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Child interethnic prejudice in the Netherlands: social learning from parents and picture books

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Chapter 5

Navigating Diversity: Maternal Ideologies and Associations with Child Interethnic Prejudice in the Netherlands

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An adapted version of this chapter is currently in press at Social Development.

Abstract

Parental diversity ideologies are linked to their own interethnic prejudice, but how do they relate to children's prejudice? This study examined self-reported endorsement of colorblindness and multiculturalism among mothers (138 White Dutch, 65 Turkish-Dutch and 45 Afro-Dutch) of 6-to 10-year old children (55% girls), and its association with child interethnic prejudice. Endorsement of multiculturalism was lowest among White Dutch mothers, and endorsement of colorblindness was lowest among Afro-Dutch mothers. Maternal endorsement of multiculturalism was negatively related to child outgroup prejudice among White Dutch families, and results suggest no or opposite associations for colorblindness. Future research should explore what parenting based on these ideologies looks like, but the present study points parents in the direction of a multicultural, rather than colorblind, approach.

Keywords: children, interethnic prejudice, parents, diversity ideologies, colorblindness, multiculturalism

Although one frequently made suggestion to reduce bias in children is parent-child discussions about race and racism (Scott et al., 2020), parents, especially from dominant ethnic groups, are often reluctant to engage in these discussions (Pahlke et al., 2012; Vittrup & Holden, 2011). Parents might differ in their willingness to discuss these topics based on their diversity ideologies, such as colorblindness and multiculturalism, advocating different approaches regarding the emphasis that should be put on differences between ethnic groups (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Within adults, multiculturalism seems to be more strongly related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice than colorblindness (Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019), but few studies have focused on the transfer effects of parental ideologies to interethnic prejudice in children. In addition, national context and group status are important factors related to diversity ideologies and associations with interethnic prejudice (e.g., Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019), highlighting the need for research in previously left-out populations. Whereas there is some research in the Netherlands on diversity ideologies among native Dutch and Turkish-Dutch people (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2005), the Afro-Dutch community and parent-child transfer effects have to our knowledge not yet been studied. Therefore, the present study examines endorsement of colorblindness and multiculturalism in White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, and Afro-Dutch mothers, and its association to child interethnic prejudice.

Colorblindness and multiculturalism are two commonly studied diversity ideologies (i.e., beliefs about how diversity and demographic differences in society should be approached, Leslie et al., 2020; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Colorblindness refers to beliefs that prejudice stems from emphasis on social categories like ethnicity or race, and that racial bias can be prevented by not noticing race (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). However, others describe colorblind attitudes as denial or unawareness of racial dynamics (Neville et al., 2000), and a form of racism in itself (Neville et al., 2013). Multiculturalism, on the other hand, refers to beliefs that differences in ethnicity and skin color deserve attention and should be valued (Rattan & Ambady, 2013), and that creating knowledge and appreciation for differences improves interethnic attitudes (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Others describe multicultural ideology as endorsement of cultural diversity in society, while maintaining and sharing cultures (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Stronger endorsement of multiculturalism is found in members of underrepresented than dominant ethnic groups (e.g., Ryan et al., 2010; Wolsko et al., 2006). Opposite patterns are sometimes found for endorsement of colorblindness (Ryan et al., 2007), but group differences are not always found (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; Ryan et al., 2010).

Although both colorblindness and multiculturalism are based on arguments to improve interethnic relations, colorblindness is associated with more negative behaviors of members of dominant ethnic groups in interethnic interactions (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Norton et al., 2006; Vorauer et al., 2009), and less positive effects on members of underrepresented ethnic groups than multiculturalism (Birnbaum et al., 2020; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Plaut et al., 2009; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). In contrast, multiculturalism can also

have negative effects: it is associated with increased stereotyping (Wolsko et al., 2000), and racial essentialism, i.e., beliefs that group differences are biologically based and fixed (Wilton et al., 2019). The association between diversity ideologies and different aspects of interethnic relations is therefore not straightforward, and needs to be studied in detail. Prejudice, the affective component of interethnic relations, generally refers to negative attitudes towards or evaluations of (a member of) a group (Stangor, 2016), and is studied in the context of colorblind and multicultural ideologies most frequently (Leslie et al., 2020). Meta-analytic results show that both multiculturalism and colorblindness are negatively related to explicit prejudice, but that the association with multiculturalism is stronger (Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019). In addition, although the association between multiculturalism and prejudice is present in dominant and marginalized groups, it is stronger for the dominant group, while there are no group differences for the association between prejudice and colorblindness (Leslie et al., 2020).

Exposure to diversity ideologies might also affect interethnic attitudes of children. Being exposed to a colorblind ideology at school as compared to multiculturalism, for example, results in children being less aware of discrimination (Apfelbaum et al., 2010). Similarly, various forms of multicultural education are related to more positive interethnic attitudes among Dutch children (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Parents can expose their children to diversity ideologies through socialization and their engagement in explicit discussions. Parental discussions about race, in contrast to colorblind parental behaviors, seem to have positive effects on outgroup attitudes of White children (Perry et al., 2020; Perry, Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021; Vittrup & Holden, 2011). Parental diversity ideologies might also affect children in more implicit and subtle ways. For example, colorblindness is related to more negative interactions with members from underrepresented groups among people from the dominant ethnic group (Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Vorauer, et al., 2009), also in terms of nonverbal behaviors (Norton et al., 2006; Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008). Children seem especially sensitive to these nonverbal behaviors of adults in interracial interactions (Castelli et al., 2008), and thus might also pick up on the ideologies underlying these behaviors. Children also seem sensitive to normative pressure, although evidence mostly comes from the United States (U.S.). Studies conducted there demonstrate that both White children (Apfelbaum, Pauker, et al., 2008) and children of color (Pauker et al., 2015) between 9 and 12 years old show the behavioral tendency not to acknowledge race, in line with colorblind behavior as frequently observed in adults (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006). This line of thought matches with the social learning branch of theoretical approaches that tries to explain the development of interethnic prejudice in children, focusing specifically on the role of other people from whom children learn (see Levy & Hughes, 2009). Together the available research suggests that compared to parental endorsement of the colorblind ideology, parental endorsement of the multicultural ideology is associated with less prejudice among children, yet direct examinations of these associations are scarce and diversity in samples studied is limited.

Children already notice differences between people with different ethnic appearances and develop a preference for faces from their own ethnic group as very young infants (i.e., 3 months old; Kelly et al., 2005; Kelly et al., 2008). In addition, differences in explicit attitudes towards ethnic in- and outgroups and levels of implicit, less consciously activated, bias towards outgroups are found in White children in young age groups (e.g., 3-6 years old, Ramsey, 1991; Dunham et al., 2008). Although there is less research on children from underrepresented groups, similar reports of explicit and implicit bias towards other underrepresented groups have been found (Dunham et al., 2007). Meta-analytic results show a developmental path consisting of an increase in prejudice against lower status outgroups between early (2-4 years) and middle childhood (5-7 years), followed by a slight decrease towards late childhood (8-10 years), while prejudice against higher status outgroups stays equal between early and middle childhood, and increases towards late childhood (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Specifically in the period between middle and late childhood developmental paths show most variance (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), suggesting that social and environmental influences, for instance exposure to parental diversity ideologies, are particularly important for children in this age group.

When studying (parental) diversity ideologies and associations with (child) interethnic prejudice, sensitivity to the population and the context is highly needed. The association between colorblindness and prejudice has been predominantly studied in the U.S., while the negative association between multiculturalism and prejudice is actually stronger outside the U.S. (Whitley & Webster, 2019). In addition, as diversity ideologies may be differently associated with prejudice between various groups within a population (Leslie et al., 2020), investigations in different populations and groups are needed. The Netherlands provides an interesting context for this type of research, as ethnic diversity is increasing (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020), and problems in terms of interpersonal and institutionalized racism are identified, yet argued to be ignored or even denied (Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 2020; Weiner, 2014). Although behavioral colorblindness in terms of denying or silencing racism has been described as a common societal pattern (Hondius, 2014; Weiner, 2014), empirical studies on the endorsement of colorblindness in individuals in the Netherlands are lacking.

Studies on diversity ideologies in the Netherlands have thus far focused on multiculturalism, mostly among White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch, and to a lesser extent Moroccan-Dutch, participants. These studies showed that multiculturalism is more strongly endorsed among members of underrepresented ethnic groups (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinović, 2006), and that, consistent with meta-analytic conclusions (Leslie et al., 2020), multiculturalism is negatively associated with negative intergroup attitudes and prejudice in the dominant ethnic group (e.g., Vedder et al., 2016; Verkuyten, 2005; Velasco González et al., 2008). In contrast to meta-analytic results (Leslie et al., 2020), no significant associations between multiculturalism and outgroup attitudes were found in underrepresented ethnic groups (Vedder et al., 2016, Verkuyten, 2005). The positive association with ingroup evaluations among Turkish-Dutch participants

suggests that multiculturalism is associated with improved attitudes towards underrepresented groups only (Verkuyten, 2005). Other underrepresented ethnic groups in the Netherlands, however, have received little attention in previous research. Specifically research on the Black Dutch population (referred to as Afro-Dutch in the present study) is missing. While the Turkish-Dutch population makes up 2.4% of the Dutch population, 3.1% of the Dutch population has a Surinamese or Antillean background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021a), highlighting the need for inclusion of Afro-Dutch people in research on diversity and interethnic relations. In addition, whereas there is evidence of interethnic prejudice among children in the Netherlands (de Bruijn et al., 2020; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000), to our knowledge no research has previously linked these to parental diversity ideologies.

The Present Study

The present study examines endorsement of colorblindness and multiculturalism among mothers in the Netherlands and its association with child outgroup prejudice, in three ethnic groups: White Dutch (representing the dominant ethnic group), Turkish-Dutch (representing the largest predominantly Muslim underrepresented groups) and Afro-Dutch (representing the Black underrepresented group). It is expected that (1) endorsement of multiculturalism is higher among Turkish- and Afro-Dutch mothers than White Dutch mothers. The difference in endorsement of colorblindness and differences between mothers from the underrepresented ethnic groups will be explored. In addition, it is expected that (2) maternal colorblindness and (3) multiculturalism are negatively related to child outgroup prejudice, that (4) multiculturalism is more strongly negatively related to child outgroup prejudice than colorblindness, and that (5) ethnicity moderates the association between multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice, so that the association is strongest for the dominant ethnic group. Analyses of the associations between maternal ideologies and child prejudice towards underrepresented outgroups only (so excluding the White outgroup for Turkish- and Afro-Dutch children) are exploratory. Results will provide insights in the current endorsement of diversity ideologies among mothers in different ethnic groups in the Netherlands, and how endorsement of these ideologies relates to interethnic prejudice of their children.

Method

Sample

Families were recruited at locations, events, or through organizations aimed at children or the included ethnic groups, through social media, through the network of researchers, and with the snowball procedure. Participation of mothers was a criterion, participation of fathers was optional. Other inclusion criteria were: (1) the child was between 6 and 10 years old, (2) parents were the biological parents, (3) participating parents lived with the child, (4) parents did not have severe mental or physical illnesses, (5) children did not have severe developmental disorders such as autism, and (6) families lived in the urban Western region of the Netherlands. Other

inclusion criteria were: (1) White Dutch families: parents and their parents were born in a North-Western European country, (2) Turkish-Dutch families: parents were born in Turkey or in a North-Western European country if their parents were born in Turkey, (3) Afro-Dutch families: the mother, or at least one of her parents, was born in Surinam (identifying as Afro-Surinamese), Aruba, the Dutch Antilles, Ghana or Cape Verde. Background of the father was not a criterion for Afro-Dutch families, because interethnic romantic relationships are common among Afro-Dutch women (Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2007). Exceptions for White Dutch families were made if (grand)parents were born in another country during a temporary stay, did not identify with that cultural background, and the ethnic appearance of parents was White.

The sample originally consisted of 273 families, yet data from mother and child were complete in 252 families (138 White Dutch, 66 Turkish-Dutch and 48 Afro-Dutch). Because data from fathers were missing in most families (62%), fathers are not included in the present study. Most of the White Dutch parents were born in the Netherlands (94% of mothers and fathers), whereas most of the Turkish-Dutch parents were born in Turkey (59% of mothers and 65% of fathers). Almost half of the Afro-Dutch mothers were born in the Netherlands (48%), others were born in Suriname (29%), the former Dutch Antilles (21%) or Cape Verde (2%). Most of the fathers in the Afro-Dutch families were born in the Netherlands (33%), Suriname (28%), or the former Dutch Antilles (11%). The 252 participating children (56% female) aged between 6 and 10 years old (M = 7.53, SD = 0.99), mothers aged between 25 and 52 years old (M = 38.86, SD = 5.01). Demographics per ethnic group can be found in Table 1. Most of the mothers were living with a partner (86%), were highly educated (bachelor's degree/higher vocational education or higher, 65%) and were religious (57%).

Procedure

Two researchers visited the participating families at home for 1.5 to 2 hours, during which several standardized parent-child interaction and child tasks were conducted and videotaped to allow for post hoc coding. Both parents and child also performed several computer tasks, and parents answered some questionnaires. The child received a small gift at the end of the visit. Parents received a gift card of 20 euros, after they filled out an online questionnaire that was sent to them after the visit. Turkish-Dutch parents had the option to answer all questionnaires and receive instructions in Dutch or Turkish. The study's procedures and methods were approved by an Ethics committee.

Measures

Maternal endorsement of colorblindness. Mothers completed a selection of items from the Color-Blind Racial Attitude Scale in the online questionnaire after the visit (Neville et al., 2000). Items that loaded above .60 on one of the three factors

Table 1
Descriptives of sociodemographic and main variables

		White Dutch *N* = 138	Turkish-Dutch *N* = 65	Afro-Dutch *N* = 45
C gender	% female	54%	49%	67%
C age	*M* (*SD*)	7.37 (0.88)	7.66 (1.08)	7.76 (1.08)
M age	*M* (*SD*)	39.93 (4.09)[a]	36.18 (4.45)[b]	39.74 (6.36)[a]
M education	% higher level	83%[a]	28%[b]	64%[c]
M religion	% yes	29%[a*]	100%	76%[b]
M marital status	% living with partner	92%[a]	95%[a]	60%[b]
M colorblindness	*M* (*SD*)	2.73 (0.52)[a]	2.87 (0.46)[a]	2.14 (0.53)[b]
M multiculturalism	*M* (*SD*)	4.77 (0.83)[a]	5.07 (0.78)[b]	5.49 (0.79)[c]
C overall outgroup prejudice	*M* (*SD*)	-0.55 (2.12)	-0.46 (1.78)	-1.33 (1.61)
C underrepresented outgroup prejudice	*M* (*SD*)	-0.55 (2.12)[a]	0.68 (2.49)[b]	-0.52 (2.41)[a]

Note. C = child. M = maternal. Different superscript letters refer to significant between-group comparisons. * there was 1 missing data point on this variable in this group.

(unawareness of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues) reported by Neville et al. (2000) were selected for the questionnaire. To better fit the Dutch context, one item was excluded ('Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive'), and one item was adapted ('Dutch should be the only *spoken* language', rather than official language). This resulted in a total of twelve items, with answer options ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Six reverse items were recoded, with higher scores reflecting stronger endorsement of colorblindness. Based on negative inter-item correlations and Cronbach's alpha statistics, three items were excluded, resulting in nine items in total (four on racial privilege, three on institutional discrimination, and two on blatant racial issues). Scores were summed and averaged, so that scores could range from 1 to 5. Reliability was acceptable overall, and for White Dutch and Afro-Dutch mothers (Cronbach's $\alpha > .75$). For Turkish-Dutch mothers, reliability was somewhat lower (Cronbach's $\alpha = .64$).

Maternal endorsement of multiculturalism. Mothers completed the Dutch Multiculturalism Ideology Scale in the online questionnaire after the visit (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003), which is based on the Canadian Multiculturalism Ideology Scale measuring support for a culturally diverse society (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Eight items were selected in accordance with the scale analysis among Dutch and Turkish-Dutch participants (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003), including for example the item 'A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur'. Answer option ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Three reverse items were recoded, with higher scores reflecting

stronger endorsement of multiculturalism. Based on negative inter-item correlations and Cronbach's alpha statistics, one item was excluded. Scores on the remaining seven items were summed and averaged, so that scores could range from 1 to 7. Reliability was acceptable overall, and for White Dutch and Afro-Dutch mothers (Cronbach's $\alpha > .75$). Reliability was somewhat lower for Turkish-Dutch mothers (Cronbach's $\alpha = .66$).

Child outgroup prejudice. Children completed a social attributions task, adapted from the Multi-Response Racial Attitude Measure (MRA; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Children were presented with six envelopes with pictures of children (three boys and three girls, White, Black, and Middle Eastern) and one with a picture of a trash bin. Children in the pictures wore white t-shirts, were placed against a white background, smiled, and faced the camera straight. Results from a pilot among 74 adults (39% male), aged 18 to 53 ($M = 26.96$, $SD = 6.91$) of diverse ethnic backgrounds (31 White Dutch, 23 Turkish-Dutch, 20 Afro-Dutch), demonstrated that the Black children in the pictures were classified as Surinamese or Caribbean by 92-96% of the participants. The children of Middle Eastern descent were classified as Turkish or Moroccan by 95-96%, and the White children were classified as Dutch by all (100%) of the participants. No differences between the ethnic groups of the children in the pictures were found in terms of rated attractiveness ($p > .05$), but the children of Middle Eastern descent were rated less cute ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 1.70$) than the Black ($M = 6.51$, $SD = 1.39$, $t(72) = 3.56$, $p = .001$) and White children ($M = 6.72$, $SD = 1.38$, $t(72) = -4.42$, $p < .001$).

Participating children put cards with attributes in the envelopes of the children they applied to according to them, and remaining cards in the trash bin-envelope. Ten attributes were included: five positive and five negative (e.g., sweet, kind, stupid, annoying). Children received six cards of each attribute and could give it to as few or many children as they wanted (ranging from nobody to all). For each ethnic group in the pictures, a prejudice score was calculated by subtracting the number of positive from the number of negative attributes, similar to procedures by Rutland, Cameron, Milne et al. (2005), and dividing the score by 2 (as there were two pictures of children in each ethnic group). Overall outgroup prejudice was determined by averaging the prejudice scores of the two included ethnic outgroups: Black and Middle Eastern prejudice scores for the White Dutch participating children, Black and White prejudice scores for the Turkish-Dutch participating children, and Middle Eastern and White prejudice scores for the Afro-Dutch participating children. A second outgroup prejudice score was calculated while including prejudice towards underrepresented ethnic groups only (referred to as child underrepresented outgroup prejudice). This second score was similar to the first for White Dutch participating children, but consisted of Black or Middle Eastern prejudice only for Turkish- and Afro-Dutch children. Outgroup prejudice scores could range from -5 (very favorable) to 5 (very unfavorable).

Sociodemographic variables. Parents reported on sociodemographic variables in the screening, questionnaire during the visit and online questionnaire. Gender of child was dichotomized as (0) male or (1) female (no parents reported differently),

maternal level of education as (0) lower or (1) higher (bachelor or master's degree at higher vocational education or university, or PhD), and maternal marital status as (1) living with a partner or (0) not.

Analyses

Main variables were examined for outliers in the three ethnic groups separately. Two outliers on maternal multiculturalism, defined as 3.29 SD above or below the mean (Field, 2005), were winsorized (i.e., brought closer to the rest of the distribution), after which the main variables had a normal distribution. Four multivariate outliers were identified based on Mahalonobis distances, and excluded from further analyses, resulting in a total sample of N = 248 (138 White Dutch, 65 Turkish-Dutch, 45 Afro-Dutch). Preliminary analyses to examine group differences include Kruskal Wallis tests (for sociodemographic variables due to skewness) and analyses of variance (ANOVA's, for child outgroup prejudice scores). Furthermore, bivariate correlations between main variables (Pearson), and bivariate correlations between sociodemographic variables and main variables (Spearman) are examined.

Main analyses include a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to examine group differences on maternal colorblindness and multiculturalism. A multivariate analysis of covariance is run to control for covariates based on associations between sociodemographic and dependent variables. After, multiple regression analyses including relevant covariates and maternal multiculturalism and colorblindness as independent variables and child overall outgroup prejudice as dependent variable are run for the ethnic groups separately and in the overall sample, followed by similar exploratory analyses predicting child underrepresented outgroup prejudice. Next, hierarchical multiple regression analyses are conducted to examine the moderating effect of ethnicity on the association between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice. Dummy variables for ethnicity were created, predictors were centered and interaction terms between dummy variables and maternal multiculturalism were created. Child overall outgroup prejudice was entered as dependent variable, and independent variables were entered in steps: covariates based on associations between sociodemographic variables and the dependent variable (step 1), maternal colorblindness and maternal multiculturalism (step 2), dummy variable for ethnicity (step 3), interaction term (step 4). These analyses are run three times, including two ethnic group and one dummy variable for ethnicity at a time. This approach will ensure direct comparisons of the association between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice between all ethnic groups. The exploratory analyses include similar hierarchical multiple regression analyses with child underrepresented outgroup prejudice as dependent variable. A priori power analyses using G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007) showed that a sample size of at least N = 99 (MANOVA), N = 68 (regression analyses without interaction) and N = 85 (regression analysis with interaction) was needed to detect medium effects with a power of 0.80 and α set at 0.05, and thus that our overall sample size (N = 248) was sufficient, yet that the Turkish-Dutch (n = 65) and Afro-Dutch (n = 45) subgroups were somewhat small for some of the analyses.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 1 shows socio-demographic statistics and descriptive statistics of the main variables. Child age and gender did not differ significantly between the ethnic groups. There were significant differences in maternal age (H (2) = 29.53, p < .001), maternal level of education (H (2) = 60.17, p < .001), maternal marital status (H (2) = 36.21, p < .001), maternal religion (H (2) = 97.73, p < .001), child overall outgroup prejudice (F (2, 245) = 3.19, p = 043), and child outgroup prejudice towards underrepresented groups (F (2,245) = 6.91, p =.001, see Table 1). Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons were non-significant for overall prejudice, but Turkish-Dutch children showed more prejudice towards underrepresented outgroups only than White Dutch (p = .001) and Afro-Dutch children (p = .021).

Table 2 shows bivariate correlations between main variables. Endorsement of colorblindness was negatively correlated to endorsement of multiculturalism overall and in all ethnic groups. In Turkish-Dutch families and overall, endorsement of colorblindness was positively related to child outgroup prejudice. In White Dutch families and overall, endorsement of multiculturalism was negatively related to child outgroup prejudice. Child overall outgroup prejudice and child underrepresented outgroup prejudice were highly correlated in both the Turkish- and Afro-Dutch group. Of the sociodemographic variables, maternal level of education (ρ = -.27, p < .001), marital status (ρ = .18, p = .004), and maternal age (ρ = -.16, p = .011) were related to endorsement of colorblindness, whereas child age was related to endorsement of multiculturalism (ρ = .13, p = .043). Furthermore, ages (child ρ = -.16, p = .010, mother ρ = -.17, p = .009) and gender of the child (ρ = -.15, p = .020) were significantly associated with child overall outgroup prejudice.

Table 2

Bivariate correlates between main variables

Total sample (N = 248)[b]/White Dutch (N = 138)[a]	1	2	3	
1. Maternal colorblindness		-.44**	.10	
2. Maternal multiculturalism	-.48**		-.26**	
3. Child overall outgroup prejudice	.17**	-.20**		
Turkish-Dutch (N = 65)[b]/Afro-Dutch (N = 45)[a]	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
1. Maternal colorblindness		-.53**	-.03	-.17
2. Maternal multiculturalism	-.36**		.23	.28
3. Child overall outgroup prejudice	.26*	-.19		.76**
4. Child underrepresented outgroup prejudice	.25*	-.09	.84**	

Note. *p <.05, **p <.01. [a] = above diagonal, [b] = below diagonal.

Main analyses

Significant differences in diversity ideologies between the ethnic groups were found (F (2, 488) = 18.54, p <.001, Wilk's λ = .75, Figure 1): there was a significant difference for both maternal colorblindness (F (2,245) = 30.63, p <.001, ω^2 = .19) and maternal multiculturalism (F (2,245) = 14.20, p <.001, ω^2 = .10). Bonferonni post-hoc comparisons showed that endorsement of colorblindness was lower among Afro-Dutch than White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers (ps <.001). Endorsement of multiculturalism was higher among Afro-Dutch than White Dutch (p <.001) and Turkish-Dutch mothers ideologies most results were similar, yet the pairwise comparison between Afro-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers on multiculturalism no longer was (p = .022), and higher among Turkish-Dutch than White Dutch mothers (p =.041). After including sociodemographic variables related to diversity ideologies most results were similar, yet the pairwise comparison between Afro-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers on multiculturalism no longer was significant (p = .301). Exploratory analyses showed that specifically after entering maternal level of education, the difference did not remain significant.

Results from the multiple regression analyses predicting child overall outgroup prejudice showed that maternal multiculturalism and colorblindness did not significantly predict child prejudice in the whole sample or in the Turkish- and Afro-

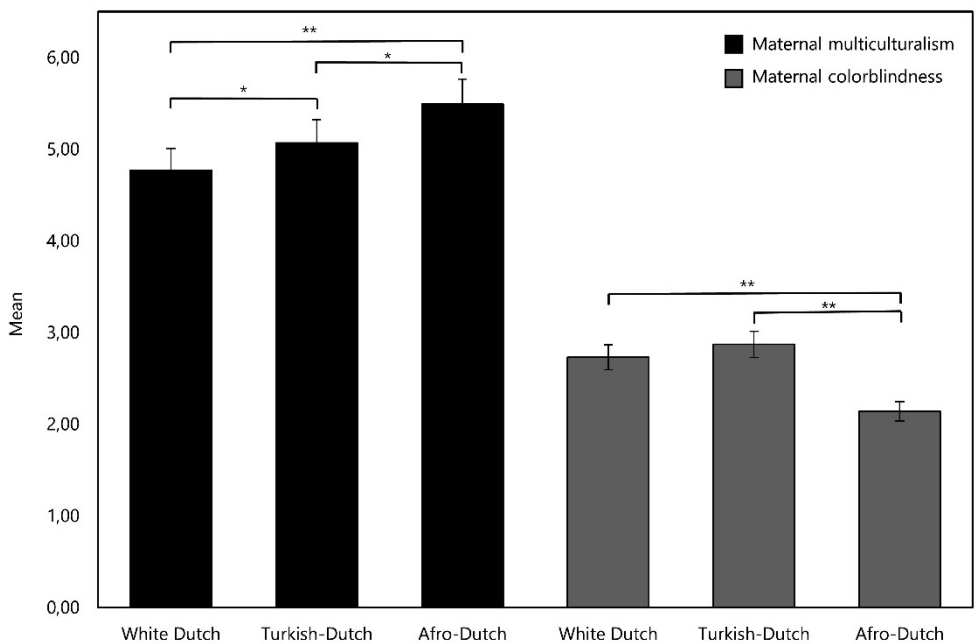


Figure 1. Group differences in maternal multiculturalism and colorblindness.

Dutch groups separately, but there was a significant negative association between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice in White Dutch families (Table 3). Exploratory analyses predicting child underrepresented outgroup prejudice similarly revealed no significant associations in the whole sample nor in the Afro-Dutch group, but maternal colorblindness positively predicted child underrepresented outgroup prejudice in the Turkish-Dutch families (β = .27, *p* = .040). Table 4 shows the results from the hierarchical multiple regression analyses predicting child overall outgroup prejudice in two ethnic groups at a time. Two of the final models (model 4) revealed significant interaction effects between maternal multiculturalism and ethnicity, showing that the association between maternal multiculturalism and child overall outgroup prejudice was significantly different among the Afro-Dutch families as compared to the other families (see Figure 2).

The exploratory hierarchical multiple regression analyses predicting child underrepresented outgroup prejudice similarly revealed a significant interaction effect between maternal multiculturalism and ethnicity when including the White Dutch and the Afro-Dutch families, but not when including the Turkish-Dutch and the Afro-Dutch families. In addition, a significant main effect of ethnicity was found when including Turkish-Dutch and White Dutch families, (β = -.24, *p* = .001), confirming earlier results that child outgroup prejudice towards (an) underrepresented outgroup(s) is higher among Turkish-Dutch than White Dutch children.

Discussion

The present study examined levels of endorsement of multiculturalist and colorblind ideologies among White Dutch (representing the dominant ethnic population), Turkish-Dutch (representing the underrepresented Muslim population), and Afro-Dutch mothers (representing the underrepresented Black population), and its association with child outgroup prejudice. Results show that endorsement of multiculturalism is higher among mothers from both underrepresented groups than mothers from the dominant ethnic group, and that endorsement of colorblindness was highest among White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers. Furthermore, whereas maternal endorsement of colorblindness was not related to child outgroup prejudice in the dominant ethnic group, a negative association was found between maternal endorsement of multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice, suggesting that in White Dutch families, parental multiculturalism has more positive effects on child interethnic attitudes than parental colorblindness. Associations between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice were less clear in the other ethnic groups, but maternal colorblindness was related to increased levels of child prejudice against the Black outgroup in Turkish-Dutch families.

Table 3
Multiple regression analyses predicting child overall outgroup prejudice

	Overall *N* = 248			White Dutch *N* = 138			Turkish-Dutch *N* = 65			Afro-Dutch *N* = 45		
	B	*SE*	β	*B*	*SE*	β	*B*	*SE*	β	*B*	*SE*	β
Child age	-0.27	.13	-.13*	-0.21	.21	-.09	-0.31	.20	-.19	-0.21	.24	-.14
Maternal age	-0.04	.03	-.11	-0.07	.05	-.13	-0.06	.05	-.14	-0.02	.04	-.09
Child gender	-0.58	.24	-.15*	-0.54	.35	-.13	-0.89	.43	-.25*	-0.11	.52	-.03
Maternal colorblindness	0.29	.25	.08	-0.15	.38	-.04	0.89	.49	.23	0.53	.56	.17
Maternal multiculturalism	-0.30	.16	-.13	-0.64	.24	-.25**	-0.07	.30	-.03	0.66	.37	.33
R^2		.10			.11			.17			.09	
F model statistic		5.32**			3.30**			2.46*			0.81	

Note. *p <.05, **p <.01

Table 4
Final models from hierarchical multiple regression predicting child overall outgroup prejudice

	White Dutch & Turkish-Dutch families (*N* = 203)			White Dutch & Afro-Dutch families (*N* = 183)			Afro-Dutch & Turkish-Dutch families (*N* = 110)		
	B	*SE*	β	*B*	*SE*	β	*B*	*SE*	β
Child age	-0.25	.15	-.12	-0.22	.16	-.10	-0.27	.15	-.17
Maternal age	-0.06	.03	-.12	-0.04	.03	-.10	-0.04	.03	-.11
Child gender	-0.64	.27	-.16*	-0.44	.29	-.11	-0.58	.33	-.16
Maternal colorblindness	0.15	.30	.04	0.04	.32	.01	0.75	.36	.26*
Maternal multiculturalism	-0.43	.19	-.17*	-0.11	.22	-.05	0.02	.24	.01
Dummy ethnicity (DE)	-0.04[a]	.33	-.01[a]	0.76[a]	.42	.16[a]	-0.46[b]	.44	-.13[b]
Maternal multiculturalism x DE	-0.31[a]	.37	-.06[a]	-1.09[a]	.42	-.21[a]*	0.88[b]	.41	.24[b]*
R^2		.11			.13			.18	
F model statistic		3.57**			3.56**			3.22**	

Note. *p <.05, **p <.01. [a] dummy is coded as 1 = White Dutch, [b] dummy is coded as 1 = Afro-Dutch.

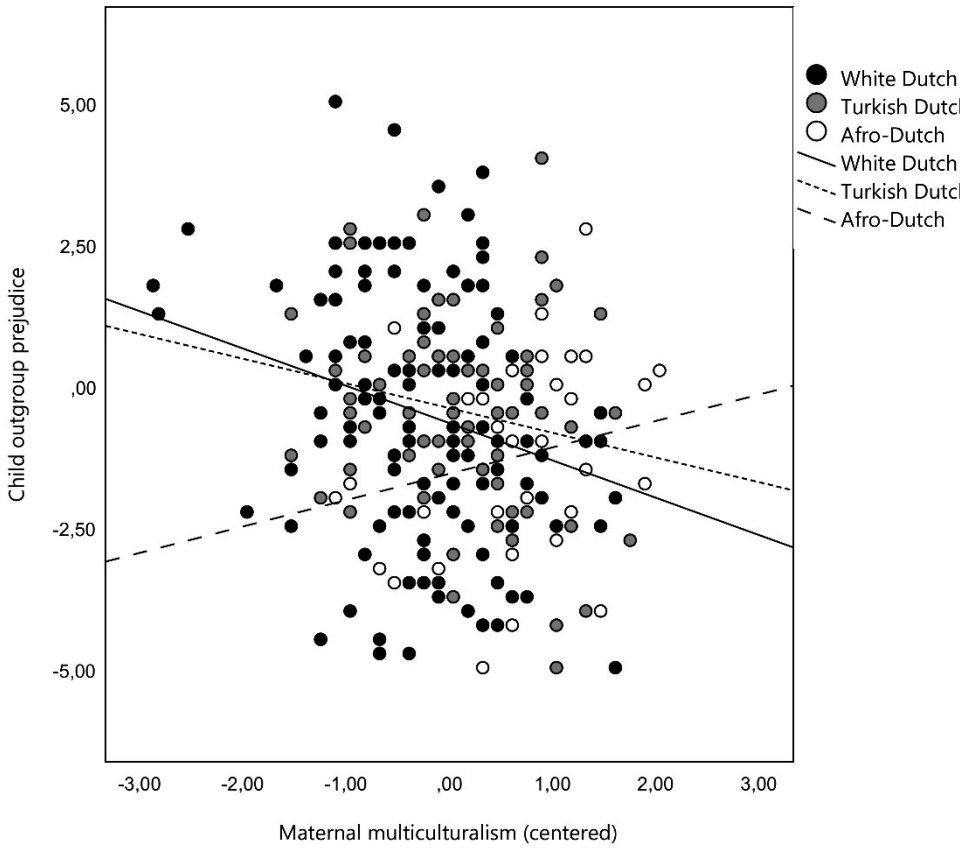


Figure 2. Associations between multiculturalism and child overall outgroup prejudice.

The identified ethnic group differences in multiculturalism are in line with expectations, based on research demonstrating higher levels of endorsement among members of underrepresented than members of dominant ethnic groups (e.g., Berry & Kalin, 1995; Ryan et al., 2010; Wolsko et al., 2006). The results replicate findings of stronger endorsement of multiculturalism among Turkish-Dutch than White Dutch participants (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2002; Verkuyten, 2005), and extend this by showing stronger endorsement among Afro-Dutch than White Dutch mothers. Group interests might explain these differences: multiculturalism is thought to be more beneficial for underrepresented ethnic groups (as multiculturalism implies maintaining their culture and rising in status) than for dominant ethnic groups (as multiculturalism implies a threat to their dominant status, Berry & Kalin, 1995). In all ethnic groups, however, mean scores were above the midpoint, indicating a relatively positive view on multiculturalism. Afro-Dutch mothers scored higher on multiculturalism than Turkish-Dutch mothers, but this contrast was non-significant after controlling for maternal level of education. A higher level of education is indeed identified as the most important demographic predictor of higher endorsement of multiculturalism (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). The difference in education between Turkish- and Afro-Dutch mothers in the present study resembles

the pattern in the general population, suggesting that patterns of endorsement of multiculturalism might also reflect the general population. However, the Afro-Dutch mothers were more highly educated than the general Afro-Dutch female population (64% had a higher level of education in the study as compared to 27-33% of women with a Surinamese or Antillean background, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021b).

As previous studies on ethnic group differences in endorsement of colorblindness were mixed (Ryan et al., 2007; Ryan et al., 2010), these were explored. Results showed lower levels of colorblindness among Afro-Dutch (just below midpoint) than White Dutch mothers (just above midpoint), in line with previous work in the U.S. (Ryan et al., 2007). The difference between Afro- and Turkish-Dutch and similarity between White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers is more surprising. When thinking of colorblindness as ignoring or avoiding the topic of skin color, the pattern could be explained by the fact that white skin color is still perceived as the norm in the Netherlands, making it easier for both White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers to avoid this topic. In the present study, however, colorblindness was measured as unawareness of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues. The high levels of experienced discrimination based on ethnicity and religion among Turkish-Dutch people (Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 2020), would suggest more awareness of racism (less colorblindness) among Turkish-Dutch than White Dutch mothers. One possible explanation for the present finding could be the recruitment methods: Turkish-Dutch mothers were more often recruited through the network of the researchers and snowballing than White Dutch mothers, who were more often recruited in more general ways (e.g., online or at playgrounds). The White Dutch mothers therefore may have participated primarily because they felt that the subject (societal diversity in the context of children) was important, and thus possibly were more aware of ethnic inequalities than the general White population. The Turkish-Dutch mothers may have participated mainly because of social reasons, for example wanting to help researchers involved. Afro-Dutch mothers may have lower levels of colorblindness than Turkish-Dutch mothers because of more contact with the dominant ethnic group (Martinović, 2013; Koops et al., 2016), potentially exposing them to a higher frequency of interpersonal discrimination experiences. The fact that anti-Black racism in the form of Black Pete has played a large role in the public debate on racism (Rodenberg & Wagenaar, 2016), and that Black activism has a long history in the Netherlands (Esajas & de Abreu, 2019) might also play a role. Future research will need to further examine colorblindness among various ethnic groups in the Netherlands and what drives and explains this endorsement, while distinguishing between the different dimensions of colorblindness in detail (i.e., color-evasion and power-evasion, Neville et al., 2013).

As expected, stronger maternal endorsement of multiculturalism was related to less child outgroup prejudice in the White Dutch families. Although we expected associations to be weaker in the Afro- and Turkish-Dutch families based on meta-analytic research within adults (Leslie et al., 2020), the associations were absent. Our non-significant results in these groups, however, are similar to previous studies in

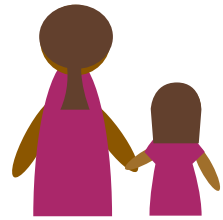
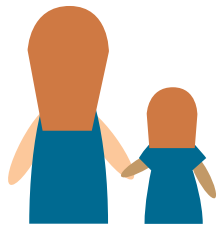
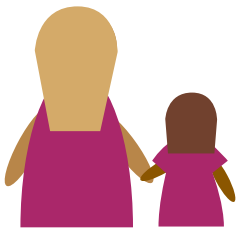
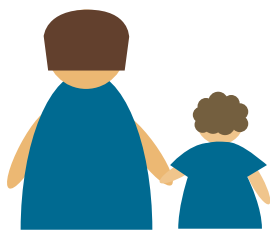
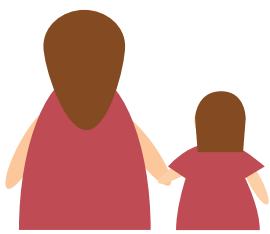
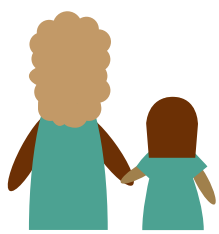
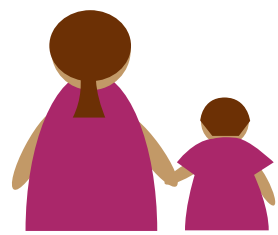
the Netherlands finding negative associations within the dominant, but not in an underrepresented ethnic group (Vedder et al., 2016; Verkuyten, 2005; Vescalo González et al., 2008), suggesting that patterns within Dutch individuals are similar to patterns of transfer effects between mothers and children. It has been suggested that multiculturalism is associated with attitudes towards underrepresented groups only (Verkuyten, 2005), but results from the exploratory analysis examining child attitudes towards underrepresented outgroups specifically do not support this idea. The interaction effects illustrate that the association between multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice differed significantly between the Afro-Dutch families and other families, but that the association did not differ between White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch families. This cautiously suggests that maternal multiculturalism might have some potential for reducing child prejudice in Turkish-Dutch families as well, but future research will need to examine these association among larger samples of families from underrepresented groups. The lack of association between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice could be explained by ceiling effects in the underrepresented ethnic groups (Leslie et al., 2020). The relatively small Turkish- and Afro-Dutch samples (N = 65 and N = 45) and the limited variability in their endorsement of multiculturalism (i.e., 57-76% between 5 and 7 on a 7-point scale) might have hampered finding significant associations with other constructs. In addition, effects of endorsement of multiculturalism on prejudice depend on national policies and perceived norms on diversity (Guimond et al., 2013). Perceptions of these norms can differ between ethnic groups, and need to be examined in future research on diversity ideologies in the Netherlands. Future research also needs to disentangle the influence of different societal contexts such as the school environment and the family, as multicultural education can simultaneously impact children's interethnic attitudes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013), and might decrease the (added) impact of parental ideologies. As multicultural education might be more common in ethnically diverse schools, parents' ideologies of children from underrepresented ethnic groups who typically attend such schools might play a smaller role.

Maternal endorsement of colorblindness was also expected to be negatively associated with child outgroup prejudice, but this association was not significant for overall outgroup prejudice in any of the groups when both ideologies were taken into account. In fact, results suggest either no effects or undesired effects of maternal colorblindness: bivariate correlational results show that higher levels of maternal colorblindness were associated with more child outgroup prejudice overall and in Turkish-Dutch families, and higher endorsement of colorblindness significantly predicted more prejudice against the Black outgroup among Turkish-Dutch families. Whereas within adults, colorblindness is negatively related to interethnic prejudice (Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019), transfer effects from parents to children thus do not seem beneficial for intergroup relations. Children are unable to not notice race, which is the hypothesized prejudice-reducing component of colorblindness by its proponents. In fact, they already perceive racial differences in infancy (Bar-Haim et al., 2006), and are able to categorize based on race by 3- to 4-years of age (Pauker et al., 2017). As children are also aware of societal inequalities at a young age (Bigler et al., 2003; Olson et al., 2012), colorblind messages reflecting

unawareness or denial of racism and racial privilege might tell children that these inequalities can be attributed to people themselves, resulting in negative perceptions of ethnic groups that are on the downside of inequality. Moreover, previous studies show that mothers who more strongly endorse colorblindness demonstrated more negative nonverbal behaviors in interethnic contact (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006), which could have been picked up by their children (Castelli et al., 2008).

The present findings do support the hypothesis that maternal endorsement of multiculturalism is more strongly related to lower child outgroup prejudice than maternal endorsement of colorblindness. These results are in line with the more positive effects of a value-diversity ideology at school as compared to a colorblind ideology (Apfelbaum et al., 2010) and with research on parental ethnic-racial socialization among White families that suggests that having ethnicity- or race-related discussions results in more positive child interethnic attitudes than not having these discussions (Perry et al., 2020; Perry, Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021; Vittrup & Holden, 2011). It thus seems that multiculturalism 'works' specifically for children in the dominant ethnic group, but it is less clear what diversity approach benefits interethnic attitudes of children in underrepresented ethnic groups. From the present results, it is unclear how mothers transfer their diversity ideology to their children and thus what related socialization practices look like. Applications of multiculturalism and colorblindness can take many forms (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010), highlighting the need for detailed studies on socialization in the family context, to examine the operationalization and content of messages related to parental diversity ideologies and their effects on child interethnic attitudes.

There are some limitations of the present study to take into account. Firstly, unfortunately data on fathers were limited and thus were not included. Secondly, although colorblindness and multiculturalism are two very prominent diversity ideologies, analyzing them in one construct each did not allow for examinations of different forms or aspects such as emphasizing similarities or individual uniqueness (colorblindness) and a focus on learning about differences, on appreciating contributions, or on maintaining cultures (multiculturalism, Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Future research could examine diversity ideologies in the Netherlands in more detail to take into account various forms, and include additional more recently identified diversity ideologies, such as polyculturalism or interculturalism (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; Verkuyten et al., 2020). Attention should also be paid to the validation of measures on diversity ideologies in various populations, as in the present study reliability of the questionnaires was somewhat lower in the Turkish-Dutch group (Cronbach's α = .64-66). Thirdly, generalizability of the present results are somewhat hampered by relatively high levels of maternal education as compared to the Dutch population.

The current study adds to previous research on diversity ideologies by examining levels of endorsement in three large ethnic groups in the Netherlands, and by focusing on the transfer effects of endorsement on children's outgroup prejudice.

Results indicate that higher maternal endorsement of multiculturalism is related to lower child outgroup prejudice among White Dutch families, and suggest that maternal colorblindness might actually have opposite effects, especially in Turkish-Dutch families. Future research therefore will need to look more closely at different components of parental ideologies and child outgroup prejudice in underrepresented families specifically. Furthermore, future research is needed to explore what parenting approaches based on diversity ideologies look like, and how they shape socialization processes and child interethnic attitudes. The present study implies that, in order to foster more inclusive child interethnic attitudes, parents should move in the direction of multicultural, rather than colorblind, approaches.