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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS
Division of Psychological and Brain Sciences
Social & Personality Psychology

A Mega-Study of Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Nationality Groups in the United States
By
Ayşe Selin Toprakkıran

A thesis presented to
Washington University in St. Louis
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

December, 2023
St. Louis, Missouri

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Ayse Selin Toprakkiran

Washington University in St. Louis

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

A Mega-Study of Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Nationality Groups in the United States

by

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Master of Arts (A.M.) in Psychological and Brain Sciences

Washington University in St. Louis, 2023

Calvin K. Lai, Chair

The culture and demographics of the United States have been greatly influenced by numerous immigrant nationality groups, which continue to play a vital role in society. To understand how nationality groups are perceived in the United States, we asked residents to report stereotypes and attitudes toward 28 nationality groups and 6 racial/ethnic groups (N = 7,050). Our findings showed various patterns across 15 stereotypes, grouped under warmth, status, Americanness, and political orientation dimensions. Warmth-related stereotypes and attitudes varied widely across groups and did not follow a discernible pattern. Status-related stereotypes of Asian Americans and East Asian nationality groups were consistently different from those of non-East Asian nationality groups. When it comes to Americanness-related dimensions, Middle Eastern groups were generally seen as more foreign than others, and White Americans and Black Americans were generally seen as more American. Overall, the stereotypes and attitudes associated with nationality groups differed from those associated with their respective racial and ethnic groups. These results reveal the importance of disaggregating multi-national racial/ethnic groups when assessing stereotypes and attitudes.

Introduction

Immigration has played a key role in shaping the culture and demographics of the United States. Over the course of centuries, there have been major waves of immigration to the United States, from the arrival of English colonizers and enslaved Africans in the 17th century to the latest wave of immigration primarily composed of Hispanic or Latino and Asian groups in the 20th-21st centuries. Each major wave of immigrants has been met with anti-immigrant sentiment. The arrival of German and Irish immigrants in the mid-1800s had a significant impact on American politics, leading to the foundation of anti-immigrant political parties. These parties enacted discriminatory laws against German and Irish Americans, stereotyping immigrants as criminals and rapists (Anbinder, 1992; Ignatiev, 2009; Klein, 2019). With legislation including the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and the 1854 case *People v. Hall*, immigrants from China were banned from naturalization and testifying in court, due to the belief that Chinese people were inferior and incompetent. Other Asian groups, including Japanese and Indian Americans, were also stereotyped as inferior to White Americans and declared ineligible for citizenship by efforts such as the 1924 Immigration Act (Bashi Treitler, 2013). Stereotyping of nationality¹ groups has led to atrocious acts, such as mob violence and lynching of Chinese and Mexican

¹ Race can be described as a social marker used to signal and justify social hierarchies (Omi & Winant, 2014). More specifically, racial labels are attempts to justify social inequality by attributing low social status to factors such as culture and biology (Taylor, 2016). Furthermore, ethnicity can be viewed as a racial marker (Bashi Treitler, 2013). While scholars have argued that ethnicity signals common ancestry, shared historical past, and a cultural focus on elements that embody personhood (e.g., religion, language, physical differences; Schermerhorn, 1970; Bashi Treitler, 2013), ethnicity is racialized, as it is often imposed upon minority groups by majority groups. Therefore, we combined these labels and examined people's perceptions of different racial/ethnic groups (U.S.C., 2022). Nationality is related to race and ethnicity, country of birth, legal status and political affiliation (Anderson, 2010). The concept of nationality stems from the French Revolution, which created a surge of nationalism in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries (Stephens, 1916). Following this ideological wave, nationalism fueled racism, especially in more diverse nations (Mosse, 1995). While race, ethnicity and nationality are interrelated, the history of immigration to the United States demonstrates distinctions between perceptions of race/ethnicity and nationality in this specific context (Bashi Treitler, 2013). Furthermore, we operationalize nationality as an embodiment of individuals' cultural and legal affiliations to countries (e.g., country of birth, parents' country of birth).

Americans (Carrigan & Webb, 2013; Lew-Williams, 2018). Despite the persistence of anti-immigrant stereotypes, immigration to the United States has persisted, with immigrants becoming a cornerstone of society.

The United States currently houses the largest immigrant population in the world, with more than 1 in 4 Americans identifying as immigrants or children of immigrants (Ward & Batalova, 2023). Immigration continues to be a highly controversial issue in the United States, with Democrats and Republicans reporting significantly different views on immigration policy and prominent political leaders often portraying immigrants negatively as a basis for more restrictions on immigration (Oliphant & Cerda, 2022; Scott, 2019). A significant portion of Americans associates immigrants with higher crime, lower job opportunities for themselves, and a threat to social and moral values (Gallup, 2023). In fact, more than 1 in 5 Americans believe immigration negatively impacts the United States (Gallup, 2023). Recent policies, such as a travel ban for nationals of majority-Muslim countries, highlight how individual citizens' sentiments towards immigrants and certain nationality groups can translate into systemic discrimination (Rafei, 2021). Consequently, discrimination is linked to lower mental health among immigrants in the United States (Szaflarski & Bauldry, 2019; Wu et al., 2021). Nevertheless, immigrants are not a monolithic group, and stereotypes and attitudes toward immigrants vary greatly based on their nation of origin.

Immigrants in the United States have diverse backgrounds and experiences, as they originate from almost 200 countries (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2022). Although Mexican Americans constitute 25% of all immigrants in the United States, Congolese Americans account for 43% of all refugees. Moreover, while 71% of South Asian immigrants have attained a bachelor's degree or higher, the corresponding figure for Central American immigrants is only 11% (Budiman, 2020). The fact that immigrants from different nationalities have diverse

backgrounds corresponds with the reality that Americans often hold distinct perceptions of immigrants from various nationalities. Some nationality groups are associated with lower status and competence (e.g., Mexican immigrants), whereas other nationality groups are associated with higher status and competence (e.g., Japanese immigrants; Lee & Fiske, 2006). Similarly, attitudes toward some nationality groups are more positive (e.g., Italian and Canadian immigrants) compared to other nationality groups (e.g., French and Russian immigrants; Lee & Fiske, 2006). Due to the centrality of immigration to United States history and culture, we sought to further understand Americans' perceptions of different nationality groups. In this study, we examined attitudes and stereotypes toward 28 nationality and 6 racial groups in the United States.

Stereotype Dimensions

Research on the content of stereotypes has identified several common dimensions of intergroup perceptions: warmth, competence, status, Americanness, and perceived political orientation (Abele et al., 2021; Cuddy et al., 2008; Koch et al., 2016; Wiggins, 1991; Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

Attitudes or stereotypes about warmth are often accompanied by stereotypes of competence (Fiske et al., 2002; Koch et al., 2016). Some immigrant groups, such as Mexican, South American, and African immigrants, are associated with lower warmth and competence. Other immigrant groups, such as Italian and Irish immigrants, are associated with lower competence but higher warmth. There are also immigrant groups that are associated with higher competence but lower warmth, such as East Asian immigrants (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Asian immigrants; Lee & Fiske, 2006). Both warmth and competence stereotypes are associated with behaviors toward outgroup members, including harm (e.g., harassing, neglecting) and facilitation (e.g., helping, cooperating; Cuddy et al., 2007).

Stereotypes of warmth and competence stem from perceptions of intergroup competition (e.g., perceived threat to resources) and status respectively (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002; Sherif, 1966; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Higher perceived competition of a group predicts stereotypes of lower warmth (Fiske, 2002). For instance, East Asian immigrants are stereotyped as competitive and seen as cold (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Similarly, stereotypes of being an illegal immigrant, which is associated with threat to resources, may lead Americans to have a less favorable perception of Latino American immigrants compared to other immigrant groups (Timberlake et al., 2015; Timberlake & Williams, 2012). On the other hand, stereotypes of higher status predict stereotypes of higher competence. East Asian immigrant groups that are stereotyped as high in status are also perceived to have high competence (Fiske, 2012). In the United States, White Americans are perceived as most superior, followed by Asian, Native, African, Latino, and Arab Americans (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Another dimension of perceived status is socioeconomic status (SES), as results from 39 samples across 27 countries support the relationship between higher perceived SES and higher perceived competence (Durante et al., 2017). Many other characteristics are linked to stereotypes of status, such as perceived skin tone (Monk, 2015; Ostfeld & Yadon, 2022). It is argued that African Americans view lighter-skinned African Americans as more competent than their darker-skinned counterparts (Breland, 1998). Similarly, a nationally representative sample of Americans found that Hispanic Americans were perceived to be more intelligent when they were lighter-skinned (Hannon, 2014). In summary, stereotypes of competition and status are connected to factors such as perceived skin tone and SES, which are related to stereotypes of warmth and competence.

Americanness and perceived political orientation are other key stereotype dimensions that are linked to race, ethnicity, and nationality. Americans tend to perceive White Americans as most American, followed by Black, Native, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, and Arab Americans (Zou &

Cheryan, 2017). Perceived Americanness is related to being White, being born in the United States, speaking English, and being Christian (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Li & Brewer, 2004). Americans tend to believe they are more similar to other racial/ethnic groups when members of these groups are native-born compared to foreign-born (Jimenez and Horowitz, 2013; Schachter, 2016). Negative stereotypes of certain racial/ethnic groups might even fade away if they are perceived as native-born (Schachter, 2021). Finally, perceived political orientation is another distinct dimension of stereotypes that differs based on racial/ethnic group (Craig et al., 2022; Koch et al., 2016). In one study, United States voters viewed political candidates from racial minority backgrounds as more liberal than their White counterparts and also more liberal than the voting records of these candidates would suggest (Fulton & Gershon, 2018).

Nationality versus Racial/Ethnic Groups

Intergroup relations research in the United States has heavily focused on perceptions of racial/ethnic groups (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Oswald et al., 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2013). However, stereotypes of racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Black American) might not generalize to nationality groups (e.g., Nigerian American). Nationality groups have unique backgrounds and experiences in the United States that are not captured by racial labels. For instance, many Vietnamese Americans, or their descendants, are refugees who migrated to the United States after the Vietnam War. Vietnamese Americans are less likely to be proficient in English and hold advanced degrees compared to all Asian Americans (Pew Research Center, 2012a). On the other hand, Indian Americans have a higher median annual income than all Asian Americans and report greater English proficiency compared to other immigrants (Budiman, 2021; Hanna & Batalova, 2020). Differences in the lived experiences and backgrounds of different sub-racial/ethnic nationality groups like these may translate into differences in perceptions of those groups – how likable they are, how foreign they seem, and how competent they are.

On the other hand, stereotypes of racial/ethnic groups might generalize to stereotypes of nationality groups. The outgroup homogeneity effect indicates that perceptions of outgroup members tend to be less varied than perceptions of ingroup members (Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992). For instance, warmth and competence stereotypes of Asian Americans were similar to stereotypes of Japanese and Chinese Americans, which might have been due to perceived similarities between these racial/ethnic and nationality groups (Lee & Fiske, 2006).

Personal versus Societal Stereotypes

Besides heavily focusing on perceptions of racial/ethnic groups, most of the stereotyping research described so far has been on the knowledge of cultural norms (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 2018) as opposed to personal views of others. Across multiple major studies on stereotype content, participants were specifically instructed to report how others in society view the target groups. For instance, in a global study assessing stereotype content across cultures, researchers from across the world asked participants to rate the perceived warmth and competence of groups *as viewed by society* (Cuddy et al., 2009). In another major study, participants were asked to report how foreign and inferior others were seen in U.S. society (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Especially when researchers explicitly inform participants of their intention to understand people's perceptions of social groups and ask participants to report how others in society perceive these groups (Lee & Fiske, 2006), it is not clear whether individuals actually endorse the stereotypes they report. Researchers justify this practice as a way to decrease social desirability, which is people's tendency to deviate from their 'true' views to appear socially acceptable (Fiske et al., 2002). However, this goal contradicts the method, as societal stereotypes are used to tap into participants' true perceptions rather than their knowledge of cultural norms (Kotzur et al., 2020). When considering stereotypes, simply evaluating them as an understanding

of cultural norms may not fully encompass personal or commonly held beliefs (Kotzur et al., 2020).

Knowledge of cultural norms or societal perspectives is distinct from the evaluative judgments that are endorsed by the individual (e.g., personal stereotypes, explicit attitudes; Gawronski et al, 2008; Nosek & Hansen, 2008). For instance, across 158 samples, explicit attitudes explained the relationship between cultural knowledge and implicit attitudes, while cultural knowledge had little to no independent relationship with implicit attitudes (Nosek & Hansen, 2008). Furthermore, Americans report that society favors White Americans over Black Americans more compared to their personal explicit attitudes (Nosek & Hansen, 2008). Similarly, German participants reported stereotype content ratings to be more positive when they were asked to evaluate groups based on their personal perspective compared to society's perspective (Kotzur et al., 2020). Given these results, one of our main goals in this study is to differentiate between personal and societal stereotypes of racial/ethnic and nationality groups. We operationalize individuals' evaluative judgments as personal stereotypes and attitudes and the knowledge of cultural norms or society's perspective as societal stereotypes.

Current Research

In this study, we examined stereotypes and attitudes toward 28 nationality groups and 6 racial/ethnic groups in the United States. We explored three main questions: a) How do stereotypes and attitudes toward these racial/ethnic and nationality groups differ broadly? b) Do stereotypes and attitudes toward racial/ethnic groups differ from those toward nationality groups? c) Do personal stereotypes of these racial/nationality groups differ from societal stereotypes? To do this, we measured 15 different dimensions of stereotypes, mainly grouped under perceived warmth, status, Americanness, and political orientation.

Method

Participants

Participants were visitors to the Project Implicit (<https://implicit.harvard.edu>) research website who identified as U.S. residents that were 18 years or older (67% Female, 30% Male, 2% Other; 57% White, 14% Hispanic or Latino, 11% Black or African American, 9% Asian, 6% Multi-racial, 2% Middle Eastern, 1% Native American, .5% Pacific Islander). Data was collected between October 20, 2022, and December 12, 2022. The mean age was 34.19 years ($SD = 15.04$). In terms of political orientation, 48% of our participants identified as liberal, 22% identified as conservative, and 30% identified as moderate. We aimed to collect 310 participants per group (5,270 participants total), which would afford the opportunity to detect small effects of $d = .20$ for an independent samples t -test. Out of 8,357 participants who consented to the study, 7,050 participants responded to at least one survey question and 5,271 participants completed the study. We analyzed data from any participant who began our study and responded to at least one survey question.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to report their perceptions of 2 out of the 34 target racial/nationality groups. Participants completed a survey followed by a Skin Tone Implicit Association Test (IAT). In the survey section, they were asked to report their personal perceptions, societal stereotypes, and perceived national indicators regarding the group they were assigned to. In the IAT, they were asked to categorize images of dark skinned and light skinned people into 'Good' and 'Bad' categories. Findings regarding the skin tone IAT are excluded from this thesis, as they are pre-registered under our exploratory analyses, which we have not included in this paper.

To create the survey, we selected 34 racial/nationality groups (6 ethnic/racial and 28 nationality) based on geographical diversity, cultural significance, and size of the immigrant population in the U.S. For geographical selections, we utilized the United Nations M49 geoscheme (UNSD, 2023), which divides the world into 5 regions and 22 subregions. From each geographical region, we selected the nationality group with the highest immigrant population in the U.S. (e.g., Uzbeks are the most populous immigrant group in the U.S. from Central Asia, so we included Uzbek Americans as a group). We revised this list based on population size and cultural history. We included Mexico as a separate region in addition to Central America, since 25% of all immigrants in the U.S. are from Mexico (Budiman et al., 2020). Second, we grouped Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia together as the Pacific Islands, since these islands are very small in immigrant population size (Budiman et al., 2020). We added additional groups based on immigrant population size (i.e., Vietnamese, Korean, and Dominican Americans) and the cultural past (i.e., Russian, Japanese, Irish, and Jamaican Americans). For analyses examining racial/ethnic groups that nationality groups are associated with, we based categorization on continent/subcontinent of origin:

- **White Americans** (North America, Europe, Australia): Canadian Americans, Italian Americans, British Americans, German Americans, Polish Americans, Australian Americans, Irish Americans, Russian Americans
- **Black Americans** (Africa except for North Africa and the Caribbean): South African Americans, Ethiopian Americans, Nigerian Americans, Cameroonian Americans, Jamaican Americans

- **Hispanic or Latino Americans** (Central America, South America and the Caribbean): Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Colombian Americans, Salvadoran Americans, Dominican Americans
- **Asian Americans** (Asia except for the Middle East):
 - East-Asian: Chinese Americans, Korean Americans, Japanese Americans
 - Non-East Asian: Uzbek Americans, Indian Americans², Filipino Americans, Vietnamese Americans
- **Middle Eastern Americans** (Middle East and North Africa): Egyptian Americans, Iraqi Americans
- **Pacific Islander Americans** (Pacific Islands): Fijian Americans

Measures

All self-report questions asked participants to report perceived characteristics of racial/nationality groups.

Warmth-related Attitudes and Stereotypes

Warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). Participants reported their personal attitudes (or stereotypes of personal warmth) toward [GROUP]: “To what extent do you see [GROUP] as cold or warm?” (-3 = very cold, 3= very warm). Participants reported societal stereotypes of warmth regarding [GROUP]: “To what extent are [GROUP] seen as cold or warm by American society?” (-3 = very cold, 3 = very warm).

Competition (Fiske et al., 2002). Participants completed a three-item scale on the basis of how they viewed [GROUP] in terms of competition. Items are “The more power [GROUP]

² Participants who were assigned to rate perceptions of Indian Americans received instructions that read “Indian Americans refers to Americans who have origins in India.” to clarify that this group did not refer to Native Americans.

have, the less power people like me are likely to have.”, “If [GROUP] get special breaks (such as preference in hiring decisions), this is likely to make things more difficult for people like me.”, “Resources that go to [GROUP] are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.” (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely).

Status-related Stereotypes

Superiority (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Participants reported their stereotypes of personal superiority toward [GROUP]: “To what extent do you see [GROUP] as inferior or superior?” (-3 = very inferior, 3 = very superior). Participants reported stereotypes of societal superiority regarding X-Americans, using a 7-point scale: “To what extent are [GROUP] seen as inferior or superior by American society?” (-3 = very inferior, 3 = very superior).

Competence (Fiske et al., 2002). Participants reported their stereotypes of personal competence toward [GROUP]: “To what extent do you see [GROUP] as incompetent or competent?” (-3 = very incompetent, 3 = very competent). Participants reported stereotypes of societal competence regarding [GROUP]: “To what extent are [GROUP] seen as incompetent or competent by American society?” (-3 = very incompetent, 3 = very competent).

Status (Adler et al., 2000; Fiske et al., 2002). Participants completed a three-item scale on how they viewed each racial/nationality group in terms of status. Items include “How prestigious are the jobs typically held by [GROUP]?” (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely). To assess perceived socioeconomic status (SES), participants were presented with an image of a 10-step ladder and chose where they would place each racial/nationality group on this ladder, where the top step represents those who are the best off those who have the most money, the best education, and the most respected jobs, and the bottom represents people who are the worst off those who have the least money, least education, and the least respected job or no job. Higher

scores indicated that people viewed each racial/nationality group to be higher in socioeconomic status.

Skin Tone (Ostfeld & Yadon, 2022; Yadon, 2022). Participants were presented with the Yadon-Ostfeld skin color scale and instructed to select the skin color that best represents each racial/nationality group. Higher scores indicate people perceive each racial/nationality group to have darker skin color.

Americanness-related Stereotypes

Americanness (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Participants reported their stereotypes of personal Americanness toward [GROUP], using a 7-point scale: “To what extent do you see [GROUP] as foreign or American?” (-3 = very foreign, 3 = very American). Participants reported stereotypes of societal Americanness regarding [GROUP], using a 7-point scale: “To what extent are [GROUP] seen as foreign or American by American society?” (-3 = very foreign, 3 = very American).

Generational Status. Participants were asked whom they think of when they think of [GROUP], in terms of generation. Possible answers included: first generation (people born outside the U.S.), second generation (people born in the U.S. with at least one first-generation parent), and third generation (people born in the U.S. with both parents born in the U.S.). Higher scores indicate that participants view each racial/nationality group to be less likely to be immigrants.

Familiarity. Participants reported how familiar they perceived each racial/nationality group to be: “To what extent are you unfamiliar or familiar with [GROUP]?” (-3 = very unfamiliar, 3 = very familiar)

Political Orientation-related Stereotype

Political Orientation. Participants reported the perceived political orientation of each racial/nationality group: “To what extent do you view [GROUP] as liberal or conservative?” (-3 = very conservative, 3 = very liberal)

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 1. Groups were generally seen closer to the mid-point of scale ranges. Some measures were positively skewed (Competition, Personal Superiority, Societal Americanness, Skin Tone). The majority of participants reported groups to be not at all competitive, neither superior nor inferior in terms of personal stereotypes, more foreign in terms of societal stereotypes, and have lighter skin tone. Pearson’s correlation coefficients were significantly positively related to each other (see Figure 1).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	M	SD	N	Skewness
Personal Warmth	0.50	1.29	6955	0.26
Societal Warmth	-0.17	1.42	6771	0.18
Competition	1.58	0.88	6670	1.56
Status	3.12	0.73	6453	-0.01
Socioeconomic Status	5.93	1.82	6547	0.06
Personal Competence	1.03	1.42	6889	0.02
Societal Competence	0.28	1.56	6760	0.17
Personal Superiority	0.10	0.69	6911	1.26
Societal Superiority	-0.42	1.18	6772	0.13
Skin Tone	4.05	2.49	6518	0.64
Personal Americanness	0.71	1.77	6914	-0.12
Societal Americanness	-0.61	1.79	6787	0.58
Generational Status	1.89	0.70	6493	0.16
Familiarity	-0.32	1.93	6925	0.06
Political Orientation	-0.02	1.17	6681	-0.03

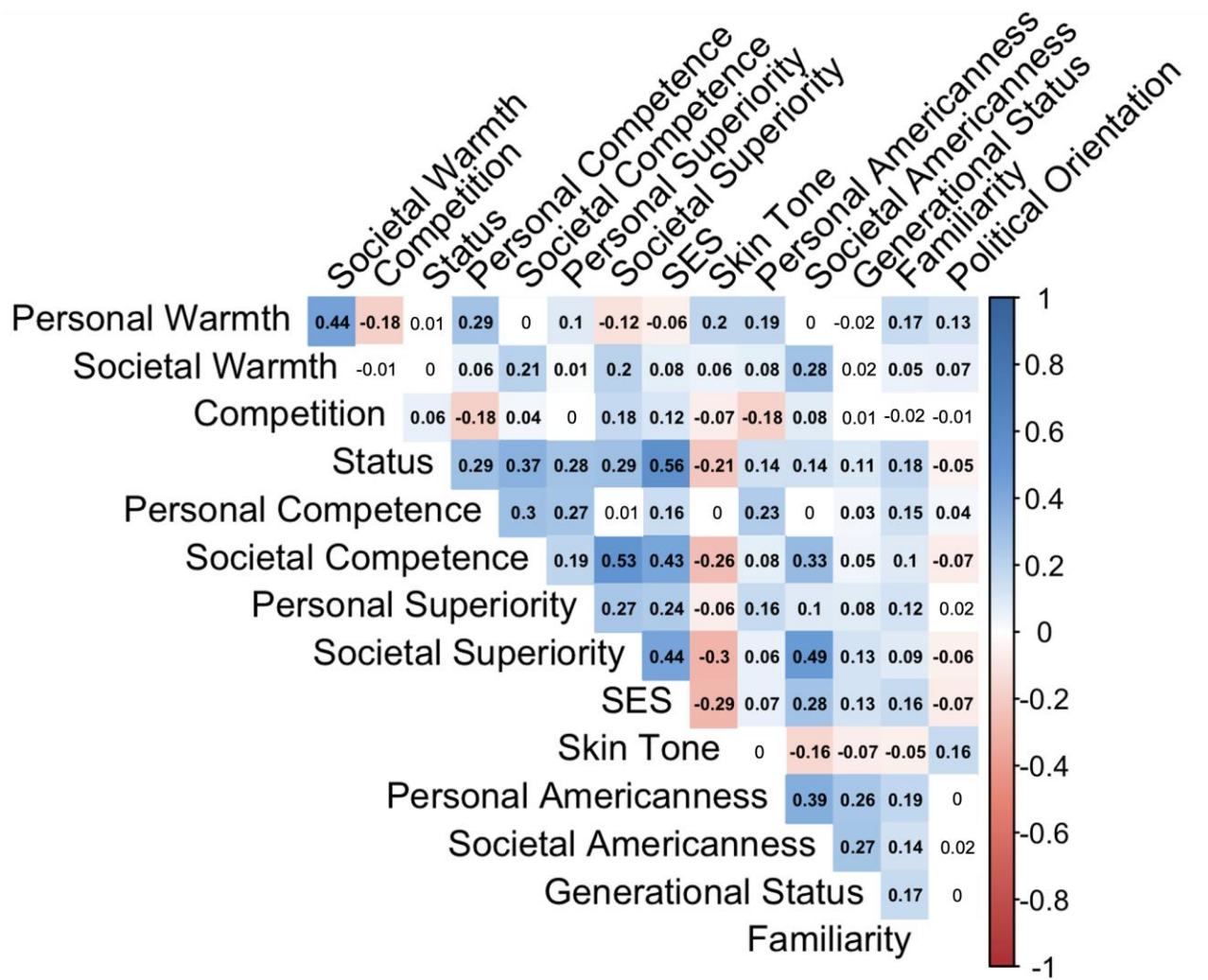


Figure 1. Bivariate correlations. *dfs* ranged from 6,184 to 6,961.

Racial/Nationality Group Differences

We compared perceptions of 34 racial/nationality groups (nine White, eight Asian, six Black, six Hispanic or Latino, three Middle Eastern, and two Pacific Islander groups) on 15 measures of attitudes and stereotypes using ANOVAs and linear regressions. We used deviation coding such that the reference category reflected the grand mean (i.e., the mean of group means).

Warmth-related Attitudes and Stereotypes

Personal warmth. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived personal warmth, $F(33, 6921) = 26.28, p < .001, R^2 = .11, p < .001$. The majority of White groups and all Asian groups except Filipino and Indian Americans were perceived as colder than the grand mean (see Figure 2A). Both Pacific Islander groups were perceived as warmer than the grand mean. Half of the Black groups were perceived as warmer than the grand mean while the rest were not perceived differently than the grand mean. All Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived as warmer than the grand mean. Perceptions of Middle Eastern and Egyptian Americans did not differ from the grand mean, while Iraqi Americans were perceived as colder than the grand mean.

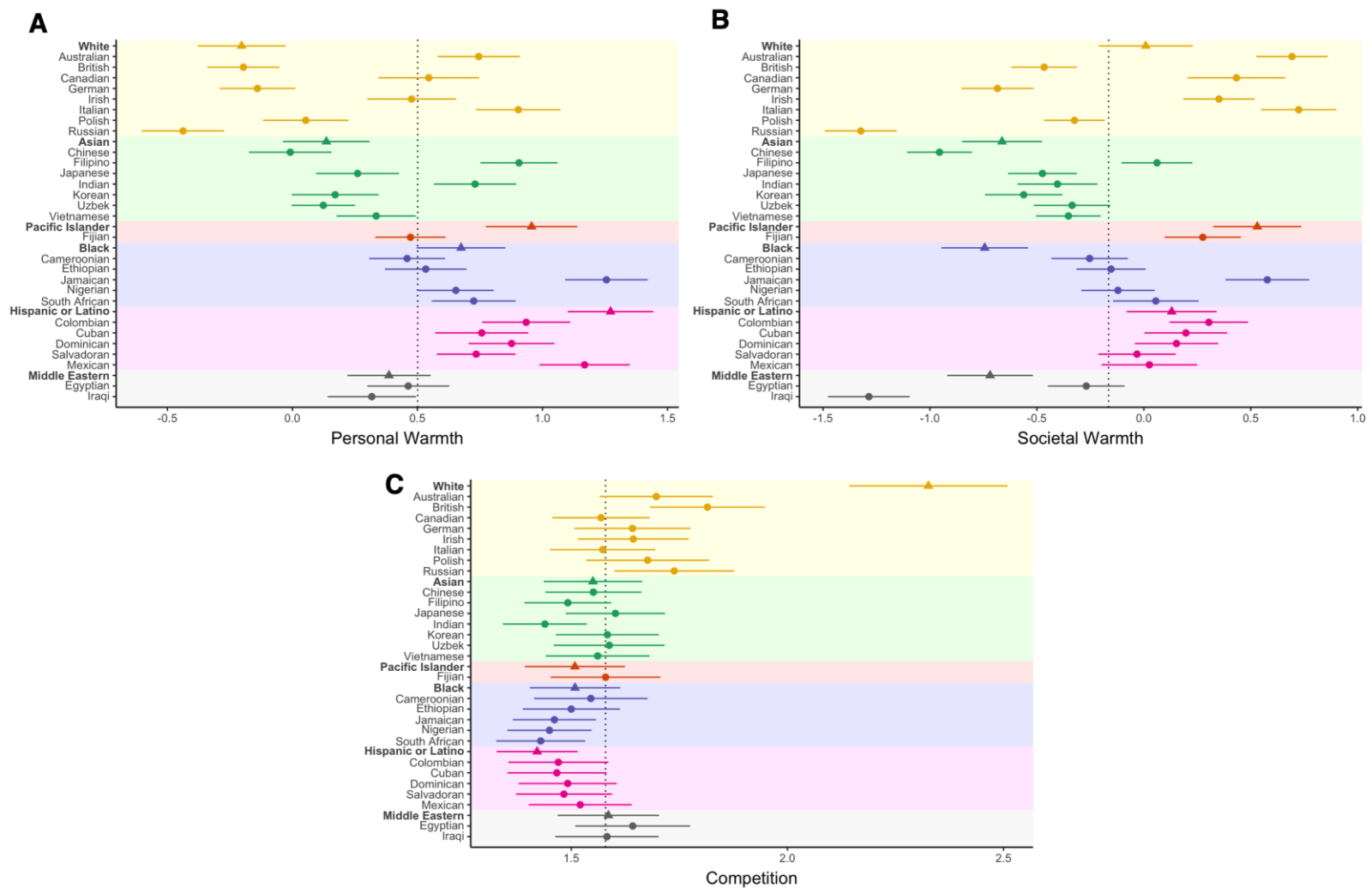


Figure 2. Warmth-related stereotypes and attitudes toward 34 racial/nationality groups. Panels depict group means and 95% confidence intervals on (A) Personal Warmth, (B) Societal Warmth, and (C) Competition. The vertical dashed line represents the grand mean (i.e., the

mean of all group means). The scale range for (A) Personal Warmth and (B) Societal Warmth is -3 to 3. The range for (C) Competition is 1 to 5. *dfs* range from 150 to 255.

Societal warmth. We found a main effect of group in predicting societal warmth, $F(33, 6737) = 31.03, p < .001, R^2 = .13, p < .001$. Five White groups were perceived as warmer than the grand mean, while 3 were perceived as colder (see Figure 2B). Perceptions of Polish Americans did not differ from the grand mean. All Asian groups, except Filipino and Uzbek Americans, were perceived as colder than the grand mean. Both Pacific Islander groups were perceived as warmer than the grand mean. Three Black groups did not differ from the grand mean, 2 were perceived as warmer, and Black Americans were the only Black group to be perceived as colder. All Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived as warmer than the grand mean, except Salvadoran Americans. Middle Eastern groups except Egyptian Americans were perceived as colder than the grand mean.

Competition. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived intergroup competition, $F(33, 6636) = 7.59, p < .001, R^2 = .04, p < .001$. Most groups did not differ from the grand mean (see Figure 2C). Only White groups were perceived to be more competitive than the grand mean, and groups of color were perceived as less competitive. Among the 8 out of 34 groups that differed from the grand mean, three White groups were perceived to be more competitive than the grand mean (White, British, and Russian Americans). Indian, Jamaican, Nigerian, South African, and Hispanic or Latino Americans were perceived to be less competitive than the grand mean.

Status-related Stereotypes

Status. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived status, $F(33, 6419) = 24.62, p < .001, R^2 = .11, p < .001$. There was much variation in perceived status among White groups, with 5 out of 9 White groups perceived to have greater status and 4 groups not perceived differently than the grand mean (see Figure 3A). Asian groups, except Filipino, Vietnamese, and

Uzbek Americans, were perceived to have higher status than the grand mean. Pacific Islander Americans were not perceived differently than the grand mean, while Fijian Americans were perceived to have lower status. All Black and Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived to have lower status than the grand mean, except Nigerian Americans who were not perceived differently. Middle Eastern Americans were perceived to have greater status than the grand mean, while Egyptian and Iraqi Americans were not perceived differently. We also found a main effect of group in predicting perceived SES $F(33, 6513) = 39.22, p < .001, R^2 = .17, p < .001$. All White groups (except Polish Americans), Asian Americans, and all East Asian groups were perceived to have higher SES than the grand mean (see Figure 3B). All other Asian groups, except Indian Americans which did not differ from the grand mean, were perceived to have lower SES. Pacific Islander Americans were not perceived to differ from the grand mean, whereas Fijian Americans were perceived to have lower SES than the grand mean. All Black groups, except Nigerian Americans, and all Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived to have lower SES than the grand mean. Middle Eastern and Egyptian Americans were not perceived differently from the grand mean, while Iraqi Americans were perceived to have lower SES than the grand mean.

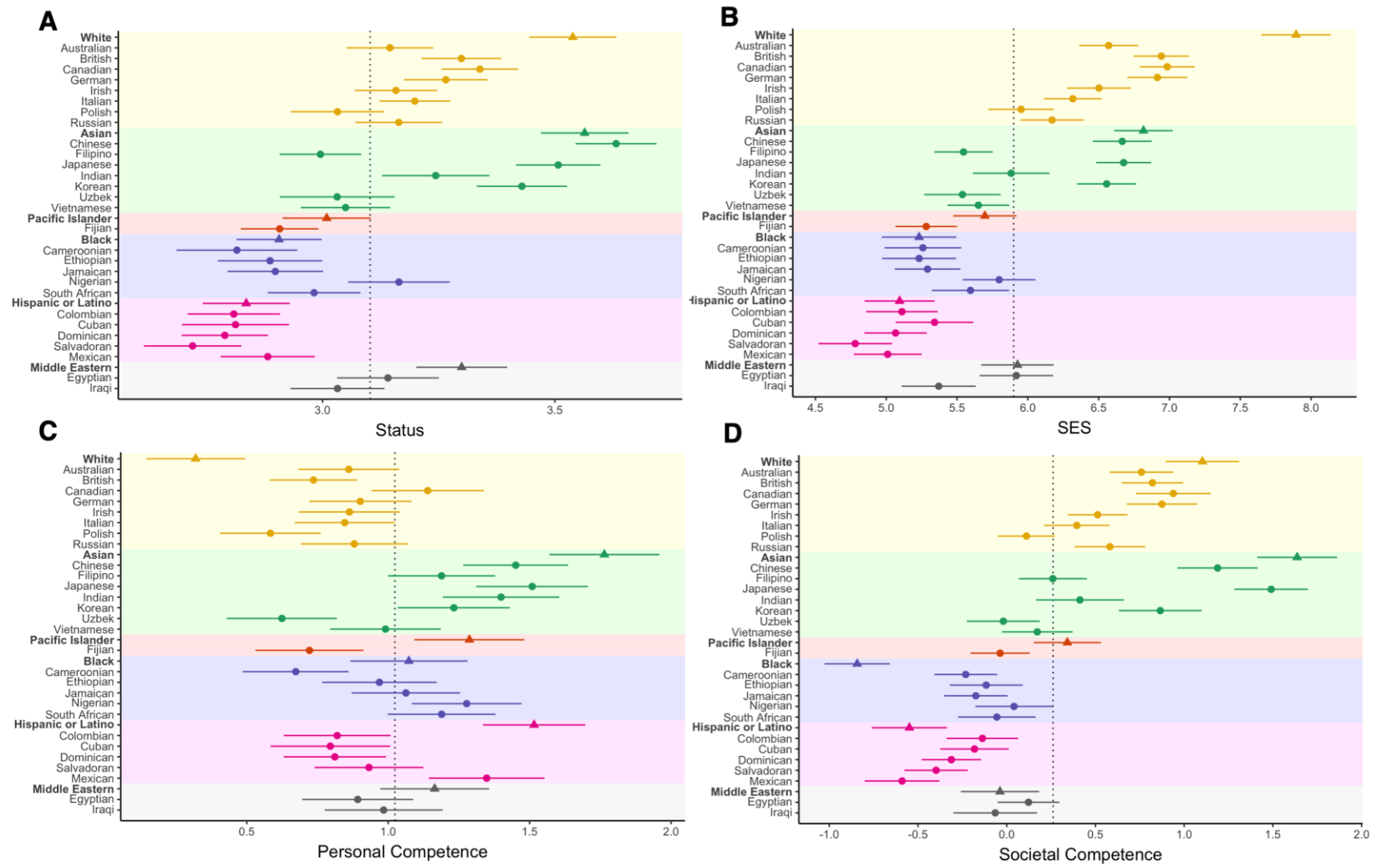


Figure 3. Status-related stereotypes of 34 racial/nationality groups. Panels depict group means and 95% confidence intervals on (A) Status, (B) SES, (C) Personal Competence, and (D) Societal Competence. The vertical dashed line represents the grand mean (i.e., the mean of

all group means). The scale range for (A) Status is 1 to 5, (B) SES is 1 to 10, and (C) Personal Competence and (D) Societal Competence is -3 to 3. *dfs* range from 132 to 252.

Personal Competence. We found a main effect of group on personal competence, $F(33, 6855) = 10.19, p < .001, R^2 = 0.05, p < .001$. The majority of Asian groups were perceived as more competent than the grand mean, while the majority of White, Black, and Middle Eastern groups were perceived to not differ from the grand mean (see Figure 3C). Pacific Islander Americans were perceived as more competent and Fijian Americans were perceived as more incompetent than the grand mean. Half of the Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived as more incompetent than the grand mean, while 2 were perceived above and 1 was perceived similarly to the grand mean.

Societal Competence. We found a main effect of group on societal competence, $F(33, 6726) = 34.69, p < .001, R^2 = .15, p < .001$. Seven out of 9 White groups were perceived as more competent than the grand mean. All East Asian groups and Asian Americans were perceived as more competent than the grand mean, whereas all non-East Asian groups were perceived as not different or less competent compared to the grand mean (see Figure 3D). Pacific Islander Americans were not perceived differently than the grand mean, while Fijian Americans were perceived as less competent. All Black, Hispanic or Latino, and Middle Eastern groups, except Egyptian Americans, were perceived as more incompetent than the grand mean.

Personal Superiority. Personal superiority stereotypes were related to nationality group, $F(33, 6877) = 4.23, p < .001, R^2 = 0.02, p < .001$. Twenty-four out of 34 groups were not perceived differently than the grand mean (see Figure 4A). The few groups perceived as more superior were either White or Asian (i.e., White, British, Asian, Chinese, Indian, and Japanese Americans). Only four groups were perceived as more inferior than the grand mean (i.e., Dominican, Salvadoran, Iraqi, and Fijian Americans).

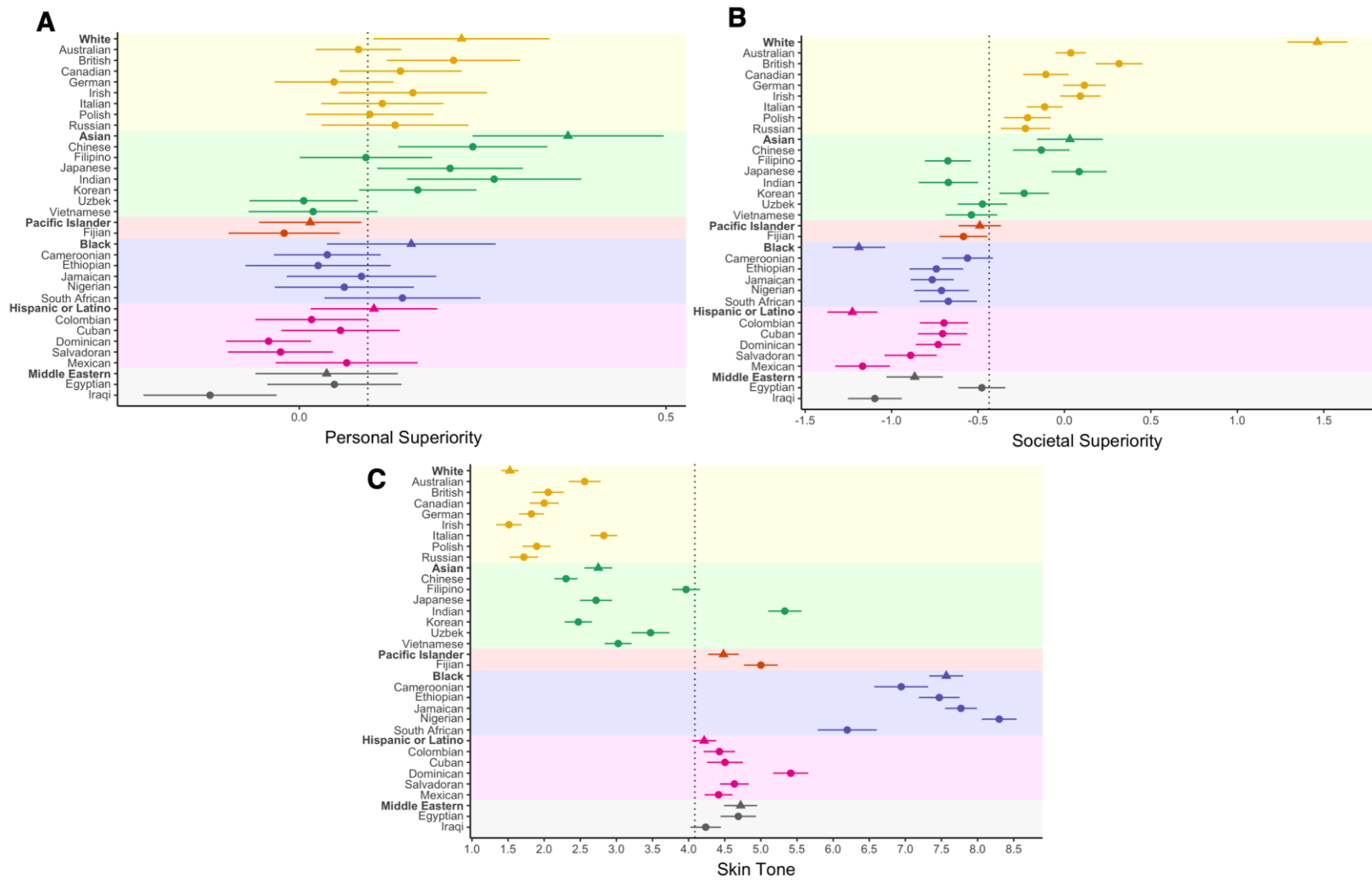


Figure 4. Status-related stereotypes of 34 racial/nationality groups. Panels depict group means and 95% confidence intervals on (A) Personal Superiority, (B) Societal Superiority, and (C) Skin Tone. The vertical dashed line represents the grand mean (i.e., the mean of all

group means). The scale range for (A) Personal Superiority and (B) Societal Superiority is -3 to 3. The range for (C) Skin Tone is 1 to 10. *dfs* range from 140 to 252.

Societal Superiority. We found a main effect of group in predicting societal superiority, $F(33, 6738) = 54.52, p < .001, R^2 = .21, p < .001$. All White, East Asian groups, and Asian Americans were seen as more superior than the grand mean (see Figure 4B). Indian and Filipino Americans were perceived as more inferior than the grand mean, and Vietnamese and Uzbek Americans were not perceived differently. Pacific Islander Americans did not differ from the mean, while Fijian Americans were perceived as more inferior. All Black, Hispanic or Latino, and Middle Eastern groups were perceived as more inferior than the grand mean, except Cameroonian and Egyptian Americans.

Skin Tone. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived skin tone, $F(33, 6484) = 306.80, p < .001, R^2 = .61, p < .001$. All White and Asian groups, except Indian and Filipino Americans, were perceived to have lighter skin tone than the grand mean (see Figure 4C). All Black, Hispanic or Latino, Pacific Islander, and Middle Eastern groups were perceived to have darker skin tone than the grand mean, except Iraqi and Hispanic or Latino Americans who weren't perceived differently.

Americanness-related Stereotypes

Personal Americanness. We found a main effect of group in predicting personal Americanness, $F(33, 6880) = 13.76, p < .001, R^2 = 0.06, p < .001$. Three of nine White groups were perceived as more American than the grand mean, four were perceived as more foreign, and two were not perceived differently (see Figure 5A). All Asian groups, except Indian and Uzbek Americans, were not perceived to differ from the grand mean. Pacific Islander Americans were perceived as more American than the grand mean, while Fijian Americans were not perceived differently. Two Black nationality groups were perceived as more foreign than the grand mean, while 3 groups were not perceived differently. The overall category of Black

Americans was the only Black group to be perceived as more American than the grand mean. Hispanic or Latino and Mexican Americans were more perceived as more American than the grand mean. Other Hispanic or Latino groups were not perceived differently. All Middle Eastern groups were perceived as more foreign than the grand mean.

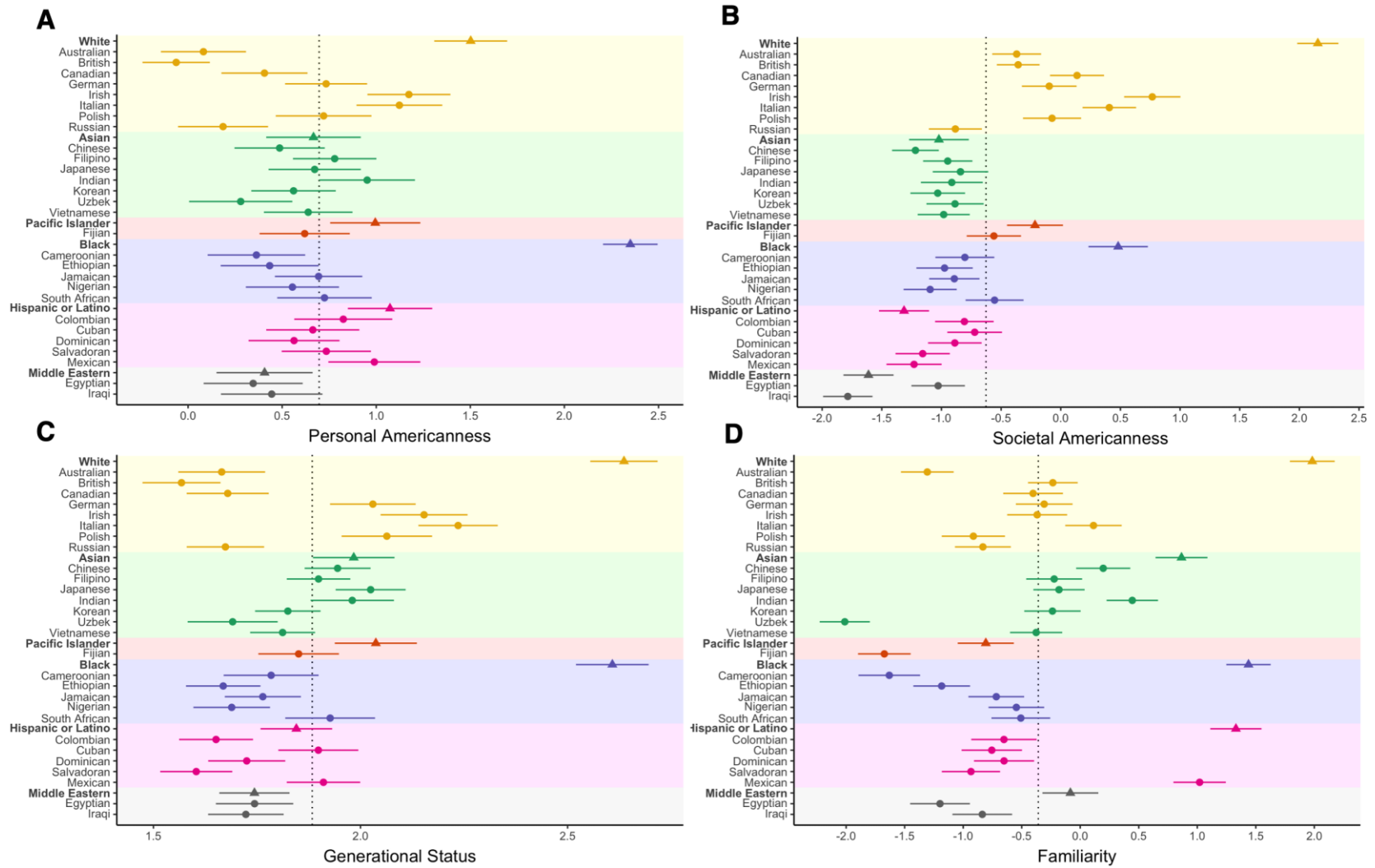


Figure 5. Americanness-related stereotypes of 34 racial/nationality groups. Panels depict group means and 95% confidence intervals on (A) Personal Americanness, (B) Societal Americanness, (C) Generational Status, and (D) Familiarity. The vertical dashed line represents the

grand mean (i.e., the mean of all group means). The scale range for (A) Personal Americanness, (B) Societal Americanness and (D) Familiarity is -3 to 3, and for (C) Generational Status it is 1 to 3. *dfs* range from 139 to 253.

Societal Americanness. We found a main effect of group in predicting societal Americanness, $F(33, 6763) = 46.62, p < .001, R^2 = .19, p < .001$. All White groups, except Russian Americans, were perceived as more American than the grand mean (see Figure 5B). All Asian groups (except Japanese Americans), all Hispanic or Latino groups (except Colombian and Cuban Americans), and all Middle Eastern groups were perceived as more foreign than the grand mean. Pacific Islander Americans were perceived as more American than the grand mean, while Fijian Americans were not perceived differently. Three Black nationality groups were perceived as more foreign than the grand mean, while two groups were not perceived differently. The overall category of Black Americans was the only Black group to be perceived as more American than the grand mean.

Generational Status. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived generational status, $F(33, 6461) = 28.42, p < .001, R^2 = .13, p < .001$. All White groups were perceived to differ from the grand mean (see Figure 5C). Five White groups were perceived to have higher generational status from the grand mean, while four were perceived to have lower generational status. Asian, Indian, and Japanese Americans were perceived to have greater generational status compared to the grand mean. Other Asian groups, except Uzbek Americans, did not differ from the grand mean. Pacific Islander Americans were perceived to have higher generational status than the grand mean, while Fijian Americans were not perceived differently. Three Black nationality groups were perceived to have lower generational status than the grand mean, while 2 groups were not perceived differently. The only Black group which was perceived to have greater generational status than the grand mean was Black Americans. Perceptions of 3 Hispanic or Latino groups, including Hispanic or Latino Americans, did not differ from the

grand mean, while the other 3 were perceived to have lower generational status. All Middle Eastern groups were perceived to have lower generational status than the grand mean.

Familiarity. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived familiarity, $F(33, 6891) = 55, p < .001, R^2 = .21, p < .001$. All racial groups were perceived to have greater familiarity than the grand mean, except Pacific Islander Americans (see Figure 5D). Two White groups were perceived as more familiar than the grand mean, while 4 groups did not differ, and 3 groups were perceived to be more unfamiliar. Three Asian groups were perceived to be more familiar than the grand mean, while 4 Asian groups did not differ from the grand mean and Uzbek Americans were perceived as more unfamiliar. Pacific Islander and Fijian Americans were both perceived as more unfamiliar than the grand mean. Three Black nationality groups were perceived to have lower familiarity than the grand mean, while 2 groups were not perceived differently. Black Americans were perceived as more familiar than the grand mean. Hispanic or Latino and Mexican Americans were perceived as more familiar than the grand mean, while other Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived as more unfamiliar. While Middle Eastern Americans were perceived as more familiar than the grand mean, Egyptian and Iraqi Americans were perceived as more unfamiliar.

Stereotypes of Political Orientation

Political Orientation. We found a main effect of group in predicting perceived political orientation, $F(33, 6647) = 17.3, p < .001, R^2 = .08, p < .001$. The majority of White groups were perceived as more conservative than the grand mean, and the majority of Asian groups were not perceived differently than the grand mean (see Figure 6). Pacific Islander Americans were seen as more liberal than the grand mean, while Fijian Americans were not perceived to differ. All Black groups were seen as more liberal than the grand mean. Half of the Hispanic or Latino

groups were not perceived differently from the grand mean, while two groups were perceived as more liberal, and Cuban Americans were perceived as more conservative. All Middle Eastern groups were seen as more conservative than the grand mean.

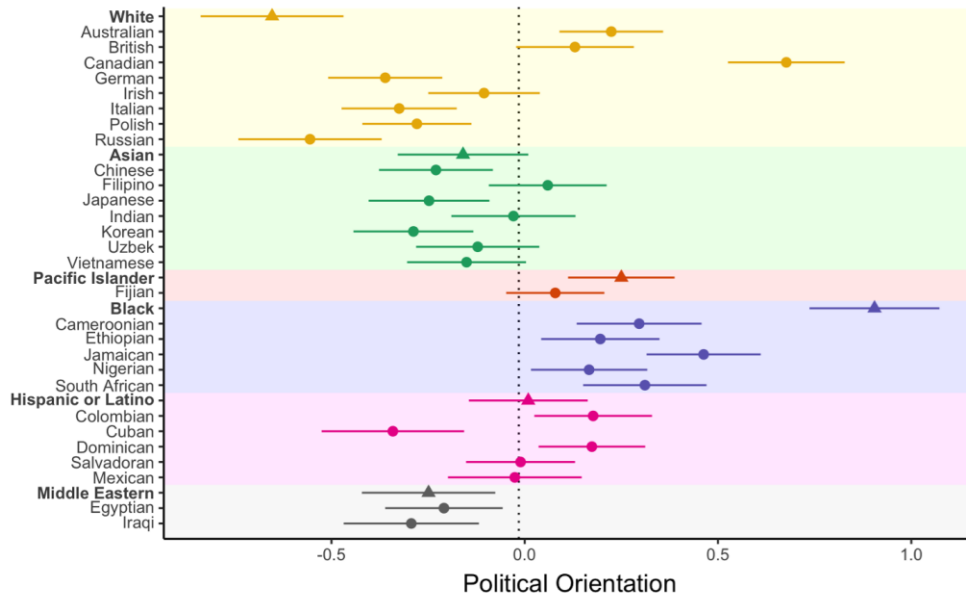


Figure 6. Political Orientation stereotype of 34 racial/nationality groups. The panel depicts group means and 95% confidence intervals on Political Orientation. The vertical dashed line represents the grand mean (i.e., the mean of all group means). The scale range for Political Orientation is -3 to 3. *df* ranges from 148 to 246.

Nationality versus Racial/Ethnic Groups

We compared each nationality group to their corresponding racial/ethnic group (e.g., mean personal warmth toward Egyptian Americans compared to Middle Eastern Americans) to examine how stereotypes of nationality groups differ from stereotypes of racial/ethnic groups.

Warmth-related Attitudes and Stereotypes

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in personal warmth?

With the exception of Middle Eastern Americans $F(2, 591) = .68, p = .51$, all nationality groups were perceived differently than their associated racial/ethnic groups on personal warmth, $F_s =$

6.34 - 30.85, $ps < .001$, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(380.03) = 4.11$, $p < .001$. Five of the White nationality groups were perceived as warmer than White Americans ($Bs = .51$ to $.83$, $ps < .001$), while the rest did not differ. Most Asian nationality groups were not perceived differently from Asian Americans, but two Non-East Asian American groups were perceived to be warmer: Filipino ($B = .63$, $p < .001$) and Indian ($B = .48$, $p < .001$) Americans. Similarly, most Black nationality groups did not differ from Black Americans. The only exception was Jamaican Americans ($B = .47$, $p < .001$). Finally, all Hispanic or Latino nationality groups (except Mexican Americans) were perceived as colder than Hispanic or Latino Americans ($Bs = -.43$ to $-.27$, $ps < .01$).

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in societal warmth?

With the exception of Hispanic or Latino Americans $F(5, 1134) = 1.35$, $p = .24$, and Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(376.81) = 1.83$, $p = .068$, all nationality groups were perceived differently than their associated racial/ethnic groups on societal warmth, $Fs = 12.43 - 54.7$, $ps < .001$. Half of the White nationality groups were perceived as warmer than White Americans ($Bs = .23$ to $.48$, $ps < .01$), while the other half were perceived as colder ($Bs = -.91$ to $-.23$, $ps < .05$). All non-East Asian nationality groups were perceived as warmer than Asian Americans (ADD, $ps < .05$). Among East Asian groups, Chinese Americans ($B = -.23$, $p = .016$) were perceived as colder than Asian Americans, while the other groups did not differ. All Black groups were perceived as warmer than Black Americans ($Bs = .35$ to $.94$, $ps < .001$). Egyptian Americans ($B = .38$, $p < .001$) were perceived as warmer than Middle Eastern Americans, while Iraqi Americans did not differ.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in competition?

Perceived competition of nationality groups did not differ from the racial/ethnic group they are associated with $Fs = .27 - .92$, $ps = .49 - .76$, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(372.57) = -.81$, $p = .42$, except for

White groups, $F(8, 1797) = 11.67, p < .001$. All White nationality groups were perceived as lower in competition than White Americans ($B_s = -.73$ to $-.49, p_s < .001$).

Status-related Stereotypes

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in status? With the exception of Hispanic or Latino $F(5, 1084) = 1.09, p = .37$, and Pacific Islander groups, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(349.30) = 1.57, p = .12$, all nationality groups were perceived differently than their associated racial/ethnic groups on status, $F_s = 5.07 - 26.87, p_s < .01$. All White groups were perceived to have lower status than White Americans ($B_s = -.77$ to $-.31, p_s < .01$). None of the East Asian groups and Indian Americans were perceived differently than Asian Americans, while other non-East Asian groups were all perceived to have lower SES ($B_s = -.77$ to $-.43, p_s < .001$). None of the Black nationality groups were perceived differently than Black Americans, except Nigerian Americans ($B = -.34, p < .001$). Egyptian and Iraqi Americans were perceived to have lower status than Middle Eastern Americans ($B_s = -.22, \text{ to } .37, p_s < .05$). Except for Hispanic or Latino groups, $F(5, 1104) = 1.91, p = .091$, all of the nationality groups were perceived differently on SES than their associated racial/ethnic groups, $F_s = 3.38 - 27.95, p_s < .01$. White groups were perceived to have lower socioeconomic status than White Americans ($B_s = -1.18$ to $-.55, p_s < .001$). None of the East Asian groups were perceived differently than Asian Americans, while non-East Asian groups were all perceived to have lower SES ($B_s = -.76$ to $0.56, p_s < .001$). Fijian Americans were also perceived to have lower SES than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(365.94) = 2.60, p = .0096$. Perceptions of Black nationality groups did not differ from Black Americans, except for Nigerian ($B = -.31, p = .0016$), and South African Americans ($B = -.20, p = .049$). Iraqi Americans ($B = -.31, p = .0027$) were lower in SES than Middle Eastern Americans, while Egyptian Americans did not differ.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in personal competence?

With the exception of Middle Eastern groups, $F(2, 584) = 1.91, p = .15$, all nationality groups were perceived differently than their associated racial/ethnic groups on personal competence, $F_s = 3.75 - 10.94, p_s < .01$. All White nationality groups were perceived as more competent than White Americans ($B_s = .20 - .62, p_s < .05$). All Asian groups were perceived to be more incompetent than Asian Americans ($B_s = -.78$ to $-.21, p_s < .05$), except Japanese Americans which did not differ. Fijian Americans were perceived as less competent than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(394) = 4.07, p < .001$. Most Black nationality groups were perceived similarly to Black Americans, with the exception of Cameroonian Americans ($B = .28, p = .0084$). All Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived as more incompetent than Hispanic or Latino Americans ($B_s = -.42$ to $-.52, p_s < .001$), except Mexican Americans, which didn't differ.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in societal competence?

With the exception of Middle Eastern groups, $F(2, 571) = .83, p = .44$, all nationality groups were perceived differently than their associated racial/ethnic groups on societal competence, $F_s = 3.45 - 10.1, p_s < .01$. All White groups were perceived as lower in societal competence than White Americans ($B_s = -.70$ to $-.19, p_s < .05$), except for Canadian and German Americans, which didn't differ. All Asian groups were perceived to be more incompetent than Asian Americans ($B_s = -.98$ to $-.27, p_s < .05$), except Japanese Americans, which didn't differ. Fijian Americans were perceived as less competent than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(380.59) = 2.94, p = .0035$. All Black groups were perceived as more competent than Black Americans ($B_s = .42$ to $.60, p_s < .001$). Perceptions of Hispanic or Latino nationality groups did not differ from perceptions of Hispanic or Latino Americans, except Colombian ($B = .30, p = .0034$) and Cuban Americans ($B = .26, p = .0089$).

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in personal superiority?

Except for Asian, $F(7, 1635) = 5.69, p < .001$, and Middle Eastern $F(2, 588) = 3.86, p = .022$ groups, none of the nationality groups were perceived differently on personal superiority than their associated racial/ethnic groups, $F_s = 1.01 - 1.92, p_s = .088 - .41$, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(389.14) = .68, p = .50$. All Asian groups were perceived as more incompetent than Asian Americans ($B_s = -.49$ to $-.22, p_s < .05$), except Chinese and Indian Americans, which didn't differ. For Middle Eastern groups, Iraqi Americans ($B = -.24, p = .018$) were perceived as more inferior than Middle Eastern Americans.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in societal superiority?

In societal superiority, all nationality groups were perceived to differ from the racial/ethnic groups they are associated with, $F_s = 7.81 - 64.52, p_s < .001$, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(377.06) = 1, p = .32$. All White nationality groups were perceived as more inferior than White Americans ($B_s = -1.54 - -1.05, p_s < .001$). All Asian groups were perceived to be more inferior than Asian Americans ($B_s = -.60$ to $-.22, p_s < .05$), except Chinese and Japanese Americans, which didn't differ. Fijian Americans were perceived as more inferior than Pacific Islander Americans. All Black nationality groups were perceived as more superior than Black Americans ($B_s = .38$ to $.57, p_s < .001$). All Hispanic or Latino groups, except Mexican Americans, were perceived as more superior than Hispanic or Latino Americans ($B_s = .32$ to $.51, p_s < .001$). Egyptian Americans ($B = .35, p < .001$) were perceived as more superior than Middle Eastern Americans, while Iraqi Americans were perceived as more inferior ($B = -.21, p = .036$).

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in skin tone? Skin tone perceptions of all nationality groups differed from racial/ethnic groups they are associated with $F_s = 5.35 - 94.95, p_s < .01$. All White nationality groups, except Irish and Russian Americans,

were perceived to have darker skin tone than White Americans ($Bs = .21$ to $.92$, $ps < .05$).

Among Asian groups, Chinese Americans ($B = -.26$, $p = .0021$) were perceived to have lighter skin tone than Asian Americans, while Filipino ($B = .70$, $p < .001$), Indian ($B = 1.50$, $p < .001$), and Uzbek ($B = .42$, $p < .001$) Americans were perceived to have darker skin tone than Asian Americans. Perceptions of Korean and Japanese Americans did not differ from Asian Americans. Fijian Americans were also perceived to have darker skin tone than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}(358.73)} = -3.22$, $p = .0014$. For Black groups, Nigerian Americans ($B = .34$, $p < .001$), were perceived to have darker skin tone than Black Americans. South African ($B = -.64$, $p < .001$) and Cameroonian Americans ($B = -.29$, $p = .0055$) were perceived to have lighter skin tone than Black Americans, while other groups were not perceived differently. Among Hispanic or Latino groups, Dominican ($B = .80$, $p < .001$) and Salvadoran ($B = .28$, $p = .0047$) Americans were perceived to have darker skin tone than Hispanic or Latino Americans, while other groups were not perceived differently. Iraqi Americans ($B = -.30$, $p = .0031$) were perceived to have lighter skin tone than Middle Eastern Americans, while perceptions of Egyptian Americans did not differ.

Americanness-related Stereotypes

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in personal

Americanness? Except for Middle Eastern groups, $F(2, 585) = .13$, $p = .88$, all nationality groups were perceived differently on personal Americanness than their associated racial/ethnic groups, $Fs = 2.42 - 40.36$, $ps < .05$. All White nationality groups were perceived as more foreign than White Americans ($Bs = -.19$ to $-.92$, $ps < .05$). None of the Asian nationality groups were perceived differently than Asian Americans, except Uzbek Americans ($B = -.22$, $p = .04$). Fijian Americans were perceived as more foreign than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}(389.82)} = 2.17$, $p = .031$. All Black nationality groups were perceived as more foreign than Black

Americans ($Bs = -1.08$ to $.88$, $ps < .001$). Cuban, Dominican, and Salvadoran Americans ($Bs = -.30$ to $-.20$, $ps < .05$) were perceived to be more foreign than Hispanic or Latino Americans, while perceptions of Colombian and Mexican Americans did not differ.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in societal

Americanness? Except for Asian $F(7, 1617) = 1.05$, $p = .40$, groups, all nationality groups were perceived differently on societal Americanness than their associated racial/ethnic groups, $F_s = 4.49 - 69.58$, $ps < .001$. All White nationality groups were perceived as more foreign than White Americans ($Bs = -1.7$ to $-.78$, $ps < .001$). Fijian Americans were perceived as more foreign than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(385.99) = 2.07$, $p = .039$. Similarly, all Black groups were perceived as more foreign than Black Americans ($Bs = -.58$ to $-.89$, $ps < .001$). Colombian, Cuban, and Dominican Americans ($Bs = .26$ to $.37$, $ps < .01$) were perceived to be more American than Hispanic or Latino Americans, while perceptions of Salvadoran and Mexican Americans did not differ. Egyptian Americans were perceived as more American than Middle Eastern Americans ($B = .38$, $p < .001$), while Iraqi Americans were not perceived differently.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in generational status?

Except for Middle Eastern $F(2, 549) = .068$, $p = .93$, groups, all nationality groups were perceived differently on generational status than their associated racial/ethnic groups, $F_s = 5.60 - 51.89$, $ps < .001$. All White groups were perceived as lower in generational status than White Americans, ($Bs = -1.24$ to $.51$ $ps < .001$). For Asian nationality groups, Korean ($B = -.25$, $p = .014$), Uzbek ($B = -.46$, $p < .001$), and Vietnamese ($B = -.27$, $p = .0071$), Americans were perceived to have lower generational status than Asian Americans, while perceptions of other groups did not differ. Fijian Americans were perceived to have lower generation than Pacific Islander Americans, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(360.8) = 2.63$, $p = .0089$. All Black groups were also perceived

as lower in generational status than Black Americans ($Bs = -1.24$ to $-.90$, $ps < .001$). Only Colombian and Salvadoran Americans ($Bs = -.31$, $-.38$, $ps < .01$) were perceived to have lower generational status than Hispanic or Latino Americans, while stereotypes of other groups did not differ.

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in familiarity? In

perceived familiarity, all nationality groups (with one exception) were perceived as less familiar from racial/ethnic groups they are associated with $Fs = 20.57 - 63.98$, $ps < .001$, $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(392.41) = 5.17$, $p < .001$. The only exception was Mexican Americans, who did not differ from Hispanic or Latino Americans.

Political Orientation-related Stereotypes

How do nationality groups differ from racial/ethnic groups in political orientation?

Except for Middle Eastern $F(2, 567) = .23$, $p = .79$, and Pacific Islander $t_{\text{Pacific Islander}}(370.68) = 1.79$, $p = .075$, groups, all nationality groups were perceived differently on political orientation than their associated racial/ethnic groups, $Fs = 2.21 - 27.29$, $ps < .05$. All White groups were perceived to be more liberal than White Americans ($Bs = .24$ to 1.1 , $ps < .01$), except Russian Americans, which didn't differ. Follow-up linear regression analyses did not show any group differences among Asian Americans. All Black groups were perceived to be more conservative than Black Americans ($Bs = -.64$ to $-.38$, $ps < .001$). None of the Hispanic or Latino nationality groups were perceived differently than Hispanic or Latino Americans, except Cuban Americans ($B = -.31$, $p = .002$).

Summary. Overall, White nationality groups were perceived differently than White Americans on all dimensions except personal superiority. Asian nationality groups were perceived differently than Asian Americans on all dimensions except competition and societal

Americanness. For most of the outcomes where Asian nationality groups were perceived differently than Asian Americans, non-East Asian groups (Filipino, Indian, Uzbek, and Vietnamese Americans) were viewed more differently than East Asian groups (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans). The one Pacific Islander nationality group (Fijian Americans) we included in our study was perceived differently than Pacific Islander Americans on all dimensions except personal competence, personal superiority, personal Americanness, and familiarity. On all measures which measured valence (e.g. warm vs. cold, American vs. foreign), Fijian Americans were perceived more negatively than Pacific Islander Americans. Black nationality groups were perceived differently than Black Americans on all dimensions except competition and personal superiority. Hispanic or Latino nationality groups were perceived differently than Hispanic or Latino Americans on all dimensions except societal warmth, competition, personal superiority, status, and perceived SES. Middle Eastern nationality groups were perceived differently than Middle Eastern Americans on dimensions other than personal warmth, competition, personal competence, societal competence, personal Americanness, generational status, and political orientation.

Personal versus Societal Perceptions

We compared personal and societal stereotypes by examining Personal Warmth, Personal Competence, Personal Superiority, Personal Americanness, Societal Warmth, Societal Competence, Societal Superiority, and Societal Americanness. Personal stereotypes (average $M = .58$, $SD = 1.39$) were generally more positively valenced than societal stereotypes (average $M = -.23$, $SD = 1.54$; $t(54,010) = 64.72$, $p < .001$.), aligning with previous findings (Kotzur et al., 2020). However, personal stereotypes and societal stereotypes were still moderately positively related (average $r = .37$; see Figure 1).

We also examined how racial/nationality groups are distributed on dimensions of personal competence vs. personal warmth, societal competence vs. societal warmth, personal superiority vs. personal Americanness, and societal superiority vs. societal Americanness. We used 2 (dimension) X 34 (group) repeated measures ANOVAs. While personal warmth was negatively predicted by competition ($r = -.18, p < .001$), societal warmth and competition were not related. Both personal and societal competence were predicted by status ($r = .29, p < .001$; $r = .37, p < .001$, respectively). Additionally, perceived skin tone and SES were both related to status ($r = -.21, p < .001$; $r = .56, p < .001$, respectively).

Do personal and societal stereotypes differ from each other? We found that participants have more positive personal stereotypes than societal stereotypes for all pairs of group perception variables: personal warmth was greater than societal warmth, $t(13,538) = 28.70, p < .001$, personal competence was greater than societal competence, $t(13,482) = 29.40, p < .001$, personal Americanness was greater than societal Americanness, $t(13,714) = 43.25, p < .001$, and personal superiority was greater than societal superiority, $t(10,827) = 31.26, p < .001$.

Do the relationships between personal perceptions and societal stereotypes depend on racial/nationality group? For all pairs of stereotype variables, there was an interaction between group and societal stereotypes in predicting personal stereotypes. As societal stereotypes became more positive, personal perceptions were more likely to become positive for some White groups. For Black and Hispanic or Latino Americans, the opposite was true: as societal stereotypes became more negative, personal perceptions were likely to become more positive toward Black and Hispanic or Latino Americans.

More specifically, societal warmth was positively related to personal warmth for Australian ($B = .31, p < .001$), Canadian ($B = .24, p < .001$), German ($B = .14, p = .05$), Irish (B

= .24, $p < .001$), Italian ($B = .18, p = .01$), and Polish ($B = .21, p = .02$) Americans. Societal warmth was negatively related to personal warmth for White ($B = -.22, p < .001$), Indian ($B = -.25, p < .001$), Black ($B = -.13, p = .02$), Cameroonian ($B = -.25, p = .004$), Hispanic or Latino ($B = -.25, p < .001$), Mexican ($B = -.17, p = .002$), Middle Eastern ($B = -.22, p < .001$), Egyptian ($B = -.19, p = .009$), and Iraqi ($B = -.26, p < .001$) Americans.

Societal competence was positively related to personal competence for Australian ($B = .26, p = .002$), Canadian ($B = .21, p = .002$), Italian ($B = .25, p < .001$), and Russian ($B = .28, p < .001$) Americans. It was negatively related to personal competence for Black ($B = -.17, p = .02$), South African ($B = -.14, p = .04$), Hispanic or Latino ($B = -.34, p < .001$), Salvadoran ($B = -.17, p = .05$), and Middle Eastern ($B = -.13, p = .03$) Americans.

Societal superiority was positively related to personal superiority for British ($B = .34, p < .001$), German ($B = .24, p = .005$), Irish ($B = .23, p = .01$), and Italian ($B = .27, p = .008$) Americans. It was negatively related to personal superiority for Indian ($B = -.23, p < .001$), Uzbek ($B = -.27, p = .006$), Black ($B = -.17, p = .01$), Cameroonian ($B = -.37, p < .001$), Hispanic or Latino ($B = -.21, p = .003$), and Dominican ($B = -.21, p = .02$) Americans. Finally, societal Americanness was positively related to personal Americanness for Australian ($B = .23, p = .003$), Canadian ($B = .22, p = .001$), Irish ($B = .18, p = .006$), and Polish ($B = .20, p = .005$) Americans. It was negatively related to personal Americanness for Black ($B = -.24, p < .001$) and Hispanic or Latino ($B = -.26, p < .001$) Americans.

How are racial/nationality groups distributed on personal competence vs. personal warmth? There was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 13776) = 575.63, p < .001$, and of group, $F(33, 13776) = 22.26, p < .001$. There was also a dimension by group interaction effect, $F(33, 13776) = 12.24, p < .001$. Average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, (see Figure

7). Twenty-nine out of 34 groups were in the high personal competence and warmth quadrant (compared to a point of neutrality).

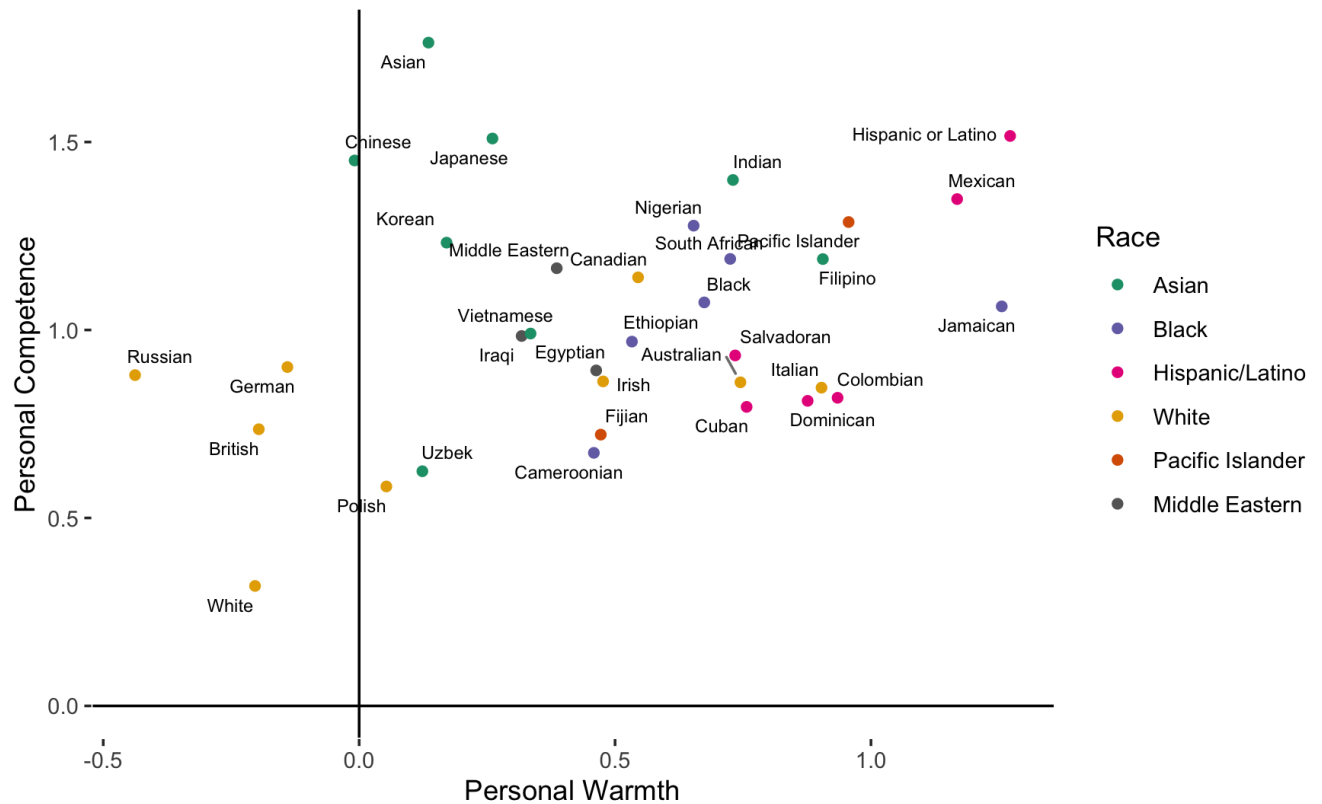


Figure 7. Means of racial/nationality groups on personal warmth and personal competence. Both dimensions range from -3 to 3, with 0 indicating neutrality.

How are racial/nationality groups distributed on societal competence vs. societal warmth? There was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 13463) = 353.12, p < .001$, and of group, $F(33, 13463) = 26.81, p < .001$. There was also a dimension by group interaction effect, $F(33, 13463) = 39.25, p < .001$. Average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, (see Figure 8). There was a wide distribution of groups across quadrants, with the most crowded quadrant being the low societal warmth and high societal competence quadrant.

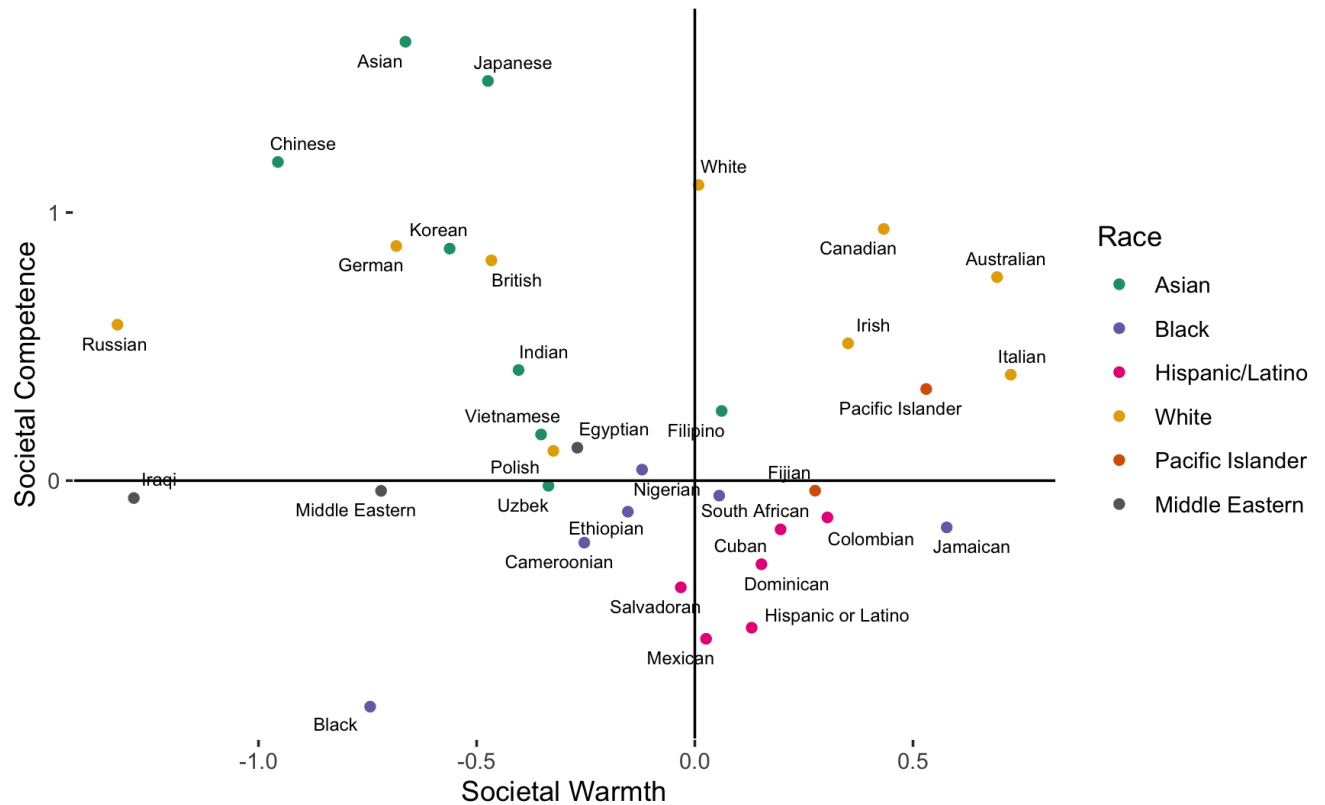


Figure 8. Means of racial/nationality groups on societal warmth and societal competence.

Both dimensions range from -3 to 3, with 0 indicating neutrality.

How are racial/nationality groups distributed on personal Americanness vs. personal superiority? There was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 13757) = 747.53, p < .001$, and of group, $F(33, 13757) = 13.43, p < .001$. There was also a dimension by group interaction effect, $F(33, 13757) = 11.53, p < .001$. Average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, (see Figure 9). Twenty-nine out of 34 groups were in the high personal superiority and Americanness quadrant.

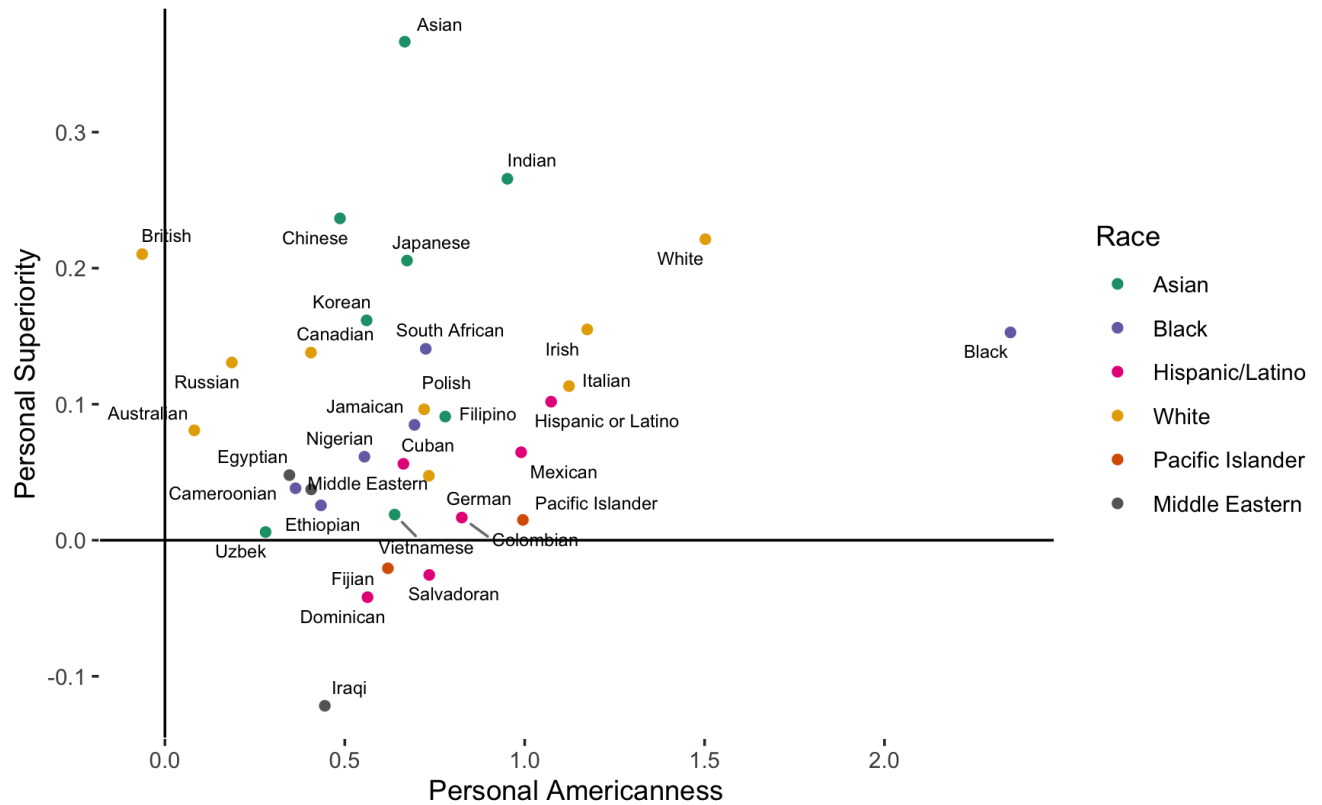


Figure 9. Means of racial/nationality groups on personal Americanness and personal superiority. Both dimensions range from -3 to 3, with 0 indicating neutrality.

How are racial/nationality groups distributed on societal Americanness and societal superiority? There was a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 13501) = 64.98, p < .001$, and of group, $F(33, 13501) = 80.87, p < .001$. There was also a dimension by group interaction effect, $F(33, 13501) = 17.00, p < .001$. Average ratings were plotted on a two-dimensional space, (see Figure 10). Twenty-four out of 34 groups were in the low societal superiority and Americanness quadrant. The distribution of four racial/ethnic categories (i.e., White, Black, Asian, Hispanic or Latino) appeared similar to Zou & Cheryan’s (2017) findings in terms of their positions in relation to each other.

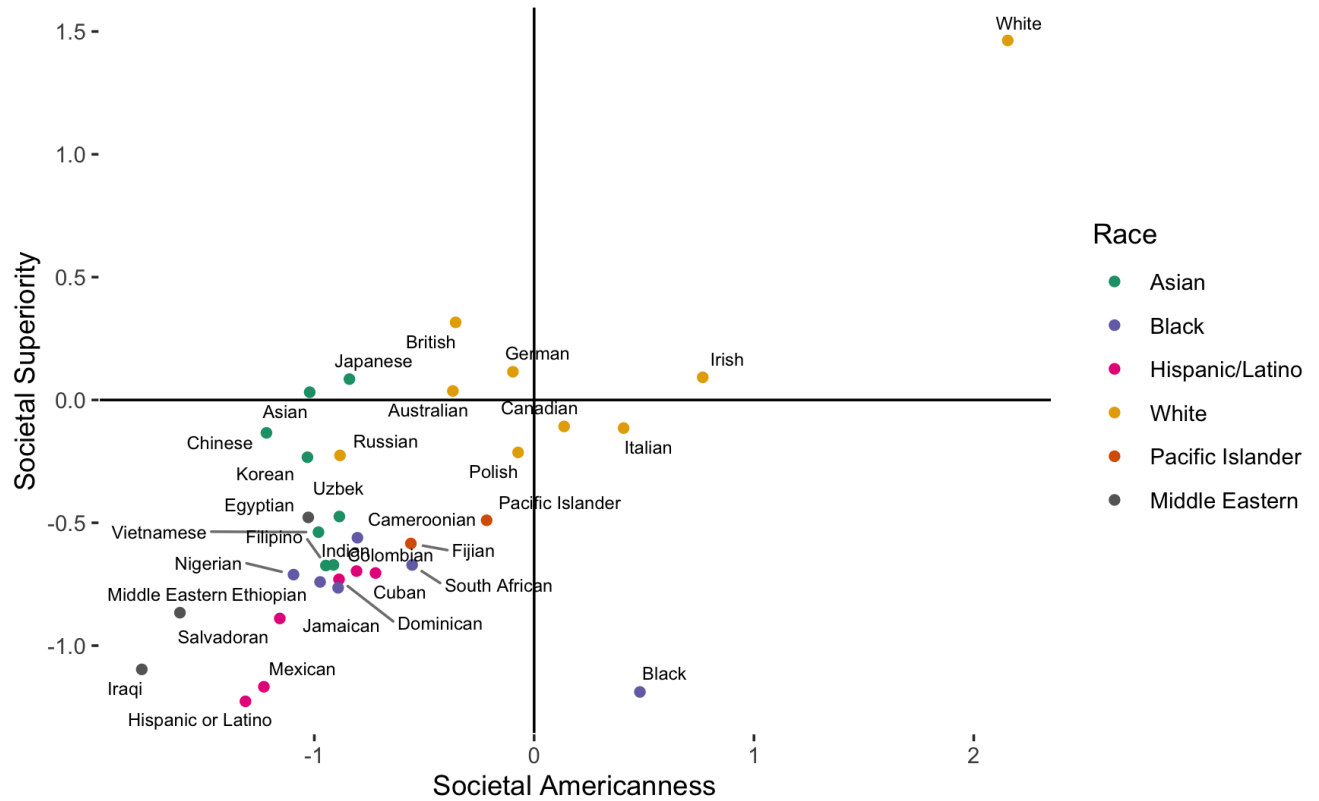


Figure 10. Means of racial/nationality groups on societal Americanness and societal superiority. Both dimensions range from -3 to 3, with 0 indicating neutrality.

Discussion

Across 7,050 total participants, we investigated stereotypes and attitudes toward 34 racial/nationality groups. Stereotypes and attitudes toward nationality groups varied greatly, generally differing from stereotypes and attitudes toward the racial/ethnic groups they were associated with. Notably, our study uncovered novel findings regarding stereotypes of certain nationality groups that had not been previously studied for any dimension of interest. Participants also reported having more positive personal stereotypes than societal stereotypes for all dimensions studied.

Stereotype Dimensions

In terms of warmth-related stereotypes and attitudes, personal and societal warmth moderately correlated with each other ($r = .44, p < .001$). On both dimensions, the majority of Asian groups were perceived as colder than the grand mean, and Hispanic or Latino groups were perceived as warmer, supporting previous findings (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Additionally, certain nationality groups were consistently perceived to be warmer than the grand mean (e.g., Nigerian and Australian Americans), and some were perceived as colder (e.g., Vietnamese and Russian Americans), while others did not deviate from the grand mean (e.g., Egyptian and Cameroonian Americans). These findings further demonstrate the variation in warmth stereotypes and attitudes toward nationality groups. While previous work suggests that perceived competition would predict warmth stereotypes and attitudes (Fiske et al., 2002; Zarate et al., 2004), we did not find a strong or moderate relationship between competition and dimensions of warmth. Only certain White groups were perceived as more competitive than the grand mean, and only certain non-White groups were seen as less competitive, while the majority of groups were not perceived to differ from the grand mean. The reason for this disparity might be that White groups acquire resources more easily in the United States compared to many non-White groups. A meta-analysis of field experiments in hiring since 1989 demonstrated that African Americans and Latino Americans were less likely to be hired than White Americans, even when applicant background was taken into account (Quillian, 2017).

The majority of status-related stereotypes were related to each other and showed similar patterns (see Figure 1). In status-related stereotypes, White groups were generally perceived to be above or not different from the grand mean. East Asian groups and Asian Americans were generally perceived to have higher status, with non-East Asian groups either being perceived as not different from or below the grand mean. Stereotypes of Pacific Islander groups aligned with

non-East Asian groups on most status-related stereotypes. Black and Hispanic or Latino groups were generally perceived to have lower status than the grand mean, and stereotypes of Middle Eastern groups did not demonstrate a clear pattern. Consistent with prior research (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), our findings suggest a perceived status hierarchy in which White and Asian Americans are ranked higher than Black and Hispanic or Latino Americans. However, our study also revealed some divergent findings. For instance, Previous research has shown that Arab Americans are often perceived as inferior to other racial and ethnic groups such as White, Asian, Black, and Latino Americans (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). In contrast, our study on Egyptian Americans, an Arab-majority nationality group, found that they were generally not stereotyped differently in terms of status compared to the overall mean. This might indicate that racial/ethnic labels are perceived differently than nationality labels. Additionally, although some status-related stereotypes exhibited similar patterns across groups, certain groups were perceived differently across various stereotypes. The correlations between variables ranged in magnitude from $r = .00$ to $.56$ ($ps = .86$ to $<.001$), indicating that the status-related stereotypes we included in this study reflect distinct aspects of perceived status.

In terms of Americanness-related stereotypes, each variable showed distinct patterns, yet personal Americanness, societal Americanness, and generational status stereotypes shared certain trends. For these three stereotypes, certain groups were consistently viewed as more American or higher in generational status (e.g., Black, White, and Pacific Islander Americans), some groups were consistently viewed as less American or lower in generational status (e.g., Russian, Uzbek, and Middle Eastern Americans), and some groups were consistently not different than the grand mean (e.g., Fijian, South African, and Cuban Americans). When it comes to perceived familiarity, trends were similar to those of other Americanness-related

dimensions for some groups (e.g., White, Black, and Iraqi Americans) but not others (e.g., Hispanic/Latino, Mexican, and Asian Americans). Racial/ethnic groups except for Pacific Islander Americans were perceived as more familiar than the grand mean, possibly since racial/ethnic groups are generally larger and more salient than nationality groups. Different patterns across these dimensions might point to the multifaceted conceptualization of Americanness, as correlations across these variables ranged from $r = .14$ to $.39$ ($ps < .001$). Furthermore, perceptions of Americanness are essential in understanding different groups' experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), and these findings suggest different lived experiences of nationality groups in the U.S.

For perceived political orientation, findings regarding racial/ethnic groups were similar to demographic data. More specifically, these findings were aligned with the party identification of racial/ethnic groups. For instance, the majority of White Americans report being Republican-leaning, and the majority of Black and Hispanic Americans report being Democrat-leaning (Pew Research Center, 2018). However, party identification may be different from political orientation. Forty-five percent of Black Americans identify as liberal, while 43 percent identify as conservative, which shows that Black Americans' party identification cannot be equated to ideological orientation (Jefferson & Yan, 2020). At the same time, the terms "liberal" and "conservative" might not be perceived the same by Black groups as they are by others (Jefferson, 2020). For instance, a significant portion of Black Americans viewed Barack Obama as conservative and Mitt Romney as liberal (Jefferson & Yan, 2020). In contrast, our sample rated Asian groups similarly to the grand mean in terms of political orientation, which diverges from their tendency to identify as Democrats but aligns with their broader tendency to identify as politically moderate (Pew Research Center, 2012b). These results further demonstrate the

complexity of the perceived political orientation of racial/ethnic and nationality groups and suggest that future assessments of political orientation can benefit from examining additional aspects of beliefs, such as perceptions of party identification, being traditional, religious, and conventional (Koch et al., 2016).

Nationality vs. Race/Ethnicity

There were different levels of variation across stereotypes and attitudes toward racial/ethnic groups. For instance, Middle Eastern nationality groups were perceived differently than the racial/ethnic category of Middle Eastern Americans on 8 out of 15 dimensions of interest, while White nationality groups were perceived differently than the racial/ethnic category of White Americans on 14 out of 15 dimensions. Since our sample was majority-White, stereotypes of White groups might have shown higher variation, as people tend to view their ingroups as more heterogeneous than outgroups (i.e., “outgroup variability”; Hughes et al., 2019; Ito et al., 2004). In fact, positive contact is related to increases in outgroup variability, and people generally have more positive contact with ingroup members than they do with outgroup members (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Additionally, different patterns within each racial/ethnic group might be due to our group selection process, where we included different numbers of nationality groups from each racial/ethnic group. We might have found the most variation within White groups as this was the largest racial/ethnic group, with nine nationalities.

Certain nationality groups that we chose to include in this study might have been viewed as more representative of the racial/ethnic category they are associated with. For instance, follow-up t-tests showed that stereotypes of Mexican Americans did not differ from stereotypes of Hispanic or Latino Americans in any dimension. This may reflect a prototypicality effect; the majority of Hispanic or Latino Americans identify as Mexican (Krogstad et al., 2022), so

participants may closely associate the two. Additionally, we found that stereotypes of East-Asian groups and the racial/ethnic category of Asian Americans were generally similar to each other and distinct from those of non-East Asian groups. Our findings align with previous research showing that East Asian Americans are considered more prototypically Asian American compared to other Asian nationality groups (Goh & McCue; Lee & Ramakrishnan, 2020). While some nationality groups are perceived more closely to the racial/ethnic group they are associated with, categorizing groups under one monolithic race/ethnicity may obscure important variation in the stereotypes of those different nationality groups.

Racial/ethnic groups (i.e., White, Black Americans) might be stereotyped differently than nationality groups they are associated with due to historic immigration patterns. For instance, we found that Black Americans were stereotyped differently than Black nationality groups on many dimensions. The vast majority of Black Americans are descendants of enslaved people who were forced to migrate to the United States between the 16th and 19th centuries (Ponti, 2019; National Archives, 2022). Slave traders and owners severed Black Americans' connection to their cultural origins as a method of oppression (Hartman, 2008). In contrast, Black nationality groups in the United States are associated with the newest wave of immigration post-1965. Black immigrants are a smaller proportion of Black Americans than other U.S. racial/ethnic groups (10% vs. 14% overall), with the majority of Black immigrants having arrived in the US after 2000 (Tamir, 2022). For these reasons, Black Americans may be stereotyped based on their race/ethnicity rather than nationality as the vast majority have not been linked to recent waves of immigration or tied to a specific cultural origin outside of the United States.

Stereotypes of different nationality groups might have deviated from stereotypes of racial/ethnic groups due to their different economic and political backgrounds. For instance, our

findings showed that the perceived SES of Japanese Americans was greater than the perceived SES of Vietnamese Americans, paralleling the median household income of these groups (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Additionally, the history of conflict between the United States and certain nations, such as Russia and Iraq, might be linked to stereotypes of certain nationality groups, including Russian Americans and Iraqi Americans. For over four decades after World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union (now Russia or Russian Federation) engaged in hostile propaganda and international policies (Powaski, 1997). The majority of Americans view Russia unfavorably (Poushter, 2018), and our findings show that Russian Americans were stereotyped as colder than the grand mean (Poushter, 2018). Additionally, the United States waged war on Iraq to oust the dictator Saddam Hussein, which led to a military operation from 2003 to 2021 (BBC, 2016; Kullab, 2021). Our findings show that Iraqi Americans were perceived as more societally foreign than the grand mean, which might be related to the history of conflict between these countries.

Personal versus Societal Stereotypes

Personal and societal stereotypes toward racial/ethnic and nationality groups were consistently different, indicating a difference between individually endorsed views and the knowledge of social norms. Personal stereotypes were more positive than societal stereotypes toward all groups, which is supported by previous work (Kotzur et al., 2020; Nosek & Hansen, 2008). This may demonstrate “pluralistic ignorance”, which is when members of a group do not individually endorse group norms but believe that other group members endorse them (Allport, 1924). Pluralistic ignorance leads norms to endure as long as group members believe that the majority supports them, regardless of their individual views (Katz & Schanck, 1938). Especially since social norms are linked to individuals’ expression of prejudice and reaction to

discrimination (Crandall et al, 2002), differentiating personal views from the knowledge of cultural norms is crucial in studying stereotypes of nationality groups.

We also examined how racial/nationality groups were distributed on theoretically related personal and societal stereotype dimensions (e.g., societal warmth vs. societal competence). Combinations of these societal stereotypes generally replicated previous findings (Lee & Fiske, 2006; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). For instance, Irish and Italian Americans were stereotyped as warm and competent, and East Asian Americans were stereotyped as cold and incompetent. White Americans were stereotyped as American and superior, and Black Americans were stereotyped as American and inferior. For combinations of both societal and personal stereotype dimensions, certain racial/ethnic groups (i.e., White, Asian, Black and Hispanic or Latino Americans) were often stereotyped more extremely than nationality groups. Since racial/ethnic groups are larger and more salient than nationality groups in the United States, stereotypes about racial/ethnic groups may be more well-elaborated, extreme, and resilient to change. Additionally, the distribution of groups on personal stereotype dimensions deviated from the distribution of groups on societal stereotype dimensions. More specifically, the majority of groups fell into the positively valenced quadrants in personal stereotypes (i.e., warm and competent; superior and American), which was not the trend we saw in societal stereotypes. As stereotype content models are used to examine experienced prejudice and how groups are broadly perceived by society, these results underscore the importance of differentiating between personal and societal stereotypes.

Limitations & Future Directions

The race/ethnicity, nationality, and background of our participants may have impacted the findings. Participants who identified as a member of a nationality group may have reported

more positive stereotypes about the nationality groups than others (Brewer, 1979). Additionally, our sample might not be very familiar with some of the nationality groups that they were asked about. As stereotypes are heuristics used to categorize social groups, a lack of familiarity may be linked to greater stereotyping on the basis of a nationality group's associated race/ethnicity (e.g., grouping together immigrants from Central American countries; Bodenhausen, 1993; Häfner & Stapel, 2009). To further examine the nature of stereotypes presented in this study, we will run follow-up analyses to see if our findings can be explained by (1) country-level statistics of nationality groups' country of origin, (2) how familiar participants reported they were with the given nationality groups, and (3) participant demographics, such as race or ethnicity, state of residence, and political orientation.

While immigrants to the United States originate from almost 200 countries in the world, this study only included 28 nationality groups. Our group selection process prioritized selecting groups based on geographical diversity to ensure we gathered information on groups from a wide range of backgrounds (e.g., size of their population in the United States, region of origin). This meant that nationality groups which comprised a numerically large proportion of United States residents were more likely to be represented in our dataset than numerically small nationality groups. As such, our process excluded nationality groups that may be numerically small but culturally unique. For instance, the majority of refugees in the United States originate from the Democratic Republic of Congo, yet our project did not examine stereotypes of Congolese Americans as they were a small proportion of Black Americans overall (Igielnik & Krogstad, 2017). Similarly, current events and media exposure may also lead to distinct stereotypes toward certain nationality groups. For example, American media coverage of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine likely led to the formation of many new beliefs about Russia (and by extension,

Russian Americans; Wike et al., 2022). Future work on stereotypes and attitudes toward nationality groups can focus on narrower research questions, targeting nationality groups associated with a political event or specific immigration patterns.

While we make the argument that nationality labels in the United States may offer more nuanced information on the background of racial/ethnic groups, prioritizing the link between nationality and race/ethnicity overlooks complexities in national origin. Associating nationality groups with one race/ethnicity is an oversimplification. Over 70% of Dominicans identify as mixed race, yet we categorized this nationality group as Hispanic or Latino (Oficina Nacional de Estadística de la República Dominicana, 2022). To address this issue, future research could focus directly on stereotypes at the intersection between race/ethnicity and nationality (e.g., Black- vs. Hispanic or Latino vs. multiracial identifying Dominicans).

Conclusion

Our study was a large-scale attempt at understanding stereotypes and attitudes toward nationality groups in the United States. We found great variation across dimensions of perceived warmth, status, Americanness, and political orientation, demonstrating the differences in perceptions of nationality groups. Furthermore, stereotypes and attitudes toward nationality groups generally deviated from the racial/ethnic groups they are associated with. Additionally, personal stereotypes were more positive than societal stereotypes, supporting a distinction between individually endorsed beliefs and the knowledge of cultural norms regarding these groups. Our findings illustrate the nuances in stereotypes and attitudes toward nationality groups across numerous dimensions, in relation to racial/ethnic groups, and in terms of personal beliefs and cultural norms. Taken together, these findings demonstrate the distinctiveness of nationality perceptions in a nation of immigrants.

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