



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The development and socialization of children's ethnicity-related views in the Netherlands

Veen, P.D. van

Citation

Veen, P. D. van. (2023, May 25). *The development and socialization of children's ethnicity-related views in the Netherlands*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3618869>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3618869>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



THE DEVELOPMENT

AND SOCIALIZATION

OF CHILDREN'S

ETHNICITY-RELATED

VIEWS IN

THE NETHERLANDS



Daudi van Veen

THE DEVELOPMENT
AND SOCIALIZATION
OF CHILDREN'S
ETHNICITY-RELATED VIEWS
IN THE NETHERLANDS

Daudi van Veen

ISBN: 978-94-6419-757-0

Cover: Ilse Modder | www.ilsemodder.nl

Layout and design: Ilse Modder | www.ilsemodder.nl

Printing: Gildeprint, Enschede, The Netherlands

© Copyright 2023, P.D. van Veen, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or any means, electronical or mechanical including photography or recording or any information storage or retrieval system without the written permission of the author.

The Development and Socialization of Children's Ethnicity-Related Views in the Netherlands

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 25 mei 2023

klokke 16:15 uur

door

Piet Daudi van Veen (roepnaam Daudi)
geboren te Amsterdam, Nederland, in 1992

Promotor:

Prof. dr. J. Mesman

Co-promotor:

Dr. R.A.G. Emmen

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. mr. dr. E.R. Miller

Prof. dr. E.J.P.G. Denessen

Prof. dr. M. Killen (University of Maryland)

Prof. dr. D.M. Amodio (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Dr. B.G. Adams (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Dr. T.H. Stark (Universiteit Utrecht)

The research described in Chapters 4 and 5 was supported by a Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) VICI grant awarded to Judi Mesman (project number 453-16-008).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1	
General Introduction	9
Chapter 2	
National Identification, Social Dominance Orientation, and Attitudes towards Black Pete in the Netherlands: Person- and Variable-Centered Analyses	21
Chapter 3	
Ethnic Representation and Stereotypes in Mathematics and Dutch Language Textbooks from the Netherlands	37
Chapter 4	
Maternal Social Dominance Orientation, Maternal Conformity-Related Socialization Goals, and Young Children's Ethnic Prejudice	59
Chapter 5	
Raising Black Children in the Netherlands: A Mixed-Methods Study on Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Children's Ethnic-Racial Affirmation in the Netherlands.	81
Chapter 6	
General Discussion	109
References	119
Nederlandse samenvatting	135
Addenda	
List of publications	144
Curriculum vitae	146
Acknowledgements	147

General introduction

Daudi van Veen



INTRODUCTION

1

In recent years, protest movements such as “Black Lives Matter” in North America and Western Europe and “Black Pete is Racist” in the Netherlands have drawn attention to how people are affected by ethnic prejudice and stereotypes. Large-scale studies confirm that discrimination, one of the consequences of ethnic prejudice and stereotypes, is a widespread issue that many people of color face. For example, approximately half of the Turkish-, Moroccan-, Antillean-, and Surinamese-Dutch who participated in a large representative national survey reported experiencing discrimination in 2020 (Andriessen et al., 2020). Children are not spared from these issues. Studies suggest that the awareness of ethnic stereotypes (Pauker, Ambady, & Apfelbaum 2010) and the development of ethnic prejudice (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011) start in early childhood. Theories on the development of children’s ethnicity-related views (e.g., prejudice, stereotypes, and feelings about one’s ethnic group) suggest that children’s developing knowledge about the social world is closely linked to the socialization agents they are exposed to (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Nesdale, 2004). Unfortunately, research on children’s ethnicity-related views is rare in the Netherlands. Understanding the development and socialization of children’s ethnicity-related views is crucial for identifying ways to improve interethnic relations in the Netherlands and elsewhere. This dissertation covers studies into the development and socialization of children’s ethnicity-related views in the Dutch context. In this dissertation, I (with co-authors of Chapters 2 through 5) contribute to this sparse literature through a series of studies that focus on the development and socialization of children’s ethnicity-related views through three socializing agents; wider society (Chapter 2), textbooks (Chapter 3), and parents (Chapters 4 and 5).

KEY CONSTRUCTS AND DEFINITIONS

Before discussing the theoretical framework of this dissertation, several key constructs regarding children’s ethnicity-related views will be defined. Firstly, prejudice refers to an unjustified negative orientation towards individuals simply because they are a member of a particular group (Allport, 1954; Brown, 2010). Secondly, stereotypes refer to widespread beliefs about particular groups and their members (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 2018). These concepts are closely linked. Children and adults often use stereotypes to justify prejudice towards particular groups (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Rutland, Killen & Abrams, 2010). Lastly, ethnic affirmation refers to feelings about one’s ethnic group, and can be either positive or negative (Phinney, 1993). The first two studies in this dissertation describe children’s exposure to ethnic stereotypes in wider society (Chapter 2) and in textbooks (Chapter 3). The last two studies describe the role of parents in the development of children’s ethnic prejudice (Chapter 4) and ethnic affirmation (Chapter 5).

Throughout this dissertation, certain definitions are used to describe groups and their group-based socialization efforts. We recognize the contested nature of these terms, which is why this section provides the reasoning behind the preferred terms used in this dissertation. Ethnicity and race are often used interchangeably in academic literature (Hughes et al., 2006). Both terms refer to social groupings based on cultural heritage, regional origin, and physical appearance (Brown & Langer, 2010). However, ethnicity is broader and emphasizes a group's shared cultural heritage, regional origin, language, and religion, whereas race is more specific and emphasizes the physical appearance of a group (Richeson & Sommers, 2016). In Europe, the term ethnicity is more commonly used than race (Berg et al., 2014). The term race fell into disuse in Europe after the horrors of the Holocaust due to being associated with Nazism (Berg et al., 2014). As a result, ethnicity has broadly replaced the term race in European academic and governmental discourse (Lentin, 2008). In line with this convention, this dissertation refers to children's group-based stereotypes and prejudice as being ethnicity-based (rather than race-based) throughout this dissertation, except for Chapter 5. In Chapter 5, I opted for the use of the term ethnic-racial in line with the convention of the preferred publication outlet. Secondly, another term used throughout this dissertation is people of color. People of color is an umbrella term that refers to populations of non-European descent that face systemic ethnic prejudice (APA, 2019). In the Netherlands, people of non-European descent have historically faced systemic discrimination (Lentin, 2008), which is why the term people of color, while imperfect, is fitting to describe these populations. Lastly, the term ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is used to refer to how parents transmit messages about ethnicity or race (Hughes et al., 2006). Because of the lack of European academic literature on this topic (and, therefore, the lack of a convention for an alternative term), I followed the predominantly American literature and opted for using the term ERS.

THE DUTCH CONTEXT

The Netherlands is a particularly relevant cultural context for examining the development and socialization of children's ethnicity-related views. Approximately a quarter (27%) of young to early adolescent children have a non-Western background (i.e., are recent descendants of migrants from the Global South and Turkey, Statistics Netherlands, 2022). These children of color are usually the (grand) children of migrants (and residents from the Dutch Caribbean) who arrived in the preceding decades. The social exclusion that some of these children experience could be ethnically motivated. In 2017, a higher proportion of non-Western children were bullied online than Dutch children without a migration background (Stevens et al., 2018). For these children, educational settings can be particularly distressing. According to a representative large national survey in 2019, more than half of Turkish-, Moroccan-, Surinamese-, and Antillean-Dutch adolescents and young adults experienced discrimination

at secondary school or university (Andriessen et al., 2020). According to the same survey, approximately half of Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch (i.e., the largest Middle-Eastern-Dutch groups) and Surinamese- and Antillean-Dutch (many of whom are Black) people report experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months (Andriessen et al., 2020) due to their religion, ethnic background, or skin color. The prevalence of ethnic discrimination in Dutch secondary schools highlights the need for research on how aspects of the Dutch educational system may play a role in the socialization of children's ethnicity-related views.

Stereotypes about people of color in the Netherlands resemble those about people of color in the US. For example, the Turkish- and Surinamese-Dutch tend to be stereotyped as deviant (e.g., lazy and unemployed) and working-class (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989). Many Asian-Dutch people report being stereotyped as high-status model migrants (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). Dutch adolescents also tend to see the White Dutch as higher in status than people of color. For example, a study found that White Dutch preadolescents (aged 10-12) rank White Dutch people at the top of the ethnic hierarchy (i.e., ethnic groups perceived position in society), followed by the Indonesian- (e.g., Asian-Dutch subgroup) and Surinamese-Dutch (many of whom are Black) in the middle, and the Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch (who make up the majority of the Middle-Eastern-Dutch) at the bottom (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000).

Considering the particular focus on topics related to Black people in the Netherlands in Chapters 2 and 5, I will describe their unique position in Dutch society in more detail here. Most Black people in the Netherlands are migrants (and descendants of migrants) from Africa, South America, or the Caribbean. Black people have lived in the Netherlands since the 1600s (Van Dijk, 2020), albeit in small numbers. However, from the early to mid-1900s, increasing numbers of Black people migrated to the Netherlands. At first, most Black migrants to the Netherlands came from the former Dutch colonies of Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean, where a large proportion of the population are the descendants of enslaved Africans. Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, West African labor migrants arrived, mainly from Cape Verde and Ghana. Finally, after the 1990s, many Black refugees arrived, mostly fleeing conflicts in the Horn of Africa (e.g., Somali, Ethiopia, and Eritrean migrants; Appiah & Gates, 1999).

Additionally, there has been a growing awareness of how ingrained some forms of prejudice are towards Black people in the Netherlands in the last couple of years. The data presented in this dissertation was collected after the Black Pete is Racist protests received widespread national attention. These protests are focused on the famous Black Pete figure portrayed by mostly White volunteers in blackface during the children-focused festivities of Sinterklaas (Santa Claus), a widely celebrated holiday. The figure's appearance and lore (e.g., a Black servant of a white saintly figure) allude to ethnic stereotypes of Black people, making the Black Pete figure one of the earliest ways children in the Netherlands are exposed to ethnic stereotypes. However, Black

Pete is not considered racist by most Dutch people despite widespread protests in favor of changing the figure's appearance (Klapwijk, 2019; Lubbe, 2020). In fact, most Dutch people consider the children's holiday an important part of Dutch culture (Strouken, 2010). A study confirms that the resistance to the figure's appearance is partially driven by people's identification with Dutch culture (Tjew-a-Sin & Koole, 2018). However, public discourse suggests that for many Dutch people, a desire to maintain cultural dominance or social hierarchy may play a role (Cankaya, 2016). For this reason, children's repetitive exposure throughout their childhood to dominant attitudes regarding Black Pete's controversial appearance, national identity, and cultural dominance is likely one of the earliest ways that this generation of Dutch children are exposed to ethnicity-related views.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S ETHNICITY-RELATED VIEWS

Since Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), theoretical perspectives on the development of children's ethnicity-related views have flourished. Most theoretical perspectives can roughly be described as belonging to the social learning, cognitive, or social-cognitive approach, as summarized by Levy & Hughes (2009). Theoretical perspectives that employ a social learning approach agree that children learn ethnicity-related views through their social environment. However, children's ethnicity-related views also go through age-related changes, which suggests that cognitive development affects how children process ethnicity-related information. For this reason, theoretical perspectives that employ a social-cognitive approach integrate the combined influence of social contextual and cognitive factors at play in the development of children's ethnicity-related views. One such theoretical perspective is Social Identity Developmental Theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004).

SIDT describes the development of children's ethnicity-related views in relation to children's developing social knowledge, group membership, and cognitive skills. According to SIDT, children's ethnicity-related views pass through four sequential phases; undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference (or affirmation), and ethnic prejudice. Early on, during the undifferentiated phase, infants tend to prefer the faces of members of their own (vs. other) ethnic groups (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005; Kelly et al., 2007). This trend sets the stage for the ethnic awareness phase; around age 3, children's ability to categorize people as belonging to particular ethnic groups emerges (Williams et al., 2020). Then, through communication with adults and exposure to other socializing agents, children's ability to connect verbal cues to physical appearance develops further (Nesdale, 2004). For example, by the age of 5-6 years, about half of Black and White American children can accurately categorize children by skin color (Pauker et al., 2017). Although such studies have not been performed in the Netherlands, these patterns do suggest that at a young age children develop the ability to differentiate and name physically distinct

(e.g., based on skin color) ethnic groups relevant to their national context.

Children's ethnic awareness lays the foundation for the development of ethnic affirmation. As children age, they continue to learn information (e.g., stereotypes) that emphasizes the distinctiveness of their group from other groups. This information is internalized and forms a central piece of a child's social identity and self-esteem (Nesdale, 2004). For some children, ethnic affirmation's emphasis on distinctiveness sets the stage for the development of ethnic prejudice, especially when negative comparative information is used (e.g., one group is somehow better than the other; Nesdale, 2004). Ethnic prejudice fluctuates throughout childhood. According to a meta-analysis, in countries with White majorities, the ethnic prejudice of White children and children of color towards outgroups of color initially increases from early (2-4 years) to middle childhood (5-7 years), followed by a decrease from middle to late childhood (8-10 years). However, children of color's ethnic prejudice toward White people tend to increase from middle to late childhood (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Again, these patterns have mostly been found in American studies. To better understand the difference in this developmental trend between White children and children of color, more research is needed into the role that different social contextual factors play, such as national context or the role of parental socialization, which are topics explored in Chapter 4. In studies with children from dominant ethnic groups, ethnic affirmation is often investigated in relation to their ethnic prejudice (Nesdale, 2006). However, for non-dominant ethnic groups, ethnic affirmation is also considered a protective factor against the harmful effects of ethnic discrimination and ethnic stereotypes on mental health (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Although developmental studies on children of color's ethnic affirmation before adolescence are rare, a few studies suggest that young children of color tend to have relatively positive ethnic affirmation (Byrd, 2012), which increases throughout middle to late childhood (Byrd, 2012; Witherspoon et al., 2016). However, in late childhood, children of color become more aware that people of color (and by extension, themselves) face widespread discrimination due to their ethnic background or skin color (Brown, Alabi, Huynh, & Masten, 2011). There is a lack of studies on children of color's ethnic affirmation performed in the Netherlands. Understanding how children of color outside the US maintain a relatively positive ethnic affirmation despite being exposed to ethnic stereotypes is essential. Taken together, the SIDT describes the development of children's ethnicity-related views in relation to children's developing social knowledge, group membership, and cognitive skills. Past early childhood, children's knowledge regarding their own and other groups plays a vital role in how they view themselves and others. An understanding of basic socialization processes is needed to understand how social contextual factors play a role in the development of children's ethnicity-related views.

SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN'S ETHNICITY-RELATED VIEWS

According to Grusec and Davidov (2010), socialization refers to the complex process by which children acquire social views, and this process happens in five different domains that refer to the form of social relationships that a child has with a socializing agent. As children's cognitive skills develop, different socialization domains emerge, overlap, and become avenues through which children learn social information that may influence their ethnicity-related views. Early in infancy, the Protection Domain is the primary domain of socialization. Infants desire a sense of security from caregivers. Socialization research in the Protection Domain is typified by research based on attachment theory, which emphasizes the evolved need for close bonds between children and caregivers (Bowlby, 1973). The goal of the Protection Domain is for children to develop a secure sense of self in order to explore their surroundings. A person's felt security (i.e., attachment security) is not only associated with variations in how people approach interpersonal relationships, but also their views of outgroups (Carnelley & Boag, 2019). In infancy, the Reciprocity Domain also emerges. This domain refers to caregivers recognizing and complying with children's reasonable needs, described as caregiver sensitivity by attachment theorists (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1974). The goal of the Reciprocity domain is for children to develop the ability to trust and cooperate with others. This early development of trust and cooperation tendencies is likely to have a downstream effect on the development of ethnicity-related views. For example, various studies have found that higher distrust of outgroups is associated with more ethnic prejudice (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2002). Taken together, the Protection and Reciprocity Domains are relevant to the development of individual affective tendencies relevant to intergroup relations.

As children's cognitive skills develop, the socialization process becomes more complex. The Control Domain emerges around the age of 2 years, when children learn to verbalize their needs and come into conflict with their parents. Through punishment, caregivers can pressure children into aligning with their parental goals. The goal of the Control Domain is for children to learn to internalize social norms even when they conflict with personal desires. Social norms refer to the common attitudes and behaviors in a social group (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Children from controlling parents have long been theorized to be likelier to adopt their parents' non-inclusive social norms than children from non-controlling parents (Allport, 1954). For example, growing up in with controlling parents is associated with children's higher ethnic prejudice (Odenweller & Harris, 2018). Towards the end of the age of 2 years, the Guided Learning Domain emerges. This domain refers to socializing agents supporting children's learning of cognitive, emotional, and social skills. In this domain, socializing agents try to consciously pass on (age-appropriate) skills to children by providing information and feedback. The goal of the Guided Learning Domain is for children to learn socioemotional and cognitive competencies needed to navigate social

relationships and their surroundings. Besides being related to how children navigate interpersonal relationships, these developmental changes in socioemotional and cognitive skills are also associated with variations in children's ethnicity-related views (Aboud, 2008). Lastly, the Group Participation Domain emerges when children are 2-4 years. Due to the focus of the Group Participation Domain on explicit and implicit processes of socialization, this domain is particularly relevant to the socialization of children's ethnicity-related views.

The Group Participation Domain (Grusec & Davidov, 2010) is inspired by the social learning approach and complements Social Identity Developmental Theory's framing of the development of ethnicity-related views (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004). The goal of the Group Participation Domain is for children to adopt the social norms of their group. This domain relies on three assumptions. First, the central assumption is simple: children acquire many views by being a part of a larger social group. The second assumption is that children are inherently motivated to adopt social norms (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). This inherent motivation originates in humans (and other primates) evolved desire to be part of social groups that can offer assistance and resources (De Waal, 2012; Brewer, 1999). Finally, the third assumption is that adopting social norms is often not an explicit process and happens through repetitive observations (such as observing media or parents; Crandall & Stangor, 2005), social interactions, and participation in certain activities (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). These assumptions are useful for identifying how key socializing agents play a role in the development of children's ethnicity-related views.

A major key socializing agent shared by children growing up in the same country is that country's dominant social norms. Children learn about dominant social norms during childhood and adolescence by repetitively communicating with adults and engaging in social and cultural activities (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). Social norms in a country relevant to interethnic relations can help shape children's ethnicity-related views. For example, a study on cross-national differences in adolescents' prejudice suggests that in France, adolescents' ethnic prejudice is driven more by identity concerns, while in Italy, adolescents' ethnic prejudice is driven more by economic concerns (Bergamaschi, 2013). The authors hypothesize that this difference is due to France's identity-driven public discourse regarding migration compared to Italy, where the public discourse regarding migration is more focused on economic threat (i.e., migrants taking jobs from native Italians; Bergamaschi, 2013). Similarly, another study suggests that cross-national differences in ethnic prejudice in Europe are explained by cross-national differences in the tolerant social norms present in educational systems (Hello, Scheepers & Gijssberts, 2002). These findings highlight that to better understand the socialization of children's ethnicity-related views in the Netherlands, there is a need to examine dominant social norms relevant to interethnic relations that children are repetitively exposed to throughout their childhood.

A useful avenue for examining such dominant social norms in the Dutch context is the controversy regarding the children's focused Sinterklaas festivities and the Black Pete figure. As mentioned earlier, the resistance to changing the Black Pete figure's appearance seems driven by identity concerns and a desire to maintain cultural dominance (Cankaya, 2016; Tjew-a-Sin & Koole, 2018). For this reason, Chapter 2 focuses on adults' attitudes regarding Black Pete's controversial appearance, national identity, and social dominance orientation (i.e., a preference for social hierarchy; Pratto et al., 1994), a widely used measure of general intolerance towards marginalized groups.

Similarly, media (e.g., television shows, children's books, textbooks) also functions as a socialization agent shared by children growing up in the same country. Repetitively seeing subtle patterns of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice in media may shape children's ethnicity-related views (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Not surprisingly, studies suggest that media socialization may be one of the main sources of people's ethnic prejudice and stereotypes. For example, ethnic stereotypes and underrepresentation of people of color in media are related to people's attitudes regarding ethnic groups (e.g., Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yarchi, 2015). For this reason, it is important to examine the subtle ethnic stereotypes that children are exposed to. Unfortunately, such research is relatively sparse in the Netherlands. Chapter 3 addresses this gap and focuses on the presence of ethnic stereotypes (and related topics) in textbooks that all Dutch children are repetitively exposed to throughout their childhood: textbooks.

Parents expose children to social norms as representatives of their particular social groups. This exposure could be, on the one hand, indirect, such as children growing up in a family environment in which specific attitudes and socialization goals are stressed (what parents find important in parenting; Darling & Steinberg, 1993), which may guide what socialization agents parents expose their children to (e.g., schools, role models, television shows). On the other hand, this exposure to social norms could also be more direct, such as through messages (e.g., discussions about ethnicity or race-related topics) and behaviors (e.g., activities with their children; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). For example, studies suggest that children's ethnic prejudice is related to direct and indirect exposure related to parental attitudes goals, messages, and behaviors that touch on ethnic prejudice and hierarchical views of society such as social dominance orientation (e.g., Costello & Hodson, 2014; Meeusen & Dhont, 2015; Odenweller & Harris, 2018). However, these prior studies focused only on White families in Europe and the US, making it unclear if these findings regarding are generalizable to families of color. Chapter 4 examines why such relations may differ in families of color.

Parents of color can also expose children to social norms that may protect against the harmful effects of discrimination and ethnic stereotypes on mental health (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Much of the research on ethnic-racial socialization

(ERS) is focused on examining children of color's exposure to parental attitudes, goals, messages, and behaviors aimed at passing on ingroup pride and resilience (e.g., Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). These aspects of ERS are related to more positive ethnic affirmation in children of color (e.g., Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). However, most ERS studies focus on children of color in the US. There is a complete lack of studies on ERS in families of color in Europe. For this reason, Chapter 5 examines maternal ERS and children's ethnic affirmation in Black families in the Netherlands.

OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION

In this dissertation, I examine the development and socialization of children's ethnicity-related views through three socializing agents; wider society (Chapter 2), textbooks (Chapter 3), and their parents (Chapters 4 and 5). Firstly, **Chapter 2** describes a study that investigates if White Dutch adults' national identification and social dominance orientation (i.e., a preference for social hierarchy; Pratto et al., 1994) are related to attitudes towards Black Pete and Sinterklaas, figures in a very popular children's holiday festivity. Secondly, **Chapter 3** examines ethnic representation and stereotypes in first-year secondary school textbooks from two core subjects: math and Dutch. This chapter specifically examines if characters of color in the texts and images were under- or overrepresented and if they were portrayed stereotypically in terms of competence and status. Thirdly, **Chapter 4** focuses on how mothers' views on social hierarchy and the family environment are related to young children's (6- to 10-year-olds) ethnic prejudice in White, Turkish-, and Afro-Dutch families. Specifically, this chapter examines relations between maternal social dominance orientation, socialization goals, and children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups. Fourthly, **Chapter 5** focuses on a mixed-methods pilot study covering how Black mothers in the Netherlands approach ethnic-racial socialization (ERS). This study analyses how frequently mothers engaged in cultural socialization (i.e., transmitting ingroup pride), preparation for bias (i.e., preparing children for discrimination), and color-conscious practices (i.e., openly discussing ethnicity and race), and how these aspects of ERS relate to their children's ethnic affirmation using quantitative analyses. Additionally, this study analyzed how mothers describe their ERS goals, messages, and behavior using a qualitative analysis. Lastly, **Chapter 6** summarizes the main findings of these studies from the Group Participation Domain perspective and discusses future directions for research.

POSITIONALITY

This dissertation covers social issues that have been especially salient to the wider public in the last couple of years due to the growing anti-racism movement (e.g., Black Lives Matter, Black Pete is Racist). Whether qualitative or quantitative, no social research is value-free (Holmes, 2020). For this reason, I would like to discuss my personal views and aspects of my background relevant to this dissertation. Being the target of ethnic prejudice or stereotypes is unpleasant and linked to adverse (mental) health outcomes, such as anxiety, stress, and self-doubt (Major & Schmader, 2008). Because of these links, the studies described in this dissertation were partially motivated by hopefulness to reduce the prevalence of ethnic prejudice and stereotypes in society. My personal experiences fueled this motivation.

As a cisgender male with a bicultural background (i.e., Black Kenyan and White Dutch), I have personally experienced what it feels like to be part of an underrepresented group (Black people in the Netherlands) while also being a part of a native Dutch family on the other hand. Furthermore, while my early childhood to early adolescence was spent in the Netherlands, most of my middle to late adolescence was spent in the US. I lived in ethnically diverse areas in the Netherlands and the US and attended ethnically diverse and majority White schools. As a result, unfortunately, I experienced direct (e.g., slurs) and indirect forms (e.g., police violence) of ethnic prejudice in both countries. This wide array of experiences makes this dissertation an academic exploration of topics deeply personal to me. Because of my background, I am both an insider and an outsider (i.e., part of the ingroup and outgroup; Holmes, 2020) to the participants in this study (White, Turkish, and Black Dutch).

As part of an ethnically diverse team, our various ethnic backgrounds helped us develop culturally sensitive procedures and measures to the best of our abilities. Nevertheless, our various backgrounds also likely influenced the research questions that were formulated, our preferred methods, and how findings were interpreted. Overall, it is safe to say that all the co-authors involved in writing the various chapters of this dissertation are implicitly motivated to reduce ethnic prejudice and stereotypes in society, and conduct research that can yield new insights to achieve this.

National Identification, Social Dominance Orientation, and Attitudes towards Black Pete in the Netherlands: Person- and Variable-Centered Analyses

Daudi van Veen, Rosanneke A. G. Emmen, Judi Mesman

Published in Social Psychological Bulletin, 2022, 17, 1–19.

<https://doi.org/10.32872/spb.7853>



ABSTRACT

2 Black Pete, a blackface figure, is a popular but controversial part of the Dutch Sinterklaas festivity. Many ethnically Dutch people do not consider the figure to be a racist phenomenon and prefer not to change the figure, although many Black people in the Netherlands consider the figure to be racist. Prior research and public discourse suggest that national identity and wanting to maintain group dominance may explain why many ethnically Dutch people do not want to change the figure. Using a person-centered approach, we investigated if subgroups could be identified whose positive attitudes towards Black Pete and Sinterklaas clustered with high national identification or social dominance orientation (SDO) among Dutch university students (N = 174). Three subgroups were identified. The high national identification group scored high on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, Black Pete, and national identity but low on SDO. The high SDO group scored high on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, Black Pete, and SDO but low on national identity. The neutral-indifferent group scored low on these variables. Additionally, using a variable-centered approach, we investigated if higher national identification and SDO would be associated with stronger positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and Black Pete. Higher national identification, but not SDO, was associated with stronger positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas. However, national identification and SDO were both associated with stronger positive attitudes towards Black Pete. These findings suggest that many people who prefer not to change Black Pete also have identity concerns or a preference for cultural dominance.

KEYWORDS

National identity, social dominance orientation, cultural traditions, intergroup attitudes

INTRODUCTION

In the Netherlands, the increase in ethnic diversity has been accompanied by growing awareness about aspects of Dutch culture that are insensitive towards people of color (such as racial slurs in baked goods; Deems, 2020, or referring to the 17th century as the Dutch 'Golden Age' — a time when the Dutch were a major colonial power and player in the Transatlantic slave trade; Kiers et al., 2019). The public discourse around changing insensitive Dutch traditions tends to be met with a lot of pushback. Many of these discussions end up touching on bigger questions regarding the Dutch national identity (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2019) and the dominant position of the White majority group (Gargard, 2020; Rodenberg & Wagenaar, 2016). The most controversial of these traditions has been the popular Black Pete figure that is part of the Sinterklaas festivities. The figure represents a racial caricature of Black people and is typically portrayed by White volunteers in blackface (e.g., black or brown face paint, red lips, golden hoop earrings, and afro wigs).

Regardless of the controversies surrounding the Black Pete figure and the Sinterklaas festivities, most ethnic Dutch people still hold positive attitudes towards the figure. For example, most Dutch people deny that the Black Pete figure can be considered racist and prefer not to change the figure's appearance (Klapwijk, 2019; Lubbe, 2020). Research suggests that part of this resistance stems from people strongly identifying as Dutch (Tjew-A-Sin & Koole, 2018b). However, public discourse suggests that for many ethnic Dutch people, the resistance to changing Black Pete stems from wanting to maintain cultural dominance (Cankaya, 2016). With that in mind, we will investigate the following research questions: Can subgroups of people be differentiated whose attitudes on the Sinterklaas festivities and Black Pete cluster with either a) high Dutch national identification or b) a strong preference for social hierarchy, also known as social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994)? Additionally, are attitudes on the Sinterklaas festivities and Black Pete more strongly associated with Dutch national identification or SDO?

SINTERKLAAS FESTIVITIES AND THE BLACK PETE FIGURE

Sinterklaas festivities in Western Europe date back to the late Middle Ages. Sinterklaas is a figure in Dutch culture that resembles Santa Claus — an old man in a red costume with a white beard who brings gifts to children if they have been good or punishes them if they have been naughty. During the festivities in the late Middle Ages, Sinterklaas was often portrayed as being alone but at times accompanied by a devilish helper (Huisman & Wayenberg, n.d.-b). The current version of the holiday, as celebrated in the Netherlands and the Dutch-speaking parts of Belgium, can be traced back to the 1850s (Huisman & Wayenberg, n.d.-a). In this telling of the story, Sinterklaas and his servant Black Pete arrive yearly by steamboat from Spain to bring children gifts on the

5th of December. In the first half of the 1900s, Sinterklaas was typically accompanied by a single Black Pete servant. Over the years, however, increasing numbers of Black Pete figures accompanied Sinterklaas (Huisman & Wayenberg, n.d.-a). The controversy of the Black Pete figure stems from his blackface style appearance. According to Dutch folklore, Black Pete has dark skin because of going down the chimney to bring gifts to children – no explicit justification is made for the rest of the figure’s racially insensitive appearance. In addition, he has a subservient role, serving Sinterklaas by making sure all the presents are in order and delivered to the children.

Because of Black Pete’s subservient role and racially stereotypical looks, many people see the figure as a form of racism that fosters discrimination against Black people in the Netherlands. This sentiment was famously captured on Dutch national television in 1987 when during a broadcast of the Dutch version of the children’s show *Sesame Street* (VPRO, 2014), the Black Surinamese-Dutch actress Gerda Havertong explained that “Sinterklaas is not even in the country yet and Black people, adults and children, are being insultingly called Black Pete... For many Black people, adults and children, this is not a festivity at all”. Recent polls back up her claim; a majority of the Surinamese-Dutch people (60%) and half of the Antillean-Dutch people (49%), many of whom are Black, have experienced prejudice linked to the Black Pete figure (Klapwijk, 2019).

Nevertheless, calls to change racially insensitive aspects of the Black Pete figure have been met with substantial resistance by many ethnic Dutch people. These calls to change the figure are not new – they date all the way back to the 1930s. However, it is only in recent years that calls for changing Black Pete have become a yearly recurring part of the public debate leading up to the Sinterklaas festivity (Heilbron et al., 2018). Since 2011, protests against the Black Pete figure have become increasingly polarized. On the one hand, large crowds of protestors from various ethnic backgrounds want to change the figure’s appearance. However, on the other hand, increasingly large crowds of predominantly White Dutch protestors do not want to change the figure’s appearance. This resistance is also reflected in national polls; the majority (55%) of Dutch people prefer not to change the appearance of Black Pete, and an even larger proportion (78%) do not see the figure as being a racist phenomenon (Lubbe, 2020). This resistance tends to be justified in a number of ways. Many emphasize that the Sinterklaas festivities are an important part of Dutch culture (Strouken, 2010) and that it is an innocent children’s holiday (Cankaya, 2016). In contrast, most Surinamese- and Antillean-Dutch people (69% and 58% respectively) prefer to change the appearance of Black Pete and see the character as racist (Surinamese-Dutch: 65%, Antillean-Dutch: 53%; Klapwijk, 2019).

IDENTITY & SDO

Research suggests that resistance to changing Black Pete is strongest among those who strongly identify as Dutch (Tjew-A-Sin & Koole, 2018b). Based on social identity

theory (Cameron, 2004; Hogg, 2021; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), one could argue that people with high national identification in the Netherlands hold on to the traditional Sinterklaas festivities and the Black Pete figure because it is a) considered a core aspect of Dutch identity (the festivities are considered the most important Dutch holiday; Strouken, 2010) and b) changing core aspects of the festivities would have a negative effect on people's (identity-derived) self-esteem. However, the public discourse on changing Black Pete suggests an important role for the notion that the majority group has to change traditions because members of a marginalized ethnic group are offended by it (Cankaya, 2016; Gargard, 2020). This suggests that national identification may not be the only psychological factor at play because national identification is not consistently associated with negative attitudes towards marginalized ethnic groups (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018; Thomsen et al., 2008). Some people with high national identification may consider marginalized ethnic groups with the same nationality part of the ingroup (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018). Therefore, it is likely that other psychological constructs may help explain why resistance to changing Black Pete is so common in the Netherlands.

Among right-wing Dutch politicians in the Netherlands, it is common to refer to changing the appearance of Black Pete as a symbol of losing Dutch culture (Vliet, 2020). This sentiment is also common among the general public. For example, a popular pro-Black Pete Facebook group (which was later deleted) with over 18,000 followers (as of March 2020) included the following post: "you came to the NETHERLANDS...I will not change my flag, religion or culture or habits for you. If you do not like what the Netherlands is and what it stands for, you are FREE TO LEAVE" (Ik ben Zwarte Piet, 2019). Clearly, the public sentiment regarding the Sinterklaas festivities and the Black Pete figure suggests that more is at stake for many ethnic Dutch people than lowering one's (identity-derived) self-esteem and that there is fear about losing their dominant position in society. A preference for social hierarchy, or social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994), may play a role besides national identity.

This is in line with social dominance theory, which asserts that high SDO people are opposed to hierarchy-attenuating changes, or changes that make relations between dominant and less dominant groups more equal and less hierarchal (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Similar to members of the dominant ethnic group who feel strongly attached to their nationality, having high SDO may help members of the dominant ethnic group justify their group's position in comparison to other groups (Guimond et al., 2003; Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). Conceptually, opposing changes that increase equality between groups implies more resistance to making a cultural tradition less stigmatizing towards a marginalized ethnic group. This is part of the debate regarding the offensiveness of the Black Pete figure (Wieringa, 2019). Research provides support for this assumption in various ways. For instance, SDO is associated with resistance to having an intercultural dialogue with an ethnic outgroup member regarding racism (Cargile, 2017), unwillingness to apologize to ethnic outgroup members for harm

suffered during colonial times (Mifune et al., 2019), a lower tendency to classify a potentially prejudiced situation as being racist (Miller & Saucier, 2018), tolerance of racism (Hunt et al., 2021), and a greater likelihood of framing social progress made by marginalized ethnic groups as a 'loss' for the dominant ethnic group (Eibach & Keegan, 2006). Additionally, although national identification and SDO are associated with one another, SDO is consistently linked with negative attitudes towards marginalized groups cross-culturally, while national identification is not (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018; Pratto et al., 2013; Thomsen et al., 2008). Taking these findings into consideration, the fact that a large subgroup of the ethnic Dutch population still holds positive attitudes towards Black Pete may be due to high SDO, given that the debate touches on topics such as the unwillingness of many White Dutch people to even discuss changing the figure, dismissal of the notion that the figure is a racist phenomenon, and the sentiment that the White Dutch are losing their dominant position because 'newcomers' are demanding changes to cultural traditions.

In sum, many ethnic Dutch people resist changing racially insensitive aspects of Dutch culture, especially the figure of Black Pete. Considering the debate regarding Black Pete and the literature, we expect national identity and SDO to play a role in driving this resistance. We plan to use both a person-centered and variable-centered approach to test our hypotheses. The person-centered approach is used to identify if subgroups of people exist in which positive attitudes towards the Sinterklaas festivities and the Black Pete figure cluster with identity concerns or preference for social hierarchy (Howard & Hoffman, 2018). Variable-centered analyses on the other hand provide broad general patterns between variables within a sample (e.g., is variable A related to variable B?). For a person-centered approach, we hypothesize that people with positive attitudes towards the Black Pete figure and the Sinterklaas festivities can be differentiated into at least two distinct groups: a subgroup characterized by high national identification and a subgroup characterized by high SDO. Secondly, we hypothesize that subgroups with high SDO people will also be characterized by having the strongest positive attitudes towards the Black Pete figure, while subgroups with high national identification will be characterized by having the strongest positive attitudes towards the Sinterklaas festivities in general. Lastly, considering that men tend to have higher SDO than women (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2000), we will also examine if subgroups with high SDO have a higher proportion of men than low SDO subgroups. For the variable-centered approach we hypothesize that national identification will be more strongly related to positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas than SDO, and that SDO will be more strongly related to positive attitudes towards the Black Pete figure than national identification.

METHODS

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

The current study uses a secondary dataset made publicly available through the Data Archiving and Network service repository (Tjew-A-Sin & Koole, 2018a). The original experimental study examined the influence of mortality salience on attitudes regarding Sinterklaas and Black Pete (Tjew-A-Sin & Koole, 2018b), and the data were collected in the last quarter of 2013. The sample consists of 174 ethnically Dutch university students (139 women; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.87$, $SD = 3.39$). Participants received monetary compensation or partial course credit. First, the participants filled out measures of mood. Next, the participants were randomly assigned to either the high ($n = 83$) or low ($n = 91$) mortality salience condition. In the high mortality salience condition, participants filled out a brief 7-item version of the Fear of Personal Death Scale (FPDS; Florian & Kravetz, 1983), with higher scores representing a higher fear of death. In the low mortality salience condition, participants filled out similar items on fear of going to the dentist. Subsequently, participants filled out a second questionnaire on mood, followed by questionnaires on national identification, self-esteem, SDO, self-stereotypes referring to the Dutch, Theory of Mind, Dutch caricatures, and general background information. See Tjew-A-Sin and Koole (2018b) for more information on measures not included in the current study.

MEASURES

National Identity

The degree to which a person feels a sense of belonging to their Dutch identity was assessed with three items developed by Verkuyten (2005) that were inspired by the Identity and Membership subscales of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The three items ("I feel connected to the Netherlands," "I identify with Dutch people," and "I feel like a Dutchman") were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The three items were averaged. The internal consistency of the scale was good (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$).

Social Dominance Orientation

The degree of preference for social hierarchy between groups was measured with the four-item Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO; Pratto et al., 2013). The four items ("In setting priorities, we must consider all groups", "We should not push for group equality", "Group equality should be our ideal" and "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups") were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (strongly agree). After reverse-scoring two items, the items were averaged. The internal consistency of the scale was acceptable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .66$).

Attitudes regarding Sinterklaas & Black Pete

Attitudes regarding the traditional celebration of Sinterklaas and the controversial Black Pete figure were measured with an eight-item questionnaire. The items were rated on a scale from 1 (do not agree at all) to 7 (completely agree). A principal component analysis (with a varimax rotation constrained to two factors) was used to examine if the items could be split into reliable subscales that capture attitudes towards a) Sinterklaas and the cultural importance of the festivities and b) the controversy surrounding the Black Pete figure. Four items measuring attitudes towards Sinterklaas in relation to Dutch culture (i.e., “Celebrating Sinterklaas is part of the Netherlands”, “The Sinterklaas festivities and Black Pete are an important part of Dutch tradition”, “Only the Dutch understand the value of the Sinterklaas tradition”, and “Sinterklaas is a harmless activity for children”) loaded on the first factor and had factor loadings $> .60$. These items were averaged to form the subscale “Positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas”, and showed acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .66$). Four items measuring attitudes towards Black Pete (i.e., “Black Pete should remain a part of the Sinterklaas tradition”, and the reverse-coded “Black Pete is racist”, “The appearance of Black Pete should be adjusted”, and “Black Pete is really not done in today’s society”) loaded on the second factor and had factor loadings $> .70$. These items were averaged to form the subscale “Positive attitudes towards Black Pete” with good internal consistency (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .88$).

RESULTS

DATA-INSPECTION AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSES

The missing value analysis found no missing data points. Standardized z-scores greater than 3.29 above and below the mean were defined as outliers (Kim, 2013). Three univariate outliers on the SDO, national identification, and positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas variables were winsorized. The winsorized variables were normally distributed. Additionally, two multivariate outliers were detected. Due to these multivariate outliers, we used K-median cluster analyses which are less sensitive to the influence of outliers than the popular K-means method (Cardot et al., 2012). We excluded these multivariate outliers from our multiple regression analyses. We also tested if there were mean differences between experimental conditions for the SDO, national identification, positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and positive attitudes towards Black Pete variables. No significant differences were found (p -values ranged from .44 to .89). See Table 1 for descriptive statistics.

The NbClust package in R recommended the number of clusters for the current dataset according to 30 popular indices (Charrad et al., 2014). Manhattan distance was used as the dissimilarity measure. A two-cluster solution was supported by eight indices, a three-cluster solution was supported by five indices, and a four-cluster solution was

supported by four indices. All other solutions were supported by three or fewer indices. The two-cluster solution formed clusters that scored either high or low (above or below the mean) on all variables. The four-cluster solution formed two clusters that scored either high or low on all variables, a third cluster that scored low on all variables except for SDO, and a fourth cluster that scored high on all variables except for SDO. Because the goal of cluster analyses is to find clusters in the data that a) reflect natural groupings in the data that b) are theoretically interpretable (Green & Cunningham, 2005), we proceeded with a *K*-median cluster analysis of the three-cluster solution (using the *Gmedian* package in R; Cardot, 2016), which better reflected our expectations based on the national identity and social dominance theory literature.

Table 1.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between National Identification, SDO, Positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, and Positive attitudes towards Black Pete.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. National Identification	5.39	1.26	—				
2. SDO	2.62	0.96	-.13	—			
3. Positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas	5.62	0.85	.25**	.12	—		
4. Positive attitudes towards Black Pete	5.69	1.39	.17*	.23**	.56**	—	
5. Gender	—	—	-.12	.15	.08	.04	—

Note. *M* and *SD* represent the mean and standard deviation. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

MAIN ANALYSES

Table 2 shows the results of the cluster analysis. To interpret the clusters, we examined the standardized and non-standardized median scores of each cluster on the questionnaires to show both the relative and absolute position of participant clusters on the key variables. The first cluster of participants ($n = 73$), labeled the high national identification group, scored above average on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, positive attitudes towards Black Pete, and national identification, and below average on SDO. The non-standardized scores on the questionnaires indicated that the high national identification group had positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas (mean close to scale descriptor "agree"), and Black Pete (mean between scale descriptor "agree" and "strongly agree"), identified as Dutch (mean close to scale descriptor "agree"), while scoring relatively low on SDO (mean close to scale descriptor "disagree"). The second cluster of participants ($n = 51$), labeled the high SDO group, scored above average on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, positive attitudes towards Black Pete, and SDO, but below average on national identification. The non-standardized scores on the questionnaires indicated that the high SDO group had positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas (mean close to scale descriptor "agree") and Black Pete (mean between scale descriptor "agree" and "strongly agree"), somewhat identified as Dutch (mean

close to scale descriptor “somewhat agree”), while scoring close to neutral on SDO (mean close to scale descriptor “neutral”). The third cluster of participants ($n = 50$), labeled the neutral-indifferent group, scored below average on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, positive attitudes towards Black Pete, national identification, and SDO. The non-standardized scores on the questionnaires indicated that the neutral-indifferent group had slightly positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas (mean close to scale descriptor “somewhat agree”), neutral attitudes towards Black Pete (mean close to scale descriptor “neutral”), somewhat identified as Dutch (mean close to scale descriptor “agree”) while scoring relatively low on SDO (mean close to scale descriptor “disagree”).

Next, we tested between-group differences between clusters. Because the positive attitudes towards Black Pete and national identification variables violated the homogeneity of variances assumption and were unequal in size, we used Welch’s ANOVA tests on all variables followed up by Games-Howell post-hoc tests (see Table 2). Firstly, significant between-group differences were found for positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas. The scores of the high national identification group and the high SDO group did not significantly differ on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, but both scored significantly higher than the neutral-indifferent group. Secondly, significant differences were also found for positive attitudes towards Black Pete. The scores of the high national identification group and the high SDO group did not significantly differ on positive attitudes towards Black Pete, but both groups scored significantly higher than the neutral-indifferent group. Thirdly, significant between-group differences were found for national identification as well. The high national identification group scored significantly higher on national identification than the high SDO group and the neutral-indifferent group, but the scores of the high SDO group and the neutral-indifferent group did not significantly differ from one another. Lastly, significant between-group differences were found for SDO. The high SDO group scored significantly higher on SDO than the high national identification group and the neutral-indifferent group, but the scores of the high national identification group and the neutral-indifferent group did not significantly differ from one another.

Next, exploratory analyses were performed to examine if the proportion of men in the different clusters was comparable to their proportion in the total sample. Exploratory analyses using binomial tests revealed that men were not significantly over- or underrepresented among the high national identification group (10.0%, $p = .112$), the high SDO group (30.0%, $p = .071$), nor the neutral-indifferent group (20.0%, $p = .071$). Similarly, we examined if the experimental conditions had any effect on the likelihood of participants being classified in different clusters. Binomial tests revealed that participants assigned to the mortality salience condition were not over- or underrepresented among the high national identification group (47.0%, $p = .64$), high SDO group (51%, $p = 1.00$), or neutral indifferent group (52%, $p = .88$).

Table 2.

Z scores of the cluster centers, means (*M*), standard deviations (*SD*), and between-group differences for the three clusters.

Variable	High national identification group <i>n</i> = 73	High SDO group <i>n</i> = 51	Neutral-indifferent Group <i>n</i> = 50	Between-group differences
	<i>Z</i> ; <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>Z</i> ; <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>Z</i> ; <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	
Positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas	0.44; 6.01 (0.58) ^a	0.48; 5.96 (0.54) ^a	-1.14; 4.70 (0.76) ^b	<i>F</i> (2, 103) = 57.74, <i>p</i> < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .47$
Positive attitudes towards Black Pete	0.47; 6.35 (0.79) ^a	0.29; 6.41 (0.67) ^a	-1.09; 3.98 (1.15) ^b	<i>F</i> (2, 102) = 92.92, <i>p</i> < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .61$
National identification	0.38; 6.10 (0.74) ^a	-0.71; 4.84 (1.46) ^b	-0.69; 4.90 (1.16) ^b	<i>F</i> (2, 89) = 31.08, <i>p</i> < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .23$
SDO	-0.59; 2.15 (0.64) ^a	0.78; 3.60 (0.84) ^b	-0.30; 2.30 (0.70) ^a	<i>F</i> (2, 101) = 56.73, <i>p</i> < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .44$

Note. Different superscript letters refer to significant between-group contrasts.

Lastly, we ran two hierarchical multiple regression models. The first model had positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas as the dependent variable. Gender was added in the first block as a covariate; national identification and SDO were added in the second block as predictors. Gender was not significantly associated with positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas in the first ($\beta = .103$, $p = .179$) and second block ($\beta = .111$, $p = .132$). In the second block, higher national identification was significantly associated with stronger positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas ($\beta = .297$, $p < .001$), but SDO was not ($\beta = .106$, $p = .154$). The final model significantly predicted stronger positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, $R^2_{adj} = .081$, $F(3, 170) = 6.11$, $p = .001$.

The second model had positive attitudes towards Black Pete as the dependent variable. Gender was added in the first block as a covariate; national identification and SDO were added in the second block as predictors. Gender was not significantly associated with positive attitudes towards Black Pete in the first ($\beta = .017$, $p = .826$) and second block ($\beta = .004$, $p = .961$). However, in the second block, higher national identification ($\beta = .222$, $p = .003$) and higher SDO ($\beta = .239$, $p = .002$) were significantly associated with stronger positive attitudes towards Black Pete. The final model significantly predicted stronger positive attitudes towards Black Pete, $R^2_{adj} = .078$, $F(3, 170) = 5.87$, $p = .001$. To test if these standardized coefficients were significantly different from one another, we calculated their confidence intervals using a bootstrap procedure in SPSS (set to 1000 re-samples). Confidence intervals that overlap by less than 50% can be considered to be significantly different from one another ($p < .05$; Cumming, 2009). As shown in Figure 1, the confidence intervals mostly overlapped, suggesting no significant difference between the standardized coefficients for national identification and SDO in our second model. This means that national identification and SDO are equally important predictors of positive attitudes towards Black Pete.

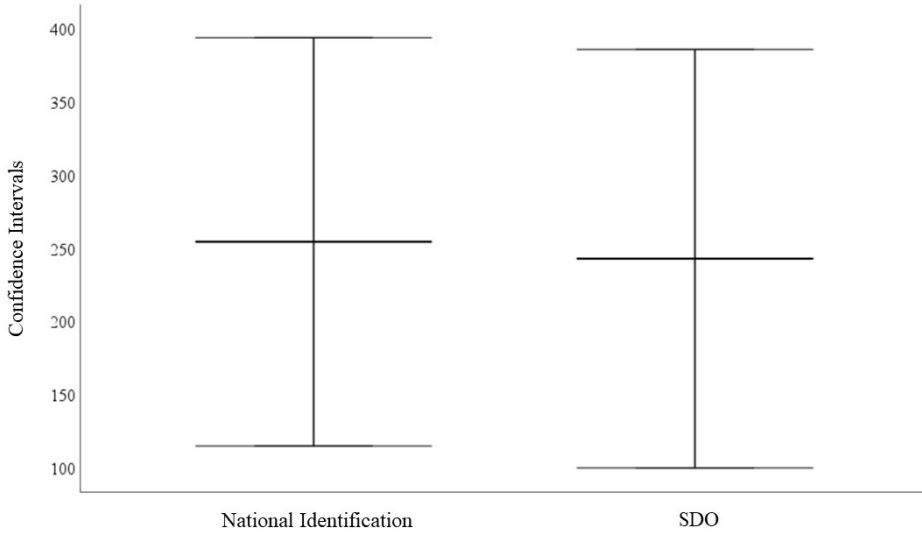


Figure 1. Lower and Upper Bounds for the Standardized Regression Coefficients for National Identification and SDO.

CONCLUSIONS

K-median analyses identified three subgroups. The majority of participants clustered into two subgroups that had strong positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and Black Pete but differed on national identification and SDO. A minority of participants clustered into a subgroup that seemed rather indifferent (and scored low) on attitudes towards Sinterklaas, Black Pete and scored low on national identification and SDO. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed that national identification, but not SDO, was significantly associated with positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas. In contrast, national identification and SDO were both significantly associated with positive attitudes towards Black Pete.

Inspired by social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), our first hypothesis was that people with positive attitudes towards the Sinterklaas festivities and the Black Pete figure could be differentiated into at least two distinct groups: a subgroup characterized by high SDO and a subgroup characterized by high national identification. We found support for this hypothesis. Two subgroups of participants were identified with positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and Black Pete. A high national identification group (42.0% of the participants), characterized by high national identification and low SDO, and a high SDO group (29.3% of the participants), characterized by low national identification and high SDO. The high SDO group scored significantly higher on SDO

and significantly lower on national identification than the high national identification group. We also identified a third, neutral-indifferent group (28.7%) that scored low on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, Black Pete, national identity, and SDO. We discuss the interpretation of these findings alongside the results of our between-group differences tests in the next paragraph.

Secondly, we hypothesized that subgroups with high SDO would exhibit the strongest positive attitudes about the Black Pete figure, while subgroups with high national identification would exhibit the strongest positive attitudes about the Sinterklaas festivities. We found partial support for this hypothesis. The high national identification group and high SDO group scored significantly higher on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and Black Pete than the neutral-indifferent group. However, the high national identification group and high SDO group did not significantly differ from one another on positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and Black Pete. These findings suggest that the strong resistance to changing Black Pete and related attitudes about the Sinterklaas festivities among the high national identification group seems to reflect a strong identification with Dutch culture. On the other hand, among the high SDO group, these attitudes seem to represent a longing for cultural dominance, as reflected by their positive attitudes towards Black Pete and Sinterklaas clustering with high SDO.

Lastly, we hypothesized that national identification would be more strongly related to positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas than SDO, and vice versa, and that SDO would be more strongly related to positive attitudes towards the Black Pete figure than national identification. We found partial support for this hypothesis. Higher national identification was significantly associated with stronger positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas in our regression analyses, but SDO was not. However, higher national identification and SDO were both significantly associated (and similarly in strength) with stronger positive attitudes towards Black Pete. These results corroborate the findings of the person-centered analyses. Overall, the general trend in the data suggests that more strongly identifying as Dutch is uniquely related to positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, while a mix of more strongly identifying as Dutch and higher SDO is related to positive attitudes towards Black Pete.

In summary, these findings suggest that among ethnic Dutch people, acceptance of the unequal treatment of minority groups is related to resistance to changing Black Pete. Even though the controversy surrounding Black Pete is specific to Dutch-speaking countries (e.g., the Netherlands, Belgium, the Dutch Caribbean), our findings may explain resistance to changing insensitive traditions in other cultural contexts as well. For example, in the US, the debate regarding sports teams that have mascots that present racially insensitive caricatures of Native-Americans (e.g., as noble savages) or use racial slurs as team names (e.g., the Washington Redskins, a popular American Football team) suggests that group identification and attitudes regarding equal treatment of marginalized groups may also be at play (Gonzalez, 2005). With

2 this in mind, future studies could focus on conceptual replications by examining if similar subgroups as the ones found in this study could be identified in other countries and pertaining to other racially insensitive traditions. In this way, it may be possible to determine if resistance to other racially insensitive traditions clusters with identity concerns in some groups or SDO in other groups.

We acknowledge some limitations of the current study. This study consisted of a convenience sample of ethnically Dutch university students who were overwhelmingly young and mainly consisted of women. It is therefore advisable to replicate these findings with a larger nationally representative sample. Replication with a larger sample would also allow for potential gender differences to be examined. Despite our findings, other studies have found that SDO tends to be higher in men (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2000). A larger nationally representative sample would also allow researchers to examine potential sociodemographic differences that are often correlated with more conservative attitudes, regional (i.e., city vs. rural) or class (higher vs. lower income) differences. Lastly, person-centered analyses are sensitive to the kind of variables used (Osborne & Sibley, 2017). Future studies should test if the subgroups we identified are specific to attitudes on the Sinterklaas festivities and the Black Pete figure or generalizable to broader topics such as nationalism (a belief in the superiority of one's nation; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), fear for change of cultural traditions, and tolerance of racism (Hunt et al., 2021).

In recent years, there have been a number of positive developments regarding the Black Pete figure. From 2013 to 2020, the proportion of people who reported not wanting to change Black Pete decreased from 83% to 55% (Lubbe, 2020). This suggests that a growing number of Dutch people recognize that the Black Pete figure is racially insensitive and should be changed. Considering that repeated exposure to information can lead to attitude change (Moritz et al., 2017; Zajonc, 1968), perhaps mere repeated exposure to public debates on the racially insensitive Black Pete character in recent years has made some parts of the ethnic Dutch population feel less proud of their Dutch identity, the dominant position of the White Dutch, and subsequently, Black Pete. The public debates have also already affected local policies: some major Dutch cities have made the figure less racially insensitive in their local Sinterklaas festivities by introducing the Chimney Pete figure. This figure is portrayed by volunteers that paint their faces with just a few swipes of black paint (to resemble soot from a chimney) and who do not paint their lips red or wear golden hoop earrings. In 2019, the nationally broadcasted version of the Sinterklaas festivities followed suit by only having Chimney Pete's accompany Sinterklaas.

In conclusion, our findings suggest that part of the reason why resistance to changing Black Pete in the Netherlands is so widespread can be explained by two underlying reasons: identity concerns and a preference for cultural dominance. These findings are not only relevant for understanding a Dutch cultural phenomenon but

also how high SDO people react to power relations being challenged, which is an understudied aspect of social dominance theory (Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006, p. 311). Thus, our study is part of a recent trend in studies that examine how high SDO people deal with specific societal changes (e.g., Cargile, 2017; Holt & Sweitzer, 2020; Mifune et al., 2019). This trend reflects the current political climate in which protests against the biased and sometimes violent treatment of marginalized ethnic groups are particularly salient in the public eye. Social scientists are well equipped to investigate why substantial parts of ethnically dominant populations react negatively to changing traditional power structures. Insights from social dominance and national identity theories can be applied empirically to specific cases in their cultural contexts to understand the causes and consequences of (resistance to) shifting power relations in society.

Ethnic Representation and Stereotypes in Mathematics and Dutch Language Textbooks from the Netherlands

Daudi van Veen, Rosanneke A. G. Emmen, Tessa van de Rozenberg, Judi Mesman

Submitted for publication.



ABSTRACT

The current study examined ethnic representation and stereotypes in textbooks from two core secondary school subjects: math and Dutch. We examined all 25 hard-copy textbooks used in first-year secondary schools in the Netherlands in 2019, and coded characters' ethnic background, competence-related activities, and occupational status. Ethnicity was identifiable for 8897 characters. Results indicate that characters of color were underrepresented in the text and images in the textbooks compared to Dutch population statistics. Additionally, subtle stereotypical patterns were found in which characters of color were less competent and lower in occupational status than White characters. These findings suggest that implicit biases influence which groups are featured and how they are portrayed. To help all students to reach their full potential and develop an inclusive worldview, we recommend publishers use publicly available tools (e.g., random name generators) to make their textbooks more inclusive.

KEYWORDS

Textbooks, ethnic representation, ethnic stereotypes, competence, status

INTRODUCTION

Across the world, school textbooks help shape students' social views through the use of images, characters, and stories (Apple, 1971, 2004). Numerous studies have found that marginalized ethnic groups are often underrepresented in textbooks (e.g., Hogben & Waterman, 1997). In addition, many textbooks include ethnic stereotypes (e.g., Weninger & Williams, 2005; Wigginton, 2005). For example, characters from marginalized ethnic groups tend to be featured less prominently than White characters and are often portrayed as being less competent and lower in status than White characters (e.g., Hogben & Waterman, 1997; Park, Kim, Park, Kim, & Cuadrado, 2018; Woynshner & Schocker, 2015; Labelle, 2010). These patterns are alarming. For White students, being aware of ethnic stereotypes is associated with negatively evaluating marginalized groups (Nesdale, 1999). For students of color, feeling underrepresented and encountering ethnic stereotypes is associated with adverse academic and mental health outcomes (Ramasubramanian, Doshi, & Saleem, 2017; Steele et al., 2002). For this reason, it is essential to examine how marginalized ethnic groups are portrayed in educational material. Our study contributes to this literature by analyzing how people of color are portrayed in Dutch textbooks from two core first-year secondary school subjects: math and Dutch. Specifically, we will examine if characters of color are underrepresented and if these textbooks include ethnic stereotypes.

STEREOTYPE CONTENT AND DEVELOPMENT

According to the stereotype content model (SCM), stereotypes are generalizations of (a) how competent (e.g., capable, intelligent, dominant) or (b) how warm (e.g., approachable, trustworthy) members of a group are perceived to be (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 2018). Developmental research suggests that children are aware of broadly-held stereotypes from around the age of 6 years, and this awareness seems to increase sharply by the age of 10 years (McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Pauker, Ambady, & Apfelbaum, 2010). During middle childhood, children 6- to 10-year-old seem to judge a group's warmth based on their competence and status perceptions of those groups. For example, young children tend to rate groups as nicer and more likable if they consider them intelligent or wealthy (Roussos & Dunham, 2016). By adolescence, children are knowledgeable about ethnic stereotypes that touch on competence and status (e.g., groups considered less intelligent or wealthy; Mulvey, Hitti, & Killen, 2010). Moreover, children often refer to these ethnic stereotypes when justifying social exclusion (such as why they would not want someone to join their friend group; Mulvey, Hitti, & Killen, 2010).

Exposure to stereotypes is associated with unfavorable outcomes for students of color. Starting in early adolescence (Aronson & Good, 2003), many students of color start to experience stereotype threat. Stereotype threat refers to experiencing

distress after being confronted with a stereotype that suggests that their group is less intelligent or capable of completing the task at hand (Steele, 1997). Multiple studies suggest that experiencing stereotype threat is associated with diminished performance on standardized tests among students of color in the US and Europe (Appel, Weber, & Kronberger, 2015; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008). As for long-term consequences, repeated exposure to stereotype threat is associated with students dis-identifying with school and university students of color dropping out of science courses (Steele, 1997; Woodcock, Hernandez, Estrada, & Schultz, 2012). However, a few studies suggest that exposing students to positive role models is related to favorable outcomes for students of color. For example, studies indicate that the effects of stereotype threat can be reduced through exposure to ingroup role models (Liu et al., 2021; Rivera & Benitez, 2016). Relatedly, a study found that reading about Black role models reduced implicit pro-White vs. Black bias in White and Asian-Canadian children (e.g., 9-12 year-olds; Gonzalez, Steele, & Baron, 2017). Stereotypes and a lack of representation are linked to negative outcomes that school administrators would like to avoid. These adverse outcomes can be reduced by exposing adolescents to positive role models. For this reason, examining the representation of people of color and the presence of ethnic stereotypes in textbooks has important practical and theoretical implications.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND STEREOTYPES IN TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks are the main tools used by educators to pass on knowledge and skills to students. However, textbooks also play a symbolic role because “they [textbooks] participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful” (Apple, 2004, p. 182). As a result, textbooks that include ethnic stereotypes or lack characters of marginalized ethnic backgrounds may adversely influence how children view ethnic groups. However, textbooks can also reduce stereotype threat (and therefore enhance equality; Apple, 2004) by including role models of marginalized groups, which would be beneficial for the views of White and marginalized students of color (Liu et al., 2021; Rivera & Benitez, 2016).

Studies have consistently found that marginalized ethnic groups tend to be underrepresented in textbooks. Such patterns have been reported in, for example, American university textbooks (Hogben & Waterman, 1997; Park et al., 2018), Japanese secondary school textbooks (Yamada, 2011), Hungarian elementary reading and spelling textbooks (Weninger & Williams, 2005), and Chinese elementary school language and social studies textbooks (Chu, 2015). The specific groups that are underrepresented differ per country (i.e., Aino people in Japanese textbooks (Yamada, 2011; Latinx people in American textbooks; Hogben & Waterman, 1997; Park et al., 2018), but across the world, marginalized ethnic groups (from those particular countries) are consistently underrepresented in textbooks. Studies have also consistently found that members of marginalized ethnic groups tend to be portrayed stereotypically in

textbooks. For example, a study found that China's marginalized ethnic groups (e.g., the Mongol, Tibetan, and Uyghur people) tended to be portrayed as "distant, exotic, and primitive/traditional", while the dominant Han group was portrayed as modern in Chinese elementary school language and social studies textbooks (Chu, 2015, 483). In other countries, Black people are often portrayed stereotypically in textbooks. For example, Black people were most commonly portrayed as criminals alongside White professionals in American criminology textbooks (such as social workers; Park et al., 2018), often portrayed as poor and primitive in Dutch primary school history textbooks (Weiner, 2016), and as athletes, musicians, and criminals in Dutch secondary school history textbooks (Sijpenhof, 2020). Similarly, blue-collar/manual laborers were often portrayed as having a darker complexion than highly educated characters in Dominican elementary school social science textbooks (Wigginton, 2005). These studies suggest that marginalized ethnic groups (especially Black people) in textbooks tend to be portrayed stereotypically as having a lower status or being less competent than the dominant group.

THE DUTCH CONTEXT

In the Netherlands, approximately a fifth (18.9%) of young adolescents are non-White (Statistics Netherlands, 2019a). These adolescents of color tend to be the (grand) children of migrants (and residents from the Dutch Caribbean) who arrived in the preceding decades. For many of these adolescents, educational settings can be particularly challenging due to their ethnic background. According to a representative large national survey in 2019, more than half of Turkish-, Moroccan-, Surinamese-, and Antillean-Dutch adolescents and young adults have experienced discrimination in secondary school or at the university (Andriessen et al., 2020). According to the same survey, approximately half of Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch (i.e., the largest Middle-Eastern-Dutch groups) and Surinamese- and Antillean-Dutch (many of whom are Black or Afro-Dutch) people report experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2020) due to their religion, ethnic background, or skin color. Due to the COVID-19 outbreak and its public association with East Asian origins of the virus, there has also been an increase in reports of anti-Asian discrimination in the Netherlands (e.g., Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). This discrimination is likely at least partly due to ethnic stereotypes (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 2018).

In the Netherlands, stereotypes about people of color are broadly similar to those in the US. For example, the Turkish- and Surinamese-Dutch tend to be stereotyped as being deviant (e.g., lazy and unemployed) and working class (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989). On the other hand, many Asian-Dutch people report being stereotyped as being high status model migrants (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). Dutch adolescents also tend to see the White Dutch as being higher in status than people

of color. For example, an older study found that White Dutch preadolescents (aged 10-12) rank White Dutch people at the top of the ethnic hierarchy, followed by the Indonesian- (e.g., Asian-Dutch subgroup) and Surinamese-Dutch (many of whom are Black) in the middle and the Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch (who make up the majority of the Middle-Eastern-Dutch) at the bottom (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000).

To date, no study has examined whether ethnic stereotypes are present in math and Dutch language textbooks in the Netherlands. Investigating these textbooks is important; students spend approximately 20 to 25% of their time in math and Dutch language courses (SLO, 2021). In the Netherlands, four publishers dominate the secondary school textbook market (Dallinga, 2021). The publishers are free to choose how they design their educational material, as long as the books adequately meet the very broad learning goals formulated by the government (Dallinga, 2021). In addition, schools are free to select any textbooks for their students. There are no rules about which materials to use, as long as the school adequately prepares the students for the final tests and exams that cover the national curriculum requirements. Publishers are thus motivated to produce textbooks that will appeal to as many schools as possible, and this includes Christian faith-based schools, which form a large proportion of the market (~42%; Statistics Netherlands, 2021). A recent news article details how publishers tend to avoid topics considered too progressive by faith-based schools, such as portraying women as preachers (Dallinga, 2021). The influence of faith-based schools on publishers is not surprising, considering their popularity.

The Current Study

In textbooks across the world, people of color tend to be underrepresented and are often depicted as being low status (such as being poor) or not as competent (such as being less smart) as White people. These patterns may reinforce ethnic stereotypes, which are linked to a host of adverse outcomes. Prior studies from the Netherlands focused on examining the underrepresentation and ethnic stereotypes of Black people in textbooks. We contribute to this literature by examining the representation of a broader range of people of color (e.g., Afro-Dutch, Asian-Dutch, and Middle-Eastern-Dutch) in first-year math and Dutch language secondary school textbooks. We test the following hypotheses: Characters of color are underrepresented in the text and images of textbooks (1); characters of color are underrepresented among main characters (2) and prominently featured characters (3); characters of color (except for the subgroup of Asian characters) are underrepresented among characters doing stereotypical high competence (i.e., financial) activities (4), stereotypical low competence (i.e., athletic and creative) activities (5), characters with occupations (6), and have a lower occupational status than their White counterparts (7).

METHODS

MATERIALS

All twenty five hard-copy math and Dutch language textbooks from five publishers and all tracks used by secondary schools in the first year in 2019 were coded from cover to cover. Eleven of the books (6 math and 5 Dutch language textbooks) were published for the pre-vocational track (Dutch vmbo), 3 of the books (3 Dutch language textbooks) were published for the pre-vocational and pre-applied university track (Dutch vmbo and havo), and eleven of the books (6 math and 5 Dutch language textbooks) were published for the pre-applied and pre-research university track (Dutch havo and vwo).

CODING

Initially, four researchers from various ethnic backgrounds (including the first, third, and fourth authors) read through four textbooks, two from each subject, and developed a coding system for gender and ethnic representation and stereotypes (the current paper focuses on ethnicity). All characters in the text and pictures were coded. Each case was either an individual, dyad, or group named by name or referred to by a gender pronoun. Dyads were coded when characters were only described as a pair (for example: 'Mr. and Mrs. Jansen') or who appeared in a picture together. Groups were coded when more than two characters were only described as a group (for example: 'the girls'). Pictures and images of characters were coded according to gender and ethnicity. The current paper focuses on individual characters only. Characters that appeared in images as well as text were considered as two separate characters. Therefore, analyses will be run separately for characters in the text and the images.

A reliability set was constructed by randomly selecting 10% of pages from two randomly selected textbooks, one for each subject. Twenty social science (under) graduate students were recruited and trained in the coding system using selected pages from textbooks. After three training sessions, coding a reliability set, and a round of revision, eight students became reliable coders (Krippendorff's $\alpha > .80$) for the math textbooks, and ten became reliable coders (Krippendorff's $\alpha > .80$) for textbooks from both subjects (Dutch language textbooks contained longer stories and were more complex to code). These coders proceeded to code the books for a wide range of variables independently. Important variables for this study that were recoded by three other coders (including the first and third author and another researcher) are (1) character names, (2) character descriptions, and (3) occupation descriptions. These three coders coded a reliability set that consisted of a hundred randomly selected characters and went through two rounds of revision, after which they became reliable coders (Krippendorff $\alpha > .60$ or a percentage of agreement $> 90\%$).

Ethnic Background Characters

3

Characters depicted in images were initially coded as being White (e.g., light skin and non-European features; 0) or characters of color (e.g., brown skin or non-European features; 1). If they appeared to be part of a specific ethnic group of color, they were further coded as having an Asian, Black, or Middle-Eastern appearance. For example, characters with medium brown skin and Middle-Eastern clothing were coded as being Middle-Eastern, characters with medium brown to dark skin or afro-textured hair were coded as being Black, and characters with dark straight hair and slanted eyes were coded as being Asian. The first and third authors coded the ethnic appearance of characters and discussed a small number of ambiguous cases (characters that one of the authors found difficult to categorize in a specific ethnic group) to reach a consensus. Characters with an ambiguous ethnic appearance but who were clearly non-White were only coded as being characters of color. Characters in the text with an accompanying image were coded using the same process.

Five methods were used to code the ethnic background of human characters in the text without an accompanying image (See Figure 2). First, the whole coding team notated first and surnames of the characters. Next, the Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS ran two algorithms that indicated if characters were likely to be perceived as White (0) or characters of color (1) because of their name. The first algorithm used a narrow definition (ND) and coded characters as being characters of color if $\geq 25\%$ of first name holders in the Netherlands were born in the Global South. The second algorithm used a broader definition (BD) and coded characters as characters of color if $\geq 10\%$ of first name holders in the Netherlands were born in the Global South. Both algorithms have their pros and cons. On the one hand, the first algorithm may underestimate the number of characters of color in the text due to how common names such as Mohammed are among Dutch adolescents of color born in the Netherlands (e.g., in 2014, the names Mohammed and Mohamed ranked as the 69th and 70th most popular names for boys, and ranked in the top 10 of most popular baby names for boys in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague; Meertens Institute, 2014). On the other hand, the second algorithm may overestimate the number of characters of color in the text if a character's name is common among people born in the Netherlands and people born in the Global South. Nevertheless, these algorithms allow us to roughly estimate if Dutch readers would interpret a character in the text to be White or non-White.

Characters that did not meet these criteria were coded as White. Secondly, characters without first names described as family members of a character with a first name (e.g., mother of Mohammed) were coded as having the same ethnicity as the named family member. Thirdly, character descriptions were reviewed by the first, third, and fourth authors. Characters described as non-White (e.g., having dark skin) in the text, but that were designated as White based on their names were recoded as being characters of color. Characters of color were coded as Asian, Black, or Middle-Eastern if

their physical features were described extensively (e.g., characters described as having dark skin and thick afro-textured hair were coded as Black), or if the country of origin or ethnic background was mentioned (e.g., characters described as Indian were coded as Asian). Fourthly, if characters in the textbooks were based on real-life people (e.g., celebrities, politicians), the first, third, and fourth authors used Google search to find out the ethnic background of these characters, followed by coding these characters as White or a person of color, and if possible as Black, Asian or Middle-Eastern. Lastly, the few characters with surnames who were not based on real-life people all had Dutch surnames, and none were described as having a non-White appearance. These were coded as White.

Character Prominence in the Text

The whole coding team coded a) how frequently characters in the text were mentioned by their name or by a pronoun. We defined prominently featured characters as those who belonged to the 10% most frequently mentioned characters in the text. The inter-coder reliability was high (Krippendorff's $\alpha > .80$). In addition, the whole coding team coded if characters were portrayed as main or side characters. Characters were defined as main characters (score 1) if they were the only character that appeared in the text or if the text was written from their point of view. If all characters in the text played equally important roles (such as a story about a superhero team), they were all coded as main characters. The inter-coder reliability was high (Krippendorff's $\alpha > .80$).

Competence-Related Activities of Characters

Three coders (including the first and third author) read through all character descriptions and coded if characters were doing an athletic (e.g., playing soccer), creative (e.g., painting), or financial (e.g., handling money) activity. The intercoder-reliability was acceptable for all of the activities (Krippendorff's $\alpha > .69$).

Occupational Status of the Characters

Three coders (including the first and third author) read through all character descriptions and coded if characters were defined as having an occupation if the text explicitly mentioned that they had a job or referred to them by a job title (e.g., being called a teacher), or if they were described or portrayed in an image as performing an activity commonly associated with a job (such as teaching). The inter-coder reliability was high (Krippendorff's $\alpha = 1.00$). In addition, the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) tool to assign classification scores to occupations mentioned in the character descriptions. Not all occupations could be scored using the ISCO-08 because they were extremely rare in real life (e.g., monarch) or fictional (e.g., witch). Next, the first and third authors examined and recoded the classification scores if necessary. Afterward, the scores were converted using the International

Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI-08; Ganzeboom, 2010) syntax, which converts ISCO's occupational classification scores to ISEI status scores that represent the average level of education and the average income of characters with those occupations (Ganzeboom, 2010). The theoretical score range was 0 to 100, with higher scores indicating higher levels of occupational status.

DATA ANALYSIS PLAN AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSES

We tested our hypotheses regarding representation using binomial tests (which compares proportions of populations with one another), and we report Cohen's h as a measure of effect size. Because the number of characters in different roles and activities varies strongly between books (e.g., the number of characters doing an athletic activity in a book ranged from 1 to 47), we performed our analyses across the entire dataset of characters. For H1, in which we compared characters of color in the text and images (jointly and separately) to the proportion of people and young adolescents of color in the Netherlands, we referred to the Dutch population statistics. The Dutch census does not track self-identified race or ethnicity. Instead, the census tracks if a parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent was a migrant to the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands n.d.a). Further, the Dutch census makes a distinction between people with a Western migration background (i.e., Europe, North-America, Oceania, Japan, and Indonesia, Statistics Netherlands n.d.b) or a non-Western migration background (i.e., Latin America, Africa, Asia except for Japan and Indonesia, and Turkey, Statistics Netherlands n.d.c). The term non-Western migration background is largely synonymous with the term people of color since it refers to groups that tend to be seen as non-White. For the purposes of this article, our definition of people of color includes all people with a non-Western migration background and people of Japanese or Indonesian descent (deviating from the Dutch national definition that includes the latter two as Western).

In the Netherlands, people of color made up approximately 15.5% of the population in 2019 (Statistics Netherlands, 2019a). Among young adolescents (aged between 10-15), 18.9% were people of color in 2019 (Statistics Netherlands 2019a). The Afro-Dutch group represents approximately 3.3%, the Asian-Dutch 3.6%, and the Middle-Eastern-Dutch 6.5% of the Dutch population in 2019 (Statistics Netherlands, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d). Similar data for these specific ethnic groups are not available for young adolescents. For H2 through H7, we compared the proportion of the subgroups of color (e.g., main characters of color, prominently featured characters of color) in the text and images (jointly and separately were applicable) to the total number of characters of color in the text and images. To test for group differences in occupational status (H7), we used (nonparametric) Mann-Whitney U-tests because the absolute skewness and kurtosis value exceeded the recommended cut-offs for large datasets (2.0 for skewness and 7.0; Kim, 2013). For occupational status, we report Cohen's r as a measure of effect size. See Table 1 for a detailed overview of all the characters of color and subgroups coded.

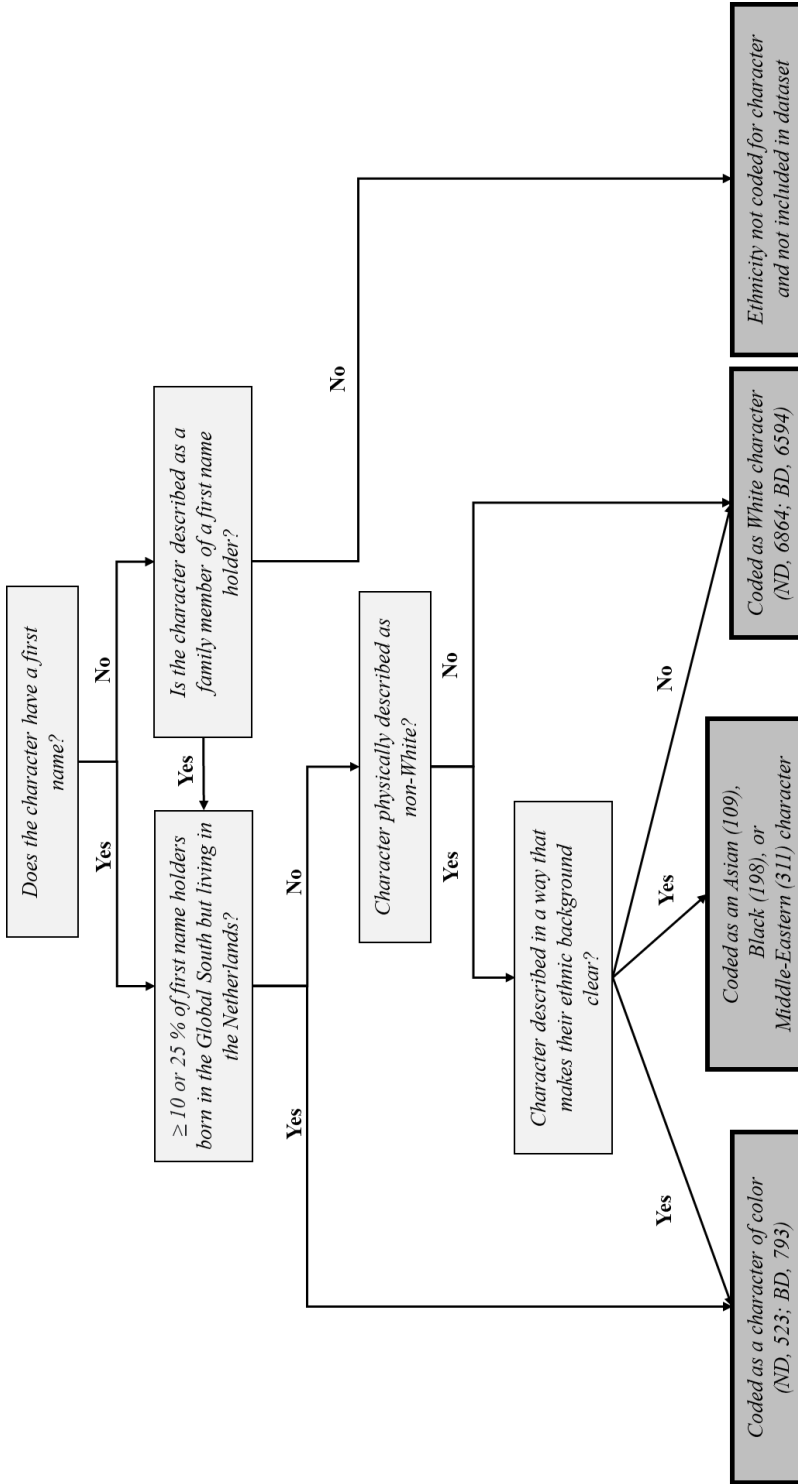


Figure 1

Flowchart of how ethnicity was coded for characters with first names in the text without an accompanying image or surname, and who were not based on real-life people.

Note. *The brackets indicate the use of two different algorithms. The algorithm using the narrow definition (ND) defined first name holders as characters of color if $\geq 25\%$ of first name holders in the Netherlands were born in the Global South. The algorithm using the broad definition (BD) defined first name holders as characters of color if $\geq 10\%$ of first name holders in the Netherlands were born in the Global South.

Table 1. Overview of the frequency (*f*) and percentages (%) of people of color in the textbooks in various roles and activities.

Ethnicity	Total characters		Main characters		PF characters		Athletic activities		Creative activities		Financial activities		Occupations	
	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>images</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>images</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>images</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>images</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>f</i> (%)
Total	7387	1510	5848	1407	902	140	446	52	403	375	1262	238		
People of color														
ND	523 (7.1)	243 (16.1)	391 (6.7)	230 (16.3)	63 (7.0)	23 (16.4)	53 (11.9)	13 (25.0)	28 (8.0)	25 (6.7)	94 (7.4)	38 (16.0)		
BD	793 (10.7)	243 (16.1)	619 (10.6)	230 (16.3)	93 (10.3)	23 (16.4)	69 (15.5)	13 (25.0)	35 (10.0)	35 (9.3)	107 (8.5)	38 (16.0)		
Black	198 (2.7)	83 (5.5)	167 (2.9)	76 (5.4)	20 (2.2)	11 (7.9)	28 (6.3)	9 (17.3)	12 (3.4)	8 (2.1)	33 (2.6)	12 (5.0)		
Asian	109 (1.5)	53 (3.5)	83 (1.4)	52 (3.7)	18 (2.0)	3 (2.1)	10 (2.2)	1 (1.9)	4 (1.1)	4 (1.1)	20 (1.6)	6 (2.5)		
Middle-Eastern	311 (4.2)	29 (1.9)	254 (4.3)	27 (1.9)	19 (2.1)	2 (1.4)	18 (4.0)	1 (1.9)	10 (2.8)	22 (5.9)	29 (2.3)	5 (3.2)		

Note. ND refers to characters of colors as defined by the algorithm using the narrow definition. BD refers to characters of color as defined by the algorithm that uses the broad definition to classify characters based on first names. Prominently featured (PF) characters are those who belonged to the 10% most frequently mentioned characters in the text.

RESULTS

REPRESENTATION OF ALL CHARACTERS OF COLOR

We identified 7387 (83.0%) characters in the text, and 1510 characters in the images (17.0%) for whom ethnicity was identifiable. First, we compared the proportion of characters of color in the text and images to the proportion of people and adolescents of color in the Netherlands. Characters of color were significantly underrepresented in the text (ND, $h = 0.25$, $p < .001$; BD, $h = 0.14$, $p < .001$), but not in the images ($h = 0.02$, $p = .272$) compared to the proportion of people of color in the Dutch population. However, characters of color were underrepresented in the text (ND, $h = 0.36$, $p < .001$; BD, $h = 0.23$, $p < .001$) and images ($h = 0.07$, $p = .003$) compared to the proportion of young adolescents of color in the Dutch population.

Secondly, we compared the proportion of Black, Asian and Middle-Eastern characters in the text and images to the Afro-, Asian-, and Middle-Eastern-Dutch populations. In the text, Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters were significantly underrepresented (Black, $h = 0.03$, $p = .005$; Asian, $h = 0.14$, $p < .001$; Middle-Eastern, $h = 0.10$, $p < .001$). In the images, Black characters were significantly overrepresented ($h = 0.12$, $p < .001$), Asian characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented ($p = .461$), and Middle-Eastern characters were significantly underrepresented ($h = 0.23$, $p < .001$).

Table 2.

Binomial test results for the representation of characters of colors in the textbooks.

Ethnicity	% in Netherlands	% in textbooks		
		Text		Images
		ND	BD	
People of color	15.5	7.1***	10.7***	16.1
Adolescents of color	18.9	7.1***	10.7***	16.1**
Black	3.2	2.7**		5.5***
Asian	3.6	1.5***		3.5
Middle-Eastern	6.4	4.2***		1.9***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. ND refers to characters of colors as defined by the algorithm using the narrow definition. BD refers to characters of color as defined by the algorithm that uses the broad definition.

REPRESENTATION OF MAIN CHARACTERS OF COLOR

First, we compared the proportion of main characters of color to the proportion of characters of color in the text and images. Main characters of color were not significantly under- or overrepresented in the text (ND, $p = .113$; BD, $p = .398$), nor the images ($p = .412$). Secondly, we compared the proportion of main Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters to the proportion of Black, Asian and Middle-Eastern characters in the text and images. Main Black, Asian and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented in the text (main Black characters,

$p = .242$; main Asian characters, $p = .330$; main Middle-Eastern characters, $p = .243$), nor in the images (main Black characters, $p = .466$; main Asian characters, $p = .364$; main Middle-Eastern characters, $p = .506$).

Table 3.

Binomial test results for the representation of main characters of colors in the textbooks.

Ethnicity	% of main characters		
	Text		Images
	ND	BD	
People of color	7.1 (6.7)	10.7 (10.6)	16.1 (16.3)
Black	2.7 (2.9)		5.5 (5.4)
Asian	1.5 (1.4)		3.5 (3.7)
Middle-Eastern	4.2 (4.3)		1.9 (1.9)

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. ND refers to characters of colors as defined by the algorithm using the narrow definition. BD refers to characters of color as defined by the algorithm that uses the broad definition.

REPRESENTATION OF PROMINENTLY FEATURED CHARACTERS OF COLOR IN THE TEXT

First, we compared the proportion of prominently featured characters of color to the proportion of characters of color in the text. Among prominently featured characters, characters of color were not significantly underrepresented using the narrow ($p = .479$) or broad definition ($p = .378$). Secondly, we compared the proportion of prominently featured Black, Asian and Middle-Eastern characters to the proportion of characters with those same backgrounds in the text. Prominently featured Middle-Eastern characters were significantly underrepresented ($h = 0.11$, $p = .001$), but no significant under- or overrepresentation was found for prominently featured Black and Asian characters (Black, $p = .218$; Asian = .115).

REPRESENTATION OF CHARACTERS OF COLOR DOING LOW AND HIGH COMPETENCE ACTIVITIES.

First, we compared the proportion of characters of color doing athletic, creative or financial activities to the proportion of characters of color in the text and images. Among characters doing athletic activities, characters of color were significantly overrepresented in the text (ND, $h = 0.17$, $p < .001$; BD, $h = 0.14$, $p = .001$), but not significantly under- or overrepresented in the images ($p = .493$). Among characters doing creative activities, characters of color were not significantly under- or overrepresented in the text (ND, $p = .289$; BD, $p = .369$), nor in the images ($p = .065$). Among characters doing financial activities, characters of color were not significantly under- or overrepresented in the text (ND, $p = .421$; BD, $p = .222$). There were no characters of color doing financial activities in the images.

Secondly, we compared the proportion of Black, Asian and Middle-Eastern characters doing athletic, creative or financial activities respectively to the proportion of Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters in the text and images. Among characters doing athletic activities in the text, Black characters were significantly overrepresented ($h = 0.18, p < .001$), but Asian and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Asian, $p = .138$; Middle-Eastern, $p = .493$). Among characters doing athletic activities in the images, Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Black; $p = .149$, Asian, $p = .274$; Middle-Eastern, $p = .502$). Among characters doing creative activities in the text, Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Black; $p = .243$, Asian, $p = .394$; Middle-Eastern, $p = .126$). Among characters doing creative activities in the images, Black characters were significantly overrepresented ($h = 0.38, p = .002$), but Asian and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Asian, $p = .453$; Middle-Eastern, $p = .631$). Among characters doing financial activities in the text, Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Black; $p = .316$, Asian, $p = .337$; Middle-Eastern, $p = .075$). As mentioned, There were no characters of color doing financial activities in the images.

Table 4.

Binomial test results for the representation of characters of color among prominently featured characters and among characters doing competence-related activities in the text and images.

Ethnicity	% of characters		% prominently featured characters		% athletic activities		% creative activities		% financial activities		% occupations	
	ND	BD	ND	BD	ND	BD	ND	BD	ND	BD	ND	BD
Text												
People of color	7.1	10.7	7.0	10.3	11.9***	15.5**	8.0	10.0	6.7	9.3	7.4	8.5**
Black	2.7		2.2		6.3***		3.4		2.1		2.6	
Asian	1.5		2.0		2.2		1.1		1.1		1.6	
Middle-Eastern	4.2		2.1**		4.0		2.8		5.9		2.3***	
Images												
People of color	16.1		—		16.4		25.0		—		16.0	
Black	5.5		—		7.9		17.3**		—		5.0	
Asian	3.5		—		2.1		1.9		—		2.5	
Middle-Eastern	1.9		—		1.4		1.9		—		2.1	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. ND refers to characters of colors as defined by the algorithm using the narrow definition. BD refers to characters of color as defined by the algorithm that uses the broad definition. Prominently featured characters are those who belonged to the 10% most frequently mentioned characters in the text.

REPRESENTATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CHARACTERS OF COLOR WITH OCCUPATIONS

First, we compared the proportion of characters of color with occupations to the proportion of characters of color in the text and images. Among characters with occupations, characters of color are significantly underrepresented in the text with the broad definition ($h = 0.08, p = .005$) but not with the narrow definition ($p = .330$), nor in the images ($p = .521$).

Secondly, we compared the proportion of Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters with occupations respectively to the proportion of Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters in the text and images. Among characters with occupations in the text, Middle-Eastern characters were significantly underrepresented ($h = 0.11, p < .001$), but Black and Asian characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Black; $p = .471$, Asian, $p = .433$). Among characters with occupations in the images, Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters were not significantly under- or overrepresented (Black; $p = .450$, Asian, $p = .270$; Middle-Eastern, $p = .473$).

Lastly, we examined if there were ethnic differences in occupational status in the text and images. Characters of color (ND, $n = 75$, *Median* = 50.90; BD, $n = 86$, *Median* = 50.90) had a significantly lower occupational status than White characters (ND, $n = 1043$, *Median* = 68.77; BD; $n = 1032$, *Median* = 68.77) in the text (ND; $U = 30291$, $p = .001$, $r = 0.11$; BD, $U = 33176$, $p < .001$, $r = 0.09$). However, in the images, the occupational status of characters of color ($n = 35$, *Median* = 50.90) did not significantly differ from the occupational status of White characters ($n = 186$, *Median* = 50.90; $U = 2867$, $p = .261$).

Further analyses revealed that in the text, the occupational status of Black ($n = 32$, *Median* = 61.82) characters did not significantly differ from the occupational status of White characters ($U = 14548$, $p = .112$), but Asian ($n = 17$, *Median* = 28.48) and Middle-Eastern characters ($n = 17$, *Median* = 30.78) had a significantly lower occupational status than White characters (Asian, $U = 4838$, $p = .001$, $r = 0.10$; Middle-Eastern, $U = 7698$, $p = .008$, $r = 0.08$). However, in the images, the occupational status of Black ($n = 6$, *Median* = 50.90), Asian ($n = 17$, *Median* = 57.67), and Middle-Eastern ($n = 17$, *Median* = 30.78) characters did not significantly differ from the occupational status of White characters (Black, $U = 1126$, $p = .309$; Asian, $U = 534$, $p = .471$; Middle-Eastern, $U = 498$, $p = .765$).

DISCUSSION

This study examined ethnic underrepresentation and stereotypes first-year secondary school textbooks for math and Dutch language from the Netherlands using quantitative content analysis. Our findings indicate that characters of color are underrepresented

in the text and images in these textbooks when compared to the proportion of adolescents of color in the Netherlands. We also found subtle stereotypical patterns that imply that people of color are less competent and lower in status than White people. The effect sizes of these findings ranged from small to medium.

We found support for the first hypothesis (H1) that characters of color (and the specific ethnic/racial groups) would be underrepresented in the text and images. Compared to the total number of people (and adolescents) of color in the Netherlands, characters of color were underrepresented in the text. This pattern was similar in the images when compared to the proportion of adolescents of color in the Netherlands. However, Black characters in the images were overrepresented compared to the Afro-Dutch population. These findings are broadly in line with studies from across the world that found similar patterns of underrepresentation of marginalized ethnic groups in textbooks (e.g., Chu, 2015; Park et al., 2018; Weninger & Williams, 2005; Yamada, 2011). This pattern may be a result of the implicit biases of textbook authors and illustrators.

We did not find support for the second hypothesis (H2) that main characters of color (and the specific ethnic/racial groups) would be underrepresented in the text and images. Among main characters, characters of color were not significantly under- or overrepresented in the text nor the images. In other words, even though people of color are broadly underrepresented in first-year secondary school textbooks for math and Dutch language, when featured, they are just as likely as White main characters to be the main character. This finding could reflect the way the content of textbooks is designed. Often, texts only feature a single or a few characters. Similarly, most people in images tend to be portrayed alone. To our knowledge, only one previous study examined the ethnic diversity of main characters in textbooks. That study focused on images in introductory Psychology textbooks and similarly found that people of color were just as likely as White main characters to be the main character (Hogben & Waterman, 1997). However, results from two studies are not enough to consider these findings a consistent pattern. Therefore, more studies should examine the ethnic diversity of main characters in the texts and images of textbooks.

Some support was found for our third hypothesis (H3) that characters of color (and the specific ethnic/racial groups) would be underrepresented among prominently featured characters, defined as the 10% most frequently mentioned characters in the text. Among characters of color, only the prominently featured Middle-Eastern characters were significantly underrepresented in the text. This finding contrasts with the finding that main Middle-Eastern characters in the text were not significantly under- or overrepresented. A potential explanation for this finding is the perceived cultural distance felt by the textbook authors. A study found that the White Dutch feel that the Middle-Eastern-Dutch or more culturally different from the White Dutch than other ethnic groups in the Netherlands (Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). If authors are unfamiliar with a particular group, they may inadvertently avoid

featuring them prominently. Another potential explanation is that publishers may not feature Middle-Eastern characters as prominently because these characters may be perceived as Muslim, which could clash with one of the publishers' primary goals: making textbooks acceptable to faith-based Christian schools (Dallinga, 2021).

The fourth, fifth, and sixth hypotheses pertained to the possibility that characters of color were overrepresented in stereotypical roles. Specifically, we hypothesized that characters of color (except Asian characters) would be underrepresented among characters doing a stereotypical high competence (i.e., financial) activity (H4); underrepresented among characters doing stereotypical low competence (i.e., athletic and creative) activities (H5); and underrepresented among characters with occupations (H6) in the text and images. We found some support for these hypotheses. Characters of color were not significantly under- or overrepresented in financial activities in the text nor the images. However, Black characters were overrepresented in athletic activities (in the text) and creative activities (in the images), and Middle-Eastern characters were underrepresented among characters with an occupation (in the text). For the Black characters, these findings align with a recent textbook study from the Netherlands that found that Black people were overrepresented as athletes and musicians in Dutch secondary school history textbooks (Sijpenhof, 2020). For the Middle-Eastern characters, these findings highlight that they are portrayed in a way that aligns with the Dutch stereotype of the Middle-Eastern-Dutch as lazy and unemployed (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989).

The seventh hypothesis (H7) was that characters of color (except for Asian characters) with occupations would have a lower occupational status than White characters in the text and images. Again, we found mixed support for this hypothesis. Characters of color, specifically the Asian and Middle-Eastern characters, had significantly lower occupational status than White characters in the text. Characters of color did not have significantly lower occupational status in the images. On the one hand, these findings are in line with Dutch stereotypes of the Middle-Eastern-Dutch, but on the other hand, not in line with Dutch stereotypes of the Asian-Dutch as a high status group (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). An explanation of this finding could be that among many textbook authors, the Asian-Dutch are thought of as "generic immigrants", who tend to be stereotyped as having lower status occupations (Lee & Fiske, 2006), rather than thinking of them as high status "model migrants".

Taken together, we found that people of color are broadly underrepresented in first-year secondary school textbooks for math and Dutch language and that these books feature subtle ethnic stereotypes that imply that people of color are less competent or lower status than White people. These findings are in line with studies from across the world that also found ethnic underrepresentation and stereotypes in textbooks (e.g., Chu, 2015; Park et al., 2018; Weninger & Williams, 2005; Yamada, 2011). Importantly, our findings build on studies that found ethnic stereotypes of Black people in Dutch

primary and secondary school history textbooks (e.g., Sijpenhof, 2020; Weiner, 2016) by highlighting that Middle-Eastern and Asian characters are portrayed as lower status groups in first-year secondary school textbooks for math and Dutch language as well. These subtle patterns may contribute to students' ethnic prejudice. A recent study found that children like higher status groups more than lower status groups (Roussos & Dunham, 2016). Similarly, these subtle patterns may contribute to stereotype threat among students of color (Appel, Weber, & Kronberger, 2015; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008).

We acknowledge some limitations of the current study. Firstly, it is unclear if these subtle patterns contribute to the development of Dutch adolescents' ethnic stereotypes and stereotype threat. However, a growing number of studies on mediated contact (i.e., non-physical contact with the outgroup through media) suggests that reading books or watching videos that feature outgroup members influences how positively or negatively that outgroup is considered (Park, 2012; Banas, Bessarabova, & Massey, 2020). This branch of research strongly suggests that stereotypical patterns in textbooks (alongside other forms of media) contribute to how Dutch adolescents view their own and other ethnic groups. Secondly, because we performed analyses across all characters in the first-year math and Dutch-language secondary school textbooks, some of these results may not be found in individual textbooks. Nevertheless, our results should be interpreted as reflecting general trends of ethnic underrepresentation and stereotypes in these textbooks rather than specific statements about any particular book. Lastly, our quantitative approach does not rule out that some stories featured overtly racist tropes (e.g., that Africa is a country) that the current coding system was not designed to capture. Future studies should also qualitatively examine textbooks for the presence of explicitly racist tropes.

This study also has notable strengths. Because we coded all math and Dutch-language first-year secondary school textbooks cover to cover instead of coding sections of books, we can confidently say that our findings are not sample-specific. Additionally, our study is the first to describe quantitatively how Asian and Middle-Eastern characters are portrayed in Dutch textbooks. Future studies should investigate how commonplace the ethnic underrepresentation and stereotypes of Asian and Middle-Eastern characters are in textbooks for other subjects.

In conclusion, our study highlights ethnic underrepresentation and stereotypes in first-year secondary school textbooks for math and Dutch-language from the Netherlands. Our most important findings indicate that characters of color are underrepresented. Additionally, although characters of color are as likely as White characters to be main characters, Middle-Eastern characters are still underrepresented among the prominently featured characters described in-depth. Further, Black, Asian, and Middle-Eastern characters are subtly portrayed as less competent and lower in status than White people. In other words, there are subtle stereotypical patterns present in these textbooks. The consistent stereotypical patterns and ethnic underrepresentation

found in textbooks worldwide suggest that implicit biases influence which groups are featured and how they are portrayed. To counteract the influence of implicit biases, ethnic quotas for characters in textbooks could ensure that characters of color are not underrepresented. This can be easily implemented with random name generators as well as open-source image databases. Using such tools can help publishers make inclusive textbooks. Besides, more characters of color should be portrayed in counter-stereotypical roles, considering that reading about role models of color helps students of color perform better at school and is likely to reduce prejudice among all students (Banas, Bessarabova, & Massey, 2020; Liu et al., 2021; Rivera & Benitez, 2016). Most importantly, we should all keep in mind that textbooks are “messages to and about the future” (Apple, 2004, p. 182), which makes them useful tools to help all students reach their full potential and have an inclusive worldview.

Maternal Social Dominance Orientation, Maternal Conformity-Related Socialization Goals, and Young Children's Ethnic Prejudice

Daudi van Veen, Rosanneke A. G. Emmen, and Judi Mesman

Submitted for publication.



ABSTRACT

This study examined relations and interactions between maternal social dominance orientation (SDO), the socialization goals obedience and thrift, and children's ethnic prejudice towards outgroups (White, Black, and Middle-Eastern children). The sample consisted of 143 White Dutch, 74 Turkish-Dutch, and 56 Afro-Dutch mothers and their 6-8-year-old children. Our results show that maternal SDO and family environments that stress conformity to ingroup norms relevant to intergroup relations (e.g., obedience and thrift) play a role in the development of children's ethnic prejudice towards Black (among Turkish-Dutch children) and White children (among Afro-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch children). The authors discuss implications of these findings and avenues for future research.

KEYWORDS

Prejudice, social dominance, socialization goals, intergenerational similarity

INTRODUCTION

Parents' views on inequality and social hierarchy may influence the development of children's attitudes about ethnic groups. A construct that captures an individual's preference for social hierarchy is social dominance orientation (SDO). Research shows that higher parental SDO is related to higher ethnic prejudice among White majority children. Research also shows that pressure to conform to ingroup norms may make children likelier to adopt their parents' intergroup attitudes towards groups stereotyped as norm violators (Allport, 1954; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). Following this reasoning, relations between parental SDO and children's ethnic prejudice may be stronger in families that stress conformity to ingroup norms relevant to intergroup relations. A construct that captures what parents value in child-rearing is socialization goals. Socialization goals guide parenting practices and behaviors and refer to the psychological and behavioral qualities (e.g., obedience) that parents want their children to develop (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). There are inter-ethnic differences between the socialization goals that White families and families of color find important. For example, in White majority countries such as the Netherlands, families of color tend to find obedience (and related goals such as religiosity) more important as a socialization goal than White families (e.g., Bucx et al., 2015). On the other hand, thrift (i.e., frugality) is a highly valued socialization goal among the White Dutch (Inglehart et al., 2018) and is considered central to Dutch identity (Beugelsdijk, De Hart, Van Houwelingen, & Versantvoort, 2019).

Arguably, relations between parental SDO and children's ethnic prejudice may be stronger when children grow up in a family environment that stresses culturally *specific* ingroup norms (i.e., obedience or thrift) because outgroups deviating from these norms may lead children to perceive outgroup members as norm violators (Allport, 1954; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). However, no study has examined relations between parental SDO and children's ethnic prejudice in families of color. Additionally, no study has examined how socialization goals may strengthen relations between parental SDO and young children's ethnic prejudice. Therefore, the current study will test relations between maternal SDO, the socialization goals obedience and thrift, and children's ethnic prejudice towards ethnic outgroups in White, Turkish-Afro-Dutch families.

DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC PREJUDICE IN CHILDREN

Broadly speaking, the term prejudice refers to how individuals think about, feel, or want to act towards a group and their members (Brown, 2010) and can be either implicit (automatic, unconscious) or explicit (deliberate, conscious evaluations of groups; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Prejudice has been defined in various ways within social and developmental psychology. In this paper, we refer to prejudice as consisting

of all the attitudes, affect, and behavioral tendencies that *directly* or *indirectly* imply negativity towards groups and their members (Brown, 2010). From this perspective, prejudice consists of the presence of negative and the absence of positive attitudes, affect, and behavioral tendencies towards a group and its members, given that both may lead to unfavorable outcomes (Brown, 2010). In this way, the concept of prejudice is distinguishable from the closely related concepts of discrimination and stereotypes. Discrimination refers to harmful behaviors towards someone because of their group membership (Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Dovidio, & Penner, 2010). Stereotypes refer to widespread beliefs of how competent (e.g., capable, intelligent, dominant) or warm (e.g., approachable, trustworthy) members of a group are perceived to be (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 2018).

The development of prejudice can be traced back to early infancy. By the age of 3 months, infants tend to prefer the faces of members of their own (vs. other) ethnic groups (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005; Kelly et al., 2007). By early childhood, children can already display ethnic prejudice towards groups and their members (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). A meta-analysis suggests that in countries with White majorities, White and children of color's ethnic prejudice towards outgroups of color initially increases from early (2-4 years) to middle childhood (5-7 years), followed by a decrease from middle to late childhood (8-10 years). However, children of color's ethnic prejudice towards White people tends to increase from middle to late childhood (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). This increase coincides with children of color's growing awareness in late childhood that people of color (and, by extension, themselves) face widespread discrimination due to their ethnic background or skin color (Brown, Alabi, Huynh, & Masten, 2011).

PARENTAL SDO AND CHILDREN'S ETHNIC PREJUDICE: MECHANISMS

Parental attitudes about the status of different groups in society seem to play a role in the development of children's ethnic prejudice. Social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994) captures "the degree to which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchy and the domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p.48). The construct of SDO is different from ingroup favoritism in that it reflects a general preference for social hierarchies, even if a social hierarchy does not benefit the ingroup. People with higher SDO are more accepting of power and status differences between historically dominant groups (e.g., White people in the US and Europe, or cisgender people) and historically marginalized groups (e.g., people of color in the US and Europe, transgender people; Kteily, Sidanius & Levin, 2011; Pratto & Sidanius, 1994).

There is evidence that young children of higher SDO parents are more accepting of social hierarchical views than young children of lower SDO parents. For example, a recent study found that in White New Zealander families, higher parental SDO is moderately associated with an increase in young children's SDO (Ruffman et al., 2020). Another study found that in White Canadian families, higher parental SDO is indirectly associated with an increase in young children's (6–10 years) ethnic prejudice towards Black children through children more strongly viewing humans as distinct and superior to animals and through an increase in racial dehumanization (Costello & Hodson, 2014). Additionally, there is some indication that young children (aged 4–5 years) of parents higher in SDO show less sensitivity to intergroup inequality (as measured with a resource allocation task) than children of parents with lower levels of SDO (Tagar et al., 2017).

How the family environment plays a role in the intergenerational transmission of parental attitudes regarding social hierarchies to young children is less clear. However, scholars have argued that one of the reasons why children adopt prejudiced views is the pressure to conform to ingroup norms (Allport, 1954; Crandall & Stangor, 2005; Rodriguez-García & Wagner, 2009). This is not surprising because, from the age of 3 years, children are aware of ingroup norms and punish norm violators (Schmidt & Tomasello, 2012). Similarly, ethnic prejudice among adults is often justified by arguing that a particular group does not adhere to an ingroup norm (i.e., being stereotyped as lazy as opposed to hard working; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Recent studies with adolescents and adult children provide some support for this view. For example, one study with a predominantly White sample found that adult children of parents that stress conformity to authority report more ethnic prejudice (Odenweller & Harris, 2018). Another study among White Belgian families found that the parent-child similarity in SDO is stronger when parents and adolescents have frequent political discussions, which could lead to adolescents feeling more pressure to conform to their parent's views (Meeusen & Dhont, 2015). Young children are especially susceptible to pressures to conform to ingroup norms (Allport, 1954; Crandall & Stangor, 2005). For one, they are primarily exposed to social views from their parents and do not have the same access to alternative sources of information that older children have. For young children of parents higher in SDO, growing up in an environment where social hierarchy and ingroup norms are enforced may make children more likely to adopt prejudiced views towards groups perceived as norm violators.

A construct that captures which ingroup norms are stressed in the family environment is socialization goals. Socialization goals refer to the psychological and behavioral qualities (e.g., independence, obedience) that parents wish their children to develop (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). These goals guide parenting practices and behaviors (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). Certain socialization goals are associated with particular ethnic groups in the Dutch context. In the Netherlands,

parents of color tend to find obedience (and related goals such as religiosity) more important as a socialization goal than White Dutch parents (e.g., Bucx et al., 2015). The importance of obedience as a socialization goal among parents of color in the Netherlands is not surprising. Many are (children of) immigrants from collectivistic cultures, which tend to stress obedience to authority (Triandis, 1995). A socialization goal highly valued among the White Dutch is thrift, also known as frugality (Inglehart et al., 2018). Thrift is rated higher as a socialization goal in the Netherlands than in other Western European countries (Inglehart et al., 2018). Additionally, according to a recent nationwide survey, being thrifty or frugal is considered a central aspect of prototypical Dutch identity (Beugelsdijk, De Hart, Van Houwelingen, & Versantvoort, 2019).

These socialization goals may contribute to the development of prejudice in several ways. If stereotypes of a group conflict with a socialization goal valued within a family (and society's dominant groups), children may be more likely to adopt prejudiced views towards that group. For example, in the Netherlands, the Turkish- and Surinamese-Dutch (the largest Middle-Eastern- and Afro-Dutch groups, respectively) tend to be stereotyped as deviant (e.g., engaging in criminal behavior such as stealing) and perpetually unemployed (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989), which conflicts with the socialization goals of obedience (e.g., conformity to the society's implicit expectations) and thrift (e.g., valuing long-term planning in regards to income). Perceiving certain groups as norm violators may make children perceive their parents' social hierarchical views as justified. Therefore, in the Netherlands, children of parents higher in SDO growing up in family environments that stress these socialization goals may develop prejudiced views towards the Middle-Eastern- and Afro-Dutch, as they may be perceived as norm violators.

PARENTAL SDO AND CHILDREN'S ETHNIC PREJUDICE: ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

Social dominance theory suggests that prejudice tends to be strongest towards marginalized groups and is not distinctly an ingroup vs. outgroup phenomenon (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, by extension, higher parental SDO should be related to an increase in children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized groups. However, studies on parental SDO and children's ethnic prejudice lack ethnically diverse samples: None of the prior studies included families of color (Costello & Hodson, 2014; Duriez & Soenens, 2009; Duriez, 2011; Meeusen & Dhont, 2015). Studies with ethnically diverse samples can help clarify if higher parental SDO is related to children's ethnic prejudice towards outgroups in general or if the status of the outgroup matters (e.g., marginalized vs. dominant outgroup; Brandt & Crawford, 2019).

THE DUTCH CONTEXT

The Netherlands is a particularly relevant cultural context to examine inter-ethnic differences in relations between parental social dominance orientation (SDO) and

young children's ethnic prejudice across ethnic groups. Since 1945, many people of color have migrated and settled in the Netherlands for various socioeconomic and postcolonial/political reasons. According to a 2018 survey, approximately half of Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch (who tend to be grouped together in public discourse due to being Middle-Eastern and predominantly Muslim) and approximately half of Surinamese- and Antillean-Dutch (most of whom are Black) people report experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months (Andriessen et al., 2020). The main reasons they were targeted with discrimination were religion, ethnic background (for the Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch), and skin color (for the Surinamese- and Antillean-Dutch; Andriessen et al., 2020). In the Netherlands, the Afro-Surinamese-, Antillean-Dutch, and other Dutch people of African descent (commonly referred to as the Afro-Dutch) tend to be racialized (i.e., perceived as a homogenous group with certain essential qualities; Gans, 2017) as Black due to their skin color. The Turkish-, Moroccan-Dutch, and other Dutch people of Middle-Eastern descent also tend to be grouped together in Dutch public discourse as a homogenous group. For readers outside of the Netherlands or Western Europe, it may seem odd to think of this as a form of racialization because Muslims are an ethnically diverse religious group found all over the world. However, many Dutch Muslims are of Middle-Eastern descent and came to the Netherlands as labor migrants. For this reason, people of Middle-Eastern descent (regardless of their religious background) are often essentialized in Dutch public discourse as a homogenous "Muslim" group (Garner & Selod, 2015).

A few studies have examined White Dutch children's attitudes towards Black and Middle-Eastern people. For example, a recent study found that young White Dutch children (aged 6-8 years) exhibit ethnic prejudice towards both Black and Middle-Eastern children but more strongly towards Middle-Eastern children (De Bruijn, Amoureux, Emmen & Mesman, 2020). Similarly, an older study found that White Dutch children (aged 10-12 years) rank White Dutch people at the top of the Dutch ethnic hierarchy, followed by the Surinamese-Dutch (many of whom are Black) in the middle and the (Middle-Eastern) Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch at the bottom (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). Considering the role of the social context in the development of children's views about different ethnic groups, it is likely that parental SDO plays a role in the development of Dutch children's prejudice towards these groups, especially if children feel the pressure to conform to ingroup norms relevant to intergroup relations.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The current study aims to investigate relations between maternal SDO, the socialization goals of obedience and thrift, and children's ethnic prejudice towards ethnic outgroups (White, Black, and Middle-Eastern children) in White, Turkish- and Afro-Dutch families. We test the following four hypotheses: Higher maternal SDO will be related to an increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups

(1); Higher maternal SDO will be related to a stronger increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in families that strongly value the socialization goals of obedience or thrift (2); Higher maternal SDO will be related to a stronger increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in families of color than in White families that strongly value the socialization goal obedience (3); Higher maternal SDO will be related to an increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in White Dutch families than families of color that strongly value the socialization goal thrift (4). These hypotheses were not pre-registered prior to data collection. To better understand potentially significant interaction patterns, we also follow recommendations by Finsaas and Goldstein (2021) and plan to explore the role of each predictor as a potential moderator in our models.

METHODS

4

PARTICIPANTS

The sample ($N = 273$) consisted of White, Turkish- and Afro-Dutch mothers ($M_{age} = 38.83$, $SD = 5.01$) and their children ($M_{age} = 7.51$, $SD = 0.97$, 55% girls). Parents and their children were recruited through child-focused and cultural events, markets in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, social media, snowball sampling, and the personal networks of the research team. Parents who were interested in the study received flyers, filled in a screening form, and shared their contact information. Our main inclusion criteria were that parents: a) reside in or close to the Randstad area (a large, urban conglomeration of towns and cities) in the Netherlands, b) had a child between 6-10 years old, c) were the biological parents of the child, d) lived with the child, e) did not suffer severe physical nor mental illness, f) had children that did not have severe developmental disorders (i.e., autism). There were also a number of specific criteria per ethnic group. For the White Dutch families ($n = 143$), both of the child's parents and grandparents had to be born in the Netherlands or in a North-Western European country (e.g., Belgium, Germany). For the Turkish-Dutch families ($n = 74$), both pairs of the child's grandparents had to be born in Turkey. For the Afro-Dutch families ($n = 56$), the participating mother or one of her parents had to be born in Surinam, the Dutch Antilles, Cape Verde, or Ghana. For the mothers of Surinamese descent, we additionally required that they self-identify (or indicate that one of their parents identified) as being Afro-Surinamese. Because a relatively large proportion of Afro-Dutch mothers have children with fathers who have a different ethnic background than their own (Kalmijn & Van Tunbergen, 2006), we did not require these fathers to be Afro-Dutch as well, so that this subsample is more likely to be representative of the Afro-Dutch population.

For the current analyses, we excluded mothers if they did not fill in *any* items on the important constructs in this study (such as SDO). This leaves us with a smaller sample ($n = 249$) of White ($n = 136$), Turkish-Dutch ($n = 66$), and Afro-Dutch ($n = 47$) mothers and children (56% girls) to test our hypotheses. There were no significant differences in the sociodemographic characteristics (mother's age, mother's educational level and civic status, child age & gender, ethnic diversity of the neighborhood and child's school) for the families with complete data ($n = 249$), versus those with missing data ($n = 23$), indicating that we had no response bias. The vast majority of White Dutch mothers were born in the Netherlands (93%). In contrast, the majority of Turkish-Dutch mothers were born in Turkey (61%). Most (47%) of Afro-Dutch mothers were born in the Netherlands, followed by those born in Surinam (32%), the Dutch Antilles (19%), and Cape Verdes (2%). Mothers in this subsample ranged in age from 25 to 52 years ($M_{age} = 38.70$ $SD = 5.07$) and children from 6 to 10 years ($M_{age} = 7.52$, $SD = 0.99$). There were few single-parent households (13%), and most mothers had a bachelor's degree or higher (65%). We also found between-group differences for a number of sociodemographic characteristics, namely mother and child's age, mother's educational level, and the ethnic diversity of the neighborhood and of the child's school (See Table 1 for an overview).

PROCEDURE

The data was collected as part of the first wave (that ran from May 2018 till January 2020) of a three-wave longitudinal study that examined the parenting origins of prejudice in the Netherlands. The study was approved by an ethics committee of the project's host university. Families were visited at their homes for data collection during the first wave. Home visits consisted of parent-child interaction tasks, computerized tasks for parents, and computerized and non-computerized tasks for children. Home visits were conducted by two trained visitors (bachelor, master's, and PhD students, and research assistants) and lasted approximately two hours. In total, there were 27 trained home visitors in the first wave of various ethnic backgrounds (18 White Dutch, five Afro-Dutch, three Turkish-Dutch, one Moluccan-Dutch). At the end of the visit, the children received a small age-appropriate toy worth approximately €3. The parents filled in one questionnaire during the home visit and one online questionnaire after the home visit. The participating parents received gift cards worth €20 per participating parent after completing the online questionnaire. All parents signed consent forms for their own as well as their children's participation.

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of the mothers and children in our subsample

	Total	White Dutch	Turkish-Dutch	Afro-Dutch	Between-group differences
Children					
% of girls	56	55	50	68	$\chi^2 (2, N = 250) = 3.83, p = .147$
Age child <i>M (SD)</i>	7.52 (0.99)	7.36 (0.88) ^b	7.68 (1.09) ^{ab}	7.76 (1.08) ^b	$F(2, 248) = 3.64, p < .001$
Mothers					
Age mother <i>M (SD)</i>	38.70 (5.07)	39.90 (4.05) ^a	36.17 (4.41) ^b	39.47 (6.68) ^a	$F(2, 248) = 13.96, p < .001$
% of single mothers	13	8 ^a	5 ^a	40 ^b	$\chi^2 (2, N = 250) = 34.20, p < .001$
% of highly educated mothers	65	83 ^a	33 ^b	63 ^c	$\chi^2 (2, N = 250) = 58.08, p < .001$
% of POC in neighborhood	30	17 ^a	53 ^b	34 ^c	$F(2, 248) = 107.09, p < .001$
% of children attending a predominantly White school	55	78 ^a	21 ^b	38 ^c	$\chi^2 (2, N = 250) = 66.15, p < .001$

Note. Different superscript letters refer to significant between-group contrasts.

MEASURES

Children's Ethnic Prejudice

Young children's ethnic prejudice was measured with an adapted version of the Multi-response Racial Attitude measure (MRA; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Aboud, 2003). During the home visit, trained researchers presented seven envelopes with pictures of a White, Black, and Middle-Eastern (e.g., dark-haired, olive-toned Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch children) boy and girl, and one with a trash can. Children depicted in the pictures were wearing a white T-shirt, smiling, and were approximately aged 6-10 years. The background in the pictures was white. Children were given cards with five positive (i.e., nice, sweet, smart, funny, kind) and five negative (i.e., naughty, stupid, annoying, mean, dumb) traits. They were then asked to put cards with traits in the envelopes of the children whom they believed to have that trait. The children received six cards per trait, so that they could choose to give all the cards to all children if they wanted to. To avoid inflated scores (Aboud, 2003), the children were instructed that they did not have to assign the traits to one or multiple children depicted on the pictures. Children were also allowed to put the trait cards in an envelope with the trash can. We created overall indices of ethnic prejudice by averaging the sum of the positive (reversed) and negative traits attributed to White, Black, and Middle-Eastern, respectively, which is similar to how the composite score was calculated by Costello and Hodson (2014). Higher scores indicated greater levels of ethnic prejudice towards White, Black, or Middle-Eastern children.

Maternal Social Dominance Orientation

Mother's degree of preference for social hierarchy between groups, or social dominance orientation (SDO), was measured with a Dutch translation of eight items from the Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994). Mothers filled out this questionnaire after the home visit. The items were rated on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample items include "We should not push for group equality" and "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups". Four items were reverse-coding prior to computing average scores. The internal consistency of the scale for mothers was good (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$). Higher scores indicated higher levels of maternal SDO.

Maternal Socialization Goals

Mother's socialization goals were measured with two items (obedience and thrift) adapted from the socialization goals questionnaire of the World Values Survey (Inglehart et al., 2018). Mothers filled out this questionnaire during the home visit, answering the question, "How important do you find these things for your child?". The importance of obedience and thrift as socialization goals were rated on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated that

mothers had a stronger preference for the socialization goals of obedience or thrift.

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Mothers reported on a number of their family's sociodemographic characteristics in the screening questionnaires. Characteristics that correlate with one of the measures of children's ethnic prejudice will be included as covariates in the main analyses if they vary by ethnic group membership. Civil status was measured as (0) not living with (1) or living with a partner. Mother's educational level was categorized as (0) lower and (1) higher level (a bachelor's degree or higher at an applied or research university). Schools were defined as having a (0) low level of ethnic diversity if less than half of the children were people of color or a (1) high level of diversity if an equal proportion or higher number of children were people of color. Our neighborhood diversity variable indicating the proportion of people of color that reside in the neighborhood of a participating family was based on publicly available data from Statistics Netherlands (2015).

4

ANALYSIS PLAN

Because we found between-group differences in a number of sociodemographic characteristics (see Table 1), we included those that were significantly associated with any of the measures of children's ethnic prejudice covariates for the outcome variable in our hypothesized models. There was no significant difference in children's ethnic prejudice scores if the researcher they interacted with had the same (1) or a different ethnic background (0) to their own. This led us to include mother's age & educational level, child's age, and ethnic diversity of the neighborhood and school as covariates.

Prior to performing the analyses, all continuous variables were standardized and mean-centered, and all binary variables were dummy coded. Families were excluded from analyses if ethnic prejudice was measured towards their ingroup (e.g., White Dutch families were excluded in the analyses measuring children's ethnic prejudice towards White children). We ran hierarchical multiple regression analyses. The dependent variables were children's ethnic prejudice towards the White, Black, and Muslim children. The covariates were entered in the first block. Ethnicity, maternal SDO, and the socialization goals of obedience and thrift were entered in the second block. Two-way interaction terms between ethnicity, maternal SDO, and the socialization goals of obedience and thrift were entered in the third block. Three-way interaction terms between ethnicity, maternal SDO, and the socialization goals of obedience and thrift were entered in the fourth block. We report the standardized coefficients as a measure of effect size. To further explore the nature of any potential two-way interactions between maternal SDO and either socialization goals, we will follow the approach outlined by Finsaas and Goldstein (2021). They recommend exploring how either continuous predictor in a two-way interaction may function as the moderator. This

approach uses the Johnson-Neyman (J-N) procedure (and the “interactions package” in R) to identify all the moderator values at which relations between a predictor and outcome variable are significant (Johnson & Neyman, 1936; Spiller et al., 2013).

RESULTS

DATA-INSPECTION

G*Power calculations indicated that the linear regression model with children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children as a dependent variable (tested in the White and Turkish-Dutch families) was sufficiently powered (.95) to detect a medium effect size (Faul, Erdfelder, Bucner & Lang, 2009). Similarly, the model with children's ethnic prejudice towards Middle-Eastern children as a dependent variable (tested in the White and Afro-Dutch families) was sufficiently powered. On the other hand, the model with children's ethnic prejudice towards White children (tested in the Turkish- and Afro-Dutch samples) as a dependent variable was underpowered. Therefore, we consider the outcome of the model with children's ethnic prejudice towards White children as exploratory. Next, we inspected our data. Standardized z-scores greater than 3.29 above and below the mean were defined as outliers (Kim, 2013). An outlier was detected for the socialization goal thrift. This item was winsorized. No multivariate outliers were detected. Further, the distribution of the sociodemographic characteristics (mother's age, mother's educational level, and child's age), maternal SDO, the maternal socialization goal of obedience, and the children's ethnic prejudice variables were approximately normal. See Tables 2, 3, and 4 for the descriptive statistics and Table 5 for the between- and within-group differences in children's ethnic prejudice. Notably, Turkish-Dutch and Afro-Dutch children show more ethnic prejudice towards the other marginalized ethnic group than towards White children.

Table 2.

Correlations between maternal SDO, conformity-related socialization goals and children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children in White- and Turkish-Dutch families.

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4
Maternal SDO	1.76 (0.55)	–			
Maternal socialization goal obedience	3.89 (0.77)	.14*	–		
Maternal socialization goal thrift	3.86 (0.67)	.25**	.35**	–	
Black prejudice overall	4.95 (2.56)	.16*	.07	.16*	–

Note. M and SD represent the mean and standard deviation. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 3.

Correlations between maternal SDO, socialization goals, and children's ethnic prejudice towards White children in Afro- and Turkish-Dutch families.

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4
Maternal SDO	1.77 (0.63)	—			
Maternal socialization goal obedience	4.12 (0.81)	-.04	—		
Maternal socialization goal thrift	4.08 (0.67)	-.02	.26**	—	
White prejudice overall	3.20 (2.03)	.15	-.26**	-.10	—

Note. M and SD represent the mean and standard deviation. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.

Correlations between maternal SDO, socialization goals, and children's ethnic prejudice towards Middle-Eastern children in White and Afro-Dutch families.

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4
Maternal SDO	1.76 (0.55)	—			
Maternal socialization goal obedience	3.89 (0.77)	.11	—		
Maternal socialization goal thrift	3.86 (0.67)	.06	.39**	—	
Middle-Eastern prejudice overall	4.95 (2.56)	.04	.04	.08	—

Note. M and SD represent the mean and standard deviation. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.

Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) for (White, Turkish- and Afro-Dutch) children's ethnic prejudice towards White, Middle-Eastern, and Black children.

Variables	White Dutch	Turkish-Dutch	Afro-Dutch	Between-group differences
	N = 136	N = 66	N = 47	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	
White prejudice overall	—	3.40 (1.99) ^{b1}	2.92 (2.09) ^{a1}	$t(111) = 1.21, p = .229$
Middle-Eastern prejudice overall	4.25 (2.23) ^{a1}	—	4.63 (2.43) ^{b2}	$t(181) = -0.98, p = .330$
Black prejudice overall	4.61 (2.55) ^{a1}	5.67 (2.47) ^{b2}	—	$t(200) = -2.84, p = .005, d = -.43$
	$t(135) = 1.86, p = .066$	$t(65) = 6.71, p < .001, d = -.83$	$t(46) = -3.72, p = .001, d = -.54$	

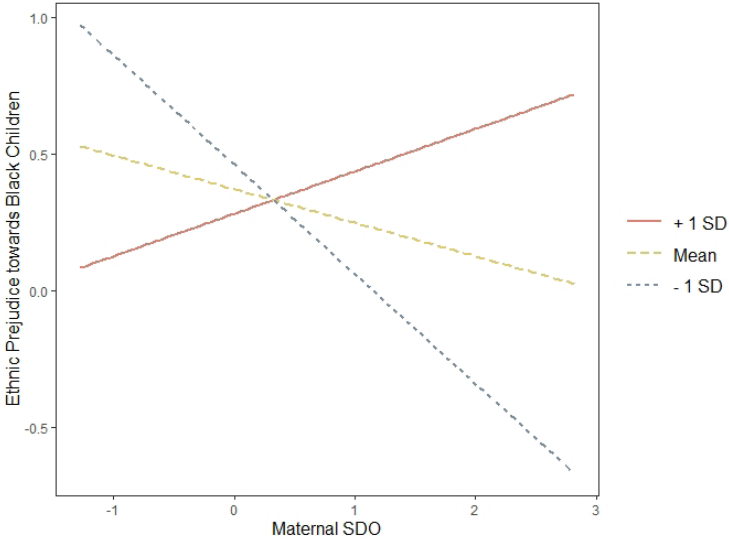
Note. Different superscript letters refer to significant between-group contrasts. Different superscript numbers refer to significant within-group contrasts.

MAIN ANALYSES

First, we ran a hierarchical multiple regression model with children's ethnic prejudice towards White children as the dependent variable. The analysis only included the Turkish- and Afro-Dutch families. In the second block, there was a significant association between mothers valuing the socialization goal obedience more strongly ($\beta = -.28, p = .005$) and Turkish- and Afro-Dutch children's ethnic prejudice towards White children. None of the two- or three-way interaction terms were significant in the third or fourth block.

Next, we ran a hierarchical multiple regression model with children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children as the dependent variable. The analysis only included the White and Turkish-Dutch families. No significant associations were found in the first, second, or third block. In the fourth block, there was a significant positive three-way interaction between maternal SDO x the socialization goal thrift x ethnicity ($\beta = .33, p = .009$). To probe this interaction, hierarchical multiple regression models were run for the White and Turkish-Dutch families, respectively. In these probing analyses, sociodemographic characteristics were entered in the first block, the variables of interest (maternal SDO and the socialization goals of obedience and thrift) were entered in the second block, and the two-way interaction terms between the variables of interest in the third block. In the model with the White Dutch families, none of the associations were significant. In the third block of the model with the Turkish-Dutch families, there was a significant two-way interaction for maternal SDO x the socialization goal thrift ($\beta = .53, p = .001$). A simple slopes plot of the interaction shows the presence of a cross-over interaction; the relation between SDO and ethnic prejudice towards Black children in Turkish-Dutch families is positive when the socialization goal thrift is high but negative when the socialization goal thrift is low (Figure 1). When the socialization goal thrift is the moderator, the J-N procedure revealed a negative relation between maternal SDO and children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children for values below the mean ($Z < -0.36$) of the socialization goal thrift (Figure 2). However, when maternal SDO is the moderator, the J-N procedure revealed a negative relation between the socialization goal thrift and children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children when maternal SDO is low ($Z < -1.15$) but a positive slope when maternal SDO is high ($Z > 1.29$; Figure 3).

Lastly, we ran a hierarchical multiple regression model with children's ethnic prejudice towards Middle-Eastern children as the dependent variable. The analysis only included the White and Afro-Dutch families. None of the associations in the first, second, or third block were significant. However, in the third block, the two-way interaction term between maternal SDO x the socialization goal thrift ($\beta = -.18, p = .070$) and the three-way interaction term between maternal SDO x the socialization goal thrift x ethnicity were approaching significance ($\beta = .16, p = .098$).



4

Figure 1. The simple slopes plotting visualizing for the slope of maternal SDO at low (- 1 SD), mean, and high value (+ 1 SD) of the socialization goal thrift.

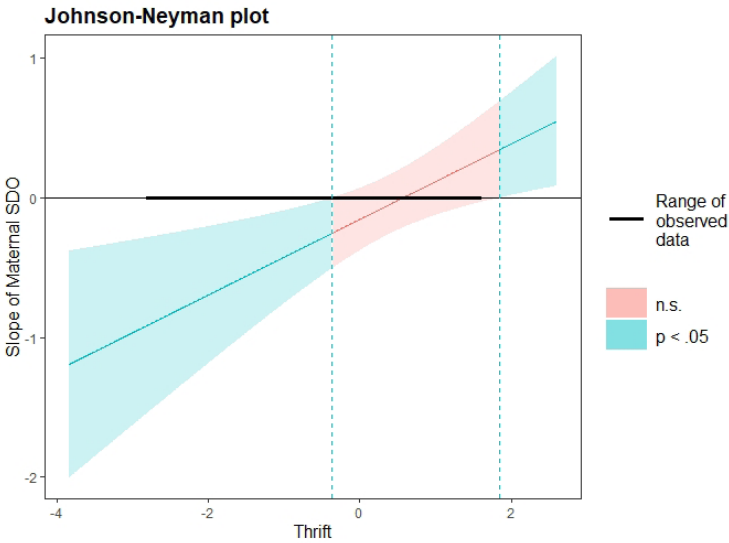


Figure 2. The Johnson-Neyman plot signifying the regions of significance for the slope of maternal SDO at values of the socialization goal thrift for Turkish-Dutch families
 Note. The range of the observed data refers to the range of Z scores for the socialization goal thrift among Turkish-Dutch families [-2.81 to 1.58].

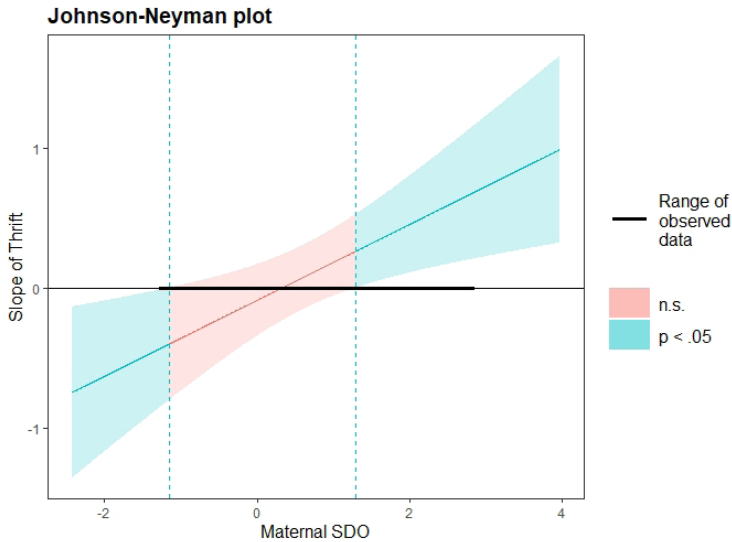


Figure 3.

The Johnson-Neyman plot signifying the regions of significance for the slope of the socialization goal thrift at values of maternal SDO for Turkish-Dutch families

Note. The range of the observed data refers to the range of Z scores for maternal SDO among Turkish-Dutch families [-1.27 to 2.82].

DISCUSSION

This study's main goal was to examine relations between maternal social dominance orientation (SDO), the socialization goals of obedience and thrift, and young children's ethnic prejudice towards ethnic outgroups in White, Afro-, and Turkish-Dutch families. Controlling for sociodemographic characteristics, we found that a) maternal SDO is not directly associated with children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups, that b) children of color that grow up in a family environment that stresses obedience show lower ethnic prejudice towards White children, and that c) Turkish-Dutch children that grow up in a family environment that stresses thrift show higher ethnic prejudice towards Black children when they have high SDO parents, but lower ethnic prejudice towards Black children when they have low SDO parents. The effect sizes of these significant associations ranged from small to large.

Based on social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the first hypothesis was that higher maternal SDO would be related to an increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups. We found some support for this hypothesis. The correlation analyses indicated that higher maternal SDO and mothers valuing the socialization goal thrift more are correlated with an increase in children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children in White and Turkish-Dutch families.

However, these relations were not significant in the hierarchical multiple regression analyses, which controlled for sociodemographic characteristics. Although the lack of significant associations in the regression analyses was surprising, the only prior study with parents and young children only found indirect associations between parental SDO and children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children in White Canadian families (Costello & Hodson, 2014). We discuss the relevance of this finding alongside the findings of the second hypothesis.

Our second hypothesis was that higher maternal SDO would be related to a stronger increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in families that strongly value the socialization goals of obedience or thrift. We found some support for this hypothesis. Among Turkish-Dutch families, we found a significant positive interaction between maternal SDO and thrift in predicting children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children (after probing the significant three-way interaction between maternal SDO, the socialization goal thrift, and ethnicity). Probing this interaction revealed two interesting patterns. First, when examining the socialization goal thrift as the moderator as originally hypothesized, higher maternal SDO was related to a decrease in children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children in Turkish-Dutch families that weakly value the socialization goal thrift. However, when we explored maternal SDO as the moderator, valuing the socialization goal thrift was more strongly related to an increase in children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children in Turkish-Dutch families when maternal SDO was high and a negative relation when maternal SDO was low. In other words, the results suggest that growing up in a family environment that stresses thrift may facilitate or weaken Turkish-Dutch children's ethnic prejudice towards Black children (a group commonly stereotyped as being lazy; Fiske, 2002), depending on exposure to a high or low SDO parent, respectively. Considering that high SDO mothers are more likely to have exposed their children to ethnic stereotypes about Black people than low SDO mothers, it is likely that these Turkish-Dutch children show higher ethnic prejudice towards Black children because they perceive them as norm violators. This line of reasoning has some support in the literature that suggests that pressure to conform to ingroup norms may make children more likely to adopt their parents' intergroup attitudes towards groups stereotyped as norm violators (Allport, 1954; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009).

Our third hypothesis was that higher maternal SDO would be related to a stronger increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in families of color than in White families that strongly value the socialization goal obedience. We found no support for this second hypothesis. We did find that children of color (Turkish- and Afro-Dutch children) who grow up in families of color that stress obedience show diminished ethnic prejudice towards White children. This finding suggests that children of color who grow up in family environments in which obedience to authority is stressed may feel pressure to show more respect

(and, therefore, lower prejudice) to groups perceived to be socially dominant groups. Arguably, this highlights how child-rearing can have unintended consequences that bleed into children's interethnic attitudes.

Our fourth hypothesis was that higher maternal SDO would be related to a stronger increase in young children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in White families than families of color that strongly value the socialization goal thrift. We found no support for this hypothesis. Contrarily, we found an interaction between maternal SDO and the socialization goal thrift in Turkish-Dutch families, but not in White Dutch families that stress thrift, as discussed prior. These findings highlight that culturally specific forms of conformity pressures do not facilitate relations between maternal SDO and children's ethnic prejudice towards marginalized outgroups in the way we hypothesized.

Taken together, our study highlights how the family environment can facilitate the intergenerational transmission of parental attitudes regarding social hierarchies to young children. In this way, our study builds further on studies with adolescents and adult children (Meeusen & Dhont, 2015; Odenweller & Harris, 2018) and highlights how family environments that stress conformity to ingroup norms relevant to intergroup relations play a role in developing ethnic prejudice. Our study also highlights how family environments with different conformity pressures may facilitate the development of children's ethnic prejudice in unexpected ways.

There are a number of limitations to keep in mind. Firstly, it is likely that the families that participated in this study hold more positive views of interethnic relations than the general Dutch population. Parents knew that our study was focused on children's attitudes regarding diversity, which may have led to families not participating if they had highly negative views on cultural diversity. Nevertheless, this study highlights the importance of conducting studies on children's ethnic prejudice from the lens of social dominance theory and conformity (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Lastly, there is the possibility that mothers misinterpreted the items in the SDO questionnaire. In the Dutch context, talk of the dominant or superior group in society would assumingly refer to White people. However, some mothers of color may have interpreted the SDO questionnaire as referring to their ingroup or another (non-White Dutch) group that they view as dominant or superior.

Importantly, our hard-to-reach sample is a clear strength of the study. To our knowledge, this is the first research project in the Netherlands to have recruited a sizeable sample of White, Turkish-Dutch, and Afro-Dutch mothers and their young children for research on children's ethnic prejudice. Because of this, our study helps to expand the literature on young children's ethnic prejudice in multicultural (but majority White) countries such as the Netherlands (see de Bruijn et al., 2020; for another recent study). In addition, this is the first study to test and compare relations between maternal SDO and children's ethnic prejudice in White (e.g., White Dutch)

families and families of color (e.g., Afro- and Turkish-Dutch). In this way, our study is part of a growing group of studies inspired by social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) that examine the intergenerational transmission of parental attitudes regarding social hierarchies such as prejudice from parents to children (Costello & Hodson, 2014; Duriez & Soenens, 2009; Meeusen & Dhont, 2015).

In conclusion, our study highlights how maternal attitudes regarding social hierarchy and the socialization goals obedience and thrift are related to children's ethnic prejudice. Our most important finding is that family environments that stress conformity to ingroup norms relevant to intergroup relations play a role in the development of children of color's ethnic prejudice towards outgroups. Future research should expand this line of research and examine which *specific* parenting practices and messages facilitate the intergenerational transmission of maternal attitudes regarding social hierarchies to young children. For example, family communication environments that encourage obedience (e.g., emphasizing that one must always do what your parents say) contribute to adult children's ethnic prejudice (Odenweller & Harris, 2018). Our findings suggest that this may also be the case for young children's ethnic prejudice. Considering that marginalized ethnic groups are targeted with discrimination all across the world, it is crucial that mothers (and parents in general) recognize how their views on social hierarchy and conformity to certain ingroup norms in the family may contribute to their children developing prejudiced attitudes. Parents may not explicitly make prejudiced statements in front of their children but might be less aware of how their communication about status and diversity-related topics such as wealth, poverty, and interethnic relations may foster children's prejudice. Increasing awareness of such mechanisms can help families to contribute to a more equal and inclusive society.

**Raising Black Children in the Netherlands:
A Mixed-Methods Study on Ethnic-Racial
Socialization and Children's Ethnic-Racial
Affirmation in the Netherlands.**

Daudi van Veen, Rosanneke A. G. Emmen, and Judi Mesman

Submitted for publication.



ABSTRACT

There is a lack of empirical studies on ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) among Black families in the Netherlands. However, Black parents in the Netherlands face the challenge of raising their children to develop a positive view of themselves and their ethnic-racial group, despite the negative ethnic-racial stereotypes and prejudice their children may encounter. The present study examined Black maternal ERS using quantitative and qualitative methods in the Dutch context. The sample consisted of 45 Black Dutch mothers and their children. Firstly, our descriptive results showed that most mothers have a color-conscious approach to ERS (i.e., openness about topics regarding ethnicity or race). Secondly, regression and cluster analyses showed that aspects of maternal ERS are related to children's ethnic-racial affirmation (i.e., feelings about one's ethnic-racial group). Lastly, interviews highlighted the general and specific ways Black Dutch mothers approach ERS.

KEYWORDS

Parenting, prejudice, ethnic-racial socialization, the Netherlands, ethnic-racial affirmation

INTRODUCTION

Parenting is challenging, regardless of one's ethnic-racial background. However, many Black parents in the US and the Netherlands (and elsewhere in the Global North) face an extra challenge: helping their children develop positive views of their ethnic-racial group and heritage, despite the negative ethnic-racial stereotypes and discrimination that their children are likely to encounter (Essed, 1991; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). For example, according to a large nationally representative study in the US, close to half of Black participants report having experienced discrimination from time to time (Horowitz, Brown, & Cox, 2019). Similarly, according to a large nationally representative study in the Netherlands, close to half of Antillean- and Surinamese-Dutch (most of whom are Black) participants report experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months (Andriessen et al., 2020). There is an established research tradition on ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in the US (e.g., Lesane-Brown, 2006), and these studies have found that some aspects of ERS are related to more desirable child outcomes than others (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). For example, cultural socialization, aimed at instilling ingroup pride, helps to make children more resilient to discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), and preparation for bias is related to less ethnic-racial pride in children (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Although these US-based findings are valuable, these findings are not directly generalizable due to the different historical contexts of the Black experience in the US and the Netherlands. Unfortunately, few studies have examined how Black mothers in the Netherlands socialize their children regarding ethnicity-related issues. Therefore, the current study will explore how Black mothers in the Netherlands approach ERS using questionnaires, observations, and interviews.

ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

The terms ethnicity and race are often used interchangeably within the social science literature. Though these terms overlap considerably, they are distinguishable. Ethnicity refers to one's cultural heritage, whereas race refers to social groupings defined by physical characteristics (e.g., skin color, hair texture) and the broader societal context (Richeson & Sommers, 2016). Ethnic socialization refers to the transmission of information regarding ethnicity, while racial socialization refers to the transmission of information regarding race (Hughes et al., 2006). However, when it comes to the process of socialization, it is challenging to differentiate ethnic socialization from racial socialization. For example, for Black families in the US, the Netherlands, and elsewhere, talking to children about discrimination would likely touch upon mistreatment due to one's ethnic-racial background (e.g., slurs due to one's heritage) or racial appearance (e.g., slurs about one's skin color). Both are important aspects of a child's social experience and parental strategies to address such issues. For this reason, scholars prefer the term ethnic-racial socialization (ERS; Hughes et al., 2006),

a term that broadly captures socialization regarding ethnicity or race. Approaches to ERS can be classified as ranging from color-evasiveness (i.e., silence regarding topics related to ethnicity and race; Neville et al. 2013) to color-consciousness (i.e., openness to topics regarding ethnicity or race; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2014; Vittrup, 2018).

Most studies on ERS use self-reported data. An important concept in this branch of the ERS literature is cultural socialization (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), which refers to parental messages and practices (e.g., reading books to children) that promote knowledge about one's ethnic-racial group's history and accomplishments to instill ingroup pride and pass on their culture (Hughes et al. 2006). Another widely investigated aspect of ERS measured with self-report questionnaires is preparation for bias (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020) which refers to parents' efforts to make children aware of discrimination and prepare them to cope with discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). Like cultural socialization, many parents of color figure that preparing children to cope with discrimination (instead of focusing purely on instilling ingroup pride) directly makes children more resilient to ethnic-racial discrimination (Hughes et al. 2006). Studies suggest that cultural socialization is the most common aspect of ERS measured with self-report questionnaires in Black families in the US. For example, a recent study on ERS during middle childhood found that Black families in the US had engaged in cultural socialization approximately four to five times in the last 12 months (Contreras, Caughy, & Owen, 2022). During the same period, these families reported preparing for bias approximately two to three times (Contreras, Caughy, & Owen, 2022). Additionally, a literature review found that cultural socialization and preparation for bias correlate with one another (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), implying that many parents often employ both strategies. Although insights from questionnaire data paint a clear picture of how frequently parents use various ERS strategies, other forms of data collection can help scholars better understand the more subtle aspects of ERS.

Observational studies on ERS in Black families in the US complement the questionnaire data by detailing what ERS looks like in everyday life. Most of these observational studies used the Africentric Home Environment Inventory (AHEI; Caughy et al., 2002b). This observational measure allows researchers who visit families' homes to note the range of items that reflect Black pride, such as traditional African clothing and Black dolls. Multiple studies suggest that ERS measured with self-report questionnaires and the AHEI observational measure are inconsistently correlated with one another (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002a; Caughy et al., 2002b; Caughy et al., 2006). However, a study that used a cluster analysis (i.e., a person-centered approach used to identify if subgroups of people exist that share a similar pattern of characteristics; Howard & Hoffman, 2018) found that groups that are characterized by high self-reported ERS also tend to have higher observed ERS (Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011). In other words, although ERS measured with self-reported questionnaires vs. observational measures are inconsistently correlated with one another, subgroups with high observed ERS

are more likely to have high self-reported ERS. These findings highlight how variable-centered (i.e., correlational and regression analyses) and person-centered approaches (i.e., cluster analyses) complement one another and provide valuable insights.

Qualitative and mixed methods studies also provide valuable insights on ERS. In line with the quantitative literature, they confirm the prevalence of color-conscious ERS among Black families in the US (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020) while also highlighting how parents reason about their approach to ERS. For example, qualitative and mixed-method studies suggest that one of the reasons why many Black American mothers engage in cultural socialization is because they fear that their children would develop a weak sense of ingroup pride (Song & Gutierrez, 2015) and use it to compensate for the lack of Black representation in movies, books, and toys (Edwards & Demo, 2016; Lloyd, 2020). Similarly, a mixed-method study suggests that some Black American mothers engage in preparation for bias so that their children would be not only prepared to face and cope with (Lloyd, 2020). In conclusion, using both quantitative (e.g., correlational, regression, and cluster analyses) and qualitative (e.g., interviews) methods can help to identify patterns of ERS on the one hand and how parents reason about their approach to ERS on the other hand.

ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND ETHNIC-RACIAL AFFIRMATION

Many Black families recognize that their approach to ERS may influence how children view their ethnic-racial group and, therefore, how they navigate the world (Hughes et al., 2006). A concept that captures this sentiment is ethnic-racial affirmation, or a person's feelings about their ethnic-racial group (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Often, terms such as pride are used to describe positive ethnic-racial affirmation (e.g., Roberts et al., 1999; Phinney, 1992), and terms such as shame are used to describe negative ethnic-racial affirmation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Black American children's ethnic-racial affirmation is often measured in two ways (Byrd, 2012). First, in studies with older children (i.e., children approaching adolescence), researchers have often used questionnaires that include items regarding pride in one's ethnic-racial group, such as the Multigroup ethnic-racial Identity Measure (MEIM) to measure ethnic-racial affirmation (Phinney, 1992). With children approaching adolescence, this method is useful because they can better verbalize how they feel about being a member of a certain ethnic-racial group (Byrd, 2012). In studies with younger children, researchers have often measured ethnic-racial affirmation through attribution tasks that instruct the child to select Black or White dolls, such as in the classic doll study (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1939), or through tasks in which children give positive or negative adjectives to pictures or drawings of other Black children, such as with the Multi-response Racial Attitude measure (MRA; Aboud & Doyle, 1995). With younger children, this method is useful because they may not have the cognitive skills needed to verbalize how they feel about being a member of a certain ethnic-

racial group when asked directly. Studies suggest that greater positive ethnic-racial affirmation is associated with positive developmental outcomes, such as improved mental well-being and coping better with discrimination-related stress (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012).

Multiple studies (all using questionnaire data for parents and children) suggest that ERS is related to children's ethnic-racial affirmation. For example, on the one hand, higher cultural socialization in Black families in the US is associated with positive child outcomes, such as more positive ethnic-racial affirmation in children and adolescents (Hughes et al., 2009). However, unlike cultural socialization, preparation for bias in Black families in the US is associated with less children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and higher depressive symptoms (e.g., Murry et al., 2009; Rodriguez et al., 2009). However, to date, there are no studies that measure the association between ERS and children's ethnic-racial affirmation in Black families outside of the US.

THE DUTCH CONTEXT

From the early to mid-1900s, increasing numbers of Black people migrated to the Netherlands. At first, most Black migrants to the Netherlands came from the former Dutch colonies of Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean and are the descendants of enslaved Africans. Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, West African labor migrants arrived, mainly from Cape Verde and Ghana. Finally, after the 1990s, many Black refugees arrived, mostly fleeing armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa (e.g., Somali, Ethiopia, and Eritrean migrants; Appiah & Gates, 1999). In other words, the Black population in the Netherlands is very ethnically diverse. For generations, Black children growing up in the Netherlands have been exposed to a prominent blackface figure called "Black Pete". This infamous figure, which is a part of the Sinterklaas festivities (a widely celebrated, children-focused holiday), is not considered racist by most Dutch people despite widespread protests aimed at changing the figure's appearance (Klapwijk, 2019; Lubbe, 2020).

Despite the different historical contexts of Black people in the Netherlands versus those in the US, there are also several broad similarities. Firstly, similar to Black people in the US, Black people in the Netherlands often face discrimination. For example, a prominent representative study found that close to half of Antillean- and Surinamese-Dutch (most of whom are Black) report experiencing discrimination in the last 12 months (Andriessen et al., 2020), most commonly in school and work settings (Andriessen et al., 2020). Secondly, similar to African-American children (The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2020), many Antillean- and Surinamese-Dutch children grow up in single-mother households (47% and 39%, respectively; Statistics Netherlands, 2015) and often raise their children alone from birth (Distelbrink, 2000). Nevertheless, developmental research on the Black population in the Netherlands is noticeably scarce (for a rare example, see Kromhout & Vedder, 1996, a study on Antillean-Dutch

children). In contrast, research on the Turkish-Dutch, a similarly sized long, established underrepresented ethnic-racial group in the Netherlands, is much more common.

THE CURRENT STUDY

To date, ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in Black families has mostly been examined in the US. These studies highlight that ERS is related to primarily favorable and some unfavorable child outcomes. We add to this literature by examining relations between ERS and children's ethnic-racial affirmation in Black families in the Netherlands using quantitative and qualitative methods. First, we will explore how frequently Black mothers in the Netherlands engage in ERS practices. We will examine the frequency of ERS practices using self-report questionnaires and an observational measure. Secondly, we test the following hypotheses using correlational and regression analyses: (1) more maternal cultural socialization (an aspect of ERS measured through a self-report questionnaire) and observed ERS are related to (1a) higher children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation, and (1b) lower children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation; (2), and more maternal preparation for bias (another aspect of ERS measured through a self-report questionnaire) is related to (2a) higher children's negative affirmation and (2b) lower in children's positive affirmation. Thirdly, we test the following hypothesis using cluster analyses: (3) Black families in the Netherlands can be differentiated into at least two distinct groups: (3a) a subgroup characterized by high scores on maternal cultural socialization, maternal observed ERS, and children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and low scores on maternal preparation for bias and children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation, and (3b) a subgroup characterized by low scores on maternal cultural socialization, maternal observed ERS, and children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and high scores on maternal preparation for bias and children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. Lastly, we will examine qualitative interview data to explore how Black mothers in the Netherlands describe their approach to ERS.

METHODS

PARTICIPANTS

We recruited 56 Black mothers in the Netherlands and their children. The participating mothers (or one of their parents) were born in Surinam (identifying as Afro-Surinamese), the Dutch Antilles, Cape Verde, or Ghana. In the general Dutch population, a relatively large proportion of Black Dutch mothers (e.g., 34.6% of Surinamese-Dutch married women; 52.6% of Antillean-Dutch women) are married to partners with a different ethnic-racial background than their own (Kalmijn & Van Tunbergen, 2006). To reflect the Dutch reality of this population, we did not have specific criteria for the ethnic-racial background of the fathers of the children. For the quantitative analyses, we

excluded mothers if they did not fill in *any* items on the ethnic-racial socialization questionnaire (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), which leaves us with a sample of 45 mothers and children. The majority of these mothers had a monocultural background (both parents of the mother had the same ethnic-racial background; 82.2%). Most of the participating children had a bicultural background (51.1%), while a sizeable minority had a monocultural background (28.9%). For 20% of the children in our sample, mothers did not report the ethnic-racial background of the father. See Table 1 for more detailed information on the ethnic-racial background of mothers and children.

Table 1.

The ethnic-racial background of the Afro-Dutch mothers and children.

	Total sample		Sub-sample interviews
	Mothers <i>n</i> (%)	Children <i>n</i> (%)	Mothers <i>n</i> (%)
Monocultural			
Surinamese	26 (57.8)	9 (20.0)	21 (63.6)
Antillean	8 (17.8)	4 (8.9)	7 (21.2)
Cape Verdean	3 (6.7)	—	—
Bicultural			
Caribbean (bicultural)	3 (6.7)	4 (8.9)	2 (6.1)
Caribbean & West-African	—	7 (15.6)	—
Caribbean & Dutch	4 (8.9)	7 (15.6)	3 (9.1)
Caribbean & Other	—	3 (6.7)	—
West-African & Dutch	1 (2.2)	2 (4.4)	—

Note. With the term Caribbean (bicultural), we refer to people with two Caribbean parents from different countries (e.g., Surinamese and Antillean). The term Caribbean & Other, refers to people with a parent of Caribbean ancestry and a parent of non-West-African or Dutch descent.

Table 2.

The demographic characteristics of the Afro-Dutch mothers.

Sample size	Total sample	Sub-sample interviews
	45	33
Children		
% of girls	69	67
Age child <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	7.78 (1.08)	7.88 (0.96)
Mothers		
Age mother <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	38.95 (6.58)	38.19 (6.40)
% of single mothers	42	60
% 1 st generation	51	52
% of highly educated mothers	63	61
% of POC in neighborhood	35	35
% of children attending a predominantly White school	36	30

Note. The term 1st generation refers to mothers who were not born in the Netherlands.

PROCEDURE

The data was collected during the first and second wave (from May 2018 to January 2021) of a three-wave longitudinal study examining the parenting origins of prejudice in the Netherlands. An ethics committee of the authors' host university approved the study. During the first wave, families were visited at their homes for data collection. Home visits consisted of parent-child interaction tasks, computerized tasks for parents, and computerized and non-computerized tasks for children. Two trained visitors (bachelor's, master's, and PhD students, and research assistants) conducted home visits that lasted approximately two hours. In total, there were 27 trained home visitors in the first wave of various ethnic-racial backgrounds (18 White Dutch, five Black Dutch, three Turkish-Dutch, and one Moluccan-Dutch). In 34% of the home visits with Black Dutch mothers, the home visitor who instructed the children also had a Black Dutch background. The children received a small age-appropriate toy worth approximately €3 at the end of the home visit. In addition, the parents filled in one questionnaire during the home visit and one online questionnaire after the home visit. After completing the online questionnaire, the participating parents received gift cards worth €20 per participating parent. All parents signed consent forms for their own and their children's participation. We used the following measures collected during the first wave of data collection: the demographic characteristics, children's ethnic-racial affirmation, and ERS (i.e., self-reported and observed) data.

Families were initially visited at their homes for data collection during the second wave. However, after the COVID-19 breakout in early 2020, data was collected using Kultura, a secure online video platform provided by the university that employed the authors when this paper was written. Home visits and online data collection consisted of computerized and non-computerized tasks for children and qualitative interviews for parents. If both parents participated in the study, they were given the option to choose who would be interviewed. During the home visit phase, the children received a small age-appropriate toy at the end of the home visit, and the parents received a gift card for €5. During the digital visit phase, parents received a bank deposit of €7.50 and a small amount of money that children could win by playing one of the tasks. All parents signed consent forms for their own and their children's participation. We only included the qualitative interview data with mothers in the current article because only two fathers chose to be interviewed. Due to families dropping out between the first and second wave, 33 interviews were available for this sample. In total, 24 of the interviews were performed in person and nine online. All mothers were interviewed by the first author (who is Black Dutch).

MEASURES

Children's Ethnic-Racial Affirmation

An adapted version of The Multi-response Racial Attitude measure (MRA; Aboud &

Doyle, 1995) was used to measure Black Dutch children's ethnic-racial affirmation. During the home visit in the first wave, trained researchers presented seven envelopes with pictures of White, Black, and Middle-Eastern (e.g., dark-haired, olive-toned Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch children) boys and girls and one with a trash can. We conducted a pilot study with 20 Black Dutch adults aged between 18 and 53 years old ($M = 29.32$, $SD = 10.18$) to examine the attractiveness, cuteness, and perceived ethnicity of the children depicted in the pictures. On a scale from 0-10, there was no significant difference between how cute ($M = 7.35$, $SD = 1.49$) and how attractive ($M = 7.53$, $SD = 1.26$) Black children were rated ($t(73) = 3.96$, $p < .001$). The vast majority (85%) of Black Dutch adults rated the Black boys as being Surinamese or Caribbean. Additionally, all (100%) the Black Dutch adults rated the Black girl as being Surinamese or Caribbean. The children depicted in the photographs were wearing white T-shirts, smiling, and were approximately 6-10 years old. The background in the photographs was white. Children were given cards with five positive (i.e., nice, sweet, smart, funny, kind) and five negative traits (i.e., naughty, stupid, annoying, mean, dumb) and were instructed to put cards with traits in the envelopes of the children depicted on the pictures whom they believed to have that trait. The children received six cards per trait and were instructed that they could assign each trait to as many children as they wished (i.e., ranging from not assigning a trait to any child to assigning each trait to all children). Additionally, children were instructed to put the trait cards in an envelope with the trash can if they did not want to assign a trait to one or more of the children. Positive ethnic-racial affirmation was measured using the sum of positive traits that Black Dutch children gave the Black children on the pictures. Negative ethnic-racial affirmation was measured using the sum of negative traits that Black Dutch children gave to the Black children on the pictures. Greater scores indicated greater levels of negative or positive ethnic-racial affirmation, respectively.

ERS practices – Self-reported

Mothers reported on the frequency with which they talked about ethnicity-related topics with their children in the last 12 months using the 15-item Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors Questionnaire (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), which was filled in online during the first wave. This frequency was measured using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (more than seven times). For this study, we replaced the word "race" with "cultural background" in the questionnaire because the term race is not commonly used in the Dutch context. The current study uses two subscales of the questionnaire: cultural socialization and preparation for bias.

Cultural socialization consisted of four items that capture the extent to which mothers try to instill ingroup pride in their children (e.g., talked about important people or events in their group's history). Because of the young age of our sample, a single item of the subscale about encouraging children to read books about their ethnic-

racial group was changed to reflect parents and children reading books together about their ethnic-racial group. Preparation for bias consisted of five items that capture the extent to which mothers prepare their children for discrimination. (e.g., told their child that they must be better to get the same reward because of their cultural background). The internal consistency was good for cultural socialization (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$) and acceptable for preparation for bias (Cronbach's $\alpha = .57$). Higher scores indicated higher levels of cultural socialization and preparation for bias, respectively.

ERS practices – Observed

Video observations were made during the home visit during the first wave of data collection, in which mothers and children read a picture book together without text (inspired by Margie et al., 2005). This picture book was designed to elicit parental messages about ethnicity or race-related concepts such as skin color, religion, nationality, and cultural heritage. A trained home visitor instructed mothers to discuss each picture and tell a story to their children. The picture book consists of ten drawings depicting White, Black, and Middle-Eastern boys and girls in various scenarios. In the first picture, all children are shown together, side by side, with a white background behind them. In the following six pictures, children were depicted alone in various ambiguous scenarios that could be interpreted as reflecting naughty behavior (e.g., the child standing next to a broken phone). In the final three drawings, children were depicted alongside either a White, Black, or Middle-Eastern man and woman in a cultural setting linked to the White Dutch, Black Dutch, and Middle-Eastern-Dutch groups (e.g., the Dutch holiday called King's day, a Caribbean festival, a Mosque). We counterbalanced the order in which the children appeared in the ambiguous scenarios. Similarly, we counterbalanced the order of the final three drawings of cultural settings. In total, due to counterbalancing the aforementioned pages, we had six different versions of the picture book that were assigned to the families at random.

The video-recorded discussions between mothers and children were transcribed and coded. For each picture, statements about ethnic-racial appearance (skin color, hair or eye color, headscarf) or background (nationality, religion, cultural heritage) were coded as being either absent (0) or present (1).

Our research team developed the coding system. After piloting the coding system and achieving intercoder reliability, four coders achieved intercoder reliability for the variables of interest (kappa values $> .80$). This group of coders coded independently from one another. After the coding process, observed ERS scores were computed separately for Black, White, and Middle-Eastern picture book characters for the analyses. These scores reflected color-conscious statements (i.e., comments about skin color, hair or eye color, nationality, religion, and cultural heritage linked to a cultural setting) made by mothers regarding the ethnic-racial groups as they discussed the final three drawings of the cultural settings. Higher scores indicated more observed ERS.

Incorporating ERS in Parenting

Semi-structured qualitative interviews were used during the second wave of data collection to measure how mothers describe their approach to ethnic-racial socialization and views on national identity and cultural diversity. In total, all available 33 interviews with mothers were analyzed (73% of the sample). This subset is smaller than the total sample due to participant dropout between the first and second waves of data collection. Mothers' responses to the question "*how do you incorporate the topic of cultural diversity in your parenting?*" were examined using a reflexive thematic analysis, following the steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006; 2021). The reflexive thematic analysis approach embraces the positionality of the researcher. In other words, it embraces the individuality of the researcher and how their personal insights factor into interpreting qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2021). This approach is particularly apt for this article, considering that the first author is Black Dutch and is well-versed in the ethnic-racial socialization literature. After interviewing the mothers, the first author familiarized himself with the interview data by reading the transcripts and discussing relevant themes with the other authors for feedback and reflection. In line with the parenting literature (e.g., Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), statements were initially assigned the following three categories; maternal goals (e.g., what people want to achieve with parenting), messages (i.e., recollections of topics that parents mention discussing with their children), or behaviors (i.e., recollections of activities) that touch on ethnicity or race. Next, the categories were further classified into themes that were inspired by the broader ERS literature (Hughes et al., 2006), detailed further in the qualitative analysis section.

DATA-INSPECTION AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS PLAN

For the quantitative section, standardized z-scores greater than 3.29 above and below the mean were defined as outliers (Kim, 2013), but none were detected. Bivariate correlational and multiple regression analyses were performed for the following hypotheses: (1) more maternal cultural socialization (an aspect of ERS measured through a self-report questionnaire) and observed ERS are related to (1a) higher children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation, and (1b) lower children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation; (2), and more maternal preparation for bias (an aspect of ERS measured through a self-report questionnaire) is related to (2a) higher children's negative affirmation and (2b) lower in children's positive affirmation. Additionally, we examined demographic characteristics (i.e., maternal age, children's age, and maternal educational level) and ethnicity of the researcher who collected the child data (0 = non-Black Dutch researcher, 1 = Black Dutch researcher) in relation to children's negative or positive ethnic-racial affirmation, to determine potential covariates in the multiple regression analyses. The demographic characteristics and ethnicity of the researcher collecting the child data did not correlate with children's negative or positive ethnic-

racial affirmation, so no covariates were included in the multiple regression analyses. We report Pearson r correlations and standardized regression coefficients.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

A paired sample t -test of the self-reported ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) data revealed that mothers engaged significantly more frequently in cultural socialization ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 0.96$) than preparation for bias ($M = 2.04$, $SD = 0.80$), $t(44) = -3.34$, $p = .002$, $d = -0.50$. Further descriptive analyses revealed that most mothers had engaged in some form of cultural socialization (93.3%) and preparation for bias (91.1%) in the last year. The most common cultural socialization practice was talking about important figures or events about people that shared their cultural background (91.1% had engaged in this practice). The most common preparation for bias practice was telling their child that their cultural background is an important part of themselves (68.9% had engaged in this practice).

Descriptive analyses of the observed ERS data (from the picture book task) revealed that Black ERS (57.8%) and Middle-Eastern ERS (57.8%) were common, but that White ERS was observed in less than a quarter of the mothers (22.2%). In other words, Black Dutch mothers were observed to engage mostly in Black and Middle-Eastern ERS. A repeated-measures ANOVA of the video-observation data revealed that there were significant differences between maternal Black ($M = 0.80$, $SD = 0.84$), Middle-Eastern ($M = 0.87$, $SD = 0.94$), and White observed ERS ($M = 0.31$, $SD = 0.63$), $F(2, 88) = 10.60$, $p < .001$. Post hoc tests revealed that there was no significant difference in the level of Black compared to Middle-Eastern observed ERS, $t(44) = -0.44$, $p = .66$. However, there was significantly more Black observed ERS than White observed ERS, $t(44) = 4.33$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.65$. Additionally, Middle-Eastern observed ERS was significantly higher than White ERS, $t(44) = 4.30$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.64$.

Table 3 shows the results of bivariate correlational analyses. These revealed that the two aspects of ERS measured with self-report questionnaires were correlated with one another; more maternal cultural socialization was strongly associated with more maternal preparation for bias ($r = .62$, $p < .001$). Additionally, the Black, White, and Middle-Eastern observed ERS correlated significantly and positively with one another. There were no significant bivariate correlations between ERS measured with the self-reported questionnaire vs. our observational measure. However, one aspect of ERS measured with the self-report questionnaires, maternal preparation for bias, was marginally correlated with more observed Middle-Eastern ERS ($r = .28$, $p = .062$).

Table 3.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between maternal constructs of ethnic-racial socialization and children's negative and positive ethnic-racial affirmation (N = 45).

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Self-reported ERS: Maternal cultural socialization	2.43	0.96	—						
2. Self-reported ERS: Maternal preparation for bias	2.04	0.80	.62***	—					
3. Observed maternal Black ERS	0.80	0.84	.04	.14	—				
4. Observed maternal White ERS	0.31	0.63	-.06	-.05	.50***	—			
5. Observed maternal Middle-Eastern ERS	0.58	0.75	.09	.28	.40**	.33*	—		
6. Children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation	3.16	3.36	-.16	.13	-.25	-.18	-.14	—	
7. Children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation	5.51	3.12	.09	-.12	.11	.21	-.15	-.25	—

Note. *M* and *SD* represent the mean and standard deviation. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MATERNAL ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S ETHNIC-RACIAL AFFIRMATION

Bivariate correlational analyses using the whole sample ($N = 45$) revealed that none of the maternal ERS variables (self-reported and observed) correlated significantly with children's negative or positive ethnic-racial affirmation (see Table 3).

Next, we ran two separate multiple regression analyses with negative ethnic-racial affirmation as the dependent variable in the first model and positive ethnic-racial affirmation as the dependent variable in the second model using the whole sample ($N = 45$). Demographic characteristics (and ethnicity of the researcher) were not included as covariates because they did not correlate with children's negative or positive ethnic-racial affirmation. Additionally, all the ingroup-focused ERS measures (i.e., maternal cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and the observed Black ERS) were entered as predictors in the same block for both models.

In the first model, more maternal cultural socialization ($\beta = -.41$, $p = .027$) and observed Black ERS ($\beta = -.29$, $p = .047$) were associated with lower children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. However, more maternal preparation for bias was associated with higher children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation ($\beta = .43$, $p = .023$). This model significantly predicted children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation, $R^2_{\text{adj}} = .13$, $F(4, 41) = 3.25$, $p = .031$.

In the second model, maternal cultural socialization ($\beta = .28$, $p = .148$), observed Black ERS ($\beta = .14$, $p = .353$), and maternal preparation for bias ($\beta = -.31$, $p = .112$) were not significantly associated with children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation. This model did not significantly predict children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation, $R^2_{\text{adj}} = .01$, $F(4, 41) = 1.17$, $p = .332$.

CLUSTER ANALYSES OF MATERNAL ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S ETHNIC-RACIAL AFFIRMATION

Lastly, cluster analyses were performed using the whole sample ($N = 45$). Before performing the *K*-means cluster analysis, we used the NbClust package in R, which

recommends the number of clusters for the current dataset according to 30 popular indices (Charrad et al., 2014). The dissimilarity measure used was the Euclidean distance. Five indices supported a two-cluster solution, five supported a fifteen-cluster solution, three supported a four-cluster solution, and three supported a fourteen-cluster solution. For the sake of parsimony and the small sample size, we proceeded with the two-cluster solution instead of the fifteen-cluster solution.

Table 4 shows the results of the cluster analysis. To interpret the clusters, we examined each cluster's standardized and non-standardized median scores on the questionnaires to show participant clusters' relative and absolute position on the key variables. The first cluster of participants ($n = 19$), labeled the high ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) group, scored above average on ERS (self-reported and observed), children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation, but below average on children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. The non-standardized scores indicated that the high ERS mothers engaged in preparation for bias more than once or twice in the last year, engaged in cultural socialization close to three to five times in the last year, and that mothers had said more than one Black color-conscious statement during the picture book task. In addition, the high ERS children gave Black children between one and two negative traits and approximately seven positive traits.

The second cluster of participants ($n = 26$), labeled the low ERS group, scored below average on ERS (self-reported and observed), children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation, but above average on children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. The non-standardized scores indicated that the low ERS mothers engaged in preparation for bias less than once or twice in the last year, engaged in cultural socialization more than once or twice in the last year and that mothers had said less than one Black color-conscious statement during the picture book task. In addition, the low ERS children gave Black children about equal numbers of positive and negative traits (between four and five).

Next, we tested between-group differences between the high and low ERS groups on maternal ERS and children's ethnic-racial affirmation variables. Significant between-group differences were found for all variables (Table 4). The high ERS group scored significantly higher than the low ERS group on all aspects of ERS (self-reported and observed) and children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation but significantly lower on children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation.

Thirdly, we tested for between-group differences between the high and low ERS groups on key demographic characteristics. Firstly, children's age did not significantly differ between the high ($M = 7.78$, $SD = 0.97$) and low ERS groups ($M = 7.78$, $SD = 1.16$), $t(43) = 0.10$, $p = .992$. Similarly, mother's age did not significantly differ between the high ($M = 39.18$, $SD = 5.38$) and low ERS groups ($M = 38.78$, $SD = 7.43$), $t(43) = 0.20$, $p = .841$. Additionally, maternal educational level ($X^2(1, N = 45) = 0.54$, $p = .463$) and ethnicity of the researcher performing the child tasks ($X^2(1, N = 45) = 0.02$, $p = .878$) did not significantly differ between the high and low ERS groups.

Table 4. Between-group differences between the high and low ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) clusters on maternal socialization and children's ethnic-racial affirmation variables ($N = 45$).

Variable	High ERS $n = 19$	Low ERS $n = 26$	Between-group differences
	$Z, M (SD)$	$Z, M (SD)$	
Self-reported ERS: Maternal preparation for bias	0.50; 2.44 (0.86) ^b	-0.36; 1.75 (0.62) ^b	$t(43) = 2.60, p = .013, d = .78$
Self-reported ERS: Maternal cultural socialization	0.29; 2.84 (1.05) ^a	-0.40; 2.13 (0.78) ^b	$t(43) = 3.13, p = .003, d = .95$
Observed maternal Black ERS	0.74; 1.42 (0.84) ^a	-0.54; 0.35 (0.49) ^b	$t(26.75) = 5.43, p < .001, d = 1.64$
Children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation	-0.51; 1.42 (2.41) ^a	0.42; 4.42 (3.42) ^b	$t(42.97) = -3.45, p = .001, d = -.99$
Children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation	0.45; 6.95 (2.93) ^b	-0.34; 4.46 (2.87) ^b	$t(43) = 2.84, p = .005, d = .86$

Note. Different superscript letters refer to significant between-group contrasts. Weich's t-test was used for observed maternal Black ERS and children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation due to the unequal variances in these variables for the high and low ERS groups. The rest of the between-group differences column report independent sample t-test results.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Lastly, we report the results of our qualitative analyses with our subset of mothers who were interviewed ($N = 33$). Although there are multiple viable ways of coding the interviews, our coding scheme was inspired by theoretical perspectives on parenting and ERS (e.g., Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Hughes et al., 2006). Initially, statements were assigned one or more of the following three categories; maternal goals (i.e., what they wanted to achieve with parenting), messages (recollections of specific conversation topics or actual discussions), or behaviors (recollections of activities that mothers engaged in). In addition, multiple codes were attributed to the same statement if they could be categorized into multiple underlying concepts (e.g., a statement covering maternal goals and messages would receive multiple codes). Next, categories (maternal goals, messages, or behaviors) were grouped if they represented a similar underlying theme.

We identified four maternal ERS themes. Three of these themes are in line with constructs commonly examined in the ERS literature (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), and one is specific to the Dutch context: (1) multiculturalism; equality between ethnic-racial groups and awareness of diversity, (2) cultural socialization; transmission of ingroup cultural pride, customs, and historical knowledge, (3) preparation for bias; preparing and making children aware of discrimination and harmful views, and lastly, a theme unique to this study we call (4) national-identity-focused-socialization; transmission of Dutch values, customs, and historical knowledge.

The most frequently occurring theme was multiculturalism (24 out of 33 mothers; 72.7%), followed by cultural socialization (16 out of 33 mothers; 48.5%), national-identity-focused-socialization (8 out of 33 mothers; 24.2%), and preparation for bias (7 out of 33 mothers; 21.2%). Table 5 includes an overview of how many and which themes were mentioned by mothers. The themes are discussed from the most to least prevalent in the next section. The quotes were slightly edited to add clarity (e.g., removing stuttering), and square brackets were added to provide helpful information where needed.

Table 5.

An overview of how many themes mothers mentioned and which themes were mentioned.

The number and frequency of themes mentioned	Multiculturalism	Cultural Socialization	National-Identity-Focused-Socialization	Preparation for Bias
	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)
1 (15)	8 (61.2)	2 (15.4)	1 (7.7)	3 (23.1)
2 (11)	9 (90.0)	7 (70.0)	1 (10.0)	3 (30.0)
3 (7)	7 (100)	7 (100)	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)

THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Multiculturalism

The most prominent finding was the emphasis that most mothers placed on multiculturalist goals, messages, and behavior. This theme was the most common. In total, most of the 33 mothers (81.2%) made statements that were coded as pertaining to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was the only theme for 8 out of 33 mothers (24.2%). Many mothers emphasized the multicultural goals of wanting their children to, on the one hand, be aware and appreciate cultural diversity and be color-conscious, and on the other hand, treat others as equals regardless of their ethnic-racial background. For example, one mother mentioned these two goals in combination:

"I teach them to be open to all cultures. They cannot judge people based on their appearance, race or religion."

Specific multicultural messages ranged from discussing broad cultural differences to explicitly asking about the ethnic-racial diversity that children encountered in their daily lives, such as at school:

"How do you like having six or seven nationalities in your grade?"

Mothers were not the only ones in charge of initiating discussions that led to multicultural messages. For example, one mother detailed how her friendship with her Moroccan-Dutch neighbor led to her children befriending the neighbors' children. Those friendships triggered the children to ask their mother:

"Why do they pray like that in that family? Why do they not eat pork?... I mention these little examples to show that they learn that everyone is different."

Some mothers also described specific multicultural behaviors. These behaviors ranged from attending celebratory events (such as circumcision ceremonies) from people with other ethnic-racial backgrounds than their own to reading books to children about other ethnic-racial groups. For example, one mother explained that:

"I always enjoy reading to them about, well, not about the books that always cover the same things, but about books with various topics. For example, we have a book about a child adopted from Sri Lanka. I enjoy showing them that differences exist."

A small subgroup of mothers detailed their preference for indirect approaches to transmitting multicultural views to their children. A few mothers described their multicultural goal as implicitly passing on an awareness of cultural diversity. For example, one mother mentioned that:

"We try to pass on that acceptance [of cultural diversity] implicitly."

However, mothers with implicit approaches did not describe the reasoning behind their approach in-depth. Instead, they mentioned their implicit approach alongside their preferred ERS behaviors. As one mother described it:

"At times, we go to museums or exhibitions. However, we do not lay it on thick."

Other mothers mentioned described how their multicultural behaviors were primarily indirect. These mothers described how choosing diverse schools or exposing their children to people with diverse ethnic-racial backgrounds provided children with everyday opportunities to learn about cultural diversity. For example, one mother explained how she values her child going to an ethnically diverse school:

"I think school plays an important role [in learning about cultural diversity]. They go to a very diverse school, so they see anything and everything in class. I like that a lot."

Cultural Socialization

Another prominent finding was the range of cultural socialization goals, messages, and practices that mothers described. This theme was common. In total, about half of the 33 mothers (48.5%) made statements that were coded as pertaining to cultural socialization. For 2 out of 33 mothers (6.1%), cultural socialization was the only theme present. An important goal that these mothers had in common was wanting their children to understand where their ancestors came from so that their children could be aware of their ancestor's cultural traditions. For example, one mother mentioned that:

"Of course, it is important that they understand their own story, heritage, and festivities."

Similarly, one mother emphasized that her cultural socialization messages emphasize historical knowledge that the child would not learn at school, which highlights the lack of in-depth discussion of the history of Black people in the Netherlands can clash with

cultural socialization goals:

"We try to let them know where we (the parents) come from and where our ancestors originally came from. How did that happen? We find it important that the children know because they will not learn about it at school."

Another mother seemed to want to instill a sense of pride in their child, by focusing on positive stories. She mentioned that:

"We try to pass on a lot about our own background... especially the beautiful stories."

Maternal cultural socialization practices reflected mothers wanting to transmit a sense of ethnic-racial (e.g., Afro-Caribbean) or Black pride to their children through visiting museums, cultural events, buying Black dolls, and reading books about their ethnic-racial group. For example, one mother mentioned how she finds it essential to bring her children to Black Achievement Month (a series of events that happen yearly in October and celebrate achievements by Black people in the Netherlands). Similarly, another mother mentioned how she visits Kwakoe (a large festival that features Afro-Caribbean and African musical guests and food stands) and celebrates Ketu Koti (the end of slavery in Surinam, a former Dutch colony). Another mother focused on how she could get her kids to appreciate her own appearance on a daily basis by buying them Black dolls:

"I make sure that they have dolls with various skin colors, so they see that not all dolls are White barbies. I want them to be aware that dolls also exist that look like them."

National-Identity-Focused-Socialization

Another relatively common theme was how some mothers described goals and messages focused on passing on aspects of Dutch culture and identity. This theme was relatively common but new to the ERS literature. In total, about a quarter of the 33 mothers (24.2%) made statements that were coded as pertaining to national-identity-focused-socialization. For only one of the 33 mothers (3.0%), national-identity-focused-socialization was the only theme present. National-identity-focused-socialization messages were broadly focused on affirming that children can consider themselves rightfully Dutch, even if they are not White or if their ancestors were not born in the Netherlands. For example, one mother recalled a conversation with her in which she explained that she has the right to claim to be Dutch, even as a person of

color, stating that:

"In terms of nationality, you are Dutch. Often, people imagine a White person when they think of someone who is Dutch, but you are just as Dutch as everyone else."

Similarly, another mother described how she emphasizes to her child that they have the right to claim to be Dutch.

"I let it be known: you are a Dutch person of color."

Preparation for Bias

The last theme was how some mothers described preparation for bias goals and messages. In total, about a quarter of the 33 mothers (24.2%) made statements that were coded as pertaining to preparation for bias. Preparation for bias was the only theme present for only 2 out of 33 mothers (6.1%). The preparation for bias goals mentioned by mothers emphasized wanting children to be prepared to face ethnic-racial bias due to their skin color. One mother explained this goal in relation to the experiences of her and her partner:

"We find it important that they [the children] realize that, like my husband and I, will have to take extra steps [work harder] because of their skin color compared to native [Dutch] youth and adults. That is a fact, and I want them to be aware of that."

As for preparation for bias messages, mothers described talking to their children about anti-Black phenomena that they had encountered. For example, two mothers mentioned discussing Black Pete, the blackface figure that is part of Sinterklaas, a widely celebrated Dutch cultural festivity. Another mother discussed wanting her child to embrace her natural afro-textured hair, explaining that:

"My daughter really wants two braids and straight hair, but her hair is not straight. She has beautifully lush afro-textured hair, so I try to make her aware that her hair is also beautiful, even if other people find it peculiar and want to touch it."

EXPLORATIVE ANALYSES WITH INTERVIEW SUBSAMPLE

After completing the qualitative analyses, binary variables were computed for mothers who were interviewed ($n = 33$), representing if they did (1) or did not (0) mention one of the four themes (i.e., multiculturalism, cultural socialization, national-identity-focused

socialization, and preparation for bias). Next, explorative between-group analyses were conducted to examine differences between mothers who mentioned specific themes, their ERS scores (self-reported and observed), and children's ethnic-racial affirmation. These analyses revealed that mothers who mentioned cultural socialization in the interviews had marginally higher cultural socialization ($t(31) = 2.03, p = .051, d = .71$), and significantly higher preparation for bias ($t(31) = 2.53, p = .017, d = .88$). Additionally, mothers who mentioned preparation for bias in the interviews had marginally lower observed Black ERS ($t(31) = -1.79, p = .084, d = -.71$), and their children had significantly lower negative ethnic-racial affirmation ($t(24.51) = -2.97, p = .007, d = -.82$). There were no significant between-group differences in maternal ERS and their children's ethnic-racial affirmation for mothers who mentioned multiculturalism or national-identity-focused-socialization in the interviews ($p = .120$ to $.937$).

Lastly, we tested if the likelihood of the ERS themes being described differed between the high and low ERS mothers found by the cluster analyses. There were no significant differences the high and low ERS mothers in describing multiculturalism ($\chi^2(1, N = 33) = 0.35, p = .557$), cultural socialization ($\chi^2(1, N = 33) = 1.46, p = .23$), national-identity-focused-socialization ($\chi^2(1, N = 33) = 0.92, p = .34$), or preparation for bias in the interviews ($\chi^2(1, N = 33) = 0.44, p = .509$). Additionally, there were no differences in the number of themes mentioned between the high and low ERS mothers, $F(1, 32) = .14, p = .709$.

DISCUSSION

This study's main goal was to explore how Black mothers in the Netherlands approach ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) using questionnaires, observations, and interviews. Firstly, the questionnaire data revealed that most mothers (>90%) reported engaging in aspects of color-conscious ERS. Secondly, a slight majority of mothers (>50%) were observed to engage in Black and Middle-Eastern ERS while reading from a picture book to their children. Lastly, we identified four maternal ERS themes in the interviews, which were in order of prevalence: (1) multiculturalism; equality between ethnic-racial groups and awareness of diversity, (2) cultural socialization; transmission of ingroup cultural pride, customs, and historical knowledge, (3) preparation for bias; preparing and making children aware of discrimination, and (4) national-identity-focused-socialization; transmission of Dutch values, customs, and historical knowledge. The most common theme was multiculturalism.

We first showed that most Black mothers in the Netherlands (>90%) reported having engaged in cultural socialization and preparation for bias in the last year. Observations confirmed that most Black mothers in the Netherlands employ a color-conscious approach to ERS. In other words, these mothers do not shy away from topics regarding

ethnicity and race when talking to their children about people of color (i.e., Black and Middle-Eastern). These patterns are similar to findings from studies with Black mothers in the US that highlight how common maternal ERS is in this group (self-reported and observed; Caughy et al., 2002b; Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

We found mixed support for our hypotheses that self-reported cultural socialization and observed Black ERS would be related to higher children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and to lower children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. Our regression analyses revealed that more maternal cultural socialization and observed Black ERS were significantly related to lower children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation but not to higher children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation. However, the correlations between maternal ingroup or Black ERS (self-reported and observed) and children's positive and negative ethnic-racial affirmation were not statistically significant. The pattern of findings from the regression analyses is broadly in line with ERS studies that have found that cultural socialization and observed ERS are related to positive outcomes (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002b; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). These findings highlight that even in the Netherlands, maternal ERS (self-reported and observed) focused on passing on a sense of ingroup pride is linked to children having a less negative view of other Black kids.

Partly in line with our hypotheses that more maternal preparation for bias would be related to lower children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and higher children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation, we found that maternal preparation for bias was significantly related to higher children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation but not to lower children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation. However, the correlations between maternal preparation for bias and children's positive and negative ethnic-racial affirmation were not statistically significant. The findings from the regression results highlight that, similar to studies in the US (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), preparation for bias (when controlling for other aspects of ERS) can be linked to adverse child outcomes. Although most parents may want to prepare their children for discrimination, highlighting how they may face social exclusion due to their background could lead children to view being Black negatively (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

The lack of significant correlations between maternal ERS (self-reported and observed) and children's negative and positive ethnic-racial affirmation is puzzling. However, considering that the self-reported maternal ERS measures (i.e., cultural socialization and preparation for bias) were positively correlated with one another, but had opposite signs in relation to children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation in the regression analysis, suggests the presence of a suppression effect. Suppression effects describe a wide range of patterns, the most basic of which is that the inclusion of multiple predictors increases the predictive power of each predictor (Watson et al., 2013). Often, a suppressor effect occurs when multiple aspects of the same underlying phenomenon are included in a regression analysis. Suppressor effects are more

commonly described in intelligence and mental health research (Watson et al., 2013; Gaylord-Harden et al., 2010). Our results suggest that maternal cultural socialization and preparation for bias are in tension with each other (i.e., have opposite signs). This type of suppression effect is called cooperative because maternal cultural socialization and preparation for bias enhance one another in a contrasting way (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2010). To provide further insight into the complex relations between different aspects of maternal ERS (self-reported and observed) and children's ethnic-racial affirmation, we describe the cluster analysis results in the next section.

We found some support for the hypothesis that Black families in the Netherlands can be differentiated into at least two distinct groups: a subgroup characterized by high maternal cultural socialization, observed Black ERS, and children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and low maternal preparation for bias and children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation, and a subgroup characterized by low maternal cultural socialization, observed Black ERS, and children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation and high maternal preparation for bias and children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. A little under half of the participants belonged to the high ERS group characterized by high maternal ERS (self-reported and observed), high children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation but low children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. A little over half of the participants belonged to the low ERS group, characterized by low maternal ERS (self-reported and observed), low children's positive ethnic-racial affirmation, but high children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. These findings are broadly in line with a prior study that employed a cluster analysis (Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011).

Our cluster analyses suggest that children with high positive and low negative ethnic-racial affirmations tend to grow up exposed to more maternal ERS. Additionally, practices and messages aimed at passing on ingroup pride (cultural socialization) have a contrasting effect from practices and messages aimed at preparing children to face discrimination (preparation for bias) on children's negative ethnic-racial affirmation. These findings suggest that maternal ERS coincides with beneficial outcomes for children's ethnic-racial affirmation (more positive and less negative). If parents are diminishing the benefits of cultural socialization by emphasizing the reality of discrimination remains unclear. In other words, different aspects of maternal ERS may interact in their prediction of children's ethnic-racial affirmation. However, with our sample size, we do not have the power to adequately test such hypotheses. Future research should test how different aspects of ERS (such as preparation for bias and cultural socialization) may interact with one another in predicting children's ethnic-racial affirmation.

Lastly, we explored how mothers incorporate the topic of cultural diversity in parenting through the use of qualitative interviews with a subset of the sample ($N = 33$). Our analyses of the interviews revealed several important categories and themes in line with theories on parenting and ERS (e.g., Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Grusec

& Goodnow, 1994; Hughes et al., 2006). Firstly, most mothers described having multicultural (i.e., embracing cultural diversity and treating others equally) goals, messages, and practices. Although motivations varied, these mothers emphasized that they did not want their children to be prejudiced but instead wanted them to have a sense of openness to cultural diversity. Secondly, many mothers described cultural socialization (i.e., transmitting a sense of ethnic-racial pride) goals, messages, and practices. These goals, messages, and practices focused on children being aware of information that can bolster a sense of pride in their ethnic-racial background by discussing the history of Black people (or, more specifically, Afro-Caribbean and African) in the Netherlands, their achievements, and their cultural practices. Most mothers described cultural socialization and multicultural goals, messages, and practices side by side, illustrating that the two themes are linked. In other words, transmitting a sense of ethnic-racial pride coincides with mothers wanting their children to respect and appreciate other ethnic-racial groups. Less than a quarter of the mothers described national-identity-focused-socialization (passing on aspects of Dutch culture and identity) goals, messages, or practices. The national-identity-focused-socialization theme was often mentioned alongside the multicultural and cultural socialization themes. These mothers seemed to want their children to embrace their Dutch identity while not de-emphasizing their Black (or Afro-Caribbean) identity. Similarly, less than a quarter of the mothers described preparation for bias goals, messages, or practices. The preparation for bias theme was often mentioned alongside the multicultural theme. These mothers discussed preparing their children for the harsh reality that they would likely encounter discrimination at some point in their lives. These last two themes did not overlap, implying that mothers who focused on passing on aspects of Dutch culture and identity did not focus on preparing their children for discrimination and vice versa. Overall, these findings highlight that prominent aspects of ERC discussed in the US theoretical and empirical literature (i.e., multicultural, cultural socialization, and preparation for bias) are also applicable to the Dutch context (Hughes et al., 2006).

Notably, the national-identity-focused-socialization theme highlights the importance of migration history (besides ethnicity) when it comes to ERS. Most Black people in the Netherlands (and the rest of Europe) are descendants of migrants (or were migrants themselves) that arrived after the mid-1900s (De Witte, 2019). Due to this relatively recent wave of migration, it is likely that national-identity-focused-socialization is an integral part of the acculturation process (i.e., cultural and psychological change following intergroup contact; Berry, 1997). These findings confirm the valuable ways qualitative studies can affirm quantitative findings while spotlighting new avenues of research. For example, the co-occurrence of the national-identity-focused-socialization, multicultural, and cultural socialization themes may reflect these mothers adopting an integration strategy (i.e., maintaining their cultural heritage and pursuing intergroup contact; Berry, 1997) in their approach to ERS.

There are some limitations to keep in mind. Our sample was relatively small ($N = 45$), which reduced the power of our study. However, our mixed-methods approach (questionnaire, observations, and interview data) is a clear strength that lends more ecological validity to our findings. Another limitation is that mothers were interviewed during the second wave of data collection, but the questionnaires were filled out during the first wave. It is possible that mothers may have changed how they approach ERS due to their children approaching adolescence (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Additionally, during the second wave, BLM protests (in the US and the Netherlands) received widespread media coverage. It is possible that this widespread media coverage may have led to more mother-child discussions on ethnic-racial prejudice and stereotypes. For example, a qualitative study describes how Black parents in the region where Michael Brown lived, a Black teenager killed by a police officer, incorporated talks about police violence in their approach to ERS in response to his death (Threlfall, 2016). Lastly, our study did not include fathers, so our results only reflect some (but not all) of the family ERS that children are exposed to.

This study is the first to examine ERS and children's ethnic-racial affirmation in Black families in the Netherlands, a group that has proven to be difficult to reach for research studies. As such, our study helps to expand the literature on ERS by focusing on a severely understudied population outside of the US. Considering that many countries across the Global North have sizeable Black populations, other researchers should similarly examine to what extent findings from US-based studies with Black families are generalizable to their particular context. We advise these researchers to also use a mixed-methods approach. Firstly, measuring ERS with self-report questionnaires is useful for making comparisons across countries and ethnic-racial groups. Secondly, measuring ERS with observational measures and qualitative interviews is useful for identifying unique aspects of ERS that are specific to a cultural context.

In summary, our quantitative findings highlight that Black mothers in the Netherlands commonly engage in ERS and that a color-conscious approach to ERS (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and observed Black ERS) is related to variations in children's ethnic-racial affirmation. These findings are broadly in line with the US-based literature on ERS (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). In addition, our qualitative analysis contributes to the literature by spotlighting a concept that future studies should explore among Black families outside of the US (and other non-White groups): national-identity-focused-socialization. An important takeaway for Black mothers in the Netherlands, in particular, is that our study suggests that the color-conscious ERS approach is related to children having positive feelings about their ethnic-racial group. Awareness of the positive effects of color-conscious ERS can guide Black families in the Netherlands on their paths to helping their children build a secure sense of self that can withstand the harmful effects of ethnic-racial prejudice and stereotypes.

General discussion

Daudi van Veen



DISCUSSION

This dissertation investigated the development and socialization of ethnicity-related views in the Netherlands through three socializing agents; wider society (Chapter 2), textbooks (Chapter 3), and parents (Chapters 4 and 5). Results from Chapter 2 indicated that positive attitudes regarding the blackface figure Black Pete are related to higher levels of national identification and social dominance orientation (SDO), which refers to a preference for unequal intergroup relations (Pratto & Sidanius, 1994). Results from Chapter 3 showed that people of color are underrepresented and often portrayed as having a lower status and less competence than White characters in first-year secondary school Math and Dutch textbooks from the Netherlands. Results from Chapter 4 suggest that socialization goals and maternal SDO play a role in the development of children's ethnic prejudice. Finally, Chapter 5 showed that Black mothers in the Netherlands (Afro-Dutch mothers) with a color-conscious approach to ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) had children with higher positive ethnic affirmation and lower negative ethnic affirmation. In this final Chapter, I discuss these main findings and their implications and make recommendations for future research.

THE GROUP PARTICIPATION DOMAIN: SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

The social learning tradition has inspired many studies on the socialization of children's ethnicity-related views (Levy & Hughes, 2009). One of the theoretical perspectives in the social learning tradition is the Group Participation Domain, which describes how and why children may adopt the views of their social group (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). The Group Participation domain relies on the assumptions that children are observant and desire to be part of a group (Grusec & Davidov, 2010), that this desire motivates children to adopt the views of their group, and that adopting social norms often happens, non-saliently, through repetition by observing others, learning about dominant views through social interactions, or participating in certain activities. Chapters 2 and 3 focused on socializing agents that all children in the Netherlands are exposed to repetitively throughout their childhood: adults' attitudes regarding a children-focused festivity with racist elements and characters in textbooks.

Chapter 2 examined relations between White Dutch adults' group-related attitudes (i.e., national identification and SDO) and their positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas, a figure analogous to Santa Claus (but with Catholic roots), and Black Pete, a racially insensitive figure portrayed by White volunteers in blackface. These figures are a prominent part of the children-focused Sinterklaas activities. The appearance and lore around the Black Pete figure (e.g., a Black servant of a White saintly figure) allude to ethnic stereotypes of Black people, making the Black Pete figure one of the earliest ways that children in the Netherlands are exposed to ethnic stereotypes of Black people. The analyses identified three subgroups of participants. Most participants

formed two subgroups with strongly positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas and Black Pete but differed on national identification and SDO. Roughly half of the participants belonged to the high national identification group, characterized by high national identification and low SDO. Roughly a third of participants belonged to the high SDO group, characterized by low national identification and high SDO. Additionally, multiple regression analyses revealed that national identification, but not SDO, was significantly associated with positive attitudes towards Sinterklaas. In contrast, national identification and SDO were significantly associated with positive attitudes towards Black Pete.

These results suggest that White Dutch adults who have positive attitudes towards Black Pete (i.e., preferring the blackface appearance of Black Pete) are also more open to unequal intergroup relations (i.e., higher SDO). In other words, for some White Dutch adults, preferring the blackface appearance of Black Pete seems to be socially motivated by more intolerance towards marginalized groups. Although children do not seem to directly associate the characteristics of Black Pete with Black people (Mesman, Janssen, & Rossmalen, 2016), children's repetitive exposure to adults' non-inclusive attitudes regarding the controversial appearance of Black Pete and intergroup relations can still have unfavorable consequences for Black people. Studies suggest that children are susceptible to non-inclusive social norms even when presented with competing inclusive social norms. For example, one study found that children exposed to exclusive peer group norms had less positive outgroup attitudes, even when presented with inclusive school norms (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). In other words, being repetitively exposed to non-inclusive social norms regarding the Black Pete's figure's appearance throughout childhood may lead some children to embrace the cultural narrative that to truly be a proud Dutch person, they should embrace the blackface appearance of the figure, despite the qualms of Black people.

Chapter 3 focused on White characters and characters of color in first-year secondary school textbooks from two core school subjects: math and Dutch. Specifically, Chapter 3 examined if characters of color in the texts and images were under- or overrepresented and if they were portrayed stereotypically in terms of competence and status. Our findings indicate that characters of color are underrepresented in the text and images in these textbooks compared to the proportion of adolescents of color in the Netherlands. Additionally, subtle stereotypical patterns that imply that people of color are less competent and lower in status than White people were also found.

Interpreting these results from the Group Participation Domain perspective suggests that at school, young adolescents are repetitively exposed to subtle cues that imply that the Netherlands is more White than it is and that people of color are less competent and lower in status than White people. These patterns, accompanied by the lack of representation, can affirm the stereotype that people of color are "less Dutch" than White people (e.g., Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013). Repetitive exposure to these subtle

patterns can have a negative effect on children's views. Numerous studies on mediated contact (i.e., non-physical contact with the outgroup through media) indicate that reading books or watching shows that include outgroup members influences how positively or negatively that outgroup is considered (Park, 2012; Banas, Bessarabova, & Massey, 2020). Furthermore, in school settings, repetitive exposure to stereotypes is associated with students dis-identifying with school and university students of color dropping out of science courses (Steele, 1997; Woodcock, Hernandez, Estrada, & Schultz, 2012).

Taken together, Chapters 2 and 3 highlight how Dutch children are exposed to non-inclusive attitudes and ethnic stereotypes in wider society through the children focused-festivity of Sinterklaas and their textbooks. Considering that The Group Participation Domain perspective suggests that adopting social norms is often not salient and happens through repetitive observations, it is reasonable to assume that these two socializing agents play a role in the development of children's ethnicity-related views.

THE GROUP PARTICIPATION DOMAIN: THE ROLE OF MOTHERS

Chapters 4 and 5 focused on the role of mothers as socializing agents. These Chapters are inspired by the Group Participation Domain's argument that parents are arguably children's most prominent role models of social norms (Grusec & Davidov, 2010) and therefore play an especially important role in children's development of ethnicity-related views. Chapter 4 investigated how White, Turkish, and Afro-Dutch mothers' SDO and family environments that stress obedience and thrift (i.e., as measured through socialization goals) are related to young children's (6- to 10-year-olds) ethnic prejudice. The findings indicated that children of color (Turkish- and Afro-Dutch) who grow up in a family environment that stresses obedience show lower ethnic prejudice towards White children. Additionally, the findings indicated that Turkish-Dutch children who grow up in a family environment that stresses thrift show higher ethnic prejudice towards Black children when they have high SDO parents but lower ethnic prejudice towards Black children when they have low SDO parents.

These results suggest that growing up in families where hierarchical views are expressed is related to young children's views of ethnic outgroups. This finding aligns with the Group Domain Perspective assumption that children may adopt views through repetitive exposure and observation. Furthermore, these findings are broadly in line with similar studies that highlight how hierarchical intergroup views and the family environment play a role in the development of children's ethnic prejudice (Meeusen & Dhont, 2015; Odenweller & Harris, 2018).

Chapter 5 explored how Black mothers in the Netherlands approach ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) using various methods (i.e., questionnaires, observations, and interviews) and examined relations between maternal ERS and children's ethnic

affirmation. Our findings indicated that color-conscious ERS (i.e., openness to topics regarding ethnicity or race; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2014; Vittrup, 2018) was common among mothers. Additionally, ingroup-focused maternal ERS (observed Black ERS and maternal cultural socialization) was associated with lower children's negative ethnic affirmation, but maternal preparation for bias (an aspect of ERS measured through a self-report questionnaire) was associated with higher children's negative ethnic affirmation. Additionally, the analyses revealed that roughly half of the families were characterized by higher maternal ERS (self-reported and observed), children's positive ethnic affirmation, and lower children's negative ethnic affirmation. Conversely, the opposite pattern characterized roughly half of the families. Lastly, the interviews highlight how common cultural socialization and multiculturalism are but also highlight that a subgroup of mothers values national-identity-focused-socialization (i.e., emphasizing the importance of identifying with one's country and its cultural practices) as part of their color-conscious approach to ERS.

The results of Chapter 5 confirm that Afro-Dutch children exposed to maternal color-conscious ERS have less negative ethnic affirmation, which is similar to findings from similar studies in the US (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). For families of color, the lay theory behind color-conscious ERS is that instilling a sense of ingroup pride and preparing them to face discrimination can help children develop a more positive view of themselves. Our study confirms that this lay theory may also be accurate in the Netherlands. However, more studies with larger sample sizes are needed to understand better how different aspects of maternal color-conscious ERS may interact and explain variations in children's ethnic affirmation.

Chapters 4 and 5 highlight how mothers are early socializing agents that expose children to ethnicity-related views. Chapter 4 describes how Dutch families with various ethnic backgrounds can, knowingly or unknowingly, contribute to the development of children's prejudice. Chapter 5 shows that Afro-Dutch families can impart a positive self-view to their children despite the ethnic stereotypes about Black people through color-conscious ERS. In other words, the family system can be viewed as a double-edged sword, an early socializing agent of prejudice or a socializing agent that buffers against the harmful effects of ethnic discrimination and ethnic stereotypes. These findings are broadly in line with the Group Participation Domain's argument that parents are children's most important role models of social norms (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). However, children's ethnicity-related views did not perfectly align with their mothers' hierarchical views of society and socialization goals (Chapter 4), nor their approach to ethnic-racial socialization (Chapter 5). These patterns confirm an important axiom in socialization research: children do not passively adopt all of their parents' social norms (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). Depending on the situation, children may choose to fall in line with prevalent social norms, or for moral reasons (e.g., considering a social norm unfair), choose to go against social norms (Rutland, Killen & Abrams, 2010).

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

Most notably, the lack of studies on children's ethnicity-related views in the Netherlands are this dissertation's most important contribution to the academic literature. Another major strength of is the use of various data collection methods, including self-report questionnaires with adults, an attribution task with children, textbook content, observations of parent-child interactions, and interviews. This variety of data collection methods was useful for examining how a variety of socializing agents may contribute to the development of Dutch children's ethnicity-related views. Another major strength of this dissertation is the special focus on topics pertaining to the Afro-Dutch community, a severely understudied marginalized ethnic group in the Netherlands.

There are several limitations to highlight. The main limitations of Chapters 2 are that the sample consisted of mostly young adults attending a Dutch university. A larger nationally representative sample would allow researchers to examine potential sociodemographic differences that are often correlated with more conservative attitudes, such as regional (i.e., city vs. rural) or class (higher vs. lower income) differences. Such a study could potentially help identify how dominant social norms that children are exposed to may vary by region or family income background. The main limitation of Chapter 3 is the use of a quantitative content analysis. Although the method was useful for identifying subtle ethnic stereotypical patterns, a qualitative examination of the textbooks would have allowed for stories with overtly racist tropes to be identified.

The main limitations of Chapters 4 and 5 are the data collection methods used, which do not allow for causal inferences. Secondly, there was a lack of conceptual similarity between the maternal and child measures used in Chapters 4 and 5. For example, the trait attribution style measure used with the children in Chapters 4 and 5 differed conceptually from the maternal self-reported and observational measures used. This lack of conceptual similarity is a limitation that troubles not only this dissertation but many studies on children's ethnicity-related views (Degner & Dalege, 2013). This is understandable because measures ought to be age appropriate. However, children start being able to categorize people by ethnicity starting around the age of 5, and most children can accurately categorize people into different ethnic groups by the age of 10 to 12 (Byrd, 2012). This pattern suggests that children have some knowledge of the variety of ethnic groups within their social context by middle childhood. Therefore, future studies should focus on developing child-appropriate versions of adult questionnaires that tap into ethnicity-related views. For example, a child measure of SDO was recently developed (Ruffman et al., 2020). Similarly, studies could also focus on measuring children's ethnic affirmation through testing their (age-appropriate) knowledge of basic cultural and historical facts about their ethnic group. Lastly, a viable alternative approach to measuring parental socialization used in Chapters 4 and 5 could be measuring children's perception of parental attitudes

directly (e.g., Duriez, Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2007). Parents self-reported views do not necessarily reflect their parenting behavior; see, for example, the lack of relations between maternal ERS measured with self-report questionnaires and observations in Chapter 5. This method matches the broader goal of studies on parental socialization: identifying to what extent socialization efforts successfully transmit information from parents to children.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS AND IMPLICATIONS

Since the data was collected for Chapters 2 and 3, some societal shifts have occurred. Firstly, although most people in the Netherlands still prefer not to change the Black Pete figure's appearance, this number has steadily decreased since 2013 (Lubbe, 2020). To a certain degree, this trend suggests that over time, children will be exposed to fewer adults with positive attitudes towards Black Pete. Similarly, widespread media attention has been given to the lack of ethnic diversity in Dutch educational materials, partially because of public reports about the findings presented in Chapter 4. Since then, there has already been some change regarding ethnic diversity in Dutch educational materials. For example, in 2020, the mandatory parts of the Dutch history canon underwent several changes and have become more diverse. Additionally, together with two of my co-authors on Chapter 3, I developed a tool (freely available online) detailing how publishers can evaluate and improve the inclusivity of their textbooks (Van Veen, Van de Rozenberg & Mesman, 2022). Hopefully, these subtle changes and the tool will lead to textbooks having more characters of color in the next couple of years.

As for Chapters 4 and 5, considering that ethnic prejudice and ethnic stereotypes are linked to unfavorable mental health outcomes for children from marginalized backgrounds (e.g., Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012), it would be helpful if families realize how they may knowingly or unknowingly play a role in the development of their children's ethnicity-related views. These Chapters and other recent studies (i.e., Mesman et al., 2022), in line with the Group Participation Domain perspective, highlight how children's ethnicity-related views may reflect their parents' views. Nevertheless, as mentioned, children are not passive recipients of parents' social norms, especially regarding matters of fairness and inequality (Killen, Elenbaas & Rutland, 2016). To better understand why children may adopt their parent's views, future studies should examine how children reason about and evaluate prejudiced and inclusive parental messages. Because of the growing number of resources focused on inclusive parenting that have been released in the last decade, this is likely to be a fruitful avenue of research in the upcoming years (e.g., Kendi, 2020; Mesman, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This dissertation covered a series of studies highlighting how wider society, textbooks, and parents may play a role in the development of Dutch children's ethnicity-related views. The dissertation's focus on the variety of socializing agents provides insight into avenues for shaping children's ethnicity-related views. Home life, school, and cultural activities are unique micro-contexts of socialization. Together, researchers and policymakers can think of ways these micro-contexts can promote inclusive, rather than non-inclusive, attitudes in children. As described by James Baldwin, "Children have never been very good at listening to their elders, but they have never failed to imitate them" (1960). To promote inclusive attitudes in children, they should not only be told to treat others equally, but also be shown what it means to be inclusive by their caregivers, their educators, and through media such as television and books.

References

R

- About, F. E. (2003). The formation of in-group favoritism and out-group prejudice in young children: Are they distinct attitudes? *Developmental psychology*, *39*(1), 48. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.39.1.48>
- About, F. E., & Doyle, A. B. (1995). The development of in-group pride in Black Canadians. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *26*(3), 243–254. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022195263002>
- About, F.E. (2008). A social-cognitive developmental theory of prejudice. In S.M. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and the developing child* (pp. 55–71). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Bell, S. M., & Stayton, D. (1974). Infant-mother attachment and social development. In M. P. Richards (Ed.), *The introduction of the child into a social world* (pp. 99–135). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Al Ramiah, A., Hewstone, M., Dovidio, J. F., & Penner, L. A. (2010). The social psychology of discrimination: Theory, measurement and consequences. *Making Equality Count: Irish and International Research Measuring Equality and Discrimination*. Dublin, Ireland, The Equality Authority.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley
- American Psychological Association, APA Task Force on Race and Ethnicity Guidelines in Psychology. (2019). *Race and ethnicity guidelines in psychology: Promoting responsiveness and equity*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/about/policy/race-and-ethnicity-in-psychology.pdf>
- Anderson, J., & Ferguson, R. (2018). Demographic and ideological correlates of negative attitudes towards asylum seekers: A meta-analytic review. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *70*(1), 18–29. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajpy.12162>
- Andriessen, I., Dijkhof, J. H., Van der Torre, A., Van den Berg, E., Pulles, I., Iedema, J., de Voogd-Hamelink, M. (2020). *Ervaren discriminatie in Nederland II* [Experienced discrimination in the Netherlands]. The Hague, The Netherlands: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research. Retrieved from <https://www.scp.nl/binaries/scp/documenten/publicaties/2020/04/02/ervaren-discriminatie-in-nederland-ii/Ervaren+discriminatie+in+Nederland+II.pdf>
- Appel, M., S. Weber, & N. Kronberger. (2015). The influence of stereotype threat on immigrants: Review and meta-analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *6*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00900>
- Appiah, K. A., & Gates, H. L., Jr. (Eds.). (2005). *African: The encyclopedia of the African and African American experience* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press
- Apple, M. W. (1971). The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict. *Interchange*, *2*(4): 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02287080>
- Apple, M. W. (2004). Cultural politics and the text. In S. Ball (Ed.), *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*. 179–195. RoutledgeFalmer.
- Aronson, J., & C. Good. (2003). The development and consequences of stereotype vulnerability in adolescents. In F. Pajares, and T. Urdan (Eds.), *Adolescence and Education: Vol. 2. Academic Motivation of Adolescents*. 299–330. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Baldwin, J. (1960) Fifth Avenue Uptown: A letter from Harlem. *Esquire*. <https://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a3638/fifth-avenue-uptown/>
- Banas, J. A., E. Bessarabova, & Z. B. Massey. (2020). Meta-analysis on mediated contact and prejudice. *Human Communication Research*, *46*(2–3), 120–160.

- <https://doi.org/10.1093/hcr/hqaa004>
- Bar-Haim, Y., Ziv, T., Lamy, D., & Hodes, R. M. (2006). Nature and nurture in own-race face processing. *Psychological Science, 17*(2), 159–163. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01679.x>
- Bergamaschi, A. (2013). Adolescents and prejudice: A comparative study of the attitudes of two European adolescent populations regarding the issues that are raised by increasing cultural and religious pluralism. *International Journal of intercultural relations, 37*(3), 302–312. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.02.003>
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*, 5–34. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb 01087.x
- Beugelsdijk, S., De Hart, J., Van Houwelingen, P., & Versantvoort, M. (red.) (2019). *Denkend aan Nederland* [Thinking about the Netherlands]. The Hague, The Netherlands: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research. Retrieved from https://www.scp.nl/binaries/scp/documenten/monitors/2019/06/26/denkend-aan-nederland/Magazine_SCR-2019_web.pdf
- Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 2. Separation*. New York: Basic Books. <https://doi.org/10.2307/583128>
- Brandt, M. J., & Crawford, J. T. (2019). Studying a heterogeneous array of target groups can help us understand prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 28*(3), 292–298. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721419830382>
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*(3), 429–444. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00126>
- Broekroelofs, R., & J. Poerwoatmodjo. (2016). De stilte voorbij: Verkenning over ervaring van discriminatie tijdens de COVID-19 pandemie onder Nederlanders met een Oost-Aziatische achtergrond. *Kennisplatform Integratie and.Samenleving*. <https://www.kis.nl/sites/default/files/de-stilte-voorbij-discriminatie-oost-aziatische-nederlanders.pdf>
- Brown, C., Alabi, B., Huynh, V., & Masten, C. (2011). Ethnicity and gender in late childhood and early adolescence: group identity and awareness of bias. *Developmental Psychology, 47*, 463–471. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021819>
- Brown, R. (2010). *Prejudice: Its Social Psychology*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Bucx, F., Van den Broek, A. E. M., Kleijnen, E., Abbassi, H., & de Haan, M. J. (2015). De opvoedingspraktijk: doelen, beleving en strategieën van ouders. *Opvoeden in niet-westerse migrantengezinnen, 2015*(22), 39.
- Byrd, C. M. (2012). The measurement of racial/ethnic identity in children: A critical review. *Journal of Black Psychology, 38*(1), 3–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798410397544>
- Cameron, J. E. (2004). A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and Identity, 3*(3), 239–262. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13576500444000047>
- Cankaya, S. (2016, December 5). De meerderheid van Nederland is tegen aanpassing van Zwarte Piet. Ik vond 4 verklaringen [The majority of the Netherlands is against changing Black Pete. I found 4 explanations]. *De Correspondent*. Retrieved from <https://decorrespondent.nl/5796/de-meerderheid-van-nederland-is-tegen-aanpassing-van-zwarte-piet-ik-vond-4-verklaringen/2585389957920-20b10bc1>

- Cardot H., (2016). Gmedian: Geometric median, K -median clustering and robust median PCA. (R package version 1.2.5) [Computer software]. Available from <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=Gmedian>
- Cardot, H., Cénac, P., & Monnez, J. M. (2012). A fast and recursive algorithm for clustering large datasets with k -medians. *Computational Statistics & Data Analysis*, *56*(6), 1434–1449. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.csda.2011.11.019>
- Cargile, A. C. (2017). Social dominance orientation: A root of resistance to intercultural dialogue? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *61*, 40–53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.09.003>
- Carnelley, K. B., & Boag, E. M. (2019). Attachment and prejudice. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *25*, 110–114. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2018.04.003>
- Caughy, M. O., Nettles, S. M., & Lima, J. (2011). Profiles of racial socialization among African American parents: Correlates, context, and outcome. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *20*(4), 491–502. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-010-9416-1>
- Caughy, M. O., Nettles, S. M., O'Campo, P. J., & Lohrlink, K. F. (2006). Neighborhood matters: Racial socialization of African American children. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1220–1236. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00930.x>
- Caughy, M. O., O'Campo, P. J., Randolph, S. M., & Nickerson, K. (2002a). The influence of racial socialization practices on the cognitive and behavioral competence of African American preschoolers. *Child Development*, *73*(5), 1611–1625. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00493>
- Caughy, M. O., Randolph, S. M., & O'Campo, P. J. (2002b). The Africentric Home Environment Inventory: An observational measure of the racial socialization features of the home environment for African American preschool children. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *28*(1), 37–52. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798402028001003>
- Charrad, M., Ghazzali, N., Boiteau, V., & Niknafs, A. (2014). NbClust: An R package for determining the relevant number of clusters in a data set. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *61*, 1–36. doi:10.18637/jss.v061.i06
- Chu, Y. (2015). The power of knowledge: A critical analysis of the depiction of ethnic minorities in China's elementary textbooks. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *18*(4), 469–487. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2015.1013460>
- Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1939). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *10*, 591–599. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1939.9713394>
- Contreras, M. M., Caughy, M. O., & Owen, M. T. (2022). Emergence of ethnic–racial socialization for African American and Latinx families: Evidence for factorial validity and measurement invariance across early childhood. *Cultural Diversity and ethnic-racial Minority Psychology*, *28*(2), 193–204. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000496>
- Costello, K., & Hodson, G. (2014). Explaining dehumanization among children: The interspecies model of prejudice. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *53*(1), 175–197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12016>
- Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(3), 414–446. [R](https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-</p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

- 2909.129.3.414
- Crandall, C. S., & Stangor, C. (2005). Conformity and prejudice. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & A. L. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp. 295–309). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Cumming, G. (2009). Inference by eye: reading the overlap of independent confidence intervals. *Statistics in medicine*, *28*(2), 205–220.
- Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological bulletin*, *113*(3), 487. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.113.3.487>
- De Bruijn, Y., Amoueus, C., Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (2020). Interethnic prejudice against Muslims among White Dutch children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *51*(3–4), 203–221. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022120908346>
- De Waal, F. B. (2012). The antiquity of empathy. *Science*, *336*(6083), 874–876.
- De Witte, M. (2019). Black citizenship, Afropolitan critiques: vernacular heritage making and the negotiation of race in the Netherlands. *Social Anthropology*, *27*(4), 609–625. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12680>
- Deems, A. (2020, Februari 6). Hema doet de naam moorkop in de ban (en is niet de eerste) [Hema bans de name morehead (and is not the first)]. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/hema-doet-de-naam-moorkop-in-de-ban-en-is-niet-de-eerste~b363c6a4/>
- Degner, J., & Dalege, J. (2013). The apple does not fall far from the tree, or does it? A meta-analysis of parent–child similarity in intergroup attitudes. *Psychological Bulletin*, *139*(6), 1270–1304. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031436>
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. E., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *8*(2), 88–102. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.8.2.88>
- Doyle, A. B., & Aboud, F. E. (1995). A longitudinal study of White children's racial prejudice as a social-cognitive development. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* (1982-), *209*–228.
- Duriez, B. (2011). Adolescent ethnic prejudice: Understanding the effects of parental extrinsic versus intrinsic goal promotion. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *151*(4), 441–454. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2010.490571>
- Duriez, B., & Soenens, B. (2009). The intergenerational transmission of racism: The role of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *43*(5), 906–909. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2009.05.014>
- Duriez, B., Soenens, B., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2008). The intergenerational transmission of authoritarianism: The mediating role of parental goal promotion. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *42*(3), 622–642. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2007.08.007>
- Eibach, R. P., & Keegan, T. (2006). Free at last? Social dominance, loss aversion, and white and black Americans' differing assessments of racial progress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*(3), 453–467. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.3.453>
- Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory*. Sage Publications.

REFERENCES

- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A. G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, *41*, 1149–1160.
- Fiske, S. T. (2018). Stereotype content: Warmth and competence endure. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *27*(2), 67–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417738825>
- 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*(6), 878–902. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878>
- Florian, V., & Kravetz, S. (1983). Fear of personal death: Attribution, structure, and relation to religious belief. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *44*(3), 600. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.44.3.600>
- Gans, H. J. (2017). Racialization and racialization research. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *40*(3), 341–352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1238497>
- Ganzeboom, H. B. (2010). A new International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of occupational status for the International Standard Classification of Occupation 2008 (ISCO-08) constructed with data from the ISSP 2002-2007. In *Annual Conference of International Social Survey Programme, Lisbon*. Vol. 1.
- Gargard, C. (2020, Februari 5). De witte norm is geen maat voor integratie [The white standard is not a measuring stick for intergration]. *De NRC*. Retrieved from <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/02/05/de-witte-norm-is-geen-maat-voor-integratie-a3989470>
- Garner, S., & Selod, S. (2015). The racialization of Muslims: Empirical studies of Islamophobia. *Critical Sociology*, *41*(1), 9–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920514531606>
- Gaylord-Harden, N. K., Cunningham, J. A., Holmbeck, G. N., & Grant, K. E. (2010). Suppressor effects in coping research with African American adolescents from low-income communities. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *78*(6), 843–855. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020063>
- Gómez, J. (2018). What's the harm? Internalized prejudice and cultural betrayal trauma in ethnic minorities. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *89*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000367>
- Gonzalez, A. M., Steele, J. R., & Baron, A. S. (2017). Reducing children's implicit racial bias through exposure to positive out-group exemplars. *Child Development*, *88*(1), 123–130. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12582>
- Gonzalez, J. (2005). *In-group/out-group dynamics of Native American mascot endorsement*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of North Dakota]. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/235076991.pdf>
- Greene, D., & Cunningham, P. (2005, October). Producing accurate interpretable clusters from high-dimensional data. In *European conference on principles of data mining and knowledge discovery* (pp. 486–494). Springer.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological review*, *102*(1), 4.
- Grusec, J. E., & Davidov, M. (2010). Integrating different perspectives on socialization theory and research:

- A domain-specific approach. *Child Development*, *81*(3), 687–709. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01426.x>
- Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J. (1994). Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental psychology*, *30*(1), 4. <https://doi.org/10/d396p6>
- Guadagnoli, E., & Velicer, W. (1988). Relation of sample size to the stability of component patterns. *Psychological Bulletin*, *103*, 265–275. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-2909.103.2.265>
- Hagendoorn, L. & Hraba, J. (1989). Foreign, different, deviant, seclusive and working class: Anchors to an ethnic hierarchy in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *12*(4), 441–468. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1989.9993647>
- Heilbron, M., Esajas, M. & de Abreau, J. (2018, December 5), Zwarte Piet is morgen weer vertrokken. Het racisme blijft [Black Pete will have left by tomorrow. The racism stays]. *De Correspondent*. Retrieved from <https://decorrespondent.nl/8970/zwarte-piet-is-morgen-weer-vertrokken-het-racisme-blijft/4001198744400-de06971e>
- Hello, E., Scheepers, P., & Gijssberts, M. (2002). Education and ethnic prejudice in Europe: Explanations for cross-national variances in the educational effect on ethnic prejudice. *Scandinavian journal of educational research*, *46*(1), 5–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313830120115589>
- Hogben, M., & Waterman, C. K. (1997). Are all of your students represented in their textbooks? A content analysis of coverage of diversity issues in introductory psychology textbooks. *Teaching of Psychology*, *24*(2), 95–100. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15328023top2402_3
- Holmes, A. G. D. (2020). Researcher positionality—A consideration of its influence and place in qualitative research—A new researcher guide. *Shanlax International Journal of Education*, *8*(4), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.34293/education.v8i4.3232>
- Holt, L. F., & Sweitzer, M. D. (2020). More than a black and white issue: Ethnic identity, social dominance orientation, and support for the black lives matter movement. *Self and Identity*, *19*(1), 16–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2018.1524788>
- Horowitz, J., Brown, A., & Cox, K. (2019). *Race in America 2019*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
- Howard, M. C., & Hoffman, M. E. (2018). Variable-centered, person-centered, and person-specific approaches: Where theory meets the method. *Organizational Research Methods*, *21*(4), 846–876. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428117744021>
- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747–770. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747>
- Huisman, S. & Wayenberg, S. (n.d.-a). Waar komt Zwarte Piet vandaan [Where does Black Pete come from]? Retrieved from <https://npofocus.nl/artikel/7472/waar-komt-zwarte-piet-vandaan->
- Huisman, S. & Wayenberg, S. (n.d.-b). Waarom vieren we Sinterklaas [Why do we celebrate Sinterklaas]? Retrieved from <https://npofocus.nl/artikel/7472/waar-komt-zwarte-piet-vandaan->
- Hunt, J. S., Folberg, A. M., & Ryan, C. S. (2021). Tolerance of racism: A new construct that predicts failure to recognize and confront racism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *00*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2759>

REFERENCES

- Ik ben Zwarte Piet. (2019, December 3). Het maakt mij niet uit van welk land je komt. Je bent naar NEDERLAND gekomen! [It does not matter what country you came from. You came to the NETHERLANDS!] [Image file]. Retrieved March 27, 2020, from <https://www.facebook.com/VoorZwartePiet/photos/a.107953036807307/284070559195553/?type=3&theater>
- Inglehart, R., C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez-Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen et al. (eds.). 2018. World Values Survey: Round six - country-pooled datafile. Madrid, Spain & Vienna, Austria: JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat. doi.org/10.14281/18241.8
- Johnson, P. O., & Neyman, J. (1936). Tests of certain linear hypotheses and their application to some educational problems. *Statistical Research Memoirs*, 1, 57–93.
- Kalmijn, M., & Van Tubergen, F. (2006). Ethnic intermarriage in the Netherlands: Confirmations and refutations of accepted insights. *European Journal of Population/Revue europeenne de demographie*, 22(4), 371–397. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-006-9105-3>
- Kelly, D. J., Liu, S., Ge, L., Quinn, P. C., Slater, A. M., Lee, K., Liu, Q., & Pascalis, O. (2007). Cross-race preferences for same-race faces extend beyond the African versus Caucasian contrast in 3-month-old Infants. *Infancy*, 11(1), 87–95. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327078in1101_4
- Kelly, D. J., Quinn, P. C., Slater, A. M., Lee, K., Gibson, A., Smith, M., Ge, L., & Pascalis, O. (2005). Three-month-olds, but not newborns, prefer own-race faces. *Developmental Science*, 8(6), 31–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7687.2005.0434a.x>
- Kendi, I. X. (2020). Antiracist Baby. Kokila.
- Kiers, J., Limon, I., Schavemaker, M., Tjon A Fong, J. (2019, September 12). Waarom het Amsterdam Museum de term 'Gouden Eeuw' niet langer zal gebruiken [Why the Amsterdam Museum does not use the term "The Golden Age" anymore]. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from <https://www.volkskrant.nl/columns-opinie/waarom-het-amsterdam-museum-de-term-gouden-eeuw-niet-langer-zal-gebruiken~b2711957/>
- Killen, M., Elenbaas, L., & Rutland, A. (2016). Balancing the fair treatment of others while preserving group identity and autonomy. *Human Development*, 58(4–5), 253–272. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000444151>
- Kim, H. Y. (2013). Statistical notes for clinical researchers: assessing normal distribution (2) using skewness and kurtosis. *Restorative Dentistry & Endodontics*, 38(1), 52–54. <https://doi.org/10.5395/rde.2013.38.1.52>
- Klapwijk, P. (2019, November 14). *Onderzoek: Discussie over Zwarte Piet* [Study: Discussion about Black Pete]. Retrieved from https://eenvandaag.avrotros.nl/fileadmin/Rapportage_discussie_zwarte_piet_2019.pdf
- Kosterman, R., Feshbach, S. (1989). Toward a measure of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. *Political Psychology*, 10, 257–274. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3791647>
- Kromhout, M., & Vedder, P. (1996). Cultural inversion in Afro-Caribbean children in the Netherlands. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 27(4), 568–586. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.1996.27.4.05x1144z>
- Kteily, N. S., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2011). Social dominance orientation: Cause or 'mere effect'? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(1), 208–214. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.09.009>

- LaBelle, J. (2010). Selecting ELL textbooks: A content analysis of ethnicity depicted in illustrations and writing. *Journal of Multiculturalism in Education*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2011.568590>
- Lee, T. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the stereotype content model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 751–768. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.005>
- Lentin, A. (2008). Europe and the silence about race. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11(4), 487–503. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431008097008>
- Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families. *Developmental Review*, 26(4), 400–426. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001>
- Levy, S. R., & Hughes, J. M. (2009). Development of racial and ethnic prejudice among children. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination* (p. 23- 42). Psychology Press.
- Liu, K., & Blila, S. (1995). Ethnic awareness and attitudes in young children. *Contemporary Education*, 66(3), 146–149.
- Liu, S., Liu, P., Wang, M., & Zhang, B. (2021). Effectiveness of stereotype threat interventions: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 106(6), 921–949. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000770>
- Long J. A. (2019). *interactions: Comprehensive, user-friendly toolkit for probing interactions*. R package version 1.1.0, <https://cran.r-project.org/package=interactions>.
- Lubbe, R. (2020, November 12). *Sinterklaas in coronatijd* [Sinterklaas during Covid-19]. Retrieved from https://eenvandaag.assets.avrotros.nl/user_upload/PDF/Rapportage_ZwartePiet_12nov.pdf
- Major, B., & Schmader, T. (2018). Stigma, social identity threat, and health. In B. Major, J. F. Dovidio, & B. G. Link (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of stigma, discrimination, and health* (pp. 85–103). Oxford University Press.
- Marks, A. K., Szalacha, L. A., Lamarre, M., Boyd, M. J., & Garcia Coll, C. (2007). Emerging ethnic-racial identity and interethnic group social preferences in middle childhood: Findings from the Children of Immigrants Development in Context (CIDC) study. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31(5), 501–513. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025407081462>
- Martinovic, B., & Verkuyten, M. (2013). 'We were here first, so we determine the rules of the game': Autochthony and prejudice towards outgroups. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(7), 637–647. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1980>
- Meertens Institute. (2014). *Populariteitslijsten*. Retrieved from <https://www.meertens.knaw.nl/nvb/topnamen/land/Nederland/2014>
- Meeusen, C., & Dhont, K. (2015). Parent-child similarity in common and specific components of prejudice: The role of ideological attitudes and political discussion. *European Journal of Personality*, 29(6), 585–598. <https://doi.org/10.1002/per.2011>
- Mesman, J. (2021). *Opgroeien in kleur: opvoeden zonder vooroordelen* [Growing up in color: parenting without prejudice]. Uitgeverij Balans.

- Mesman, J., De Bruijn, Y., Van Veen, D., Pektas, F., & Emmen, R. A. (2022). Maternal color consciousness is related to more positive and less negative attitudes toward ethnic racial outgroups in children in White Dutch families. *Child Development*, *93*, 668–690. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13784>
- Mifune, N., Inamasu, K., Kohama, S., Ohtsubo, Y., & Tago, A. (2019). Social dominance orientation as an obstacle to intergroup apology. *PLOS ONE*, *14*(1), e0211379. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0211379>
- Miller, S. S., & Saucier, D. A. (2018). Individual differences in the propensity to make attributions to prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *21*(2), 280–301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216674342>
- Moritz, S., Göritz, A. S., Kühn, S., Schneider, B. C., Krieger, E., Röhlinger, J., & Zimmerer, S. (2017). Muslims love Jesus, too? Corrective information alters prejudices against Islam. *Pastoral Psychology*, *66*(1), 65–77. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11089-016-0706-4>
- Mulvey, K. L., Hitti, A., & Killen, M. (2010). The development of stereotyping and exclusion. *WIREs Cognitive Science*, *1*(4), 597–606. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcs.66>
- Murry, V. M., Berkel, C., Brody, G. H., Miller, S. J., & Chen, Y. (2009). Linking parental socialization to interpersonal protective processes, academic self-presentation, and expectations among rural African American youth. *Cultural Diversity & ethnic-racial Minority Psychology*, *15*(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013180>
- Neblett, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child Development Perspectives*, *6*(3), 295–303. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00239.x>
- Nesdale, D. (2004). Social identity processes and children's ethnic prejudice. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The development of the social self* (pp. 219–245). Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203391099_chapter_8
- Nesdale, D. (1999). Developmental changes in children's ethnic preferences and social cognitions. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *20*(4), 501–519. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973\(99\)00012-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973(99)00012-X)
- Nesdale, D., & Lawson, M. J. (2011). Social groups and children's intergroup attitudes: Can school norms moderate the effects of social group norms? *Child Development*, *82*(5), 1594–1606. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01637.x>
- Neville, H.A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology. *American Psychologist*, *68*, 455–466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/t00078-000>
- Nguyen, H. H. D., & Ryan, A. M. (2008). Does stereotype threat affect test performance of minorities and women? A meta-analysis of experimental evidence. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(6), 1314–1334. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012702>
- Odenweller, K. G., & Harris, T. M. (2018). Intergroup socialization: The influence of parents' family communication patterns on adult children's racial prejudice and tolerance. *Communication Quarterly*, *66*(5), 501–521. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2018.1452766>
- Osborne, D., & Sibley, C. (2017). Identifying "types" of ideologies and intergroup biases: Advancing a person-centred approach to social psychology. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *28*, 288–

332. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2017.1379265>
- Park, S. M., Kim, J. L., Park, H., Kim, Y., & Cuadrado, M. (2018). Social constructions of racial images in introductory criminal justice and criminology textbooks: A content analysis. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 24*(6), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2018.1538122>
- Park, S. Y. (2012). Mediated intergroup contact: Concept explication, synthesis, and application. *Mass Communication and Society, 15*(1), 136–159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2011.558804>
- Pauker, K., Ambady, N., & Apfelbaum, E. P. (2010). Race salience and essentialist thinking in racial stereotype development. *Child Development, 81*(6), 1799–1813. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01511.x>
- Pauker, K., Williams, A., & Steele, J. R. (2017). The development of racial categorization in childhood. In *The Wiley handbook of group processes in children and adolescents* (pp. 221–239). West Sussex, UK: Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/97811187731235>
- Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic-racial identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7*(2), 156–176. <https://doi.org/10.1177/074355489272003>
- Pratto, F., Cidam, A., Stewart, A. L., Zeineddine, F. B., Aranda, M., Aiello, A., ... & Eicher, V. (2013). Social dominance in context and in individuals: Contextual moderation of robust effects of social dominance orientation in 15 languages and 20 countries. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 4*(5), 587–599. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550612473663>
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European Review of Social Psychology, 17*(1), 271–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280601055772>
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*(4), 741. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741>
- Raabe, T., & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences. *Child Development, 82*(6), 1715–1737. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01668.x>
- Ramasubramanian, S., Doshi., M. J., & Saleem, M. (2017). Mainstream versus ethnic media: How they shape ethnic pride and self-esteem among ethnic minority audiences. *International Journal of Communication, 11*(21), 1879–1899 .
- Richeson, J. A., & Nussbaum, R. J. (2004). The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40*(3), 417–423. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2003.09.002>
- Richeson, J. A., & Sommers, S. R. (2016). Toward a social psychology of race and race relations for the twenty-first century. *Annual Review of Psychology, 67*, 439–463. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115115>
- Rivera, L. M., & Benitez, S. (2016). The psychological legacy of Barack Obama: The impact of the first African-American president of the United States on individuals' social cognition. *Social Cognition, 34*(6), 495–503. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2016.34.6.495>
- Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Mase, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure

- of ethnic-racial identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19(3), 301–322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431699019003001>
- Rodenberg, J., & Wagenaar, P. (2016). Essentializing 'Black Pete': competing narratives surrounding the Sinterklaas tradition in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22(9), 716–728. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2016.1193039>
- Rodriguez, J., Umaña-Taylor, A., Smith, E. P., & Johnson, D. J. (2009). Cultural processes in parenting and youth outcomes: Examining a model of racial-ethnic socialization and identity in diverse populations. *Cultural Diversity and ethnic-racial Minority Psychology*, 15(2), 106–111. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015510>
- Rodríguez-García, J. M., & Wagner, U. (2009). Learning to be prejudiced: A test of unidirectional and bidirectional models of parent–offspring socialization. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33, 516–523. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.08.001>
- Roussos, G., & Dunham, Y. (2016). The development of stereotype content: The use of warmth and competence in assessing social groups. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, 141, 133–144. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jecp.2015.08.009>
- Ruffman, T., Ruffman, C., Hill, S., Turunc, G., Park, N., Du, K., ... & Hunter, J. A. (2020). RWAc and SDOc: The measurement of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation in childhood. *Social Development*, 29(4), 1194–1214. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12438>
- Rutland, A., Killen, M., & Abrams, D. (2010). A new social-cognitive developmental perspective on prejudice: The interplay between morality and group identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(3), 279–291. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691610369468>
- Schmidt, M. F., & Tomasello, M. (2012). Young children enforce social norms. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 21(4), 232–236. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721412448659>
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, J. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. 1ste dr. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139175043>
- Sidanius, J., Levin, S., Liu, J., & Pratto, F. (2000). Social dominance orientation, anti egalitarianism and the political psychology of gender: an extension and cross cultural replication. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30(1), 41–67. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(sici\)1099-0992\(200001/02\)30:1<41::aid-ejsp976>3.0.co;2-o](https://doi.org/10.1002/(sici)1099-0992(200001/02)30:1<41::aid-ejsp976>3.0.co;2-o)
- Sijpenhof, M. L. (2020). A transformation of racist discourse? Colour-blind racism and biological racism in Dutch secondary schooling (1968–2017). *Paedagogica Historica*, 56(1–2), 51–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2019.1616787>
- SLO (2021). *Verdeling van ontwerpruimte voor ontwikkeling van examenprogramma's* [Division of design space for developing examination programs]. <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2021/05/31/verdeling-van-ontwerpruimte-voor-ontwikkeling-van-examenprogrammas>
- Song, M., & Gutierrez, C. O. (2015). 'Keeping the story alive': Is ethnic-racial and racial dilution inevitable for multiracial people and their children? *The Sociological Review*, 63(3), 680–698. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12308>
- Spiller, S. A., Fitzsimons, G. J., Lynch Jr, J. G., & McClelland, G. H. (2013). Spotlights, floodlights, and

- the magic number zero: Simple effects tests in moderated regression. *Journal of marketing research*, 50(2), 277–288. <https://doi.org/10.1509/jmr.12.0420>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). n.d.a. *Migration background*. <https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/onze-diensten/methods/definitions/migration-background>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). n.d.b. *Person with a non-western migration background*. <https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/onze-diensten/methods/definitions/person-with-a-non-western-migration-background>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). n.d.c. *Person with a western migration background*. <https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/onze-diensten/methods/definitions/person-with-a-western-migration-background>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2015). [Data file]. Retrieved from https://cbsinuwbuurt.nl/#subbuurten2015_percentage_niet_westerse_allochtonen.
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2022). [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table?dl=40387>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2019a). [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table?dl=40387>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2019b). [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/70751ned/table?dl=28C9D>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2019c). [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/70751ned/table?dl=28CA3>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2019d). [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/70751ned/table?dl=28CA1>
- Statistics Netherlands (CBS). (2021). [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/03753/table?dl=5E2B4>
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613–629. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.52.6.613>
- Stevens, G. W. J. M., Van Dorselaer, S. A. F. M., Boer, M., De Roos, S. A., Duinhof, E. L., Ter Bogt, T. F. M., Van den Eijnden, R. J. J. M., Kuyper, L. S., Visser, D. M., Vollebergh, W. A. M., & De Looze, M. E. (2018). *HBSC 2017: Gezondheid en welzijn van jongeren in Nederland [Health behavior in school-aged children in the Netherlands]*. Utrecht University.
- Strouken, I. (2010). Dit zijn wij. De 100 belangrijkste tradities van Nederland [This is who we are. The 100 most important traditions of the Netherlands]. *Pharos/Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur, Utrecht*.
- Tagar, M. R., Hetherington, C., Shulman, D., & Koenig, M. (2017). On the path to social dominance? Individual differences in sensitivity to intergroup fairness violations in early childhood. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 113, 246–250. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.03.020>
- Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Way, N., Hughes, D., Yoshikawa, H., Kalman, R. K., & Niwa, E. Y. (2007). Parents' goals for children: The dynamic coexistence of individualism and collectivism in cultures and individuals. *Social Development*, 17, 183–209. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00419.x>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2020), KIDS COUNT Data Center, <https://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/107-children-in-single-parent-families-by-race#detailed/1/any/fal>

REFERENCES

- se/1729,37,871,870,573,869,36,868,867,133/10,11,9,12,1,185,13/432,431.
- Thomsen, L., Green, E. G. T., & Sidanius, J. (2008). We will hunt them down: How social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism fuel ethnic persecution of immigrants in fundamentally different ways. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*(6), 1455–1464. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.06.011>
- Threlfall, J. M. (2018). Parenting in the shadow of Ferguson: Racial socialization practices in context. *Youth & Society, 50*(2), 255–273. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X16670280>
- Tjew-A-Sin, M., & Koole, S. L. (2018a). Data from Paper 'Terror management in a multicultural society: effects of mortality salience on attitudes to multiculturalism are moderated by national identification and self-esteem among native Dutch people'. *Journal of Open Psychology Data, 6*(1), 5. <http://doi.org/10.5334/jopd.39>
- Tjew-A-Sin, M., & Koole, S. L. (2018b). Terror management in a multicultural society: effects of mortality salience on attitudes to multiculturalism are moderated by national identification and self-esteem among native Dutch people. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00721>
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Tukachinsky, R., Mastro, D., & Yarchi, M. (2015). Documenting portrayals of race/ethnicity on primetime television over a 20-Year Span and their association with national-level racial/ethnic Attitudes. *Communication Faculty Articles and Research, 71*(1), 17–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12094>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Hill, N. E. (2020). Ethnic–racial socialization in the family: A decade’s advance on precursors and outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 82*(1), 244–271. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12622>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bámaca-Gómez, M. (2004). Developing the ethnic-racial identity scale using Eriksonian and social identity perspectives. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 4*(1), 9–38. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532706XID0401_2
- Van Dijk, H. (2020, March 7). *De eerste zwarte Amsterdammers waren geen slaven, maar trotse zeevaarders* [The first Black Amsterdammers were not slaves, but proud sailors]. Trouw. <https://www.trouw.nl/gs-b1578b17>
- Van Veen, D., Van de Rozenberg, T.M., & Mesman, J. (2022). *Tool for more inclusive textbooks*. Leiden University. <https://jimdo-storage.global.ssl.fastly.net/file/85246758-6cee-442e-a232-15ae6208488b/220704%20Tool%20inclusive%20textbooks.pdf>
- Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification and group evaluation among minority and majority groups: Testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 88*(1), 121. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.121>
- Verkuyten, M., & Kinket, B. (2000). Social distances in a multi ethnic society: The ethnic hierarchy among Dutch preadolescents. *School Psychology Quarterly: the Official Journal of the Division of School Psychology, American Psychological Association, 63*(1), 75–85. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2695882>
- Vittrup, B. (2018). Color blind or color conscious? White American mothers’ approaches to racial socialization. *Journal of Family Issues, 39*, 668–692. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X16676858>
- Vliet, D. (2020). *Postcolonial Pete: Race, Media, and Memory in the Politics of Dutch Identity* [Doctoral dissertation, Temple University]. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/postcolonial->

- pete-race-media-memory-politics/docview/2487149684/se-2?accountid=12045
- VPRO (2014, December 1). *Zwarte Piet discussie al in 1987 onderwerp in Sesamstraat* [Black Pete debate already a topic in 1987 Sesamestreet] [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DmnwEXM7y68>
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., Chmielewski, M., & Kotov, R. (2013). The value of suppressor effects in explicating the construct validity of symptom measures. *Psychological Assessment, 25*(3), 929–941. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032781>
- Weiner, M. F. (2016). Colonized curriculum: Racializing discourses of Africa and Africans in Dutch primary school history textbooks. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 2*(4), 450–465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649215628037>
- Weninger, C., & Williams, J. P. (2005). Cultural representations of minorities in Hungarian textbooks. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 13*(2), 159–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681360500200222>
- Wieringa, T. (2019, November 23.) *Zwarte Piet en de pijn van anderen* [Black Pete and the pain of others]. *De NRC*. Retrieved from <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/11/23/zwarte-piet-en-de-pijn-van-anderen-a3981377>
- Wigginton, S. (2005). Character or Caricature: Representations of Blackness in Dominican Social Science Textbooks. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(2), 191–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320500110576>
- Williams, C. D., Byrd, C. M., Quintana, S. M., Anicama, C., Kiang, L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Calzada, E. J., Pabón Gautier, M., Ejese, K., Tuitt, N. R., Martinez-Fuentes, S., White, L., Marks, A., Rogers, L. O., & Whitesell, N. (2020). A lifespan model of ethnic-racial identity. *Research in Human Development, 17*(2–3), 99–129. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2020.1831882>
- Witherspoon, D. P., Daniels, L. L., Mason, A. E., & Smith, E. P. (2016). Racial-ethnic identity in context: Examining mediation of neighborhood factors on children’s academic adjustment. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 57*(1–2), 87–101. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12019>
- Woodcock, A., Hernandez, P.R., Estrada, M., & Schultz, P.W. (2012). The consequences of chronic stereotype threat: Domain disidentification and abandonment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 103*(4), 635–646. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029120>
- Woyshner, C., & Schocker, J. B. (2015). Cultural parallax and content analysis: Images of Black women in high school history textbooks. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 43*(4), 441–468. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2015.1099487>
- Yamada, M. (2011). Awareness of racial and ethnic diversity in Japanese junior high schools’ English language textbooks. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 8*(3), 289–312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2011.592131>
- Zajonc, R. B. (1968). Attitudinal effects of mere exposure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 9*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0025848>

Nederlandse samenvatting

Daudi van Veen

S

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING (SUMMARY IN DUTCH)

Uit onderzoek blijkt dat in Nederland kinderen van kleur vaker discriminatie ervaren vanwege hun afkomst dan witte kinderen (Stevens et al., 2018). Dit soort discriminerend gedrag vloeit voort uit meerdere factoren, waaronder de opvattingen die kinderen hebben over hun eigen en andere etnische groepen, oftewel etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen (Nesdale, 2004). Theorieën over sociale ontwikkeling suggereren dat wat kinderen denken over de sociale wereld nauw samenhangt met de bronnen van socialisatie waaraan ze worden blootgesteld (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Nesdale, 2004). Aangezien kinderen van kleur ongeveer een kwart (27%) van de kinderopulatie in Nederland uitmaken (Statistics Netherlands, 2022), is onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen belangrijk om positieve relaties tussen groepen kinderen te bevorderen. Onderzoek op dit gebied is in Nederland en de rest van Europa echter zeldzaam. Het doel van dit proefschrift is om kennis te vergaren over de ontwikkeling en socialisatie van de etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen van kinderen in Nederland. In het bijzonder ligt de nadruk van dit proefschrift op drie bronnen van socialisatie: de bredere samenleving, schoolboeken en ouders.

THEORETISCH KADER

Sinds de jaren 50 van de vorige eeuw zijn er verschillende theoretische perspectieven over de ontwikkeling van etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen. Wat zeker is, is dat cognitieve en sociale factoren bijdragen aan deze ontwikkeling (Nesdale, 2004; Levy & Hughes, 2009). Experimenten tonen bijvoorbeeld aan dat baby's een voorkeur hebben voor de gezichten van mensen die dezelfde etniciteit hebben als hun ouders (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005; Kelly et al., 2007). Rond de leeftijd van 3 jaar oud beginnen veel kinderen ook de cognitieve vaardigheid te ontwikkelen om mensen op basis van uiterlijk in verschillende etnische groepen in te delen (Nesdale, 2004; Williams et al., 2020). Vervolgens, door middel van boodschappen uit de omgeving, leren kinderen verbale labels en informatie te associëren met hun eigen en andere etnische groepen. Dit proces ligt ten grondslag van de ontwikkeling van etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen. De etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen die in dit proefschrift worden onderzocht kunnen onderverdeeld worden in etnische vooroordelen (negatieve houding richting een andere etnische groep; Allport, 1954; Brown, 2010), stereotypen (geloof in de vermeende eigenschappen van een etnische groep; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 2018) en affirmatie (positieve of negatieve houding over de eigen etnische groep; Phinney, 1993).

Het proces waarbij socialisatie bijdraagt aan de ontwikkeling van sociale opvattingen (waaronder etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen), wordt beschreven in het groepsparticipatiedomeinmodel (Grusec en Davidov, 2010). Dit model is

gebaseerd op de aanname dat kinderen inherent gemotiveerd zijn om sociale normen te internaliseren, doordat mensen een aangeboren verlangen hebben om bij een groep te horen (De Waal, 2012; Brewer, 1999). Het proces waarbij kinderen sociale normen overnemen kan impliciet of bewust zijn. Door herhaalde observaties van anderen (zoals het observeren van ouders of media) kunnen kinderen impliciet meekrijgen welke groeps-gerelateerde sociale normen belangrijk zijn (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Het overnemen van sociale normen kan ook bewust zijn, door bijvoorbeeld deel te nemen aan culturele activiteiten of door van anderen te leren over welke normen belangrijk zijn binnen een groep. Met behulp van deze principes uit het groepsparticipatiedomeinmodel, wordt in dit proefschrift onderzoek gedaan naar verschillende bronnen van socialisatie waaraan kinderen in Nederland worden blootgesteld, en waar mogelijk, hoe deze bronnen bijdragen aan de ontwikkeling van etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen.

SOCIALISATIE EN DE ROL VAN DE BREDERE SAMENLEVING

Een belangrijke bron van socialisatie waaraan kinderen worden blootgesteld zijn de dominante sociale normen van een land. Kinderen leren over deze dominante sociale normen tijdens hun kindertijd door herhaaldelijk te communiceren met anderen en deel te nemen aan culturele activiteiten (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). In het derde hoofdstuk wordt een studie beschreven waarin werd onderzocht in hoeverre nationale identificatie (identificatie met de Nederlandse cultuur) en de voorkeur voor sociale hiërarchie (Pratto et al., 1994) gerelateerd zijn aan attitudes tegenover Zwarte Piet en Sinterklaas. Aan dit vragenlijstonderzoek deden in totaal 174 witte Nederlandse studenten mee. De figuur Zwarte Piet is voor de meeste kinderen in Nederland de eerste kennismaking met een etnisch-gerelateerde controverse. Hoewel de figuur lange tijd breed geliefd was, is het gebruik van *blackface* (een karikatuur van mensen van Afrikaanse afkomst) voor deze figuur een controversieel fenomeen aangezien Zwarte Piet eigenschappen heeft die onlosmakelijk verbonden zijn aan stereotypen over zwarte mensen. De resultaten van deze studie toonden aan dat positieve attitudes ten aanzien van Zwarte Piet samenhangen met meer nationale identificatie en meer voorkeur voor sociale hiërarchie. Aangezien Sinterklaas een belangrijk kinderfeest is dat door veel kinderen in Nederland gevierd wordt, schetsen deze patronen een beeld van de intolerante normen waaraan veel kinderen worden blootgesteld gedurende hun jeugd.

SOCIALISATIE EN DE ROL VAN SCHOOLBOEKEN

Andere belangrijke bronnen van socialisatie zijn de visuele en gedrukte media gericht op kinderen. Etnisch-stereotyperende beelden en teksten kunnen de etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen van kinderen beïnvloeden (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Uit onderzoek blijkt bijvoorbeeld dat etnische stereotypen en de ondervertegenwoordiging

van mensen van kleur in de media samenhangt met de etnische stereotypen die individuen hebben (Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yarchi, 2015). Etnische stereotypen en de ondervetegenwoordiging van mensen van kleur komen niet alleen voor in visuele media maar ook in Nederlandse schoolboeken voor geschiedenis (Sijpenhof, 2020; Weiner, 2016). In hoeverre deze patronen ook voorkomen in Nederlandse schoolboeken voor andere vakken was nog onduidelijk.

In het derde hoofdstuk wordt een studie beschreven waarin werd onderzocht hoe mensen van kleur afgebeeld en beschreven werden in schoolboeken voor de brugklas van de middelbare school voor twee kernvakken: wiskunde en Nederlands. In totaal zijn alle bladzijden van 12 schoolboeken voor wiskunde en 13 schoolboeken voor Nederlands (van 5 uitgevers) gecodeerd door een team van 18 codeurs. De resultaten toonden aan dat in deze boeken mensen van kleur ondervetegenwoordigd zijn en vaker worden afgebeeld als mensen met een lagere status en lagere competentie dan witte personages. Met andere woorden, de resultaten laten zien dat subtiele etnisch stereotiepe patronen voorkomen in eerstejaars schoolboeken.

SOCIALISATIE DOOR OUDERS EN ETNISCHE VOOROORDEN VAN KINDEREN

Kinderen worden ook via hun ouders blootgesteld aan sociale normen (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). De opvattingen van kinderen kunnen beïnvloed worden door de opvattingen en opvoedingsdoelen die in een gezinsomgeving worden geuit. (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Denk bijvoorbeeld aan hoe ouders beslissen naar welke scholen hun kinderen gaan en welke televisieprogramma's hun kinderen mogen bekijken. Uit onderzoek blijkt dat intolerante denkbeelden en de opvoedingsdoelen- en praktijken van ouders samenhangen met de etnische vooroordelen van kinderen (Costello & Hodson, 2014; Meeusen & Dhont, 2015; Odenweller & Harris, 2018). Deze eerdere studies richtten zich echter alleen op witte gezinnen in België, Canada en de VS, waardoor het onduidelijk is of deze bevindingen generaliseerbaar zijn naar witte gezinnen (en gezinnen van kleur) in Nederland.

In het vierde hoofdstuk wordt een studie beschreven waarin werd onderzocht in hoeverre de voorkeur voor sociale hiërarchie (Pratto et al., 1994) en opvoedingsdoelen van moeders samenhangen met de etnische vooroordelen van hun jonge kinderen (6- tot 10-jarigen). Deze studie was gericht op de rol van twee opvoedingsdoelen, namelijk spaarzaamheid en gehoorzaamheid. De keuze voor deze opvoedingsdoelen is gemotiveerd door twee redenen. Ten eerste blijkt uit onderzoek dat kinderen sneller geneigd zijn om de vooroordelen van ouders over te nemen als ze vooroordelen tonen richting groepen die gestereotypeerd worden als norm overtreders (Allport, 1954; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). Ten tweede worden mensen van kleur in Nederland gestereotypeerd als niet spaarzaam en niet gehoorzaam (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989).

In totaal deden 249 moeders en kinderen mee (136 witte Nederlandse gezinnen, 66

Turks-Nederlandse gezinnen, 47 Afro-Nederlandse gezinnen) aan dit onderzoek. De opvattingen van moeders werden via vragenlijsten gemeten. De etnische vooroordelen van kinderen werden gemeten met een taak waarbij kinderen positieve en negatieve woorden toekenden aan foto's van twee witte kinderen, twee kinderen met een Midden-Oosterse uiterlijk en twee zwarte kinderen. De resultaten lieten zien dat Turks-Nederlandse kinderen van moeders met een sterke voorkeur voor sociale hiërarchie die het opvoedingsdoel spaarzaamheid benadrukken meer vooroordelen hebben richting zwarte kinderen. Turks-Nederlandse en Afro-Nederlandse kinderen van moeders die het opvoedingsdoel gehoorzaamheid benadrukken hebben minder vooroordelen richting witte kinderen. Bij witte Nederlandse gezinnen was er geen relatie tussen de voorkeur voor sociale hiërarchie van moeders, hun opvoedingsdoelen, en de etnische vooroordelen van kinderen. Al met al laten deze bevindingen zien dat de ontwikkeling van etnische vooroordelen bij kinderen kan samenhangen met opgroeien in een gezin waarin sociale hiërarchie en bepaalde normen benadrukt worden, maar dat meer onderzoek nodig is om te verklaren waarom dit patroon afwijkt in verschillende etnische groepen.

SOCIALISATIE DOOR OUDERS EN ETNISCHE AFFIRMATIE VAN KINDEREN

Aangezien kinderen van kleur vanaf jonge leeftijd etnische discriminatie kunnen ervaren of in aanraking komen met etnische stereotypen, zijn veel ouders van kleur gemotiveerd om hun kinderen op dit vlak weerbaar te maken (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Hoe ouders van kleur dit proces aanpakken wordt door onderzoekers etnisch-rationale socialisatie genoemd (Hughes et al., 2006). Uit onderzoek blijkt dat in gezinnen van kleur verschillende aspecten van etnisch-rationale socialisatie gerelateerd zijn aan etnische affirmatie van kinderen (attitudes over de eigen groep; Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). De meeste studies naar etnisch-rationale socialisatie zijn echter gericht op gezinnen van kleur in de VS. Er is een totaal gebrek aan onderzoek naar hoe gezinnen van kleur in Nederland etnisch-rationale socialisatie aanpakken.

In het vijfde hoofdstuk wordt een studie beschreven waarin werd onderzocht hoe Afro-Nederlandse moeders etnisch-rationale socialisatie aanpakken en of die patronen gerelateerd zijn aan de etnische affirmatie van hun kinderen (6- tot 10-jarigen). In totaal deden 45 Afro-Nederlandse moeders en kinderen mee aan dit deel van het onderzoek. De etnisch-rationale socialisatie aanpak van moeders werd via vragenlijsten, interviews en observaties gemeten. De etnische affirmatie van kinderen werd gemeten met een taak waarbij kinderen positieve en negatieve woorden toekenden aan foto's van twee zwarte kinderen. De resultaten toonden aan dat Afro-Nederlandse moeders met een kleurbewuste benadering (openlijk praten over etnische identiteit) kinderen hebben met meer positieve en minder negatieve attitudes over hun eigen etnische groep dan moeders met een kleurenblinde benadering (niet openlijk praten over hun etnische identiteit). De bevindingen laten zien dat Afro-Nederlandse moeders, zoals moeders

van kleur in de VS, door openlijk te praten over hun eigen culturele achtergrond, een gevoel van etnische trots in de Afro-Nederlandse identiteit overdragen naar kinderen.

CONCLUSIE

De hierboven beschreven bevindingen belichten hoe verschillende bronnen van socialisatie een rol kunnen spelen in de ontwikkeling van de etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen van kinderen in Nederland. In de bredere samenleving worden zij door het Sinterklaasfeest blootgesteld aan niet-inclusieve opvattingen. Ook in schoolboeken komen etnische stereotypen en ondervertegenwoordiging voor. Verder kunnen kinderen via hun opvoeders worden blootgesteld aan niet-inclusieve en inclusieve houdingen ten aanzien van etniciteit. Deze bevindingen dragen bij aan de academische literatuur door voor het eerst deze onderwerpen te bestuderen binnen de Nederlandse context. De focus van dit proefschrift op verschillende bronnen van socialisatie biedt ook inzicht in mogelijkheden om de etnisch-gerelateerde opvattingen van kinderen inclusiever te maken. Onderzoekers en beleidsmakers in Nederland en elders kunnen samen manieren bedenken om positieve relaties bij kinderen te ondersteunen. Zoals beschreven door James Baldwin: "Kinderen zijn nooit erg goed geweest in het luisteren naar oudere generaties maar ze hebben nooit moeite gehad ze te imiteren" (1960). Om inclusieve houdingen bij kinderen te stimuleren, moeten ze niet alleen te horen krijgen dat zij anderen rechtvaardig moeten behandelen. Kinderen moeten ook herhaaldelijk kunnen zien wat een inclusieve houding richting anderen in de praktijk inhoudt. De taak is dus aan volwassenen om kritisch stil te staan bij hun eigen gedrag en bij de etnisch-gerelateerde boodschappen waaraan ze hun kinderen aan blootstellen thuis, op school, en door middel van visueel en gedrukte media.

List of publications
Curriculum vitae
Acknowledgements

Daudi van Veen



LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

PUBLISHED PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

- De Bruijn, Y., Emmen, R. A. G., **Van Veen, D.**, & Mesman, J. (2022). Priming attachment and diversity ideologies: Effects on ethnic bias in children's altruistic sharing in a dictator game. *Acta Psychologica*, 230, Article 103746. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actpsy.2022.103746>
- Mesman, J., De Bruijn, Y., **Van Veen, D.**, Pektas, F., & Emmen, R. A. G. (2022). Maternal color-consciousness is related to more positive and less negative attitudes toward ethnic-racial outgroups in children in White Dutch families. *Child Development*, 93(3), 668–680. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13784>
- Van Veen, D.**, Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (2022). National identification, social dominance orientation, and attitudes towards Black Pete in the Netherlands: Person- and variable-centered analyses. *Social Psychological Bulletin*, 17, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.32872/spb.7853>
- Yang, Y., Emmen R. A. G., **Van Veen, D.**, & Mesman, J. (2022). Pre- and during COVID-19: Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization in Chinese immigrant families. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 19, 27–37. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.09.001>

WORK IN PROGRESS

- Van De Rozenberg, T. M., Groeneveld, M., Van Der Pol, L., **Van Veen, D.**, & Mesman, J. (2022). Hidden in plain sight: Gender bias and heteronormativity in Dutch textbooks. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Van Veen, D.**, Emmen, R. A. G., Van De Rozenberg, T. M., & Mesman, J. (2022). Ethnic representation and stereotypes in Mathematics and Dutch language textbooks from the Netherlands. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Van Veen, D.**, Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (2022). Maternal social dominance orientation, maternal conformity-related socialization goals, and young children's ethnic prejudice. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Van Veen, D.**, Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (2022). Raising Black children in the Netherlands: A mixed-methods study on ethnic-racial socialization and children's ethnic-racial affirmation in the Netherlands. Manuscript submitted for publication.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- Van Veen, D.,** Van De Rozenberg, T. M., & Mesman, J. (2022). Tool for more inclusive textbooks. *Leiden University*. <https://jimdo-storage.global.ssl.fastly.net/file/85246758-6cee-442ea232-15ae6208488b/220704%20Tool%20inclusive%20textbooks.pdf>
- Van Veen, D.,** (2021). Opvoeding, hechting en vooroordelen [Parenting, attachment, and prejudice]. *In-Mind Magazine*, 2. <https://nl.in-mind.org/article/opvoeding-hechting-en-vooroordelen>
- Mesman, J., Van De Rozenberg, T. M., **Van Veen, D.,** Zicha, L., & Groeneveld, M. G., (2019). Representatie en stereotypering van vrouwen en mannen in schoolboeken voor de brugklas [Representation and stereotypes of women and men in secondary school textbooks]. *Leiden University*. <https://jimdo-storage.global.ssl.fastly.net/file/7f686795-c1b3-466d-8159-3a9fc6d13176/mesman%20-%20final%20rapport%20schoolboeken%20gender.pdf>
- Mesman, J., **Van Veen, D.,** Van De Rozenberg, T. M., Zicha, L., & Groeneveld, M. G., (2019). Etniciteit in schoolboeken voor de brugklas: Representatie en stereotypering [Ethnicity in secondary school textbooks: Representation and stereotypes]. *Leiden University*. <https://jimdo-storage.global.ssl.fastly.net/file/bd2347d2-ab6c-4fc9-9b4d-49b5adf746e2/mesman%20-%20final%20rapport%20schoolboeken%20etniciteit.pdf>

ORAL AND POSTER PRESENTATIONS

- Van Veen, D.,** Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (March, 2023). Raising Black children in the Netherlands: A mixed-methods study on ethnic-racial socialization and children's ethnic affirmation in the Netherlands. Paper presentation at the *Society of Research in Child Development (SRCD) 2023 Biennial Meeting, 23-25 March, 2023*.
- Van Veen, D.,** Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (July, 2021). Maternal social dominance orientation, maternal conformity-related socialization goals, and young children's ethnic prejudice. Poster presented at the *26th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology 27-31 July 2021*.
- Van Veen, D.,** Emmen, R. A. G., Amoueus C., & Mesman, J. (July, 2018). Guess who? Interethnic Colorblindness Among White Dutch Adults. Poster presented at the *25th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology 1-5 July 2018*.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Daudi van Veen werd geboren op 22 september 1992 te Amsterdam. Na een tweejarige brugperiode aan het Damstede Lyceum in Amsterdam, heeft hij zijn middelbare schoolopleiding afgerond aan Trinity International School in Las Vegas, Nevada in de VS. Na het behalen van zijn middelbare school diploma in 2009, begon de schrijver met zijn universitaire studie. In 2014 behaalde hij zijn *Bachelor of Arts* (BA) in Psychologie met een *minor* in Biologie aan de University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV) in de VS. Na twee jaar gewerkt te hebben in verschillende functies, begon de schrijver aan zijn masteropleiding Interdisciplinaire Sociale Wetenschappen aan de Universiteit Utrecht. Voor zijn masterscriptie onderzocht hij hoe (pan-etnische en religieuze) identiteit en sociale netwerken bijdragen aan de manieren waarop Syrische en Eritrese nieuwkomers in Zaandam sociaal kapitaal opbouwen. In het najaar van 2017 behaalde hij zijn *Master of Science* (MSc) in Interdisciplinaire Sociale Wetenschappen en werd zijn scriptie genomineerd voor een masterscriptieprijs binnen de richting Sociaal Beleid en Sociale Interventies. In dezelfde tijdperiode begon Daudi met zijn promotietraject aan de Universiteit Leiden onder leiding van prof. dr. Judi Mesman en dr. Rosanneke Emmen. Tijdens zijn promotietraject was hij onderdeel van twee onderzoeksprojecten, namelijk *"The parenting origin of prejudice"* en *"Gender and ethnic representation and stereotypes in books for children"*. De uitkomsten van deze onderzoeksprojecten zijn onder andere verwerkt in dit proefschrift, twee onderzoeksrapporten over gender en etnische representatie en stereotypen in schoolboeken en een handleiding voor uitgevers met tips om lesmateriaal inclusiever te maken. Ten tijde van de verdediging van dit proefschrift (2023) werkt Daudi als docent bij de afdeling Interdisciplinaire Sociale Wetenschappen aan de Universiteit Utrecht.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dear reader, you have made it to the end of my dissertation. Hopefully, you deem the insights valuable. For those readers who skipped ahead to read the acknowledgments, I fully understand how a dissertation on socialization piques your curiosity in those around me who helped shape this dissertation and me as a person.

Firstly, I would like to thank those directly involved in my dissertation research: my promoters Professor Judi Mesman and Dr. Rosanneke A.G. Emmen. Your insights, sharp intellects, and warmth have shaped me as a scholar. I also want to thank those involved in the projects described in Chapters 3, 4, and 5; Fadime, Ymke, Yiran, and Tessa. From recruiting families at various events to analyzing videos and textbooks, I learned from each one of you, and I sincerely appreciate your support throughout this time. I also want to give a special thanks to the rest of the Societal Challenges Lab, namely Astrid, Antoinette, Stefanie, Laura, Marleen and Lotte.

Secondly, I would like to thank a few other academics. I want to thank those teachers at Utrecht University who were patient enough to advise me when I was a young student who was interested in doing a PhD; Dr. Michelle Bal, Professor Mara Yerkes, and Professor John de Wit. Your advice was invaluable. Additionally, I would like to thank Professor Melanie Killen. You ensured I had the best possible stay at the University of Maryland in May of 2022. I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to learn from you and the rest of the lab members. Additionally, my special thanks to all the Black PhD network. I look up to all of you as role models and fellow travelers.

Thirdly, I want to thank my life partner and rock, Sarah. You do not fail to remind me that you were one of the first people who recommended that I pursue a PhD when we were in our early 20s. I love you dearly and sincerely appreciate your support throughout this journey.

Fourthly, I would also like to thank my peers. Firstly, to my friends who I met as a student at Utrecht University, who quite quickly became some of my closest friends; Anouk, Chavi, and Hanna. I am lucky to have met you right after migrating back to the Netherlands. Your friendships are dear to me and have provided a steady core of stability and warmth during this second phase of my life in the Netherlands. To Chris, TJ, Theo, and Lawrence, who I have been close with since our adolescence. I appreciate your support throughout the ups and downs of life, and I thank you for all the long hours spent socializing in-person and digitally. Finally, to Alcaeus, Mo, and the other friends I have met since moving to the Hague, thank you for your support, good company and for helping me become rooted in this city.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents and family members. Mom and Dad, you have always believed in my capabilities, fed my curiosity, and fiercely supported my goals. I consider myself lucky to call you my parents. Thank you for your support and all the life lessons you taught me. To my extended family in the Netherlands, Kenya, and elsewhere. Thank you for your warmth and kindness throughout my life.

