Two Axes of Subordination: A New Model of Racial Position

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

Keywords: race, prejudice, stereotypes, group position, cultural foreignness

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

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

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

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

A look into some of America's notorious acts of racial inequality provides critical evidence for how different groups have been positioned, and the harmful accompanying consequences. With *Dred Scott v. Sandford,* one of the most significant cases in Supreme Court history, the perceived inferiority of African Americans to Whites was reason to deny them their freedom, rights, and citizenship. A century later, *Korematsu v. United States* defended

the mass internment of both immigrated and native-born Japanese Americans on the basis of their perceived foreign culture, loyalties, and way of life. Both the Dred Scott and Korematsu decisions positioned an entire racial or ethnic minority group as being in some way subordinate. However, the specific dimensions along which these groups were subordinated, though both costly, do not appear to be the same.

A Unidimensional Racial Hierarchy

Racial position, or a racial or ethnic group's perceived "positional arrangement" relative to others (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999), is most commonly conceptualized by scholars as a hierarchy along which Whites are positioned as the dominant and most advantaged group in American society, while African Americans are disadvantaged and devalued (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This unidimensional racial hierarchy has served as a valuable framework for exploring race relations in the United States.

However, there remains less clarity regarding how other groups are positioned. Since lifting its last racial immigration quotas in the 1960s, the United States has seen dramatic demographic shifts. Latinos and Asian Americans, two fast-growing groups, together comprise nearly a quarter of the United States population (Colby & Ortman, 2014). While some work contends that Latinos do not face the same degree of discrimination as do African Americans (Sears & Savalei, 2006), other work has suggested that Latinos and African Americans are similarly stereotyped (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), or that Latinos may be perceived even more negatively than African Americans (Axt, Ebersole, & Nosek, 2014). The hierarchical position of Asian Americans is similarly variable. Some work has grouped Asian Americans alongside African Americans and Latinos as commonly disadvantaged minority

groups (Craig & Richeson, 2012), some work has found that Asian Americans face discrimination to a similar extent as Latinos but not African Americans (Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006), and still other work has separated Asian Americans into a middle tier in which they are perceived to be higher in status than African Americans and Latinos, but lower than Whites (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; O'Brien & Major, 2005).

In the current paper, we argue that examining racial position along two distinct dimensions rather than one will clarify the location of different racial and ethnic groups in the United States, and set the stage for novel predictions about prejudice, threat, and interminority dynamics. Along a dimension of perceived *inferiority*, groups are ranked by their perceived intellectual, economic, and occupational prestige.[1] This dimension has served as our field's main framework for exploring race relations. However, groups may also be ranked along a second dimension of perceived *cultural foreignness*. These dimensions together contribute to shape groups' racial positioning in American society.

The Racial Position Model

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

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

These works provide the foundation for a new social psychological model in which racial and ethnic groups in the United States are positioned according to their perceived *cultural foreignness-Americanness* in addition to their perceived *inferiority-superiority*. These two dimensions are distinct, but correlated. Indeed, low-status groups tend to be excluded from American national identity (e.g., Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997); reciprocally, groups perceived as national outsiders are afforded less status (e.g.,

Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). Whites hold the most advantaged overall position while racial and ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged in discrete ways along both dimensions.

The current work examines the positioning of the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Though important heterogeneity exists within each of these groups (a point we return to in the General Discussion), racial subordination often involves a masking of such intragroup distinctions (Omi & Winant, 1994). Mapping these groups along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness may reveal that each group is positioned within a unique quadrant (see Figure 1): Whites are treated and perceived as superior and American; African Americans as inferior and relatively American compared to Latinos and Asian Americans; Latinos as inferior and foreign; and Asian Americans as foreign and relatively superior compared to African Americans and Latinos. A two-dimensional Racial Position Model allows us to empirically differentiate and predict groups' experiences with racial prejudice. Furthermore, from perceivers' perspectives, this model allows us to predict the ways in which these groups are culturally stereotyped and perceived.

A Dimension of Perceived Cultural Foreignness

We use *cultural foreignness* to refer to a group's perceived distance away from the superordinate category prototype, and toward the prototype of a foreign category. The prototypical features of a superordinate category often resemble the features of the dominant group within that category (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991). These features can take on a moral or prescriptive quality, such that deviation is judged negatively and even punished (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). Groups may be perceived to deviate from the superordinate category prototype to differing degrees. Groups that deviate to some degree may still be perceived to fit within the superordinate category, while others may be positioned even further along this continuum, to such a degree that they are perceived to better fit a foreign category instead.

For racial and ethnic groups in the United States, nationality is a highly relevant superordinate category. The American prototype consists of three primary components: devotion to core American ideals such as democracy, equality, and industriousness; respect for and engagement in social and political service; and shared Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, which includes speaking English and practicing Christianity (Alba & Nee, 2005; Citrin, Haas, Muste, & Reingold, 1994; Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Devos

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

[2] Asian Americans have also been cast as inferior to Whites in the past (e.g., Almaguer, 1994). However, since the 1960s, the now-prominent model minority stereotype portrays Asian Americans instead as a high-achieving and successful group that at times even surpasses Whites (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2011).
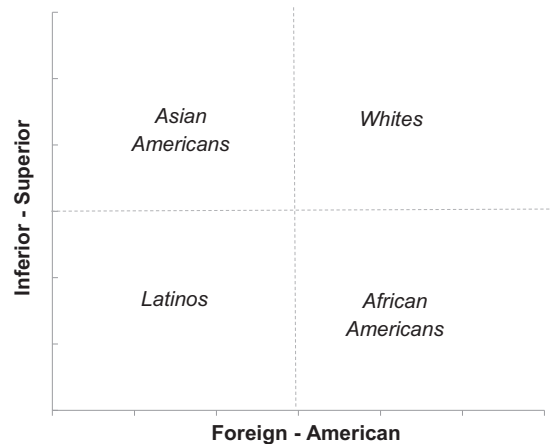
Figure 1. The four-quadrant pattern predicted by the Racial Position Model.

& Banaji, 2005; Schildkraut, 2007; Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012). This last ethnocultural component has been especially influential in determining which groups are more or less American than others (Sidanius et al., 1997). Whites are robustly perceived to be the most American (Devos & Banaji, 2005; for a review, see Devos & Mohamed, 2014). In comparison, racial and ethnic minority groups are each perceived to deviate from the American prototype to differing degrees.

Certain minority groups, though deviating from the American prototype, may still be perceived to fit within the American superordinate category. For example, African Americans are perceived as violating American values such as the Protestant work ethic (Kinder & Sears, 1981) and occupying a space outside of mainstream American identity (Du Bois, 1903). However, African Americans are also largely perceived to share in American birthplace and language, and have played a salient role in American economic and political history (Sears & Savalei, 2006). Many elements of Black culture (e.g., music, dance, style) have been adopted by the American mainstream (hooks, 1992). Thus, although African Americans are seen as less American relative to Whites (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Rydell, Hamilton, & Devos, 2010), they may nevertheless be considered closer to the American prototype than to that of a foreign nation.

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

Although the current work focuses on the United States, a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may apply beyond the United States to explain the experiences of racial and ethnic groups that are perceived and treated as outsiders in other national contexts (e.g., Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992; Van Ouden-hoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). This dimension may also apply beyond national superordinate categories. For example, women's perceived cultural "foreignness" may shape their experiences within male-dominated environments. Indeed, women in STEM fields (Cheryan, Ziegler, Montoya, & Jiang, 2017), upper management (Heilman, 1983, 2001), and the military (Pazy & Oron, 2001) may encounter prejudice not only based on beliefs about their inferior abilities, but also about their lack of fit with the masculine prototype of their respective domains. Thus a dimension of perceived cultural foreignness may shed light on the experiences of marginalized groups more broadly.

Other Dimensions of Intergroup Relations

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

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

Implications of the Racial Position Model

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

In line with previous research, a group's position along the inferiority dimension predicts the extent to which group members face prejudice and stereotyping based on their perceived intellectual, socioeconomic, and cultural inferiority (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). African Americans and Latinos may both face this form of inferiority-based treatment to a greater extent than do Asian Americans. Both groups are subject to stereotypes related to their perceived incompetence (Fiske et al., 2002; Steele, 1997), low socioeconomic status (Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997; Devine, 1989), and violent and criminal nature (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Wilson, 1996). Conversely, as a "model minority," Asian Americans often face prejudice and stereotyping related to their perceived competence and achievement instead (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Siy & Cheryan, 2013).

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

Our model also lays the groundwork for additional theoretical predictions that help to illuminate the nature of race relations in an increasingly multiethnic nation. For example, our model has implications for understanding Whites' relations with different racial and ethnic minority groups. Whites perceive minority groups as posing an overall threat to their dominant group position (e.g., Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014); however, the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness may correspond with discrete threats, such that the threats evoked by a specific minority group are determined by its two-dimensional position relative to Whites. Our model has further implications for understanding relations among racial and ethnic minority groups. Solidarity may be easier to achieve between groups that share a position along a dimension and have similar resulting experiences with prejudice (e.g., Latinos and Asian Americans), than between groups that are positioned separately along both dimensions (e.g., African Americans and Asian Americans).

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

Preliminary Evidence Using Nationally Representative Data

We analyzed General Social Survey (GSS; Smith, Marsden, Hout, & Kim, 2013) data collected in 1990[3] to provide preliminary evidence for our two-dimensional model. In this dataset, a total of 1,372 participants (56% female, 1,150 White, 159 Black, and 63 "Other") were asked to rate the characteristics of different social groups. Participants rated four relevant groups: "Asian Americans," "Blacks," "Hispanic Americans," and "Whites." To assess perceptions along the inferiority dimension, we examined participant ratings of groups' wealth (1 = *Rich*, 7 = *Poor*; reverse scored).[4] To assess perceptions along the foreignness dimension, we examined participant ratings of groups' patriotism (1 = *Patriotic,* 7 = *Unpatriotic*; reverse scored). For each group, perceived wealth and patriotism were weakly correlated, rs = .08–.18.

A 2 (dimension) $\times$ 4 (racial group) repeated-measures ANOVA[5] found a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 1,130) = 1,080.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .49$, and of racial group, $F(3, 3,390) = 927.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$. These effects were qualified by a Dimension $\times$ Racial Group interaction, $F(3, 3,390) = 130.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections.

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

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[3] Although the GSS has been conducted more recently, ratings of groups' patriotism were only collected in 1990.

[4] We also conducted a version of these analyses using participant ratings of groups' intelligence instead of wealth as a proxy for the inferiority dimension, and obtained the same pattern of results.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Study 1: Does the Racial Position Model Predict Real-World Experiences With Racial Prejudice?

In this study, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites reported on their most recent experience of racial prejudice. Congruent with each group's hypothesized position, we predicted that African Americans would be more likely to experience prejudice based on their perceived inferiority than perceived foreignness; Latinos would be likely to experience both forms of prejudice; Asian Americans would be more likely to experience prejudice based on their perceived foreignness than perceived inferiority; and Whites would be unlikely to experience either form of prejudice. In addition, we examined whether the Racial Position Model would capture experiences of racial prejudice to a greater extent than other relevant dimensions (e.g., warmth).

Method

Participants. To limit participant self-selection, we did not advertise this study as being related to racial prejudice, nor restrict participation to specific groups. Based on the racial and ethnic composition of Amazon Mechanical Turk (Huff & Tingley, 2015), we aimed to collect responses from at least 1,000 participants to obtain at least 50 responses from each target group.

A total of 1,009 Amazon Mechanical Turk workers living in the United States completed an online study for monetary compensation. All 280 individual responses from self-identified mono-racial African American, Latino, and Asian American participants were included in the coding process.[6] In addition, of the total 649 responses from White participants, we included a randomly selected subset of 100 responses to be coded. The final sample was

380 participants (45% female; 113 African American, 92 Asian American, 75 Latino, 100 White). The mean age was 28.60 years ($SD = 8.95$).

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

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

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

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

Results

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

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

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

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

Table 1
Categories With Coder Reliabilities (Kappa, Percent Agreement) in Study 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

A McNemar's test found that Asian Americans were more likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived foreignness (40.2%) than prejudice based on perceived inferiority (23.9%; e.g., "the driver believed I was a terrible driver. At the next stoplight, the individual pulled up in the lane next to me and said that I could not drive with my eyes half-open"), $p = .02$.

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

A McNemar's test found that Whites were more likely to report experiences with prejudice based on perceived inferiority (8.0%;

Table 2
Frequencies and Percentages of Reports of Prejudice in Study 1

	Participant race			
Category	African Americans ($n = 113$)	Latinos ($n = 75$)	Asian Americans ($n = 92$)	Whites ($n = 100$)
Total responses coded	60 (53.1%)	47 (62.7%)	57 (62.0%)	36 (36.0%)
Inferior	56 (49.6%)	25 (33.3%)	22 (23.9%)	8 (8.0%)
Foreign	1 (.9%)	24 (32.0%)	37 (40.2%)	1 (1.0%)
Superior	1 (.9%)	0	7 (7.6%)	8 (8.0%)
American	0	0	0	4 (4.0%)
Incompetent	4 (3.5%)	1 (1.3%)	1 (1.1%)	0
Cold	0	0	1 (1.1%)	0
Competent	0	0	11 (12.0%)	0
Warm	0	0	0	0
No experience	2 (1.8%)	7 (9.3%)	2 (2.2%)	16 (16.0%)

Note. Percentages are calculated within participant race.

e.g., "playing football in school a lot of the time I was looked down upon thinking I wasn't as fast as other people because I'm white") than prejudice based on perceived foreignness (1.0%; e.g., "[he] gave me a hard time for being English and when I trash talked back a little he told me to go home and drink a cup of tea"), $p = .04$, although neither occurred frequently.

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

Inferiority-based prejudice. There was a significant overall difference in groups' experiences with inferiority-based prejudice, $\chi^2(3, N = 380) = 46.25$, $p < .001$, $\varphi = .35$. African Americans and Latinos were equally likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice. African Americans were also more

likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice than Asian Americans, while Latinos and Asian Americans did not statistically differ. Finally, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans were each more likely to report experiences of inferiority-based prejudice than Whites.

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

That groups experience predictably distinct forms of racial prejudice has important consequences for the ways in which these experiences are studied and understood. First, as racial prejudice is

Table 3

Statistical Results of the 2 × 2 Contingency Chi-Square Tests in Study 1

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

Note. Asterisks indicate significance based on the Bonferroni-adjusted critical *p*-value threshold of .0083 (.05/6).

often characterized chiefly in terms of perceived inferiority (Duckitt, 1992), broadening the definition of prejudice to include perceived foreignness may help validate and bring awareness to different groups' experiences. Second, the extent to which groups share common experiences of prejudice may help us better understand interminority relationships (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012). For example, African Americans and Asian Americans experience different prejudices that evoke two distinct dimensions and are often nonoverlapping; this lack of common ground may play a role in amplifying the historical tensions between these groups (Kim, 2000). Finally, antidiscrimination legislation may benefit from deeper knowledge of the prejudices that different minority groups face. To protect African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans with equal effectiveness, civil rights initiatives may need to account for prejudice based on both perceptions of inferiority and foreignness (Ancheta, 1998).

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

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

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

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

Stereotype Selection

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

In addition, we included stereotypes that reflect competence, incompetence, warmth, and coldness (Carlsson & Björklund, 2010; Fiske et al., 2002). Competent stereotypes were "competent," "capable," "skillful," and "efficient," while incompetent stereotypes were "incompetent," "unintelligent," "incapable," and "unqualified." Warm stereotypes were "warm," "friendly," "well-intentioned," "trustworthy," "good-natured," and "sincere," while cold stereotypes were "cold," "unfriendly," "dishonest," and "disagreeable."

Method

We had a target sample size of at least 1,000 participants. One thousand sixty-three Amazon Mechanical Turk workers living in the United States (57% female[8]; 743 Whites, 127 African Americans, 58 Asian Americans, 51 Latinos, 84 others) completed an online study for monetary compensation. The mean age was 33.69 years ($SD = 12.19$).

Participants responded to the following item for each of the preselected stereotypes: "In general, how much do you experience prejudice because others believe you/your racial group are <stereotype>?" ($1 = $ *Not At All*, $7 = $ *Very Much*).[9] Participants then reported demographic information.

Results

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

Factor 1 (eigenvalue = 12.95, 34.07% of the variance) captured experiences with prejudice based on superior, competent, and warm stereotypes (e.g., rich, intelligent, trustworthy). Factor 2 (eigenvalue = 9.44, 24.84% of the variance) captured experiences with prejudice based on inferior, incompetent, and cold stereotypes (e.g., criminals, unintelligent, dishonest). Factor 3 (eigenvalue = 2.93, 7.71% of the variance) captured experiences with prejudice based

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

[9] We also directly asked about each of our dimensions (e.g., How much do you experience prejudice because others believe you/your racial group are foreign?), and obtained the same pattern of results.

on foreign stereotypes (e.g., illegal immigrants, having accents). Correlations between factors are reported in Table 4. Full pattern and structure matrices can be found in our online supplement.

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

Comparing racial and ethnic groups' experiences with prejudice. A 3 (factor) $\times$ 4 (participant race) mixed-design ANOVA compared the prevalence of different experiences among African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites. There was no main effect of factor, $F(2, 1,948) = 1.64$, $p = .19$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$, but a main effect of participant race, $F(3, 974) = 72.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$. These effects were qualified by a Factor $\times$ Participant Race interaction, $F(6, 1,948) = 126.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .28$. Below, we first report which factors were most prevalent within each group's experiences. Next, we compare the prevalence of different groups' experiences with each factor. Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted using Bonferroni corrections. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

What are the experiences of each group?

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

Latinos' experiences of racial prejudice. Latinos reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived foreignness to a greater extent than other forms of prejudice, ps < .001, ds > .43. They reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived inferiority/ coldness to a greater extent than prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth, $p = .001$, $d = .58$.

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

Whites' experiences of racial prejudice. Whites reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth to a greater extent than other forms of prejudice, ps < .001, ds > .79.

Table 4
Factor Intercorrelations in Study 2

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

Table 5
Ratings of Experiences With Racial Prejudice in Study 2

	Participant race							
	African Americans ($n = 127$)		Latinos ($n = 51$)		Asian Americans ($n = 58$)		Whites ($n = 743$)	
Factor	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Inferiority/coldness	$4.21_1{}^a$	1.46	$3.33_1{}^b$	1.55	$2.50_1{}^c$	1.08	$1.99_1{}^d$	1.01
Foreignness	$2.20_2{}^a$	1.33	$4.10_2{}^b$	1.97	$3.85_2{}^b$	1.47	$1.32_2{}^c$	.84
Superiority/warmth	$2.41_2{}^a$	1.40	$2.51_3{}^{a,b}$	1.24	$3.70_2{}^c$	1.25	$3.05_3{}^b$	1.60

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

They reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived inferiority/coldness to a greater extent than prejudice based on perceived foreignness, $p < .001$, $d = .72$.

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

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

Prejudice based on perceived foreignness. Latinos and Asian Americans did not differ in their experiences of prejudice based on perceived foreignness, $p = 1.00$, $d = .14$. Both Latinos and Asian Americans reported experiencing this foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than African Americans, $d = 1.13$ and 1.18, respectively, as well as Whites, $d = 1.84$ and 2.12, respectively, ps < .001. Finally, African Americans reported experiencing foreignness-based prejudice to a greater extent than Whites, $p < .001$, $d = .79$.

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

Prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth. Asian Americans reported experiencing prejudice based on perceived superiority/warmth to a greater extent than Whites, $p = .01$, $d = .45$, Latinos, $p < .001$, $d = .95$, and African Americans, $p < .001$, $d = .98$. Whites reported experiencing this form of prejudice to a greater extent than African Americans, $p < .001$, $d = .43$, and to a marginally greater extent than Latinos, $p =$

.095, $d = .38$. African Americans and Latinos did not differ, $p = 1.00$, $d = .08$.

Discussion

Foreignness emerged as its own coherent dimension, distinct from both inferiority and warmth or coldness. Along this dimension, a clear ranking manifested, such that Latinos and Asian Americans were the groups to most commonly report experiencing prejudice based on their perceived foreignness, followed by African Americans, and finally Whites. In addition, experiences of prejudice based on perceived inferiority, incompetence, and coldness comprised a single factor that was important to African Americans' experiences. Indeed, African Americans reported experiencing this form of prejudice to a greater extent than other minority groups. That prejudice based on perceived warmth converged with superiority and competence is consistent with literature suggesting that, rather than being orthogonal, the dimensions of warmth and status are positively related, such that warmth follows from status (Koch et al., 2016).

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

Studies 3 and 4: The Racial Position Model From Perceivers' Perspectives

Studies 1 and 2 showed that the integration of perceived foreignness and perceived inferiority is able to systematically capture different groups' real-world experiences with racial prejudice. Next, we continued our investigation of the Racial Position Model from the perspective of perceivers in order to demonstrate that groups' two-dimensional positions are not only "in the heads" of targets, but are circulated and perpetuated in American society more broadly. We examined whether the Racial Position Model is reflected in racial stereotype content (Study 3) and in direct perceptions of racial and ethnic groups (Study 4). In addition, we investigated the Racial Position Model's ability to generalize to additional groups (e.g., Native Americans, Arab Americans), and to both the men and women within each group (Study 4).

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

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

Stereotype Selection and Pretest

We drew from extant literature on racial stereotypes (e.g., Ho & Jackson, 2001; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997) as well as national survey data about racial stereotypes in the media (e.g., the National Hispanic Media Coalition [2012] poll) to create a comprehensive initial list of over 80 stereotypes. Next, to identify the most prevalent stereotypes about different racial and ethnic groups, we conducted a pretest with students recruited from the psychology subject pool. Our stopping goal was the end of the academic term. Eighty-eight students (59% female; 54 Asian Americans, 24 Whites, 2 Latinos, 1 African American, 7 others) responded to the following item for each stereotype: "How much are <racial group> stereotyped as <trait>?" (1 = *Not At All*, 7 = *Very Much*). Participants rated each stereotype in relation to four groups: "Asians/Asian Americans," "Black/African Americans," "Hispanic/Latino Americans," and "White Americans." Items were blocked by stereotype, which were presented in randomized order. Within each stereotype block, the order in which groups were presented was also randomized.

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

Method

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

Items were blocked by stereotype, such that participants rated the 77 pretested stereotypes one at a time, in randomized order. For each stereotype, participants first rated it on the following two items: "To what extent would a group that is stereotyped as <stereotype> be seen as inferior or superior?" (1 = *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 = *Very American*). These two items were presented in counterbalanced order across participants. In addition, participants rated the stereotype on the extent to which it indicated warmth (1 = *Not At All Warm*, 7 = *Very Warm*) and competence
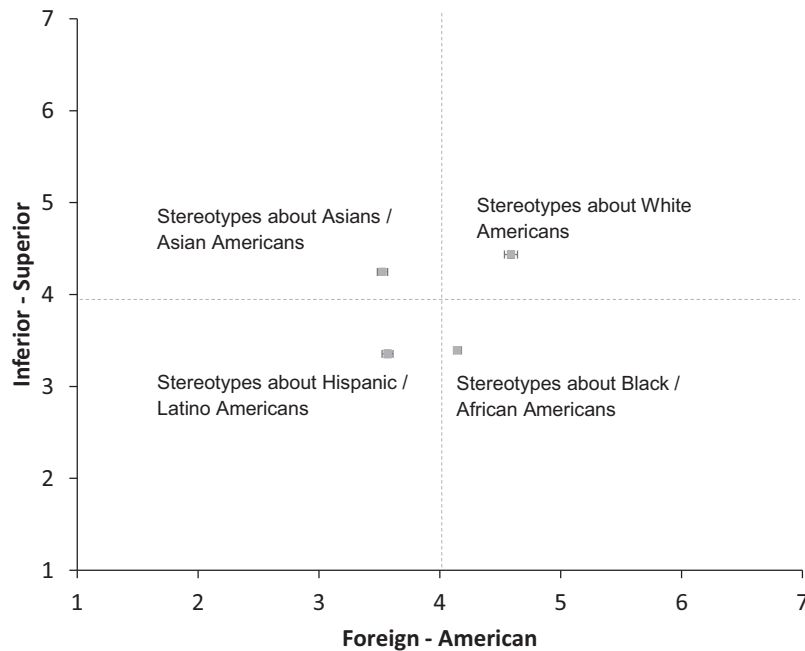
Figure 2. The two-dimensional model based on perceivers' stereotypes of racial and ethnic groups in Study 3. Error bars indicate standard error.

(1 = *Not At All Competent*, 7 = *Very Competent*).[10] Finally, participants reported demographic information.

Results

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

Mapping racial stereotypes on the Racial Position Model. We averaged the inferiority and foreignness ratings of each group's pretested set of stereotypes. These average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, revealing the predicted four-quadrant pattern (see Figure 2). One-sample t tests indicated that

each set of stereotypes was significantly different from the mid-point (i.e., 4) on both dimensions, $ps < .001$.

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

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

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

Table 6
Ratings of Racial Group Stereotypes in Study 3

Group stereotypes	Inferior-Superior		Foreign-American	
	M	SD	M	SD
African Americans	3.39₁	.34	4.15₁	.33
Latinos	3.35₁	.41	3.57₂	.45
Asian Americans	4.25₂	.28	3.53₂	.43
Whites	4.43₃	.39	4.59₃	.54

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

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[10] Means and standard deviations for each set of stereotypes' warmth and competence ratings are reported in our online supplement.

Discussion

Stereotypes about the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States position them distinctly along the two dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness. These groups' positions come together to form a four-quadrant pattern: stereotypes about Whites characterize them as superior and American; stereotypes about African Americans characterize them as inferior and American; stereotypes about Latinos characterize them as inferior and foreign; and stereotypes about Asian Americans characterize them as superior and foreign. Such stereotypes set the stage for attitudes and behaviors at an interpersonal level (e.g., Fiske, 1998), as well as maintain and legitimize the social systems in which intergroup relations take place (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Jost & Banaji, 1994).

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

One benefit of examining stereotype content is that it allowed us to explore the extent to which different groups' stereotypes overlap. Groups that were similarly positioned along one dimension were targeted by many of the same dimension-relevant stereotypes. For example, of the 10 most inferior stereotypes about African Americans and Latinos, seven overlapped between the two groups (e.g., "poor," "being criminals"). However, some dimension-relevant stereotypes also differed between similarly positioned groups. Interestingly, these differences seem to be driven in part by the groups' positions along the second dimension. For example, the inferior stereotypes specific to African Americans were "lazy," "dishonest," and "undisciplined," while the inferior stereotypes specific to Latinos were "illegal immigrants," "dirty," and "violent," which may reflect Latinos' perceived foreignness relative to African Americans. Similarly, of the 10 most foreign stereotypes about Asian Americans and Latinos, five overlapped between the two groups (e.g., "having accents," "sticking to their own culture"). The other five were specific to each group, some reflecting Asian Americans' relative perceived superiority or Latinos' relative perceived inferiority: Asian Americans were stereotyped as "short," "obedient," "bad at basketball," "having a smaller physique," and "mathematical," whereas Latinos were stereotyped as "dirty," "having too many children," "traditional," "poor," and "illegal immigrants." This may be a useful area for future research, as it suggests that the same underlying dimension can manifest in distinct ways depending on groups' position along the other dimension.

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

Study 4: Generalizing the Racial Position Model to Other Groups

The final study examined direct perceptions of racial and ethnic group positioning in American society, and went beyond the previous studies in four ways. First, to further examine the relationship between foreignness, inferiority, and other dimensions of intergroup perception, we empirically explored the correlations between these different dimensions. Second, in addition to the four largest racial and ethnic groups in the United States, we examined perceptions of Native Americans and Arab Americans, both of whom remain critically overlooked in social psychology. Third, we sought to be attentive to gender. Men tend to be the representatives of their race (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), nationality (Eagly & Kite, 1987), and culture (Cuddy et al., 2015), whereas women are rendered "invisible" in comparison. Thus the current study tested whether a two-dimensional Racial Position Model would apply broadly to both the men and women within each group, rather than only reflecting the positions of men. Finally, we compared perceptions of group positioning across members of different racial and ethnic groups. We predicted agreement among African American, Latino, Asian American, and White perceivers, illustrating the consensual recognition of these social arrangements by those who are advantaged as well as disadvantaged by them (e.g., Ridgeway, 2014).

Method

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

Ratings of generic racial and ethnic groups. Participants rated six racial and ethnic groups on different dimensions of intergroup perception: "Black/African Americans," "Hispanic/Latino Americans," "Asians/Asian Americans," "Native Americans/American Indians," "Arab Americans," and "White Americans." Items were blocked by group, such that participants rated one group at a time, in randomized order. Within each group block, the order in which the following items were presented was further randomized.

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[11] Participant gender moderated the Dimension × Racial Group × Participant Race interaction, $F(15, 1575)$ = 2.09, p = .02, η_p^2 = .02. African American men rated Whites as less superior and less American compared to African American women, ps < .001. African American men also rated Arab Americans as less foreign than African American women, p = .03. Latino men rated Native Americans as less American than Latino women, p = .02.

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

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

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

Finally, participants reported their demographic information.

Results

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

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

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

Comparing perceptions of racial and ethnic group position. A 2 (dimension: inferiority, foreignness) × 6 (racial group: African American, Latino, Asian American, Native American, Arab American, White) × 3 (gender subgroup: generic, male, female) × 4 (participant race: African American, Latino, Asian American,
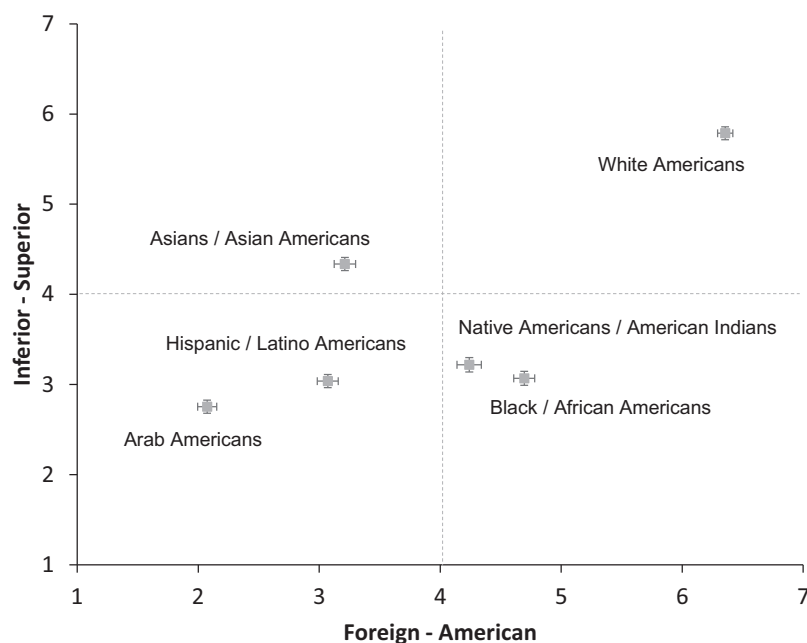

Figure 3. The two-dimensional model based on perceptions of racial and ethnic groups in Study 4. Error bars indicate standard error.

Table 7

Average Correlations Between Dimensions of Intergroup Perception in Study 4

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

Note. Italicized values indicate $r \geq .30$. Bold values indicate $r \geq .50$.

White) mixed-design ANOVA was conducted with dimension, racial group and gender subgroup entered as within-subjects factors, and participant race as a between-subjects factor. Below, we report on the specific interaction terms relevant to our hypotheses (see Appendix B for all effects). Multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted with Bonferroni corrections. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 8.

How are groups positioned? There was a significant three-way interaction of dimension, racial group, and gender subgroup, $F(10, 3,190) = 13.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. To deconstruct this interaction, separate 2 (dimension) × 6 (racial group) repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted at each level of gender subgroup.

Generic racial and ethnic groups. When no gender subgroup was specified, there was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 322) = 39.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, and of racial group, $F(5, 1610) = 422.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$, qualified by a Dimension × Racial Group interaction, $F(5, 1,610) = 158.54$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .33$. Along the inferiority dimension, Arab Americans were positioned as more inferior than all other groups, $ps < .005$, $ds > .21$. There was no difference among African Americans', Latinos', and Native Americans' inferior positioning, $ps > .35$, $ds < .14$. African

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

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

Male subgroups. When examining male subgroups, there was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 323) = 60.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$, and of racial group, $F(5, 1,615) = 414.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .56$, qualified by a Dimension × Racial Group interaction, $F(5, 1,615) = 124.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .28$. The way in which male subgroups were positioned relative to each other along both dimensions was identical to the pattern described above for generic groups. See Table 8 for a more comprehensive report.

Female subgroups. When examining female subgroups, there was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 323) = 70.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$, and of racial group, $F(5, 1,615) = 361.35$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$, qualified by a Dimension × Racial Group interaction, $F(5, 1,615) = 87.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. The way in which female subgroups were positioned relative to each other along both dimensions was identical to the pattern described above for generic groups, with one exception. Along the inferiority dimension, Asian American women were perceived as only marginally more superior than African American women, $p = .06$, $d = .19$. See Table 8 for a more comprehensive report.

Does participant race moderate perceptions of group position? The four-way interaction of dimension, racial group, gender subgroup, and participant race was not significant, $F(30, 3,190) = .89$, $p = .62$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, participant race did weakly moderate the interaction of dimension and racial group, $F(15, 1,595) = 2.02$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Overall, African American participants positioned African Americans as less American than did White participants, $p < .001$. In addition, African American participants positioned Whites as less American than White participants, $p = .02$, and Latino participants, $p = .047$. There were

Table 8

Ratings of Racial and Ethnic Groups in Study 4

Group	Generic		Men		Women	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Inferior-superior dimension						
African Americans	3.06₁	1.39	3.30₁	1.53	3.41₁,₂	1.54
Latinos	3.02₁	1.29	3.15₁	1.27	3.20₁	1.42
Asian Americans	4.33₂	1.31	3.98₂	1.31	3.70₂	1.46
Native Americans	3.20₁	1.44	3.20₁	1.41	3.24₁	1.49
Arab Americans	2.74₃	1.31	2.66₃	1.36	2.53₃	1.37
Whites	5.78₄	1.27	5.94₄	1.28	5.41₄	1.49
Foreign-American dimension						
African Americans	4.69₁	1.54	4.82₁	1.50	4.80₁	1.44
Latinos	3.06₂	1.55	3.27₂	1.43	3.38₂	1.51
Asian Americans	3.20₂	1.57	3.33₂	1.47	3.34₂	1.46
Native Americans	4.23₃	1.81	4.18₃	1.71	3.93₃	1.77
Arab Americans	2.05₄	1.39	2.23₄	1.43	2.21₄	1.48
Whites	6.35₅	1.14	6.33₅	1.32	6.21₅	1.29

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

no other differences among African American, Latino, Asian American, and White participants' perceptions of group positioning along either dimension, $ps > .05$.

Discussion

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

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

Arab Americans were positioned as more foreign than any other tested group. Interestingly, they were also positioned as the most inferior. Our data were collected in 2016, a year that saw prominent public concerns regarding the expansion of the Islamic State (ISIL) and controversial political proposals to systematically discriminate against Muslims and Muslim Americans. As such, our findings may be capturing a specific cultural and historic moment in which Arab and Muslim Americans are perceived to hold a particularly low position in American society.

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

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

General Discussion

Since its earliest history, the American social psychological study of race has been guided by Black-White relations (Duckitt, 1992). However, other groups have long existed in the United States (Takaki, 1993), and the recent precipitated growth of Lati-

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

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

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

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

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

overall experiences, as well as perceivers' indirect ratings of racial stereotypes and direct ratings of racial and ethnic groups.

Implications of a Two-Dimensional Racial Position Model

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

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

Group threat to Whites. Whites often view increasing racial diversity (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Danbold & Huo, 2015) and racial progress (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014) as a threat to their dominant group position. Much of this work has aggregated racial and ethnic minority groups to represent a single source of threat. Our model suggests that different minority groups may pose distinct threats to Whites based on their two-dimensional positioning. For instance, the level of perceived threat a minority group poses to Whites' material resources and welfare may depend on its position along a dimension of perceived inferiority. On the other hand, the level of perceived threat a minority group poses to Whites' cultural identity and American way of life may depend on its position along a dimension of perceived foreignness.

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

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

Our model may help illuminate when minority groups are more likely to clash or come together. African Americans and Latinos, although both positioned as inferior, are separated by a second dimension of foreignness, such that Latinos are perceived as less American than African Americans. Emphasizing this distance may exacerbate interminority tensions. Indeed, Latinos are sometimes seen as an invading immigrant threat to Black communities, competing for similar jobs and hurting Black employment (Waldinger, 1997). On the other hand, although Asian Americans are separated from other minority groups along a dimension of inferiority, they share a foreign position with Latinos. Emphasizing this similarity may be able to facilitate interminority support. A two-dimensional Racial Position Model may clarify under what conditions solidarity is possible and how to produce such conditions to encourage positive relations among racial and ethnic minority groups.

Warmth as a Dimension Underlying Groups' Experiences

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

The Dynamic Nature of Racial Positioning

Although our model captures how racial and ethnic groups are currently positioned, these positions have shown themselves to be dynamic throughout American history. For example, government policies undertaken in the late 20th century (e.g., the restriction of immigrants' access to public services and the criminalization of undocumented hiring) helped to shift Latinos from their intermediate status between African Americans and Whites, into a more inferior position similar to African Americans (Massey, 2007). Conversely, after being viewed as an inferior underclass of cheap labor during the 1800s, Asian Americans were reconstructed as a successful model minority during the post-Civil Rights era (Wu,

2013). Similar variability in racial position has been observed within racial groups. In the early 20th century, a subgroup of African Americans ("the Talented Tenth") was perceived to be uniquely capable of achieving high status and forming a Black upper class (Stevenson, 2013). The positioning of Chinese and Japanese Americans diverged dramatically during World War II as the former were granted greater opportunities for economic and occupational advancement, whereas the latter were detained as second-class citizens (Wu, 2013).

Groups' positioning along the cultural foreignness dimension may also be fluid. For example, certain White ethnic groups (e.g., Irish Americans) experienced nativist prejudice and discrimination during their own major waves of immigration in the 19th century, but are now categorized as simply "Americans" (Waters, 1990). Will Latinos and Asian Americans also be able to cast off their perceived foreignness over time? Indeed, interracial marriage and language transition trends show evidence of these groups' gradual integration into mainstream American culture (Alba & Nee, 2005; Lee & Bean, 2010). However, we note two factors that may constrain Latinos and Asian Americans from being able to follow the same course of assimilation as White ethnic groups.

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

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

Future Directions

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

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

Finally, future research should investigate whether the dimensions of perceived inferiority and foreignness are employed naturally when not hypothesized a priori, and how these two dimensions may operate together. From perceivers' perspectives, which dimension takes primacy when evaluating each racial and ethnic group? Do evaluations along both dimensions occur simultaneously, or does one follow the other? From targets' perspectives, is prejudice along one dimension more harmful than prejudice along the other? Understanding how these two dimensions interact will help further develop the utility of the Racial Position Model.

Conclusion

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

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(Appendices follow)

Appendix A

Stereotypes Rated Significantly Above the Midpoint as Stereotypical of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites in Study 3

Stereotype	M	SD	Stereotype	M	SD
African Americans			Asian Americans		
Athletic	6.18	1.18	Mathematical	6.43	.95
Criminals	5.96	1.23	Nerdy	6.20	1.16
Tall	5.78	1.23	Intelligent	6.11	1.16
Violent	5.76	1.33	Overachiever	6.01	1.33
Dangerous	5.69	1.24	Having accents	5.95	1.21
Poor	5.59	1.32	Hardworking	5.86	1.25
Rhythmic	5.55	1.52	Having a smaller physique	5.85	1.36
Drug abusers	5.52	1.28	Competitive	5.85	1.55
Uneducated	5.42	1.49	Short	5.81	1.31
Aggressive	5.35	1.44	Serious	5.63	1.23
Thieves	5.35	1.60	Traditional	5.58	1.31
Welfare dependent	5.24	1.51	Quiet	5.55	1.39
Musical	5.10	1.46	Ambitious	5.52	1.58
Sticking to their own race	5.09	1.52	Self-disciplined	5.49	1.33
Cool	5.01	1.42	Not speaking English well	5.49	1.41
Angry	4.98	1.54	Bad at basketball	5.48	1.68
Outgoing	4.88	1.43	Sticking to their own culture	5.48	1.55
Undisciplined	4.87	1.30	Nonathletic	5.37	1.46
Hostile	4.84	1.67	Diligent	5.33	1.40
Unintelligent	4.81	1.57	Obedient	5.31	1.74
Irresponsible	4.81	1.62	Family oriented	5.28	1.63
Churchgoing	4.81	1.63	Reserved	5.26	1.57
Confident	4.76	1.65	Sticking to their own race	5.24	1.53
Dirty	4.74	1.57	Passive	4.95	1.55
Hypersexual	4.73	1.65	Submissive	4.88	1.62
Rude	4.72	1.44	Rich	4.87	1.37
Communal	4.71	1.58	Humorless	4.83	1.57
Sticking to their own culture	4.69	1.60	Antisocial	4.69	1.65
Urban	4.66	1.78	Cold	4.69	1.52
Burdens to society	4.64	1.57	Stoic	4.61	1.56
Having too many children	4.63	1.64	Taking jobs from Americans	4.59	1.80
Lazy	4.57	1.67	Humble	4.52	1.68
Religious	4.54	1.77	Communal	4.35	1.56
Lacking ambition	4.43	1.67	Whites		
Dishonest	4.42	1.47	Privileged	6.18	1.22
Pushy	4.36	1.52	Racist	5.86	1.32
Latinos			Rich	5.64	1.28
Illegal immigrants	6.17	1.20	Fat	5.51	1.40
Having accents	5.70	1.24	Confident	5.43	1.52
Poor	5.47	1.28	Arrogant	5.13	1.34
Family oriented	5.44	1.41	Churchgoing	5.11	1.44
Having too many children	5.33	1.58	Competitive	5.03	1.45
Religious	5.31	1.48	Tall	4.99	1.47
Criminals	5.29	1.38	Greedy	4.98	1.69
Sticking to their own culture	5.16	1.38	Surfers	4.98	1.76
Not speaking English well	5.10	1.41	Religious	4.91	1.44
Taking jobs from Americans	5.09	1.90	Outgoing	4.78	1.52
Welfare dependent	4.99	1.59	Intelligent	4.76	1.24
Churchgoing	4.99	1.48	Ambitious	4.69	1.42
Uneducated	4.99	1.51	Athletic	4.63	1.30
Sticking to their own race	4.92	1.46	Bad dancers	4.62	2.02
Thieves	4.87	1.61	Cool	4.60	1.62
Violent	4.85	1.44	Selfish	4.53	1.58
Rhythmic	4.83	1.50	Sticking to their own race	4.48	1.76
Communal	4.80	1.49	Courteous	4.41	1.47

(Appendices continue)

Appendix A (*continued*)

Stereotype	M	SD	Stereotype	M	SD
Dangerous	4.79	1.38			
Drug abusers	4.71	1.49			
Traditional	4.68	1.41			
Dirty	4.58	1.61			
Unintelligent	4.57	1.53			
Hardworking	4.55	1.74			
Burdens to society	4.53	1.65			
Outgoing	4.41	1.55			
Unassimilated	4.32	1.49			

Appendix B

Main Effects and Interactions in Study 4

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