

Two dimensions of subordination: Evidence for a new model of racial position

Linda Zou

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

University of Washington

2015

Committee:

Sapna Cheryan

Cheryn Kaiser

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Psychology

© Copyright 2015

Linda Zou

University of Washington

Theories of race relations have been justifiably shaped by the concept of a racial hierarchy along which Whites are the most advantaged, and Blacks occupy a subordinate, inferior position. However, the recent precipitated growth of Latinos and Asian Americans underscores the need for a framework that fully integrates these groups. The current work proposes that racial groups are positioned not only along a dimension of perceived *inferiority*, but also along a second dimension of perceived *cultural foreignness*, such that the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States are located in four distinct quadrants: Whites are seen as superior and American, Blacks as inferior and relatively American, Latinos as inferior and culturally foreign, and Asian Americans as relatively superior and culturally foreign. Support for this Racial Position Model was first obtained through targets' perspectives. Racial groups are subject to qualitatively distinct patterns of prejudice and discrimination 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 consensual (Study 4). Together, these studies provide evidence that racial minority groups are subordinated along two discrete dimensions, the combination of which has implications for understanding the nature of intergroup relations.

Two dimensions of subordination: Evidence for a new model of racial position

Linda Xiaoying Zou

Chair of the Supervisory Committee: Dr. Sapna Cheryan

Department of Psychology

Two dimensions of subordination: Evidence for a new model of racial position

“[Blacks] 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, 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, 1944

A look into some of the United States’ notorious episodes of racial inequality exposes critical evidence for how racial 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 Blacks 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 U.S.-born Japanese-Americans on the basis of their perceived foreign loyalties and way of life. Underlying both the *Dred Scott* and *Korematsu* decisions was the positioning of 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 Single Dimension of Racial Hierarchy

Racial position, or a racial group’s “positional arrangement” (Blumer, 1958) relative to others, is most commonly conceptualized as a hierarchy in which Whites are the dominant superior group that possesses greater social and economic advantage, and Blacks, the historically subordinate and inferior group, sit at the bottom (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This unidimensional hierarchy has served as a valuable frame for exploring race relations in the United States.

However, there remains little consensus regarding where other groups are located along this hierarchy. Since lifting its last racial immigration quotas in the 1960s, the United States has

seen dramatic demographic shifts. Latinos and Asian Americans stand out as the two fastest growing racial or ethnic groups that together comprise nearly a quarter of the U.S. population (Colby & Ortman, 2014). Although Latinos are sometimes positioned alongside Blacks as encountering similar social disadvantages (e.g., Major et al., 2002; Major & O'Brien, 2005), they are at other times differentiated for their immigration history (Sears & Savalei, 2006). The hierarchical location of Asian Americans is even more unclear: they are sometimes positioned alongside other racial minority groups for being fellow targets of prejudice (Craig & Richeson, 2012), sometimes alongside Whites for being a high status “model minority” (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2011), and sometimes separated into a middle tier (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; O'Brien & Major, 2005). The ambiguous positioning of both Latinos and Asian Americans may be a result of attempting to locate them on a single dimension of perceived *inferiority*¹. Instead, these groups may also occupy a subordinate position along a second dimension of perceived *cultural foreignness*.

The Dimension of Cultural Foreignness

We use *cultural foreignness* to refer to a group's perceived distance from the prototype of a superordinate category. Superordinate categories provide the norms and standards against which subgroups are evaluated (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Groups that are more prototypical of a positively valued superordinate category are afforded entitlements and resources (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), while groups that are further from the prototype are more likely to face prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion on the basis of their presumed difference (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003).

¹While the current paper considers group's perceived inferiority to be analogous with its perceived social status, we refers to this dimension in terms of “inferiority” and “superiority” as to evoke a clear visualization of racial group position and vertical ranking.

For racial and ethnic groups in the United States, nationality is a shared superordinate category (e.g., Huo & Molina, 2006; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). However, the American prototype is rooted in Anglo-centric ethnicity and heritage (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Defining prototypical features include speaking English, practicing Christianity, and engaging in customs and traditions of Anglo-Saxon cultural lineage (Alba & Nee, 2005; Citrin, Haas, Muste, & Reingold, 1994; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Schildkraut, 2007). A racial or ethnic group's position along a dimension of cultural foreignness depends on the extent to which they are perceived as deviating from this ethno-cultural American prototype.

Whites are robustly considered to be the most American (Devos & Banaji, 2005; for a review, see Devos & Mohamed, 2014). In comparison, Blacks are perceived as violating certain American traditions (Kinder & Sears, 1981) and possessing a distinct subculture (Brannon, Markus, & Taylor, 2015; Patterson, 2015). At the same time, however, elements of Black subculture (e.g., music, dance) have historically been adopted into and digested by the American mainstream (Patterson, 2015). Furthermore, Blacks are perceived to fit other features of the American prototype related to birthplace and language (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2010). Thus while considered culturally different (Kinder & Sears, 1981) and less American relative to Whites (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Rydell, Hamilton, & Devos, 2012), Blacks may not be seen as altogether culturally foreign.

Latinos and Asian Americans may be perceived as especially distant from the American prototype. These groups are stereotyped as not being born in the United States or speaking English (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011), and being “unfit for and uninterested in the American way of life” (Kim, 1999, pg. 112). However, perceptions of cultural foreignness do not hinge only on immigration status. Even Asian Americans who are explicitly

said to be U.S.-born citizens are seen as less American than Whites (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005). Perhaps the strongest evidence that a group's perceived cultural foreignness is shaped by more than the timing of their immigration history is the case of Native Americans, who, as the original indigenous people of the United States, are nonetheless considered to be more foreign than Whites (Devos & Muhamed, 2014). Culinary, religious, linguistic, domestic, and political practices and values that are perceived as dissimilar from the ethno-cultural American prototype all contribute to a global perception of a racial minority group's cultural foreignness.

While the current work focuses on race relations in the United States, the categorization of others as members of one's own group, or conversely as outsiders (i.e., us versus them), is a fundamental aspect of intergroup relations and behavior (e.g., Kurzban, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A dimension of cultural foreignness may apply beyond the United States to explain the position of racial and ethnic groups that are seen and treated as foreigners in other countries and national contexts (e.g., Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). This dimension may also apply beyond national superordinate categories. For example, within male-dominated domains, women's perceived cultural "foreignness" may shape their experiences and treatment over and above their perceived inferiority to men. Indeed, women in STEM fields (Cheryan, Ziegler, & Montoya, 2015), upper management (Heilman, 1983; 2001), and the military (Pazy & Oron, 2001) encounter bias not only based on beliefs about their lesser ability, but also beliefs about their lack of fit with the masculine cultures of these domains. Similarly, bias towards gay men and women is predicted by targets' perceived deviation from culturally-bound representations of the prototypical man and

woman (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Thus a dimension of cultural foreignness may shed light on the experiences of marginalized social groups more broadly.

The Racial Position Model

We propose that a two-dimensional model of racial position will clarify the existing ambiguity surrounding Latinos and Asian Americans, and provide a more comprehensive view of contemporary racial dynamics in the United States. Mapping the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States along two dimensions of perceived *inferiority* and *cultural foreignness* may reveal that each group is positioned within a distinct quadrant (see Figure 1).

The experiences of Blacks are steeped in beliefs about their inferior position in U.S. society. Blacks face stereotypes about their low intelligence (Devine, 1989; Steele & Aronson, 1995), violent and aggressive nature (Devine, 1989; Duncan, 1976), and poor values and social class (Devine, 1989). They experience pervasive bias in hiring and college admissions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2002; King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, & Mendoza, 2006), and multiple stages of the criminal justice process, from police action to sentencing recommendations (e.g., Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002; Correll et al., 2007; Dovidio, Smith, Donnell, & Gaertner, 1997; Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008; Jones & Kaplan, 2003).

There is notable overlap in the experiences of Blacks and Latinos (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Dovidio et al., 2010; Woodcock, Hernandez, Estrada, & Schultz, 2012). However, there tends to be less overlap between Blacks and Asian Americans (e.g., Bergsieker et al., 2010). As a “model minority,” Asian Americans often face prejudiced beliefs about their hyper-competence and high achievement instead (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Siy & Cheryan, 2013).

Latinos and Asian Americans encounter an additional set of prejudices pertaining to their perceived cultural foreignness (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). They are stigmatized for having nonnative and non-European accents (Dovidio et al., 2010; Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008), subject to suspicions regarding their citizenship and legal status (Mukherjee, Molina & Adams, 2013; Handron, Kirby, Wang, & Cheryan, 2015), and perceived as disloyal to the United States (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Latinos and Asian Americans report experiencing this “perpetual foreigner syndrome” at similar rates (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh, 2012), and at higher rates than either Blacks or Whites (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

The evidence above suggests the following four-quadrant pattern: Whites are positioned as superior and American; Blacks as inferior and relatively American; Latinos as inferior and culturally foreign; and Asian Americans as relatively superior and culturally foreign. This Racial Position Model provides a framework for better capturing different racial groups’ distinct real-world experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination, as well as the broader cultural stereotypes and consensual perceptions of these groups.

Other Dimensions of Group Position

The Racial Position Model captures distinctions in the perceptions and treatment of racial groups along the dimensions of inferiority and cultural foreignness. The seminal Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) has also demonstrated that groups are judged along two discrete dimensions: competence and warmth. The SCM is applicable across many social groups, from traditional women to the elderly. Focusing on its predictions for racial groups, Whites are stereotyped as high in both competence and warmth, and Asian Americans as

high in competence but low in warmth. Both Blacks and Latinos tend to fall within a middling cluster in which they are stereotyped as neither particularly competent nor warm.

The SCM is a valuable and expansive model for examining intergroup perceptions. In comparison, the current model represents a separate framework with a unique concentration on race. The primary point of overlap is between our model's inferiority dimension and competence. Because perceived inferiority and perceived social status are considered to be equivalent, a dimension of perceived inferiority should encompass competence, which itself is predicted by perceived social status (Fiske et al., 2002). However, our model's cultural foreignness dimension signifies a unique contribution: we argue that this dimension is distinct from warmth and central in the domain of race relations.

Although perceived warmth is important to intergroup relations more generally (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008), the nature of relations among specific groups (i.e., racial groups) is also shaped by their sociocultural contexts. A dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may be particularly important in defining the experiences of Asian Americans and Latinos. Indeed, racial inequality has historically been legislated and perpetuated not on the basis of these groups' interpersonal warmth, but on the basis of the "manners, habits, [and] modes of living" (*Chae Chan Ping v. United States*, 1889) that distance them from "real" Americans. By accounting for racial groups' perceived cultural foreignness, the Racial Position Model may better capture the perceptions and treatment of Asian Americans and Latinos. Furthermore, our model may be able to make more precise predictions for Blacks and Latinos, who are often clustered together by the SCM and other models (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

Theoretical Implications of the Racial Position Model

Despite the fast-paced growth of Latinos and Asian Americans, social psychology as a field has not yet fully incorporated these groups into a cohesive framework. We argue that it is necessary to do so for two reasons. First, the theories, predictions, and measures derived from Black-White relations may not always be effective when applied to Latinos and Asian Americans. A one-size-fits-all approach may obscure different patterns of racial experiences, or render invisible those experiences to which the traditional dimension is not sensitive. For instance, theories of racial prejudice that focus on perceived inferiority may be systematically excluding the forms of prejudice and discrimination disproportionately experienced by Latinos and Asian Americans. A framework that integrates Latinos and Asian Americans may better capture these groups' experiences and clarify their place in the United States' racial landscape.

Secondly, a two-dimensional Racial Position Model lays the groundwork for new theoretical predictions. For example, our model has implications for the relations between racial minority groups. Perceiving group discrimination can increase inter-minority solidarity (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012). However, solidarity may be more likely between groups that share a position and corresponding experiences along a dimension (e.g., Latinos and Asian Americans), than between groups that are positioned separately along both dimensions (e.g., Blacks and Asian Americans). Our model has additional implications for Whites' relations with different minority groups. Whites perceive racial minority groups as posing an overall threat to their dominant position (e.g., Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014). However, each dimension may correspond with a discrete threat, such that the specific type of threats posed by a specific racial minority group is determined by their quadrant of positioning relative to Whites. Finally, our model has implications for racial minority groups' relations with Whites. Negative group stereotypes inform racial minorities' interpersonal concerns when interacting with Whites (e.g., Bergsieker et

al., 2010; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). Members of groups that are positioned as culturally foreign may be distinctly concerned about being seen as American (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), while members of groups that are positioned as inferior may be concerned about being seen as competent (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Before delving into these areas of future investigation, the first task—and the goal of this paper—is to establish the two-dimensional Racial Position Model and demonstrate its consequences for how racial minority groups are perceived and treated. The current work seeks to examine several questions: How are the largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States positioned along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness? From targets' perspectives, do these group positions predict qualitatively distinct experiences with racial prejudice (Studies 1 and 2)? Is the cultural foreignness dimension a coherent one, discrete from other dimensions (Study 2)? From perceivers' perspectives, does the Racial Position Model predict consensual perceptions and stereotypes of racial groups (Studies 3 and 4)? Finally, are there factors (e.g., gender of target, race of perceiver) that moderate perceptions of racial group position (Study 4)?

Overview of the Present Research

Across four studies, we investigate a two-dimensional Racial Position Model, in which the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States are positioned in a four-quadrant pattern as defined by the dimensions of perceived *inferiority* and *cultural foreignness*. We first examine predictions of this model from targets' perspectives, and test whether racial minority group face qualitatively distinct experiences with prejudice and discrimination that are shaped by their positions on these two dimensions (Studies 1 and 2). Next, we turn to perceivers' perspectives, and test whether the model predicts the content of culturally prominent racial

stereotypes (Study 3) and whether racial groups' two-dimensional positions are revealed through consensual perceptions (Study 4). Taken together, a new model that integrates groups' distinct positions along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness allows us to more fully capture the racial dynamics of an increasingly multiethnic nation, and make novel predictions about the nature of intergroup relations.

Studies 1 and 2: The Racial Position Model from Targets' Perspectives

We began our investigation of a two-dimensional Racial Position Model from the perspective of racial minority targets. Study 1 asked participants to recall a recent personal experience of racial prejudice. These experiences were coded for the extent to which they reflected perceptions of targets' inferiority and cultural foreignness. Study 2 asked participants to rate their general experiences with racial prejudice, and examined whether cultural foreignness emerged as its own distinct, unitary dimension. Together, these studies tested whether the Racial Position Model predicted 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 specific experiences with racial prejudice?

In this study, Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites described their most recent experience with racial prejudice. Our research team then coded participants' responses for the perceptions upon which the prejudice was based. First, congruent with each group's hypothesized racial position, we predicted that Blacks would be more likely to experience prejudice based on perceived inferiority than perceived cultural foreignness; Latinos would be likely to experience both forms of prejudice; Asian Americans would be most likely to experience prejudice based on perceived cultural foreignness than perceived inferiority; and Whites would be unlikely to experience either form of prejudice. In addition, as an initial

comparison of our model with the SCM, we predicted that Latinos and Asian Americans would experience more prejudice based on perceived cultural foreignness than prejudice based on perceived warmth (or lack thereof).

Methods

Participants. To limit participant self-selection, we did not advertise this study as being related to race, nor restrict participation to specific racial groups. A total of 1041 Amazon Mechanical Turk workers living in the United States completed an online study for monetary compensation. All responses from self-identified mono-racial Black, Latino, and Asian American participants were included in the coding process². In addition, out of the total 650 responses from White participants, we included a random subset of 100 responses to be coded.

The final sample was 380 participants (45% female), and comprised of 113 Blacks, 92 Asian Americans, 75 Latinos, and the 100 aforementioned Whites. The mean age was 28.60 years ($SD = 8.95$).

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 their demographic information.

Prior to being coded, responses were stripped of explicit mentions of the participant’s race. This was done to limit knowledge of and reliance on group membership during the coding process. 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.

² We also received 111 responses from Native Americans, Middle Eastern Americans, individuals with different multiracial identities (e.g., Black/White, Black/Asian American), and others. However, the sample sizes of each of these groups were ultimately too small (i.e., <10) to meaningfully analyze, and so their responses were not coded.

Coders were one White female and one Latina female, both hypothesis-blind. Kappa statistics and percent agreement are reported in Table 1. A third hypothesis-blind Asian American female coder was used to resolve cases of disagreement between the primary two coders.

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 evaluatively 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 racial prejudice (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Siy & Cheryan, 2013). Responses were coded as “1” to indicate that a specific underlying perception was present, or as “0” to indicate the perception’s absence. Categories were evaluated independently, such that a response could be coded under more than one category, or for none of the provided categories. See Table 1 for more detailed category descriptions and example responses.

Results

What are the distinct experiences of each racial group? Of the 380 total responses included in the coding process, 201 responses were coded under at least one category (see Figure 2)³. Counts of responses coded per category are reported in Table 2.

Blacks’ experiences of racial prejudice. Of the 113 responses from Black participants, 55 responses (48.7%) were coded as Inferior, making it the 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”). The remaining categories were each used for fewer than 5% of responses. McNemar’s test found that Black participants were significantly more likely to report

³ 179 responses were not coded under any of the provided categories. Coders reported that 120 of these un-coded responses (67%) described instances of racial bias (e.g. “I was bullied”), but did not give enough information about the specific perceptions that underlay the experience of bias.

experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority than prejudice based on perceived foreignness, $p < .001$.

Latinos' experiences of racial prejudice. Of the 75 responses from Latino participants, 25 responses (33.3%) were coded as Inferior (“People thought that I was uneducated and low class because of my race which is Hispanic”), and 24 responses (32.0%) were coded as Foreign (“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”). The remaining categories were each used for fewer than 5% of responses. McNemar’s test found that Latino participants were equally likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority and prejudice based on perceived foreignness, $p = 1.00$.

Asian Americans' experiences of racial prejudice. Of the 92 responses from Asian Americans participants, 37 responses (40.2%) were coded as Foreign, making it the most common category (“He pulled back his eyes and started yelling, “Ching Chong, go back to your country!”). Next, 22 responses (23.9%) were coded as Inferior (“People tend to assume that because I'm Asian, that I'm not good at sports”). Finally, 11 responses (12.0%) were coded as Competent (“Since I am Asian, people usually think I am smart”). Seven of these responses were also coded as Superior.⁴ The remaining categories were each used for fewer than 5% of responses. McNemar’s test found that Asian American participants were significantly more likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived foreignness than prejudice based on perceived inferiority, $p = .02$.

Whites' experiences of racial prejudice. Of the 100 responses from White participants, 17 responses (17%) were coded as No Experience (“As far as I am aware, I have never been the

⁴ Some responses that were coded as Competent were not coded as Superior, because while they indicated high perceived competence, they did not indicate high perceived social status (e.g., “I was picked on because I was being an Asian Nerd”).

target of racial prejudice”). Next, 9 responses (9%) were coded as Superior (“I was turned down for jobs and people would treat me badly because they felt I had more money than them”). Finally, 7 responses (7%) were coded as Inferior (“She called me white trailer trash”). The remaining categories were used for fewer than 5% of responses. McNemar’s test found that White participants were equally likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority and prejudice based on perceived foreignness, $p = .18$, although neither occurred very frequently.

Which racial groups have certain experiences more frequently? Experiences with each category were compared across racial groups using chi-square tests of homogeneity. Significant omnibus tests were followed by Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons of each 2x2 contingency table (MacDonald & Gardner, 2000).

Inferior category. There was a significant overall difference across racial groups’ experiences with inferiority-based prejudice, $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 46.87, p < .001$, Cramer’s $V = .36$. Black participants were more likely to experience inferiority-based prejudice compared to White participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 213) = 44.65, p < .001, \phi = .46$, as well as Asian American participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 205) = 13.26, p = .002, \phi = .26$. Latino participants were more likely to experience inferiority-based prejudice than White participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 175) = 19.89, p < .001, \phi = .34$. Finally, Asian American participants were more likely to experience inferiority-based prejudice than White participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 192) = 10.69, p = .006, \phi = .24$. There were no other differences between groups, $ps > 0.22$.

Foreign category⁵. There was a significant overall difference across racial groups’ experiences with foreignness-based prejudice, $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 84.47, p < .001$, Cramer’s $V =$

⁵ Within our sample, 3.5% of Blacks were not born in the United States, 41.3% of Asian Americans, 16.0% of Latinos, and 3% of Whites. To examine whether results were driven by the higher percentage of foreign-born

.47. Latino and Asian American participants were equally likely to experience foreignness-based prejudice, $\chi^2(1, N = 167) = 1.20, p = 1.00$. Latino participants were more likely to experience foreignness-based prejudice compared to Black participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 188) = 37.85, p < .001, \phi = .45$, as well as White participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 175) = 30.49, p < .001, \phi = .42$. Asian American participants were also more likely to experience foreignness-based prejudice compared to Black participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 205) = 51.95, p < .001, \phi = .50$, as well as White participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 192) = 43.24, p < .001, \phi = .48$. There was no difference between Black and White participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 213) = .48, p = 1.00$.

No Experience category. There was a significant overall difference across racial groups' lack of experiences with racial prejudice, $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 22.84, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .25$. White participants were more likely not to experience racial prejudice compared to Black participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 213) = 15.15, p < .001, \phi = .27$, as well as compared to Asian American participants, $\chi^2(1, N = 192) = 11.81, p = .004, \phi = .25$. There were no other differences between 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), making chi-square analyses unsuitable.

Discussion

Distinct patterns emerged from participants' open-ended reports of their personal experiences. Consistent with our predictions, different racial groups faced qualitatively distinct forms of racial prejudice that reflected perceptions of each group's inferiority and cultural

Latinos and Asian American participants, we re-ran our analyses with all foreign-born participants excluded. The omnibus test remained significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 328) = 65.4, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .45$. Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons found that U.S.-born Latinos and Asian Americans were still more likely to experience foreignness-based prejudice than U.S.-born Whites and Blacks, $ps < .001$.

foreignness. For Blacks, their perceived inferiority was the main basis for their experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination. However, for Latinos and Asian American participants, another key basis for their experiences was their perceived cultural foreignness. Latinos reported comparable rates of experiences with inferiority- and foreignness-based racial prejudice, while the plurality of Asian Americans' experiences involved being seen as culturally foreign.

It may be argued that prejudice against Asian Americans and Latinos based on their perceived cultural foreignness is "logical," given that these two groups are composed of a greater proportion of immigrants than are Whites and Blacks, both in our sample and the national population (Grieco et al., 2012). There are two reasons to dispute this argument. First, as with all forms of prejudice, using information about a group to draw conclusions about specific individuals is not logical or fair to those who are targeted by such assumptions. Second, even people within these groups who are wholly American in the formal sense of the word (e.g., U.S.-born Latinos and Asian Americans) experience a high percentage of prejudice based on their perceived cultural foreignness.

Results along the inferiority dimension revealed that Asian American participants were similarly likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice as Latinos, which may appear surprising given Asian Americans' perceived higher status (Fiske et al., 2002). We note two clarifying points: first, Asian Americans are nonetheless considered lower status than Whites (Bergsieker et al., 2010), and stereotyped as physically inferior and weak, un-athletic, and unattractive (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). Secondly, unlike Latinos, Asian Americans also reported experiences that corresponded with the evaluatively positive end of this dimension (i.e., superiority- and competence-based prejudice). When these experiences

are taken into account, Asian Americans' overall position may "add up" to be more superior than Latinos'.

In comparing the current model to the SCM, perceived cultural foreignness captured a greater portion of experiences than perceived warmth or coldness. However, despite the theoretical equivalence between the dimensions of inferiority and competence, Incompetent was not as prominent of a category as Inferior. This may be because many of the responses coded as inferiority-based prejudice dealt with racial profiling, police harassment, and social class, topics that do not clearly relate to perceived incompetence. When looking at reports of specific instances of racial prejudice, participants' experiences were better captured by a broader description of this dimension.

Three questions remained unanswered from Study 1. First, the data from Study 1 were unable speak to whether these dimensions overlap or are distinct from each other. Secondly, because Study 1 imposed a predetermined coding scheme on participants' responses, it was unclear whether racial minority groups' own interpretations of their experiences would correspond similarly with our model. Finally, because Study 1 was limited to targets' reports of single specific experiences, it may not have captured targets' more general experiences with racial prejudice. We sought to resolve these questions in Study 2.

Study 2: Do targets report general experiences in line with the Racial Position Model?

Study 2 had two primary goals. The first was to investigate whether cultural foreignness would emerge as a unique dimension underlying targets' experiences, distinct from both inferiority and warmth. Our second goal was to investigate whether targets' own ratings of their general experiences would correspond with a two-dimensional Racial Position Model, such that groups' positions along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness shape

the forms of racial prejudice that they face. To examine the interrelations between our dimensions, we identified a list of stereotypes that reflected each dimension. Participants then rated the relevance of these stereotypes to their general experiences with racial prejudice.

Stereotype Selection

Racial stereotypes were gathered from the racial stereotyping literature and national survey data, and rated for the extent to which they indicated inferiority and foreignness. These methods and results are described more expansively in Study 3. The five stereotypes that were rated lowest and highest on each dimension were used. 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 to these 20 pretested stereotypes, we included 18 stereotypes from the existing literature that reflect warmth, competence, coldness, and incompetence (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.” In total, 38 stereotypes were included in Study 2.

Methods

One thousand and sixty three Amazon Mechanical Turk workers (57% female) completed an online study for monetary compensation. The sample comprised of 743 Whites,

127 Blacks, 58 Asian Americans, 51 Latinos, and 84 participants who indicated other or multiple races. The mean age was 33.69 years ($SD = 12.19$).

Participants responded to the following item for each of the 38 stereotypes from the selection process: “In general, how much do you experience prejudice because others believe you/your racial group are <stereotype>?” (1 = *Not At All*, 7 = *Very Much*).⁶ Participants then reported their demographic information.

Results

What dimensions emerge from targets’ experiences? A principal components analysis (PCA) explored the interrelations among all participants’ experiences with racial prejudice. We used the oblique promax rotation method, which is appropriate in exploratory analyses when correlated factors are expected (e.g., Costello & Osborne, 2005).

A solution of six factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 was extracted, accounting for a total of 78.27% of the variance. Factor 1 captured experiences with prejudice based on stereotypes of inferiority and incompetence (e.g., drug abusers, uneducated; $\alpha = .96$). Factor 2 captured experiences with prejudice based on stereotypes of superiority and competence (e.g., intelligent, hardworking; $\alpha = .96$). Factor 3 captured experiences with prejudice based on warmth stereotypes (e.g., friendly, well-intentioned; $\alpha = .90$). Factor 4 captured experiences with prejudice based on foreign stereotypes (e.g., illegal immigrants, having accents; $\alpha = .94$). Factor 5 captured experiences with prejudice based on American stereotypes (e.g., fat, racist; $\alpha = .78$). Finally, Factor 6 captured experiences with prejudice based on cold stereotypes (e.g., unfriendly, disagreeable; $\alpha = .90$).

⁶ We also included questions that directly asked about each dimension (e.g., “In general, how much do you experience prejudice because others believe you/your racial group are foreign?”), and questions that asked participants to report and then rate a specific experience (e.g., “How much do you think this specific experience [that you described above] happened because others believed you/your racial group are foreign?”). For each class of measures, we obtained the same pattern of results as those reported in the current paper.

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 traits “rich,” “lazy,” and “surfers” did not load clearly onto any factors, and were consequently dropped from this study. Each factor’s items were then aggregated, and we used these aggregate factor scores in the following analyses (DiStefano, Zhu, & Mîndrilă, 2009).

What are the experiences of each racial group? Repeated-measures ANOVAs⁷ were performed to compare the prevalence of each aggregate factor score in the prejudice experienced specifically by Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites⁸. Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections. Full means and standard deviations are reported in Table 3.

Blacks’ experiences of racial prejudice. There was a significant overall difference across the six different factors, $F(5, 590) = 68.76, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$. Black participants experienced prejudice based on inferior stereotypes ($M = 4.47, SD = 1.55$) to greater extent than prejudice based on any other stereotypes, $ps < .001$. Cold stereotypes were the next most prevalent in Blacks’ experiences of prejudice ($M = 3.65, SD = 1.62$), and more prevalent than the remaining stereotypes, $ps < .001$.

Latinos’ experiences of racial prejudice. There was a significant overall difference across the six different factors, $F(5, 220) = 12.30, p < .001, \eta^2 = .22$. Latino participants experienced prejudice based on foreign stereotypes ($M = 4.10, SD = 1.97$) and prejudice based on inferior stereotypes ($M = 3.49, SD = 1.66$) to a similar extent, $p < .25$. Both foreign and inferior stereotypes were more prevalent in Latinos’ experiences of prejudice than cold, warm, or American stereotypes, $ps < .012$.

⁷ For all ANOVAs involving repeated measures analyses in this paper, Greenhouse–Geisser estimates were used when assumptions of sphericity were violated. Reported effect sizes are partial eta squared.

⁸ Similar to Study 1, other groups were too small in sample size (i.e., <10) to meaningfully analyze.

Latinos' ratings of prejudice based on inferior stereotypes ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.66$) and superior stereotypes ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.38$) were not significantly different, $p = .22$, though means were in the predicted direction.

Asian Americans' experiences of racial prejudice. There was a significant overall difference across the six different factors, $F(5, 265) = 19.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .26$. Asian American participants experienced prejudice based on superior stereotypes ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.43$) and prejudice based on foreign stereotypes ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.47$) to a similar extent, $p = 1.00$. Both superior and foreign stereotypes were more prevalent in Asian Americans' experiences of prejudice than cold, American, and inferior stereotypes, $ps < .007$.

Asian Americans' ratings of prejudice based on foreign stereotypes ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.47$) and prejudice based on warm stereotypes ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.55$) were not significantly different, $p = .19$, though means were in the predicted direction.

Whites' experiences of racial prejudice. There was a significant overall difference between the six different factors, $F(5, 3495) = 527.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .43$. White participants experienced prejudice based on American stereotypes ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.71$) to a greater extent than any other stereotypes, $ps < .001$. Superior stereotypes were the next most prevalent in Whites' experiences ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.75$), and more prevalent than the remaining stereotypes, $ps < .001$.

Which racial groups tend to have certain experiences? Between-subjects ANOVAs were performed for each factor to compare racial groups' level of experiences with each set of stereotypes. Post-hoc comparisons were conducted using Tukey's HSD test. Full means and standard deviations are reported in Table 3.

Inferiority-based prejudice. There was a significant overall difference across the four racial groups, $F(3, 955) = 238.32, p < .001, \omega^2 = .43$. Blacks experienced prejudice based on inferior stereotypes to a greater extent than Latinos, $d = .62$, Asian Americans, $d = 1.51$, and Whites, $d = 2.56$, all $ps < .001$. Next, Latinos experienced prejudice based on inferior stereotypes to a greater extent than Asian Americans, $d = .85$, and Whites, $d = .1.73$, both $ps < .001$. Finally, Asian Americans experienced prejudice based on inferior stereotypes to a greater extent than Whites, $p = .001, d = .58$.

Foreignness-based prejudice⁹. There was a significant overall difference across the four racial groups, $F(3, 965) = 212.60, p < .001, \omega^2 = .40$. Latinos and Asian Americans did not differ in their experiences with foreign stereotypes, $p = .61$. Both groups experienced prejudice based on foreign stereotypes to a greater extent than Blacks, $ps < .001, d = 1.24$ and 1.22 respectively. Both groups also experienced prejudice based on foreign stereotypes to a greater extent than Whites, $ps < .001, d = 2.91$ and 2.81 respectively. Finally, Blacks experienced prejudice based on foreign stereotypes to a greater extent than Whites, $p < .001, d = .93$.

Superiority-based prejudice. There was a significant overall difference among the four racial groups, $F(3, 951) = 12.75, p < .001, \omega^2 = .04$. Asian Americans experienced prejudice based on superior stereotypes to a greater extent than Whites, $p = .001, d = .52$, Latinos, $p < .001, d = .99$, and Blacks, $p < .001, d = 1.05$. In addition, Whites experienced prejudice based on superior stereotypes to a greater extent than Blacks, $p < .001, d = .38$. There were no other differences between groups, $ps > .19$.

⁹ Within this sample, 1.7% of Whites were not born in the United States, 3.1% of Blacks, 34.5% of Asian Americans, and 9.8% of Latinos. Similar to Study 1, we found that after excluding foreign-born participants, the omnibus ANOVA test remained significant, $F(3, 923) = 194.41, p < .001$. U.S.-born Latinos ($M = 4.10, SD = 2.01$) and Asian Americans ($M = 3.91, SD = 1.42$) both experienced foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than Blacks ($M = 2.18, SD = 1.32$), $ps < .001$, who in turn experienced foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than Whites ($M = 1.30, SD = .80$), $p < .001$.

American-based prejudice. There was a significant overall difference among the four racial groups, $F(3, 970) = 48.51, p < .001, \omega^2 = .13$. Whites experienced prejudice based on American stereotypes to a greater extent than Asian Americans, $d = .71$, Latinos, $d = .88$, and Blacks, $d = .93$, all $ps < .001$. There were no other differences between groups, $ps > .52$.

Warmth-based prejudice. There was a significant overall difference among the four racial groups, $F(3, 964) = 4.62, p = .003, \omega^2 = .01$. Asian Americans experienced prejudice based on warmth stereotypes to a greater extent than Latinos, $p = .05, d = .56$, and Blacks, $p = .003, d = .59$. There were no other differences between groups, $ps > .092$.

Coldness-based prejudice. There was a significant overall difference among the four racial groups, $F(3, 967) = 29.88, p < .001, \omega^2 = .08$. Blacks experienced prejudice based on cold stereotypes to a greater extent than Asian Americans, $p = .05, d = .38$, Latinos, $p = .03, d = .42$, and Whites, $p < .001, d = .88$. Latinos and Asian Americans did not differ from each other, $p = .99$. Both groups experienced prejudice based on cold stereotypes to a greater extent than Whites, $ps < .027, d = .41$ and $.47$ respectively.

Discussion

Participants' own ratings of their personal experiences with racial prejudice revealed similar patterns as in Study 1. Prejudice based on incompetence and inferiority stereotypes composed a single dimension that was centrally important to Blacks' experiences. Indeed, Blacks encountered inferiority-based prejudice to a greater extent than other racial minority groups, even Latinos. This may be a reflection of Blacks' exceptionally disadvantaged position in U.S. society, which has been shaped by the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow (Sears & Savalei, 2006; Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011). However, foreignness stereotypes loaded onto their own coherent dimension, distinct from both inferiority and warmth or coldness. Along this dimension

of perceived cultural foreignness, a clear ranking manifested, such that Latinos and Asian Americans were the groups to most commonly experience foreignness-based prejudice, followed by Blacks, and finally Whites, who in turn most commonly experienced Americanness-based prejudice. For Latinos, perceptions of their cultural foreignness were as important of a basis for their experiences as were perceptions of their inferiority. For Asian Americans, perceptions of cultural their foreignness defined their experiences together with perceptions of their relative superiority. Notably, perceived superiority emerged as a more prevalent theme in Asian Americans' experiences when looking at general experiences, compared to in Study 1 when only a single experience with racial prejudice was reported and coded.

Furthermore, perceived cultural foreignness was more relevant to Latinos and Asian Americans' experiences than perceived warmth or coldness. Perhaps surprisingly, Asian Americans, who are stereotyped as lacking interpersonal warmth (Lin et al., 2005), rated cold and warm stereotypes as equally relevant to their experiences. On the other hand, Blacks, for whom coldness-based prejudice did not emerge as a prominent theme in Study 1, rated cold stereotypes more highly than any other racial group. In the domain of racial prejudice, certain cold stereotypes (e.g., untrustworthy, dishonest) may be associated more closely with perceived criminality than with perceived unsociability. Coldness-based prejudice against Asian Americans may thus be better captured by a different set of stereotypes such as "shy" or "nerdy." From targets' perspectives, our findings regarding warmth showed inconsistencies between Studies 1 and 2, as well as between the current work and established literature. In the next set of studies, we investigated warmth from perceivers' perspectives in an effort to resolve these discrepancies.

Finally, how do we reconcile our findings that perceived cultural foreignness is the 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 valued category, particularly among certain groups (e.g., liberals). Whites may even at times 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 historically tied to violence, internment, deportation, and the denial of civil rights (Ancheta, 1998)—is being perceived as a cultural foreigner.

Together, Studies 1 and 2 showed that the integration of perceived cultural foreignness with perceived inferiority is able to systematically capture different groups’ experiences with specific instances of racial prejudice, as well as their general experiences overall. These studies further demonstrated that the dimension of cultural foreignness is essential to be able to understand and incorporate the distinct forms of racial prejudice faced by Latinos and Asian Americans.

Studies 3 and 4: The Racial Position Model from Perceivers’ Perspectives

Next, we continued our investigation of a two-dimensional Racial Position Model from the perspective of perceivers. Study 3 tested whether racial stereotype content reflects groups’ positions along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness. Study 4 tested whether consensual perceptions would directly place racial groups into the distinct four-quadrant pattern predicted by the current model. Together, these studies demonstrate that racial groups’ two-dimensional positions are not only “in the heads” of targets, but are circulated and perpetuated in U.S. society more broadly.

Study 3: Does the Racial Position Model predict racial stereotype content?

Stereotypes set the stage for intergroup attitudes and behaviors at an individual-level (e.g., Fiske, 1998), and maintain and legitimize the larger social systems in which these

intergroup relations take place (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994; Ridgeway, 1991). Thus an examination of how different racial groups are stereotyped provides a valuable look into the United States' modern-day racial dynamics. The primary goal of this study was to explore whether the Racial Position Model is reflected in the content of racial stereotypes, such that stereotypes about the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States would position them into four distinct quadrants: White stereotypes would reflect perceived superiority and Americanness; Black stereotypes would reflect perceived inferiority and Americanness; Latino stereotypes would reflect perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness; and Asian American stereotypes would reflect perceived superiority and cultural foreignness. In addition, we returned to the warmth dimension in order to investigate the extent to which racial stereotypes reflect distinct perceptions of each group's warmth, and compare Latinos and Asian Americans' perceived warmth with their perceived cultural foreignness. To first determine the prevalent stereotypes about Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans, stereotypes were first gathered and pretested for the extent to which they were associated with each racial group. These stereotypes were then rated along the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness.

Stereotype selection and pretest

We drew from extant psychological 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 86 stereotypes. Next, a pretest was conducted to identify the most prevalent stereotypes of each racial group. 105 (62% female; 48 Asian Americans, 40 Whites, 8 Latinos, and 9 others) students responded to the following item for each of the 86 stereotypes in randomized order: "How much are <racial group> stereotyped as <trait>?" (1 = *Not At All*, 7 = *Very Much*). Participants rated

four racial groups: “Asians / Asian Americans,” “Black / African Americans,” “Hispanic / Latino Americans,” and “White Americans.”

Based on pretest results, 33 stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint (i.e., 4) as being stereotypical of Whites (e.g., privileged, rich; $ps < .05$). Forty-one stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint as being stereotypical of Blacks (e.g., athletic, being criminals; $ps < .05$). Thirty-two stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint as being stereotypical of Latinos (e.g., illegal immigrants, having accents; $ps < .05$). Finally, 38 stereotypes were rated significantly above the midpoint as being stereotypical of Asian Americans (e.g., mathematical, nerdy; $ps < .05$). Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 4. A total of 82 unique stereotypes were used in the main study below.

Method

Participants. Ninety-nine participants (53% female) psychology undergraduates at the University of Washington completed an online-based study for class credit. The sample comprised of 47 Asian Americans, 32 Whites, 8 Latinos, 3 Blacks, and 9 participants who indicated other or multiple races. The mean age was 19.23 years ($SD = 1.15$).

Materials and procedure. Participants responded to the following two items for each of the 82 preselected stereotypes, in randomized order: “To what extent would a group that is stereotyped as <stereotype> be seen as inferior or superior?” (1 = *Very Inferior*, 7 = *Very Superior*) and “To what extent would a group that is stereotyped as <stereotype> be seen as foreign or American?” (1 = *Very Foreign*, 7 = *American*). The order in which these two items were presented was counterbalanced. Participants then answered additional items about the extent to which each stereotype indicated warmth (1 = *Not At All Warm*, 7 = *Very Warm*). Finally, participants reported their demographic information.

Results

Correlations. Stereotypes' inferiority ratings were significantly correlated with warmth, $r(82) = .96, ps < .001$. However, stereotypes' inferiority and foreignness ratings were not correlated, $r(82) = .07, p = .56$. In addition, stereotypes' foreignness ratings was not correlated with warmth, $r(82) = -.05, p = .63$.

Demonstrating the two-dimensional model with racial stereotypes. We averaged the inferiority and foreignness ratings of each racial group's unique set of stereotypes. These average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, once again revealing the predicted four-quadrant pattern (see Figure 3). One-sample t-tests indicated that each set of stereotypes was significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 4) on both dimensions, $ps < .001$. Next, to examine differences in stereotype content across racial groups, repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted for both the inferiority and foreignness dimensions. Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 5.

The inferiority dimension. Significant overall differences were found across the four racial groups' stereotype content along the inferiority dimension, $F(3, 294) = 362.81, p < .001, \eta^2 = .79$. Latinos were stereotyped as more inferior than Blacks, $d = .66$, Asian Americans, $d = 2.94$, and Whites, $d = 3.10$, all $ps < .001$. Blacks were stereotyped as more inferior than Asian Americans, $d = 2.68$, and Whites, $d = 2.86$, both $ps < .001$. Finally, Asian Americans were stereotyped as more inferior than Whites, $p = .02, d = .37$.

The cultural foreignness dimension. Significant overall differences were found across the four racial groups' stereotype content along the cultural foreignness dimension, $F(3, 294) = 168.48, p < .001, \eta^2 = .63$. There was no difference in the extent to which Asian Americans and

Latinos were stereotyped as culturally foreign, $p = 1.00$. Both groups were stereotyped as more culturally foreign than Blacks, $ps < .001$, $d = 1.56$ and 1.72 respectively. Both groups were also stereotyped as more culturally foreign than Whites, $ps < .001$, $d = 2.10$ and 2.26 respectively. Finally, Blacks stereotyped as more culturally foreign than Whites, $p < .001$, $d = .79$.

Examining warmth. First, a repeated-measures ANOVA found significant overall differences across the four racial groups' stereotype content along a dimension of warmth, $F(3, 294) = 243.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .71$. There was no difference in the extent to which Blacks ($M = 3.34$, $SD = .37$) and Latinos ($M = 3.36$, $SD = .44$) were stereotyped as warm, $p = 1.00$. Both groups were stereotyped as less warm than Whites, both $ps < .001$, $d = 1.63$ and 1.44 respectively. Both groups were also stereotyped as less warm than Asian Americans, both $ps < .001$, $d = 1.80$ and 1.61 respectively. Finally, Whites ($M = 3.93$, $SD = .34$) were stereotyped as less warm than Asian Americans ($M = 4.01$, $SD = .36$), $p = .004$, $d = .24$.

Next, paired-sample t-tests found that Latinos were stereotyped as lacking warmth ($M = 3.36$, $SD = .44$) to a greater extent than they were stereotyped as culturally foreign ($M = 3.59$, $SD = .42$), $t(98) = 4.12$, $p < .001$, $d = .54$. Asian Americans were stereotyped as culturally foreign ($M = 3.57$, $SD = .38$) to a greater extent than they were stereotyped as lacking warmth ($M = 4.01$, $SD = .37$), $t(98) = -8.76$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.17$.

Discussion

A two-dimensional Racial Position Model manifests not only through targets' personal experiences, but also through the prevalent cultural stereotypes about different groups.

Stereotypes about the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States reveal the predicted four-quadrant pattern: stereotypes about Whites characterize them as superior and American, stereotypes about Blacks 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. Furthermore, a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness is able to distinguish the stereotype content of Blacks and Latinos, who were stereotyped equally along a dimension of warmth.

Our warmth findings remain unpredictable. In this study, Latinos were stereotyped as lacking warmth more so than they were stereotyped as culturally foreign. However, across Studies 1 and 2, coldness-based prejudice was not especially prominent in Latinos' experiences. In addition, compared to the four racial groups, stereotypes about Asian Americans reflected the most warmth in our data. However, the extant literature has shown that Asian Americans are stereotyped as particularly cold instead (Fiske et al., 2002; Lin et al., 2005). This discrepancy may be the result of our evaluation of the perceived warmth of specific stereotypes, rather than the perceived warmth of actual groups. Stereotypes such as "family-oriented" and "hardworking," which were among the prevalent stereotypes of Asian Americans, were also rated particularly highly on warmth.

Indeed, although stereotypes provide a valuable window into how different racial groups are collectively perceived, they are not a perfect mirror. For instance, while racial stereotypes appear to position Latinos as more inferior than Blacks, existing research has found that both groups are perceived as equivalently low in social status (e.g., Bergsieker et al., 2010). In Study 4, rather than using stereotypes as a proxy, we directly examined perceptions of racial group positioning.

Study 4: Do consensual perceptions of racial groups align with the Racial Position Model?

The final study directly examined consensual perceptions of racial groups' positions in U.S. society, and went beyond the previous studies in four ways. First, in addition to the four

largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States, this study examined the racial position of Native Americans, who remain a critically overlooked and understudied group in social psychology (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010). We predicted that Whites would be positioned as superior and American; Blacks as inferior and American, although not as American as Whites; Latinos as inferior and foreign; and Asian Americans as superior and foreign, although not as superior as Whites. In the case of Native Americans, we predicted that they would be positioned as inferior and, although relatively American due to their historical precedence, nevertheless less American than Whites (Nosek et al., 2007).

Second, in investigating racial position, we sought to be attentive to gender. Men tend to be the representatives of their racial groups, while women are rendered “invisible” in comparison (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Thus the current study tested whether a two-dimensional Racial Position Model would apply broadly to both the men and women within each racial group, rather than only reflecting the positions of men. Third, we included a large enough sample of non-Whites to compare their perceptions to Whites’. We predicted that the four-quadrant pattern of racial positioning would be shared by both White and non-White participants, signaling the consensual recognition of these social arrangements by groups who are advantaged as well as disadvantaged by them (e.g., Ridgeway, 1991). Finally, we investigated warmth once more, and predicted that Latinos and Asian Americans would be perceived as culturally foreign to a greater extent than they would be perceived as lacking warmth.

Methods

Participants. Four hundred and fifty three Amazon Mechanical Turk workers (48% female¹⁰) completed an online study for monetary compensation. The sample consisted of 327

¹⁰ Compared to male participants, female participants positioned Blacks and Latinos as more inferior, and Whites as more superior, $ps < .035$. Female participants also positioned Latinos and Asian Americans as more culturally

Whites, 46 Blacks, 29 Asian Americans, 21 Latinos, 1 Native American, and 29 participants who indicated other or multiple races. The mean age was 32.74 ($SD = 11.58$).

Materials and procedure. Participants responded to the following two items assessing their perceptions of racial group position: “To what extent are <racial group> seen as inferior or superior in U.S. society?” (1 = *Very Inferior*, 7 = *Very Superior*) and “To what extent are <racial group> seen as foreign or American in U.S. society?” (1 = *Very Foreign*, 7 = *Very American*) They also indicated the extent to which groups are seen as warm (1 = *Not At All Warm*, 7 = *Very Warm*).

Participants first rated five racial groups: “Asians / Asian Americans,” “Black / African Americans,” “Hispanic / Latino Americans,” “Native Americans,” and “White Americans.” Next, participants rated each racial group’s male and female subtypes (e.g., “To what extent are Asian / Asian American *men* seen as inferior or superior in U.S. society?” and “To what extent are Asian / Asian American *women* seen as inferior or superior in U.S. society?”). Finally, participants reported their demographic information.

Results

Demonstrating the two-dimensional model with racial groups. Each of the five racial groups’ inferiority and foreignness ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, revealing the predicted four-quadrant pattern of racial positioning (see Figure 4). One-sample t-tests indicated that the ratings of each racial group were significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 4) on both dimensions, $ps < .001$. Next, to examine differences in position across racial groups, mixed-design ANOVAs were conducted for both the inferiority and foreignness dimensions with racial group entered as a within-subjects factor, and participant race as a between-subject factor.

foreign, and Whites as more American, $ps < .001$. These differences may reflect women’s greater sensitivity to racial inequality compared to men (e.g., Inman & Baron, 1996).

Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 6.

The inferiority dimension. Significant overall differences were found across the five racial groups' inferior positioning, $F(4, 1748) = 406.52, p < .001, \eta^2 = .48$. There was no difference between Blacks and Latinos' inferiority ratings, $p = 1.00$. Blacks and Latinos were both positioned as more inferior than Native Americans, $d = .28$ and $.30$ respectively, more inferior than Asian Americans, $d = .93$ and $.98$ respectively, and more inferior than Whites, $d = 2.33$ and 2.46 respectively, all $ps < .001$. Native Americans were positioned as more inferior than Asian Americans, $p < .001, d = .67$, and Whites, $p < .001, d = 2.12$. Finally, Asian Americans were positioned as more inferior than Whites, $p < .001, d = 1.41$.

There was no main effect of participant race, $F(1, 437) = 0.58, p = .45$, nor was there a significant racial group x participant race interaction, $F(4, 1748) = 1.82, p = .15$. White and non-White participants did not differ in their perceptions of racial groups' positioning along the inferiority dimension.

The cultural foreignness dimension. Significant overall differences were found across the five racial groups' foreign positioning, $F(4, 1748) = 437.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .50$. There was no difference between Latinos and Asian Americans' positioning on the culturally foreign dimension, $p = 1.00$. Latinos and Asian Americans were both positioned as more culturally foreign than Native Americans, $d = .87$ and $.83$ respectively, more culturally foreign than Blacks, $d = 1.30$ and 1.26 respectively, and more culturally foreign than Whites, $d = 2.78$ and 2.72 respectively, all $ps < .001$. Native Americans were positioned as more culturally foreign than Blacks, $p < .001, d = .40$, and Whites, $p < .001, d = 1.62$. Finally, Blacks positioned as more culturally foreign than Whites, $p < .001, d = 1.18$.

There was no main effect of participant race, $F(1, 437) = 0.01, p = .95$, nor was there a significant racial group x participant race interaction, $F(4, 1748) = 1.96, p = .11$. White and non-White participants did not differ in their perceptions of racial groups' positioning along the culturally foreign dimension.

Examining gender subtypes. To examine differences in group position across gender subtypes, repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted for both the foreignness and inferiority dimensions with racial group and gender subtype entered as within-subjects factors. Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections.

The inferiority dimension. There was a main effect of gender subtype on inferior positioning, $F(2, 810) = 33.70, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$. This main effect was qualified by a significant racial group x gender subtype interaction, $F(8, 3240) = 32.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$. There were no differences between the positions of male subtypes and their respective gender-unspecified groups, $ps > .30$. For Blacks and Latinos, the women were also positioned similarly with the men and their gender-unspecified groups, $ps > .76$. For Native Americans, the women ($M = 3.25, SD = 1.19$) were positioned as more inferior than the gender-unspecified group ($M = 3.37, SD = 1.28$), $p = .03, d = .10$. Similarly, for Asian Americans, the women ($M = 3.83, SD = 1.16$) were positioned as more inferior than the men ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.20$), $p < .001, d = .30$, and the gender-unspecified group ($M = 4.23, SD = 1.27$), $p < .001, d = .33$. Finally, for Whites, the women ($M = 5.14, SD = 1.23$) were positioned as more inferior than the men ($M = 5.85, SD = 1.14$), $p < .001, d = .60$, and the gender-unspecified group ($M = 5.90, SD = 1.10$), $p < .001, d = .66$.

The cultural foreignness dimension. There was no main effect of gender subtype on foreign positioning, $F(2, 810) = 0.87, p = .42$. However, there was a significant racial group x

gender subtype interaction, $F(8, 3240) = 2.90, p = .005, \eta^2 = .01$. There were no differences between the positions of male subtypes and their respective gender-unspecified groups, $ps > .51$, except in the case of Blacks. For Blacks, the men ($M = 4.98, SD = 1.39$) were positioned as more American than the gender-unspecified group ($M = 4.85, SD = 1.49$), $p = .03, d = .09$. Next, there were no differences between the positions of female subtypes and their respective gender-unspecified groups, $ps > .10$. Finally, there were no differences between the positions of female subtypes and male subtypes, $ps > .20$, except in the case of Whites. For Whites, the men ($M = 6.41, SD = 1.05$) were positioned as more American than the women of the group ($M = 6.27, SD = 1.16$), $p = .01, d = .13$.

Examining warmth. First, a repeated-measures ANOVA found significant overall differences across the five racial groups' perceived warmth, $F(4, 1772) = 239.29, p < .001, \eta^2 = .30$. Whites ($M = 5.30, SD = 1.16$) were perceived to be warmer than Native Americans ($M = 3.84, SD = 1.26$), $d = 1.19$, Latinos ($M = 3.68, SD = 1.34$), $d = 1.30$, Asian Americans ($M = 3.68, SD = 1.40$), $d = 1.26$, and Blacks ($M = 3.51, SD = 1.45$), $d = 1.36$, all $ps < .001$. Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans were perceived as equally warm, $ps > .12$. Native Americans and Latinos were perceived to be warmer than Blacks, $p < .001, d = .25$ and $.12$ respectively. Perceptions of Blacks and Asian Americans did not differ, $p = .34$.

Next, paired-sample t-tests found that Latinos were perceived as culturally foreign to a greater extent than they were perceived as lacking warmth, $t(448) = -10.50, p < .001, d = .51$. Asian Americans were also perceived as culturally foreign to a greater extent than they were perceived as lacking warmth, $t(446) = -9.88, p < .001, d = .46$.

Discussion

Perceivers distinguished major racial groups in U.S. society into four distinct quadrants, as defined by the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. The positions of these groups appear well-known and consensual: both White and non-White participants positioned Whites as superior and American; Blacks as inferior and relatively American; Latinos as inferior and foreign; and Asian Americans as relatively superior and foreign. Importantly, this study was also able to explore the two-dimensional positioning of Native Americans, who were located into the same overall quadrant as Blacks. 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 cultural foreignness does not simply reflect the proportion of group members that are foreign-born.

The Racial Position Model was shown to be sensitive to gender as well as race. Consistent with previous research (Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), the overall congruency between perceptions of gender-unspecified racial groups and of their respective male subtypes suggests that when gender is not explicitly stated, male is the default attribute. Along the cultural foreignness dimension specifically, White men were considered more American than White women (Eagly & Kite, 1987). However, racial minority men and women were positioned as equally culturally foreign, suggesting that the privileged association between men and their national category does not extend to men from groups that do not fit the category prototype. Black men appear to be an interesting exception: their American position may reflect the fact that the current president of the United States is himself a Black man.

Next, Whites, Asian Americans, and Native Americans' positions along the inferiority dimension extended to the men of those groups more so than the women, who were perceived to

lag behind. This suggests that the current model is able to capture gender differences in perceived status for certain groups. Interestingly, perceived status differences did not emerge between Latino and Black men and women. This may relate to the subordinate male target hypothesis (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), which posits that it is the men from racial minority groups, particularly Black and Latino men, who are unique focal points of racial oppression. Regardless of perceived gender subtype differences within each racial group, the predicted four-quadrant pattern held across racial groups (e.g., White women were nonetheless positioned as more American than both Black men and women). Future work is needed to more deeply explore the intersection of race and gender, and the role of gender in shaping racial dynamics in the United States.

When looking at direct perceptions, Whites were positioned as the warmest racial group, a position that tends to be afforded to culturally dominant groups within society (Fiske et al., 2002). However, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans were not differentiated by their perceived warmth, once again revealing a discrepancy between our findings and the established literature, especially with regards to Asian Americans. The most consistent finding across our studies was the positions of Blacks, who were treated and perceived as the racial group most lacking in warmth.

Together, Studies 3 and 4 showed that the cultural stereotypes and consensual perceptions of different racial groups in the United States position them within a distinct four-quadrant pattern, as defined by the dimensions of perceived cultural foreignness and perceived inferiority. These studies further demonstrated that a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness systematically captures not only Latinos and Asian Americans' individual experiences with racial prejudice, but also how these groups are more broadly located in U.S. society.

General Discussion

Since its earliest history, the social psychological study of race has been guided by Black-White relations (Duckitt, 1992). However, the recent precipitated growth of Asian Americans and Latinos in the United States has underscored the need for a new theoretical framework that integrates the experiences of these groups into current understandings of race relations. Across four studies, support was shown for a new Racial Position Model, in which racial groups in the United States are located along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and perceived cultural foreignness. From targets' perspectives, these two dimensions together guide individuals' experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination. Blacks' experiences remain powerfully and predominantly shaped by their perceived inferiority. However, perceived cultural foreignness emerges as a unitary construct that is distinct from other dimensions, and effectively captures the experiences of Latinos and Asian Americans. Latinos' experiences are shaped in equal parts by their perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness, while Asian Americans' experiences are shaped by both their perceived cultural foreignness and relative superiority. From perceivers' perspectives, these two dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness distinguish the four largest racial and ethnic groups into a distinct four-quadrant pattern. These group positions hold for both male and female subgroups, and are well-known and consensually perceived. In addition, these group positions are circulated through culturally prevalent racial stereotypes.

The current work highlights the importance of moving beyond the concept of a unidimensional hierarchy in our study and understanding of race relations. This hierarchy has provided an instrumental framework for examining the dynamics between Blacks and Whites; however, by itself, it is unable to capture the varied experiences and treatment of other racial and

ethnic groups. A second dimension of perceived cultural foreignness is essential to understanding the location of Latinos and Asian Americans in the United States' racial landscape. A two-dimensional Racial Position Model that integrates both perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness is able to systematize the complexity of racial position and more comprehensively capture the dynamics of contemporary race relations.

Revisiting Warmth

Warmth is a fundamental dimension that underlies the domain of person perception (Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968). It has also been valuable for understanding the ways in which people think about social groups more generally (Cuddy et al., 2008). However, throughout the current paper, the extent to which perceived warmth shaped the experiences and evaluations of specific racial groups was unpredictable. Warmth sometimes emerged as an important feature of some groups' experiences, and other times was absent. Furthermore, the positioning of racial groups along the dimension of warmth remains muddled—are Blacks and Latinos similarly stereotyped, or are Blacks perceived as especially cold? Why did our studies fail to observe Asian Americans' well-established perceived lack of warmth?

Taken together, while warmth may be relevant in the domain of race, especially to Asian Americans and Blacks, it does not appear to be consistently relevant. In comparison, both dimensions of the current Racial Position Model are instrumental, and are able to dependably capture the real-world experiences, stereotypes, and broad consensual perceptions of the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Indeed, the dimension of perceived cultural foreignness is central to understanding the locations of Latinos and Asian Americans in U.S. society.

It can be argued that warmth could serve as a third dimension; however, the efficacy of warmth in the domain of race relations likely depends on context. For instance, warmth may be useful for differentiating perceptions of certain racial subgroups, such as class subgroups (e.g., poor and rich Blacks; Fiske et al., 2002), and warmth and likability may be a particular concern for Whites in interracial interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010). Future research is needed to determine the contexts in which perceived warmth has greater predictive ability.

Implications of a Two-Dimensional Racial Position Model

Like other models related to group positioning (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the Racial Position Model lays the groundwork for several avenues of future research. Below, we expand on the three important areas we introduced earlier: inter-minority relations, group threat to Whites, and measurement of perceived discrimination.

Inter-minority Relations. Race relations in the United States consist not only of interactions between Whites and racial minority groups, but between racial minority groups themselves. Some work has suggested that solidarity among minority groups is possible (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012; Sanchez, 2008). At the same time, other work shows evidence for inter-minority distance and even derogation (e.g., McClain et al., 2006; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Thornton, Taylor, & Chatters, 2012).

Our model may help illuminate when racial minority groups will more likely come together or clash. Blacks and Latinos, although both positioned as inferior, are separated by a dimension of cultural foreignness, such that Latinos are perceived as less American. Emphasizing this distance may exacerbate inter-minority tensions, as Latino immigrants are sometimes seen as an invading threat to inner city Black communities, competing for similar jobs and hurting Black employment (Waldinger, 1997). On the other hand, although Asian

Americans are separated from other racial 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, as Asian Americans and Latinos have come together in the past in joint protest of unfair immigration policies and discriminatory practices (Chang, 2001). 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 minority groups.

Group Threat to Whites. Whites often view racial diversity (Craig & Richeson, 2014a; 2014b; Danbold & Huo, 2014) and racial progress (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014) as threatening to their dominant group position. However, much of this work has aggregated racial minority groups to represent a single source of threat. Our model suggests that racial minority groups' may pose distinct threats to Whites based on their positioning on the two dimensions. For instance, the level of realistic threat (i.e., to Whites' material resources and welfare; Stephan & Renfro, 2002) evoked by a racial minority group may depend on its position along a dimension of perceived inferiority. On the other hand, the level of symbolic threat (i.e., to Whites' cultural beliefs, values, norms, and way of life; Stephan & Renfro, 2002) evoked by a racial minority group may depend on its position along a dimension of perceived cultural 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 defend against minority encroachment by calling attention to 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 at discrediting him by claiming that he was not an American citizen, and was in fact born in Kenya. These birther claims have been characterized as racial reactions against Obama's rise in status as the first Black president (Hahn,

2012). A two-dimensional Racial Position Model may help us understand how Whites perceive and respond to threatening changes in minority position.

Measuring Perceived Racial Prejudice and Discrimination. In the assessment of perceived racial prejudice and discrimination, individuals are commonly asked to rate global measures 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” (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012; Major et al., 2002). Current measures tend to show that Blacks perceive racial prejudice and discrimination to a greater extent than Whites, with Latinos and Asian Americans falling in between the two groups (Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006). This suggests that such measures may capture inferiority-based prejudice to a greater extent than foreignness-based prejudice.

However, the distinct experiences of inferiority- and foreignness-based racial prejudice may predict distinct psychological outcomes. For example, inferiority-based prejudice may have consequences for individuals’ racial identification (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), and their interpersonal concerns about being seen as incompetent (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002). On the other hand, foreignness-based prejudice may have distinct consequences for individuals’ national identification (Molina, Phillips, & Sidanius, 2015), and their interpersonal concerns about being seen as un-American (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Developing and utilizing scales that more specifically examine different forms of prejudice and discrimination 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.

Are These Dimensions Additive or Interactive?

According to a two-dimensional Racial Position Model, which minority group is the most disadvantaged in U.S. society? If the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness are assumed to be additive, Latinos are positioned in the most disadvantaged overall quadrant. However, summing groups' positions along two discrete dimensions begins to merge these dimensions back into a single hierarchy. Rather than focusing on which group faces the *most* prejudice and discrimination, viewing the two dimensions as interactive better fits our model's broader goal of exploring the ways in which different groups face *distinct* and textured patterns of prejudice and discrimination.

Groups' perceived cultural foreignness may be moderated by their perceived inferiority, resulting in experiences that can be even further distinguished. Latinos, who are positioned as both culturally foreign and inferior, may be the main targets of anti-illegal immigration measures such as Arizona SB 1070, for which a key impetus was the perceived association between Mexican immigrants and crime. On the other hand, the combination of Asian Americans' perceived cultural foreignness and superiority may make them targets of situations such as the Wen Ho Lee case, in which a Chinese-American nuclear scientist was falsely accused and detained for stealing intelligence for the Chinese government.

In addition, groups' perceived inferiority may be moderated by their perceived cultural foreignness. For example, both Blacks and Latinos are associated with street violence and crime. However, Blacks have long stood at the center of American racism and inequality, and the criminal stereotypes that target them have been molded by the post-slavery era and the inner city drug war of the 1980s (Davis, 2003). On the other hand, because Latinos are positioned as more culturally foreign, their criminal stereotypes may take on a xenophobic bent and evoke elements of their nations of origin (e.g., Mexican drug cartels and trafficking).

America, Land of Equality or Exclusion?

How do we reconcile our model with more inclusive views of what it means to be American? While the dimension of cultural foreignness is based in an ethno-cultural definition of the American prototype, popular American creed favors contrasting definitions. From a liberalism perspective, what marks the prototypical American is not their ethnicity but their devotion to core ideals such as democracy, equality, and industriousness (Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990). Similarly, the civic republicanism perspective emphasizes that Americans respect laws and institutions, and engage in social and political service (Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012). Such qualities are abstractly considered more important to being an American than shared Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, religion, or language (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Schildkraut, 2007; Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012).

But while Americans may endorse a more egalitarian national prototype in theory, it is the ethno-cultural prototype that seems to dictate the actual experiences of racial minority groups. Latino and Asian Americans who are patriotic and devoted to American values are nonetheless perceived by others as cultural outsiders (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Indeed, foreignness-based prejudice against these groups more commonly evokes their presumed lack of English-speaking ability than their presumed lack of dedication to democracy or civic service. Encouraging more inclusive definitions of the American prototype may help to attenuate perceptions of racial minority groups' cultural foreignness (Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, & Gomez, 2012), and even mitigate foreignness-based racial prejudice and discrimination. However, the default definition guiding race relations in the United States remains that of American = White.

Are Groups' Culturally Foreign Positions Malleable over Time?

While the position of Blacks in U.S. society has been an enduring one, some scholars have argued that Latinos and Asian Americans' culturally foreign positions are considerably more mobile. For instance, certain European ethnic groups (e.g., Italian and Irish-Americans) experienced nativist exclusion, hostility, and discrimination during their own major wave of immigration in the 19th century, but are now categorized as simply "Americans" (Waters, 1990). Will Latinos and Asian Americans also be able to cast off perceptions of their cultural foreignness over time? Indeed, emerging trends of interracial marriage and language transition show evidence of these groups' gradual assimilation into mainstream American culture (Alba & Nee, 2005; Lee & Bean, 2010). However, we note two factors that may constrain Latinos and Asian Americans from following the same course as White ethnic groups.

First, the historical circumstances of Latinos and Asian Americans were deeply rooted in their perceived cultural foreignness. Although White ethnic groups were considered a lower class, their European origins and cultural heritage buffered them from the structural denial of political and civil rights (Omi & Winant, 1994). In comparison, the perception of Latinos and Asian Americans as unassimilable 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, their positions along the dimension of perceived cultural 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, Latinos and Asian Americans' lives continue to be influenced by their racial distinctiveness.

Later-generation Latinos and Asian Americans, who may indeed be fairly assimilated based on certain metrics, are nonetheless misperceived and treated by others as perpetual foreigners (Jiménez, 2008; Tuan, 1999). Racial position is certainly fluid to an extent; however, the forecast that Latinos and Asian Americans will inevitably become full-fledged “Americans” may underestimate their group histories, as well as understate group members’ actual experiences.

Future Directions

Future research should explore the two-dimensional positioning of other racial and ethnic groups in the United States. A dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may be useful in examining groups that are associated with distinct cultural styles and traditions such as Native Americans or Pacific Islanders. Certain ethnic subgroups may also be positioned distinctly from their broader racial 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 positioned as both less inferior and more culturally foreign compared to native African Americans. Similarly, ethnic subgroups such as Vietnamese and Hmong-Americans, who face worse economic and educational outcomes (Reeves & Bennett, 2004), may be positioned as more inferior than Asian Americans as an aggregate.

In addition, future work should examine the consequences of racial and ethnic minority groups’ differing degrees of perceived cultural foreignness. For example, given the United States’ decades of involvement in the Middle East and continued investment in the war of terror, certain groups (e.g., Arab Americans and South Asian Americans) may be positioned as culturally foreign to an extreme extent, such that group members are profiled as anti-American enemies and terrorists. On the other hand, Blacks and Native Americans’ centuries-long presence in America may buffer them from more blatant experiences, such as being assumed not to speak

English. However, the specific speech patterns and linguistic styles associated with these groups (e.g., African American Vernacular English) may be positioned as culturally foreign.

Finally, future research should investigate how a two-dimensional model extends to other groups. Although our model is informed by U.S. race relations, a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may apply to other marginalized social groups who do not fit the prototype of the superordinate category within a certain context. For instance, the combination of the dimensions of perceived inferiority and cultural foreignness may elucidate the experiences of women in high-prestige occupations who have obtained greater perceived social status, yet still struggle to be seen as culturally suited to their male-oriented domains.

Conclusion

Immigration trends and America's increasing pluralism are fundamentally altering the dynamics of race in the United States. Although Latinos and Asian Americans have extensive histories in the United States, the recent unprecedented growth of these groups emphasizes the importance of integrating their distinct experiences and treatment into a new, updated model. In order to address the changing conditions of studying race relations 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 cultural foreignness together shape the positions of racial groups in contemporary U.S. society.

References

- Alba, R., & Nee, V. (2005). *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ancheta, A. N. (1998). *Race, rights, and the Asian American experience*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Armenta, B. E., Lee, R. M., Pituc, S. T., Jung, K., Park, I. J., Soto, J. A., et al. (2013). Where are you from? A validation of the Foreigner Objectification Scale and the psychological correlates of foreigner objectification among Asian Americans and Latinos. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19*(2), 131-142.
- Axt, J. R., Ebersole, C. R. & Nosek, B. A. (2014). The rules of implicit evaluation by race, religion, and age. *Psychological Science, 25*, 1804-1815.
- Bergsieker, H. B., Shelton, J. N., & Richeson, J. A. (2010). To be liked versus respected: Divergent goals in interracial interactions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 99*(2), 248-264.
- Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2012). Effects of gender-related domain violations and sexual orientation on perceptions of male and female targets: An analogue study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41*, 1293-1302.
- Blumer, H.. (1958). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *The Pacific Sociological Review, 1*(1), 3-7.
- Brannon, T. N., Markus, H. R., & Taylor, V. J. "Two souls, two thoughts," two self-schemas: double consciousness can have positive academic consequences for African Americans. *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology, 108*(4), 586-609.
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving Pervasive Discrimination Among African Americans: Implications for Group Identification and

- Well-Being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 135-149.
- Carlsson, R., & Björklund, F. (2010). Implicit stereotype content: Mixed stereotypes can be measured with the implicit association test. *Social Psychology*, 41(4), 213-222.
- Chae Chan Ping v. United States, 130 U.S. 581 (1889)
- Chan, W., & Mendoza-Denton, R. (2008). Status-Based Rejection Sensitivity Among Asian Americans: Implications for Psychological Distress. *Journal of Personality*, 76(5), 1317-1346.
- Chang, G. H. (2001). *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Cheryan, S., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000). When positive stereotypes threaten intellectual performance: The psychological hazards of 'model minority' status. *Psychological Science*, 11(5), 399-402.
- Cheryan, S., & Monin, B. (2005). Where are you really from?: Asian Americans and identity denial. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(5), 717-730.
- Cheryan, S., Ziegler, S. A., & Montoya, A. (2015). *Why are some STEM fields more gender balanced than others?* Manuscript under review.
- Citrin, J., Haas, E., Muste, C., & Reingold, B. (1994). Is American nationalism changing? Implications for foreign policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 38, 1-31.
- Citrin, J., Reingold, B., & Green, D. P. (1990). American identity and the politics of ethnic change. *Journal of Politics*, 57(4), 1124-1154.
- Colby, S. L., & Ortman, J. M. (2014). *Projections of the Size and Composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2015/demo/p25->

1143.pdf.

- Conley, T. D., Rabinowitz, J. L., & Rabow, J. (2010). Gordon gekkos, frat boys and nice guys: The content, dimensions, and structural determinants of multiple ethnic minority groups' stereotypes about white men. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, *10*(1), 69-96.
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., & Wittenbrink, B. (2002). The police officer's dilemma: Using ethnicity to disambiguate potentially threatening individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *83*(6), 1314-1329.
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., Wittenbrink, B., Sadler, M. S., & Keesee, T. (2007). Across the thin blue line: Police officers and racial bias in the decision to shoot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(6), 1006-1023.
- Costello, A. B., & Osborne, J. W. (2005). Best practices in exploratory factor analysis: Four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis. *Practical Assessment Research & Evaluation*, *10*(7), 1-9.
- Cottrell, C. A., & Neuberg, S. L. (2005). Different Emotional Reactions to Different Groups: A Sociofunctional Threat-Based Approach to 'Prejudice.' *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *88*, 770-789.
- Cowan, G., Martinez, L., & Mendiola, S. (1997). Predictors of attitudes toward illegal Latino immigrants. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *19*(4), 403-415.
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2012). Coalition or derogation? How perceived discrimination influences intraminority intergroup relations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*(4), 759-777.
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J.A. (2014). More diverse yet less tolerant? How the increasingly diverse racial landscape affects White Americans' racial attitudes. *Personality and*

Social Psychology Bulletin, 40(6), 750-761.

- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2014). On the Precipice of a “Majority-Minority” America: Perceived Status Threat From the Racial Demographic Shift Affects White Americans’ Political Ideology. *Psychological Science*, 25(6), 1189-1197.
- Cuddy, A., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Competence and warmth as universal trait dimensions of interpersonal and intergroup perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the BIAS Map. In M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 61-149). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Czopp, A., & Monteith, M. (2006). Thinking well of African Americans: Measuring complimentary stereotypes and negative prejudice. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 28(3), 233-250.
- Danbold, F., & Huo, Y. J. (2014). No Longer “All-American”? Whites’ Defensive Reactions to Their Numerical Decline. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 6(2), 210–18.
- Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?* New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 5-18.
- Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(3), 447-466.
- Devos, T., & Mohamed, H. (2014). Shades of American Identity: Implicit Relations between Ethnic and National Identities. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 8(12), 739–754.
- DiStefano, C., Zhu, M., & Mîndrilă, D. (2009). Understanding and using factor scores: Considerations for the applied researcher. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*,

14(20), 1–11.

- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological Science, 11*(4), 315-319.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gluszek, A., John, M., Ditlmann, R., & Lagunes, P. (2010). Understanding bias toward Latinos: Discrimination, dimensions of difference, and experience of exclusion. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*(1), 59-78.
- Dovidio, J. F., Smith, J. K., Donnella, A. G., & Gaertner, S. L. (1997). Racial attitudes and the death penalty. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 27*(16), 1468-1487.
- Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. 393 (1857)
- Duckitt, J. H. (1992). Psychology and prejudice: A historical analysis and integrative framework. *American Psychologist, 47*(10), 1182-1193.
- Duncan, B. L. (1976). Differential social perception and attribution of intergroup violence: Testing the lower limits of stereotyping of Blacks. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34*(4), 590-598.
- Eagly, A. H., & Kite, M. E. (1987). Are stereotypes of nationalities applied to both women and men? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*(3), 451-462.
- Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed.) (pp. 357-411). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(6), 878-902.
- Fryberg, S. A., & Stephens, N. M. (2010). When the world is colorblind, American Indians are

- invisible: A diversity science approach. *Psychological Inquiry*, 21(2), 115-119.
- Fuertes, J. N., & Gelso, C. J. (2000). Hispanic counselors' race and accent and Euro Americans' universal-diverse orientation: A study of initial perceptions. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 6(2), 211-219.
- Grieco, E. M., Acosta, Y. D., de la Cruz, G. P., Gambino, C., Gryn, T., Larsen, L. J., Trevelyan, E. N., & Walters, N. P. (2012). *The Foreign-Born Population of the United States*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/acs-19.pdf>.
- Goff, P. A., Eberhardt, J. L., Williams, M. J., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). Not yet human: Implicit knowledge, historical dehumanization, and contemporary consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94, 292–306.
- Hahn, S. (2012, November 10). Political Racism in the Age of Obama. *The New York Times*.
- Handron, C., Kirby, T. A., Wang, J., & Cheryan, S. (2015). *Fatting in as American: Overweight Asian Americans Are Protected from Anti-Foreign Prejudice*. Manuscript under review.
- Heilman, M. E. (1983). Sex bias in work settings: The lack of fit model. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 5, 269–298.
- Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 657-674.
- Henson, R. K., & Roberts, J. K. (2006). Use of Exploratory Factor Analysis in Published Research: Common Errors and Some Comment on Improved Practice. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 66(3), 393-416.
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Levin, D. T., & Banaji, M. R. (2011). Evidence for hypodescent and racial hierarchy in the categorization and perception of biracial individuals. *Journal of*

- Personality and Social Psychology*, 100(3), 492-506.
- Ho, C., & Jackson, J. W. (2001). Attitude toward Asian Americans: Theory and measurement. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31(8), 1553-1581.
- Hodson, G., Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Processes in racial discrimination: Differential weighting of conflicting information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(4), 460-471.
- Huynh, V. W. (2012). Ethnic microaggressions and the depressive and somatic symptoms of Latino and Asian American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 41(7), 831-846.
- Huynh, Q. L., Devos, T., & Smalarz, L. (2011). Perpetual foreigner in one's own land: Potential implications for identity and psychological adjustment. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 30(2), 133-162.
- Jiménez, T. R. (2008). Mexican-Immigrant Replenishment and the Continuing Significance of Ethnicity and Race. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(6), 1527-1567.
- Jones, C. S., & Kaplan, M. F. (2003). The effects of racially stereotypical crimes on juror decision-making and information-processing strategies. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 25(1), 1-13.
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 1-27.
- Kim, C. J. (1999). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 105-138.
- Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Deng, S., Alvarez, R., & Li, J. (2011). Accent, perpetual foreigner stereotype, and perceived discrimination as indirect links between English proficiency

- and depressive symptoms in Chinese American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, 47(1), 289-301.
- Kinder, D. R., & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 414–431.
- King, E. B., Madera, J. M., Hebl, M. R., Knight, J. L., & Mendoza, S. A. (2006). What's in a name? A multiracial investigation of the role of occupational stereotypes in selection decisions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36(5), 1145-1159.
- Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944)
- Kurzban, R., Tooby, J. & Cosmides, L. (2001). Can race be erased?: Coalitional computation and social categorization. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 98(26), 15387-15392.
- Lalonde, R.N., Taylor, D.M. & Moghaddam, F.M. (1992). The process of social identification for visible immigrant women in a multicultural setting. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 23, 25-39.
- Landrine, H., Klonoff, E.A., Corral, I., Fernandez, S., & Roesch, S. (2006). Conceptualizing and measuring ethnic discrimination in health research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 29(1), 79–94.
- Lee, J., & Bean, F. D. (2010). *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in Twenty-First Century America*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation Press.
- Lehavot, K., & Lambert, A. J. (2007). Toward a greater understanding of antigay prejudice: On the role of sexual orientation and gender role violation. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 29, 279–292.
- Levin, S., Sinclair, S., Veniegas, R. C., & Taylor, P. L. (2002). Perceived discrimination in the

- context of multiple group memberships. *Psychological Science*, 13(6), 557-560.
- Levin, S., Sidanius, J., Rabinowitz, J. L., & Federico, C. (1998). Ethnic identity, legitimizing ideologies, and social status: A matter of ideological asymmetry. *Political Psychology*, 19(2), 373-404.
- Lin, M. H., Kwan, V. S., Cheung, A., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). Stereotype content model explains prejudice for an envied outgroup: Scale Of anti-Asian American stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(1), 34-47.
- MacDonald, P. L., & Gardner, R. C. (2000). Type I error rate comparisons of post hoc procedures for I×J chi-square tables. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 60(5), 735-54.
- Madon, S., Gyll, M., Aboufadel, K., Montiel, E., Smith, A., Palumbo, P., & Jussim, L. (2001). Ethnic and national stereotypes: The Princeton trilogy revisited and revised. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 996–1010.
- Major, B., Gramzow, R., McCoy, S. K., Levin, S., Schmader, T., & Sidanius, J. 2002. Perceiving personal discrimination: The role of group status and status legitimizing ideology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80,782–96.
- Major, B. N., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 56, 393-421.
- McClain, P. D., Lackey, G. F., Kendrick, J. A., Scotto, T. J., Nunnally, S. C., Grynaviski, J. D., et al. (2006). Racial distancing in a southern city: Latino immigrants' views of Black Americans. *The Journal of Politics*, 68(3), 571-584.
- Mendoza-Denton, R., Downey, G., Purdie, V., Davis, A., & Pietrzak, J. (2002). Sensitivity to status-based rejection: Implications for African American students' college experience.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83, 896-918.

Miller, D. T., Taylor, B., & Buck, M. L. (1991). Gender gaps: Who needs to be explained?

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 61, 5–12.

Molina, L. E., Phillips, N. L., & Sidanius, J. (2015). National and Ethnic Identity in the Face of Discrimination: Ethnic Minority and Majority Perspectives. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21(2), 225-236.

Mukherjee, S., Molina, L. E., & Adams, G. (2013). “Reasonable suspicion” about tough immigration legislation: Enforcing laws or ethnocentric exclusion? *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(3), 320-331.

Mummendey, A., & Wenzel, M. (1999). Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: Reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 158-174.

National Hispanic Media Coalition (2012). *National poll: The impact of media stereotypes on opinions and attitudes towards Latinos*. Retrieved from <http://www.nhmc.org/reports/>

Norton, M. I., & Sommers, S. R. (2011). Whites See Racism as a Zero-Sum Game That They Are Now Losing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(3), 215–218.

Nosek, B. A., Smyth, F. L., Hansen, J. J., Devos, T., Lindner, N. M., Ratliff, K. A., Smith, C. T., Olson, K. R., Chugh, D., Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (2007). Pervasiveness and correlates of implicit attitudes and stereotypes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 36-88.

O’Brien, L.T., & Major, B.N. (2005). System justifying beliefs and psychological well-being: The roles of group status and identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1718-1729.

- Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Ong, A. D., Burrow, A. L., Fuller-Rowell, T. E., Ja, N. M., & Sue, D. W. (2013). Racial microaggressions and daily well-being among Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60*(2), 188-199.
- Oyserman, D., & Sakamoto, I. (1997). Being Asian American: Identity, cultural constructs, and stereotype perception. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 33*(4), 435-453.
- Patterson, O. (2015) *The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pazy, A., & Oron, I. (2001). Sex proportion and performance evaluation among high-ranking military officers. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 22*(6), 689–702.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The ideological sources and social consequences of non-prototypicality. *Sex Roles, 59*(5), 377-391.
- Qin, D. B., Way, N., & Mukherjee, P. (2007). The other side of the model minority story: The familial and peer challenges faced by Chinese American adolescents. *Youth & Society, 39*(4), 480-506.
- Reeves, T. J., & Bennett, C. E. (2004). *We the People: Asians in the United States*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/censr-17.pdf>.
- Reyna, C., Dobria, O., & Wetherell, G. (2013). The complexity and ambivalence of immigration attitudes: Ambivalent stereotypes predict conflicting attitudes toward immigration policies. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19*(3), 342-356.
- Ridgeway, C. (1991). The Social Construction of Status Value: Gender and Other Nominal

- Characteristics. *Social Forces*, 70, 367-386.
- Rosenberg, S., Nelson, C., & Vivekananthan, P. S. (1968). A multidimensional approach to the structure of personality impressions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9, 283–294.
- Rydell, R. J., Hamilton, D. L., & Devos, T. (2010). Now they are American, now they are not: Valence as a determinant of the inclusion of African Americans in the American identity. *Social Cognition*, 28(2), 161-179.
- Sanchez, G. R. (2008). Latino group consciousness and perceptions of commonality with African Americans. *Social Science Quarterly*, 89(2), 428-444.
- Santa Ana, O. (2002). *Brown tide rising: Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public discourse*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2007). Defining American Identity in the Twenty-First Century: How Much “There” is There? *Journal of Politics*, 69(3), 597–615.
- Sears, D. O., & Savalei, V. (2006). The Political Color Line in America: Many Peoples of Color or Black Exceptionalism? *Political Psychology*, 27(6), 895–924.
- Sidanius, J., Feshbach, S., Levin, S., & Pratto, F. (1997). The interface between ethnic and national attachment: Ethnic pluralism or ethnic dominance? *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, 102-133.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Shapiro, J. R., & Neuberg, S. L. (2008). When do the stigmatized stigmatize? The ironic effects of being accountable to (perceived) majority group prejudice-expression norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(4), 877– 898.

- Sigelman, L., & Tuch, S. A. (1997). Metastereotypes: Blacks' perceptions of Whites' stereotypes of Blacks. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *61*(1), 87-101.
- Siy, J. O., & Cheryan, S. (2013). When compliments fail to flatter: American individualism and responses to positive stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *104*(1), 87-102.
- Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*, 797– 811.
- Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 34, pp. 379 – 440). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in intergroup relations. In D. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions* (pp. 191-208). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Stephan, C.W., & Stephan, W.G. (1986). Habla ingles? The effects of language translation on simulated juror decisions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *16*(7), 577-589.
- Stewart, L. D., & Perlow, R. (2001). Applicant race, job status, and racial attitude as predictors of employment discrimination. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *16*(2), 259-275.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Thornton, M. C., Taylor, R. J., & Chatters, L. M. (2012). African American, Black Caribbean, and non-Hispanic White feelings of closeness toward other racial and ethnic groups.

- Journal of Black Studies*, 43(7), 749-772.
- Toosi, N. R., Babbitt, L. G., Ambady, N., & Sommers, S. R. (2012). Dyadic interracial interactions: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 138(1), 1-27.
- Tuan, M. (1999). *Forever foreigners or honorary whites? The Asian ethnic experience today*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Tsai, J. L., Mortensen, H., Wong, Y., & Hess, D. (2002). What does "Being American" mean?: A comparison of Asian American and European American young adults. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 8(3), 257-273.
- Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(6), 995-1013.
- Viera, A. J., & Garrett, J. M. (2005). Understanding interobserver agreement: the kappa statistic. *Family Medicine*, 37, 360-363.
- Waldinger, R. (1997). Black/immigrant competition re-assessed: New evidence from Los Angeles. *Sociological Perspectives*, 40(3), 365-386.
- Waters, M. C. (1990). *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Waters, M. C. (2001). *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2007). Superordinate identities and intergroup

- conflict: The ingroup projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 331-372.
- Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., Weber, U., & Waldzus, S. (2003). The ingroup as pars pro toto: Projection from the ingroup onto the inclusive category as a precursor to social discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 461 – 473.
- Wilkins, C. L. & Kaiser, C. R. (2014). Racial progress as threat to the status hierarchy: Implications for perceptions of anti-White bias. *Psychological Science*, 25 (2), 439-446.
- Woodcock, A., Hernandez, P. R., Estrada, M., & Schultz, P. W. (2012). The consequences of chronic stereotype threat: Domain disidentification and abandonment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(4), 635-646.
- Wright, M., Citrin, J., & Wand, J. (2012). Alternative Measures of American National Identity: Implications for the Ethnic/Civic Distinction. *Political Psychology*, 33(4), 469-482.
- Yogeeswaran, K., & Dasgupta, N. (2010). Will the “real” American please stand up? The effect of implicit national prototypes on discriminatory behavior and judgments. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(10), 1332-1345.
- Yogeeswaran, K., Dasgupta, N., & Gomez, C. (2012). A new American dilemma? The effect of ethnic identification and public service on the national inclusion of ethnic minorities. *European Journal of Social Psychology*. 42(6), 691-705.

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

Category	Description	Sample response	Kappa	% Agree
Inferior	uneducated, poor, criminal	“I was being followed because I looked like a bum trying to steal some stuff”	.620	85.5
Foreign	non-citizen, poor English	“an old man spoke to me as if he thought i didn't know english”	.755	93.4
Superior	smart, rich, respectable	“his buddies kept on about how im just a rich little white boy”	.613	96.3
American*	U.S. citizen, Christian	“They do not seem to like us at all just for the fact that we are very Americanized”	.438	98.7
Incompetent*	unskilled, incapable	“I experience racial prejudice with just proving my abilities”	.392	98.4
Cold*	unsociable, sly	“people think I am very timid and shy”	.280	98.7
Competent	skilled, capable	“People assume that I know how to fix computers”	.838	99.2
Warm*	sociable, friendly	N/A	.000	99.5
No experience	explicitly states no experience with racial prejudice	“Racial prejudices have never been a problem of mine”	.841	97.9

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

Table 2. Frequencies and percentages of personal experiences in Study 1.

Category	Participant Race				
	Black (n = 113)	Latino (n = 75)	Asian American (n = 92)	White (n = 100)	Everyone (N = 380)
Inferior	55 (48.7%)	25 (33.3%)	22 (23.9%)	7 (7%)	109 (28.7%)
Foreign	1 (0.9%)	24 (32%)	37 (40.2%)	2 (2%)	64 (16.8%)
Superior	1 (0.9%)	0	7 (7.6%)	9 (9%)	17 (4.5%)
American	0	0	0	4 (4%)	4 (1.1%)
Incompetent	4 (3.5%)	1 (1.3%)	1 (1.1%)	0	6 (1.6%)
Cold	0	0	1 (1.1%)	0	1 (0.002%)
Competent	0	0	11 (12.0%)	0	11 (2.9%)
Warm	0	0	0	0	0
No Experience	2 (1.8%)	8 (10.7%)	3 (3.3%)	17 (17%)	33 (8.7%)
Total Responses Coded	59 (52.2%)	47 (62.7%)	57 (62.0%)	38 (38%)	202 (53.2%)

**Percentages are calculated within participant race.*

Table 3. Racial groups' mean ratings of their experiences with racial prejudice in Study 2.

Factor	Participant Race							
	Blacks (n = 127)		Latinos (n = 51)		Asian Americans (n = 58)		Whites (n = 743)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Inferior	4.47 _a	1.55	3.49 _{a,b}	1.66	2.29 _d	1.15	1.71 _e	.97
Foreign	2.19 _c	1.32	4.10 _a	1.97	3.85 _{a,b}	1.47	1.32 _f	.84
Superior	2.56 _c	1.50	2.71 _{b,c}	1.38	4.11 _a	1.43	3.22 _b	1.75
American	2.40 _c	1.30	2.46 _c	1.22	2.75 _{c,d}	1.16	3.96 _a	1.71
Warm	2.26 _c	1.56	2.34 _c	1.40	3.18 _{b,c}	1.55	2.65 _c	1.69
Cold	3.65 _b	1.62	2.97 _c	1.65	3.05 _c	1.54	2.37 _d	1.41

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

Table 4. Stereotypes about Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans from the Study 3 pretest.

Stereotype	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Stereotype	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<u>Whites</u>			<u>Blacks</u>		
Privileged	6.12	1.19	Athletic	6.31	1.01
Racist	5.87	1.35	Tall	6.12	1.08
Rich	5.73	1.25	Being criminals	6.10	1.27
Fat	5.70	1.32	Dangerous	5.89	1.29
Confident	5.47	1.42	Violent	5.85	1.24
Arrogant	5.41	1.47	Aggressive	5.76	1.37
Competitive	5.25	1.28	Thieves	5.68	1.58
Outgoing	5.25	1.31	Drug abusers	5.66	1.54
Greedy	5.17	1.53	Uneducated	5.55	1.42
Ambitious	5.10	1.32	Welfare dependent	5.53	1.41
Selfish	5.07	1.59	Poor	5.51	1.47
Tall	5.02	1.23	Rhythmic	5.50	1.32
Churchgoing	4.99	1.42	Cool	5.38	1.25
Athletic	4.96	1.39	Unintelligent	5.28	1.50
Surfers	4.93	1.75	Hostile	5.23	1.46
Complainers	4.89	1.46	Angry	5.16	1.60
Intelligent	4.85	1.38	Churchgoing	5.14	1.60
Cool	4.81	1.52	Irresponsible	5.07	1.49
Drug abusers	4.75	1.49	Sticking to their own race	5.02	1.55
Overachievers	4.71	1.40	Confident	5.02	1.50
Hypersexual	4.69	1.54	Hypersexual	4.97	1.66
Bad dancers	4.68	1.83	Rude	4.95	1.44
Diligent	4.64	1.40	Undisciplined	4.94	1.56
Urban	4.62	1.55	Outgoing	4.94	1.46
Pushy	4.59	1.52	Dishonest	4.89	1.64
Religious	4.58	1.59	Musical	4.81	1.68
Rude	4.51	1.41	Dirty	4.76	1.63
Hardworking	4.49	1.59	Competitive	4.74	1.63
Open-minded	4.43	1.66	Religious	4.73	1.59
Nerdy	4.39	1.48	Lazy	4.72	1.73
Courteous	4.38	1.47	Sticking to their own culture	4.71	1.54

Cunning	4.37	1.40	Urban	4.69	1.75
Honest	4.33	1.37	Burdens to society	4.65	1.80
<u>Asian Americans</u>			Having too many children	4.65	1.66
Mathematical	6.65	0.66	Lack ambition	4.58	1.78
Nerdy	6.45	1.12	Arrogant	4.57	1.71
Intelligent	6.45	0.99	Family-oriented	4.50	1.70
Having accents	6.27	1.08	Pushy	4.37	1.54
Overachievers	6.21	1.20	Immoral	4.36	1.80
Not speaking English well	6.15	1.00	Complainers	4.35	1.64
Short	6.14	1.16	Communal	4.34	1.61
Hardworking	6.10	1.11	<u>Latinos</u>		
Having a smaller physique	6.09	1.29	Illegal immigrants	6.36	1.14
Sticking to their own culture	6.01	1.27	Having accents	5.70	1.47
Self-disciplined	5.97	1.23	Having too many children	5.62	1.50
Sticking to their own race	5.91	1.26	Poor	5.54	1.57
Diligent	5.88	1.27	Family-oriented	5.53	1.60
Quiet	5.86	1.37	Being criminals	5.49	1.46
Traditional	5.85	1.23	Sticking to their own culture	5.44	1.36
Serious	5.83	1.22	Sticking to their own race	5.42	1.30
Ambitious	5.78	1.29	Uneducated	5.40	1.52
Family-oriented	5.73	1.35	Not speaking English well	5.33	1.65
Competitive	5.64	1.42	Welfare dependent	5.31	1.41
Bad at basketball	5.62	1.47	Thieves	5.28	1.65
Reserved	5.60	1.35	Taking jobs from Americans	5.25	1.86
Obedient	5.57	1.47	Dirty	5.23	1.54
Nonathletic	5.25	1.66	Dangerous	5.18	1.60
Antisocial	5.20	1.49	Unintelligent	5.13	1.53
Rich	5.03	1.41	Traditional	5.12	1.54
Humorless	4.90	1.72	Religious	5.06	1.67
Taking jobs from Americans	4.87	1.96	Drug abusers	5.02	1.70
Musical	4.72	1.76	Churchgoing	4.92	1.74
Honest	4.67	1.30	Violent	4.90	1.41
Narrow-minded	4.67	1.69	Communal	4.76	1.66

Submissive	4.66	1.62	Rhythmic	4.74	1.36
Passive	4.65	1.67	Aggressive	4.64	1.66
Communal	4.60	1.59	Dishonest	4.55	1.73
Stoic	4.57	1.56	Burdens to society	4.53	1.85
Bad dancers	4.51	1.76	Hostile	4.45	1.35
Humble	4.50	1.69	Short	4.45	1.55
Cunning	4.39	1.65	Irresponsible	4.45	1.43
Unassimilated	4.38	1.75	Refusing to learn English	4.41	2.04
			Hardworking	4.40	1.90
			Undisciplined	4.31	1.49

Table 5. Ratings of racial stereotypes along the inferiority and cultural foreignness dimensions in Study 3.

Stereotype Set	Inferiority		Foreignness	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Stereotypes about Asian Americans	4.25 _a	0.27	3.58 _a	0.38
Stereotypes about Blacks	3.44 _b	0.33	4.18 _b	0.32
Stereotypes about Latinos	3.19 _c	0.43	3.59 _a	0.42
Stereotypes about Whites	4.35 _a	0.31	4.47 _c	0.42

Higher means indicate greater perceived superiority or perceived Americanness. Means under the same column that do not share a subscript differ at $p < .05$.

Table 6. Ratings of racial groups along the inferiority and cultural foreignness dimensions in Study 4.

Racial Group	Inferiority Dimension		Foreignness Dimension	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Asian Americans	4.23 _c	1.27	3.03 _a	1.39
Blacks	3.01 _a	1.36	4.85 _c	1.49
Latinos	2.98 _a	1.27	2.99 _a	1.38
Native Americans	3.37 _b	1.28	4.25 _b	1.53
Whites	5.90 _d	1.10	6.37 _d	1.03

Higher means indicate greater perceived superiority or perceived Americanness. Means under the same column that do not share a subscript differ at $p < .05$.

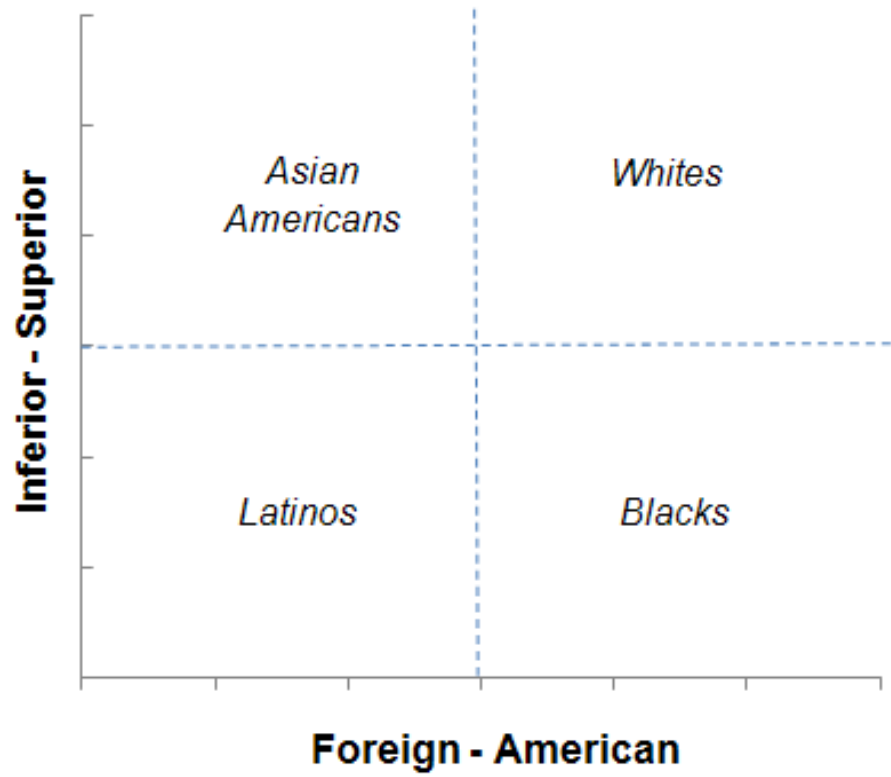


Figure 1. The distinct four-quadrant pattern predicted by the Racial Position Model.

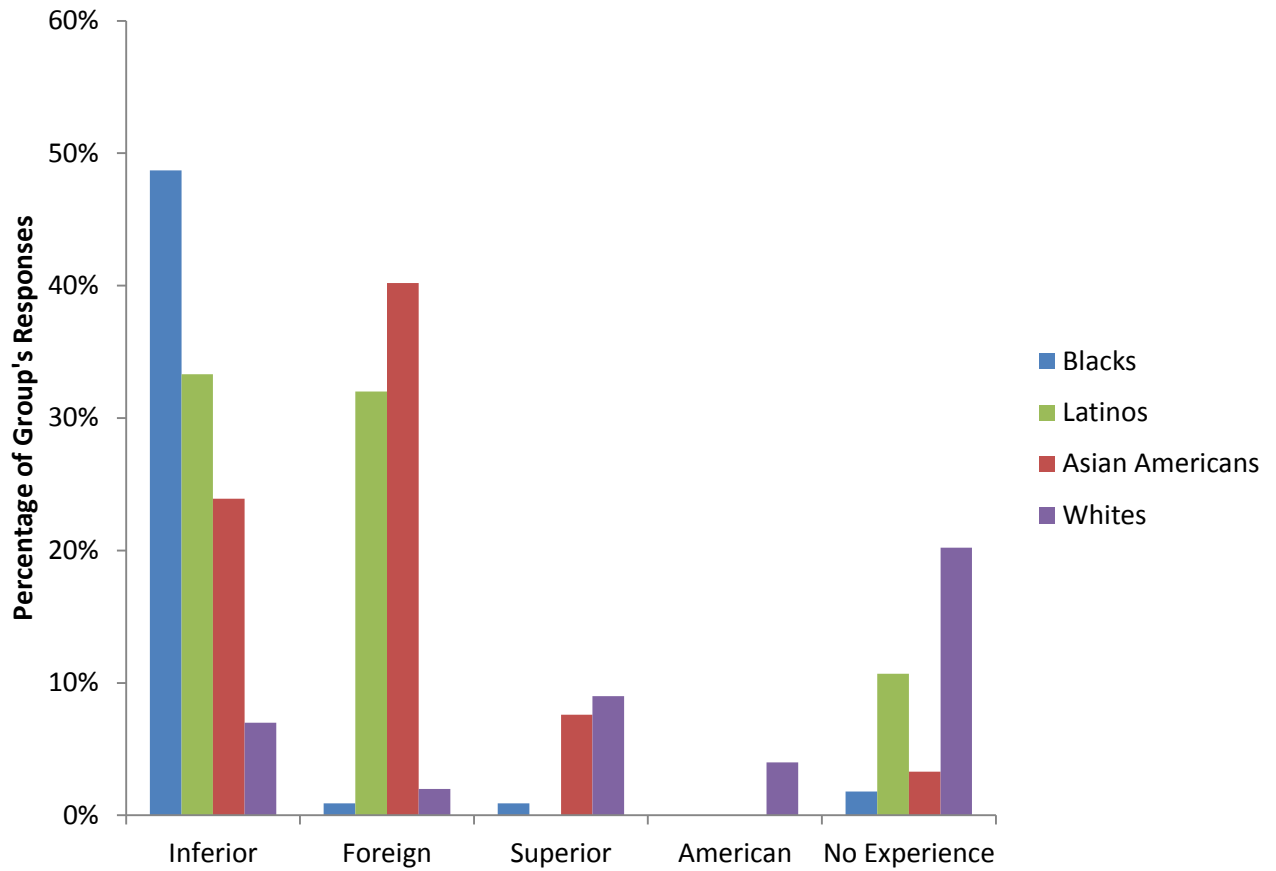


Figure 2. The percentage of experiences coded per category for each racial group in Study 1.

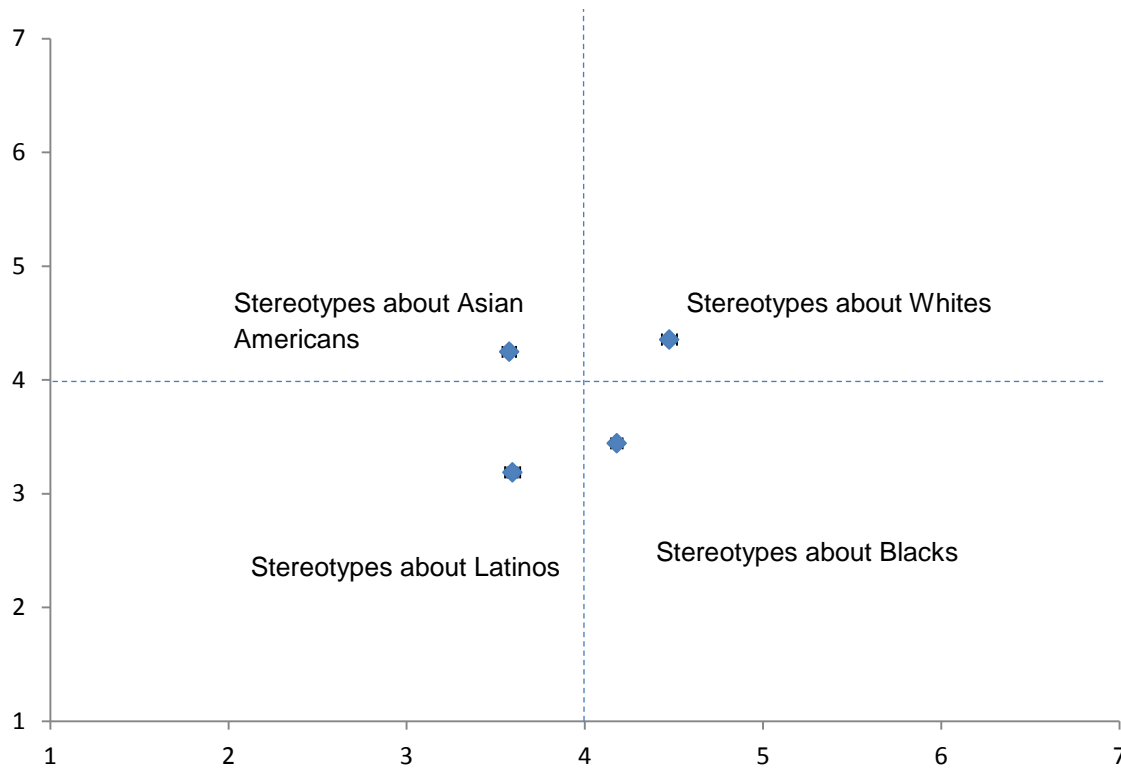


Figure 3. The two-dimensional model obtained in Study 3. Each data point represents the averaged ratings for each racial group's unique set of stereotypes. Error bars represent indicate standard error.

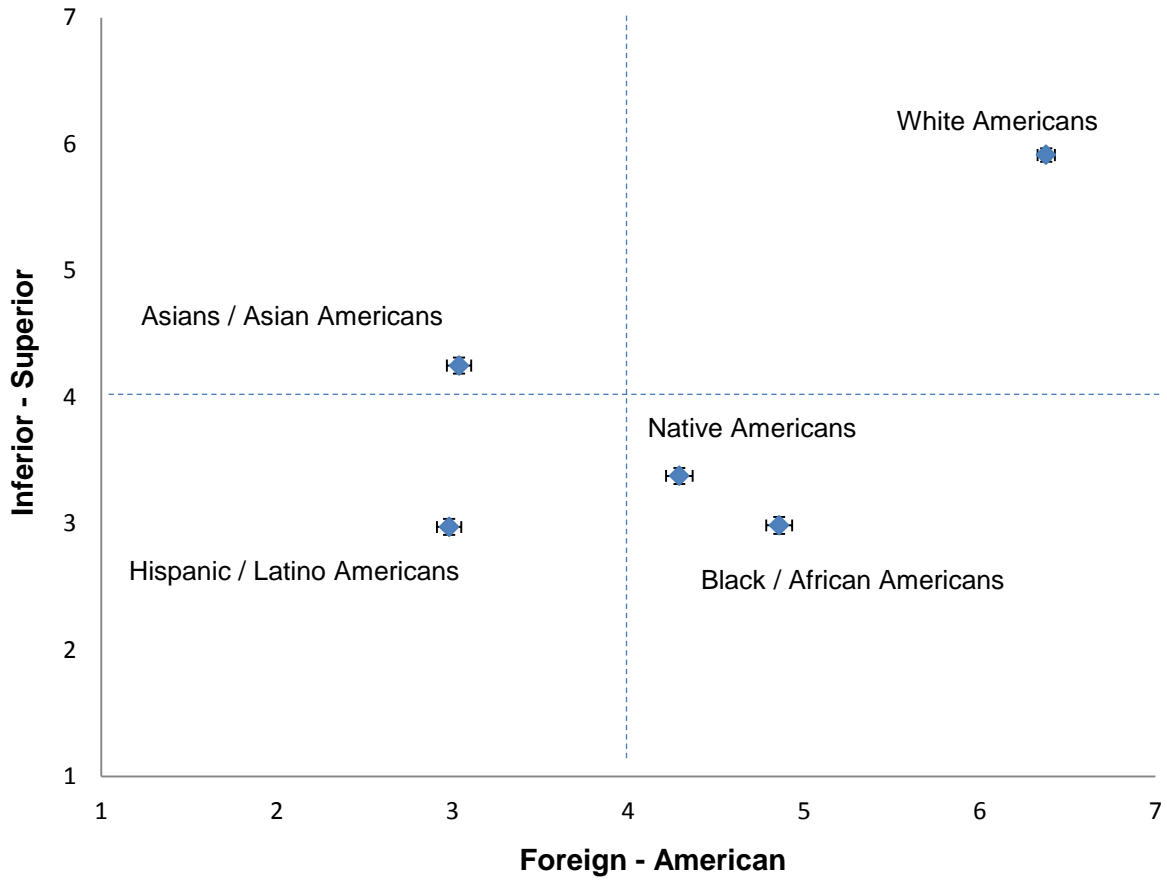


Figure 4. The two-dimensional model obtained in Study 4. Error bars indicate standard error.