Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the Stereotype Content Model

Tiane L. Lee*, Susan T. Fiske

Department of Psychology, Princeton University, Green Hall, Princeton, NJ 08540, USA

Abstract

Stereotype research depicts the generic immigrant as incompetent and untrustworthy. The current research expands this image, specifying key information dimensions (e.g. nationality, socioeconomic status) about immigrants. To see how perceivers differentiate among particular immigrant groups, we extend a model of intergroup perception, the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 878–902), to immigrant subgroups. The SCM predicts that perception centers on competence and warmth, and relates to targets' perceived status and competition within society. Specified by nationality, race, ethnicity, and class, images of immigrants differ by both competence and warmth, with most groups receiving ambivalent (low–high or high–low) stereotypes rather than the uniform low–low for the generic immigrant. As predicted, ambivalent stereotypes reflect target nationality combined with socio-economic status, supporting the SCM's ambivalent stereotypes and social structural hypotheses, as well as better defining immigrant stereotypes and their contingencies.
© 2006 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

The prevailing stereotype of an immigrant is an incompetent and untrustworthy outsider. Stereotype research documents this image of a generic immigrant in Belgium (Cuddy, Fiske, Demoulin, & Leyens, 2000), in Germany (Eckes, 2002), and in Hong Kong and South Korea (Cuddy et al., in press-b). Apparently, people hold a limited image of

---

*Corresponding author.
 E-mail address: tllee@princeton.edu (T.L. Lee).

immigrants in general, but we argue that, given additional information along key dimensions (nationality, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status), they will differentially evaluate immigrant groups and make attributions about immigrants at each of these levels, consistent with previous intergroup perception research: Italians are warm and friendly but lax (Cuddy et al., in press-b); Asians are shy but successful (Kitano & Sue, 1973); rich people are accomplished but not nice (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). We propose a taxonomy of immigrant images, given a target group whose classifications implicate different categories. Here, we extend a model of intergroup perception, the Stereotype Content Model.

2. Stereotypes of national, racial, and ethnic groups

Perceivers tend to agree on stereotypes of different nationalities (Peabody, 1985), due to their reliance on certain features of the nation, ranging from politics and economics (Poppe, 2001), to religion (Peabody, 1985), to geography (Linssen & Hagendoorn, 1994), and relational status, cooperating or conflicting, between one's ingroup and the outgroup (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999; Salazar & Marin, 1977). Various combinations of these features then catalyze images of that nation's people (Hagendoorn, 1991), usually viewed within a two-dimensional framework utilizing competence and morality (Phalet & Poppe, 1997; Poppe & Linssen, 1999).

Within the United States, over 70 years, perceivers agree on stereotypes of nine specific national, racial, and ethnic groups (African–Americans, Chinese, English, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, and Turks), which have increased in favorability, while the stereotype of the ingroup (Americans) has decreased in favorability (Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2006). Although African–Americans, Chinese, and Turks originally received the most negative stereotypes (Katz & Braly, 1933), this no longer holds true. Across four studies, stereotypes of the same target groups fluctuated in uniformity over time (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933; Leslie et al., 2006), but some recognizable patterns emerge for distinct groups.

Despite these studies of national, racial, and ethnic groups, few studies have targeted stereotypes of immigrants specifically. In those few studies, a striking finding consistently emerged: People perceive immigrants as low in competence and low in warmth (specifically trustworthiness). But perhaps immigrant groups, if specified by originating country, would have received differentiated ratings on these two key dimensions.

3. Interpersonal and intergroup perception

Previous stereotype research documents a two-dimensional framework that combines competence and warmth/morality. Individual person perception research demonstrated the efficiency of such a two-dimensional framework for perceiving others (Asch, 1946; Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968). A literature search shows that two recurring dimensions appear, reflecting competence and warmth: task and social (Bales, 1970); intelligence and honesty (Van Lange & Kuhlman, 1994); competence and morality (Phalet & Poppe, 1997; Poppe & Linssen, 1999; Wojciszke, 1994); self- and other-profitability (Peeters, 2002); and self-promotion and self-deprecation (Vonk, 1999).

3.1. The stereotype content model: ambivalent dimensions predicted by social structural relations

One specific instance of intergroup perception, the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), posits stereotyping along perceived warmth and competence dimensions (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). The SCM's premise is that social perception immediately answers two key questions: Is the outgroup's intention good or ill toward me and my group (friend or foe)? and Can the outgroup members enact their intentions (able or unable)? This model works well in a variety of intergroup perception, whether targets are elderly people (Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005), gay subgroups (Clausell & Fiske, 2005), or female subgroups (Eckes, 2002), in both American (Fiske et al., 2002) and international (Cuddy et al., in press-b) samples.

The SCM proposes two key components: cross-dimensional ambivalence and the reflection of societal power relations in stereotype content. Ambivalent stereotypes describe inconsistency between the competence and warmth dimensions. For example, high-status outgroups receive envious stereotypes (people think of them as competent although not nice) and are therefore respected but disliked, and low-status outgroups receive paternalistic stereotypes (their niceness compensates for their low competence) and are liked but disrespected. Rather than uniform antipathy, as in most traditional prejudice (Allport, 1954), many groups receive ambivalent stereotypes. Ambivalence in group perception manifests in racial attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1986), gender beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999, 2001), and ageist perceptions (Cuddy et al., 2005).

The SCM also proposes a social structural hypothesis: Competence assessments correspond positively to perceived societal status and power, while warmth assessments negatively reflect perceived competition with the ingroup. People attribute competence to those perceived as holding prestigious jobs and being economically successful, and they attribute warmth to those perceived to be harmless (in that they are not competitive with the ingroup, for jobs, school admissions, power, and resources).

Additional studies demonstrate the SCM's utility at subgroup levels: Women are either competent or warm, depending on whether they are professionals or homemakers (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Eckes, 2002), and gay men likewise receive stereotypes according to their perceived subgroup (Clausell & Fiske, 2005). Women generically are perceived positively (consistent with the homemaker stereotype), and gay men generically are perceived neutrally (consistent with averaging across all the varied subgroups). Here, we propose to extend the SCM to study perceptions of immigrants at multiple levels. If immigrants are perceived negatively—as international data indicate—how do people feel about specific immigrants? Will they average across subgroups, as in the case of gay men, or will they assimilate to a specific (probably negative) salient subgroup, unless prompted otherwise? Depending on the mix of stereotype dimensions (e.g. nationality, ethnicity, socioeconomic status), reactions to specific immigrant groups may drastically differ. But these differences should be systematic, not arbitrary, according to the SCM, which means their effects also are predictable, as we shall see. We believe that most immigrant stereotypes should reveal ambivalence and reflect social structural correlates.

4. Applying the stereotype content model to immigrant perception

The current research explores perceptions of immigrants by members of the receiving country. We believe that the content of majority members' perceptions of immigrants will

mimic the content of intergroup perception. Although the SCM two-dimensional framework in person perception and group perception apply widely, little research has applied this model to study specific immigrant groups. This matters because the host country's reception of immigrant groups reflects a particular set of intergroup relations and images, which will require knowledge of how those particular groups fare in the new country. This research explores whether this is the case.

SCM predicts that immigrant groups labeled by country of origin thus will disperse from the low-competence, low-warmth corner, landing in locations across the SCM space and receiving attributions varying in levels of competence and warmth. Comparing stereotypes of a group with its subgroups, similar trends emerge. Besides subgroups for women and for gay men: While black people as a category received neutral ratings, black professionals and poor blacks differed dramatically along the competence dimension (Fiske et al., 2002). Outside the SCM, other evidence comes from the Dutch majority reporting degrees of perceived similarity between themselves and each of four immigrant groups (Moroccans, Turks, Antilleans, and Surinamers) (Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). All this suggests that, at levels more specific than the generic, immigrant images should systematically differ from each other.

4.1. Immigrants' nationality determines stereotypes, as a function of social structure

According to the SCM, immigrants' national origin will guide majority members' perceptions of them. Each immigrant nationality has its own unique economic and social history with regard to its host country. When one country happens, for its own social structural reasons, to send immigrants of certain social configurations to another country, status and competition relations are created in the host country. The SCM posits that status buys respect (perceived competence) and competition costs liking (perceived lack of warmth). Stereotype contents, thus, are immigration accidents: who happens to come under what circumstances. We can make a number of specific predictions for specific immigrant groups in the US, based on SCM principles.

Consider each sending continent in turn. For Latin America, the closest neighboring continent, North American samples have rated "Hispanics" as either average on competence and warmth or low on both dimensions, and migrant workers (a common North American role, currently, for Latinos) have likewise ended up in the lower left corner, low in both attributes (Fiske et al., 2002). SCM suggests that immigrants of Hispanic background or from Latin American nations will be attributed similar stereotypes as Hispanics and migrant workers, the latter association because Latin American immigrants in the US are associated with migrant or farm work.

Consider Asia. Across cultures, rich people consistently elicit stereotypes as competent but not nice (Cuddy et al., in press-b; Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). Immigrant groups perceived as well-to-do should receive similar stereotypes. We suggest that this is one reason Asian immigrants to the US will fall into this category. Perceived as a relatively successful "model minority," the stereotype of Chinese and Japanese as competent, but lacking socially desirable interpersonal traits appeared decades ago (Karlins et al., 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933; Sue & Kitano, 1973). Asians as a category (not specifying "immigrant") have received the competent-but-not-nice stereotype, whether perceived by Americans (Fiske et al., 2002; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005) or Belgians (Cuddy et al., in press-b).

Moving to another continent, perceptions of European immigrants to the United States, given the early European hegemony over native American nations and over African slaves, transplanted an initially Anglo-European culture to the US, which survives in modified form to date. Hence, American society perceives European countries (especially the UK) to be its closest global allies, so many European immigrants should fall in a space similar to native-born Americans. Indeed, in one study, the British nationality was closest to Americans (Leslie et al., 2006). However, of European immigrants, for reasons of social class, Irish and Italian immigrants used to be perceived as low-status, but their changing status over the past century suggests that they will receive either stereotypes associated with low-status (low-competence, high-warmth) or that they will fit in with the American mainstream.

Moving to Africa, two immigrant subgroups generate more complicated predictions. We do not predict that African immigrants will receive the same stereotype as "blacks" (middle on both dimensions) (Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002), because perceptions of black subgroups resulted in an averaged aggregate neutral rating for blacks as a group. Voluntary African immigrants to the US now include many high-status people; indeed fully half the black students at elite universities are of immigrant African (and Caribbean) origin (Massey, Charles, Lundy, & Fischer, 2003). However, this reality is complicated by media images of challenges in their countries of origin, so the predictions here could go either way, or average over the two extremes.

In previous SCM research, Arabs received average competence and low warmth ratings (Fiske et al., 2002). We predict that immigrants from Middle Eastern nations, because of their association to Arab background (whether accurate or not), will receive average competence stereotypes compared to other groups, perhaps mixing low- and high-status images, along with low-warmth, because of the tragically difficult relationship between the US and the Middle East.

Overall, then, stereotypes are not confined to national, racial, and ethnic categories but also socioeconomic status, which cross-cuts the former. The aforementioned stereotypes of Black Americans is one illustrative example. That poor blacks and professional blacks received distinct stereotypes demonstrates the influence of socioeconomic status in intergroup perception. As noted, the social structural hypothesis of the SCM posits that stereotypes reflect the perceiver's knowledge of power relations in society. Perceived status leads to perceived competence, and the people perceived as competent are begrudgingly given respect. On the other hand, those perceived as non-competitive are consequently perceived as warm, in order to placate them in their lower status in society. We predict that certain immigrant groups will be stereotyped based on occupations associated with them, such as farm-worker or tech industry employees, or social status, such as their legality in the host nation.

5. The current research

Prior work points to immigrants generically as low in competence and low in warmth. However, given previous research on national, racial, ethnic, and social class stereotypes, we argue that specific immigrant groups will differentiate and locate at various points along the two dimensions. We apply the SCM to understand how people differentiate among immigrant group stereotypes. We also conduct auxiliary analyses to see if those stereotypes illustrate the ambivalent stereotype and social structural aspects of the SCM.

6. Review of hypotheses

(1) Perceptions of specific immigrant groups will vary, such that groups will occupy distinct locations in the SCM space. That is, competence and warmth will differentiate immigrant images.
(2) Immigrant groups from Asian, Latin American, and Middle Eastern countries will locate in clusters corresponding to previous SCM research on, respectively, "Asians," (high-competence and low-warmth) "Hispanics," (low-competence and low-warmth or average in both) and "Arabs" (average-competence and low-warmth). Immigrants from specific European nations will group in clusters corresponding to previous stereotype research on European nations: low-competence and low-warmth for Russian, and high-competence and low-warmth for German, and average-competence and low-warmth for French.
(3) Similar to other social groups in previous research, most immigrants will receive ambivalent stereotypes.
(4) Social structure will influence the stereotypes immigrants receive, in that perceived socioeconomic status and competition will correlate with attributions of competence and warmth, respectively.

7. Pilot study: selecting immigrant groups

7.1. Method

7.1.1. Participants
Thirty-nine undergraduates (31 from Princeton University, 8 from Stanford University; 24 women, 14 men, 1 unknown; mean age = 19.84, SD = 1.37) volunteered to complete the questionnaire; 28 were born in the United States.

7.1.2. Questionnaire and procedure
In the open-ended questionnaire, participants read the following instruction: "In the space below, please list the main immigrant groups in the US that come to your mind. There are no right or wrong answers." The rest of the page was blank. To avoid suggesting that we expected a particular quantity of responses, we did not provide an allotted number of lines. A list of basic demographic questions followed on the back side of the paper.

7.2. Results and discussion

Participants provided a total of 45 groups. We selected groups to include in our survey if they were mentioned by at least five respondents (13%). They were Mexican (59%), Asian (49%), Chinese (44%), African (36%), Hispanic (31%), Latino or Latin American (31%), Irish (26%), Indian (23%), South American (23%), Eastern Europeans (21%), Japanese (21%), German (18%), Middle Eastern (18%), European (15%), Korean (15%), Canadian (13%), French (13%), Italian (13%), Russian (13%), and Vietnamese (13%) immigrant groups. Since no participant listed both Latino (or Latin American) and Hispanic, we combined them into one group labeled Latino.

Because we were interested in perceptions of immigrants based on political-economic factors beyond their race or ethnicity, we added additional categories: documented, undocumented, farm-worker, tech industry, first generation, and third generation. They were included to understand the impact of perceived socioeconomic status. We believe that people's occupation most directly influences their perceived status, but also in the case of immigrants, documentation status and acculturation also matter. For comparison with our immigrant groups, and to anchor the social space, we included eight groups that have reliably appeared in one of the four SCM quadrants: Americans and college students in high-competence and high-warmth, rich people and professionals in high-competence and low-warmth, elderly people and housewives in low-competence and high-warmth, and homeless people and poor people in low-competence and low-warmth (Cuddy et al., 2004, in press-b; Cuddy et al., 2005; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002). A total of 33 groups appeared in the final survey.

8. Survey: attributions of warmth and competence

8.1. Method

8.1.1. Participants

Two participant samples provided data. Fifty-two undergraduates, recruited from an introductory psychology course, completed the short survey. An additional 150 students (mean age = 20.16, SD = 1.77) constituted our second sample, who completed the long survey in a volunteer, paid "Questionnaire Day."

We analyzed data from only those participants who had lived in the country at least five years because we wanted to ensure familiarity with societal perceptions of stereotypes; this left 49 participants (28 women, 18 men, 3 unknown; 2 immigrants longer than 5 years) in the first sample and 137 (69 women, 65 men, 3 unknown; 17 immigrants longer than 5 years) in the second. The combined sample comprised 186 participants.

8.1.2. Questionnaire and procedure

In the short survey, participants rated each target group on perceived warmth and competence using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). They read that we were interested in "people's perceptions of different social groups in American society" and simply and directly, were asked, "To what extent do others in society believe each group is warm? Competent?".

The long survey added two more immigrant groups: first and third generation immigrants. Additionally, this survey included questions related to the perceived structural variables: socioeconomic status and competition they posed for the perceiver's own group. For status, participants rated the prestige of immigrants' jobs and their economic and educational success. For competition, they rated anticipated impact on one's ingroup if immigrants received special breaks, had power, and received more resources. (See Appendix A for the status and competition scale items.)

In both versions of the survey, participants initially could see only the eight comparison groups on the first page and therefore were at first unaware of the list of immigrants on the following page. Thus, they rated immigrants in comparison to these anchors, not vice versa. Immigrant groups were explicitly labeled by their immigration status (e.g., "Italian

immigrants," not "Italians"), so participants were continually reminded to rate immigrant groups and not nationalities per se.

8.2. Analyses

To conduct cluster analyses using warmth and competence, we calculated the means for first and third generation immigrants using data from the second sample ($n = 137$), but for all other target groups using the combined data from both samples ($n = 186$).

Preliminary analyses determined that homeless people were an outlier group on the competence dimension (2.68 SDs away from the overall mean) and were omitted from cluster analyses, as in some previous research (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, in press-a).

Analyses on perceived status and competition used data from only the second sample because these items were not asked in the first sample. As in previous research, we created aggregate scores for status ($\alpha = .81$) and competition ($\alpha = .90$).

8.3. Results

8.3.1. Immigrant groups scatter over SCM space

We hypothesized that people's perceptions of specific immigrant groups vary on the dimensions of competence and warmth, and consequently they hold distinct images of different immigrant groups. We used cluster analysis to capture (a) how these groups differentiate in perceivers' minds along competence and warmth dimensions, (b) which groups are perceived as similar to each other, and (c) how immigrant groups compare to the prototypical American. We expected to see clusters of immigrant groups disperse throughout the SCM space, not contained in the lower left corner only, as in previous research on perceptions of the generic immigrant.

Two cluster analyses determined respectively, first, the number of clusters and then their members. A hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's method (minimizing within-cluster variance and maximizing between-cluster variance) revealed agglomeration statistics that supported a five-cluster solution, instead of the usual four clusters (see Fig. 1). Next, K-means cluster analysis using the parallel threshold method revealed the cluster membership of each target group.

Two statistical tests then substantiated the five-cluster solution. First, a two-way 5 (clusters) $\times$ 2 (stereotype dimensions) ANOVA revealed a main effect of cluster, $F(4, 27) = 17.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .72$; a main effect of dimension, $F(1, 27) = 9.61$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .26$; and most importantly, a cluster by dimension interaction, $F(4, 27) = 60.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .90$. Follow-up univariate analyses yielded simple effects of cluster on both warmth, $F(4, 27) = 25.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .79$, and competence, $F(4, 27) = 42.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .86$, supporting both dimensions as necessary to classify our target groups. Cluster analyses results confirmed our first hypothesis: Immigrant groups dispersed into five clusters across the SCM space (Fig. 1).

8.3.2. Immigrant groups receive stereotypes similar to their nationality plus social class

Our second hypothesis was that Asian, Latin American, and Middle Eastern immigrant groups should receive stereotypes similar to "Asians," "Hispanics," and "Arabs" in previous SCM research. European immigrant groups should receive stereotypes based on their nationality. In addition, groups associated strongly with particular social classes
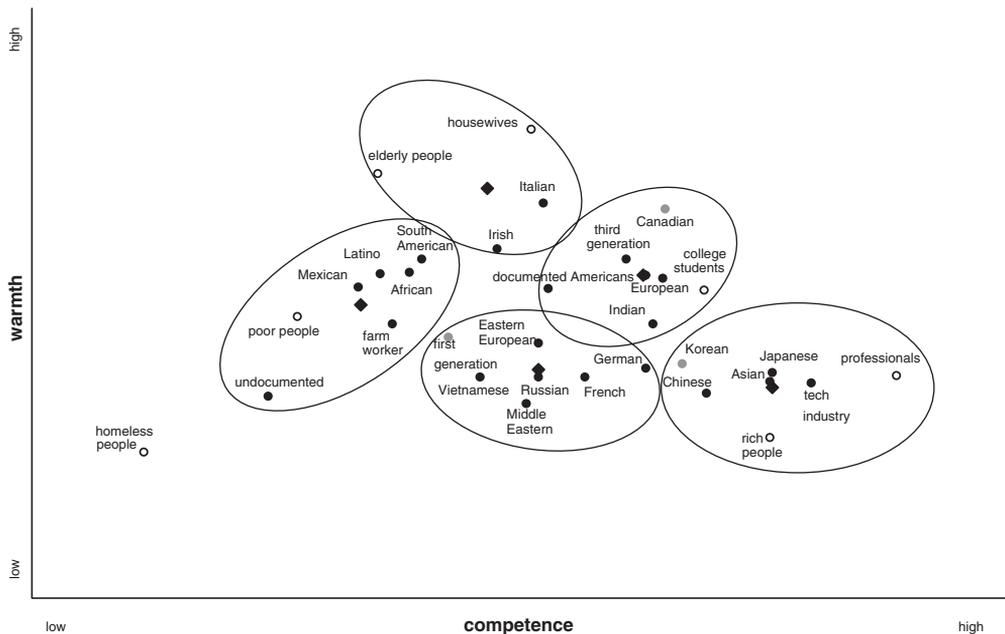
Fig. 1. Five-cluster solution. Note: filled circles indicate immigrant groups; open circles indicate comparison groups; diamonds indicate cluster center. A four-cluster solution combines the ingroup/allies and nondescript clusters and causes unstable groups, indicated by gray circles, to move to an adjacent cluster.

(e.g., Latinos with migrant workers and Asians with rich) should receive stereotypes corresponding to poor or rich people. To test our hypothesis, we investigated how each cluster compared to the ingroup (the American "us"), and where applicable, whether immigrant groups received stereotypes similar to stereotypes of their nationality or social class in previous research. Analyses on the cluster level included paired-sample t-tests comparing competence and warmth scores for each cluster and independent-samples t-tests differentiating clusters along each stereotype dimension.

The ingroup cluster was relatively high in competence and average in warmth; it included Americans and college students, presumably the predominant ingroups, and Canadian, documented, European, Indian, and third generation immigrants. This cluster comprised the ingroup, as it included Americans and college students, and its allies, groups with greatest perceived similarity to the ingroup. To our surprise, Indian immigrants were included here and not with other Asian groups. Overall, this cluster ranked second highest among all clusters on both dimensions, perhaps suggesting a muted form of ingroup favoritism. We believe this cluster embodied the image of the prototypical American, whom people implicitly use as the standard of comparison to evaluate others. Accordingly, we investigated how other clusters compare.

The least competent and clearly low-warmth cluster embodied the image of the low-status migrant or farm-worker class: poor people, and African, farm-worker, Latino, Mexican, South American, and undocumented immigrants. Though they were nearly as warm as the ingroup/allies cluster, $t(12) = 1.33$, n.s., their real distinguishing feature is their association to their much lower competence, $t(12) = 9.93$, $p < .001$, perhaps due to

their perceived rock-bottom status in American society. These immigrant groups received a stereotype similar to that given to Latino and farm-workers in previous research (Fiske et al., 2002). At least some (undocumented immigrants) were close to contempt/disgust stereotypes directed at homeless people.

The cluster adjacent to the low-competent cluster—but warmer—included elderly people and housewives, and Irish and Italian immigrants. This cluster's most salient characteristic is its top-level warmth: As expected, these groups constituted a high-warmth cluster, scoring higher on warmth than competence, diff = .91, $t(3) = 3.85$, $p < .05$, and higher in warmth than the ingroup/allies, $t(9) = 3.38$, $p < .01$. Though less competent than the ingroup/allies cluster, $t(9) = 4.24$, $p < .01$, they received higher competence scores than in previous research, besting the stereotypically low-status cluster, $t(9) = 3.13$, $p < .05$. The location of Irish and Italian immigrants replicated results of previous research (Cuddy et al., in press-b), especially on the warmth dimension. Because it scored more warm than competent, this group receives what previous work has called a paternalistic or pity stereotype (Fiske et al., 2002).

The fourth cluster was moderate in competence and low in warmth and comprised only immigrant groups: Eastern European, first generation, French, German, Middle Eastern, Russian, and Vietnamese. We believe that groups without a clear stereotype constituted this cluster. Despite lacking a readily available common stereotype, this cluster was still perceived to be both less warm, $t(12) = 5.96$, $p < .001$, and less competent, $t(12) = 3.47$, $p < .01$, than the ingroup/allies. Ratings replicated a finding from previous research for the French (Cuddy et al., in press-b) on both dimensions. Russians fared better on the competence dimension here than in previous research (Phalet & Poppe, 1997), while Germans fared worse (Cuddy et al., in press-b; Poppe & Linssen, 1999).

The fifth cluster was high-competence and low-warmth and comprised two standard SCM groups and five immigrant groups: rich people and professionals, and Asian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and tech-industry immigrants. As predicted, these immigrant groups received the stereotype of the model minorities (Kitano & Sue, 1973): more competent than they are nice, diff = 1.61, $t(6) = 12.86$, $p < .001$, and uniquely, more competent than the ingroup/allies cluster, $t(12) = 4.02$, $p < .01$ (but less warm, $t(12) = 6.95$, $p < .001$). Because it was more competent than nice, this cluster received what previous research has called an envious stereotype (Fiske et al., 2002).

Comparisons within and between clusters revealed that most immigrant groups received stereotypes similar to their nationality, ethnicity, or in association to their social class within the United States. Furthermore, most are distinct from the prototypical American.

8.3.3. Most immigrant stereotypes are ambivalent

We hypothesized that immigrants receive ambivalent stereotypes. We tested our hypothesis on two levels: the group level and the cluster level. Groups received ambivalent stereotypes if their competence and warmth scores differed. Paired-sample t-tests within groups revealed that all but four of the 33 target groups differed on the competence and warmth dimensions, p's $< .001$ (see Table 1), corroborating people's ambivalent stereotypes of immigrant groups. Most immigrant groups are not seen as uniformly either good (competent and warm) or bad (incompetent and unfriendly). This indicates that people have distinct conceptions of particular immigrant groups, at least on these two dimensions, and they are not all negative.

Table 1
Paired competence-warmth differences, by group

Group	Difference
Professionals	2.04***
Rich people	1.94***
Tech industry	1.74***
Asian	1.55***
Japanese	1.52***
Chinese	1.38***
Korean	1.08***
German	.95***
French	.77***
Middle Eastern	.71***
Indian	.68***
College students	.66***
Russian	.58***
European	.43***
Eastern European	.35***
Vietnamese	.34***
Americans	.32***
Third generation	.14
Documented	.02
Canadian	−.04
First generation	−.05
Farm-worker	−.38***
Undocumented	−.42***
Irish	−.47***
Italian	−.58***
African	−.66***
South American	−.70***
Latino	−.77***
Mexican	−.78***
Poor people	−.82***
Homeless people	−.88***
Housewives	−1.12***
Elderly people	−1.47***

Note: $n = 137$ for first and third generation immigrants; for all other groups, $n = 186$. Matched pair *t*-tests revealed that competence and warmth ratings differed for 29 out of the 33 target groups. Italicized groups are comparison groups; non-italicized groups are immigrant groups. Positive differences refer to greater competence and negative to greater warmth.
  ***$p < .001$.

Clusters received ambivalent stereotypes if they (a) differed in competence and warmth and (b) were higher on their high dimension than groups low on that dimension and lower on their low dimension than groups high on that dimension (Cuddy et al., in press-b). To see if clusters met the first requirement, we conducted paired-sample *t*-tests within clusters, which revealed that all five clusters differed on the two dimensions, p's < .05 (see Table 2). To see if clusters met the second requirement, we conducted ten independent samples *t*-tests comparing clusters on each dimension (four unique pairs of the traditional SCM clusters on each dimension, plus the Nondescript cluster compared to the high-warmth clusters). Nine out of the ten tests were significant (p's < .05).

Table 2
Competence and warmth scores, by cluster

Cluster	Stereotype dimension		
	Competence		Warmth
Ingroup/Allies cluster (Americans, college students; Canadian, documented, European, Indian, and third generation immigrants)	3.51_a	>	3.19_a
Low-status cluster (Poor people; African, farm-worker, Latino, Mexican, South American, and undocumented immigrants)	2.35_b	<	2.99_a
Warm cluster (Elderly people, housewives; Irish and Italian immigrants)	2.87_c	<	3.78_b
Nondescript cluster (Eastern European, first generation, French, German, Middle Eastern, Russian, and Vietnamese immigrants)	3.08_c	>	2.55_c
Competent but not Nice cluster (Rich people, professionals; Asian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and tech-industry immigrants)	4.04_d	>	2.43_c

Note: Within each row (cluster), > or indicate means differ, results from matched pair *t*-tests. Within each column, different subscripts indicate that clusters differ ($p < .05$), results from independent samples *t*-tests.

Table 3
Social structural correlates, by group and by individual

	Group-level analysis		Individual-level analysis	
	Status	Competition	Status	Competition
Competence	.96***	.16	.77***	.06
Warmth	−.29	−.55**	−.01	−.14

Note: df = 31 for group-level analysis and df = 135 for individual-level analysis. Per the procedures in Eckes (2002), we calculated group-level correlations by computing the means for stereotype and social structure ratings across participants for each target group, and then correlating those aggregate measures. We calculated individual-level correlations by computing correlations for each participant, transforming them to Fisher's Z-scores, averaging them, and transforming back to correlations.
　**$p < .01$.
　***$p < .001$.

Analyses confirmed that most groups received ambivalent stereotypes: all clusters met the first criterion, and most met the second for an ambivalent cluster. Overall, findings revealed that people do not think immigrants to be equally as (in)competent as they are (not) warm but that they perceive them at a particular level of competence and another level of warmth.

8.3.4. Warmth and competence attributions have social structural correlates

We hypothesized that competence and warmth would correlate with perceived status and competition. We determined the correlation between stereotype dimensions and social structure (see Table 3), and as predicted, competence and status positively relate ($r = .96$, df = 31, $p < .001$), and warmth and competition negatively relate ($r = −.55$, df = 31,

$p < .01$), in the group-level analysis. Individual-level analysis replicated the result for competence and status ($r = .77$, df $= 135$, $p < .001$), but not warmth and competition. The more a group seems to have status, the more it receives competence attributions; the more it seems competitive, the less it receives warmth attributions.

9. General discussion

Specific immigrant nationalities are distinguishable from each other, in that they mostly differ on competence and warmth, significantly higher on one or the other. Categories (clusters) of immigrants tend to be unique on one dimension: uniquely low competence for undocumented migrants; uniquely high competence for Asians; uniquely high warmth for Italian and Irish. Immigrants are not perceived at the broad generic "immigrants" level; if this were the case, we would have observed only the immigrants hovering around the middle of the SCM space with the known-comparison social groups occupying the periphery. Instead, most immigrant groups receive ambivalent stereotypes, and most of these reflect stereotypes of their nationality or implied socioeconomic status. We found that stereotype content relates to perceived social structure, with perceived status strongly correlating with stereotypic competence and perceived competition inversely correlating with stereotypic warmth.

The current research suggests that people conceptualize immigrants at three levels (at least): the generic immigrant, who is equally low in competence and warmth; clusters of immigrant groups uniquely defined by one attribute, such as low or high competence, or high warmth; and immigrants by specific origin. Consistent with the continuum model of interpersonal perception (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990), the first-cut image of an immigrant may be a low-competence, low-warmth person. Given additional information, people replace this image with a more differentiated one, anchoring on competence and warmth dimensions, compared to the location of the prototypical American on those dimensions. People may also then sort the groups by similarity in national origin or current status in the new country.

A few surprises emerged. The ingroup/allies cluster included Indian immigrants, whom we expected to be in the high-competence, low-warmth cluster. Further research focused on this group may explain this Asian anomaly.

Subgroups may explain the emergence of the nondescript cluster, another surprise. People might have varying images of different subgroups for the immigrants in that cluster. For instance, to some, Middle Eastern immigrants might summon an image of American-friendly immigrants while, to others, they might provoke images of terrorists. Likewise, while some people might think of Vietnamese immigrants in union with the East Asian immigrants (and therefore, also high-competent but low-warmth), others might envision images of war refugees (and therefore, poor and stereotypically low-competence). First-generation immigrants comprise a range of people who vary tremendously in the circumstances under which they arrived: Professionals who moved volitionally mid-career to pursue further advancement, people who work minimum wages and send back money to the rest of their families back in the native land, etc. However, possibly, some immigrant groups just do not receive a clear stereotype: Some (e.g., French) may be in the States long enough over generations that they are not perceived in terms of that nationality.

The nondescript cluster also stands out because it lacks a clear prototype. Prototypes can be either averages or ideals (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Most clusters contain a group that

represents a clear prototype of that cluster: Americans for the ingroup/allies (note that the mean for Americans is almost identical to the cluster mean); Mexican immigrants (closest to the cluster mean) or undocumented immigrants (an "ideal" extreme) for the low-status cluster; either housewives or elderly people (as extremes) for the warm cluster; and Asian immigrants (closest to the cluster mean) or professionals (an extreme) for the competent cluster. The nondescript cluster lacks an extreme prototype, and though Russians are a central-tendency prototype—statistically, they occupy the space closest to the cluster mean—we do not know how in real terms they might represent a prototype of the groups in that cluster.

One group that received the least favorable stereotype across both dimensions was undocumented immigrants. In contrast, documented immigrants were perceived similarly to an American. Legal status alone determines whether an immigrant is perceived as a regular member of the mainstream society or as an outsider with the lowest status, reflecting an unfortunate equating of official sanction and unofficial status on personal attributes. One possible extension from this study could be the role of media framing of immigration status in perceived competition for finite amounts of societal resources. Perceived competition fosters negative immigration attitudes (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998); documentation status could instigate or bolster this relation. Another extension would explore what other observable factors (e.g., low linguistic proficiency) can become equated with seemingly unrelated internal traits and attributes—those with accents are perceived as less competent (Ruscher, 2001).

People's differing evaluations of documented and undocumented immigrants suggest that some dimensions (in this case, legal documentation) overwhelmingly bias judgment. We raise the question of which dimensions are most influential in perceiving immigrants when people receive information on multiple dimensions. If Asian immigrants are competent but undocumented immigrants are not, are undocumented Asian immigrants high or low in competence? We suspect that the more salient dimension would guide perception.

A time-based analysis would help clarify whether one dimension (and which) takes priority in evaluating immigrants. While this study centered on content, a complementary research focus should explore the historical development of stereotype content of immigrants. Longitudinal research on stereotypes and prejudice toward various ethnic groups (Bogardus, 1930; Leslie et al., 2006) would tell us how immigrants shed their stereotypes and receive different ones (e.g., originally perceived as quick-tempered, the Irish and Italian are now seen as warm). The process might be as quick as being in the new country for a couple of generations: In the current research, we found that first generation immigrants are relatively low in both competence and warmth, but third generation ones are included with the prototypical Americans.

We did not observe strong ingroup favoritism, also missing in studies conducted with East Asian samples (Cuddy et al., in press-b), but unlike previous studies with Western respondents (Cuddy et al., 2000; Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). Before we draw conclusions from this finding, note that the current study's participants included only college students. Following Sears's (1986) advice, future work should use a more diverse sample, varying age, socioeconomic status, and political orientations, whose inclusion might reflect knowledge of more differentiated stereotypes of immigrant groups. In particular, the current sample is more liberal than average, and about half are from

well-to-do backgrounds (Massey et al., 2003); thus they may have been exposed to stereotypes less extreme and more favorable than others.

In explaining similar data that did not reveal strong ingroup favoritism, Cuddy et al. (in press-b) suggested a superordinate category, as per the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Possibly, in the current study, immigrants were seen more as American subgroups and less as outgroups. If so, it presents an encouraging view of relations between immigrants and majority members; otherwise, immigrants perceived as not belonging to their new country face fervent political opposition from majority members (Pettigrew, 1998). Future research should show when immigrants are perceived as host-country subgroups versus outgroups.

We conclude with anticipations—some optimistic, others not—of host nation members' reactions (emotional, behavioral intentions, acculturation preferences) toward immigrants based on their stereotype content. People respect those with status, who are seen as competent, while they dislike competitors, who are seen as not warm (Cuddy et al., in press-a; Fiske et al., 2002). People admire those who are high in both competence and warmth; they feel contempt toward those who are low-competence and low-warmth; they envy those who are competent but not warm; and they pity those who are incompetent but warm (Cuddy et al., in press-a; Fiske et al., 2002). Each combination of the two trait dimensions thus predicts a distinct emotion toward the target immigrant.

Research also connects perceived location in the SCM space and perceivers' corresponding behavioral intentions, a specific combination of tendencies toward active or passive harm or help (Cuddy et al., in press-a). Regardless of competence, warm people are actively facilitated while not-warm people are actively harmed, and regardless of warmth, competent people are passively facilitated while incompetent people are passively harmed.[1] Passivity refers to lack of action by the perceiver, but still with impact on the target. Passive harm includes knowing that an immigrant receives below-minimum wages but refusing to do anything on behalf of that person. Passive help includes associating or cooperating with a successful immigrant.

Finally, one's SCM location influences majority members' preference for immigrants' acculturation style (integration, separation, assimilation, marginalization; Berry, 1984). Majority members' preferred acculturation style depended on whether the immigrant group is "devalued" or valued" (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Such a status can be derived from their stereotypes. For example, groups perceived as both competent and warm presumably have the most to offer to the host country while groups perceived as neither competent nor warm might be seen as exploiting resources. Majority members' preferences for certain immigrants or particular acculturation styles are not without consequence (Crocker & Quinn, 2001). Often, immigrants are aware of majority members' perceptions of them and in turn, their own acculturation strategies are influenced by the preferences of their perceivers (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Given that stereotypes illuminate perceivers' prejudice and preferred acculturation strategies for immigrants, these stereotypes should be one catalyst for consequences in intergroup relations.

---

[1]To the extent these associations are automatic, they may be even more insidious. Automatic associations also predict subtle behaviors (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; McConnell & Leibold, 2001).

Acknowledgements

Appendix A. Social structural items

Perceived status
(1) How prestigious are the jobs typically held by members of this group?
(2) How economically successful have members of this group been?
(3) How well educated are members of this group?

Perceived competition
(1) If members of this group get special breaks (such as preference in hiring decisions), this is likely to make things more difficult for people like me.
(2) The more power members of this group have, the less power people like me are likely to have.
(3) Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.

Note. All items used a five-point scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*).

References

Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Herrmann, R. K. (1999). Images and affect: A functional analysis of out-group stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*, 78–93.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Asch, S. E. (1946). Forming impressions of personality. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *41*, 258–290.

Bales, R. F. (1970). *Personality and interpersonal behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Berry, J. W. (1984). Cultural relations in plural societies: Alternatives to segregation and their sociopsychological implications. In N. Miller, & M. Brewer (Eds.), *Groups in contact*. New York: Academic Press.

Bogardus, E. S. (1930). A race-relations cycle. *American Journal of Sociology*, *35*, 612–617.

Bourhis, R. Y., Moise, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, *32*, 369–386.

Clausell, E., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). When do subgroup parts add up to the stereotypic whole? Mixed stereotype content for gay male subgroups explains overall ratings. *Social Cognition*, *23*, 161–181.

Crocker, J., & Quinn, D. M. (2001). Psychological consequences of devalued identities. In R. Brown, & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Intergroup processes* (pp. 238–257). Oxford: Blackwell.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., Demoulin, S., & Leyens, J.-P. (2000). Stereotype content of social groups, as perceived by Belgian respondents. Unpublished data, Princeton University.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2004). When professionals become mothers, warmth doesn't cut the ice. *Journal of Social Issues*, *60*, 701–718.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (in press-a). Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes: The BIAS map. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., Kwan, V. S. Y., Glick, P., Demoulin, S., Leyens, J.-P., et al. (in press-b). Is the stereotype content model culture-bound? A cross-cultural comparison reveals systematic similarities and differences. *British Journal of Social Psychology*.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Norton, M., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). This old stereotype: The pervasiveness and persistence of the elderly stereotype. *Journal of Social Issues*, *61*, 267–285.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., & Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 62–68.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *33*, 510–540.

Eckes, T. (2002). Paternalistic and envious gender stereotypes: Testing predictions from the stereotype content model. *Sex Roles*, *47*, 99–114.

Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 389–412.

Esses, V. M., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (1998). Intergroup competition and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: An instrumental model of group conflict. *Journal of Social Issues*, *54*, 699–724.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 878–902.

Fiske, S. T., & Neuberg, S. L. (1990). A continuum model of impression formation: From category-based to individuating processes as a function of information, motivation, and attention. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental psychology*, Vol. 23 (pp. 1–108). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Fiske, S. T., Xu, J., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (1999). (Dis)respecting versus (Dis)liking: Status and interdependence predict ambivalent stereotypes of competence and warmth. *Journal of Social Issues*, *55*, 473–489.

Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. In W. Stroebe, & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology*, Vol. 4 (pp. 1–26). London: Wiley.

Gilbert, G. M. (1951). Stereotype persistence and change among college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *46*, 245–254.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*, 491–512.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1999). The ambivalence toward men inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent beliefs about men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *23*, 519–536.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). Ambivalent sexism. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, Vol. 33 (pp. 115–188). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Hagendoorn, L. (1991). Determinants and dynamics of national stereotypes. *Politics and the Individual*, *1*(2), 13–26.

Karlins, M., Coffman, T. L., & Walters, G. (1969). On the fading of social stereotypes: Studies in three generations of college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *13*, 1–16.

Katz, D., & Braly, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *28*, 280–290.

Katz, I., & Hass, R. G. (1986). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*, 893–905.

Kitano, H. H. L., & Sue, S. (1973). The model minorities. *Journal of Social Issues*, *29*, 1–9.

Leslie, L. M., Constantine, V. S., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). The Princeton quartet: Does private ambivalence moderate modern stereotype content? Unpublished manuscript.

Lin, M. H., Kwan, V. S. Y., Cheung, A., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). Stereotype content model explains prejudice for an envied outgroup: Scale of anti-Asian American stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*, 34–47.

Linssen, H., & Hagendoorn, L. (1994). Social and geographical factors in the explanation of the content of European nationality stereotypes. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*, 165–182.

Massey, D. S., Charles, C. Z., Lundy, G., & Fischer, M. J. (2003). *The source of the river: The social origins of freshmen at America's selective colleges and universities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

McConnell, A. R., & Leibold, J. M. (2001). Relations among the implicit association test, discriminatory behavior, and explicit measures of racial attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *37*, 435–442.

Montreuil, A., & Bourhis, R. Y. (2001). Majority acculturation orientations toward "valued" and "devalued" immigrants. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *32*, 698–719.

Peabody, D. (1985). *National characteristics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Peeters, G. (2002). From good and bad to can and must: Subjective necessity of acts associated with positively and negatively valued stimuli. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *32*, 125–136.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Reactions toward the new minorities of Western Europe. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *24*, 77–103.

Phalet, K., & Poppe, E. (1997). Competence and morality dimensions of national and ethnic stereotypes: A study in six Eastern-European countries. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *27*, 703–723.

Poppe, E. (2001). Effects of changes in GNP and perceived group characteristics on national and ethnic stereotypes in Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *31*, 1689–1708.

Poppe, E., & Linssen, H. (1999). In-group favouritism and the reflection of realistic dimensions of difference between national states in Central and Eastern European nationality stereotypes. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*, 85–102.

Rosenberg, S., Nelson, C., & Vivekananthan, P. S. (1968). A multidimensional approach to the structure of personality impressions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *9*, 283–294.

Ruscher, J. B. (2001). *The social psychology of prejudiced communication*. New York: Guilford Press.

Salazar, J., & Marin, G. (1977). National stereotypes as a function of conflict and territorial proximity. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *101*, 13–19.

Schalk-Soekar, S. R. G., van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Hoogsteder, M. (2004). Attitudes toward multiculturalism of immigrants and majority members in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *28*, 533–550.

Sears, D. (1986). College sophomores in the laboratory: Influences of a narrow data base on social psychology's view of human nature. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*, 515–530.

Sue, S., & Kitano, H. H. L. (1973). Stereotypes as a measure of success. *Journal of Social Issues*, *29*, 83–98.

Van Lange, P. A. M., & Kuhlman, D. M. (1994). Social value orientations and impressions of partner's honesty and intelligence: A test of the might versus morality effect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *67*, 126–141.

Vonk, R. (1999). Impression formation and impression management: Motives, traits, and likeability inferred from self-promoting and self-deprecating behavior. *Social Cognition*, *17*, 390–412.

Wojciszke, B. (1994). Multiple meanings of behavior: Construing actions in terms of competence or morality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *67*, 222–232.