor 2: Cultural (Native Minorities)
How likely is it that members of this group have citizenship in this country? *	<b>.75</b>	.17	<b>.56</b>	.27
How likely is it that members of this group have lived in this country for most of their lives? *	<b>.80</b>	.16	<b>.54</b>	.34
How likely is it that members of this group speak the same language as other people in this country? *	<b>.80</b>	.08	<b>.51</b>	.19
How likely is it that members of this group practice the same religion as other people in this country? *	<b>.78</b>	.21	<b>.56</b>	-.03
How likely is it that members of this group have blended into this country's society? *	<b>.82</b>	.15	<b>.75</b>	.13
How likely is it that members of this group have assimilated into this country? *	<b>.80</b>	.05	<b>.63</b>	.10
How likely is it that members of this group are civically engaged in this country? *	<b>.80</b>	-.04	<b>.73</b>	-.09

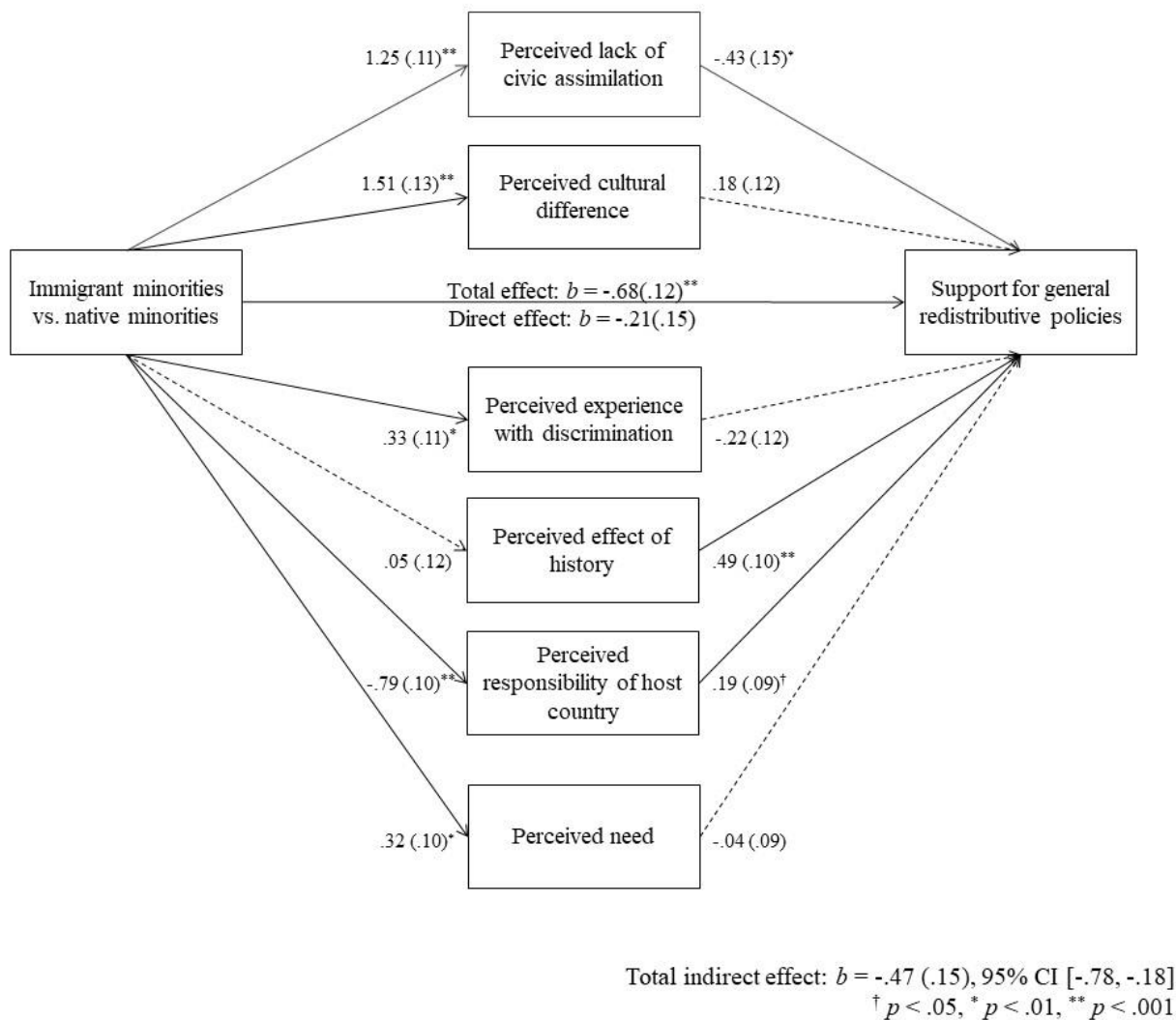
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How likely is it that members of this group are politically involved in this country? *	<b>.79</b>	-.02	<b>.74</b>	-.09
How likely is it that members of this group respect this country's institutions and laws? *	<b>.65</b>	-.10	<b>.70</b>	.17
How likely is it that members of this group feel patriotic towards this country? *	<b>.78</b>	-.07	<b>.67</b>	.09
How likely is it that members of this group think of themselves as members of this country? *	<b>.75</b>	.02	<b>.65</b>	.29
How likely is it that members of this group are typical of the people who live in this country? *	<b>.80</b>	.07	<b>.65</b>	-.04
How likely is it that members of this group fit the typical image of people in this country? *	<b>.81</b>	.11	<b>.65</b>	-.04
How likely is it that members of this group are outsiders in this country?	.12	<b>.71</b>	.06	<b>.84</b>
How likely is it that members of this group are foreign to this country?	.06	<b>.80</b>	.12	<b>.82</b>
How likely is it that members of this group have a different culture from other people in this country?	.09	<b>.80</b>	.10	<b>.88</b>
How likely is it that members of this group have different values and beliefs from other people in this country?	-.06	<b>.63</b>	.17	<b>.77</b>
How likely is it that members of this group have a different ethnic background from other people in this country?	.05	<b>.73</b>	.00	<b>.63</b>
How likely is it that members of this group have different cultural traditions from other people in this country?	.06	<b>.74</b>	.00	<b>.79</b>

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*Note.* Items that are asterisked (\*) were reverse-scored.

Figure 2. The multiple mediation model in Study 1.



## Discussion

In a minimal groups paradigm, immigrant minorities were perceived to be more foreign than native minorities. Two distinct components comprised foreignness: perceived lack of civic assimilation, and perceived ethnocultural difference. Perceptions of immigrant minorities' lack of civic assimilation relative to native minorities uniquely explained participants' reduced support for the inclusion of immigrant minorities in general redistributive policies.

## Study 3

The purpose of Study 3 was to experimentally test our proposed mechanism (Spencer, Zanna, Fong, 2005). We predicted that perceiving a group of immigrant minorities to be more civically assimilated would increase White Americans' support for that group's inclusion in affirmative action and general redistributive policies. We examined support for a specific Latino subgroup (i.e., Dominican immigrants), as participants' perceptions of ethnic subgroups may be more malleable compared to their perceptions of the racial group overall.

### **Method**

A total of 233 U.S.-born White American MTurk workers (40.8% female) completed an online survey for monetary compensation. The average age was 35.18 ( $SD = 10.30$ ).

Participants were presented with an article entitled "A statistical portrait of Dominican immigrants in the United States," which presented "key findings from a new analysis of the current population of Americans of Dominican origin." In the assimilated condition, the Dominican immigrant population was described as mostly English-speaking U.S. citizens who were civically engaged with American society (e.g., being registered to vote, identifying as American). In the unassimilated condition, the Dominican immigrant population was described as mostly unnaturalized, speaking a foreign language, and civically disconnected from American society (e.g., not being registered to vote, identifying with their country of origin). Both articles then described the Dominican immigrant population as facing major disparities in wealth, education, and homeownership, and facing discriminatory practices in labor market and criminal justice contexts.

The perceived lack of civic assimilation measures from Study 1 ( $\alpha = .97$ ) were used to assess the effectiveness of our manipulation. Three items ( $\alpha = .94$ ) assessed participants' support

for affirmative action for Dominican immigrants, and three items ( $\alpha = .90$ ) assessed participants' support for general redistributive policies.

In addition, to examine whether our manipulation affected other aspects of participants' beliefs about Dominican immigrants, participants rated their perceptions of Dominican immigrants' ethnocultural difference ( $\alpha = .90$ ), experience with discrimination ( $\alpha = .93$ ), historical continuity ( $r = .76$ ), need for support ( $r = .58$ ), and the perceived responsibility of the host country ( $r = .81$ ) using the same measures from Study 1.

## Results

We excluded participants who did not pass an attention check ( $n = 61$ ). We also excluded participants who rated the article as not being believable ( $n = 17$ ). This left us with a sample of 157 participants.<sup>16</sup>

**Manipulation check.** Participants indeed perceived Dominican immigrants to be more civically assimilated in the assimilated condition ( $M = 5.76$ ,  $SD = .71$ ) compared to in the unassimilated condition ( $M = 3.78$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ),  $t(155) = 11.95$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Support for affirmative action.** Participants who read that Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 5.04$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ) were more supportive of affirmative action benefiting Dominican immigrants compared to participants who read that Dominican immigrants were unassimilated ( $M = 4.49$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ),  $t(155) = 2.40$ ,  $p = .02$ .

**Support for general redistributive policies.** There was no statistically significant difference in support of general redistributive policies between participants who read that

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<sup>16</sup> When participants who did not pass the attention check and who rated the article as unbelievable are included, the effect of article on support for affirmative action becomes marginally significant,  $t(231) = 1.92$ ,  $p = .06$ , and the effect of article on support for general redistributive policies becomes insignificant,  $t(231) = 1.26$ ,  $p = .21$ .

Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 4.40$ ,  $SD = 1.48$ ) or unassimilated ( $M = 3.93$ ,  $SD = 1.85$ ),  $t(155) = 1.76$ ,  $p = .08$ .

**Perceived ethnocultural difference.** Participants perceived Dominican immigrants to be less ethnoculturally different when they read that Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ) compared to unassimilated ( $M = 5.29$ ,  $SD = .81$ ),  $t(155) = -6.73$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Perceived experience with discrimination.** There was no statistically significant difference in perceptions of Dominican immigrants' experiences with discrimination between participants who read that Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 5.19$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) compared to unassimilated ( $M = 4.84$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ),  $t(155) = 1.75$ ,  $p = .08$ .

**Perceived historical continuity.** Participants perceived greater historical continuity between Dominican immigrants' past and presence circumstances when they read that Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 5.17$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ) or unassimilated ( $M = 4.48$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ),  $t(155) = 3.04$ ,  $p = .003$ .

**Perceived need for support.** There was no statistically significant difference in perceptions of Dominican immigrants' need for support between participants who read that Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 4.80$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ) or unassimilated ( $M = 5.14$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ),  $t(155) = -1.79$ ,  $p = .08$ .

**Perceived responsibility of host country.** There was no statistically significant difference in perceptions of the United States' responsibility towards Dominican immigrants between participants who read that Dominican immigrants were assimilated ( $M = 4.75$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ) or unassimilated ( $M = 4.34$ ,  $SD = 1.80$ ),  $t(155) = 1.73$ ,  $p = .09$ .

## **Discussion**

Study 3 provides initial evidence that portraying immigrant minorities, specifically Dominican immigrants, as relatively assimilated may be able to increase White Americans' support for their inclusion in affirmative action. Contrary to our hypotheses, support for general redistributive policies was not affected. In addition, portraying immigrant minorities as relatively assimilated also decreased White Americans' perceptions of their level of ethnocultural difference, and increased perceptions of the historical continuity between their past and present circumstances. More research is needed to understand how immigrant minorities' perceived degree of assimilation combines or interacts with other factors to influence White Americans' overall support for their inclusion in redistributive policies.

### **General Discussion**

Redistributive policies such as affirmative action have proven useful for preventing the exclusion of racial and ethnic minorities in economic and educational spheres of American life. Across three studies, we demonstrate that White Americans are less supportive of redistributive policies benefiting immigrant minorities compared to native minorities, due to the perceived immigrant minorities' perceived foreignness. We provide evidence for this model through the use of both traditional mediation techniques (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) and the recommended experimental causal chain approach (Spencer, Zanna, & Fong, 2005).

The current findings also distinguish between civic and cultural components of foreignness. These components may have differing implications for White Americans' support for redistributive policies that benefit immigrant minorities. Specifically, results suggest that the civic component of perceived foreignness may be particularly influential in shaping support. Going forward, emphasizing immigrant minorities' civic and political engagement and

patriotism may be strategies for improving support for their inclusion in redistributive policies and in other resources and opportunities.

### **The Consequences of Immigrant Minorities' Inclusion for African Americans**

To what extent *should* immigrant minorities be included in redistributive policies, particularly affirmative action? The inclusion of such groups may obscure the original intention of these policies, which was to redress the legacy of racial discrimination and segregation imposed on African Americans in the United States (Kasinitz et al., 2008). For example, affirmative action is often construed in this modern era as a policy more broadly aimed at increasing diversity and representation within corporations or universities (Skrentny, 2002). The reframed purpose of affirmative action may have negative implications for African Americans. Indeed, African Americans' position in United States' society has stagnated in recent decades, while certain immigrant minorities and their second-generation children have experienced relatively more social mobility and success (Lee & Bean, 2010), in part due to their being able to take advantage of resources originally established for African Americans in the Civil Rights era (Kasinitz et al., 2008). Taken together, although the inclusion of immigrant minorities in policies such as affirmative action has important positive consequences for these groups, redistributive efforts must also not lose sight of their original aim to equalize conditions for African Americans.

### **Future Directions**

Future work could examine support for the policy inclusion of specific subgroups within our broad classification of immigrant and native minority groups. For example, not all Asian Americans and Latino Americans are immigrants; similarly, not all African Americans are native-born to the United States and descended from slaves. Americans may be relatively more

likely to support the inclusion of the later-generation immigrants (e.g., third-generation Latino Americans) to the extent that they are perceived as less foreign. Conversely, support may be lower for the inclusion of first-generation Black immigrants compared to native-born African Americans. Indeed, one point of contention in higher education has been the recruitment of the children of Black immigrants through affirmative action policies instead of the children of native African Americans (Rimer & Arensen, 2004).

In addition, future work could compare across racial and ethnic groups' support for redistributive policies. White Americans, native minorities, and immigrant minorities may have differing attitudes with regards to who should be the recipients of redistributive policies. Furthermore, these attitudes may not necessarily be driven by perceptions of immigrant minorities' foreignness. For example, African Americans tend to demonstrate greater historical knowledge of racial discrimination compared to White Americans (Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013). African Americans may place relatively more emphasis on groups' experiences with discrimination, or the historical continuity of groups' past and present experiences, in determining groups' inclusion in redistributive policies.

As Latino American and Asian American immigrant populations continue to grow in the United States, they are often left out of social services and public policies (e.g., welfare, health care; Cornelius, 2005). Americans may feel adverse towards including these groups even in policies specifically designed for racial and ethnic minorities. We demonstrate the role of immigrant minorities' perceived foreignness in shaping Americans' support for their inclusion in reparative policies, and how perceptions of foreignness may be ameliorated to increase support.

## Chapter 5

### General Discussion

Immigration is reshaping American race relations. Latino Americans now constitute the nation's largest racial or ethnic minority group at 18% of the United States population (Flores, 2017), while Asian Americans are experiencing the fastest growth of any major racial or ethnic group (Lopez, Ruiz, & Patten, 2017). Understanding the distinct experiences of these groups requires a theoretical approach that broadens beyond the traditional notion of a unidimensional racial hierarchy. The current dissertation proposed a two-dimensional Racial Position Model and investigated the role of a new dimension of perceived cultural foreignness in three topics important to contemporary race relations. Chapter 1 introduced a framework in which racial and ethnic groups in the United States are positioned along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness, such that White Americans are stereotyped as superior and American; African Americans as inferior and relatively American; Latino Americans as inferior and foreign; and Asian Americans as foreign and relatively superior. Chapter 2 revealed that these dimensions were instrumental in predicting groups' unique real-world experiences with racial stereotyping and prejudice. While African Americans' experiences primarily evoked a dimension of perceived inferiority, Latinos' experiences were shaped in equal parts by their perceived inferiority and foreignness, and Asian Americans' experiences were shaped by their perceived foreignness and superiority. Chapter 3 examined White Americans' perceptions of the distinct intergroup threats posed by different racial and ethnic minority populations in their schools and neighborhoods. While stereotypically low-status groups (e.g., Latino Americans, African Americans) and high-status groups (e.g., Asian Americans) evoked qualitatively distinct forms of realistic threat to White Americans' resources and welfare, stereotypically foreign groups (e.g.,

Latino Americans, Asian Americans) evoked an additional form of symbolic threat to their American cultural way of life. Furthermore, White Americans' perceptions of threat predicted their desires to leave a diversifying residential community. Finally, Chapter 4 explored the role of perceptions of foreignness in White Americans' support for the inclusion of immigrant minorities in redistributive policies (e.g., affirmative action). White Americans were less supportive of redistributive policies benefiting immigrant minorities compared to native minorities; however, increasing White Americans' perceptions of immigrant minorities' civic assimilation improved support. Below, I discuss the theoretical contributions and societal implications of this work in greater detail.

### **Theoretical Contributions**

**Identifying perceived foreignness as an integral dimension of race relations.** The social psychological study of race in the United States has been justifiably guided by the relationship between White Americans and African Americans (Duckitt, 1992). However, capturing the experiences of other groups (e.g., Latino Americans and Asian Americans) may require a new theoretical approach. By integrating a dimension of cultural foreignness with the traditional inferiority dimension, the current work broadens our understanding of the different patterns of experiences among racial and ethnic minority groups that may otherwise have been obscured. Furthermore, this work provides a theoretical foundation for further investigating race relations in a nation increasingly characterized by immigration and ethnic pluralism. For example, a two-dimensional framework allows us to envision how perceptions of inferiority and foreignness may interact to shape racial and ethnic groups' experiences. The manifestations of prejudice along one dimension may be influenced by groups' positioning along the second. In addition, a two-dimensional framework allows us to explore how distinctly-positioned racial and

ethnic minority groups relate to *each other*. Patterns of intra-minority cohesion and conflict may be influenced by the extent to which these groups share a position along one dimension, while diverging along the second.

**Incorporating race into the study of immigration.** Psychological research on immigration has previously been sparse; however, the past decade has seen social psychologists become increasingly interested in exploring these topics (Esses, Deaux, Lalonde, & Brown, 2010). Extant research has examined native citizens' attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies (Jackson, Brown, Brown, & Marks, 2001; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Zarate, Garcia, Garcia, & Hitlan, 2004; Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008), as well as the psychological experiences of immigrants themselves (e.g., Berry, 2001). This growing body of literature has provided generative insights into the relationship between native citizens and immigrants. However, this work has not yet systematically investigated differences between racially distinct immigrant groups. For example, while Asian immigrants have become racialized as high-skilled professionals (Wu, 2013), Latino immigrants have increasingly been racialized as low-status "illegal aliens" (Chavez, 2008; Massey, 2008). Both groups have been racialized as more culturally foreign than immigrants from Canada or Western Europe (Ngai, 2004). From the perspectives of native citizens, racially distinct immigrants may pose different intergroup threats (see Chapter 3). From the perspectives of immigrants, their distinct racialization may give rise to different forms of prejudice and discrimination (see Chapter 2). Taken together, immigration dynamics may be more fully captured by incorporating the specific ways in which groups have been racialized along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness.

### **Societal Implications**

**Anti-discrimination efforts.** The findings of Chapter 2 have implications for efforts to identify and combat racial discrimination. It is often assumed that remedying discrimination faced by African Americans will also remedy the discrimination faced by other racial and ethnic minority groups (Brilliant, 2010). However, a “one-size-fits-all” approach may not recognize the variable forms that discrimination can take as a function of the targeted group. For instance, in *Fragante v. City and County of Honolulu*, Manual Fragante was rejected for a civil service position, despite receiving the highest written test score, because of his heavy accent. The district court ruled that this denial of employment not in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. In 1999, nuclear scientist and American citizen Wen Ho Lee was falsely accused of stealing national secrets for the Chinese government and indicted for espionage. In an internal review, the Justice Department declined that racial prejudice played a role or that Lee was profiled due to his race. To be effective at protecting more individuals from racial discrimination, anti-discrimination law and civil rights efforts may need to more fully incorporate the distinct experiences of Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and other groups that are subordinated as foreigners.

**Local racial integration.** The findings of Chapter 3 have implications for efforts to improve attitudes towards changing local demographics. Racial and ethnic diversity is growing not only in traditional coastal cities but also in smaller towns across the interior of the United States (Massey et al., 2008). Local communities may have predictably distinct threat reactions to different minority populations (e.g., Latino Americans vs. African Americans) that contribute to patterns of White flight and undermine racial integration, or that lead to the passage of different hostile local ordinances (e.g., English-only vs. anti-loitering statutes). Understanding the specific

texture of these reactions may help community leaders anticipate and moderate local backlash towards increasing diversity.

**Minority rights policy.** Finally, the findings of Chapter 4 have implications for efforts to reduce racial inequality. In addition to preventative anti-discrimination law, proactive redistributive policies and minority rights programs can help to foster the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities in educational and occupational spheres (Bok & Bowen, 1998; Holzer & Neumark, 2000). However, White Americans' support for such policies may be affected by the perceived foreignness of their beneficiaries. Indeed, conservative political consultants and pundits have evoked this notion of foreignness in recent arguments against affirmative action: "folks [...] look at college admissions and believe slots for their kids are being taken [...] by illegal immigrants" (Horwitz & Costa, 2017) and "Americans lose in this arrangement" (Carlson, 2018). Minority rights advocates may benefit from understanding how racial and ethnic minorities' immigration status and perceived foreignness may be employed to undermine support for redistributive policies.

### **The Positioning of Ethnic Subgroups**

When studying the experiences of racial and ethnic minority groups, it is important to acknowledge the diversity of ethnic subgroups within each broad racial category. For instance, the Asian American category includes individuals of East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian origins. Similarly, a range of subgroups from Mexico, Central America, and South America comprises the Latino American category. The category of African American tends to be applied to both native-born descendants of slaves as well as more recent first- and second-generation Black immigrants from African and Caribbean nations. These ethnic subgroups can

vary dramatically in socioeconomic status, immigration history, linguistic and cultural heritage, and phenotypic appearance.

Ethnic subgroups within a broad racial group may be distinctly perceived along a dimension of inferiority. In a follow-up study (Zou, Alemayehu, & Cheryan, unpublished data), Southeast Asian Americans (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian) were rated as more inferior compared to East Asian Americans (e.g., Chinese, Japanese). Mexican Americans were rated as more inferior compared to Latino American ethnic subgroups with South American (e.g., Brazilian, Colombian) as well as Central American (e.g., Guatemalan, Honduran) origins. These ratings may reflect a combination of objective differences in groups' average economic realities, as well as subjective perceptions of groups' overall standing in society.

Ethnic subgroups within a broad racial group may also diverge along a dimension of cultural foreignness. For example, Black ethnic subgroups with origins in the West Indies (e.g., Haiti, Trinidad) or Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Ethiopia, Ghana) were rated as more foreign than native-born African Americans. Again, these ratings may reflect a combination of objective differences in groups' foreign-born population sizes, as well as subjective perceptions of groups' cultural practices and traditions and the extent to which they fit the American mainstream.

### **The Positioning of Multiracial Individuals**

Within the United States' changing racial landscape, another fast-growing population is that of biracial and multiracial individuals (Parker, Horowitz, Morin, & Lopez, 2015). Much of this growth has been driven by individuals from mixed White-minority backgrounds (e.g., Black-White, Latino-White, and Asian-White). How might the experiences of these individuals be captured by a two-dimensional model of racial position?

Biracial individuals' experiences may cohere to some degree with the experiences of their monoracial minority counterparts. For example, like monoracial African Americans, Black-White biracial individuals report being racially profiled by law enforcement (Parker et al., 2015). However, monoracial African Americans may face such experiences more severely or with greater frequency. Indeed, racial discrimination tends to more strongly target racially phenotypical African Americans (Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006; Maddox, 2004). In addition, biracial individuals' White identity may also provide some protection from the negative effects of racial stereotyping and prejudice. For example, Black-White biracial individuals who were primed with their White identity were buffered from the experience of stereotype threat in an academic context (Gaither, Remedios, Schultz, & Sommers, 2015).

Furthermore, the extent to which biracial individuals' experiences overlap with their monoracial minority counterparts may differ across groups. Black-White biracial individuals tend to claim either a biracial identity or a monoracial Black identity more often than a White identity, whereas Asian-White and Latino-White biracial individuals are relatively less likely to integrate their minority identity into their self-concept (Davenport, 2016; Lee & Bean, 2010). This pattern may suggest that compared to Asian-White and Latino-White biracial individuals, the experiences of Black-White biracial individuals more closely align with their monoracial minority counterparts. Indeed, Black-White biracial individuals are more likely to report having experienced discrimination compared to Latino-White or Asian-White individuals (Parker et al., 2015).

However, multiracial individuals may encounter forms of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination that are not well-captured by the dimensions of perceived inferiority or cultural

foreignness. For example, research suggests that multiracial individuals face alienation from both mainstream White American communities as well as from their minority communities (e.g., “double rejection”; Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

### **Intersections with Other Social Identities**

Although the current research focuses on racial and ethnic identities, race often intersects with other social categories to influence how individuals are judged and treated. First, consistent with a growing body of literature (Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Johnson, Freeman, & Pauker, 2011), the current dissertation finds that racial stereotypes are moderated by gender. Additional analyses of the data collected in Chapter 2 revealed that women of high-status racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Asian Americans and White Americans) were perceived as more inferior than their male counterparts. This is consistent with research demonstrating that women are lower in perceived status and competence compared to men (Fiske et al., 2002). However, this discrepancy did not occur between the women and men of low-status groups (e.g., African Americans, Latino Americans). This is consistent with the subordinate male target hypothesis, which postulates that among low-status racial and ethnic minority groups, men are primary targets of racial stereotypes and discrimination (Navarrete, McDonald, Molina, & Sidanius, 2010). Interestingly, male and female subgroups did not differ in their perceived foreignness, suggesting that gender may moderate foreignness stereotypes to a lesser degree than inferiority stereotypes.

Racial stereotypes may also be moderated by sexual orientation. Specifically, the prototypical gay man or woman is perceived to be White (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), such that racial and ethnic minority group members who are gay may be stereotyped more similarly to White Americans (Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2019). The “de-racialization” of gay

racial and ethnic minority group members may occur along both dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness. For instance, gay Black and Latino men are perceived as higher in socioeconomic status (e.g., less inferior) compared to their straight counterparts (Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2019). In addition, gay Asian American men and women are perceived as more American (e.g., less foreign) compared to their straight counterparts (Semrow, Zou, Liu, & Cheryan, 2019).

Finally, social class may also moderate racial stereotypes. Because the inferiority dimension is consistent with perceived status, it follows that social class would moderate inferiority stereotypes. Indeed, upper-class African Americans are stereotyped as more competent, ambitious, and industrious than lower-class African Americans (Fiske et al., 2002; Moore-Berg & Karpinski, 2019). In addition, social class may also moderate foreignness stereotypes. One possibility is that, because perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness are positively correlated (see Chapter 2), higher social class may attenuate foreignness stereotypes and increase perceptions of group members' Americanness. Indeed, assimilation into American society is in part defined by the achievement of socioeconomic mobility (Lee & Bean, 2010).

### **Foreignness-Based Prejudice in Other National Contexts**

Immigration is a global phenomenon: never before in human history have so many people lived outside their country of birth (Esses et al., 2010). A dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may shed light on the experiences of racial and ethnic minority groups in non-American national contexts as well. In particular, the contemporary wave of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and North Africa to Western Europe has been accompanied by strong backlash (e.g., anti-immigrant violence and government decrees in Italy; the use of "go home" vans in Great Britain; and increased support for repatriation and religious restrictions in

Germany; Dempsey, 2010; Diamant & Starr, 2018; Johanningsmeier, 2018; Tondo & Giuffrida, 2018; Travis, 2013). Similarly, in response to its growing migrant population, the Australian government proposed testing new arrivals for English language proficiency and “Australian values” (Remeikis, 2018). Ethnic minorities in non-Western nations also face foreignness-based prejudice and discrimination. For example, as the population of foreign nationals residing in Japan has grown in the last decade, so too has nationalistic sentiment (Osaki, 2017). Increasingly prominent hate rallies and demonstrations have called for the halting of immigration, the restriction of rights for foreigners, and the expulsion of ethnic Koreans from Japan (Osaki, 2016).

### **Future Directions**

Going forward, future work could first investigate when distinctly positioned racial and ethnic minority groups are most likely to face discrimination. For example, racial and ethnic minority groups may each be likely to face discrimination in the labor market; however, this hiring discrimination may occur in different occupational domains. The perceived foreignness of Latino Americans and Asian Americans may preclude them from jobs that require speaking English, while the perceived low status of African Americans and Latino Americans may preclude them from jobs that require a high degree of education.

Second, future work could investigate whether the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness correspond with different manifestations of discrimination. For example, the dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may correspond with behavioral tendencies towards exclusion. Groups that fit the national prototype may be more likely to exclude stereotypically foreign groups and restrict their presence in order to maintain control over the national identity (Tichenor, 2002). The prohibition of Chinese immigration, the militarization of

the U.S.-Mexico border, and the ban on migrants from majority-Muslim nations may demonstrate this tendency towards exclusion. On the other hand, the dimension of perceived inferiority may correspond with behavioral tendencies towards exploitation. Groups that are high-status in society may be more likely to exploit the labor of stereotypically low-status groups and hoard away resources in order to maintain status-based hierarchies (Massey, 2007). The use of African Americans as slave labor, sharecroppers, and prison labor and the treatment of Mexican Americans as disposable workers throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century may demonstrate this tendency towards exploitation.

Third, certain features of the American prototype may be more central in different contexts. For instance, perceptions of racial and ethnic minority groups' foreign cultures may be particularly influential in determining the extent to which groups are perceived as a foreign threat. White Americans may perceive the cultural differences of Latino Americans and Asian Americans, especially linguistic differences, to threaten the cultural cohesion of their local community (Massey, 2008). In comparison, perceptions of racial and ethnic minority groups' citizenship and civic engagement may be more influential in determining the extent to which groups should be included in public policy and social services. White Americans may feel negatively towards the notion of "American tax dollars" benefiting non-American citizens. Future research could investigate how different features of the American prototype may be weighted to determine a group's overall perceived foreignness or Americanness. In addition, future research could investigate how making specific features of the American prototype salient in certain contexts affects how stereotypically foreign groups are perceived (e.g., Yogeewaran, Dasgupta, & Gomez, 2012).

## **Conclusion**

Race relations in the 21st century have been defined by the challenges and opportunities afforded by increased immigration. Although Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and others have had extensive histories in the United States, their recent unprecedented growth has emphasized the importance of not only incorporating these groups into our scholarship, but also incorporating the distinct ways in which they have been perceived and treated through history and into the modern day. Indeed, by going beyond a traditional racial hierarchy, and exploring how the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness together shape the experiences of racial and ethnic groups in contemporary American society, we may better address the changing conditions of studying race in an increasingly multiethnic nation.

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## Appendix A

Stereotypes rated significantly above the midpoint as stereotypical of Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites in Study 3

Stereotype	M	SD	Stereotype	M	SD
<u>Blacks</u>			<u>Asian Americans</u>		
Athletic	6.18	1.18	Mathematical	6.43	0.95
Criminals	5.96	1.23	Nerdy	6.20	1.16
Tall	5.78	1.23	Intelligent	6.11	1.16
Violent	5.76	1.33	Overachiever	6.01	1.33
Dangerous	5.69	1.24	Having accents	5.95	1.21
Poor	5.59	1.32	Hardworking	5.86	1.25
Rhythmic	5.55	1.52	Having a smaller physique	5.85	1.36
Drug abusers	5.52	1.28	Competitive	5.85	1.55
Uneducated	5.42	1.49	Short	5.81	1.31
Aggressive	5.35	1.44	Serious	5.63	1.23
Thieves	5.35	1.60	Traditional	5.58	1.31
Welfare dependent	5.24	1.51	Quiet	5.55	1.39
Musical	5.10	1.46	Ambitious	5.52	1.58
Sticking to their own race	5.09	1.52	Self-disciplined	5.49	1.33
Cool	5.01	1.42	Not speaking English well	5.49	1.41
Angry	4.98	1.54	Bad at basketball	5.48	1.68
Outgoing	4.88	1.43	Sticking to their own culture	5.48	1.55
Undisciplined	4.87	1.30	Nonathletic	5.37	1.46
Hostile	4.84	1.67	Diligent	5.33	1.40
Unintelligent	4.81	1.57	Obedient	5.31	1.74
Irresponsible	4.81	1.62	Family oriented	5.28	1.63
Churchgoing	4.81	1.63	Reserved	5.26	1.57
Confident	4.76	1.65	Sticking to their own race	5.24	1.53
Dirty	4.74	1.57	Passive	4.95	1.55
Hypersexual	4.73	1.65	Submissive	4.88	1.62
Rude	4.72	1.44	Rich	4.87	1.37
Communal	4.71	1.58	Humorless	4.83	1.57
Sticking to their own culture	4.69	1.60	Antisocial	4.69	1.65
Urban	4.66	1.78	Cold	4.69	1.52
Burdens to society	4.64	1.57	Stoic	4.61	1.56
Having too many children	4.63	1.64	Taking jobs from Americans	4.59	1.80
Lazy	4.57	1.67	Humble	4.52	1.68
Religious	4.54	1.77	Communal	4.35	1.56
Lacking ambition	4.43	1.67	<u>Whites</u>		
Dishonest	4.42	1.47	Privileged	6.18	1.22

Pushy	4.36	1.52	Racist	5.86	1.32
<u>Latinos</u>			Rich	5.64	1.28
Illegal immigrants	6.17	1.20	Fat	5.51	1.40
Having accents	5.70	1.24	Confident	5.43	1.52
Poor	5.47	1.28	Arrogant	5.13	1.34
Family oriented	5.44	1.41	Churchgoing	5.11	1.44
Having too many children	5.33	1.58	Competitive	5.03	1.45
Religious	5.31	1.48	Tall	4.99	1.47
Criminals	5.29	1.38	Greedy	4.98	1.69
Sticking to their own culture	5.16	1.38	Surfers	4.98	1.76
Not speaking English well	5.10	1.41	Religious	4.91	1.44
Taking jobs from Americans	5.09	1.90	Outgoing	4.78	1.52
Welfare dependent	4.99	1.59	Intelligent	4.76	1.24
Churchgoing	4.99	1.48	Ambitious	4.69	1.42
Uneducated	4.99	1.51	Athletic	4.63	1.30
Sticking to their own race	4.92	1.46	Bad dancers	4.62	2.02
Thieves	4.87	1.61	Cool	4.60	1.62
Violent	4.85	1.44	Selfish	4.53	1.58
Rhythmic	4.83	1.50	Sticking to their own race	4.48	1.76
Communal	4.80	1.49	Courteous	4.41	1.47
Dangerous	4.79	1.38			
Drug abusers	4.71	1.49			
Traditional	4.68	1.41			
Dirty	4.58	1.61			
Unintelligent	4.57	1.53			
Hardworking	4.55	1.74			
Burdens to society	4.53	1.65			
Outgoing	4.41	1.55			
Unassimilated	4.32	1.49			

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## Appendix B

## Main effects and interactions in Study 4

Main Effect and Interaction Terms	df1	df2	F	p	$\eta_p^2$
Dimension	1	319	94.82	<.001	.23
Racial group	5	1595	515.52	<.001	.62
Gender subgroup	2	638	3.72	.03	.01
Participant race (P)	3	319	1.10	.35	.01
Dimension $\times$ racial group	5	1595	202.36	<.001	.39
Dimension $\times$ gender subgroup	2	638	5.53	.005	.02
Dimension $\times$ P	3	319	4.52	.004	.04
Racial group $\times$ gender subgroup	10	3190	10.38	<.001	.03
Racial group $\times$ P	15	1595	2.39	.006	.02
Gender subgroup $\times$ P	6	638	1.36	.23	.01
Dimension $\times$ racial group $\times$ gender subgroup	10	3190	13.07	<.001	.04
Dimension $\times$ racial group $\times$ P	15	1595	2.01	.01	.02
Dimension $\times$ gender subgroup $\times$ P	6	638	.51	.80	.005
Racial group $\times$ gender subgroup $\times$ P	30	3190	1.09	.35	.01
Dimension $\times$ racial group $\times$ gender subgroup $\times$ P	30	3190	.89	.62	.01

## Appendix C

**Supplemental Information**  
**Understanding White flight: Different racial minority populations pose distinct perceived threats in schools and neighborhoods**

**Pilot: Distinguishing Among Intergroup Threat Measures**

**Method**

Four hundred and eighty-one (59% female) White American Amazon Mechanical Turk workers completed an online survey. The mean age was 37.75 ( $SD = 12.11$ ).

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. Participants were told to imagine that they lived in an 80% White community. However: “Statisticians at the US Census Bureau have projected that by the year 2025, the racial makeup of your community will change dramatically. U.S.-born (**Latino Americans / Asian Americans / African Americans / Arab Americans**) are estimated to enter your community at higher rates in the next 10 years until they become the dominant group.” This information was accompanied by a census block map illustrating the community’s 2015 racial demographics alongside the projected 2025 racial demographics.

Fifteen participants failed a manipulation check in which they were asked to correctly select which group had been projected to increase in their community and were excluded from subsequent analyses.

**Measures.** The following measures of intergroup threat were presented in randomized order.

**Foreign cultural threat.** Three items ( $\alpha = .93$ ) assessed perceived foreign cultural threat: “By 2025, foreign cultural practices (e.g., holiday celebrations, food traditions) will overtake American practices in this community,” “By 2025, American religion, language, dress, and

culture in this community will be overshadowed by foreign ones,” and, “By 2025, foreign customs and traditions will gain prominence in this community at the expense of American ones” (1 – *Strongly Disagree*, 7 – *Strongly Agree*).

**High-status threat.** Three items ( $\alpha = .86$ ) assessed perceived high-status threat: “By 2025, Whites will no longer have the highest academic achievement in this community,” “By 2025, it will be harder for Whites to be top-ranked students in the schools of this community,” and, “By 2025, Whites’ financial wealth and income will be surpassed in this community” (1 – *Strongly Disagree*, 7 – *Strongly Agree*).

**Low-status threat.** Three items ( $\alpha = .88$ ) assessed perceived low-status threat: “By 2025, the tax burden on Whites will increase in this community,” “By 2025, White workers in this community will be displaced from their jobs by less qualified individuals,” and, “By 2025, Whites’ physical possessions and safety will be endangered in this community” (1 – *Strongly Disagree*, 7 – *Strongly Agree*).

**Other intergroup threats.** We included two frequently-cited (e.g., > 500 times) realistic and symbolic threat scales (Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). Finally, we included measures of prototypicality threat (Danbold & Huo, 2014).and sociofunctional threats (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). The sociofunctional threat measure of threat to personal freedoms was mistakenly not included.

## Results

**Relationships between intergroup threats.** Correlations among threat measures across conditions are reported in Table 2. Foreign cultural threat was correlated at  $r_s = .16 - .66$  with measures of other intergroup threats. High-status threat was correlated at  $r_s = -.01 - .25$  with other measures. Low-status threat was correlated at  $r_s = .70 - .74$  with other measures related to

the undermining of in-group resources and welfare (i.e., realistic threat, and threats to group safety, property, and reciprocity relations), suggesting a reasonable degree of convergent validity (Carlson & Herdman, 2012).

**Patterns of intergroup threat across groups.** We next performed between-subjects ANOVAs to examine the extent to which Latino, Asian American, African American, and Arab American population growth evoked different intergroup threats to Whites. See Figure 1 for representative graphs, and Table 3 for full descriptive statistics, F-tests, and simple effects.

Whites rated Latino and Asian American population growth as evoking a greater foreign cultural threat compared to African American population growth. Indeed, foreign cultural threat was more effective at differentiating among these three minority groups compared to symbolic and prototypicality threat. In addition, Whites rated Arab American population growth as evoking the greatest foreign cultural threat, symbolic threat, and prototypicality threat compared to other conditions.

Whites rated Asian American and Arab American population growth as evoking a greater high-status threat compared to Latino and African American population growth.

Finally, Whites rated Latino, African American, and Arab American population growth as evoking a greater low-status threat compared to Asian American population growth. This general pattern emerged for other theoretically-related threats (e.g., realistic threat, and threats to group safety, property, and reciprocity relations).

## Study 1: Whites' Perceptions of Distinct Racial Threats in Schools

### Preregistered Chi-square Analyses

As predicted (see Figure 2), White parents online who were asked about their own concerns reported a greater proportion of foreign cultural threat perceptions upon an increase in Latino students (8.0%) compared to African American students (1.4%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 278) = 6.67, p = .01, \phi = .16$ . White parents reported a similar proportion of low-status threat perceptions upon an increase in both African American students (18.6%) and Latino students (13.8%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 278) = 1.18, p = .28, \phi = .07$ .

White parents from the local community who were asked about *others'* concerns also reported a greater proportion of foreign cultural threat perceptions in response to Latino students (31.5%) compared to African American students (7.4%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 251) = 22.82, p < .001, \phi = .30$ . However, contrary to our preregistered hypotheses predicting no difference, White parents in this sample reported a greater proportion of low-status threat perceptions upon an increase in Latino students (53.1%) compared to an increase in African American students (38.0%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 251) = 5.73, p = .02, \phi = .15$ .

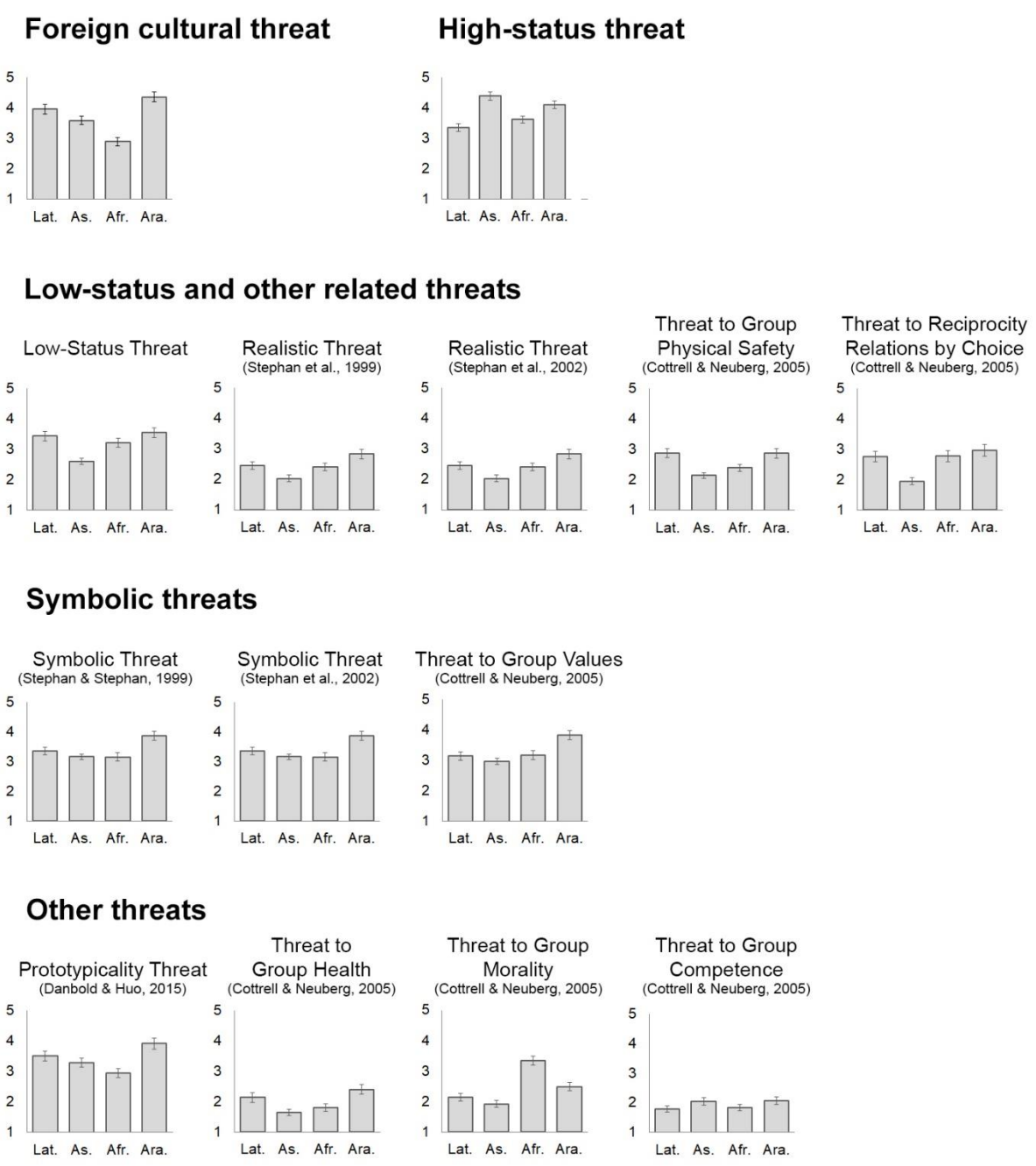
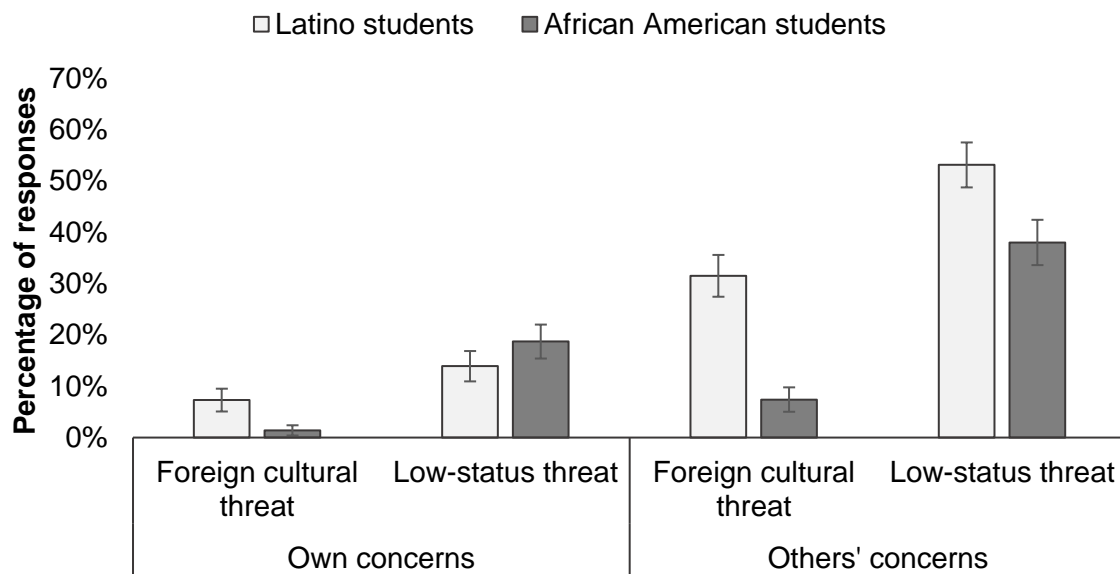


Figure 1. Pilot: Perceptions of intergroup threats across conditions. Five illustrative graphs of low-status and related threats were selected. All other threats are represented. The full range of each scale was 1-7. Error bars indicate standard error. Lat. = Latino population growth condition, As. = Asian American population growth condition, Afr. = African American population growth condition, and Ara. = Arab American population growth condition.



*Figure 2.* Study 1: Percentage of responses reflecting perceptions of foreign cultural threat and low-status threat upon an increase of Latino or African American students.

Table S1

*Study 1 example responses and interrater reliability*

Category	Example responses	Kappa	% Agreement
<b>Others' concerns</b>			
Foreign cultural threat	“Other parents may be concerned with exposure to different cultural norm – music, food, language, family structure, religion”	.75	92.4%
	“Questions about # of ESL or Spanish speaking students and how that would impact instruction”		
Low-status threat	“A change in demographics may decrease test scores and real estate values.”	.75	87.6%
	“I think some parents maybe concerned about a degradation in their children’s education. Another concern may be drugs, crime, etc. that might not be otherwise in the school.”		
<b>Own concerns</b>			
Foreign cultural threat	“That the incoming students may not be primarily English speakers and that will take the attention off of the goals that need to be accomplished”	.83	97.1%
	“Students speaking a different language, which could create problems for faculty and students.”		
Low-status threat	“Bringing inner-city kids and potentially violence/unwanted behavior to the school.”	.73	92.1%
	“That would mean that there will be more crime in the school and that resources will be diverted from my child.”		

Table 2

*Pilot study correlations among intergroup threats*

	Foreign cultural	High-status	Low-status
High-status threat	<b>.33</b>	-	-
Low-status threat	<b>.66</b>	<b>.16</b>	-
Realistic threat (Stephan et al., 2002)	<b>.59</b>	<b>.15</b>	<b>.75</b>
Realistic threat (Stephan et al., 1999)	<b>.60</b>	.04	<b>.75</b>
Symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 2002)	<b>.65</b>	<b>.10</b>	<b>.76</b>
Symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 1999)	<b>.65</b>	.05	<b>.72</b>
Prototypicality threat (Danbold & Huo, 2015)	<b>.63</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>.56</b>
Threat to group physical safety*	<b>.51</b>	-.01	<b>.75</b>
Threat to group property*	<b>.50</b>	-.06	<b>.73</b>
Threat to group economic resources*	<b>.63</b>	<b>.14</b>	<b>.69</b>
Threat to group values*	<b>.60</b>	.08	<b>.70</b>
Threat to in-group's morality*	<b>.16</b>	.08	<b>.29</b>
Threat to in-group's competence*	<b>.28</b>	<b>.25</b>	<b>.33</b>
Threat to reciprocity relations by choice*	<b>.57</b>	.06	<b>.77</b>
Threat to reciprocity relations due to inability*	<b>.44</b>	.06	<b>.61</b>
Threat to social coordination*	<b>.55</b>	.01	<b>.72</b>
Threat to trust relations*	<b>.54</b>	.04	<b>.72</b>
Threat to group health*	<b>.52</b>	.03	<b>.67</b>

*Note.* Threats marked with an asterisk are sociofunctional threats from Cottrell & Neuberg (2005). Bolded correlations were significant at  $p < .05$ .

Table 3

*Pilot study descriptive statistics and ANOVA results*

Threat	Omnibus ANOVA	Latino	Asian	African	Arab
		<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Foreign threat	$F(3, 462) = 16.28, p < .001$	3.96 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.78)	3.59 <sup>a</sup> (1.51)	2.89 <sup>c</sup> (1.54)	4.36 <sup>b</sup> (1.80)
High-status threat	$F(3, 462) = 13.31, p < .001$	3.35 <sup>a</sup> (1.35)	4.39 <sup>b</sup> (1.52)	3.62 <sup>a</sup> (1.26)	4.10 <sup>b</sup> (1.41)
Low-status threat	$F(3, 462) = 8.70, p < .001$	3.44 <sup>a</sup> (1.71)	2.61 <sup>b</sup> (1.21)	3.22 <sup>a</sup> (1.52)	3.56 <sup>a</sup> (1.77)
Realistic threat (Stephan et al., 2002)	$F(3, 462) = 6.38, p < .001$	2.45 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.39)	2.02 <sup>b</sup> (1.24)	2.41 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.30)	2.83 <sup>a</sup> (1.75)
Realistic threat (Stephan et al., 1999)	$F(3, 462) = 8.13, p < .001$	2.88 <sup>a</sup> (1.52)	2.15 <sup>b</sup> (1.03)	2.40 <sup>b</sup> (1.21)	2.87 <sup>a</sup> (1.65)
Symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 2002)	$F(3, 462) = 8.34, p < .001$	3.14 <sup>a</sup> (1.37)	2.96 <sup>a</sup> (1.11)	3.17 <sup>a</sup> (1.56)	3.83 <sup>b</sup> (1.69)
Symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 1999)	$F(3, 462) = 7.00, p < .001$	3.37 <sup>a</sup> (1.33)	3.17 <sup>a</sup> (1.01)	3.16 <sup>a</sup> (1.39)	3.87 <sup>b</sup> (1.65)
Prototypicality threat (Danbold & Huo, 2015)	$F(3, 462) = 6.48, p < .001$	3.50 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.80)	3.28 <sup>a</sup> (1.61)	2.94 <sup>a</sup> (1.59)	3.92 <sup>b</sup> (1.93)
Threat to group physical safety*	$F(3, 462) = 12.54, p < .001$	2.64 <sup>a</sup> (1.86)	1.67 <sup>b</sup> (1.11)	2.77 <sup>a</sup> (1.78)	2.91 <sup>a</sup> (2.04)
Threat to group property*	$F(3, 462) = 10.96, p < .001$	2.65 <sup>a</sup> (1.83)	1.69 <sup>b</sup> (1.18)	2.83 <sup>a</sup> (1.81)	2.66 <sup>a</sup> (1.92)
Threat to group economic resources*	$F(3, 462) = 5.39, p = .001$	3.16 <sup>a</sup> (1.93)	2.47 <sup>b</sup> (1.52)	2.50 <sup>b</sup> (1.58)	3.16 <sup>a</sup> (2.11)
Threat to group values*	$F(3, 462) = 11.24, p < .001$	2.30 <sup>a</sup> (1.59)	2.10 <sup>a</sup> (1.27)	2.30 <sup>a</sup> (1.59)	3.24 <sup>b</sup> (2.13)
Threat to in-group's morality*	$F(3, 462) = 22.79, p < .001$	2.13 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.29)	1.92 <sup>a</sup> (1.22)	3.34 <sup>c</sup> (1.61)	2.48 <sup>b</sup> (1.46)
Threat to in-group's competence*	$F(3, 462) = 1.51, p = .21$	1.79 <sup>a</sup> (1.14)	2.05 <sup>a</sup> (1.38)	1.83 <sup>a</sup> (1.14)	2.07 <sup>a</sup> (1.36)
Threat to reciprocity relations by choice*	$F(3, 462) = 7.47, p < .001$	2.76 <sup>a</sup> (1.92)	1.95 <sup>b</sup> (1.27)	2.78 <sup>a</sup> (1.87)	2.97 <sup>a</sup> (2.09)
Threat to reciprocity relations due to inability*	$F(3, 462) = 4.98, p = .002$	2.42 <sup>a</sup> (1.57)	1.85 <sup>b</sup> (1.13)	2.45 <sup>a</sup> (1.50)	2.50 <sup>a</sup> (1.68)
Threat to social coordination*	$F(3, 462) = 6.28, p < .001$	2.43 <sup>a</sup> (1.77)	1.86 <sup>b</sup> (1.24)	2.42 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.65)	2.79 <sup>a</sup> (1.96)
Threat to trust relations*	$F(3, 462) = 11.45, p < .001$	2.29 <sup>a</sup> (1.73)	1.63 <sup>b</sup> (1.06)	2.20 <sup>a</sup> (1.64)	2.89 <sup>c</sup> (2.10)
Threat to group health*	$F(3, 462) = 6.02, p < .001$	2.14 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.69)	1.64 <sup>a</sup> (1.15)	1.80 <sup>a</sup> (1.42)	2.40 <sup>b</sup> (1.75)

*Note.* Different superscripts within a row indicate significant differences at  $p < .05$ . Threats marked with an asterisk are sociofunctional threats from Cottrell & Neuberg (2005).

Table 4

*Studies 2-4 descriptive statistics and ANOVA results*

	Study	Omnibus ANOVA	Latino <i>M (SD)</i>	Asian American <i>M (SD)</i>	African American <i>M (SD)</i>	Control <i>M (SD)</i>
Desire to move out	2	$F(3, 288) = 15.78, p < .001$	3.84 <sup>a</sup> (1.83)	2.66 <sup>b</sup> (1.48)	3.65 <sup>a</sup> (2.02)	2.16 <sup>b</sup> (1.27)
	3	$F(3, 277) = 19.52, p < .001$	3.35 <sup>a</sup> (1.76)	2.63 <sup>b</sup> (1.73)	3.76 <sup>a</sup> (1.77)	1.77 <sup>c</sup> (.97)
	4	$F(3, 322) = 18.23, p < .001$	3.49 <sup>a</sup> (1.92)	2.54 <sup>b</sup> (1.54)	3.76 <sup>a</sup> (1.87)	1.93 <sup>b</sup> (1.35)
Foreign Cultural Threat	2	$F(3, 288) = 26.90, p < .001$	3.97 <sup>a</sup> (1.54)	3.58 <sup>a</sup> (1.43)	2.73 <sup>b</sup> (1.44)	1.99 <sup>c</sup> (1.22)
	3	$F(3, 277) = 28.32, p < .001$	3.76 <sup>a</sup> (1.71)	3.51 <sup>a</sup> (1.77)	2.81 <sup>b</sup> (1.48)	1.52 <sup>c</sup> (.84)
	4	$F(3, 322) = 29.78, p < .001$	3.88 <sup>a</sup> (1.44)	3.39 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.48)	2.95 <sup>b</sup> (1.50)	1.75 <sup>c</sup> (.95)
High- Status Threat	2	$F(3, 288) = 37.27, p < .001$	3.56 <sup>a</sup> (1.39)	4.29 <sup>b</sup> (1.10)	3.28 <sup>a</sup> (1.16)	2.16 <sup>c</sup> (1.09)
	3	$F(3, 277) = 47.25, p < .001$	3.72 <sup>a</sup> (1.32)	4.50 <sup>b</sup> (1.51)	3.60 <sup>a</sup> (1.40)	1.79 <sup>c</sup> (1.02)
	4	$F(3, 322) = 32.75, p < .001$	3.41 <sup>a</sup> (1.36)	4.37 <sup>b</sup> (1.23)	3.35 <sup>a</sup> (1.29)	2.34 <sup>c</sup> (1.12)
Low- Status Threat	2	$F(3, 288) = 16.51, p < .001$	3.71 <sup>a</sup> (1.62)	2.82 <sup>b</sup> (1.14)	3.33 <sup>a,b</sup> (1.35)	2.22 <sup>c</sup> (1.09)
	3	$F(3, 277) = 13.40, p < .001$	3.44 <sup>a</sup> (1.56)	2.85 <sup>b</sup> (1.55)	3.17 <sup>a</sup> (1.48)	1.96 <sup>c</sup> (.89)
	4	$F(3, 322) = 14.99, p < .001$	3.38 <sup>a</sup> (1.40)	2.71 <sup>b</sup> (1.23)	3.36 <sup>a</sup> (1.34)	2.16 <sup>c</sup> (1.08)

*Note.* Significant one-way between-subjects ANOVAs were followed by pairwise comparisons using Tukey's HSD test. Within each measure, means across the same row that do not share a letter superscript differ at  $p < .05$ .