Universiteit Leiden

The Netherlands

Rice eaters in the land of cheese: the context of ethnic socialization of Chinese-Dutch children

Yang, Y.

Rice Eaters in the Land of Cheese:

The Context of Ethnic Socialization of Chinese-Dutch Children

Yiran Yang

Rice Eaters in the Land of Cheese:

The Context of Ethnic Socialization of Chinese-Dutch Children

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 21 juni 2023

klokke 10.00 uur

door

Yiran Yang

geboren te Beijing in 1989

Promotor:

Prof. dr. J. Mesman

Co-promotor:

Dr. R.A.G. Emmen

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. mr. dr. E.R. Muller (Leiden University)

Prof. dr. D. Scheepers (Leiden University)

Prof. dr. J. Dubas (Utrecht University)

Prof. dr. H.A.G. de Valk (University of Groningen)

Dr. M. van Geel (Leiden University)

Dr. C. Wu (York University)

Table of Contents

Titelpagina

Chapter 1

General Introduction

The notions of the 'model minority' and 'forever strangers' have been used to describe the lives of Chinese immigrants worldwide. After the outbreak of COVID-19, it was the latter than appeared to prevail, as anti-Asian prejudice became rampant in North America and Western Europe. Protests such as Stop Anti-Asian Hate in response to racial discrimination against people with Asian roots attracted much attention to the impact of interethnic prejudice for Asian people in the diaspora. These movements sparked discussions about how to improve interethnic relations and build a more inclusive society for all ethnic groups, including Asians.

In recent years, there is a growing body of research about how interethnic prejudice develops and how to improve interethnic relations between White and Black populations in the United States. However, research on Asian populations and in the European context is much less but also urgently needed. For example, the underrepresented Chinese groups have been found suffering from discrimination experiences in the Netherlands and the UK (e.g., Bhala et al., 2020; Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). In addition, it is unclear how children are impacted by the ethnic socialization context (e.g., parents, the media, world-changing events). Research indicates that the development of ethnic prejudice starts from early childhood. However, ethnic prejudice of dominant and children from underrepresented ethnic groups and their developmental patterns seem to be population-dependent (de Bruijn, 2022). Different social-contextual factors, such as parents, media and societal developments, are highlighted to have a potential influence on the development of prejudice based on Social Learning Theory (Levy & Hughes, 2009). In this area, research has focused mostly on the U.S. and studies on children from underrepresented ethnic groups are lacking in the European context, such as in the Netherlands, which is a multi-ethnic country with more than 25% of people with a migration background. More studies are needed to identify patterns for underrepresented ethnic children's experiences and prejudice and understand the potential influence of various social-contextual factors to which they are exposed. This dissertation aims to provide insight in the development of ethnic prejudice among a largely ignored underrepresented ethnic group: the Chinese-Dutch group, through three social-contextual factors (parents, children's books, and COVID-19).

Key constructs and definitions

Ethnic prejudice can be defined as a preconceived evaluation of persons based on their perceived belonging to a different group in terms of their racial, cultural, or religious characteristics (Eagly & Diekman, 2005). More specifically, ingroup favoritism and outgroup rejection are forms of interethnic prejudice (Everett et al., 2015). Furthermore, the term ethnicity is consistently used rather than race in this dissertation. Ethnicity refers to social groupings based on common origins, culture, language, history and value, while race based on biological foundations linked with physical appearance (Brown & Langer, 2010). Although the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' are associated with each other, ethnicity is a broader term than race and more commonly used in the European context, because the term 'race' seems to maintain an unbreakable tie to the history of racism (i.e., Nazism) in Europe (Berg et al., 2014). Therefore, ethnicity-related terms are consistently adopted in this dissertation, including 'dominant ethnic group' and 'underrepresented ethnic group'. Another term used, specifically in Chapter 4, is people of color. People of color refers to non-White ethnic groups collectively, and has been accepted in the academic discourse as a bias-free language (American Psychological Association, 2022).

Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands

Research on interethnic relationships is needed in Europe, and the Netherlands provides an interesting context given the rapid increase in ethnic diversity in the last couple of decades. Almost one out of four people has an immigrant background (at least one parent not born in the

Netherlands), and approximately 14–16% of the population has a non-Western immigrant background, depending on the definition (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022a). Migration from China started from the moment the first Chinese arrived in the Netherlands as a boarding sailor in the year 1911. The Chinese came to the Netherlands for work in the beginning, then through family reunification, and gradually more frequently for study (Gijsberts et al., 2011). In the past century, the underrepresented Chinese group (0.6 % of the total Dutch population) has become the largest East Asian community, and the seventh largest non-Western underrepresented group in the Netherlands after those with roots in Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, Indonesia, (former) Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, and Syria (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021a). In addition, since 2007, an increased immigration flow from mainland China to the Netherlands exceeded that from Turkey who represent the largest underrepresented group in the Netherlands (Mandin & Gsir, 2015). In recent years, almost half of the immigrants in the Netherlands are from within Europe, followed by 18% of immigrants from Asia, mostly India and China (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020).

One of the main reasons why many Chinese people end up in the Netherlands or other Western countries can be traced back to colonial history in the 19th century. China was defeated by Britain in the Opium Wars (1840–1842) which forced opening up to Euro-American powers and ideology. In the following approximately 100 years, China gradually transformed into a semi-colony under Western military coercion (Lan, 2016). Although the Republic of China was founded in 1949, the long history of (semi-)colonial domination has shaped people's ideas about race, culture and so forth. Postcolonialism can be defined as the effect of colonization on the colonized people and their culture after a certain period of high imperialism and colonial occupation (Drew, 1999). Many researchers have indicated that people and cultures mostly identified as White (or Western) are seen as superior to people of color and their culture in China due to globalization of white culture and postcolonial mechanisms (Goon & Craven, 2003; Stohry et al., 2021). The colonial history provided a foundation for 'white supremacy' and Chinese people commonly regard White people and Western culture as 'civilized' and 'progressive' in contemporary China (Liu & Croucher, 2022; Yu, 2021). There has been a prejudicial treatment of people exclusively based on skin color, with lighter skin evaluated more favorable than darker skin (Yu, 2021). More specifically, Chinese media generally depict a positive image and proximity to White people and culture (Stohry et al., 2021). In addition, current postcolonial globalization influences are seen in trends like the popularity of models and celebrities identified as White people, and whitening products (Goon & Craven, 2003). Even children's books written by White people tend to be seen as more civilized cultural products by Chinese parents and publishers, with the growing popularity of those imported books (Yang , 2012). White preference in social representation may also apply to children (Durkin et al., 2012), suggesting an early origin of different attitudes towards White outgroups and outgroups of color. Besides the preference for countries with dominant White people and White or Western culture, there are many other possible factors for migration from China, such as its political and ideological climate.

The situation of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands can be described as positive according to several indicators. For example, employment rates (73.2%) of Chinese immigrants (defined as born in China) in the labor market are close to those of native Dutch people, and the Chinese-Dutch and native Dutch groups are both over-represented in highly qualified occupations and less represented in less qualified ones (Mandin et al., 2015). In addition, Chinese immigrants were polarized in terms of education, often low but also often highly educated (diplomas obtained in China or in the Netherlands). Specifically, a higher percentage of Chinese immigrants received maximal elementary school education (27%) than migrants with Surinamese or Antillean backgrounds (20%), but lower than migrants with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds (45-47%). Meanwhile, more Chinese immigrants received tertiary

education (28%) than the other four migrant groups (6-19%, Gijsberts et al., 2011). This is mainly because most Chinese immigrants arriving before 2000 came to the Netherlands for work or family reunion, and they were generally lower educated. However, new immigrants (arriving after 2000) more often came to the Netherlands for study and were more often higher educated (47%). If we leave out this student migrants, the educational level of Chinese-Dutch people is still higher than that of the other largest migrant group, and comparable with that of native Dutch people (Gijsberts et al., 2011). In addition, the report over Chinese immigrants showed that Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands generally feel more accepted and less excluded in the host country and report less discrimination when compared with other migrant groups (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

However, there are also many challenges for the underrepresented Chinese group in terms of integration in the Netherlands. For instance, there has been a lower rate of holding Dutch citizenship among Chinese immigrants (Mandin et al., 2015). Because China does not recognize dual citizenship and Chinese citizens who acquire Dutch citizenship or nationality have to abandon their Chinese nationality, almost half of the first-generation Chinese immigrants still have Chinese citizenship rather than Dutch citizenship (Mandin et al., 2015). There are different reasons for not giving up Chinese citizenship and only holding a Dutch permanent residence permit (legally staying in the Netherlands for an unlimited period while without voting rights and with some other limitations). For instance, family ties still bind for some (Cai & Qiang, 2022), especially younger first-generation Chinese immigrants who are the only child in their families due to the one-child policy. Citizenship rights, such as voting procedures are different in the Netherlands than in mainland China, and immigrants from China are therefore not familiar with or not motivated to play an active role in the political life in the countries to which they migrated (Cai & Qiang, 2022) This may also have led to a lower rate of being represented in policy making process, political participation, etc. In addition, it is reported that the Chinese community overall is less oriented towards native Dutch people compared to other migrant groups. Most of the Chinese immigrants have less than weekly friendship contact with native Dutch people, less often than the other large migrant groups (e.g., with Moroccan, Surinamese, Turkish backgrounds, etc., Gijsberts et al., 2011). Intergroup contact seems more common when we look at the second-generation Chinese group; more than half have a native Dutch best friend, and three-quarters have contact with native Dutch friends or acquaintances at least once a week (Gijsberts et al., 2011). The number of ethnically mixed relationships (married and unmarried) of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands has been relatively low and began to increase since 2001. About a quarter of relationships in the underrepresented Chinese group are ethnically mixed, which is lower than in Surinamese groups but higher than in the Turkish and Moroccan migrant groups (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

The outbreak of COVID-19 in China in December 2019, as a major societal event, has influenced the lives of the Chinese diaspora in the past several years. Since the ongoing negative messages in the news media about the COVID-19 outbreak in Wuhan, China, the underrepresented Chinese group has suffered from more discrimination experiences than before the pandemic (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). At least 314 COVID-related discrimination events were reported by people with an East Asian appearance, making up approximately 12% of all the reported race-related discrimination incidents in 2020 in the Netherlands (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021). Discrimination events included verbal abuse, insult and threats, and defamation of their ethnic origins. There is also physical violence, for example, Yanni (a 16-year-old boy with an Asian background) in Zaandam was kicked in the head, while Cindy (a 24-year-old woman with a Chinese background) in Tilburg was beaten to unconsciousness and was left with several cuts by a knife (Asian Raisins, 2020). Besides, more than 5000 reports were received by the discrimination agency in the Netherlands in response to a song on a public radio show promoting mistrust and exclusion of Chinese

immigrant people and led to the petition "We zijn geen virussen! (We are not viruses!)" which was signed more than 65,000 times (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021). The recent societal changes, specifically the COVID outbreak targeting people with a Chinese background (or with an East Asian appearance), makes this underrepresented ethnic group thus an urgent minority group to add to the study. Compared with increasing attention to interethnic attitudes and relations in the Asian underrepresented group in the U.S., less studies have been done in the European context, and even less studies have included children from this underrepresented ethnic group. Studying children is particularly important because children today represent society's future. It is important to understand their lives and problems they may encounter, and to identify avenues for positive change.

Ethnic prejudice development in children

Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains the development of ingroup favoritism and outgroup rejection. More specifically, people tend to favor ingroup members and make biased intergroup comparisons, serving the basic human need of enhancing a positive self-image and self-esteem (Brown, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In addition, insights from Systematic Justification Theory (SJT) explain why interethnic prejudice in underrepresented ethnic groups may be different from those in dominant ethnic groups. Ingroup favoritism is lower in stigmatized groups than in dominant groups, which is thought to reflect internalized knowledge of the societal devaluation of (underrepresented ethnic) ingroup, leading to dominant group favoritism, i.e., White favoritism (Brown, 2010). This means that people from underrepresented or low-status groups, seem to preserve and justify the social status quo and show high-status outgroup favoritism (Jost, 2019), and can even rationalize negative stereotypes about their own group (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004) was developed as an extension of SIT to propose four sequential phases in which children develop ethnic prejudice (undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference, and ethnic prejudice). Specifically, in the first undifferentiated phase (prior to 2-3 years old), racial cues are not yet described as salient for young children. Later on, the ethnic awareness phase emerges at around age 3 years when children start to identify different ethnic groups and categorize people as belonging to a particular group. In the third phase (5-6 years old), children's ethnic self-categorization firstly activates a focus on their ingroup and accompanying ingroup preference, before it eventually may develop into outgroup rejection (at around 7 years old; ethnic prejudice phase). In contrast to these developmental patters described based on SIDT, meta-analytic research shows that prejudice among children from underrepresented ethnic-racial groups (i.e., Black group) towards higher status outgroups (i.e., White group) is neutral or positive in early and middle childhood (until 7 years), and negative at older ages (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). In addition, research on the development of prejudice from one underrepresented group towards other underrepresented groups is limited and the research results in the latest study including young children (6-10 years) in the Netherlands is not consistent based on the specific ethnic group children belong to and prejudice is measured against (Pektas et al., 2022). In other words, the ethnic prejudice of underrepresented ethnic children and its (potential) developmental patterns seems to be population dependent. The variance in prejudice development, especially between middle and late childhood, indicates the importance of the research in diverse underrepresented ethnic populations, as well as social and environmental influences at this stage.

Social learning theory

There are multiple approaches to explain the development of ethnic prejudice among children, including cognitive, social-cognitive developmental, and social learning approaches summarized by Levy and Hughes (2009). Specifically, the social learning approach suggests that children mimic, and then come to believe what they are exposed to in their environment, from sources such as parents, peers and media. The cognitive approach based on the cognitive-developmental theory suggests that children's ethnic attitudes are influenced by their ability to deal with group information in complex ways (e.g., classifying others on multiple dimensions, perceiving similarities between different ethnic groups). The social-cognitive developmental approach combines both the aforementioned social (e.g., immediate and broader contexts) and cognitive approach (e.g., cognitive skills, age; Levy & Hughes, 2009). In terms of individual development, social-contextual factors are relevant to the development of individual differences and play an important role in influencing one's cognitive process and therefore impacting one's prejudice (Aboud et al., 2012). The social-contextual factors (and changes) in children's immediate and broader contexts fit the social learning approach. Social-contextual factors that are frequently examined in research on ethnic prejudice development are parents and media. A meta-analytic review showed the similarity in interethnic attitudes and behaviors between parents and their children throughout childhood and adolescence (Degner & Dalege, 2013). In addition, media exposing to children can also serve as an effective intervention to impact child ethnic prejudice (Aboud et al., 2012). Briefly speaking, children from middle childhood (with cognitive skills to categorize people in different ethnic groups) can be influenced by their social environment (e.g., family conversations, media consumption; Levy & Hughes, 2009), while the content of messages in their environment is influenced by major societal events.

This dissertation focuses on three social-contextual factors in children's immediate and broader social environment to help us understand child ethnic prejudice development: parental ethnic socialization, children's books, and major world-changing events.

Parental ethnic socialization

Parents are one of the important social-contextual factors for children when it comes to instilling potential prejudice and norms regarding ethnicity. More specifically, parental ethnicity-related ideologies and behaviors are investigated descriptively and to understand potential associations with individual differences in child ethnic prejudice. Chapter 2 examines multiculturalism among Chinese-Dutch mothers and its association with children's ethnic prejudice. Multiculturalism is an intergroup ideology that refers to a belief that differences in ethnicity should be given attention and respect (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). In addition, it proposes that the knowledge and acknowledgment of differences of the ingroup and outgroups can reduce interethnic prejudice (Whitley & Webster, 2019), because this can affirm group identities and contribute to feelings of acceptance and security in outgroup members (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Research increasingly indicates that being exposed to multiculturalism ideology through socialization and engagement in discussion could reduce children's interethnic prejudice in the White dominant group (Perry et al., 2020; Tadmor et al., 2017; Vittrup & Holden, 2011). In the Dutch context, associations between parental multiculturalism and lower child ethnic prejudice were found in the White group but not in all underrepresented ethnic groups (de Bruijn et al., 2021). Research on intergenerational associations between parental multiculturalism and child interethnic prejudice in the Chinese population is lacking (Chapter 2). In addition, Chapter 3 describes self-reported maternal ethnic socialization practices, for example, parents talking about different ethnicities and cultures to children.

Chapter 4 examines parental socialization practices related to ethnic norms, including color-evasiveness and white normativity, in Chinese-Dutch families. Color-evasiveness reflects an expansive racial ideology of denying the significance of race and actively avoiding talking

about racial differences (Annamma et al., 2017). Although the original intention of these beliefs seems to avoid appearing biased (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008), the approach of deliberately not seeing race allows for the denial of racial subordination, thereby allowing the perpetuation of current racial inequalities. It seems that endorsement of color-evasiveness is population dependent, with some studies indicating that members from the dominant ethnic group tend to endorse color-evasiveness more strongly than members from underrepresented ethnic groups (e.g., White and Black American or Dutch adults; de Bruijn et al., 2021; Ryan et al., 2007). However, other studies indicate no differences between dominant and underrepresented ethnic groups (e.g., White and Latino Americans, White and Turkish-Dutch, White and Asian Americans; de Bruijn et al., 2021; Meyers et al., 2021; Ryan et al., 2010). Furthermore, underrepresented ethnic groups' exposure to color-evasive approaches may lead to their worse cognitive performance (Holoien & Shelton, 2012) or frustration, pain and isolation (Lewis et al., 2000). Additionally, Asian Americans who endorse color-evasiveness themselves are found to internalize social messages that devaluate and marginalize their own ethnic groups while adopting the mainstream White identity (Marinari, 2005). In conclusion, the approach of deliberately not seeing race, and not recognizing racism, allows for the denial of racial subordination, and is therefore interpreted as being racist in itself (Annamma et al., 2017; Neville et al., 2013).

The social norm regarded as another form of contemporary racism is white normativity, which exposes people of color to the risk of rejection or expulsion if they do not conform to the white norm (Bhandaru, 2013). White normativity refers to a social norm indicating White as natural and the standard category of human beings and representing all other racial categories as 'Others' (Harlap & Riese, 2021; Morris, 2016). As a result, whiteness stands at the center of racial categorization. When reflecting white normativity in society, all differences between the White group and groups of color make groups of color seen as 'abnormal' or 'unusual', and the centering of White people leads to groups of color being marginalized (Morris, 2016). When it comes to achievement, success for populations of color (e.g., high visibility of African Americans in certain professional sports, better academic performance of Asian Americans) is commonly attributed to race and marked as racial stereotypes by the dominant White group so as to minimize the individual variations and efforts within a specific group of color (Frankenburg, 2020; Morris, 2016).

Children in middle and late childhood can quickly learn to see color-evasiveness and white normativity as socially appropriate behaviors according to internalization theory, which shows that commonly observed social norms (e.g., an idea, concept, action) can be learnt, rationalized and finally accepted as one's own viewpoint (Scott, 1971). This acquisition also applies to children from underrepresented ethnic groups. Based on the Social Learning Theory proposed by Albert Bandura (1977), children can learn such social norms from their parents, for example through observational learning about what is and is not regarded appropriate to talk about. Given that children from underrepresented ethnic groups are more likely to suffer the consequences of racial inequalities but still show reluctance to talk about race (Pauker et al., 2015), behavior observations of parents from underrepresented ethnic groups are needed to understand the established model and ethnic socialization context that children are exposed to at home.

Parasocial contact hypothesis

Chinese children's books represent another social-contextual factor that Chinese immigrant mothers may include as part of their ethnic socialization. Ethnic representation in Chinese children's books is examined in this dissertation (Chapter 5). Research has found that books with characters of different ethnic backgrounds can play a positive role in young

children's social learning experiences regarding their interethnic prejudice (So, 2016; Welch, 2016). Based on the parasocial contact hypothesis, positive messages and representation of outgroup members (either with or without interactions with ingroup members) can increase preference or reduce prejudice (Schiappa et al., 2005). The human brain processes 'direct experiences', and it processes media experiences likewise. Thus, the presentation of outgroup characters in the media acts as a source and is related to people's attitudes to real people (Schiappa et al., 2005). More specifically, the preferred ethnic features shown in media influence children's ethnic (feature) preferences (Rice et al., 2016; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). Preferences for specific ethnic physical features start early, as shown for example by the fact that White Barbie dolls are preferred over Black ones by children 3–7 years of age of various ethnic backgrounds (Gibson et al., 2015). This is because preferences for specific physical features and the ethnic people and culture that these features represent are transmitted through various social-contextual factors (e.g., parents, toys, printed media, books), that children then internalize. In other words, studies on ethnic representation are a first step in understanding what the opportunities for parasocial contact in these books are. Chapter 5 examines ethnic representation in Chinese children's books that children with a Chinese background can be exposed to. This can therefore better help understand to what extent the books may transmit potential white-normative messages about ethnic physical appearance and culture to young children with a Chinese background.

COVID impact

This dissertation also includes a broader social-contextual factor, specifically COVID-19, to see how the Chinese underrepresented group coped in a White dominant society during the pandemic. COVID-19, as a world-changing event, can impact developments in interethnic prejudice. The fact that this new virus was detected first in China led to racialized descriptions of the virus, such as it being labeled as 'the Chinese virus' in public discourse (Ittefaq et al., 2022). With the portrayal of the virus in the media as highly destructive and as a physical threat, negative emotions increased in the general population such as fear, anger, and hostility (Clissold et al., 2020; Ittefaq et al., 2022). Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) explains the pathway from these emotions (e.g., fear) for an infectious disease to discrimination against Chinese people in the diaspora based on the perception of threat to physical well-being (Croucher, 2017; Stephan & Stephan, 2016). An increasing number of studies (mostly in the U.S.) examine the discrimination against Chinese or people with an East Asian appearance during the COVID pandemic, and some studies discussed its consequences of having experienced discrimination (e.g., mental health problems, strengthened group identification; Lee & Waters, 2021; Li et al., 2021; Lou et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2021). However, almost all the studies collected data after the outbreak of COVID-19. Therefore, the discussion about increased discrimination against Chinese (or other East Asians) is mostly based on deductive analyses based on previous events related to disease spreads and subsequent xenophobia (e.g., Clissold et al., 2020; Elias et al., 2021), descriptive investigation during the COVID-19 with a non-experimental design (e.g., Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021; Cheah et al., 2020), or a focus on negative physical and mental health consequences caused by discrimination experiences (e.g., Lee & Waters, 2021; Wu et al., 2021). To our knowledge, only Haft and Zhou (2021) did pre- and during-pandemic data collection, specifically among Chinese college students in the United States, presenting a natural experimental design by comparing samples pre- and during-COVID-19 in the same study. Higher perceived discrimination in the during-COVID group than in the pre-COVID group was found (Haft & Zhou, 2021).

In our research project, COVID-19 broke out exactly in the middle of the data collection in the Chinese-Dutch group, leading to a dataset with half of the data collected before and half

during the pandemic, which meets the conditions for a natural experiment. From a methodological perspective, pre- and during-pandemic data collection is crucial to accurately examine potential differences in discrimination experiences and other ethnicity-related views influenced by the COVID pandemic among the Chinese diasporas. Therefore, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 describe a unique exploration of the impact of the pandemic, i.e., a social-contextual factor, on discrimination experiences and ethnic-racial socialization among Chinese-Dutch mothers, and, uniquely, ethnic prejudice differences pre- and post-COVID outbreak among Chinese-Dutch children.

Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation aims to provide insight in ethnic prejudice in Chinese-Dutch children and the ethnic socialization context they are exposed to through three social-contextual factors, i.e., parents (Chapters 2, 3 and 4), children's books (Chapter 5), and the COVID pandemic (Chapter 2 and 3). More specifically, **Chapter 2** examines interethnic prejudice among Chinese-Dutch children aged 7-11 years, focusing on their preference for and rejection of East Asian, White, Middle Eastern and North African (MENA), and Black peers. In addition, interethnic prejudice is examined in relation to maternal multiculturalism ideology, and in relation to the COVID pandemic with a natural experimental research design. **Chapter 3** again presents a natural experiment examining self-reported perceived discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization on children among 80 Chinese immigrant mothers in the Netherlands before and during the COVID pandemic. **Chapter 4** provides insight in the socialization adhering to color-evasiveness and white normativity observed among Chinese-Dutch mothers in a social categorization game with their children. Specifically, maternal behaviors are observed by avoiding ethnic-racial questions, asking such questions later and taking more time to formulate them, and by coding on which ethnic group the questions are focused. **Chapter 5** examines the ethnic representation of authors, illustrators, and characters of Chinese books for young children (6 years or younger) and the physical features (i.e., eye shape, skin tone, hair color, hair style) of human East Asian characters in these books. **Chapter 6** includes the main findings as well as the interpretation and insights provided by the main findings of this dissertation. Limitations, and future research directions are also discussed.

Positionality

No research is value-free, whether in qualitative or quantitative research (Holmes, 2020). I would like to reflect on my personal experiences and research positionality in this dissertation. I was born in Beijing, China, as were my parents and grandparents, and grew up in Beijing until I was 20 years old. Almost all of my classmates and friends were Han Chinese and very few of them have other ethnic backgrounds. Although I travelled from my early childhood to different places in China and experienced different regional cultures, I was mainly based in Beijing and had very limited contact with non-Chinese people except my English teachers in my primary and secondary schools who were White people from Canada and the U.K. and Black people from the U.S. From the age of 18 years, I went to different Asian countries for holidays, and at the age of 20 years, I went to South Korea for half a year for an exchange program and met many international students with different ethnic backgrounds. That experience was positive, and it was my first time to have more personal talks with White people (one from Poland and one from Germany) and Southeast Asian people (two from Malaysia). I realized that most international students subconsciously assume that people with different ethnic backgrounds (or nationalities) are pretty different, and still, they are very curious to keep asking about other

cultures. After completing my Bachelor's program, I did my master in Edinburgh in the United Kingdom and home-stayed with a local White English family for half a year. This experience made me feel that people with different ethnic backgrounds have much more in common (e.g., morals, values) than differences in daily lives. I felt humanity can make people get along well with each other and intergroup contact can be something easy and common.

At age 25 years, I got married to a Chinese man (born and raised in Northern China) and together we moved to Leiden, the Netherlands and had a son there. I started this project after three years of living in the western urban region of the Netherlands. The original research design for this dissertation was not specifically designed to test the effect of the pandemic on the Chinese immigrant group. However, after the outbreak of COVID-19 and the Anti-Asian racism and xenophobia that followed worldwide, including in the Netherlands, I, similar to many Chinese people in the diaspora, experienced mental stress brought on by the racism that followed. For example, I was worried about myself, and my child being discriminated against due to our Chinese background and refused to go out alone in the evening for a long time. I felt anxious about discussing COVID-related topics with my non-Chinese friends and felt ashamed when being asked how often and why Chinese people eat certain animals (e.g., bats), even though I also heard such news from the Dutch media for the first time. No blatant discriminative experiences happened to me. Only once my son (at that time about five years old) and my husband were asked by another older boy in a public playground in Leiden whether they were Chinese, and then told that they should go back to China. It did not hurt me too much (because my husband calmly explained something about cultural diversity and inclusive society to that boy and our son), but what hurt me was that my son let us know that he had been asked this question several times by other children when we were not there. The motivation for this dissertation includes my hopefulness for a more inclusive society with less prejudice between ethnic groups, including between children.

Although I learned Dutch (B2 level) and always try to have some contact with families with different ethnic backgrounds (mostly White and Asian), my position is that of a new Chinese immigrant coming to the Netherlands together with a family. As the families participating in the present dissertation have both Chinese mothers and Chinese or White Dutch/North-Western European fathers, I am both an insider and an outsider to the participants in this research. Meanwhile, this position could have impacted my work, such as the identification as an expat from China and not a Chinese-Dutch person. There is a potential bias towards regarding Chinese diaspora purely as victims during the pandemic while being less aware of salient support from the surroundings, as I myself do not have family members with a Dutch background. Fortunately, the diverse ethnic backgrounds of our research team and co-authors in different chapters (Indo-Dutch, White Dutch, Kenyan-Dutch, Turkish-Dutch) enriched my view from the White dominant and multiple underrepresented ethnic perspectives to help me better understand issues of ethnic prejudice and racism, in both research and in society.

Titelpagina

Chapter 2

Ethnic Prejudice among Chinese-Dutch Children: The Role of Maternal Multiculturalism Ideology and COVID-19

Yiran Yang, Rosanneke A.G. Emmen, Ymke de Bruijn, Judi Mesman

Abstract

Interethnic prejudice in children has been studied mostly among White and Black populations in the United States, but less among East Asians populations and in Europe. Given that interethnic prejudice is sensitive to populations and contexts, research on previously neglected groups is needed. In the current study, interethnic prejudice is examined among Chinese-Dutch children (N = 80, 42 girls and 38 boys) aged 7-11 years, focusing on their preference for and rejection of East Asian, White, Middle Eastern and North African (MENA), and Black peers. In addition, interethnic prejudice is examined in relation to parenting, and in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, a global crisis that has led to anti-Asian racism. The results revealed that Chinese-Dutch children evaluated their ethnic ingroup and the White outgroup most positively, and the Black outgroup least positively. Moreover, maternal multiculturalism was associated with less ingroup preference, and the COVID-19 pandemic was related to less ingroup rejection. The results highlight the importance of parents and situational influences (the COVID pandemic) on children's interethnic prejudice, as well as the importance of studying population-specific mechanisms.

Keywords: ethnic prejudice, preference, rejection, multiculturalism, COVID-19, Chinese

The childhood period is particularly relevant for studying interethnic prejudice, given meta-analytic evidence for significant developments in prejudice during the primary school years (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). However, interethnic prejudice has predominantly been studied among White and Black populations in the United States (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), with less attention for Asian populations, or for the European context. Parental socialization of interethnic ideologies may impact the development of child interethnic prejudice. There is evidence that parents' multiculturalism ideology is related to less prejudice in children, but that this association is context- and population-dependent (Leslie et al., 2020), emphasizing the need for more research on more varied ethnic groups and contexts. In addition, interethnic prejudice in relation to the East Asian diaspora is particularly relevant in the era of the COVID pandemic, and ensuing health and societal crises have brought greater prejudice and discrimination towards people with a Chinese background worldwide (Ittefaq et al., 2022). Ethnic Chinese people in turn tended to seek ingroup support and strengthen ingroup identification, thereby fostering interethnic prejudice, i.e., higher ingroup favoritism and outgroup rejection (e.g., anger, Li et al., 2021; Lou et al., 2021). The effect of the pandemic on ethnic prejudice has been studied among adults, but the effect may also be present among children. The current study is the first to explore children's ethnic prejudice in Chinese-Dutch families in relation to maternal multiculturalism and the COVID pandemic.

Ethnic prejudice in children

Ethnic prejudice can be defined as a preconceived devaluation of persons based on their perceived belonging to a different group in terms of their racial, cultural, or religious characteristics (Eagly & Diekman, 2005). Ingroup favoritism and outgroup rejection are forms of interethnic prejudice. Ingroup favoritism refers to more positive evaluations of and favorable responses to members of one's own ethnic group than members of outgroups (Everett et al., 2015). Outgroup rejection refers to a more negative evaluation of members of an ethnic outgroup compared to ingroup members. Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains the development of ingroup favoritism and outgroup rejection. More specifically, people tend to favor ingroup members and make biased intergroup comparisons, serving the basic human need of enhancing a positive self-image and self-esteem (Brown, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In addition, insights from System Justification Theory (SJT) explain more specifically why interethnic prejudice in underrepresented ethnic groups may be different from those in dominant ethnic groups. Ingroup favoritism is lower in stigmatized groups than in White dominant groups (Brown, 2010), as shown for example among Black children in the United States (3 and 5 years old, Kurtz-Costes et al., 2011) and among Black and South Asian children in the United Kingdom (7 years old, Leman & Lam, 2008; 5, 9, and 13 years old, Leman et al., 2013). This is thought to reflect internalized knowledge of the societal devaluation of underrepresented ethnic ingroup, leading to dominant group favoritism, i.e., White favoritism (Brown, 2010). This means that people from underrepresented or low-status groups, seem to preserve and justify the social status quo and show high-status outgroup favoritism (Jost, 2019), and can even rationalize negative stereotypes about their own group (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004) was developed as an extension of SIT to propose four sequential phases in which children develop ethnic prejudice (undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference, and ethnic prejudice). Specifically, in the first undifferentiated phase (prior to 2-3 years old), racial cues are not yet described as salient for young children. Later on, the ethnic awareness phase emerges at around age 3 when children start to identify different ethnic groups and categorize people as belonging to a particular group. In the third phase (5-6 years old), children's ethnic self-categorization firstly activates a focus on their ingroup and accompanying ingroup preference, before it eventually

may develop into outgroup rejection (at around 7 years old; ethnic prejudice phase). In contrast to these developmental patterns described based on SIDT, meta-analytic research shows that prejudice among children from underrepresented ethnic-racial groups (i.e., Black group) towards higher status outgroups (i.e., White group) is neutral or positive in early and middle childhood (until 7 years), and negative at older ages (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). In addition, research on the development of prejudice from one underrepresented group towards other underrepresented groups is limited and the research results in the latest study including young children (6-10 years) in the Netherlands is not consistent based on the specific ethnic group children belong to and prejudice is measured against (Pektas et al., 2022). In other words, the ethnic prejudice of underrepresented ethnic children and its (potential) developmental patterns seems to be population dependent. The variance in prejudice development, especially in middle and late childhood, indicates the importance of social and environmental influences at this stage such as parental intergroup ideology.

Multiculturalism ideology and prejudice

Various theories on prejudice development and reduction address intergroup ideologies. Among the most commonly distinguished intergroup ideologies (e.g., assimilationism, multiculturalism, colorblindness), multiculturalism has generally been observed to be a more effective approach in decreasing interethnic prejudice compared to others (Leslie et al., 2020). Multiculturalism is an intergroup ideology that refers to beliefs that differences in ethnicity should be given attention and respect (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). In addition, it proposes that the acknowledgment of differences and knowledge of one's own group and other groups can reduce interethnic prejudice (Whitley & Webster, 2019), because this can affirm group identities and contribute to feelings of acceptance and security in outgroup members (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). The association between multiculturalism endorsement and reduced interethnic prejudice is sensitive to contexts and populations: it is generally stronger outside than within the U.S. context (Whitley & Webster, 2019), stronger in the ethnic dominant group than underrepresented groups (Leslie et al., 2020), and only present in the context of low intergroup conflict (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Moreover, research increasingly indicates that the impact of multiculturalism ideology and ethnic socialization (e.g., parents talking about different races, cultures to children) could extend beyond the self and to the next generation (i.e., from maternal multiculturalism to improved child interethnic attitudes) in the White dominant group (Perry et al., 2020; Tadmor et al., 2017; Vittrup & Holden, 2011). In the Dutch context, similar associations between parental multiculturalism and lower child ethnic prejudice were found in the White group but not in all underrepresented ethnic groups (de Bruijn et al., 2021). To our knowledge there are no studies examining the intergenerational associations of prejudice in East Asian populations.

Only a few studies have examined interethnic prejudice among East Asian children. Those living in East Asia were found to have a strong East Asian ingroup (versus Black) preference in early and middle childhood, whereas East Asian ingroup (versus White) preference was strong in early childhood and disappeared at around age 10 years (Dunham et al., 2006; Qian et al., 2019). In addition, children with an East Asian background living in Canada (White-dominant) and Brunei (non-White dominant) showed pro-White (versus Black) preference (6-9 years, Steele et al., 2018). Given that child prejudice developmental patterns and its associations with social factors (e.g., parental intergroup ideology) are not identical across populations, studies on East Asian children can help deeply understand the development process of this largely ignored underrepresented group, especially when rapidly changing social circumstances (e.g., pandemic, racism) are particularly relevant to this group of people.

Natural experiment: COVID impact

Major social events, such as the COVID pandemic, can lead to large-scale developments in interethnic prejudice. After the COVID-19 outbreak, the virus was labeled as 'the Chinese virus' in the public discourse worldwide. Consistent with the (emotional) responses to historical pandemic outbreaks (e.g., the bubonic plague, commonly referred to as Black Death, the 1918 influenza, commonly referred to as "Spanish Flu"), the fear for the coronavirus contributed to greater prejudice, intolerance, and even xenophobia towards people with a Chinese background (Elias et al., 2021; Reny & Baretto, 2020). Corresponding increases in discrimination experiences and ethnic identity have been widely found among Chinese immigrant adults after the COVID outbreak (e.g., Ittefaq et al., 2022; Lou et al., 2021), and similar experiences have also been reported in the Netherlands (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). To be more specific, 314 COVID-19-related discrimination events were reported by people with an East Asian appearance, taking up 12% of all the racial discrimination incidents in the year 2020 in the Netherlands (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021). A discriminatory song on a public radio show promoting exclusion of Chinese immigrant people led to a petition "We are not viruses!" signed more than 65,000 times (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021).

Group identification can be strengthened through connectedness with other ingroup members, and people usually tend to obtain support from their own ethnic group when surrounded by more discriminatory attitudes (Syed et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), leading to higher ingroup preference. It is unclear whether such patterns would also be found in children. According to the social-cognitive developmental approach to ethnic prejudice in children, children at this age (with cognitive skills to categorize people in different ethnic groups) can be influenced by their immediate and broader social environment (e.g., family or peer conversations, media consumption; Levy & Hughes, 2009). In addition, the content of messages in their environment is influenced by world-changing events. It is therefore hypothesized that the COVID pandemic that is directly related to the Chinese ethnic group, can motivate Chinese-Dutch children's ethnic attitude differences. The data collection for the present study on ethnic prejudice in Chinese-Dutch children took place in May 2019 - May 2021 The original project was not specifically designed to test the effect of the pandemic. However, COVID-19 broke out almost exactly in the middle of the data collection, contributing to a dataset with half of the data collected before and half during the pandemic, which meets the conditions for a natural experiment (Dunning, 2012). This enables us to explore the potential impact of the COVID-19 on ethnic prejudice among children with a Chinese background in the Netherlands.

The Dutch context

The Netherlands provides an interesting cultural context with increasing ethnic diversity to examine child interethnic prejudice (Ziller, 2015). Almost a quarter of the population in the Netherlands has a non-Dutch immigrant background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022a), among which people with a Middle Eastern and North African background (MENA, specifically from Turkey and Morocco) represent the largest underrepresented ethnic group (4.8% of the total Dutch population), followed by people with a Surinamese or Antillean background (3.0% of the total Dutch population, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022a). These two groups are the largest underrepresented groups and also most prominent in societal debates about the multicultural society. The Chinese underrepresented group (0.6 % of the total Dutch population) is the largest East Asian community, and the seventh largest non-Western underrepresented group in the Netherlands after those with roots in Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, Indonesia, (former) Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, and Syria (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022a). In recent years, almost half of the immigrants in the Netherlands are from

within Europe, followed by 18% immigrants from Asia, mostly India and China (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020).

Previous research including underrepresented ethnic groups in the Netherlands (i.e., Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch children, aged 6-10 years) showed stronger prejudice towards the Black than the White outgroup in Turkish-Dutch children, but no within-group difference in Black Dutch children (de Bruijn et al., 2022). Another study indicated that Turkish- and Black Dutch children showed less clear preference for their own ethnic group compared to White outgroup preference. Both White and Turkish-Dutch children showed more rejection and less preference for the Black outgroup compared to Black Dutch children (aged 6-10 years, Pektas et al., 2022). Generally, outgroup prejudice differs for specific outgroups, likely depending on perceived social distance, ethnic hierarchy, and religion. The White Dutch population was observed ranking at the top of the ethnic hierarchy in Dutch society by Dutch respondents, or immediately after the ingroup but before the other underrepresented ethnic groups among underrepresented ethnic respondents (including samples of Miscellaneous-, Moroccan-, Surinamese-, and Turkish-Dutch, Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000, Verkuyten et al., 1996). Moreover, the White Dutch was felt less distant than the other underrepresented ethnic populations by underrepresented ethnic samples (including Antillean-, Indonesian-, Moroccan-, Surinamese-, and Turkish-Dutch, Van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016). Based on the ethnic hierarchy and social distance found in previous studies, ingroup and White outgroup might be more favored (and less rejected) than the other underrepresented ethnic outgroups for children from an underrepresented ethnic group. However, specific perception of the ethnic hierarchy and social distance with various underrepresented ethnic outgroups is unclear, and research focusing on a specific underrepresented ethnic group is therefore needed to better understand child interethnic prejudice in a European context. To our knowledge there are no studies examining prejudice in East Asian populations in Europe or the Netherlands. The current study aims to fill this gap.

The present study

The present study examined Chinese-Dutch children's ethnic prejudice, examining maternal multiculturalism ideology as a potential predictor, and uniquely testing potential differences by COVID-19 pandemic timing. Furthermore, the present study examines if the prejudice patterns of Chinese-Dutch children (7-11 years) are in line with SIDT, showing ingroup preference as well as outgroup rejection. We test and explore the following hypotheses and questions: (H1) the East Asian ingroup and White outgroup are preferred most and rejected least as compared with the Black and MENA ethnic outgroups. (H2) higher maternal multiculturalism ideology is associated with children's lower outgroup rejection (or higher outgroup preference) and lower ingroup preference (or higher ingroup rejection). (H3) outgroup rejection and ingroup preference are higher post- than pre-COVID-19 outbreak, whereas outgroup preference and ingroup rejection are lower post- than pre-COVID-19 outbreak.

Method

Sample

The present study is part of a larger project focusing on Chinese immigrant families in the Netherlands, in which Chinese(-Dutch) families ($N = 81$) participated. Families participating pre-COVID-19 ($n = 39$) were recruited through Chinese-related events (e.g., Chinese New Year's celebrations), charitable organizations (e.g., Chinese language schools), social media, researchers' network, and snowball sampling. Recruitment after the COVID-19 outbreak ($n = 42$) was done online through a recruitment video and digital leaflets sharing on

social media, pitch presentations during online child events, and through the snowball procedure. Mothers and participating children were required to take part in the research and fathers were optional. Siblings were not included in the research. Several other criteria were used during the recruitment: (1) the child was between 7 and 11 years old, (2) the child was either born in the Netherlands (63% of the children) or moved to the Netherlands (or a Dutch-speaking region in Belgium) at or before six years old, (3) the child attended a Dutch primary school, (4) the mother, or at least one of her parents, was born in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, or Taiwan (more than 95% of Taiwan's population is Han Chinese; Executive Yuan, 2016), (5) the biological father was either born in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, or a North-Western European country, (6) participating parent(s) lived together with the child in the Netherlands during data collection, and (7) the child and parents did not have severe development disorders or physical or mental illness. The inclusion of parents in an interracial relationship was done to achieve a better representation of families with Chinese roots in the Netherlands, given that about a quarter of relationship in this population consist of a Chinese female and a North-Western European male partner (Gijsberts et al., 2011). Of the 81 recruited families, one child did not complete the relevant tasks, therefore leading to a total of 80 participating families for the current analyses.

Most of the mothers were born in mainland China (97%), while others were born in the Netherlands (1%), Taiwan (1%) and Thailand (1%). Similarly, most of the biological fathers were born in mainland China (63%), followed by the Netherlands (35%), Nigeria (1%) and Taiwan (1%). In the families in which mothers were living with a partner (95%), this partner was the biological fathers of the children in most cases ($n = 74$). In two families, the child had an ethnic Chinese biological father, but mother had a current (White) Dutch partner. The 80 participating children (53% female) aged between 7.40 and 11.99 years old ($M = 9.51$, $SD = 1.25$), mothers aged between 32.31 and 50.70 years old ($M = 40.47$, $SD = 3.85$). In addition, most of the mothers were highly educated (bachelor's degree or higher; 94%), and worked (75% of the total group; 49% were employed and 26% were self-employed).

Procedure

Two researchers visited the participating families (face to face before the first lockdown due to COVID-19 and online afterwards) for approximately 1.5 to 2 hours, during which standardized computerized tasks, parent-child interactive and child individual tasks, and parental questionnaires were conducted. The parent-child interactive and child individual tasks were videotaped for post hoc coding. If both parents participated, starting with mother or father was counterbalanced. Specifically, one of the parents and child firstly conducted parent-child interactive tasks, including a game of Guess Who?, a cooperative task, and together reading a picture book designed for the study. Meanwhile the other parent conducted two Implicit Association Tests (IATs) with a laptop and filled in a questionnaire. Afterwards the child finished several individual tasks with the researcher: the social preference task (see below), two IATs, a social attribution task, a child occupations, attitudes, traits task, and a story stem task. The social preference task and the social attribution task were counter balanced. Then the parent-child interactive tasks and parent individual tasks with the same rules but different versions were repeated with the parent role reversed. All the version orders were counterbalanced. The home visit consistently ended with a mother-child interactive task, during which the mother and the child assigned different names towards different (cartoon) figures from the picture book. All children received a small gift after the visit. Participating parents filled in an online questionnaire after the assessment, including the multiculturalism ideology scale, after which each participating parent received a gift card of 20 euro as reward for their participation. Besides data collected through online questionnaire, only a child social preference

task during the visit was included in the current study. The child social preference task in the physical (pre-COVID outbreak) or online visit (post-COVID outbreak) included no intensive interaction between children and researchers; instead it was about answering questions orally raised by the researcher based on the photos shown on an A4 paper or on the screen. The formulation of the questions was the same throughout the study. Therefore, the task conducted offline and online were regarded as identical assessments. All parent-related questionnaires were available in both Chinese and Dutch while the child tasks were always in Dutch because all children were enrolled in the Dutch educational system for at least several years. The vast majority of the mothers filled in the questionnaires in Chinese (96%), and only a few in Dutch (4%). Consent forms were signed by both of the parents, or by one on behalf of both, for their and their child's participation. The research design, study's procedures and all the assignments were approved by an Ethics committee.

Measures

Child ethnic preference and rejection. Children completed a social preference task, adapted from the work by Levy and colleagues (2005), with 16 child photos printed on A4 paper: two boys and two girls for each ethnicity, i.e., East Asian (children in the photos had a Chinese background), White, Black, and MENA (children in the photos had a Turkish or Moroccan background). All the children in the photos wore a white T-shirt (headshot from the upper chest and up), looked forward, smiled, and were portrayed with a white background color. A pilot was done with 34 White Dutch, 23 Turkish-Dutch, 20 Black Dutch and 8 Chinese-Dutch adult aged 18-53 years ($N = 85$, $M = 27.51$, $SD = 6.93$, 63% female). Results showed that East Asian and White children in the photos were consistently classified as Chinese (99-100%), and as Dutch (99-100%), the Black children were dominantly classified as Surinamese or Caribbean (93-99%), and the children of MENA descent were also consistently classified as Turkish or Moroccan (88-98%).

In addition, the participants in the pilot were also asked to rate the attractiveness and cuteness of each child on a 0-to-10 rating scale, with a higher score reflecting more attractive or cute. The results indicated that there were significant differences in both attractiveness and cuteness scores. Specifically, the White children ($M = 6.32$, $SD = 1.50$), the Black children ($M = 6.28$, $SD = 1.48$), and the MENA children ($M = 6.12$, $SD = 1.68$) were rated more attractive than the East Asian children ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.87$, $t(81) = 5.72$, $p < .001$, $t(81) = 4.91$, $p < .001$, $t(80) = 3.96$, $p < .001$). The White children ($M = 6.32$, $SD = 1.50$) were also rated more attractive than the MENA children ($M = 6.12$, $SD = 1.68$, $t(80) = 1.99$, $p = .050$) in the photos. Different patterns were shown in cuteness scores, i.e., the East Asian children ($M = 6.40$, $SD = 1.66$) more cute than the Black children ($M = 6.02$, $SD = 1.61$, $t(80) = 2.82$, $p = .006$), and the MENA children ($M = 5.78$, $SD = 1.68$, $t(80) = 5.15$, $p < .001$); the White children ($M = 6.20$, $SD = 1.48$) more cute than the MENA children ($M = 5.78$, $SD = 1.68$, $t(81) = 4.16$, $p < .001$).

The 16 photos were presented to the participating children simultaneously, and five questions were asked as follows: (1) Who would you like to sit next to if you were in class with these children? (2) Who would you not like to sit next to if you were in class with these children? (3) Who would you like to invite to play at your home? (4) Who would you not like to invite to play at your home? and (5) Who would you like to invite to your birthday party? The participating children could select one photo for the first four questions, and one or multiple photos for the last question. Selecting nobody for any questions was always allowed. Preference scores reflect the frequency of selecting children of a specific ethnicity in question (1), (3), and ((5); range 0-6). Rejection scores reflect the frequency of selecting children of a specific ethnicity in question (2) and ((4); range 0-2). Consequently, preference scores and rejection scores towards different ethnic groups were obtained through this task.

Maternal endorsement of multiculturalism. Mothers filled in the Dutch Multiculturalism Ideology Scale (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003) in an online questionnaire after the (online) visit, which was originated and adapted from the Canadian Multiculturalism Ideology Scale measuring support for having a culturally diverse society (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Applications of the Multicultural Ideology Scale in the Dutch context yield acceptable reliability coefficients in previous studies (e.g., α = .82 in Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003, α = .90 in Verkunyten, 2005, α > .75 for White Dutch and Black Dutch mothers while α = .66 for Turkish-Dutch mothers in de Bruijn et al., 2021). Eight items were selected based on factor loadings of this scale in a sample of White and underrepresented ethnic participants in the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; e.g., "People with a Dutch/Western cultural background should recognize that the Dutch society consist of groups with different cultural backgrounds."). Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Three items were reversed, after which a higher score reflected stronger endorsement for the multiculturalism ideology. Due to negative inter-item correlations and Cronbach's alpha statistics, two items were excluded (i.e., items 'The unity of this country is weakened by people with a non-Western cultural background sticking to their old ways.' and 'A society that has a variety of cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups.'). Scores of the remaining items were averaged if at least half of the items were completed. Scores ranged from 1 to 7 with higher scores meaning stronger endorsement for the multiculturalism ideology. The internal consistency of the scale was adequate (Cronbach's α= .69).

Sociodemographic variables. Parents reported their sociodemographic variables in the screening and questionnaire during the home visit. Child gender was dichotomized as (0) male and (1) female, child birth country as (0) in the Netherlands and (1) other countries. Maternal living status was categorized as (0) living without or (1) with a partner, maternal educational level as lower (0) or (1) higher level (bachelor degree or higher). Ethnicity of the (biological) father of the child was categorized as (0) North-Western European or (1) ethnic Chinese.

Child outgroup contact. During the visit, mothers filled out a questionnaire about the frequency of their child's outgroup contact (after school). For multiple ethnic backgrounds (Dutch/Western, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, Aruban, African), mothers indicated whether and how often the participating child played together with a friend after school (1 = almost never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often). Not having a friend of that background was scored 0 (never). Frequencies of contact with Dutch/Western friends indicated the White contact score. Frequencies of contact with Turkish and Moroccan friends were combined into a MENA contact score, using the highest score on contact frequency. Likewise, frequencies of contact with Surinamese, Antillean, Aruban and African friends were combined into a Black contact score. Higher scores reflect more frequent contact (range 0-3).

Analyses

The main variables were examined for outliers (i.e., 3.29 SD below or above the mean, Field, 2005). Two outliers on child White rejection and two outliers on child East Asian rejection were found and winsorized (i.e., brought the outlier closer to the other values of the set), after which all the main variables were normally distributed (i.e., standardized skewness < 3) and no more outliers were found. No multivariate outliers were found. Furthermore, there were four missing values for the total score of the maternal multiculturalism ideology scale. The data were missing at random (6% of all the cases). Multiple imputation was then used by IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 27.0 to impute the missing data (Graham, 2012). The variables used in this imputation included mother birth country, maternal age, maternal marital status, maternal educational level, maternal work status, (biological) paternal ethnicity,

child age, child gender, child birth country, maternal multiculturalism, and child ethnic preference and rejection scores towards the four ethnic groups, and 20 datasets were made based on these variables. The parameters of substantive interest were estimated in the original dataset and each imputed dataset separately. Pooled parameter estimates (i.e., the unstandardized beta, standard error, t statistics, and p-value) were calculated in SPSS and then reported in this paper. Given that SPSS does not pool other parameter estimates in the results (i.e., the F value, R-squared, and beta coefficients), and the results of the original dataset and the 20 imputed datasets were consistently similar, the results of the original dataset were reported for these parameter estimates.

Preliminary analyses to examine potential covariates for H3 (differences in ingroup and outgroup preference and rejection by COVID-19 timing) in sociodemographic pre- and post-COVID-outbreak group differences included independent *t*-tests (for continuous variables) and Pearson Chi-Square tests (for categorical variables). Of the Pearson Chi-Square tests, Fisher's Exact Tests were used when the expected count was below five in more than 20% of the cells. The main analyses included repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) to compare child preference and rejection scores towards four ethnic groups (H1). A multiple regression was performed to examine the relations with maternal multiculturalism ideology as the independent variable and child ethnic prejudice (those significantly correlated with maternal multiculturalism in the preliminary analyses) as the dependent variable, while correcting for sociodemographic covariates (H2). Of the sociodemographic variables, child gender and child age were included as covariates, because previous studies showed an association with child interethnic prejudice (Jensen & Tisak, 2020; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). One-way Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVA) were run to examine child ethnic preference and rejection difference by COVID-19 timing while controlling covariates based on pre- and during-COVID-19 group differences in sociodemographic statistics (H3). To address the main hypotheses in the current study, a power analyses with G*power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007) were conducted. Assuming a power of 80% and an alpha of 0.05, a sample size of 80 participants could detect a medium to large effect size for repeated-measures ANOVA (e.g., $f = 0.15$), for ANCOVA (e.g., $f = 0.35$), and for a multiple linear regression with three predictors (e.g., $f^2 = 0.15$). The sample size lacked statistical power to detect small effect sizes.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the main variables. Sociodemographic group differences by context, i.e., before and after the COVID-19 outbreak, were examined. There was a significant difference in maternal age before ($M = 41.44$, $SD = 4.01$) and after the COVID outbreak ($M = 39.55$, $SD = 3.49$, $t(78) = 2.25$, $p = .027$), and therefore it was added as a covariate in the analyses testing H3, child ethnic preference and rejection difference by COVID-19 timing. No other significant differences were found in sociodemographic statistics in pre- and post-COVID-outbreak groups. Although there is an inconsistency of the paternal ethnicity in two families (i.e., child having an ethnic Chinese biological father but mother having a current Dutch partner), no significant differences were found regarding paternal ethnicity in pre- and post-COVID-outbreak groups in both conditions, i.e., once considering paternal ethnicity of these two families as Chinese and once as North-Western European. Thus, paternal ethnicity was not added as a covariate in H3.

Table 1

Descriptives of main variables for the full sample ($N = 80$)

Variables		
Child East Asian preference (0-6)	*M (SD)*	2.12(1.75)
Child White preference (0-6)	*M (SD)*	2.06(1.53)
Child MENA preference (0-6)	*M (SD)*	1.09(1.36)
Child Black preference (0-6)	*M (SD)*	0.64(1.19)
Child East Asian rejection (0-2)	*M (SD)*	0.14(0.35)
Child White rejection (0-2)	*M (SD)*	0.12(0.33)
Child MENA rejection (0-2)	*M (SD)*	0.34(0.59)
Child Black rejection (0-2)	*M (SD)*	0.71(0.80)
Maternal Multiculturalism (1-7)	*M (SD)*	5.44(0.72)

Main Analyses

Child ethnic preference and rejection (H1). Figure 1 presents within-group differences in child preference and rejection scores towards four ethnic groups. Using a repeated-measures ANOVA with child ethnic preference scores, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi^2(5) = 46.99$, $p < .001$), so that the degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = .73$). The results indicated that ethnic preference scores differed significantly within the Chinese-Dutch children ($F(2.20, 173.76) = 33.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p = .30$). Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons showed that child East Asian preference, White preference and MENA preference scores were all significantly higher than Black preference scores ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p = .001$). In addition, child East Asian preference and White preference were both significantly higher than MENA preference scores ($ps < .001$). There was no significant difference between East Asian and White preference scores.

A repeated-measures ANOVA was performed with child ethnic rejection scores towards four ethnic groups. Mauchly's test was again significant ($\chi^2(5) = 48.37$, $p < .001$), and Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = .72$) was therefore used to correct the degrees of freedom. There was an overall significant difference in Chinese-Dutch child ethnic rejection scores ($F(2.16, 170.29) = 17.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p = .18$). Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons indicated that child East Asian rejection, White rejection, and MENA rejection scores were significantly lower than Black rejection scores ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p = .020$). There was a trend towards significance showing lower White rejection than MENA rejection scores ($p = .052$). No other significant differences were found between rejection scores.
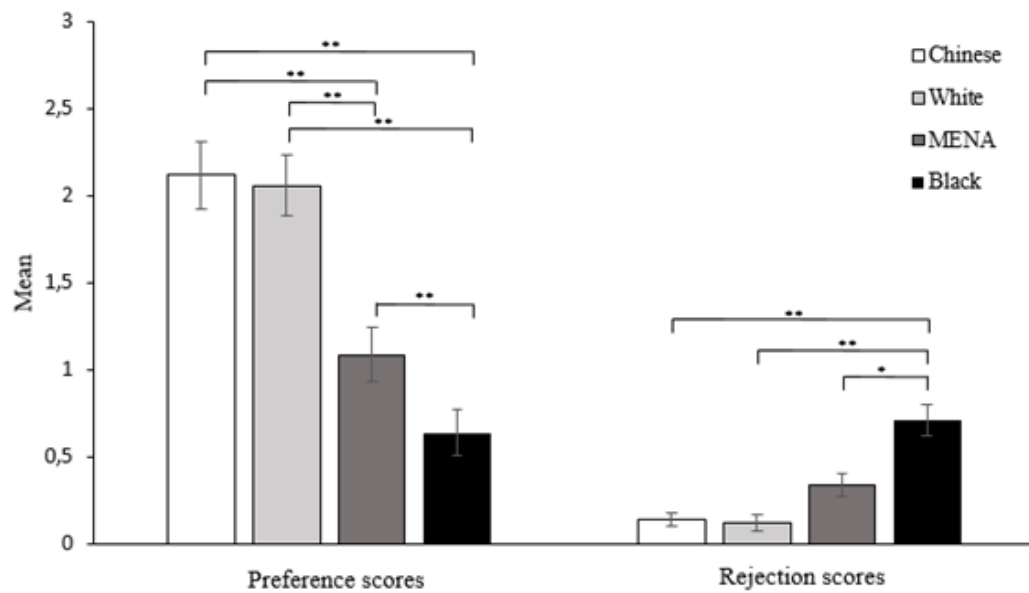
Figure 1. Comparison of child ethnic preference and rejection scores.

Note. Preference scores could range 0-6, rejection scores could range 0-2. See Table 1 for exact scores.

$* p < .05.$ $** p < .01$

Maternal multiculturalism ideology and child ethnic prejudice (H2). The second hypothesis was to examine associations between maternal multiculturalism ideology and child ethnic preference and rejection scores. Maternal multiculturalism ideology was significantly associated only with child East Asian preference ($r = -.23$, $p = .049$; stronger maternal multiculturalism endorsement was associated with lower child East Asian preference, see Table 2). No significant associations with other child ethnic preference and rejection scores were found (including child East Asian rejection, White preference and rejection, Black preference and rejection, MENA preference and rejection). After initial analyses, we performed a multiple linear regression analysis with East Asian preference as the dependent variable and the maternal multiculturalism ideology as the independent variable, controlling for child gender and child age. The result showed a significant overall model in all the 20 imputed dataset and in the original dataset ($F(3, 71) = 4.136$, $R^2 = .149$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .113$, $p = .009$). The pooled results indicated that less endorsement of maternal multiculturalism ($t(76) = -1.98$, $p = .048$) and child gender, namely female children ($t(76) = 2.39$, $p = .017$) were significantly associated with more child East Asian preference. Child age was not a significant predictor ($t(76) = -1.51$, $p = .132$, see Table 3).

Table 2

Bivariate correlates between maternal multiculturalism and child ethnic preference and rejection scores (N = 80)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. M Multiculturalism	-							
2. C East Asian preference	-.23*	-						
3. C White preference	.06	.20	-					
4. C MENA preference	.05	.34**	.56**	-				
5. C Black preference	-.05	.36**	.48**	.71**	-			
6. C East Asian rejection	-.07	-.15	-.04	-.05	.00	-		
7. C White rejection	-.03	-.01	-.04	.00	.08	-.15	-	
8. C MENA rejection	-.13	.08	-.02	-.08	-.09	-.17	-.09	-
9. C Black rejection	.22	.04	-.06	-.18	-.28*	-.08	-.20	-.25*

Note. M = Maternal, C = Child.

* p < .05. ** p < .01

Table 3

Multiple Regression for Child East Asian Preference Scores (N = 80)

Variables	B [b]	SE [b]	β [c]
Maternal multiculturalism	-.52*	.26	-.24*
Child gender [a]	.88*	.37	.20*
Child age	-.22	.15	-.19

Note. * p < .05. [a] 0 = male, 1 = female. [b] = pooled results. [c] = results from the original dataset.

Child ethnic preference and rejection difference by COVID-19 timing (H3). We examined potential differences in ethnic preference and rejection scores of children participating before and after the COVID-19 outbreak while controlling for maternal age (see Table 4). East Asian rejection scores in children participating during the COVID-19 were significantly lower than that in children participating before the COVID-19 ($F(1, 77) = 5.57$, $p = .021$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$). The covariate which was significantly different pre- and post-COVID outbreak (i.e., maternal age) was not significant ($F(1, 77) = 0.02$, $p = .904$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$). No other significant differences in ethnic preference or rejection scores by COVID-19 timing were found. In addition, correlations between child outgroup contact and their ethnic preference and rejection towards each outgroup was examined. Child White contact ($M = 2.60$, $SD = 0.57$) was positively correlated with White preference ($r = .25$, $p = .028$). Child Black contact score ($M = 0.52$, $SD = 0.95$) was negatively correlated with Black rejection ($r = -.26$, $p = .019$). No other significant correlations were found.

Table 4

Difference in child ethnic preference and rejection before and after the COVID-19 outbreak

Variables	Before COVID (N = 39)	During COVID (N = 41)	df	MS	F	p	η_p^2
East Asian preference	1.87(1.69)	2.37(1.79)	1	4.45	1.45	.232	.019
White preference	2.23(1.56)	1.90(1.50)	1	1.77	0.75	.390	.010
MENA preference	1.23(1.55)	0.95(1.16)	1	1.41	0.75	.390	.010
Black preference	0.82(1.34)	0.46(1.03)	1	2.93	2.06	.156	.026
East Asian rejection	0.23(0.43)	0.05(0.22)	1	0.64	5.57	.021	.067
White rejection	0.08(0.27)	0.17(0.38)	1	0.16	1.46	.231	.019
MENA rejection	0.33(0.58)	0.34(0.62)	1	0.01	0.02	.894	.000
Black rejection	0.59(0.72)	0.83(0.86)	1	0.51	0.83	.365	.011

Discussion

The present study examined levels of preference and rejection in Chinese-Dutch children regarding the ethnic ingroup (i.e., underrepresented East Asian group) and three outgroups (i.e., White dominant group, underrepresented Black group, and underrepresented MENA group), and their association with maternal multiculturalism ideology, and COVID-19 timing. Results showed that the Chinese-Dutch children had more preference for their own ethnic group and the White outgroup, compared to the other underrepresented ethnic outgroups (MENA and Black groups). Rejection was higher towards the Black group than towards other groups. Furthermore, maternal endorsement of multiculturalism was related to less child ingroup preference, and ingroup rejection in Chinese-Dutch children was lower after than before the COVID-19 outbreak.

The present results of higher preference for and lower rejection of the East Asian group (ingroup favoritism) than for the other underrepresented groups among Chinese-Dutch children are consistent with our expectation based on the SIT premise that favoring one's own (ethnic) group fulfills the basic human need for positive self-image and self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These results also confirmed that ingroup favoritism is present in early to middle childhood (i.e., between 7 and 11 years old; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). In addition, higher preference and lower rejection by Chinese-Dutch children in relation to the White outgroup than to the other underrepresented groups are in line with expectations about dominant group favoritism, described as White favoritism in SJT (Brown, 2010). This means that children show awareness and justification of the social status quo where the White dominant group is better off and more respected than other groups in society (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Olson et al., 2012). Additionally, no differences were found between preference for the own ethnic group and preference for the White outgroup in the Chinese-Dutch children. This result is consistent with previous studies showing that ingroup favoritism is less strong in underrepresented ethnic groups, in comparison to their preference for the White dominant outgroup (Jensen & Tisak, 2020; Kurtz-Costes et al., 2011; Pektas et al., 2022).

Compared to the East Asian ingroup and the White dominant outgroup, MENA and Black underrepresented groups were less preferred, and the Black group was rejected more than all other groups by the Chinese-Dutch children. This implies that particularly Black children are at risk of being excluded by Chinese-Dutch children. These results are consistent with previous research showing that White and Turkish-Dutch children (6-10 years old) show more rejection and less preference towards the Black outgroup compared to White and MENA groups (Pektas et al., 2022). This may be explained by the continuous social debate in the past few years in the Netherlands about the figure of Black Pete (portrayed by White people in blackface) in a national children's festival (Sinterklaas; Lemmens, 2017), which was also covered by the national news broadcast specifically aimed at children (NOS Jeugdjournaal, 2019) and often watched by children in schools. A majority of the White Dutch population disagreed with the assertation of the protest that Black Pete is racist and a colonial reenactment, and these discussions have led to more anti-Black racism in public debates (D'hondt, 2020; Polkamp, 2020). The continuous social debate may have influenced the evaluations of the Black outgroup among all children living in the Netherlands, including Chinese-Dutch children. In addition, these results are consistent with the ethnic hierarchy in the Netherlands observed by underrepresented ethnic groups, that is, other underrepresented ethnic groups ranked after the ingroup and the White Dutch population (Verkuyten et al., 1996). These patterns can also be explained by a greater perceived social distance from the underrepresented ethnic outgroups than the White Dutch outgroup by the Chinese-Dutch children, which has been demonstrated in previous studies (Van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016).

As expected, maternal multiculturalism was negatively associated with child ingroup preference through the mechanism in which knowledge of one's own group and other groups can make children have a less strong affinity exclusively to ingroup members (i.e., lower ingroup preference), but can understand and respect other cultures, and feel more familiar, secure and open to outgroups. Less ingroup preference suggests that the Chinese-Dutch children tended to be more egalitarian in their peer choices, reflecting more equality in interethnic attitudes, i.e., less interethnic prejudice. As such, this result is in line with patterns found in previous research that stronger multiculturalism was related to lower prejudice in general (Leslie et al., 2020), and extended this association to the Chinese-Dutch group. In addition, it has been suggested that multiculturalism ideology might be related to prejudice towards underrepresented ethnic groups only (de Bruijn et al., 2021; Verkuyten, 2005), and our result partially support this idea when it comes to Chinese-Dutch families.

Contrary to our expectation, maternal endorsement of multiculturalism was not associated with child outgroup prejudice (i.e., lower rejection or higher preference) in Chinese-Dutch families. These non-significant results might be explained by the conclusion of a meta-analysis that the association between multiculturalism ideology and interethnic prejudice are generally less strong in underrepresented ethnic than dominant ethnic groups (Leslie et al., 2020). Because most effects in this field, especially in underrepresented ethnic groups, are rather small, it could also be that we missed out on some results due to the small sample size. This difference may also be caused by ceiling effects, that is, high baseline levels of multiculturalism in underrepresented ethnic groups may suppress its effect on prejudice (Leslie et al., 2020). Moreover, previous results about associations between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice are not consistent across different underrepresented ethnic families in the Netherlands. For example, maternal multiculturalism ideology was related to less prejudice for the Black outgroup among Turkish-Dutch children, but associations were absent in Black Dutch families (de Bruijn et al., 2021). Given that the current research is very new, and associations between maternal multiculturalism ideology and child outgroup prejudice are not straightforward and seems population dependent (Leslie et al., 2020), more studies with diverse populations in the Netherlands are needed to replicate these findings.

Lower East Asian (i.e., ingroup) rejection was found after the COVID-19 outbreak among Chinese-Dutch children than before, confirming the hypothesis that Chinese-Dutch children had less negative attitudes to children of their ethnic group post-COVID outbreak. More discrimination experiences during the pandemic were found among the Chinese adult diaspora, followed by stronger group identification and more negative attitudes towards outgroups (Li et al., 2021; Lou et al., 2021). A similar pattern was identified in the current study for children with a Chinese background in the Netherlands, but only in the form of less negative ingroup attitudes. Based on the rejection-identification model (RIM, Branscombe et al., 1999), underrepresented ethnic groups cope with the pain of prejudice and discrimination by increasing identification with their own group. This can be reflected in, for example, more positive and less negative attitudes towards one's own ethnic group. The present findings only showed less negative attitudes towards the East Asian group among Chinese-Dutch children after the COVID outbreak, but not more positive ingroup attitudes (although in the expected direction). It may be that the focus in Chinese-Dutch families has been on condemning discrimination against East Asians after the COVID outbreak, translating into less negative attitudes towards East Asians because Chinese-Dutch children were aware of and condemned negative attitudes that were present in society.

Contrary to our expectations, no differences were found in outgroup attitudes before and after the COVID outbreak among Chinese-Dutch children. This might be due to a focus on the ingroup in the COVID situation. To summarize, the impact of social context with greater intolerance towards the Chinese underrepresented group during the pandemic can be seen in child prejudice levels (lower ingroup rejection). In fact, the outbreak of COVID-19 followed by Asian hate crimes, but also for example the murder of George Floyd followed by a surge in visibility of the Black Lives Matter movement, can be regarded as major ethnicity-related social events that may affect adults and children's ingroup and outgroup feelings. Therefore, we advise researchers to be mindful of worldwide (as well as regional) developments in intergroup relations, attitudes and cultural diversity in the currently rapidly changing social world.

The positive correlation between child White outgroup contact and White preference, and the negative correlation between Black outgroup contact and Black rejection were consistent with intergroup contact theory, i.e., confirming prejudice-reducing effect of outgroup contact in the Chinese-Dutch group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). We conducted this correlation

analysis to present as a supplement for the prejudice and a related factor, i.e., intergroup contact, that we collected in this research. The original research had not been designed to examine COVID impact. Thus, we did not include different forms of outgroup contact (in person or online), outgroup contact context (at school or after school), contact experiences (positive or negative contact). Only one relevant variable was collected about the frequency of outgroup contact after school, which was not sufficient for an explanation of the COVID-results, especially considering the small sample size and the fact that not all of the during-COVID group participated when schools were closed because of a lockdown.

There are some limitations to the present study. Firstly, the pilot study indicated some differences in attractiveness and cuteness of the children in the photos. However, the East Asian children were rated least attractive in the pilot, yet were preferred the most by the participating Chinese-Dutch children. Cuteness ratings were generally consistent with Chinese-Dutch child ethnic attitudes, with the East Asian and White children rated as the most cute. Given that the participants in the pilot included White, Turkish-, Black, and Chinese-Dutch adults, the ratings can be seen as a general attitude among adults in the Netherlands. Future research is needed to examine the association between perceived attractiveness and cuteness by children and their ethnic attitudes. Secondly, the sample size in the present study is relatively small, which may have hampered finding significant results for a small effect size. Thirdly, the reliability for the maternal multiculturalism scale was relatively low (Cronbach's a = .69). This is a limitation and can also be one of the potential explanations for the general lack of reliable associations with this measure. A larger sample size and the multiculturalism variable with a higher reliability in future studies are urgently needed to confirm the results of this study. Fourthly, fathers were not included in this study because a small number of fathers participated ($n = 29$), and this sample size was not sufficient for the current analyses. However, fathers may also play a role as ethnic socialization agent and impact child prejudice development. Although maternal attitudes tend to be more important to child intergroup attitudes (Castelli et al., 2007), including mothers and fathers will provide a more complete picture of socialization agents in the family context. Lastly, the homogenous characteristic of high maternal educational level (96%) hampers the representativeness of the sample, in comparison with a percentage of 43% highly educated females with an immigration background in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022b).

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to examine Chinese-Dutch child interethnic attitudes, and focus on the effects of social contexts, i.e., maternal ethnic socialization agents and the COVID pandemic, on child prejudice. Future research with a larger sample size is needed to understand more about the interethnic prejudice development among children, especially those from underrepresented ethnic groups that have long been overlooked in research. In addition, the current study emphasizes the importance of taking wider societal developments that impact specific ethnic groups in different ways (such as the COVID pandemic) into account when studying (child) interethnic relations.

Titelpagina

Chapter 3

Perceived Discrimination, Ethnic Identity, and Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Chinese Immigrant Families before and after the COVID-19 Outbreak: An Exploratory Natural Experiment

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

Abstract

Emerging research from the United States indicates that people with an East Asian background experience COVID-19-related racial discrimination. There is some (although not consistent) evidence that these discrimination experiences can in turn have psychological and behavioral consequences, such as strengthening one's ethnic identity and influencing parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices. The current study presents a unique natural experiment examining self-reported perceived discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization among 80 Chinese immigrant mothers in the Netherlands before and after the COVID-19 outbreak (39 mothers recruited before the start of the COVID-19 pandemic and 41 during). The main findings from our exploratory analyses indicated an impact of the pandemic with higher (subtle) discrimination and stronger ethnic identity among Chinese immigrant mothers living in the Netherlands, highlighting how personal experiences related to intergroup processes have changed as a result of the COVID-19 crisis in the European context.

Keywords: Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, ethnic-racial socialization, COVID-19, Chinese

Major societal events, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, can influence people's lives drastically. The first coronavirus case was identified in Wuhan, China in late December 2019. After the World Health Organization (WHO) officially declared the outbreak of the coronavirus a pandemic, almost two million excess deaths were reported globally within six months (WHO, 2021). The number of COVID-caused deaths increased daily in the early pandemic, leading to shocking images of overcrowded hospitals and makeshift graveyards in several countries (Orlandi, 2020). In addition, prevention policies such as travel bans, closed schools, and complete lockdowns significantly altered people's daily lives for long periods of time. During the pandemic, emerging research indicates that people with an East Asian background, especially Chinese, in the diaspora experienced COVID-19-related acute racial discrimination (e.g., Cheah et al., 2020; Elias et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2021). Discrimination experiences are known to have negative mental health outcome (Pascoe & Richman, 2009), but can also have other psychological and behavioral consequences, such as strengthening one's (heritage) ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), and even influence children via ethnic-racial socialization practices of parents in the family context (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Simon, 2021).

Most of the studies looking at the effect of COVID-19 on East Asians' discrimination experiences were conducted in the U.S. and collected data after the outbreak. Research is needed in European countries with sizeable East Asian populations, as discrimination experiences are contextually determined. The Netherlands is an interesting context within Europe for such studies, given that its ethnic diversity is increasing (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021a), and that individual and institutional racial discrimination is increasingly recognized (The Netherlands Institute for Human Rights, 2013; 2021; Weiner, 2014). In addition, data collected spanning the period before and after the COVID-19 breakout is needed to test the effect of COVID-19 on discrimination as well as its consequences for families' lives. The current study on Chinese immigrant mothers in the Netherlands that focused on ethnic socialization and prejudice development made use of the naturally occurring split between data collection conducted before and after the pandemic breakout. The change in external circumstances in the middle of the study can be considered a natural experiment, and presents a unique opportunity to explore the impact of the pandemic on discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization, of Chinese immigrant mothers in the Netherlands.

COVID-19 and discrimination experiences in the East Asian diaspora

Major societal events are discussed extensively by media and the general public. Media consumption of negative news can shape the public's understanding of a social issue and establish or strengthen negative attitudes towards a specific group (e.g., immigrants; Arendt & Northup, 2015; Ittefaq et al., 2022; Menjivar, 2016). These negative attitudes may even last for years after the news report (Kroes et al., 2021). The initial COVID-19 outbreak and subsequent pandemic clearly constitute such a major societal event. The fact that this new virus was detected first in China led to racialized descriptions of the virus, such as it being labeled as 'the Chinese virus' in public discourse (Ittefaq et al., 2022). In addition, the virus was portrayed in the media as highly destructive and as a physical threat, leading to an increase of negative emotions in the general population such as fear, anger, anxiety, and hostility (Clissold et al., 2020; Ittefaq et al., 2022). Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) explains the pathway from these emotions (e.g., fear and anxiety) for an infectious disease to discrimination against Chinese people in the diaspora based on threat perception (Croucher, 2017; Stephan & Stephan, 2016). The main explanatory threat type related to the coronavirus is the realistic threat to one's physical well-being (Croucher, 2017). The worry about the highly contagious nature of the virus and the lack of treatment options when the virus first broke out led to the stigmatization of

people with an East Asian appearance. In both the U.S. and Europe, people with an East Asian appearance experienced COVID-19 related discrimination, and even violence (e.g., Cheah et al., 2020; Haft & Zhou, 2021; Smith et al., 2022).

Discrimination against an ethnic group refers to the unfair and prejudiced treatment to a specific group due to their racial origin (American Psychological Association, 2019). Furthermore, (perceived) discrimination experiences have a negative impact on both physical (e.g., hypertension, cardiovascular disease) and mental health (e.g., increased distress, and anxiety; Haft & Zhou, 2021; Lee & Waters, 2021; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Todorova et al. 2010; Wu et al., 2021). During the COVID-19 pandemic, discrimination against East Asians was frequently reported in studies conducted in the U.S. (e.g., Cheah et al., 2020; Clissold et al., 2020; Haft & Zhou, 2021; Wu et al., 2021). For example, Cheah and colleagues (2020) found that nearly half of Chinese American parents and youngsters reported being directly targeted by COVID-19 racial discrimination online and/or in person. These experiences of East Asians are not limited to the American context, as the anti-Asian racist pandemic, together with the COVID-19 pandemic, was found to be present all over the world (e.g., Bhala et al., 2020; Cluskey, 2020). For example, thirty Chinese-Dutch people living in the Netherlands were interviewed during the COVID-19 pandemic, and reported more discrimination experiences and fear for violence than before the pandemic. In addition, the willingness to report these discrimination experiences to the police was found to be low, suggesting that the experiences might be far more prevalent than official statistics suggest (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021).

Although an increasing number of studies examine the discrimination against East Asians during the COVID-19 pandemic and its negative impact on their well-being, almost all studies collected data after the outbreak of COVID-19. Therefore, the discussion about increased discrimination against East Asians is mostly based on deductive analyses based on previous events related to disease spreads and subsequent xenophobia (e.g., Clissold et al., 2020; Elias et al., 2021), descriptive investigation during the COVID-19 with a non-experimental design (e.g., Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021; Cheah et al., 2020), or a focus on negative physical and mental health consequences caused by discrimination experiences (e.g., Lee & Waters, 2021; Wu et al., 2021). To our knowledge, only Haft and Zhou (2021) did pre- and during-pandemic data collection among Chinese college students in the United States, presenting a similar natural experimental design as in the current study by comparing samples pre- and during-COVID-19 in the same study. Higher perceived discrimination in the during-COVID group than in the pre-COVID group was found (Haft & Zhou, 2021). This type of data is crucial to accurately examine potential differences in discrimination experiences among Chinese people residing outside of China.

Discrimination and ethnic identity

Ethnic identity is 'a dynamic, multidimensional construct that indicates one's identity of self as a member of an ethnic group' (Phinney, 2003, p.63). An important dimension of ethnic identity is the subjective sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Phinney et al., 2001). For migrants, this ethnic belonging and identity can buffer the stress that comes with moving into a new society (Berry, 1992), and can be strengthened or blurred due to ethnicity-related stress (Rumbaut, 2008; Syed et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). For example, immigrants can feel stronger belonging to their own ethnic group and emphasize solidarity when dealing with negative attitudes regarding their group (Phinney et al., 2001). A recent study also found a positive association between COVID-19-related discrimination against Chinese and ethnic identity in the Chinese diaspora residing in thirty-three different countries (Li et al., 2021).

The association between perceived discrimination experiences and ethnic identity is conceptualized by two theoretical models. The rejection-identification model rooted in Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981) indicates that increased discrimination and marginalization experiences make individuals from an underrepresented ethnic group aware of their membership of a marginalized group, and this in turn can strengthen ethnic identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Gonzales-Backen et al., 2018). The identification-attribution model explains the association in the opposite direction: stronger ethnic identity development may lead to a more sensitive recognition of stigma against their own underrepresented ethnic group, and negative social experiences may therefore be perceived as ethnic discrimination (Gonzales-Backen et al., 2018; Meca et al., 2020). Longitudinal studies that included both models, revealed that the association between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity is not straightforward, with some studies finding that discrimination predicts ethnic identity (Zeiders et al., 2019), others finding the reverse (Gonzales-Backen et al., 2018), and yet others revealing bidirectional associations (Cheon & Yip, 2019; Meca et al., 2020). The present study examines whether increased hostility against East Asians due to the pandemic predicts a stronger ethnic identity in the Chinese underrepresented group.

Discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization

Perceived discrimination may not only lead to increases in ethnic identity, but also to changes in interethnic attitudes and ethnic-racial socialization within the family context. Parental ethnic-racial socialization is a multifaceted construct that reflects how parents socialize children concerning the values and practices of their own or other ethnic groups, and also includes teaching children how to deal with potential racial bias and discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Hughes and colleagues (2006) noted four dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization: cultural socialization (transmitting history, heritage, customs, cultural traditions, and pride of their own ethnicity), preparation for bias (increasing children's awareness of discrimination and helping them be prepared to deal with discrimination experiences), promotion of mistrust (emphasizing distrust and wariness in interethnic interactions), and pluralism (emphasizing awareness of other ethnicities, or emphasizing individual qualities over ethnic group membership).

Of the four dimensions, cultural socialization and pluralism transfer most commonly from parents to children across ethnic groups (Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust socialization stem from the reality that underrepresented ethnic groups are treated unfairly (Simon, 2021). The understanding of how discrimination experiences might inform ethnic-racial socialization goals and practices is still limited, and patterns are not identical across different groups (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Specifically, literature reviews indicate that East Asian and Latinx parents in the U.S. showed much lower frequency of preparation for bias than African Americans in response to discrimination experiences (Hughes et al., 2006; Simon, 2021). In addition, the delivery of the types of ethnic-racial messages varies between East Asian and Latinx parents, depending on other factors such as immigration generational status and ethnic identity (Simon, 2021). Another study found that maternal discrimination experiences were not consistently related to more frequent cultural socialization (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). In fact, maternal experiences of interpersonal discrimination and cultural socialization were negatively associated in the Chinese American sample (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). It should also be noted that most ethnic-racial socialization research has been done within African American families in the U.S., while East Asian families are the least-studied families of color in White dominant societies (Hughes et al., 2006; Simon, 2021). Studies in this group specifically are therefore needed to more fully understand various

dimensions of parental ethnic-racial socialization, and the ethnic-racial socialization behavior changes in response to discrimination experiences in the current era of the pandemic.

Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands

Research in intergroup relationship is needed in Europe, and the Netherlands is an interesting context given the rapid increase in ethnic diversity in that country in the last couple of decades. Almost one out of four people has an immigrant background, and approximately 14-16% of the population has a non-Western immigrant background, depending on the definition (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021a). The first Chinese people came to the Netherlands in the early 20th century, with the arrival of a sailor in 1911. Chinese migrants initially came to the Netherlands for work, and then increasingly due to family reunification and for pursuing higher education (Gijsberts et al., 2011). In the past century, the Chinese underrepresented group (0.6% of the total Dutch population) has become the largest East Asian community, and the seventh largest non-Western underrepresented group in the Netherlands after those with roots in Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, Indonesia, (former) Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, and Syria (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021a). Additionally, since 2007, more immigrants arrived from mainland China to the Netherlands compared to those from Turkey who represent the largest underrepresented group in the Netherlands (Mandin & Gsir, 2015). When compared with other large underrepresented groups, research shows that the Chinese in the Netherlands feel more accepted and less excluded in the host country and report less discrimination (Gijsberts et al., 2011). However, since the ongoing negative messages in the news media about the COVID-19 outbreak in China, the underrepresented Chinese group has suffered from more discrimination experiences than before the pandemic (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). For example, more than 5,000 reports were received by the discrimination agency in the Netherlands in response to a song on a public radio show promoting mistrust and exclusion of Chinese immigrant people, and led to the petition "We zijn geen virussen! (We are not viruses!)" was signed more than 65,000 times (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021). Additionally, without counting the report for this racist corona song, at least 314 COVID-19-related discrimination events were reported by people with an East Asian appearance, accounting for approximately 12% of all the reported race-related discrimination incidents in the Netherlands in 2020 (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021).

The present exploratory study

The present exploratory study examines perceived discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization of Chinese(-Dutch) mothers who participated pre- and post- the first pandemic lockdown in the Netherlands. We will examine the following hypotheses: (H1) perceived discrimination experiences are higher post- than pre-COVID-19 outbreak, (H2) ethnic identity is stronger post- than pre-COVID-19 outbreak, (H3) ethnic-racial socialization is more frequent post- than pre-COVID-19 outbreak, (H4) the association between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity, and between perceived discrimination and maternal ethnic-racial socialization in terms of preparation for bias, are positive. Finally, the associations between perceived discrimination and the other dimensions of maternal ethnic-racial socialization are exploratory. The present study contributes to the existing literature by using a natural experiment to investigate potential differences in discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-related parenting (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization) among East Asian families in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in European context.

Method

The present study is part of a larger research project "The parenting origins of prejudice" which aims to examine whether sensitive parenting, parental ethnic ideologies, and ethnic socialization practices predict ethnic prejudice in children from different ethnic groups in the Netherlands, including the Chinse-Dutch group. The original project was not specifically designed to test the effect of the pandemic. However, COVID-19 broke out exactly in the middle of the data collection in the Chinese-Dutch group, leading to a dataset with half of the data collected before and half during the pandemic, which meets the conditions for a natural experiment. The methods and inclusion criteria were designed with the goals of the original study in mind, as the research team was not expecting a pandemic at that time. For the current exploratory study on the effects of the pandemic, we only used the data that are comparable before and after onset pandemic (for more information about the larger research project, see Supplementary material Chapter 3).

Sample

Family recruitment pre-COVID-19 was mainly face to face through events aimed at families and children with a Chinese background (e.g., Chinese New Year's celebrations), charitable organizations providing Chinese language courses, social media, networks of researchers, and snowball sampling. Recruitment after the COVID-19 outbreak was done online through pitch presentations at online children's events, a recruitment video, leaflet sharing via social media, and with the snowball procedure. Informed by the goals of the ongoing larger project on the parenting origins of how children develop views about diversity in Dutch society (see Supplementary material Chapter 3 for details), the inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) the mother, or at least one of her parents, was born in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, or Taiwan (over 95% of Taiwan's population is Han Chinese; Executive Yuan, 2016), (2) the mother did not have severe mental or physical illness, (3) the mother has at least one child between 7 and 11 years old born in or moved to the Netherlands (or the Dutch-speaking region in Belgium) at or before six years old, (4) the mother was living together with the child in the Netherlands at the time of recruitment and data collection, (5) the child studied in a local Dutch elementary school, (6) the father was either born in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, or a North-Western European country, (7) participation of mothers was a criterion, while participation of fathers was optional. Couples in mixed relationships were also included in order to better represent the actual population. About a quarter of Chinese adults in a relationship in the Netherlands are part of an interracial couple, with the most common combination being a Chinese(-Dutch) female with a North-Western European male partner (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

Eighty-one families were recruited, but one mother did not complete the online questionnaire, which left us with a sample size of 80 mothers. Although we strived to include both mothers and fathers, only 37% of fathers participated in the present study. Because the number of fathers ($n = 30$) was not sufficient for the current analyses, they were excluded from the present study. Most of the parents were born in mainland China (97% of mothers and 68% of fathers). A few mothers were born in the Netherlands (1%), Taiwan (1%), and Thailand (1%), and a few fathers were born in the Netherlands (30%), Taiwan (1%), and Nigeria (1%). The participating mothers ($N = 80$) were aged between 32.31 and 50.70 years old ($M = 40.35$, $SD = 3.88$). Most mothers lived with a partner (95%), and were highly educated (bachelor's degree or higher, 96%). Among females with an immigration background in the Netherlands, 34% is highly educated (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021b). Most mothers were employed or self-employed (76%).

Procedure

The first case of COVID-19 in the Netherlands was confirmed on 27 February, 2020, and the first lockdown in the Netherlands was on 15 March, 2020. We considered the first lockdown as the breaking point at which the pandemic really started and was publicly confirmed in the Netherlands. Therefore, parents who filled in the online questionnaire before the first lock down in the period from June 2019 up until March 2020 ($n = 39$) were regarded as pre-COVID-19-outbreak participants, while parents who filled in the online questionnaire from November 2020 to May 2021 did so after the first lockdown started ($n = 41$), and were thus regarded as participants post-COVID-19 outbreak.

All participating parents were asked to individually fill in an online questionnaire, which included questions about perceived discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization measures. After the completion of the online questionnaire, each participating parent received a gift card of 20 euros. Consent forms were obtained from all the participating families. The vast majority mothers filled in the questionnaires in Chinese (96%) and a few in Dutch (4%). Ethical approval was obtained from the faculty ethnical committee at the university.

Measures

Maternal perceived discrimination experiences

Mothers filled in the Perceived Discrimination Scale developed in the ICSEY (International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth; Vedder et al., 2007) via the online questionnaire. The Perceived Discrimination Scale consisted of eight items with the aim of assessing the perceived frequency of being treated unfairly, or feeling unaccepted due to their Chinese ethnic background (e.g., "I have been teased or insulted because of my Chinese background"). Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Scores on the eight items were averaged, so that the total scores could range from 1 to 5, with higher scores reflecting more perceived discrimination experiences. The internal consistency of the scale was robust (Cronbach's α= .81).

Subsequently, we performed a principal components analysis (PCA), using oblimin rotations with all the eight items of the scale to identify potential subscales. Oblimin rotations allow for the resulting factors to be correlated, which fits with our goal of identifying different aspects of discrimination as captured by the Perceived Discrimination Scale. In the first phase of PCA, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was .71, above the average recommended value of .60, suggesting an acceptable data retention. Secondly, Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 = 225.87$, $p < .001$), reconfirming the suitability for PCA. Finally, the communalities were all above .30 (see Table 1), again indicating items share certain common variance with each other. Based on these overall indicators, a PCA is suitable to be conducted for the Perceived Discrimination Scale. Two subscales (with a criterion factor of eigenvalue > 1) were extracted from the Perceived Discrimination Scale, explaining 60.2% of the variance. The first subscale explained 44.2% of the variance and the second subscale explaining 16.0%. Item 4 (having been teased or insulted) appeared in both subscales, but was included in the second subscale based on the content of the items and higher internal consistency for each subscale. Specifically, the first subscale was labeled subtle discrimination, which refers to personal feelings of not being treated fairly and the type of discrimination that can happen daily but is sometimes difficult to detect. The subtle discrimination subscale included items 1- 3: thinking that people behave in a negative way towards me, feeling not accepted, feeling that people are against me because of my Chinese cultural background

(Cronbach's α = .80). The second subscale was labeled overt discrimination, reflecting relatively 'rare' events of experiencing strong racial antipathy, or institutional discrimination in specific situations. The overt discrimination subscale included items 4-8: having been teased or insulted; having been threatened or attacked; difficulties buying a house; difficulties finding a job, having received worse healthcare service because of my Chinese cultural background (Cronbach's α = .74).

Table 1

Descriptives of perceived discrimination experiences pre- *(n = 39)* and post-COVID-19 outbreak *(n = 41)*, factor loadings and communalities based on a principal components analysis (PCA) with oblimin rotation for 8 items *(N = 80)*

Items	Pre-COVID M (SD)	Post-COVID M (SD)	Component 1	Component 2	Communality
1. I think that people with a Dutch/Western cultural background have behaved in a negative way towards people with a Chinese background.	2.28(0.79)	2.80(0.75)	.799		.68
2. I don't feel accepted by people with a Dutch/Western cultural background.	2.33(0.93)	2.85(0.88)	.835		.74
3. I feel people with a Dutch/Western cultural background have something against me.	2.03(0.63)	2.37(0.73)	.849		.67
4. I have been teased or insulted because of my Chinese cultural background.	2.51(1.10)	2.34(1.09)	.387	.325	.35
5. I have been threatened or attacked because of my Chinese cultural background.	1.77(0.84)	2.02(0.85)		.611	.59
6. In the Netherlands I experienced that I could not rent or buy a house/apartment because I have a Chinese cultural background.	1.49(0.82)	1.73(0.67)		.931	.74
7. I have (had) difficulty finding a job because I have a Chinese cultural background.	2.03(0.90)	2.27(0.87)		.605	.46
8. The healthcare that I and my family receive is worse than the healthcare that people with a Dutch/Western cultural background receive.	1.41(0.60)	1.85(0.76)		.709	.58

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 10 iterations.
Note. Factor loadings < .3 are suppressed.

Ethnic identity

Mothers completed an online questionnaire concerning their ethnic identity that included three items: ('I feel a strong attachment towards the Chinese group; I feel that I am part of Chinese culture; I find myself a Chinese'; Vedder et al., 2007). Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Scores on the three items were averaged, with a higher score reflecting a stronger Chinese ethnic identity of the participants. The internal consistency of the three questions related to ethnic identity was reasonable (Cronbach's α= .67).

Ethnic-racial socialization

Mothers filled in the Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors Questionnaire (Hughes & Johnson, 2001) online. The questionnaire aims to assess the frequency of a range of communications and behaviors to children concerning interethnic relations in the past year. Two items were slightly adapted from 'Encouraged child to read books (books related to own ethnic group and books related to other ethnic groups, respectively)' to 'Read books with your child' due to the younger child age in the present study and the limited ability of some Chinese-Dutch children to read books in Chinese. The answer options ranged from 1 (never done) to 5 (more than 7 times). A total of 15 items measured four dimensions of parental ethnic-racial socialization: cultural socialization (4 items, e.g., 'Talked to child about important people or events in your group's history'), preparation for bias (5 items, e.g., 'Talk to child about others trying to limit him or her because of race'), promotion of mistrust (2 items, e.g., 'Done or said things to child to keep child from trusting kids of other races'), and pluralism (4 items, e.g., 'Done or said things to show that all are equal regardless of race'). Scores on each subscale were averaged, with a higher score meaning a higher frequency of specific ethnic-related practices of the participating mothers in the past year. The internal consistency of subscales cultural socialization (Cronbach's α = .69), preparation for bias (Cronbach's α = .74) and pluralism (Cronbach's α = .77) were found to be adequate, but that of the subscale promotion of mistrust was low (2 items, $r = .40$, $p < .001$). Due to the relatively low internal consistency and minor variation on the variable promotion of mistrust (91% of the participants had an average score of 1 or 1.5), it was dropped in the following analyses.

Sociodemographic variables

Mothers reported their sociodemographic characteristics in the screening questionnaire. Marital status was categorized as (0) living without or (1) with a partner, and the highest level of maternal education as (0) lower or (1) higher level (bachelor degree or higher). Cultural background of the (biological) father of the child was categorized as (0) North-Western European or (1) ethnic Chinese. The birth country of child was categorized as (0) in the Netherlands and (1) other countries and gender of child as (0) male and (1) female.

Analyses

Missing data (3 data points for the variables cultural socialization, preparation for bias, pluralism, respectively) was completely at random. Specifically, two missing data points from different cases in the subscales cultural socialization and preparation for bias were imputed with the average score of the items of that specific subscale (parts of items in this specific subscales were filled out by the mothers). One missing data point of a mother participating before the COVID-19 outbreak in the subscale pluralism (no items in this subscale were filled out) was imputed with the average score of all the other mothers filling out the questionnaire pre-COVID-19. The main variables were examined for outliers (i.e., 3.29 SD below or above the mean, Field, 2005). One outlier on preparation for bias was found and winsorized (i.e., brought the outlier closer to the other values of the set). No outliers were found for the other main

variables. After these adaptations, all the variables were normally distributed (i.e., standardized skewness < 3.29). Preliminary analyses to examine sociodemographic differences in groups pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak include independent *t*-tests (for continuous variables) and Pearson Chi-Square tests (for categorical variables). Of the Pearson Chi-Square tests, Fisher's Exact Tests were used when the expected count in more than 20% of the cells was below five. In addition, Pearson and Point-Biserial correlations between sociodemographic variables and main variables were conducted to examine potential covariates.

The main analyses included independent *t*-tests with COVID-19 timing (i.e., pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak) as the independent variable, and maternal perceived discrimination (including the total scale and two subscales), ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization as dependent variables, separately (H1-3). One-way Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was then conducted with covariates for each hypothesis. In addition, Pearson correlation analyses were used to examine potential associations between perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization (H4). A priori power analyses with G*power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007) showed that a sample size of 80 participants in the current study could detect a medium to large effect size for independent *t*-test (e.g. Cohen's *d* = 0.65), and for a multiple linear regression with three predictors (e.g. f^2 = 0.15) with a power of 80% and an alpha of 0.05 to address the main hypotheses. The sample size was not big enough to detect small effects.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses focused on examining potential covariates for the main analyses, and to this end investigated sociodemographic differences between the subsamples of participants pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak, as well as associations between sociodemographic variables and the main outcome variables of the study. Table 2 shows descriptive sociodemographic statistics for the total sample as well as for the subsamples who participated before and after the COVID-19 outbreak. There was only one group differences in sociodemographic variables pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak which was for maternal age, with the post-COVID-outbreak group being younger than pre-COVID group (*t*(78) = 2.55, *p* = .013). Regarding associations between sociodemographic variables and the outcome variables, we found that younger maternal age was related to more perceived discrimination (*r* = -.29, *p* = .009). Further, mothers with an ethnically Chinese partner perceived more perceived discrimination than mothers with a North-Western European partner (*r* = .22, *p* = .024). None of the sociodemographic variables were related to maternal ethnic identity or to the three subscales of maternal ethnic-racial socialization. Because maternal age and paternal ethnicity were significantly associated with maternal perceived discrimination, these two variables were added as covariates in the analyses testing H1. Maternal age was also added as a covariate in the analyses for H2 and H3 because there was a significant difference in the age of the mothers pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak.

Table 2

Descriptives of sociodemographic variables for the full sample and by context (pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak) and differences

Variables	Full sample	Pre-COVID	Post-COVID	*p*
	N = 80	*N* = 39	*N* = 41	
M (SD) Maternal age (years)	40.35(3.88)	41.44(4.01)	39.31(3.49)	.013
% high educated mothers	96	95	98	.611
% mothers living with partner	95	92	98	.353
% paternal ethnicity Chinese (vs. North-Western European)	68	59	76	.112
% female (children)	53	54	51	.814
M (SD) Child age (years)	9.48(1.23)	9.57(1.12)	9.38(1.34)	.503
% Child born in the Netherlands	61	67	56	.332

Main Analyses

Difference in perceived discrimination by COVID-19 timing

Perceived discrimination experiences were higher for mothers who filled in the questionnaire after the COVID-19 outbreak compared to the mothers who did so before the outbreak ($t(78) = -2.48$, $p = .015$). This difference was no longer significant after controlling for maternal age and paternal ethnicity ($F(1, 76) = 2.99$, $p = .088$), although there was still a trend towards significance. Looking at the two discrimination subscales, subtle discrimination was significantly higher during than before the pandemic ($t(78) = -3.12$, $p = .003$), which remained significant after controlling for maternal age and paternal ethnicity, ($F(1, 76) = 6.60$, $p = .012$). There was no significant difference between mothers participating before or after the pandemic outbreak regarding overt discrimination ($t(78) = -1.51$, $p = .135$).

Differences in ethnic identity and ethnic-racial socialization by COVID-19 timing

Table 3 shows the results for pre-post COVID-19-outbreak differences in ethnic identity (H2) and ethnic racial socialization (H3). Because no differences were found between results with and without the covariate, the results without the covariate are reported. Maternal ethnic identity was significantly higher post- than pre-COVID-19 outbreak ($t(78) = -2.39$, $p = .019$). No significant differences between mothers before and after the COVID-19 outbreak were found in how frequently mothers engaged in maternal cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and pluralism.

Table 3

Descriptives of main variables pre- ($n = 39$) and post-COVID-19 outbreak ($n = 41$) and differences

Variables	Range	Pre-COVID M (SD)	Post-COVID M (SD)	$t(78)$	p	Cohen's d
Maternal perceived discrimination	1-5	1.98(0.49)	2.28(0.58)	-2.48	.015	-0.554
Maternal subtle discrimination	1-5	2.21(0.65)	2.67(0.67)	-3.12	.003	-0.698
Maternal overt discrimination	1-5	1.84(0.54)	2.04(0.66)	-1.51	.135	-0.338
Maternal ethnic identity	1-5	4.21(0.63)	4.51(0.48)	-2.39	.019	-0.534
Maternal cultural socialization	1-5	2.72(1.04)	2.82(0.89)	-0.46	.649	-0.102
Maternal preparation for bias	1-5	2.01(0.82)	2.17(0.79)	-0.90	.373	-0.200
Maternal pluralism	1-5	2.61(0.96)	2.64(1.11)	-0.12	.839	-0.027

Perceived discrimination in relation to ethnic identity and ethnic-racial socialization

Table 4 shows the association between the main variables. No significant association was found between maternal perceived discrimination and maternal ethnic identity ($r = .20$, $p = .076$), though the relation did approach the borderline of significance. In addition, maternal perceived discrimination was positively associated with maternal preparation for bias socialization ($r = .32$, $p = .004$), but not with the other socialization practices. Maternal cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and pluralism were positively associated with each other.

Table 4

Bivariate correlates between main variables ($N = 80$)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. COVID-19 timing[a]	-					
2. Maternal perceived discrimination	.27*	-				
3. Maternal ethnic identity	.26*	.20	-			
4. Maternal cultural socialization	.05	.00	.19	-		
5. Maternal preparation for bias	.10	.32**	.19	.50**	-	
6. Maternal pluralism	.01	-.02	.15	.62**	.55**	-

Note. [a] 0 = pre- COVID-19 outbreak, 1 = post- COVID-19 outbreak.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Discussion

The present exploratory study examined perceived discrimination experiences, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization among Chinese(-Dutch) mothers pre- and post- the first lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic in the Netherlands. Results showed that Chinese-Dutch mothers participating post-COVID-19 breakout reported more discrimination experiences, specifically subtle discrimination, and stronger ethnic identity than mothers participating pre-COVID-19, while no differences were found in their ethnic-racial socialization practices. In addition, the association between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity approached significance. Perceived discrimination experiences were positively associated with preparation for bias, but not with other maternal ethnic-racial socialization practices.

We found that maternal perceived discrimination experiences were higher after the COVID-19 outbreak than before, but the difference was no longer significant after controlling for maternal age and paternal ethnicity. Additionally, subtle discrimination was significantly higher after than before the outbreak, and this pattern was not found for overt discrimination. The present results support Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; Croucher, 2017; Stephan & Stephan, 2016) at least when it comes to subtle discrimination. Because of the COVID-19 outbreak in Wuhan, this new virus was labeled 'the Chinese virus' in public discourse. The fear for the virus as a physical threat tended to bring greater prejudice and racial intolerance towards the Chinese underrepresented group (Bavel et al., 2020; Elias et al., 2021). In our study this was reflected in a higher level of experienced subtle discrimination in the post- compared to the pre-COVID-outbreak group. The insignificant results in overt discrimination and the total perceived discrimination scale with the addition of covariates were likely due to lack of statistical power, especially given that the size of the association without and with the covariates in the total scale did not change much, and the significance level increased to only just above the .05 threshold (from .015 to .088). Moreover, a meta-analysis review suggested that subtle discrimination was not less consequential for targets on damage in physical or psychological health, work-related outcomes and attitudes, than overt discrimination (Jones et al., 2016), or even impact more negatively (Molero et al., 2017). In other words, the results with the PCA identified subscales indicating an increase in subtle discrimination against the Chinese immigration group in the Netherlands may have a similar negative effect on the physical and mental health of the Chinese-Dutch. Further research is recommended to investigate the specific forms of microaggressions towards Chinese or other underrepresented groups and how those are interpreted or exert impact.

Although previous studies found that the age of Chinese-heritage participants was either not or positively associated with perceived discrimination experiences (Haft & Zhou, 2021; Hou et al., 2017; Juang et al., 2018), we found the opposite pattern: younger mothers (who were also overrepresented in the post-COVID-19 outbreak sample) perceived more discrimination. It may be that younger people tend to be more active on social media (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021c) so younger mothers may have been exposed to more negative social media posts (e.g., jokes, radical comments, memes) directed at the Chinese group. More studies with a larger sample size are needed to understand the complicated relationship between age and discrimination perception. Regarding paternal ethnicity, mothers with a Chinese partner reported more perceived discrimination experiences than the mothers with a North-Western European partner. It may be easier for mothers in an interracial marriage to integrate in and understand Dutch culture, so that they may feel less left out compared to mothers with a Chinese partner. In addition, mothers with a North-Western European partner may have more close relations with Dutch people, which may make them feel more accepted or less discriminated

against by the Dutch/Western dominant group. Interracial couples have been commonly underrepresented in research (Lichter & Qian, 2018), and more studies with a larger sample are recommended to understand support (or pressure) from interracial relationships.

As expected, ethnic identity among Chinese immigrant mothers participating post-COVID-19 outbreak was stronger than that among mothers participating before the outbreak. One possible explanation for this result could be the mechanism that people's group identification tends to increase in order to strengthen connections with ingroup members, and obtain support from their ethnic group when surrounded by negative ethnic-racial attitudes (Syed et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In addition, the results of the present study indicated that an increase in ethnic identity can happen in a relatively short period. The outbreak of COVID-19 followed by Anti-Asian hate crimes, but also for example the murder of George Floyd followed by a surge in visibility of the Black Lives Matter movement, can be seen as crucial ethnicity-related events that impact people's feelings towards host and heritage ethnic group. Thus, we advise researchers in the future to be mindful of the effects of such events that happen during data collection on, for example, people's ethnic identity, interethnic attitudes, and so forth.

Contrary to expectation, no significant differences in maternal ethnic-racial socialization before and after the outbreak of the pandemic were found, suggesting that mothers did not adjust their parenting behaviors after the COVID-19 outbreak. It may be that parenting behavior does not change easily. An overview of evidence about the impact of interventions on positive parenting practices in the past 20 years revealed only small effect sizes, i.e., at 0.10 on average (Supplee & Duggan, 2019). More generally, previous research has also shown that it is difficult for people to change health-related behaviors (Kelly & Barker, 2016) and sustain behavior changes (Bouton, 2014), even though the importance of health is undeniable for most of people. Another potential explanation lies in the way ethnic-racial socialization was measured. Due to the answering categories (e.g., 3-5 times, 6-7 times), we may not have observed changes in ethnic-socialization if a mother increased the frequency of ethnic-racial socialization practices, for example, from three to five times. In addition, mothers may increase the duration and depth of a single conversation which is not captured by the frequency of conversation. Other measures, such as video observation with an interactive parent-child task, or follow-up in-depth interview could be employed to provide more precise and complete information in research.

There was a positive trend towards significance for the association between perceived discrimination experiences and ethnic identity of mothers. This result does not lend strong support for the rejection-identification model (increased discrimination experiences strengthen one's awareness of the membership in a marginalized group and leads to a stronger ethnic identity; Branscombe et al., 1999; Gonzales-Backen et al., 2018) or the identification-attribution model (stronger ethnic identity development may perceive more negative social experiences as ethnic discrimination; Gonzales-Backen et al., 2018; Meca et al., 2020). As our sample size is too small to draw firm conclusions, and results from previous studies on these models were also not straightforward (e.g., Cheon & Yip, 2019; Meca et al., 2020; Zeiders et al., 2019), more studies are needed to examine whether these are two separate mechanisms or two related mechanisms supporting the association between discrimination experiences and ethnic identity.

Finally, maternal perceived discrimination was significantly associated with preparation for bias, which was in line with our expectation and previous literature (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). However, the exploratory analyses revealed no significant relations between perceived discrimination, cultural socialization, and pluralism. Preparation for bias often stems from

parents experiencing racial discrimination themselves (Simon, 2021). Thus, higher frequency of maternal corona-related discrimination experiences will lead to more mother-child conversations preparing children for their own potentially negative experiences. Cultural socialization and pluralism focus on topics about history, culture, and overall equality, rather than discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006), and may therefore not have been directly impacted by the increase in discrimination experiences due to the pandemic.

This study has some limitations. First of all, the sample size was small and lacked statistical power to detect small effect sizes. Therefore, the findings in the present study should be considered as exploratory. We emphasize the need for further studies with larger sample sizes to investigate discrimination against underrepresented ethnic groups during the pandemic, and whether the COVID-19 pandemic could also be a moderator of certain associations between discrimination and ethnic identity or ethnic-racial socialization. Secondly, the participating mothers in the present study were quite highly educated (96% of whom were college educated) and highly educated people are more likely to perceive the discrimination caused by their race (Pew Research Center, 2019). Additionally, the focus of this paper was on mothers, who can be considered a particularly vulnerable group considering that racial discrimination is commonly gendered. For example, Asian women are frequently stereotyped as exotic and submissive. Additionally, Asian women experience more discrimination than Asian men (Gao & Sai, 2021; Mukkamala & Suyemoto, 2018). Taken together, the discrimination experiences found in the present study cannot be generalized to all Asian groups. Future studies should include diverse recruitment strategies to also include men.

The present exploratory study contributes to adding to the scarce research on East Asian-Dutch people when it comes to discrimination in the Netherlands. To the best of our knowledge, this paper is also the first to show that a major societal event (e.g., COVID-19 outbreak) can impact how members of an underrepresented ethnic group in Europe view their ethnic identity and discrimination experiences with a natural experiment design. We found significant differences pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak in maternal discrimination experiences (specifically subtle) and maternal ethnic identity. Because subtle discrimination experiences have the same negative consequences as overt forms of discrimination experiences (Jones et al., 2016), media and policy makers should be aware of the negative consequences of framing and the nuances presented in media.

Future studies should be mindful of societal changes that may affect ethnicity-related attitudes and behaviors in the general population. Although 2020 was a year in which many pushed back against societal racism, more progress can be made. Researchers can contribute to the production of knowledge that helps to elucidate origins and consequences of ethnic discrimination against various groups in different national contexts, that in turn can be used to foster efforts towards more inclusive societies.

Titelpagina

Chapter 4

Color-evasiveness and White Normativity in Chinese-Dutch Families

Yiran Yang, Ymke de Bruijn, Rosanneke A.G. Emmen, Judi Mesman

Abstract

People from the White ethnic group in the United States commonly display color-evasiveness and white normativity. Much less research has been done outside the U.S. or in populations of color. This study examines to what extent Chinese-Dutch mothers ($N = 78$) show color-evasiveness and white normativity in a social categorization game with their children. Although most of the mothers asked ethnic-racial questions, these questions were asked less often, later, and took longer to formulate than questions about other characteristics equally relevant to the game, especially in the game version that included White and Black adult pictures. All mothers who asked ethnic-racial questions displayed patterns of ethnic-racial focus that reflect white normativity, by focusing more on people of color than on White people. Further research is needed to understand how people of color internalize these white social norms and how white hegemony affects the self-image of populations of color.

Keywords: Chinese, social norms, color-evasiveness, white normativity, social categorization

Color-evasive behavior (reluctance to talk about skin color) is commonly found among members from the dominant ethnic group in the United States (Apfelbaum, Sommers et al., 2008). It can have a negative impact on cognitive and psychological outcomes of members from underrepresented ethnic groups (Lewis et al., 2000; Holoien & Shelton, 2012), because it provides an environment that conceals societal inequalities based on ethnicity or race (Annamma et al., 2017). In addition, adults from the dominant ethnic group also convey white normativity, i.e., White being the normative state, or 'unmarked' (Frankenberg, 2001). Although people from underrepresented ethnic groups might be expected to challenge color-evasiveness and white normativity, this is not what empirical research shows, given that children from underrepresented ethnic groups also start to show color-evasive behaviors in middle childhood (Pauker et al., 2015). Parents are one of the important social referents for children when it comes to instilling norms regarding race, including color-evasiveness and white normativity (Pauker et al., 2015). The present study will provide insight in a largely ignored underrepresented ethnic group in a less studied context: Chinese mothers in the Netherlands.

Color-evasiveness

Color-evasiveness reflects an expansive racial ideology of denying the significance of race and actively avoiding and concealing racial differences (Annamma et al., 2017). The original intention of these beliefs is avoiding appearing biased (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008). However, the approach of deliberately not seeing race, and not recognizing racism, allows for the denial of racial subordination, thereby allowing the perpetuation of current racial inequalities. Color-evasiveness is therefore interpreted as racism in itself (Annamma et al., 2017; Neville et al., 2013). Some studies indicate that members from the dominant ethnic group tend to endorse color-evasiveness more strongly than underrepresented ethnic group members (e.g., when comparing White and Black American or Dutch adults; de Bruijn et al., 2021; Ryan et al., 2007). By contrast, some other studies indicate no differences in color-evasiveness endorsement between members from dominant and underrepresented ethnic groups (e.g., when comparing White and Latino Americans, or White and Turkish-Dutch, or White and Asian Americans (in Hawai'i); de Bruijn et al., 2021; Meyers et al., 2021; Ryan et al., 2010). It seems that endorsement of color-evasiveness is population dependent.

Several studies have shown the negative impact of color-evasive approaches on people from underrepresented ethnic groups. For example, when White Americans in interracial dyads or White American peers at university had been exposed to color-evasive beliefs or display color-evasive behaviors, American participants of color show worse cognitive performance (Holoien & Shelton, 2012) or feelings of frustration, pain and isolation (Lewis et al., 2000). Additionally, Korean Americans who endorse color-evasiveness themselves have been found to internalize social messages that marginalize and devaluate their ascribed ethnic groups while adopting the mainstream White identity (Marinari, 2005). Likewise, the negative impact of color-evasive approaches applies to children from underrepresented ethnic groups, at least from middle childhood. More specifically, when exposed to color-evasiveness (versus color-consciousness), dominant White and underrepresented Asian children are less likely to recognize racist events at school (Apfelbaum et al., 2010). Girls of color are more marginalized at school when the White educators position themselves as basic to racial equity, claim White racial innocence, and portray a progressive environment in which racism has passed (Wilt et al., 2022). In addition, children from some underrepresented ethnic groups can have stronger prejudice towards other underrepresented groups when their mothers report higher color-evasive beliefs, although the findings are not consistent in all underrepresented ethnic groups (de Bruijn et al., 2021).

The reasons for adopting color-evasive approaches among people of color are not well understood. One of the possible explanations is Social Justification Theory (SJT, Jost & Banaji, 1994), which describes that members from underrepresented ethnic groups tend to justify racial inequality and internalize racism by adopting racist stereotypes and color-evasive beliefs that are promoted by the dominant White group. Supporting the mainstream belief and maintaining the status quo are usually easier and at least do not bring members from underrepresented ethnic groups psychological distress (Cheng, 2015; Speight et al., 2016). The alternative is to combat the perceived racial injustice, which may lead to uncertainty and fear (Cheng, 2015). Previous research has found that Asian Americans with stronger color-evasive beliefs show less anxiety and less engagement as a response to racial discrimination than those with less color-evasive beliefs (Lee, 2016). Their color-evasiveness is interpreted to serve a palliative function in that it denies that an event is racially motivated, and thus does not have to be experienced as racism.

Research using social categorization measures in which ethnic-racial background is a clearly relevant hint contributing to higher performance efficiency indicates that not acknowledging ethnic-racial differences (in the form of avoiding asking ethnic-racial or skin color questions) is common among White American adults (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006). These studies asked participants to play games similar to the popular Guess Who? Game, in which players need to ask as few yes/no questions as possible in order to find the target photo selected by the other player, and in which asking about racial-ethnic background is a clearly relevant hint related to performance efficiency. Research using a similar measure in a racially diverse context (i.e., Hawai'i) has found that Asian participants' color-evasive behaviors are more prevalent when exposed to color-evasive social norms (linking talking about race to prejudice, Meyers et al., 2021). Similar studies conducted among children show that younger White American children (8-9 years) outperformed their older counterparts (10-11 years) in a social categorization measure by asking about ethnic-racial differences more often (Apfelbaum, Pauker, et al., 2008). It seems that children from middle to late childhood start to avoid the acknowledgment of ethnic-racial differences although they know that it hinders objective success. Children from underrepresented ethnic groups (Latino, Asian, and Black Americans) in a similar photo identification task were found to be just as likely to adopt color-evasive behaviors (not asking ethnic-racial questions) as White American children (9-12 years) at a cost of less efficient performance and lower engagement comfort (Pauker et al., 2015). These results suggests that children at this stage can quickly learn social norms that equate color-evasiveness with socially appropriate behaviors, and that this acquisition also applies to children from underrepresented ethnic groups.

White normativity

White normativity refers to a social norm indicating White as natural and the standard category of human beings, and representing all other racial categories as 'Others' (Harlap & Riese, 2021; Morris, 2016). As a result, Whiteness stands at the center of racial categorization. For reasons of colonial origin, Whiteness is positioned asymmetrically in relation to all the other racial and ethnic categories, i.e., Others. Being White is 'unmarked', 'normative', or 'as usual', whereas underrepresented ethnic groups need to define their racial identity (Frankenberg, 2001; Winings, 2019). Negative impacts of white normativity on underrepresented ethnic groups have been described by scholars. From the perspective of white normativity, all differences between the White group and groups of color make groups of color being seen as 'abnormal', and the centering of Whites allows for groups of color to be marginalized (Morris, 2016). Even in achievement contexts, success for groups of color (e.g., high visibility of African Americans in some professional sports, better academic performance of Asian Americans) are commonly attributed to race and marked as racial stereotypes by the White group so as to

minimize the individual variations and efforts within a specific group of color (Frankenberg, 2001; Morris, 2016).

Underrepresented ethnic groups may also internalize white normativity as a social norm according to internalization theory, which shows that commonly observed social norms (e.g., an idea, concept, action) can be learnt, rationalized and finally accepted as one's own viewpoint (Scott, 1971). More specifically, people from underrepresented ethnic groups are likely to sustain the white normativity norm when it is followed by a majority of (White) people (Gross & Vostroknutov, 2022; Lindström et al., 2018). Although understanding white normativity is not as simple as just acknowledging White skin color, focusing on non-White racial categories while not acknowledging the White racial category (even unconsciously) can still show adherence to white normativity rather than challenging it.

Social categorization games are an effective approach to measure parental color-evasive behaviors and white normativity in the family context. Firstly, social categorization (or photo identification) games create a context in which race can be made as clearly relevant information to improve performance efficiency, but parents still have options to ask or avoid ethnic-racial questions in front of their child (Apfelbaum, Sommers, et al., 2008). Children are therefore more likely to be aware of the social norms regarding race established by parents in this game context than in daily family routines. Secondly, although this approach requires no parental explicit expressions in terms of attitudes on racial issues, observations will provide information about parental color-evasive strategies (e.g., how long to formulate and how early to propose ethnic-racial questions). Children can learn such social norms from their parents, for example through observational learning, based on social learning theory proposed by Albert Bandura (1977). Thirdly, white normativity norms can also be observed in this game through the analysis of how parents formulate ethnic-racial questions. Last but not least, to play a popular game with children at home is a relatively natural situation for parents, providing an opportunity to more accurately analyze parental ethnic-racial socialization behaviors.

Parents are one of the important social referents for children, including instilling norms regarding race (Pauker et al., 2015). A meta-analytic review indicates the similarity in intergroup attitudes and behaviors between parents and their children throughout childhood and adolescence (Degner & Dalege, 2013). Furthermore, it is also important to understand how these race-related norms have been transmitted during parent-child interaction, such as what is and is not regarded appropriate to talk about. Given that children from underrepresented ethnic groups are more likely to suffer the consequences of racial inequalities but still show the reluctance to talk about race (Pauker et al., 2015), behavioral observations on parents from underrepresented ethnic groups are needed to understand what is the established model that children can acquire at home.

Dutch context and the present study

The Netherlands provides a multicultural context in which almost one out of four people has an immigrant background (at least one parent not born in the Netherlands), and approximately 14–16% of the population has a non-Western immigrant background, depending on the definition (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022). People with a Turkish or Moroccan background represent the largest underrepresented ethnic population (4.8% of the total population), followed by people with a Surinamese or Antillean background (3.0% of the total population, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022). Half of the immigrants who have moved to the Netherlands in recent years are from within Europe, followed by a large population from Asia (18%, i.e., mostly India and China, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020). Unfortunately, individual and institutional racial discrimination are increasingly recognized,

and have been repeatedly neglected and even denied (e.g., The Netherlands Institute for Human Rights, 2021; Weiner, 2014). In addition, color-evasiveness and white normativity are found to represent strong social norms in the Netherlands (Stevens et al., 2019; Weiner, 2016). Research on White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch families show that White Dutch and Turkish-Dutch mothers have similar levels of color-evasive beliefs, both stronger than Black Dutch mothers (de Bruijn et al., 2021). The different patterns in Turkish- and Black Dutch mothers and other similar results when comparing underrepresented groups (e.g., Ryan et al., 2007; 2010) indicate the need for more diverse populations to come to a conclusion. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to examine behaviors that represent the white standard among underrepresented Asian families outside the U.S.. Asian immigrants endure similar racial stereotypes in the U.S. and European contexts. People with an Asian background are considered as 'the model minority' for their extraordinary economic and educational achievement but simultaneously, they are also viewed as 'the perpetual foreigner' due to their physical characteristics and stereotyped poor communication skills (Park et al., 2021; Wong, 2015). These stereotypes reflect a form of deviation from the white standard. Studies in the Chinese underrepresented group in the Netherlands can help understand to what extent this group of people is realizing the white supremacy norms prevailing in European society and making an effort to challenge it for a more inclusive society.

The present study aims to examine color-evasiveness and white normativity internalization among Chinese-Dutch mothers. Based on SJT (Jost & Banaji, 1994) and internalization theory (Scott, 1971), it is expected that (H1) mothers will show strategic color-evasiveness by asking questions about ethnic-racial characteristics less often and less quickly than questions about other characteristics equally relevant to the game (i.e., gender, t-shirt color), and that (H2) mothers will show white normativity by focusing their ethnic-racial questions on people of color as compared to White or European. Differences in color-evasiveness and ethnic-racial focus based on the ethnic-racial background of adults in the pictures will be explored.

Method

Sample

Parents and children with a Chinese background in the Netherlands were recruited in different ways, including face-to-face recruitment at child events (e.g., Chinese New Year's celebration market) and Chinese weekend schools, online recruitment (e.g., social media advertisements), snowballing, and researchers' networks. The mother had to participate in the study whereas participation of the father was optional. Family inclusion criteria were (1) the child was between 7 and 11 years old, (2) the child was either born in the Netherlands (or a Dutch-speaking region in Belgium) or moved there younger than seven years old, and went to a Dutch primary school, (3) the mother, or at least one of her parents, was born in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, or Taiwan (approximately 95% of Taiwan's population is Han Chinese; Executive Yuan, 2016), (4) the biological father was either born (or moved at a very young age and then grew up) in mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, or a North-Western European country, (5) participating parent(s) and the child were living together, (6) parents did not have severe physical or mental problems, (7) the child did not have severe development disorders. Interracial relationships were included in the study to achieve a better representation of the actual population with a Chinese background in the Netherlands, given that around a quarter of relationships in this ethnic group consist of an ethnic Chinese female and a North-Western European male partner (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

A total of 81 families were recruited but the relevant task was done by 78 mothers. Most of the mothers were born in mainland China (98%), while others were born in the Netherlands (1%) and Taiwan (1%). Likewise, most of the biological fathers were born in mainland China (67%), followed by the Netherlands (31%), Nigeria (1%) and Taiwan (1%). Most of the mothers were living with a partner (94%). The mothers were aged between 32.31 and 50.70 years old ($M = 40.43$, $SD = 3.81$), and the participating children (53% female, 47% male) were aged between 7.40 and 11.99 years old ($M = 9.49$, $SD = 1.26$). Most of the mothers (96%) were highly educated (bachelor's degree/higher vocational education or higher), and were employed (74%).

Procedure

Before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, families ($n = 37$, June 2019 - March 2020) were visited at home by two researchers, consistently including a Chinese researcher and a Dutch researcher (81% White Dutch, 14% Black Dutch, 5% Turkish-Dutch). The home visit lasted approximately 1.5 to 2 hours (depending on whether only the mother or both parents participated). During the home visit, different parent-child interactive tasks, standardized child tasks, computerized tasks for parents and children, and questionnaires for parents were conducted. At the end of the home visit, the child received a small gift. After the home visit, participating parents (separately) received and filled out an online questionnaire, after which each participating parent obtained a gift card of 20 euro. After the outbreak of the COVID-19, data collection was transferred online under the corona-related policy. Parents and the child participating during the COVID-pandemic ($n = 41$, November 2020 - May 2021) were 'visited' online and did the same tasks on a digital platform using their own device (i.e., laptop, computer, or tablet). The digital visit was designed to mirror the physical home visit as closely as possible, and lasted around the same time. During the digital visit, researchers were present to give instructions. Most of the digital visit were done by two researchers (95%), consistently including a Chinese researcher and a Dutch researcher (82% White-Dutch, 18% Chinese-Dutch). Two digital visits (5%) were conducted by only one researcher (one conducted by a White Dutch and one by a Chinese-Dutch researcher). All the parent-related tasks were available in both Chinese and Dutch oral and written instructions during the visit. Most of the mothers received oral and written instructions in Chinese (71%). Others received the instructions in Dutch (6%) or in both languages (23%) during the visit. Consent forms were signed by both of the parents, or by one on behalf of both, for their own and their child's participation. The research design, procedure and all the assignments were approved by an ethical committee.

Measures

Maternal color-evasiveness and questions about ethnic-racial background

As one of the parent-child interactive tasks, mothers played two versions of a modified Guess Who? Game with her child, adapted from the work by Norton et al. (2006). During the game, the mother was shown a game board with multiple photos of people and had to guess the answer photo through asking yes/no questions to the child. The answer photo that the mother should guess was shown only to the child. The purpose of this game is to reach the correct answer using as few questions as possible. Before the outbreak of COVID-19 (physical visit), the mother received a game board with sixteen photos on it, while the child received a separate answer photo to hold in their hands (the photo that the mother had to guess). After each question by mother and the child's answer, some of the photos could be eliminated by the mother herself through closing the little doors attached to the game board to block the photos that the mother wanted to exclude. During the pandemic (online visits), the mother firstly looked aside while

the child was shown the answer photo on the screen and then the child should remember the answer photo in mind. During the game, all the sixteen photos (including one answer photo) were visible to both the mother and the child. After a question by mother and the child's answer, the mother told the researcher which photos she wanted to exclude, and then the researcher removed the photos from the screen.

Mothers played two versions of the game which included different pictures: photos of eight White adults and eight Black adults (Game A), and photos of eight White adults and eight East Asian adults (Game B). Further, gender (female or male) and t-shirt color (dark-blue or White) were distributed evenly in each ethnic group. Therefore, there were three most efficient question types, i.e., about ethnic-racial background, gender, and t-shirt color (e.g., 'Does the person have dark skin color?', 'Is it a male?', 'Is the person in a White t-shirt?'), because the answer to these three types of questions can help the mother immediately exclude half of the photos. Each version of the game had two rounds (with a different answer photo in each round), resulting in four rounds in total. The order of the version of the game and the answer photos were counterbalanced. The interaction during the game was videotaped, and the coding was done afterwards.

Given that less than 4% of mothers asked more than seven questions to complete a round, the first seven questions of each round were eventually coded. Thus, a total of maximal 14 questions were coded in each game (Game A and B). The questions asked by the mother were coded into the following categories: skin color, ethnicity/nationality, gender, t-shirt color, hair style, hair color, eye color, other, or a combination of categories (e.g., 'Is the person a White man?'). Before data analyses, maternal responses in the skin color and ethnicity/nationality categories of questions were combined into ethnic-racial category. Besides, start time of each question was noted based on the moment that mother and child were ready to start the first question of a round (for the first question), or that the mother eliminated all the photos based on the answer of the child to her previous yes/no question (for the other questions). End time of each question was noted based on the end of the formulation of a question by the mother. Text of the each question was typed out. Because the current study is part of a larger project consisting of four ethnic groups of families inviting mothers and as many fathers as possible, a reliability set of 20 videos was selected, including videos of 12 Chinese-Dutch families (six mothers and six fathers), three Black Dutch families (two mothers and a father), three Turkish-Dutch families (a mother and two fathers), and two White Dutch families (a mother and a father). Three coders were trained and coded the reliability set independently. Intercoder reliability scores on the question category and start/end time were strong (Cohen's $\kappa > .93$ and Intraclass Correlation was 1). Therefore, the trained coders continued to code the rest of the videos individually. In addition, for all the questions in the skin color and ethnicity/nationality category, the ethnic focus based on the text of the questions was coded as follows: 1 = referencing light skin color or Dutch/European background, 2 = referencing dark skin color or African ethnic background, 3 = referencing yellow skin color (in the Chinese language, Chinese people refer to their own skin color as yellow) or Chinese/East Asian background, 4 = referencing different skin color categories simultaneously or ethnic backgrounds simultaneously (e.g., 'Is the person Black or White?', 'Is the person a Chinese or a European?'). A separate reliability set of 40 skin color or ethnicity questions was selected and coded independently by two coders. The intercoder reliability was high (Cohen's $\kappa > .96$), and one of the coders continued to code the rest of other skin color and ethnicity questions.

Due to the combination of maternal responses in the skin color and ethnicity/nationality categories of questions, the new combined category is named as ethnic-racial background below. Several variables were computed for the analyses afterwards. For all the questions in the ethnic-

racial background, gender and t-shirt color category: (1) a continuous variable was created reflecting the <u>relative frequency of questions</u> in these categories (i.e., number of question in a category divided by the total number of questions), (2) a <u>dichotomous variable</u> was created to measure whether or not the mother asked the <u>questions in the 50-50 categories</u>, (i.e., gender not acknowledged or acknowledged, t-shirt color not acknowledged or acknowledged, and <u>color-evasiveness strategy</u> adopted or not adopted). Adoption of color-evasiveness strategy or not refer to 1 = ethnic-racial background acknowledged, 0 = ethnic-racial background not acknowledged. Among the mothers who asked ethnic-racial background questions (non-color-evasive), extra variables were created: (3) a <u>duration score</u> in seconds was created to reflect how long it took the mother to formulate a question (i.e., subtraction between the end time and the start time of a question in that category), (4) a score was created to reflect <u>the timing of questions in the 50-50 categories</u> (i.e., 1 = as the seventh question, 7 = as the first question in the round). Lastly, the number of questions referring dark skin color or African background, light skin color or Dutch/European background, and yellow skin color or Chinese/East Asian background was counted. After, (5) <u>the bias in ethnic-racial focus</u> was computed by subtracting the number of references to dark skin color (or African, Game A), or the number of references to yellow skin color (or Chinese/East Asian, Game B) from the number of references to light skin color (or Dutch/European). Before computing these variables, all questions in the category 'combination' were checked manually to include in relevant variables (except duration scores because formulating a combined question might take longer than formulating a single category question). All variables were computed separately for Game A and B through averaging the results of the two rounds in each game version.

Analyses

All the analyses were conducted separately for Game A and Game B. For two families, data were missing from one round in Game B due to the fact that the mother accidently had seen the answer before asking questions, and this round of game was then skipped. The data of Game B in these two families were used with the data collected with only one round instead of the combined data with two rounds. All other data were complete.

The analyses in the first part aimed to examine the patterns of color-evasiveness of Chinese-Dutch mothers. Two outliers (defined as 3.29 SD below or above the mean) in relative frequency of gender questions in Game A and an outlier in relative frequency of gender questions in Game B were winsorized prior to analyses. One-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVA) and post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare the relative frequencies of questions in the 50-50 categories (ethnic-racial background, gender, t-shirt color) in Game A and B separately. After that, for the mothers asking ethnic-racial background questions, i.e., mothers who showed non-color-evasiveness, more analyses on the duration and the timing of questions in the three 50-50 categories were conducted. Outliers of the duration of the questions were winsorized for both Game A (one for ethnic-racial background questions, one for gender questions, one for t-shirt questions) and Game B (one for ethnic-racial background questions, two for gender questions). One-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVA) and post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare duration differences in different 50-50 category questions in Game A and B. Similarly, outliers of the timing of the questions were winsorized for Game A (two for gender questions) and Game B (five for gender questions), and again one-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVA) and post-hoc comparisons were conducted to compare the timing variables.

The analyses in the second part aimed to examine the patterns of white normativity among Chinese-Dutch mothers. Comparisons between ethnic-racial focus on light skin color (or White) versus dark skin color (or African ethnic background) in Game A, and light skin

color (or White) versus yellow skin color (or East Asian ethnic background) in Game B were made. Paired samples t tests were run to compare ethnic-racial focus of Chinese-Dutch mothers about their specific reference when asking ethnic-racial background questions in Games A and B separately.

The analyses in the third part aimed to explore whether patterns of color-evasiveness and white normativity among Chinese-Dutch mothers were different when different ethnic-racial backgrounds were included in the game. The difference in the tendency to use strategic color-evasiveness, that is, mothers completely avoiding asking ethnic-racial background questions, between Game A and B (i.e., different ethnic-racial conversations, one with White majority outgroup versus Black minority outgroup, one with White majority outgroup versus East Asian minority ingroup) was examined using a McNemar test. Paired sample t-tests were done to examine differences in the duration and timing to formulate ethnic-racial background questions in the two game versions. In addition, bias in ethnic-racial focus was also compared between Game A and B again by paired sample t-tests.

A power analyses with G*power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007) showed that the total sample size of 78 participants in the current study was sufficient to detect a small effect size for one-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVA) with a power of 80% and an alpha of 0.05 to address the main hypotheses. The subsamples (mothers who asked ethnic-racial background questions, $n = 74$ for Game A and $n = 55$ for Game B) are sufficient to detect a medium effect size for a paired sample t-test (e.g. Cohen's $d = 0.40$). The subsamples (mothers who asked all the three 50-50 category questions, $n = 44$ for Game A and $n = 35$ for Game B) are sufficient to detect a medium to large effect size for one-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVA, e.g., Cohen's $f = .30$). The size of the subsamples was not big enough to detect small effects.

Results

Descriptives

Chinese-Dutch mothers commonly used eight questions (Game A, $M = 8.40$, $SD = 1.29$; Game B, $M = 8.40$, $SD = 1.30$) to complete two rounds of a game. The breakdown of the categories of the proposed questions can be seen in Figure 1. More specifically, Chinese-Dutch mothers in Game A asked questions about gender most frequently, followed by hairstyle and ethnic-racial background. In Game B, the most frequently asked questions by Chinese-Dutch mothers were about gender, other characteristics, and hairstyle.
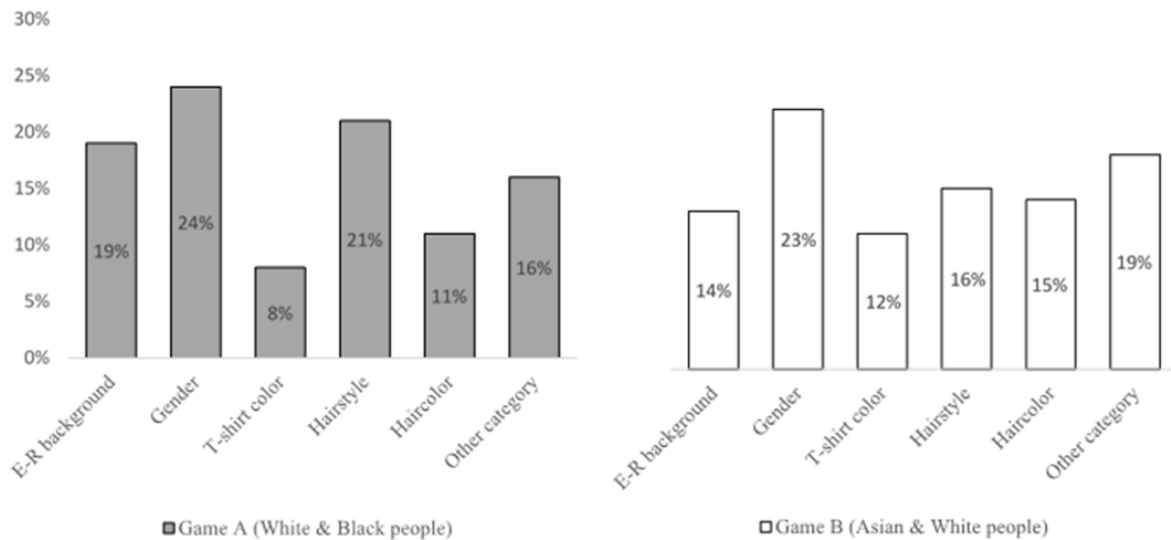
Figure 1. Breakdown of the relative frequency of questions asked by Chinese-Dutch mothers in the games "Guess Who?".

Note. Categories with less than 2% were not shown (i.e., eyes, combination questions). E-R = ethnic-racial.

Patterns of color-evasiveness

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted to examine differences between frequency of questions in the 50-50 categories (i.e., ethnic-racial background, gender, and t-shirt color) in Game A and Game B, separately. Mauchly's test of sphericity showed that the assumption of sphericity was violated for both Game A ($\chi^2(2) = 14.24$, $p = .001$) and Game B ($\chi^2(2) = 25.58$, $p < .001$). Therefore, the degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity (Game A, $\varepsilon = .87$, Game B, $\varepsilon = .79$). There were significant differences for both Game A ($F(1.74, 134.21) = 100.58$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .57$) and Game B ($F(1.58, 121.79) = 35.22$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .31$). In both Games A and B, questions were more often about gender than ethnic-racial backgrounds and t-shirt color (Bonferonni corrected $ps < .001$). Additionally, questions were more often about ethnic-racial background than t-shirt color in Game A ($p < .001$), whereas there was no significant difference between ethnic-racial background and t-shirt questions in Game B ($p = .551$).

Table 1 demonstrates the duration of questions proposed by mothers who formulated all the three 50-50 category questions (ethnic-racial background, gender, t-shirt color) in both versions of the game. A repeated-measures ANOVA was run to examine differences in how long it took Chinese-Dutch mothers to formulate different questions. In Game A, Mauchly's test of sphericity indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated ($\chi^2(2) = 13.91$, $p = .001$), and thus a Huynh-Feldt correction was applied ($\varepsilon = .79$). There was a significant difference in the duration of formulating the three 50-50 category questions ($p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .23$). To be more specific, gender questions were formulated in a shorter time than ethnic-racial background questions and t-shirt questions (Bonferonni corrected $ps < .001$), whereas there was no significant difference between the duration of formulating ethnic-racial background questions and t-shirt questions ($p = .408$). In Game B, there was no significant difference in the duration of formulating the three 50-50 category questions ($p = .556$).

Table 1
Differences in the duration of formulating the 50-50 category questions (in seconds) by Chinese-Dutch mothers

		Ethnic-racial questions	Gender questions	T-shirt questions	F	df	p	η^2
Game A	M (SD)	6.70 (4.02)	4.40 (2.73)	8.09 (5.70)	11.88	2	.001	.23
($n = 41$)								
Game B	M (SD)	6.48 (4.06)	4.97 (2.30)	6.80 (4.73)	3.08	2	.556	.90
($n = 32$)								

Note. Higher scores reflect a longer time to formulate 50-50 category questions. Game A is White versus Black people. Game B is White versus East Asian people.

When mothers asked about skin color or ethnicity, this was most often asked as the second question (40-60% for Game A, 55-67% for Game B). Table 2 showed the average timing of the three 50-50 questions for mothers who asked about all three 50-50 category questions (higher scores indicating an earlier question). In Game A, Mauchly's test of sphericity indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated ($\chi^2(2) = 8.09$, $p = .018$). After that, a Huynh-Feldt correction was applied ($\varepsilon = .88$). There was a significant difference in the timing of asking the three 50-50 questions ($p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .69$). Gender questions were asked earlier than ethnic-racial background questions and t-shirt questions (Bonferonni corrected $ps < .001$), and ethnic-racial background questions were proposed earlier than t-shirt questions ($p < .001$). In Game B, there was only a trend towards significance (gender questions were asked the earliest, followed by ethnic-racial background questions, followed by t-shirt questions) in the timing of the three 50-50 questions by Chinese-Dutch mothers ($p = .059$).

Table 2
Differences in the timing of the 50-50 category questions asked by Chinese-Dutch mothers

		Ethnic-racial questions	Gender questions	T-shirt questions	F	df	p	η^2
Game A	M (SD)	4.83 (1.69)	6.66 (0.53)	2.97 (1.24)	94.59	2	.018	.69
($n = 44$)								
Game B	M (SD)	5.21 (1.54)	6.66 (0.55)	3.67 (1.24)	62.35	2	.059	.65
($n = 35$)								

Note. Higher scores reflect earlier questions (i.e., mean score of timing of 50-50 category questions in the two rounds with 0 = not asked, 1 = seventh question, until 7 = first question). Game A is White versus Black people. Game B is White versus East Asian people.

Patterns of white normativity

Most of the Chinese-Dutch mothers asked questions about ethnic-racial backgrounds in both games (95% for Game A and 71% for Game B). When mothers asked questions about ethnic-racial backgrounds, their ethnic-racial focus was more often on dark skin color and East

Asian background than White skin color (or European background, see Figure 2). Significant differences were found between reference to dark skin and reference to light skin in Game A ($t_{73} = 2.160, p = .034$), and between reference to East Asian and reference to light skin in Game B ($t_{54} = 7.906, p < .001$).
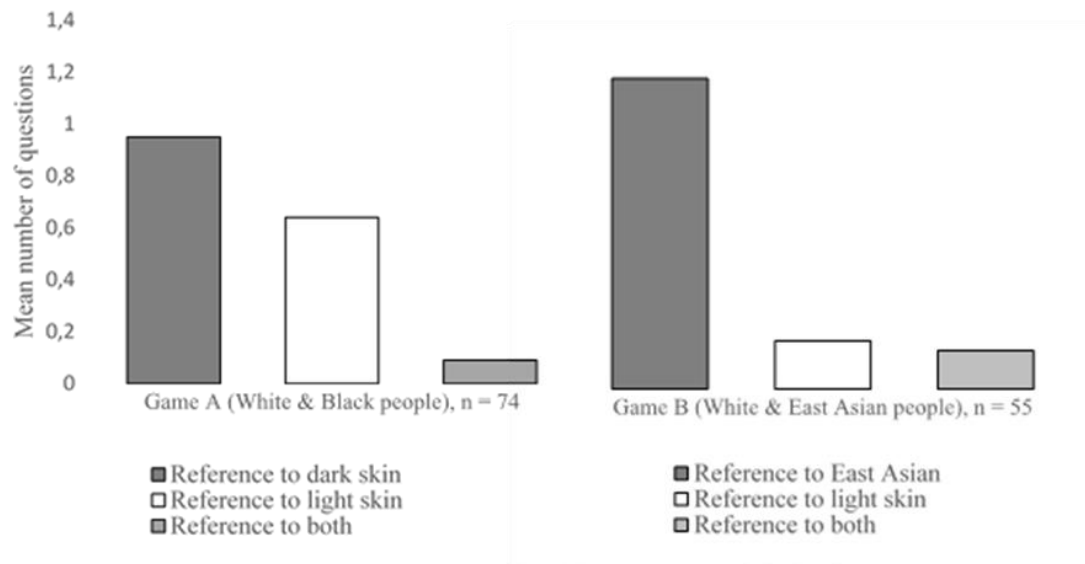

Figure 2. Content of skin color or ethnicity questions, if asked.

Exploratory analyses on different versions of the game

Comparisons between Game A and Game B were made to explore if Chinese-Dutch mothers socialize with their children about ethnicity/race differently in different versions of the game. A significant difference in not acknowledgment of ethnic-racial difference (in the form of avoid asking ethnic-racial or skin color questions) was found between the two games by an exact McNemar test, indicating that not acknowledgment of ethnic-racial difference was shown more frequently by the Chinese-Dutch mothers in Game B than in Game A ($p < .001$). In contrast, paired samples t tests showed that the duration of formulating ethnic-racial questions and the timing (how early mothers asked about ethnic-racial questions) between Game A and Game B were similar ($t_{50} = .050, p = .960$; $t_{53} = -1.207, p = .233$). Moreover, the bias in ethnic-racial focus was lower in Game A than in Game B ($t_{53} = -3.553, p = .001$).

Discussion

The present study examined maternal behaviors that indicate color-evasiveness and white normativity using a social categorization game in Chinese-Dutch families. Although most mothers asked ethnic-racial questions in both versions of the game, gender questions were asked more frequently. In addition, gender questions were asked faster and earlier than ethnic-racial questions in the game that included pictures of White and Black adults. The formulation of the ethnic-racial questions reflected white normativity in both game versions. The comparison between the two versions showed that color-evasive behaviors were adopted more and bias in ethnic-racial focus reflecting white normativity was higher in the game that included pictures of White and East Asian adults.

Color-evasiveness

The Guess Who? social categorization game used in the present study was adapted from the work by Norton et al. (2006). Three relevant characteristics that were divided evenly among the pictures were gender, ethnic-racial background and t-shirt color. Asking questions about any of these three characteristics would help participating mothers exclude half of the pictures in the game, leading to higher performance efficiency. Although most of the Chinese-Dutch mothers asked ethnic-racial questions, they still asked gender questions more often in both games. Previous studies indicated that ethnicity and gender are encoded in the brain spontaneously (Ito & Urland, 2003; Li & Tse, 2016) and attention to ethnicity is 50 ms faster than attention to gender after stimulus onset (Ito & Urland, 2003). The results in the present study therefore suggest that although Chinese-Dutch mothers are likely to process both ethnicity and gender characteristics very quickly, they regard talking about ethnic-racial backgrounds more like a taboo when compared to talking about gender.

The Chinese-Dutch mothers also took longer to formulate ethnic-racial questions and proposed them later as compared to gender questions in the version of game that included White and Black adult pictures. Mothers seem more careful about how to talk about race or ethnicity than how to talk about gender, often showing a small pause or saying ehm several times as signs of uncertainty or discomfort (Fox Tree, 2002). These results can be seen as another form of avoiding race-related topics that adheres to color-evasiveness. In addition, the words used to describe Black people have changed over time and have been controversial within the battleground of sociocultural and political consciousness (Girma, 2020; Neal, 2001). The Black Lives Matter movement, specifically the protests after the murder of George Floyd in 2020, attracted attention worldwide during the data collection of the present study. The strained Black-White intergroup relations may have made Chinese-Dutch mothers extra careful about the naming of the people with dark skin color in the version of the game that included pictures of White and Black adults, for fear of saying the wrong thing. By contrast, Chinese-Dutch mothers did not show duration and timing differences between questions referring to ethnicity/race, gender or t-shirt color in the version of game that included White and East Asian adult pictures. This is likely due to the fact that the naming of immigrants with Asian backgrounds has not been as controversial as the Black group. In addition, there may be a difference between naming one's ingroup versus an outgroup. Considering stronger affinity and shorter social distance among Chinese-Dutch adults to the East Asian ingroup compared to the dominant White people and culture (Yang et al., 2022), it may be easier and more comfortable for the Chinese-Dutch mothers to name their ingroup.

White normativity

Consistent with our hypothesis, Chinese-Dutch mothers asked ethnic-racial background questions referencing dark skin color (or African ethnic background) and Chinese or East Asian background more than referencing light skin color (or Dutch or European background). This bias in ethnic-racial focus reflects white normativity and indicate that when Chinese-Dutch mothers talk about skin color or ethnic-racial background with their children, being White seems 'normative' and 'unmarked' whereas underrepresented ethnic groups are special and should be defined (Frankenberg, 2001; Winings, 2019). In addition to being exposed to white normativity at schools expressed by White educators (Weiner, 2016), Chinese-Dutch children also receive messages in line with this social norm at home. Therefore, Chinese-Dutch children may be more likely to internalize white normativity than to challenge it (Gross & Vostroknutov, 2022; Lindström et al., 2018). In other words, Chinese-Dutch children are potentially internalizing a social norm that suggests a form of contemporary racism by exposing people of

color to the risk of rejection or expulsion if they do not conform to the white norm, or even battle one another in a struggle for survival (Bhandaru, 2013).

Comparison between different versions of game

A small percentage of Chinese-Dutch mothers did not acknowledge skin color or ethnic-racial characteristics at all, during the social categorization game, and therefore showed strategic color-evasiveness. More specifically, 5% of mothers showed strategic color-evasiveness in the version of game that included White and Black adult pictures, which is lower than the strategic color-evasiveness results among Asian American adults in similar games (15%, Meyers et al., 2021), and also lower than rates of color evasion in White samples (7-32%, Apfelbaum, Sommers et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006). However, 29% of Chinese-Dutch mothers displayed strategic color-evasiveness in the version of game that included White and East Asian adult pictures, which is higher than in the White versus Black game version. A distinction between two versions of the game is that in the game with White and East Asian adults, all the East Asian adults have (near) black hair which distinguishes them from all the White adults among whom none have black hair. In the game which included White and Black adult pictures, some male adults in the pictures were bald. Therefore, in the White versus East Asian game (but not in the White versus Black version), hair color questions can be seen as a proxy for the ethnic-racial question in the game. This was confirmed by the observation that all mothers who avoided ethnic-racial questions in Game B ($n = 23$) did ask hair color questions. Some Chinese-Dutch mothers may not be comfortable asking about skin color or ethnicity in the context of White and East Asian groups, which may have led to them replacing ethnic-racial questions by hair color questions when possible.

Another explanation for stronger color-evasion in the White versus East Asian game may be that Asian minorities are often seen as 'honorary Whites', which reflects not only their economic successes but also assimilation into White norms and culture in for example the U.S. context (Chong & Song, 2022). The results of stronger color-evasion in the White versus East Asian game indicates that Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands may show similar patterns of the preference to be seen as integrated or Western, leading to less emphasis that Asians are different from Whites, and less ethnic distinctions between these two ethnic groups than between the White and Black groups. However, maternal more frequent avoidance of mentioning race in the context of White and East Asian groups can make Chinese-Dutch children pick up the norm of avoiding separating their Asian background from the White majority environment. Through minimizing racial distinctions, parents may (unconsciously) promote assimilating the White majority group's values and behaviors, while potentially devaluing their Asian identity (Marinari, 2005), and being less sensitive to recognizing racist events (Apfelbaum et al., 2010).

Among the mothers who asked ethnic-racial questions during the games, the bias in ethnic-racial focus in terms of white normativity was present in both versions of the game but stronger in the version of the game that included White and East Asian adult pictures than White and Black adult pictures. Besides the consistent adherence to white normativity in both versions, this comparative analysis may be also related to the difference between naming one's ingroup and outgroups. Based on own-race bias, people can recognize ingroup members better than outgroups (Meissner & Brigham, 2001; Wong et al., 2020). Therefore, Chinese-Dutch mothers in a categorization task prefer to name ingroup questions with a potential preparation for further processing the ingroup faces more effectively with a better task performance. There is no own-group bias in the version of the game with Black and White adult pictures.

Limitations and conclusions

There are several limitations in the present study. First of all, only the basic forms of color-evasiveness (not mentioning skin color, ethnicity or nationality) and white normativity (focusing on the characteristics that deviate from the White norm) have been examined. Mothers may hold these social norms in different ways (e.g., implicitly or explicitly) or even convey conflicting messages or communicate contradicting diversity ideologies (Abaied & Perry, 2021). The present study can be seen as the first step in understanding such norms in the context of Chinese families in a European country. It should also be noted that this game is only about gender from a binary perspective and cannot be generalized to parental gender socialization outside this classification of gender. Secondly, the sample size is relatively small, which may have hampered finding significant results in case of small effect sizes. Thirdly, fathers were not included in this study. We did invite fathers as well, but only very few participated ($n = 29$), and this sample size was not sufficient for the current analyses. Future studies including mothers and fathers will provide a more complete picture of social norm referents in the family context. Finally, the impact of methodological differences due to COVID-19 (i.e., physical visits before the pandemic and online visits afterwards) is not clear. Extra analyses to examine potential differences between physical and online visits (i.e., groups pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak) were done in order to understand the potential impact of methodology changes in the present study. Only the duration of ethnic-racial questions was different (longer duration for ethnic-racial questions after than before the COVID-19 outbreak, $p = .004$) and no differences were found in any of the other main variables. The difference in the duration of formulating ethnic-racial questions can be also due to the widespread attention for racism (e.g., The Black Lives Matter movement) during the online data collection that make Chinese-Dutch mothers more thoughtful and careful to find a proper way to talk about race. Further, we advise researchers to be mindful to potential differences between traditional recording during the home visit and digital recording used more often in (post-)COVID era. We also advise researchers to be mindful of worldwide (as well as regional) developments in intergroup relations, attitudes and cultural diversity in the currently rapidly changing social world.

Concluding, the present study uncovered maternal behaviors that reflect color-evasiveness and white normativity in Chinese-Dutch families. Chinese-Dutch mothers display basic forms of these social norms that have a negative cognitive and psychological impact on people of color and allow for the perpetuation of current racial inequalities. Future research is needed to understand how mothers with a Chinese background internalize these social norms and how parents from underrepresented ethnic groups in general can foster anti-racist social norms during intergenerational interactions. In addition, researchers in ethnic studies should show awareness of the hegemony of White norms and how they can affect underrepresented groups.

Titelpagina

Chapter 5

White Prevalence and White Preference in Chinese Children's Books

Yiran Yang, Rosanneke A.G. Emmen, Ymke de Bruijn, Judi Mesman

Abstract

The study of the ethnicity of authors, illustrators, and characters in children's literature is important for understanding the ethnic normativity messages that children receive through books. However, ethnic representation in children's books has rarely been studied in Asian countries. The present study examined the ethnic representation of authors, illustrators, and characters of books for young children that (1) won awards, or (2) were in the annual sales ranks in one of the most popular online book stores in China from 2011 to 2018. In total, 75 books and 1858 human characters were coded. Results suggest a dominant representation of East Asian authors, East Asian illustrators, and White characters. Male characters were overrepresented (especially East Asian males). East Asian characters (especially females) were more prominent according to some indicators, whereas White characters (especially males) were more prominent according to the other indicators. Gender differences in physical features in East Asian characters were found in terms of eye shapes and straight hair. Light skin color was overrepresented in East Asian characters (especially females). The results indicate overrepresentation of White authors, illustrators, and characters as compared to population statistics, as well as the preference for White skin color in East Asian characters in illustrations. The results suggest a form of current postcolonial globalization influencing Chinese children's literature, and can help to explain potential early origins of preference for people and culture mostly identified as White (or Western) in China.

Keywords: children's literature, picture books, ethnic prejudice, colorism, white supremacy

Shared reading by parents and children encourages children to engage in literature with pleasure. Being represented in books by means of characters of the same gender and/or ethnicity contributes to identification with characters and higher reading motivation of children (Hughes-Hassell et al., 2009). In addition, illustrations of human characters in books may transmit physical feature preferences to children, impacting children's body image development and self-evaluation (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). White dominance in characters and authors in books for young children has been widely found in countries with majority White populations (e.g., de Bruijn et al., 2020; Koss, 2015; Koss et al., 2017), suggesting fewer identification opportunities for underrepresented ethnic groups, as well as potential White-normative messages about physical appearance (Russell et al., 1992). Given the highly developed globalized market and a history of White dominance in many parts of the world in (post-)colonial times, similar patterns might be present in children's books in other parts of the world where the majority of the population is not White. Considering the (semi)colonial history of China, its current globalized economy, and its Westernized beauty standards (Stohry et al., 2021; Yu, 2021), the study of the ethnicity of authors, illustrators, and characters in children's books in contemporary China is important for our understanding of ethnic normativity messages children receive through books in a different context. The present study aims to examine 1) ethnic representation of authors, illustrators, and characters in books for young children (6 years or younger) in China and 2) the physical features of human East Asian characters in these books.

Books portraying characters are created by different authors and illustrators. Authors and illustrators are usually better able to represent the uniqueness and universality of the images of their own cultural group in books (Bista, 2012; Youngs, 2015). Previous studies have indicated that 88 to 96 percent of books for young children in Canada, the Netherlands, and the United States were written by White authors, and 83 to 94 percent books were illustrated by White illustrators (de Bruijn et al., 2020; Dionne, 2014; Eisenberg, 2002; Garner & Parker, 2018; Koss, 2015; Koss et al., 2017; Kurz, 2012). Clearly, we see White dominance in terms of authors and illustrators among children's books. This means that authentic information about White culture are more likely to be seen by readers. In contrast, the readers from ethnically underrepresented groups have fewer opportunities to read accurate and positive messages about their ethnic group to contribute to their cultural understanding and self-esteem (Hughes-Hassell & Cox, 2010), and there are fewer opportunities for White children to learn about diverse heritages and cultures. In addition, children from ethnically underrepresented groups might benefit from books written by authors and illustrators who share their ethnicity, because children may see them as role models (Hughes-Hassell et al., 2009).

Within the works of all authors, it is also important to look at the representation of characters in books for young children, because identification between a reader and a character in books is "an imaginative process through which an audience member assumes the identity, goals, and perspective of a character" (Cohen, 2001, p.261). As may be expected, young readers in North Atlantic countries predominantly see White characters (75-95%, de Bruijn et al., 2020; Dionne, 2014; Hughes-Hassell & Cox, 2010; Koss, 2015). In other words, White children, compared to children of other ethnicities, have more opportunities to identify with a White character, and such identification can make them feel more connected to the character's experiences and emotions (Slater & Rouner, 2002; Witmer & Singer, 1998). Identification with characters increases with similarity between characters and readers in terms of for example ethnicity, gender, age (Chen et al., 2016). Further, characters with whom the young reader can identify also make children believe that the children themselves can be written about in stories, and this may increase their reading motivation, and ultimately reading achievement (Hughes-Hassell et al., 2009).

The illustrations of human characters and their physical features in books are also salient to young children. Sociocultural theory emphasizes that the preferred physical features shown in media influence children's physical feature preferences and body image development (Rice et al., 2016; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). This is because physical feature preferences are transmitted through a variety of sociocultural channels (e.g., toys, printed media, books), that are then internalized by the audience. Preferences for specific ethnic physical features start early, as shown for example by the fact that White Barbie dolls are preferred over Black ones by children 3-7 years of age of various ethnic backgrounds (Gibson et al., 2015). Dittmar and colleagues (2006) adopted picture books with images of different dolls as body-related stimuli and their findings supported a direct impact of (skinny hour-glass proportioned) images of Barbie dolls as aspirational role models for girls, therefore negatively influencing 5- to 7-years-olds' body image development and self-evaluation. In the same way, the illustrations of White dominant characters in books may transmit potential White-normative messages about physical appearance to young children.

Although identification with authors, illustrators, and characters from their own ethnic group is important for all children, ethnic representation in children's books has been studied predominantly in the U.S. Studies on the ethnic representation of authors, illustrators, and characters in books for young children in China or other East Asian countries are lacking. However, books for young children play an increasingly important role in many children's lives in East Asian countries. Studies show that 18 to 20 percent Chinese parents read books to their children every day, and 54-58% Chinese families with children 0-6 years have shared reading time 3-4 times per week (Ji, 2012; Li et al., 2018). In addition, children's books occupy approximately one quarter of China's book market, and the growth rate of book sales for children's books outnumbered the average growth rates in the book market (Beijing OpenBook, 2018). If books represent society, Chinese authors, illustrators, and characters would be expected to dominate Chinese children's books given the Chinese-dominant demographic context in mainland China (non-Chinese population <0.06%; NBS, 2020a). However, books imported from abroad and translated into Chinese in fact dominate the children's book market in China (almost 80% of sales; Yang, 2012). The impact of such a high percentage of imported books in China's market on ethnic representation in books for young children in China has not yet been studied.

Many researchers have indicated that White (Western) product popularity and White-normative messages about beauty ideals are prevalent in China and other postcolonial countries due to globalization and postcolonial mechanisms (Goon & Craven, 2003; Stohry et al., 2021). Globalization involves growing cross-border trade in products, books and information, and the development of a globalized market. Postcolonialism can be defined as the effect of colonization on the colonized people and their culture after a certain period of high imperialism and colonial occupation (Drew, 1999). More specifically, China was defeated by Britain in the Opium Wars (1840-1842) which forced opening to Euro-American powers (and ideology). In the following ca. 100 years, China gradually transformed into a semi-colony under Western military coercion (Lan, 2016). The colonial history provided a foundation for the prevalence of "Whiteness" and "White supremacy" in China (Stohry et al., 2021), as illustrated by the observation that Chinese people commonly consider White people and Western culture as "civilized" and "superior" in contemporary China (Liu & Croucher, 2022; Yu, 2021). Current postcolonial globalization influences are seen in things like the popularity of Caucasian and Eurasian models, celebrities, and Whitening products (Goon & Craven, 2003). Similarly, the books written and illustrated by White people may be regarded as more civilized cultural products by Chinese buyers, and those imported books may therefore be more popular in China's children books' market.

When it comes to the illustrations of human characters and their physical features, Chinese or East Asian characters depicted in children's books may have White physical features because of the White beauty ideals. In many Asian countries, including China, White skin color preference is common (Stohry et al., 2021; Yu et al., 2021). This is a reflection of widespread colorism in East Asian countries, which refers to prejudicial and preferential treatment of people solely based on skin tones, with lighter skin evaluated more favorable than dark skin (the term colorism believed to be first coined by Alice Walker in her 1983 book, in Yu, 2021). For example, advertisement for skin-related products in magazines in India, Japan, Korea and Hong Kong commonly show White as representing good skin (Li et al., 2008). TV commercials and print ads in China promote similar aesthetic standards of White being more beautiful and indicating higher social status (Mak, 2007), thereby spreading a global standard of White beauty ideals in non-White countries. In addition, with regard to facial feature preferences, East Asian faces evaluated as attractive by Asians do not have an epicanthal fold (a skin fold of the upper eyelid covering the inner corner of the eye), and therefore have a less steep slant of the opening between the eye lids than average East Asian faces (Rhee et al., 2012). Considering the early emergence of physical feature preferences in childhood (Gibson et al., 2015; Qian et al., 2016), books for young children with illustrations may work as an important catalyst for the development of physical feature preferences and body image development among Chinese children.

The main aim of the present study is to examine ethnic representation in popular books for young children published in China. They are as follows: (a) What is ethnicity of the authors and illustrators? Is ethnicity of the authors and illustrators associated with ethnicity of the characters in books? (b) What is ethnicity of the characters? Is ethnicity of the characters (in total and per gender) associated with different indicators of roles and prominence? (c) How prevalent are White physical features in East Asian characters in illustrations (i.e., eyes, skin tone, hair color and hair style)? Are physical features in East Asian characters in illustrations different for male versus female characters? The result will shed light on East Asian and White representation of ethnic features in books for young children in contemporary China, and can serve as a stepping stone to a better understanding of the potential early origins of the preference for White (Western) products and figures in contemporary China.

Method

Sampling

The potential exposure to picture books by Chinese children was the most important criterion in book selection. The first step was to collect the titles of all the children's books published in mainland China that (1) won an award, or (2) appeared in the sales ranks of children's books in one of the most popular online bookstores (www.dangdang.com) from 2011 until 2018 ($n = 214$; see Figure 1). Awards included in the book selection process were the National Outstanding Children's Literature Award, China Children's Books list, Annual Ranking of Original Chinese Picture Books, Feng Zikai Chinese Children's Picture Book Award, and Chen Bochui International Children's Literature Award. From the sales ranks reported by the Dangdang online bookstore, the top 10 in the annual ranks for children's books were selected. If a book was part of a series, only the first book in the list of each series was selected, as some series consisted of up to 100 books.
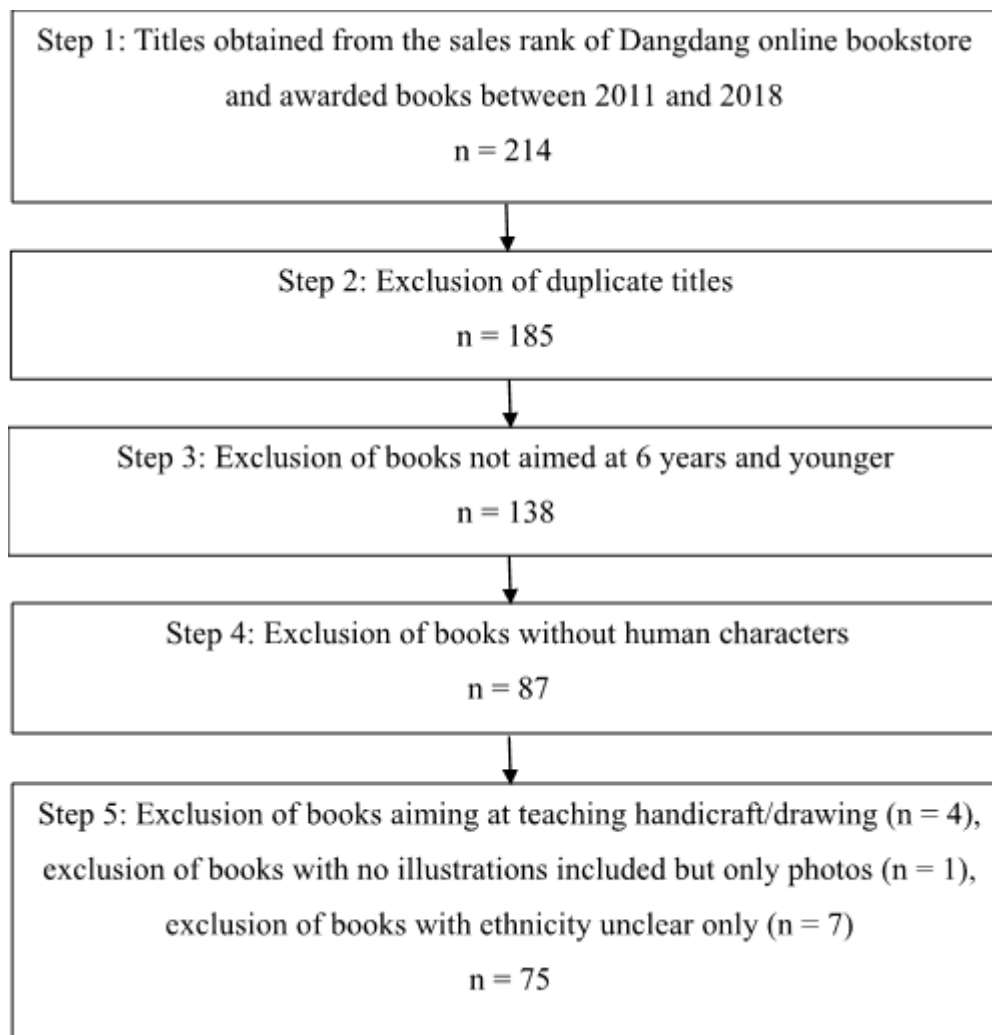
Figure 1. Process of book selection.

The next step was to exclude duplications ($n = 185$). The third step was to exclude books not aimed at children 6 years or younger ($n = 138$). Age information of the target readers was based on the printed information in books (if available), the target age groups classified by awards (if available), or the book introduction at the Dangdang online bookstore. All books that included at least 0-6 years in the age range of the target audience were included. Specifically, 60% of all sample books ($n = 45$) were specifically targeted at children under 6 years of age, and 40% ($n = 30$) were targeted at children both under and over 6 years. The fourth step was to remove the books without human figures ($n = 87$). During the coding, we removed another 12 books aiming at making handicrafts, containing only photos, or including only human characters coded as having an unclear ethnic appearance (e.g., characters are illustrated in blue). In the end, 75 books for young children were included in the final list to be analyzed (for a list of these books, see Supplementary material Chapter 5 A), of which 21 were part of a series. Most of the books were story books (89%). The other books were encyclopedia for young children (e.g., introduction of Chinese solar terms; 7%), and poetry or song books (4%).

Procedure

Coding of the books was based on an adapted version of the coding manual used by de Bruijn and colleagues (2020; for an overview of coded variables, see Supplementary material Chapter 5 B). General information about the book was coded, including the year of publication (the first edition of the book), publisher, number of pages, number of pictures, and the storyline. The ethnicity and gender of the authors and illustrators were coded, with adapted categories of ethnicity: (1) East Asian, (2) White, (3) other, (4) unknown. This information was collected based on the introduction in books, personal webpages or other websites. The following aspects of all human character illustrations in the book were coded: character's name, explicit mention of ethnicity or nationality, ethnic appearance, gender (i.e., male, female, unclear), age group (i.e., child, teenager, adult, elderly, unclear), role (i.e., protagonist, secondary, background characters), representation on the cover, and the number of pages and pictures that shows the character.

Ethnic appearance categories were (1) East Asian, (2) White, (3) other, and (4) unclear. Each character was evaluated based on the illustrations throughout the whole book when a character was shown more than once. An East Asian appearance was defined as eyes with epicanthal folds (high frequency in East Asians), and/or tawny beige skin color (neither extremely white nor extremely dark), and ethnic characteristics such as black and straight hair (e.g., a character having eyes with epicanthal folds, tawny beige skin color, sometimes even white skin color, were coded as East Asian). Characters having eyes without epicanthal folds, but showing all the other criteria of typical East Asian physical appearance, i.e., not extreme white skin color, black and straight hair, brown or black eyes, were also coded as East Asian. If the criteria were met but the coder still hesitated over ethnic appearance, characters were discussed in a larger ethnic diverse team to reach a consensus ($n = 24$).

A White ethnic appearance was defined as a white skin color as well as Caucasian ethnic appearances (e.g., a character with white skin color, round eyes and black hair were coded as White). Other ethnic appearance was coded if the characters were perceived as neither East Asian nor White (e.g., had a darker skin color or an ethnicity-related costume such as a taqiyah). Characters were coded as having an unclear ethnic appearance when their skin color was transparent (their face could not be distinguished from the colored background) or unnatural (e.g., red, blue), or when they were drawn in a position from which the ethnic features, such as face, skin and hair, could not be seen clearly. Characters for which two out of three aspects (ethnicity, gender and age) could not be coded were not included in the dataset. Particularly, ethnic appearance was coded independent from the text indication (e.g., characters could be coded as White ethnic appearance based on figure illustration, although they were referred to as Chinese by names or in text). Based on ethnic appearance and name, a separate category, namely, characters with inconsistency between ethnic appearance and names or explicitly mentioned ethnicity, was coded.

Because the present study aims at a detailed investigation of ethnic physical feature representations in East Asian characters, the following variables were added to the coding system for East Asian appearance characters: eyes, skin tone, hair color, hair style. Among the East Asian population, eyes with epicanthal folds are frequent (50% to 90%, Lee et al., 2000). When applied to illustrations, eyes drawn with a line, drawn in a slant manner, or open eyes with a clear single line drawn on the upper eyelid starting from the inner corner of the eye, were coded as eyes with epicanthal folds. Closed eyes were coded as missing data for this variable. Skin tone in East Asian characters was classified as (0) light, (1) mid-tone, (2) somewhat dark, or (3) very dark. Example skin colors for each category were provided as a reference for the coders. Skin tone was coded as missing if skin of the characters was not clearly visible, or the

same character in different pictures had very different skin tones, or the book was in black-and-white sketch style. In addition, hair color (black or not black) and hair style (straight and not straight) were coded among East Asian characters. Hair color and hair style were coded as missing if the characters were bald, wore a hat or scarf, or whose hair was not visible for other reasons.

Two coders (one Chinese and one Vietnamese American) independently coded ten random books including 112 human characters as the reliability set on the variables used by de Bruijn and colleagues (2020; physical features variables not included in this phase). The first coder continued to code all the variables in all books. Reliability for the variables between that coder's original coding and a consensus scores was between 0.92 and 1.00 (Cronbach's α) for numeric variables and between 0.89 and 1.00 (Cohen's κ) for nominal variables. In addition, physical features for the East Asian characters ($n = 97$) in the reliability set were then coded by three coders (two Chinese and a Vietnamese American) separately. The first coder also coded the physical features variables in all books. Reliability between the main coder's original coding and the consensus reliability set of the physical features variables was between 0.86 and 0.94 (Cohen's κ) for all variables.

Analyses

There were 75 books and 2177 human characters in the final dataset. Characters with unclear ethnic appearance ($n = 305$) were not included in the analyses at the character level. Moreover, among the 246 characters with explicitly mentioned ethnicity in the text (1% of the coded characters), ethnic information in the pictures and text were consistent. However, there were 14 characters with inconsistencies between their ethnic names and ethnic appearances. These 14 characters were presented as East Asian characters due to their explicitly mentioned East Asian names in text, but did not have an East Asian ethnic appearance in the pictures. All statistical analyses were done with and without these 14 ethnically inconsistent characters.

After calculating descriptive statistics, associations between ethnicity of the characters and ethnicity of the authors and illustrators were examined by Pearson Chi-Square tests. Fisher's Exact Tests were used when the expected count in more than 20% of the cells was below five. Further, associations between ethnicity of the characters and the relative representation in pages and pictures were examined by a Mann-Whitney U test, as the variables were highly skewed ($Z_{skew} > 3.29$). In addition, associations between ethnicity of the characters, and character gender, age group, role, having a name, and representation on the cover were also examined by Pearson Chi-Square tests. The analyses regarding indicators of prominence (representation in pages and pictures, role of the characters, having a name, being presented on the cover) were then conducted separately per gender of character. For physical feature representation, descriptive statistics on four physical feature illustrations, including eyes, skin tone, hair color and hair style, were reported among East Asian characters. Further, Pearson Chi-Square tests were conducted to examine potential differences in terms of physical feature illustrations between East Asian male and female characters.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The study sample consisted of seventy-five books published between 2007 and 2018. Most books were published by Mingtian ($n = 9$), Jieli ($n = 8$), or Beijing associated publishers inc ($n = 6$). There were 2177 human characters in the books, of which ethnic appearance of 305 characters could not be coded. Therefore, 1872 characters were eventually included in the analyses of the sample books. Descriptive statistics of general information about the sample

books are shown in Table 1. In addition, 14 characters had East Asian names but non-East Asian appearances, of whom 13 characters had an East Asian name with a White ethnic appearance, and one had an East Asian name with a dark skin color. These 14 inconsistent characters were first excluded ($n = 1858$) and then included ($n = 1872$) in the analyses at the character level, to examine potential differences. All results were the same except ethnic representation in protagonists at the character level. Results without the 14 inconsistent characters were reported.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics at the Book Level ($N = 75$)

	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*
Year of publication	2007	2018	2014.73	2.41
Number of characters	1	261	29.03	50.66
Number of East Asian characters	0	106	9.93	20.81
Number of White characters	0	205	12.29	34.28
Number of other characters	0	79	2.55	9.70
Number of pictures	9	179	30.57	26.81
Number of pages	12	191	36.80	25.36

Authors and Illustrators

Of the 75 books included in the research, most books ($n = 68$) were written by one author, while six books were written by two authors. One book was a wordless book, and thus no author was coded. Specifically, the books were written by 75 different authors, of whom 61% were East Asian and 39% were White. After exclusion of six gender-unknown authors, 45% of the authors were female. For 32 books, the authors also illustrated the books. Most books ($n = 71$) were illustrated by one illustrator while four books were illustrated by two. The pattern was similar for ethnicity of the illustrators ($n = 72$): 58% were East Asian, 39% were White and 3% had a different ethnic background (Arab and Latin American). After exclusion of four gender-unknown illustrators, 41% of the illustrators were female.

Results of Pearson Chi square tests to examine the association between ethnicity of the author and the illustrator and books containing only White characters, only East Asian characters or both White and East Asian characters are presented in Table 2. There was a significant association between ethnicity of the characters in books and ethnicity of the author [χ^2 (2, $N = 72$) = 7.50, $p = 0.023$] and illustrator [χ^2 (2, $N = 73$) = 11.72, $p = 0.003$]. As may be expected, the books containing only East Asian characters were more often written by East Asian authors ($z = 2.08$, $p = .037$) and illustrators ($z = 2.69$, $p = .007$), the books containing only White characters were more often written by non-East Asian authors ($z = 2.64$, $p = .008$) and illustrators ($z = 3.26$, $p = .001$), and books containing both White and East Asian characters showed no significant difference between ethnicity of the author and illustrator.

Table 2 Books with White and East Asian characters in Relation to Author and Illustrator Ethnicity (*N* = 73)

	Books with only White characters (*N* = 32)	Books with only East Asian Characters (*N* = 21)	Books with White and East Asian Characters (*N* = 20)	χ	*df*	*p*
Ethnicity author [a]				7.50	2	.023
East Asian	14 (31%)	17 (38%)	14 (31%)			
Non-East Asian	17 (63%)	4 (15%)	6 (22%)			
Ethnicity illustrator				11.71	2	.003
East Asian	13 (27%)	18 (41%)	14 (32%)			
Non-East Asian	19 (68%)	3 (11%)	6 (21%)			

Note. After excluding the 14 name-and-ethnic-appearance inconsistent characters, a book with only one name-and-ethnic-appearance inconsistent character was not included in this analysis due to no characters left. A book with only characters perceived as neither East Asian nor White was not included.
[a] There is one book with no author.

Characters

Of the 1858 characters with a clear ethnic appearance, 50% were White, 40% were East Asian, and 10% were of other ethnicities. Patterns for protagonists (45% White, 42% East Asian, and 13% other ethnicities) and secondary characters (53% White, 32% East Asian, and 15% other ethnicities) showed that White characters were consistently the largest category, followed by East Asian characters. There was an exception for background characters (47% White, 47% East Asian, and 6% other ethnicities), as White and East Asian background characters were similarly represented. With inclusion of the 14 characters with inconsistent ethnic names and ethnic appearances, the patterns for all characters, secondary characters and background characters were the same. However, we identified more East Asian protagonists (47%) than White protagonists (42%) and other protagonists (11%) in children's books.

Comparison between age groups and gender of White and East Asian appearance characters were also analyzed (see Table 3). There was a significant association between ethnic appearance of the characters and gender [χ^2 (2, *N* = 1668) = 9.63, *p* = 0.008]. For both East Asia and White characters, males were more likely to be represented than females. More specifically, male characters were represented more among East Asian characters than among White characters ($z = 2.83$, $p = .004$), while female characters were represented more among White characters than among East Asian characters ($z = 2.46$, $p = .013$). There were no significant associations between ethnic appearance of the characters and age groups.

Prominence

The associations between ethnic appearance and prominence factors were investigated. Different from the ethnic distribution of characters, the relative representation in pages (representation on number of pages relative to total number of pages in the book) was higher

for East Asian characters ($Mdn = 0.03$) than for White characters ($Mdn = 0.02$, $U = 243943.00$, $p < .001$). Similarly, a significantly higher relative representation in pictures was found for East Asian characters ($Mdn = 0.04$) than for White characters ($Mdn = 0.01$, $U = 231442.50$, $p < .001$). In addition, there were significant associations between ethnic appearance of the character and role, having a name, and cover representation (see Table 3). Comparing the character role, both East Asian and White characters were equally likely to be the protagonist, while East Asian characters were significantly less represented as secondary characters ($z = -5.19$, $p < .001$), and more as background characters ($z = -4.91$, $p < .001$).

Table 3 Characteristics of East Asian and White Characters

	East Asian (N = 745)	White (N = 923)	χ	df	p
Gender			9.63	2	.008
Male	462 (62%)	509 (55%)			
Female	277 (37%)	398 (43%)			
Unclear	6 (1%)	16 (2%)			
Age group			6.32	4	.177
Child	226 (30%)	276 (30%)			
Teenager	23 (3%)	44 (5%)			
Adult	468 (63%)	577 (63%)			
Elderly	27 (4%)	22 (2%)			
Unclear	1 (0%)	4 (0%)			
Role			27.05	2	.000
Protagonist	33 (4%)	36 (4%)			
Secondary	255 (34%)	432 (47%)			
Background	457 (61%)	455 (49%)			
Name			22.43	1	.000
Yes	33 (4%)	99 (11%)			
Rep cover			3.87	1	.049
Yes	61 (8%)	53 (6%)			

Note. Rep = representation.

The associations between ethnic appearance of the character and the indicators of prominence were then separately analyzed for male and female characters. Among the 1858 sample characters, it was shown that a significantly higher relative representation in pages was found for both East Asian males ($Mdn = 0.03$, $U = 85220.00$, $p < .001$) and East Asian females ($Mdn = 0.03$, $U = 38096.00$, $p < .001$). Likewise, a significantly higher relative representation in pictures was also found for both East Asian males ($Mdn = 0.04$, $U = 75818.50$, $p < .001$) and East Asian females ($Mdn = 0.04$, $U = 38883.50$, $p < .001$). In addition, there was no significant association between ethnic appearance and character roles for females, but there was for males [$\chi^2 (2, N = 971) = 43.60$, $p < .001$]. Specifically, White male characters (50%) were represented as secondary characters more often than East Asian male characters [30%, $\chi^2 (1, N = 971) = 23.90$, $p < .001$], whereas East Asian male characters (66%) were represented as background

characters more often than White male characters [45%, χ^2 (1, $N = 971$) = 42.60, $p < .001$]. Further, East Asian males (4%) were less likely to have names than White male characters [12%, χ^2 (1, $N = 971$) = 24.23, $p = < .001$], but there was no significant association between ethnic appearance and having a name for female characters. Conversely, East Asian female characters (10%) were more likely to appear on the cover than White female characters [4%, χ^2 (1, $N = 675$) = 8.943, $p = 0.003$], whereas there was no significant association between ethnic appearance and cover appearance for males.

Physical Features

The 14 characters with inconsistencies between their ethnic names and ethnic appearances were excluded from analyses regarding physical features. To summarize, for all the physical features that can be observed, 84% of the East Asian characters ($n = 579$) had epicanthal folds. East Asian characters ($n = 694$) had 26% light, 52% mid-tone, 16% somewhat dark, and 5% very dark skin tone. Moreover, 79% of the East Asian characters ($n = 619$) had black hair and 95% of the East Asian characters ($n = 587$) had straight hair.

Results of Pearson Chi square tests to examine the association between physical features in East Asian characters and character gender are presented in Table 4. As can be seen, eyes with epicanthal folds were shown significantly more in East Asian female characters than in East Asian male characters [χ^2 (1, $N = 573$) =6.72, $p = 0.010$]. In contrast, straight hair was shown more in East Asian male characters than East Asian female characters [χ^2 (1, $N = 583$) =13.77, $p < .001$]. There was no significant difference in female and male skin tone distribution, although the comparison showed a trend towards significance [χ^2 (3, $N = 689$) = 7.39, $p = 0.060$]. East Asian female characters were somewhat more likely to be illustrated with a light skin tone but less likely with a very dark skin tone than East Asian male characters. Finally, no significant association was found between hair color and character gender.

Table 4 Physical Features in East Asian Male and Female Characters

	East Asian Male characters (%)	East Asian Female characters (%)	χ	df	p
Eyes with epicanthal folds			6.72	1	.010
Yes	80	89			
Skin tone			7.39	3	.060
Light	24	29			
Mid-tone	52	52			
Somewhat dark	17	16			
Very dark	7	3			
Black hair			0.16	1	.692
Yes	80	79			
Straight hair			13.77	1	.000
Yes	98	92			

Discussion

The present study aimed to shed light on the ethnic representation of authors, illustrators, and characters of books for young children in China that (1) won awards, or (2) were in the annual sales ranks of one of the most popular online book stores in China from 2011 to 2018. Results demonstrated that the authors and the illustrators are predominantly East Asians, while more White rather than East Asian characters were found in the Chinese books for young children. More male than female characters, especially among East Asians, were depicted in the books. For some indicators East Asian characters were more prominent, especially females, whereas for the other indicators White characters were more prominent, especially males. Gender differences in physical feature illustrations in East Asian characters were found in terms of eye shape and hair style.

The results of the present study indicated a predominance (just over half) of East Asian authors and illustrators, suggesting many opportunities for role models for Chinese young children (Hughes-Hassell et al., 2009). However, when considering that almost the entire Chinese population is East Asian (>99.4%; NBS, 2020a), this finding actually reflects an underrepresentation of East Asian authors and illustrators as compared to the population. In Canada, the Netherlands, and the United States, a higher degree of dominance (White authors and illustrators over 80%) was found in popular books for young children (e.g., de Bruijn et al., 2020; Dionne, 2014; Koss, 2015). Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the degree of dominance of East Asian authors and illustrators in popular children's books in China is smaller than that of White authors and illustrators in children's books in North Atlantic countries.

In addition, the largest ethnic category of the characters was White, followed by East Asian. This result suggests that Chinese children are less likely to see East Asian characters (who are more likely to look similar to them) than White characters. This might lead Chinese children to have fewer opportunities to identify with a character and to be less connected to the character's experience and emotions (Slater & Rouner, 2002; Witmer & Singer, 1998), and thus contributing to potential lower reading motivation (Hughes-Hassell et al,. 2009). In addition, the higher representation of White characters than East Asian characters in Chinese children's books is in line with earlier studies on the popularity of for example Caucasian and Eurasian models and celebrities in Asia (Goon & Craven, 2003; Stohry et al., 2021), and adds to this body of research by showing this pattern in children's literature.

An overrepresentation of White authors, illustrators, and characters in Chinese children's books reflects the White preference on China's book market. This is due to decisions by the publication import entities who take the market demand into account. Chinese parents show a strong demand for imported books due to a lack of satisfactory contemporary children's books written by Chinese authors and illustrators (e.g., stories about ancient China are distant from the life of contemporary Chinese children, old-fashioned painting styles; Yang, 2012). The censorship of the press by the administrative department for publication in China seldom applies to the books for young children because the criteria used for censoring mainly aim to exclude, for example, books against China's sovereignty and territorial integrity (Regulations on the administration of publication, 2001, cl 45-46). This means that children's books are very likely to be approved for import. Therefore, the children's books market in China gradually shows a high proportion of imported books resulting in Chinese children's being continuously exposed to White (Western) contexts, cultures, and norms, including White-normative messages about physical appearance from picture books.

It is also interesting to note that ethnicity of the author was related to ethnicity of the characters: the books with characters all from one specific ethnic group were written by authors and illustrators of that same ethnic group. There is evidence that insiders depict their cultural traditions and its people the most authentically and qualitatively in literature (Bista, 2012).Thus, Chinese children are likely to be exposed to authentic characters and stories about the East Asian (especially in the books containing only East Asian characters) and the White group (especially in the books containing only White characters).

At the character level, gender and age of the characters were analyzed in this study as two other salient factors in terms of identification for children (Chen et al., 2016). In general, consistent with findings in other countries (de Bruijn et al., 2020; Hamilton et al., 2006), males were overrepresented among both White and East Asian characters. Furthermore, a significant association between gender and ethnicity was found, indicating a bigger gender representation gap for East Asian characters. This result suggests that girls may have more difficulty identifying with characters, especially with East Asian characters, based on the similarity identification hypothesis (Cohen, 2001). No significant intersection between gender and ethnicity was found in previous studies of Western books for young children (e.g., de Bruijn et al., 2020; Eisenberg, 2002). A possible explanation for a higher dominant level of East Asian male characters might be the patriarchal demographics in contemporary China, with its skewed gender ratio favoring males because of the preference for boys in traditional Chinese culture, especially under the one-child policy between the 1980s to the year 2015. In fact, the gender gap in the children books in the present study (166 male to 100 female characters) was bigger than those of the newborn baby and total population statistics (approximately 120 newborn boys to 100 girls; 105 males to 100 females in total population; Abrahamson, 2016; Greenhalgh, 2013; NBS, 2020b). Given that children's books are an important source of new concepts and morals for young children, equal representation of male and female characters is important.

In addition, indicators of prominence of characters were examined because they can provide more information about the degree in which the audience gets acquainted with a character. The present study indicated that East Asian characters were represented on a relatively higher number of pages and pictures than White characters. This may be explained by the types of books in which the two groups of characters are represented. The books by East Asian authors and illustrators (generally with East Asian characters) had a lower number of characters on average so that one character would make up a higher proportion of characters. Moreover, East Asian characters, especially females, were more often on the cover than White characters. Because only eight more East Asian than White characters were shown on the cover in all sampled books, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions from this finding. Future research is needed to replicate this result in larger samples to see a clearer pattern.

Lower character prominence in terms of roles and names was found for East Asian characters. There may be multiple explanations for this finding. Firstly, the cultural trait of collectivism, i.e., to work as a group rather than the emphasis on individual worth and initiative that is typical for East Asian culture, may be reflected in more group than individually prominent representation of East Asian characters (Lui & Rollock, 2018). The representation of non-prominent East Asian characters in books written by White authors and illustrators may reflect diversity efforts, that is, tokenism, which may activate negative stereotypes associated with the tokenized identity (Paul et al., 2020). We also found that character prominence in terms of roles and names was higher for East Asian females than males. This result seems contradictory to the underrepresentation of females in children's books, but is likely due to the fact that books for children under six years old often include family or (pre-)school settings

with adult female characters that typically fulfill prominent roles in these contexts (e.g., mothers, teachers, child care professionals). It appears that the high prominence of women in young children's lives in real life is mirrored in these children's books.

Physical features among East Asian characters were analyzed because the illustration of characters could transmit preferences for specific physical features to young children. The present study showed a higher percentage of light and a lower percentage of dark skin tone for illustrated East Asian characters than for the actual East Asian population (a small percentage of people have light skin color, the majority has intermediate or somewhat dark skin color; Liu et al., 2007). This result may bring potential skin color biases, supported by colorism, between persons of the same ethnicity in which someone with a lighter complexion is considered more beautiful and seen as having a higher social and economic status than someone with dark skin tone (Sconiers, 2018; Yu, 2021). Chinese children may therefore develop (or strengthen) a white or light skin tone preference, and those who have a dark skin tone themselves may have a higher risk of negative self-evaluation in terms of appearance (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999; Rice et al., 2016). The result showed a trend towards significance towards more light skin tone and less dark skin tone for female characters, which is consistent with observations that colorism is gendered, and especially prominent in the lives of females (Alexander & Carter, 2022; Hill, 2002; Wilder & Cain, 2011). Previous studies indeed indicated that East Asian people have a preference for White or lighter skin color, and Chinese males had a stronger preference for lighter skin color Chinese women (Krishen et al., 2014).

In addition, the frequencies of eyes illustrated with epicanthal folds in the books for young children were at the top of the range in the East Asian population (50-90%; Lee et al., 2000), and more often seen in East Asian female than male characters. There was no evidence of a preference for (East Asian) characters without epicanthal folds in the books, suggesting that they do not contribute to such preference in children, especially for the beauty ideals for East Asian females. Similarly, ethnically typical straight hair was most common in illustrated East Asian characters, higher than the highest percentage in Chinese population statistics (64-91%; Tan et al., 2013), although more often illustrated among males than females. Further, the majority of characters had black hair (no national comparison statistic available). This result suggests no promotion of preference for hair types uncommon to East Asian people. In short, the physical features presented in the books as compared to population statistics show that light skin color is overrepresented, and other typical features are in the high ranges of representation.

Several limitations of the present study should be discussed. Firstly, 21 of the 75 sample books were part of a series, and only the first book in the list of each series was selected, as some of the series consisted of a large number of books (up to 100). Although ethnic representation in each book in a specific series is generally similar considering the consistent social contexts in stories, children might be exposed to characters with specific ethnic backgrounds more often if they have multiple books of the same series and spend more time reading books in a series than those who are not part of one. Given that the ethnic representation gap is bigger in books from series, with a lower percentage of East Asian characters, children may in fact be exposed to even fewer East Asian characters than reported in this study. Secondly, the results on skin tones should be interpreted cautiously, because bias in color categorization, for example, the influence of the colors surrounding a human character in a picture, is almost impossible to be avoided by a human coder. Digital methods for face recognition and skin tone categorization have been considered to mitigate this problem. However, rotated faces cannot yet be successfully recognized by the computers (Jha et al., 2018), limiting the usefulness of this method. Further research with more objective color categorization following the

development of digital methods for face recognition and skin tone categorization is needed. Lastly, it is important to note that the internet and social media were not studied in the present study although they may also play a large role in globalization and the preference for White people and culture in China. However, young children under 6 years old generally have very limited access to the internet. Researchers could include multiple types of media, for example, social media and books for formal schooling, in future studies aimed at older children.

Conclusion

The present study pioneers the investigation of ethnic representation issues in East Asia by examining books for young children (6 years old and under) in China, by examining both the ethnic representation statistics and indicators of prominence of characters, and by examining the frequency of physical features illustrated in East Asian characters. The results reveal an overrepresentation of White authors, illustrators, and characters as compared to population statistics, as well as a light skin color preference for East Asian characters in illustrations in books for young children in China. White prevalence and White preference in Chinese children's books are driven by the promotion of publication import entities under a demand for imported books among Chinese parents, and are not hindered by the censorship of the press. These mechanisms may reflect a form of postcolonial globalization influencing children's literature in China, i.e., overrepresentation of White culture and underrepresentation of ethnic culture in books with the educational function in China at younger level. The results can help us understand the potential early childhood origins of the preference for White people and culture in China.

Titelpagina

Chapter 6

General Discussion

This dissertation aimed to examine the ethnic socialization context in the upbringing of Chinese-Dutch children, specifically three social-contextual factors: parents (Chapters 2, 3 and 4), children's books (Chapter 5), and the COVID pandemic (Chapter 2 and 3). Consistent with Social Identity Theory and Systematic Justification Theory, results from Chapter 2 revealed that Chinese-Dutch children (7-to 11-years old) evaluated their own ethnic group and the White outgroup most positively, followed by the Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) outgroup, and the Black outgroup least positively. When it comes to their immediate social environment (e.g., parents), stronger maternal endorsement of multiculturalism is associated with lower child ethnic prejudice (in terms of less ingroup preference; Chapter 2). In addition, Chapter 3 described maternal self-report ethnic-racial socialization strategies and Chapter 4 showed the results of behavior observations that revealed that Chinese-Dutch children are exposed to color-evasiveness and white normativity from their mothers at home. Results from Chapter 5 indicated overrepresentation of White authors, illustrators, and characters, and preference for light skin color in East Asian characters in illustrations in Chinese children's books, suggesting a form of current postcolonial globalization influences on Chinese children's literature. When it comes to a broader social environment, results from Chapter 3 indicated ethnicity-related attitude differences among Chinese-Dutch mothers participating after than before the COVID outbreak, with higher perceived discrimination and stronger ethnic identity. Similarly, different ethnic attitudes were also found among Chinese-Dutch children, with a lower ingroup rejection in the post-COVID-outbreak group than the pre-COVID-outbreak group (Chapter 2), which confirms the impact of world-changing events on (the development of) ethnic prejudice in children. The current chapter reviews and discusses the main findings and implications of these findings.

Ethnic prejudice among Chinese-Dutch children

Ethnic prejudice can be described by levels of preference and rejection regarding both the ethnic ingroup and outgroups. The results from Chapter 2 showed that Chinese-Dutch children preferred their ethnic ingroup and the White outgroup children rather than children from other underrepresented ethnic outgroups (MENA and Black children). No differences were found between preference for the East Asian ingroup children and preference for the White outgroup children. In addition, rejection was higher towards the Black than towards other children.

These results confirmed that ingroup favoritism is present in early to middle childhood (i.e., 7- to 11-years old; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011) based on the Social Identity Theory (SIT) premise that favoring one's own (ethnic) group fulfills the basic human need for positive self-image and self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Furthermore, dominant-group favoritism and relatively negative evaluations of the other underrepresented ethnic groups found in the Chinese-Dutch children are consistent with Systematic Justification Theory (SJT, Brown, 2010), confirming that Chinese-Dutch children show awareness and justification of the social status quo where the White dominant group is better off and more respected than other groups in society (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Olson et al., 2012). Consistent with previous findings conducted among children with different ethnic backgrounds in the Netherlands, Chinese-Dutch children, similar to Turkish- and Black Dutch children (6- to 10-years old), showed no preference or rejection difference between their own ethnic group and the White outgroup, i.e., limited ingroup preference (Pektas et al., 2022). Additionally, White and Turkish-Dutch children showed more prejudice in terms of rejection towards Black children compared to Black Dutch children (de Bruijn et al., 2022; Pektas et al., 2022). These results mirror the ethnic hierarchy observed by underrepresented ethnic groups living in the Netherlands, i.e., other underrepresented ethnic groups rank after the ingroup and the White Dutch population

(Verkuyten et al., 1996). Last but not least, the studies including children with different ethnic backgrounds in the Netherlands imply that particularly Black children are at risk of being prejudiced and even discriminated against by other children in the Dutch context. Therefore, besides the study on children from dominant ethnic groups, research on interethnic prejudice between different underrepresented ethnic groups is also worthwhile to understand intergroup tensions from multiple perspectives to make an improved intergroup relation with the efforts of both dominant and underrepresented ethnic groups.

Maternal intergroup ideology and socialization behaviors

This dissertation examined maternal intergroup ideology and ethnic socialization behaviors, given that mothers act as one of the most critical social-contextual factors in association with individual differences in child interethnic prejudice. Results from Chapter 2 indicated that maternal endorsement of multiculturalism was related to lower child ethnic prejudice in terms of less ingroup preference in the Chinese-Dutch family context. Less ingroup preference suggests that the Chinese-Dutch children tended to be more egalitarian in their peer choices, reflecting more equality in interethnic attitudes. This result is consistent with patterns found in previous research that stronger multiculturalism was related to lower prejudice in general (Leslie et al., 2020). However, maternal multiculturalism endorsement was not related to child outgroup prejudice, neither lower rejection nor higher preference. Previous findings indicated inconsistent associations between maternal multiculturalism and child outgroup prejudice across underrepresented ethnic families in the Netherlands. More specifically, associations between maternal multiculturalism and lower child outgroup prejudice were found among Turkish-Dutch mother-child dyads against the Black outgroup but not among Black Dutch mother-child dyads against the Turkish outgroup (de Bruijn et al., 2021). Given that the present study is very new, and associations between maternal multiculturalism ideology and child outgroup prejudice are not straightforward and seem population-dependent (Leslie et al., 2020), more studies with diverse populations in the Netherlands are still needed to replicate these findings.

Children tend to adopt social norms and views through observational learning, social interactions, or taking part in different cultural practices (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). In addition to the maternal self-report questionnaire on multiculturalism ideology, the present study adopted an interactive social categorization game between mother and child to examine maternal behaviors adhering to certain ethnicity-related social norms. The results from Chapter 4 examined maternal behaviors that indicate color-evasiveness and white normativity via video-observed research methods. Although most Chinese-Dutch mothers asked ethnic-racial questions in both versions of the game, gender questions were asked more frequently. Given that people process ethnicity and gender characteristics simultaneously, with an even faster speed on ethnicity than on gender (Ito & Urland, 2003), it seems that Chinese-Dutch mothers may regard talking about ethnic-racial backgrounds more like a taboo than talking about gender. Furthermore, color-evasive behaviors (i.e., not asking ethnic-racial questions) were adopted more in the game that included White and East Asian adult pictures than in the one that included White and Black adult pictures. Given that all the East Asian adults have (near) black hair, which distinguishes them from all the White adults among whom none have black hair, some mothers tend to see hair color questions as a proxy for the ethnic-racial question in White versus East Asian adult version of the game, so as to avoid ethnic-racial questions in this way (n = 23). Similar proxy situations did not apply to the White versus Black adult version because some male adults in the pictures were bald. The results may also reflect that Chinese-Dutch mothers tend to show patterns of a preference to be seen as integrated or Western, leading to less emphasis that Asians are different from Whites, and less ethnic attention or distinctions between

these two ethnic groups. The results are similar to patterns found in the U.S. context, where underrepresented Asian groups are often seen as 'honorary Whites' due to their economic successes and (unconscious) assimilation into white norms and culture (Chong & Song, 2022).

Bias in ethnic-racial focus reflecting white normativity (i.e., formulating ethnic-racial questions focusing on non-White than on White skin color) was found in both versions of the games in Chapter 4. It may lead Chinese-Dutch children to be exposed to white normativity messages at home, in addition to the existing widespread expression by White educators at school (Weiner, 2016). Chinese-Dutch children may be therefore more likely to internalize white normativity than to challenge it (Gross & Vostroknutov, 2022; Lindström et al., 2018). This social norm suggests a form of contemporary racism by exposing people of color to the risk of rejection or marginalization if they deviate from the white standard or norm (Bhandaru, 2013).

Combining the descriptive results of Chinese-Dutch mothers' strong multiculturalism ideology (beliefs that differences in ethnicity should be given attention and respect) and the observed behaviors adhering to color evasion and white normativity, we can see that parents' self-report about their intergroup ideology and how they interact with their children in their daily lives may not always be consistent. Multiple indicators can be examined in future research to obtain a more accurate description of children's ethnic socialization context at home. In addition, future research is needed to examine to what extent different indicators, such as maternal ethnicity-related ideology and behaviors, are related to Chinese-Dutch children's interethnic prejudice, identity, and their willingness to obey or go against some white-centered social norms, which seems essential to understand the motivation among the second-generation Asian immigrant groups to reduce ethnic prejudice and stereotypes in society.

Children's books: Parasocial contact hypothesis

According to the parasocial contact hypothesis, frequent representation and positive portrayals of outgroup members in different sociocultural channels (e.g. printed media, books, either with or without interactions with ingroup members) can affect intergroup attitudes (Schiappa et al., 2005). Chapter 5 examined the ethnic representation of authors, illustrators, and characters of the most popular Chinese books for children from 2011 to 2018, and the prominence of different ethnic characters. Results from Chapter 5 demonstrated that the authors and the illustrators in the Chinese children's books are predominantly East Asians, whereas more White than East Asian characters was found. East Asian characters (especially females) were more prominent for some indicators, whereas White characters (especially males) were more prominent for the other indicators. Given that almost the entire Chinese population is East Asian (> 99.4% of the population in mainland China; NBS, 2020a), this result reflects an overrepresentation of White (and an underrepresentation of East Asian) authors, illustrators, and characters compared to the population in China. It is good to emphasize that White overrepresentation in White dominant societies, such as in Canada, the Netherlands, and the United States (de Bruijn et al., 2020; Dionne, 2014; Koss, 2015) is about the issue of ethnic equality. By contrast, White overrepresentation in a non-White dominant society, such as in China in the current study, reflects the issue of postcolonialism. Current postcolonial globalization influences in China have been seen in things like the popularity of White models, celebrities, and Whitening products (Goon & Craven, 2003). Similarly, an overrepresentation of White authors, illustrators, and characters in Chinese children's books in Chapter 5 reflects the White prevalence and preference on Chinese book market. Therefore, Chinese children are likely to be continuously exposed to White (Western) contexts, cultures, and white-normative messages about physical appearance from picture books. As indicated, books can be seen as one of the social-contextual factors that impact one's ethnic prejudice, books published in

Chinese can also be accessed by or included as part of ethnic-racial socialization in Chinese immigrant families living in the Netherlands (mainly when the mothers are first-generation immigrants). Previous research has indicated that books with characters of different ethnic backgrounds can play a role in young children's social learning experiences regarding their interethnic prejudice (So, 2016; Welch, 2016). The overrepresentation and prominence of White characters found in Chinese children's books therefore suggest a potential for a positive impact on Chinese-Dutch children's White outgroup attitudes, while it may also have a negative impact on their self-image.

Natural experiment: COVID impact

Major social events, such as the COVID pandemic, can be seen as another social-contextual factor impacting developments in ethnicity-related experiences and attitudes, whose influence on the entire group equally in principle. Specifically, results from Chapter 3 confirmed similar results with previous studies (e.g., Elias et al., 2021; Ittefaq et al., 2022; Lou et al., 2021) that Chinese-Dutch mothers participating during the pandemic reported more discrimination experiences, specifically subtle discrimination, and stronger ethnic identity than mothers participating before the pandemic. In the early pandemic, the fear of the virus as a physical threat brought more significant prejudice and racial intolerance toward the underrepresented Chinese group (Bavel et al., 2020; Elias et al., 2021). Based on the rejection-identification model (RIM, Branscombe et al., 1999), underrepresented ethnic groups deal with the pain of prejudice and discrimination by increasing ingroup identification, and this is reflected in the findings of the current study. The results in Chapter 3 also indicate that an increase in strength of ethnic identity can happen in a relatively short period. Contrary to expectations, no differences were found in the ethnic-racial socialization practices between Chinese-Dutch mothers participating either before or during the pandemic, suggesting that parenting behaviors do not change quickly or easily. An overview of evidence about the impact of interventions on positive parenting practices in the past 20 years revealed only small effect sizes, i.e., at 0.10 on average (Supplee & Duggan, 2019). Therefore, big social events, such as the outbreak of COVID-19, can impact the majority of people's attitudes (in the form of subtle discrimination) toward a specific ethnic group, as well as the corresponding feelings of the targeted ethnic group toward the host and heritage ethnic group, but has a less evident impact at the behavior level.

Research on children responding to the COVID pandemic is somewhat limited, and it is unclear whether the process for children with a Chinese background is similar to that for adults. Chapter 2 provides a bonus perspective to explore potential differences in child interethnic attitudes before and after the outbreak of COVID-19. The results showed that ingroup rejection in Chinese-Dutch children was lower after than before the outbreak, but not in ingroup preference or outgroup preference, or rejection scores. The difference in ingroup rejection scores might be due to a focus on the Chinese (or East Asian) ingroup in the COVID situation, especially on condemning discrimination against East Asians and then translating into less ingroup negative attitudes in Chinese-Dutch families. In other words, Chinese-Dutch children were aware of and condemned negative attitudes in surrounding society. The difference in child ingroup attitude in Chapter 2 suggests that social events, as a social-contextual factor, also apply to children in terms of the development of interethnic attitudes. Last but not least, the outbreak of COVID-19 followed by Asian hate crimes, but also for example the death of George Floyd followed by the Black Lives Matter movement, can be seen as crucial ethnicity-related social events that may affect adults' and children's ingroup and outgroup feelings.

Strengths and Limitations

Most notably, this dissertation makes an important contribution to the academic literature because the Asian underrepresented group has been the least studied underrepresented ethnic group in the interethnic research field (Simon, 2021), and even more scarce in the European context. The underrepresented Asian group receives less attention partly due to their smaller population and relatively less direct conflicts with the White dominant society which is reflected in the 'the model minority' label for this group reported in the media. In addition, the underrepresented Asian group itself has also raised their voice less often compared to other underrepresented ethnic groups due to their lower social participation and intergroup contact with the native people, partly because of language barriers, cultural differences or (consequently) less familiarity with the social system in the countries to which they migrated. Their integration experiences, efforts, and challenges remain hidden for society (e.g., people, policymakers) outside their community. This dissertation has therefore provided more insight into the Asian group in the Netherlands, a less visible ethnic group in the European context. Fortunately, a change in the (East) Asian representation in different sociocultural channels can be increasingly seen in the Netherlands, especially since COVID. There are more public figures (e.g. Pete Wu, Alice Wong, Hui Hui Pan) from the community who started to speak out for the Asian group, for example through opinion pieces in newspapers (e.g., in Het Parool, de Volkskrant), through books (e.g., De bananengeneratie), and newly established organizations (e.g., Pan Asian Collective).

Another strength of this dissertation is the natural experimental research design, with half of the data collected before the outbreak of COVID-19 and half afterward. This type of naturally divided data can more accurately examine potential differences before and after the outbreak of COVID-19 in ethnicity-related experiences, and ethnic attitudes among the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands. Last but not least, a variety of research methods was adopted in this dissertation, including a self-report questionnaire with adults, a social preference task with children, text and illustrated information in children's books, and observations of mother-child interactions. Diverse research methods may contribute to understand different social-contextual factors that may impact on child interethnic prejudice development among Chinese-Dutch children.

There are several limitations of this dissertation to highlight. In Chapters 2, 3, and 4, the sample size was relatively small, which might have hampered finding significant results in the case of small effect sizes. In other words, because most effects in this field are rather small, it could be that we missed out on some results. Future studies with larger sample sizes in the Chinese immigrant group in the Netherlands are needed to investigate ethnicity-related experiences, prejudice of this underrepresented ethnic group, and its potential predictors. Secondly, the participating mothers were highly educated (96% were college educated or higher). The recruitment methods, based on self-selection, may attract mothers who are more interested in the diversity issues in the children's context and might show relatively more active and optimistic views on intergroup relations in this dissertation. The results from these chapters cannot be generalized to the whole underrepresented Chinese group in the Netherlands, let alone Europe. Thirdly, the focus of this dissertation was on mothers. Although we also invited fathers to participate in this study, only a few participated ($n = 30$), and the fathers' sample size was insufficient for the analyses in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Future studies including mothers and fathers will provide a complete picture of socialization agents in the family context. Finally, the impact of methodological differences due to COVID-19 (i.e., physical visits before the outbreak and online visits afterward) leaves space for discussion in Chapters 2 and 4. With the same formulation of the task instructions, tasks with no intensive interactions in Chapter 2 were

regarded as identical assessments in offline and online visits. Tasks with interactions in Chapter 4 were checked to see if methodological differences brought any difference in the results collected offline and online.

The main limitation in Chapter 5 is about the bias in skin color categorization, including the influence of the colors surrounding a human character in a picture, which was almost impossible to be avoided by human coders. Digital methods, machine learning in face recognition and automatic skin color categorization, were considered but rotated faces cannot yet be successfully recognized by computers (Jha et al., 2018), limiting the adoption of this method. Moreover, multiple media, such as the internet and social media, were not examined in the present study and may play a more important role in globalization and the preference of White people and culture in the Chinese context. However, picture books are still one of the most important social-contextual factors that young children with a Chinese background (under six years) can access.

Challenges

Although this dissertation has shown some valuable findings in interethnic prejudice among the Chinese-Dutch group and its associations with multiple social-contextual factors based on Social Learning Theory, the research team encountered many challenges which future studies can address. Firstly, recruiting the Chinese-Dutch participants was difficult and time consuming. Chinese-Dutch people are spread across the Netherlands, and fewer live in the same community compared with other migrant groups (Gijsberts et al., 2011). Reaching this migration group, especially before COVID-19, took a lot of work. Each event (e.g., child activities) would generally lead to the recruitment of only a few Chinese-Dutch families. Chinese New Year's celebration events can be a good opportunity for researchers to have access to more Chinese immigrant families. However, most events happen within the same week (or the same day) in different cities, so more recruiters must be available in different celebrations within that one or two weeks. Meanwhile, parents with a Chinese background are usually very protective of their children and generally concerned with privacy and security. Because the present study before the COVID pandemic required a home visit, most parents refused to participate when they heard some strangers would visit their home and film the interactions between the parents and the child. Research with the video observation method is not popular in mainland China and most first-generation Chinese immigrant parents had never heard of this research method and did not understand the meaning. In addition, there was no previously established trust between the researchers and the participants, making the response rate for the recruitment even lower.

During the pandemic, recruitment was adjusted to be online. It seems a more convenient way to share recruitment information in some Wechat groups targeting Chinese mothers living in the Netherlands due to the prevalence of Wechat among Chinese-speaking people ("To Cover China", 2019). It should be noted that there is a lot of information every day in a Wechat group, and many parents can easily skip the recruitment information. Researchers in the future can pay attention to several issues. For example, information posting time is best done in the evening when most parents are after work and children are almost at bedtimes. Well-timed posting can increase the possibility that parents are available and may see the recruitment information in a Wechat group. A recruitment video, together with a digital leaflet, can be shared. Because there is less mutual trust in social media, a recruitment video made by the researchers (with contact information and a university webpage link) will attract more attention than texts. It makes online recruitment more lively and personal. Finally, researchers can follow up with each potential participant in a polite way, such as by providing enough time for the parents to consider their participation, kindly reminding them when there is no response after one week

(just in case they forgot your message), posting project-related updates to establish a long-lasting trust. Researchers should be mindful of extra ethical requirements, such as not asking for personal information (e.g., participants' living address) via Wechat, noting that forwarding the recruitment information may let other people know you have attended this research project, and so forth. Communications via a digital platform should still be human-centered and more efforts to establish trust should be made.

Language diversity is another challenge during the data collection and coding procedure. In order to have a more 'inclusive' data collection procedure, all the instructions during the visit and the questionnaires were made in two versions: in Dutch and in Chinese (simplified Chinese and traditional Chinese). Each home visit was conducted by two researchers (one researcher spoke Dutch as the mother tongue while the other researcher spoke Mandarin as the mother tongue) to ensure that parents can communicate in the language they feel comfortable with. In mixed families, the mother and father sometimes spoke English with each other, but the researchers should confirm that all the instructions were given in Dutch and/or in Chinese, which was well-translated in a standardized way. However, the researchers in this team cannot speak Cantonese, which means that the participating parents who only speak Cantonese are not present in this study. Besides, some of the mothers with a Chinese background speak Thai or Mongolian as their mother tongue. Unfortunately, the information collected in the video between the mother and the child talking in these languages was not coded. Future researchers should be mindful of the language diversity issue. Researchers with multilingual proficiency can be recruited, at least in Dutch, Mandarin, and Cantonese, which will be beneficial for recruitment and home/online visits.

A novel challenge for the current study was the outbreak of COVID-19 in the middle of data collection. Due to the COVID-related policy (e.g., lockdown, a limited number of guests from the same family for a visit), the physical home visit was adjusted online. When the research team translates all the tasks and research materials into the digital way, materials should be as simple and ordinary as possible. For example, the parent-child cooperative task was to build KAPLA blocks together based on a challenging model printed on paper. As for the online visit, considering that not each family has KAPLA blocks at home, but standardized research material is highly expected, we changed this cooperative task into an origami task in which parents and children fold origami with a piece of A4 paper (or any paper) based on a challenging model shown on the screen. This adjustment makes the cooperative task possible because each family has some papers at hand. The video information the research needs can be obtained via digital software (e.g., Kaltura, which has a consent contract with the university, and the participating parents do not need to register a personal account on it). In the early pandemic, everyone considered the impossibility of physical home visits a fatal challenge. However, after experiencing the convenience of online visits, regardless of the weather, transportation, or traffic conditions, more researchers may choose not to go back to the traditional home visit research methods. Because webcam video observation can be time-saving, energy-saving, and cost-saving, further studies are recommended to adopt this cutting-edge approach for video observation in the post-COVID era. It should be noted that extra ethical approval should be and was obtained from the university committee.

Implications

The present dissertation has several important implications for research and for society. Firstly, significant differences were found pre- and post-COVID-19 outbreak in discrimination experiences (specifically subtle) and ethnic identity among the Chinese-Dutch mothers. Because subtle discrimination experiences have the same negative consequences as overt forms of discrimination experiences (Jones et al., 2016), media and policy makers should be aware of

the negative consequences of framing and the nuances presented in media and the public discourse. In addition, the COVID pandemic, followed by the racism pandemic, plays a role in developing views of ingroup and outgroup members in the Chinese-Dutch group. Although we need to be careful with causal interpretations of correlational data, this process also seems to apply to children. Confirming the social-cognitive developmental approach to ethnic prejudice in children, children in middle childhood (with cognitive skills to categorize people in different ethnic groups) seem to be influenced by their immediate and broader social environment (e.g., family or peer conversations, media consumption; Levy & Hughes, 2009). In addition, the content of messages in their environment is influenced by world-changing events. Therefore, researchers in this area should be particularly mindful of current rapid societal changes in recent years, including but not limited to Black Lives Matter movement and the Stop Asian Hate movement, that may affect ethnicity-related attitudes and behaviors in the general population.

Secondly, Chinese-Dutch children have stronger prejudice towards other underrepresented ethnic groups, especially the Black groups, than towards the dominant White outgroup. Consistent with the previous results found in the Netherlands (e.g., Pektas et al., 2022) in which Black children are at risk of being prejudiced and even discriminated against by children from other underrepresented ethnic groups in the Dutch context. Research on interethnic prejudice between different underrepresented ethnic groups is therefore also worthwhile. By doing so, researchers can understand intergroup tensions from not only majority-minority but also from minority-minority perspectives and to further provide insight in promoting solidarity among people of color to strive for a more inclusive society (the importance of this type of solidarity has been discussed in previous research, e.g., Li, 2021). Potential interventions, such as books and videos done before exclusively within dominant ethnic families (Mesman et al., 2022; Perry et al., 2020; Vittrup & Holden, 2011), need to be tailored and examined in different underrepresented ethnic families. Such research can likewise contribute to an improved intergroup relation with the efforts of underrepresented ethnic groups.

Thirdly, when comparing the results from Chapters 2 and 4, we can see that parental self-reported intergroup ideology (such as multiculturalism) can be different from how they put their ideology or attitudes into practice (such as white normativity and color-evasive behaviors). Multiple indicators can be examined with different research methods in the future to have a more accurate description of the children's ethnic socialization context in the family. Considering potential higher challenges in behavior observation and coding systems to collect valid data on concrete parenting practices compared to self-report attitude questionnaires, innovative research methods are needed to examine ethnicity-related parenting practices (Hughes et al., 2006). Indeed, the importance of new methods to examine parent-child bidirectional interactions has been highlighted by researchers (Aguayo et al., 2021). As a further step, more studies are needed to understand how parental attitudes and concrete parent-child interactive practices are related to child interethnic prejudice and compare the influences of different messages from parents.

Fourthly, White overrepresentation and White preference based on the investigation in ethnic representation in Chinese children's books reported in Chapter 5 is the current situation in the Chinese children's book market, knowingly or unknowingly led by the publishers and parents. These mechanisms may reflect a form of postcolonial globalization impacting children's literature at a younger level. The awareness of postcolonial issues in books or other media can be seen as the first step. Furthermore, diagnostic tools to evaluate and improve (ethnic and gender) representations, similar to the recent work tailored for school textbooks (van Veen et al., 2022), can be developed as well but tailored to the Chinese literature in order to make the portrayal of outgroups of color in the media more representative while with reduced

prevalence of stereotypes for its society. An inclusive representation in the media is to represent people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds (including White, Black, MENA groups), not only the White (or Western) ones. More importantly, interethnic friendships beyond the representation itself, for example, friendship between Black and Asian groups, should be included in the Chinese media to be beneficial to fostering positive intergroup attitudes towards diverse ethnic groups based on the results of interventions using indirect contact measures with books (Cameron et al., 2006; 2007).

Conclusions

In conclusion, this dissertation provides insight into Chinese-Dutch children's interethnic prejudice and ideologies and norms they may be exposed to through three different social-contextual factors: parents, books, and the COVID pandemic. This dissertation makes an important contribution to understanding the context of child ethnic prejudice development based on social learning theory, specifically in an understudied underrepresented ethnic group. It highlights the importance of raising awareness of the overrepresentation of White people and culture in Chinese children's literature, and some socialization behaviors that represent the white standard among Chinese mothers. It also shows that maternal multiculturalism ideology plays a role in improved child interethnic prejudice. Last but not least, the findings emphasize the importance of taking societal developments that impact specific ethnic groups in different ways, such as COVID-19, into account when studying (child) interethnic relations. The results from this dissertation can foster a better understanding of the interethnic relations in the Chinese underrepresented group and elucidate ethnicity-related consequences of the pandemic in this group. The experiences of these Chinese-Dutch families during the pandemic may have passed, but their voices can be heard via this dissertation, mirroring worldwide as well as regional developments in intergroup relations, attitudes and cultural diversity in the changing social world.

References

Abaied, J. L., & Perry, S. P. (2021). Socialization of racial ideology by White parents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 27*(3), 431-440. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000454

Aboud, F. E., Tredoux, C., Tropp, L. R., Brown, C. S., Niens, U., & Noor, N. M. (2012). Interventions to reduce prejudice and enhance inclusion and respect for ethnic differences in early childhood: A systematic review. *Developmental Review, 32*(4), 307-336. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2012.05.001

Abrahamson, P. (2016). End of an era? China's one-child policy and its unintended consequences. *Asian Social Work and Policy Review, 10*(3), 326-338. https://doi.org/10.1111/aswp.12101

Aguayo, L., Hernandez, I. G., Yasui, M., Estabrook, R., Anderson, E. L., Davis, M. M., Briggs-Gowan, M. J., Wakschlag, L. S., & Heard-Garris, N. (2021). Cultural socialization in childhood: Analysis of parent–child conversations with a direct observation measure. *Journal of Family Psychology, 35*(2), 138-148. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000663

Alexander, T., & Carter, M. M. (2022). Internalized racism and gendered colorism among African Americans: a study of intragroup bias, perceived discrimination, and psychological well-being. *Journal of African American Studies (New Brunswick, N.J.), 26*(2), 248–265. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-022-09586-2

American Psychological Association. (2019). Discrimination: What it is, and how to cope. https://www.apa.org/topics/racism-bias-discrimination/types-stress.

American Psychological Association. (2022). Racial and ethnic identity. https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/racial-ethnic-minorities

Annamma, S. A., Jackson, D. D., & Morrison, D. (2017). Conceptualizing color-evasiveness: Using dis/ability critical race theory to expand a color-blind racial ideology in education and society. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 20*(2), 147–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1248837

Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen [ADV, Anti-discrimination agency]. (2021). Discriminatiecijfers in 2020 [Discrimination numbers in 2020]. https://discriminatie.nl/files/2021-06/discriminatiecijfers-in-2020.pdf

Apfelbaum, E. P., Pauker, K., Ambady, N., Sommers, S. R., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Learning (not) to talk about race: when older children underperform in social categorization. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(5), 1513-1518. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012835

Apfelbaum, E. P., Pauker, K., Sommers, S. R., & Ambady, N. (2010). In blind pursuit of racial equality? *Psychological Science, 21*(11), 1587-1592. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610384741

References

Apfelbaum, E. P., Sommers, S. R., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Seeing race and seeming racist? Evaluating strategic colorblindness in social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(4), 918–932. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0011990

Arends-Tóth, J., & Van de Vijver, F. J. (2003). Multiculturalism and acculturation: Views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(2), 249-266.

Arendt, F., & Northup, T. (2015). Effects of long-term exposure to news stereotypes on implicit and explicit attitudes. *International Journal of Communication, 9*, 2370–2390. https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2691/1325

Asian Raisins. (2020). "Sorry boss" or a kick in your face. https://asianraisins.nl/en/discrimination-of-asians-in-the-netherlands/

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory.* Prentice-Hall, Oxford, England.

Bavel, J. J. V., Baicker, K., Boggio, P. S., Capraro, V., Cichocka, A., Cikara, M., … Willer, R. (2020). Using social and behavioural science to support COVID-19 pandemic response. *Nature Human Behaviour, 4*(5), 460–471. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0884-z

Beijing OpenBook co., Ltd (2018, January 30) Quanqiu beijing xia de 2017 Zhongguo tushu lingshou shichang qushi [The annual aggregated report of China's book retail market 2017]. *Kaijuan Wenzhai, 2*,4-5. http://www.openbook.com.cn/DigestAchive/2018/2.html

Berg, M., Schor, P., & Soto, I. (2014). The weight of words: Writing about race in the United States and Europe. *The American Historical Review, 119*(3), 800–808. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23784781

Berry, J. (1992). Acculturation and adaptation in a new society. *International Migration, 30*(s1). 69–85. 10.1111/j.1468-2435.1992.tb00776.x.

Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 national survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 27*, 301–320.

Bhala, N., Curry, G., Martineau, A. R., Agyemang, C., & Bhopal, R. (2020). Sharpening the global focus on ethnicity and race in the time of COVID-19. *Lancet 395*(10238), 1673–1676. DOI:10.1016/S0140-6736(20)31102-8

Bhandaru, D. (2013). Is white normativity racist? Michel Foucault and post-civil rights racism. *Polity, 45*(2), 223–244. https://doi.org/10.1057/pol.2013.6

Bigler, R.S., & Liben, L.S. (2006). A developmental intergroup theory of social stereotypes and prejudice. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior, 34*, 39-89 .

Bista, K. (2012). Multicultural literature for children and young adults. *The Educational Forum, 76*(3), 317-325. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2012.682203.

Bouton, M. E. (2014). Why behavior change is difficult to sustain. *Preventive Medicine, 68,* 29–36. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ypmed.2014.06.010

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*, 135–149. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.135

Broekroelofs, R. & Poerwoatmodjo, J. (2021). De stilte voorbij: Verkenning over ervaring van discriminatie tijdens de Covid-19 pandemie onder Nederlanders met een Oost-Aziatische achtergrond [Beyond the silence: Exploring the experience of discrimination during the Covid-19 pandemic among Dutch people with an East Asian background]. https://www.kis.nl/sites/default/files/de-stilte-voorbij-discriminatie-oost-aziatische-nederlanders.pdf

Brown, G. K., & Langer, A. (2010). Conceptualizing and measuring ethnicity. *Oxford Development Studies, 38*(4), 411-436. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600818.2010.525629

Brown, R. (2010). *Prejudice : Its social psychology* (2nd ed.). Chichester [etc.]: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cai, J., & Qiang, E. (2022, December 2). 'Chinese residing in Australia reveal why they are giving up citizenship of their homeland - or why they don't want to'. *ABC News.* https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-12-03/chinese-migrants-citizenship-choices-xi-jinping/101653720?utm_campaign=abc_news_web&utm_content=link&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_source=abc_news_web

Cameron, L., Rutland, A., & Brown, R. (2007). Promoting children's positive intergroup attitudes towards stigmatized groups: Extended contact and multiple classification skills training. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 31*(5), 454-466. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025407081474.

Cameron, L., Rutland, A., Brown, R., & Douche, R. (2006). Changing children's intergroup attitudes toward refugees: Testing different models of extended contact. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1208-1219. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00929.x

Castelli, L. U., Carraro, L., Tomelleri, S., & Amari, A. (2007). White children's alignment to the perceived racial attitudes of the parents: Closer to the mother than the father. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 25*(3), 353–357. http://doi.org/10.1348/026151006X159851

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands]. (3 Januari 2020). Over 17.4 million inhabitants in the Netherlands. https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2020/01/over-17-4-million-inhabitants-in-the-netherlands

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands]. (2021a). Population; gender, age, generation and migration background. https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands]. (2021b). Population; highest level of education and education. https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/82816ned/table?dl=8083

References

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands]. (2021c). Internet access and Internet activities; personal characteristics. https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/84888NED/table?ts=1639492371350

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands]. (2022a). Population; gender, age, generation and migration background. https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [Statistics Netherlands]. (2022b). Graduates; age, type of education, migration background, residential region. https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/71493ned/table?ts=1658319805253

Cheah, C. S. L., Wang, C., Ren, H., Zong, X., Cho, H. S., & Xue, X. (2020). COVID-19 racism and mental health in Chinese American families. *Pediatrics, 146*(5). https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-021816

Chen, M., Bell, R. A., Taylor, L. D. (2016). Narrator point of view and persuasion in health narratives: The role of protagonist-reader similarity, identification, and self-referencing. *Journal of Health Communication, 21*(8), 908-918. https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730.2016.1177147

Cheng, S. J. (2015). Psychometric examination of the color-blind racial attitudes scale for use among Asian Americans. *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.*

Cheon, Y. M., & Yip, T. (2019). Longitudinal associations between ethnic/racial identity and discrimination among Asian and Latinx adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 48*, 1736 –1753. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01055-6

Chong, K. H., & Song, M. (2022). Interrogating the 'White-leaning' thesis of White–Asian Multiracials. *Social Sciences 11*(3), 118. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11030118

Chuban guanli tiaoli [Regulations on the administration of publication] (promulgated by the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 25 December 2001, effective 1 February 2002). http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2020-12/26/content_5574253.htm

Clissold, E., Nylander, D., Watson, C., & Ventriglio, A. (2020). Pandemics and prejudice. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 66*(5), 421-423. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020764020937873

Cluskey, P. (February 11, 2020). Netherlands sees rise in anti-Chinese sentiment over coronavirus. *The Irish Times.* https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/netherlands-sees-rise-in-anti-chinese-sentiment-over-coronavirus-1.4170648

Cohen, J. (2001). Defining identification: A theoretical look at the identification of audiences with media characters, *Mass Communication & Society, 4*(3), 245-264. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0403_01

Croucher, S. M. (2017). Integrated Threat Theory. In J. Harwood, & H. Giles (Eds.), *Oxford research encyclopedia of communication*. Oxford: Oxford UniversityPress. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.490.

de Bruijn, Y. (2022, Jan 11). Child interethnic prejudice in the Netherlands: Social learning from parents and picture books. https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/3249963

de Bruijn, Y., Emmen, R. A. G. , Mesman, J. (2020) Ethnic diversity in children's books in the Netherlands. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 49*(3), 413-423. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-020-01080-2

de Bruijn, Y., Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (2021). Navigating diversity: Maternal ideologies and associations with child interethnic prejudice in the Netherlands. *Social Development*. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12579

de Bruijn, Y, Emmen, R. A. G, & Mesman, J. (2022). Maternal attitudes toward child interethnic relations in the Netherlands: Facilitating intergroup contact effects? *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships. 39*(8):2316-2339. doi:10.1177/02654075221077235

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

Dionne, A. (2014). Multicultural children's books at the French Canadian public library: Where can I find them? *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries (QQML), 1*, 183-190.

Dittmar, H., Halliwell, E., Ive, S. (2006). Does Barbie make girls want to be thin? The effect of experimental exposure to images of dolls on the body image of 5- to 8-year-old girls. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(2), 283-292. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.2.283

Drew, J. (1999). Cultural composition: Stuart hall on ethnicity and the discursive turn. In G. Olson, & L. Worsham (Eds.), *Race, rhetoric, and the postcolonial*, pp. 205-239, New York: SUNY Press.

Dunham, Y., Baron, A. S., & Banaji, M. R. (2006). From American city to Japanese village: A cross-cultural investigation of implicit race attitudes. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1268–1281. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00933.x

Dunning, T. (2012). *Natural Experiments in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139084444

Durkin, K., Nesdale, D., Dempsey, G., & McLean, A. (2012). Young children's responses to media representations of intergroup threat and ethnicity. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 30*(3), 459-476.

References

D'hondt, S. (2020). Confronting blackface. *Pragmatics:Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association, 30*(4), 485–508. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.18039.dho

Eagly, A. H., & Diekman, A. B. (2005). What is the problem? Prejudice as an attitude-in-context. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport*, pp. 19–35. Blackwell Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470773963.ch2

Eisenberg, K. N. (2002). Gender and ethnicity stereotypes in children's books (Doctoral dissertation). https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/docview/251657696?pq-origsite=primo

Elias, A., Ben, J., Mansouri, F., & Paradies, Y. (2021). Racism and nationalism during and beyond the COVID-19 pandemic, *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 44*(5), 783-793, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1851382

Everett, J. A., Faber, N. S., & Crockett, M. (2015). Preferences and beliefs in ingroup favoritism. *Frontiers in behavioral neuroscience, 9,* 15. https://doi.org/10.3389/fnbeh.2015.00015

Executive Yuan, the Republic of China (Taiwan). (2016). The Republic of China Yearbook, 2016.

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods, 39,* 175-191. https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193146

Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (2nd ed.). SAGE.

Fox Tree, J. E. (2002). Interpreting pauses and ums at turn exchanges. *Discourse Processes, 34*(1), 37-55. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326950dp3401_2

Frankenberg, R. (2001). The mirage of an unmarked Whiteness. In *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*, pp. 72–96. New York, USA: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822381044-005

Gao, G., & Sai, L. (2021). Opposing the toxic apartheid: The painted veil of the COVID-19 pandemic, race and racism. *Gender, Work, and Organization, 28*(S1), 183–189. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12523

Garner, P. W., & Parker, T. S. (2018). Young children's picture-books as a forum for the socialization of emotion. *Journal of Early Childhood Research, 16*(3), 291-304. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X18775760

Gibson, B., Robbins, E., Rochat, P. (2015). White bias in 3-7-year-old children across cultures. *Journal of Cognition and Culture, 15*(3-4), 344-373. https://doi.org/10.1163/15685373-12342155

Gijsberts, M., Huijnk, W., & Ross, J. (2011). Chinese Nederlanders: Van horeca naar Hogeschool [Chinese Dutch: From catering to college]. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Girma, H. (2020). Black names, immigrant names: Navigating race and ethnicity through personal names. *Journal of Black Studies, 51*(1), 16–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934719888806

Gonzales-Backen, M. A., Meca, A., Lorenzo-Blanco, E. I., Des Rosiers, S. E., Córdova, D., Soto, D. W., … Unger, J. B. (2018). Examining the temporal order of ethnic identity and perceived discrimination among Hispanic immigrant adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 54*(5), 929–937. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000465

Goon, P., & Craven, A. (2003) Whose debt?: Globalisation and White-facing in Asia. *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context, 9*. http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue9/gooncraven.html

Graham, J. W. (2012). Multiple imputation and analysis with SPSS 17-20. In *Missing Data. Statistics for Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Springer, New York, NY. https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/10.1007/978-1-4614-4018-5_5

Greenhalgh, S. (2013). Patriarchal demographics? China's sex ratio reconsidered. *Population and Development Review, 38,* 130-149. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23655291

Gross, J., & Vostroknutov, A. (2022). Why do people follow social norms? *Current Opinion in Psychology, 44*, 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2021.08.016

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

Haft, S. L., & Zhou, Q. (2021). An outbreak of xenophobia: Perceived discrimination and anxiety in Chinese American college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. *International Journal of Psychology, 56*(4), 522–531.https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12740

Hagelskamp, C., & Hughes, D. L. (2014). Workplace discrimination predicting racial/ethnic socialization across African American, Latino, and Chinese families. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20*(4), 550–560. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035321

Hamilton, M. C., Anderson, D., Broaddus, M., & Young. (2006). Gender stereotyping and under-representation of female characters in 200 popular children's picture books: A twenty-first century update. *Sex Roles, 55*(11), 757-765. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9128-6

Harlap, Y. & Riese, H. (2021). Race talk and white normativity: Classroom discourse and narratives in Norwegian higher education, *Teaching in Higher Education*, DOI: 10.1080/13562517.2021.1940925

Hill, M. E. (2002). Skin color and the perception of attractiveness among African Americans: Does gender make a difference? *Social Psychology Quarterly, 65*(1), 77-91. https://doi.org/10.2307/3090169

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

Holoien, D. S., & Shelton, J. N. (2012). You deplete me: The cognitive costs of colorblindness on ethnic minorities. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(2), 562-565. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.09.010

Hou, Y., Kim, S. Y., Hazen, N., & Benner, A. D. (2017). Parents' perceived discrimination and adolescent adjustment in Chinese American families: Mediating family processes. *Child Development, 88*(1), 317–331. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12603

Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63*(4), 981–995. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00981.x

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

Hughes-Hassell, S., Barkley, H. A., & Koehler, E. (2009). Promoting equity in children's literacy instruction: Using a critical race theory framework to examine transitional books. *School Library Media Research, 12*, 1-20.

Hughes-Hassell, S., & Cox, E. J. (2010). Inside board books: Representations of people of color. *Library Quarterly, 80*(3), 211–230. https://doi.org/10.1086/652873

Ito, T. A., & Urland, G. R. (2003). Race and gender on the brain: Electrocortical measures of attention to the race and gender of multiply categorizable individuals. *J. Pers.Soc.Psychol, 85*, 616–626. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.85.4.616

Ittefaq, M., Abwao, M., Baines, A., Belmas, G., Kamboh, S. A., & Figueroa, E. J. (2022). A pandemic of hate: Social representations of COVID-19 in the media. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 22*(1), 225–252. https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12300

Jensen, C. J. & Tisak, M. S. (2020). Precedents of prejudice: Race and gender differences in young children's intergroup attitudes. *Early Child Development and Care, 190*, 9, 1336-1349, DOI: 10.1080/03004430.2018.1534845

Jha, S., Agarwal, N., & Agarwal, S. (2018). *Towards improved cartoon face detection and recognition systems*. ArXiv, abs/1804.01753.

Ji, Y. (2012). 3-6 Sui Youer Jiating Qinzi Yuedu Xianzhuang Diaocha [Investigation on parent-child reading among 3-6-year-old children]. *Youer jiaoyu (jiayu kexue), 1*(2), 77-80.

Jones, K. P., Peddie, C. I., Gilrane, V. L., King, E. B., & Gray, A. L. (2016). Not so subtle: A meta-analytic investigation of the correlates of subtle and overt discrimination. *Journal of Management, 42*(6), 1588–1613. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206313506466

Jost, J. T. (2019). A quarter century of system justification theory: Questions, answers, criticisms, and societal applications. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 58*(2), 263-314. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12297

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(1), 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x

Juang, L. P., Shen, Y., Costigan, C. L., & Hou, Y. (2018). Time-varying associations of racial discrimination and adjustment among Chinese-heritage adolescents in the United States and Canada. *Development and Psychopathology, 30*(5), 1661–1678. DOI: 10.1017/S0954579418001128

Kelly, M. P., & Barker, M. (2016). Why is changing health-related behaviour so difficult? *Public Health (London), 136*, 109–116. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2016.03.030

Koss, M. (2015). Diversity in contemporary picturebooks: A content analysis. *Journal of Children's Literature, 41*(1), 32-42.

Koss, M., Martinez, M. G., & Johnson, N. J. (2017). Where are The Latinxs?: Diversity in Caldecott Winner and Honor Books. *Bilingual Review, 33*(5), 50-62.

Krishen, A. S., LaTour, M. S., & Alishah, E. J. (2014). Asian females in an advertising context: Exploring skin tone tension. *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising, 35*(1), 71–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/10641734.2014.866851

Kroes, A. D. A., der Pol, L. D. van, Groeneveld, M. G., & Mesman, J. (2021). Big news stories and longitudinal data collection: A prominent child sexual abuse case negatively affects parents' attitudes toward male caregivers. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 45*(6), 561–568. https://doi.org/10.1177/01650254211042418

Kurtz-Costes, B., DeFreitas, S., Halle, T., & Kinlaw, C. (2011). Gender and racial favouritism in Black and White preschool girls. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 29*(2), 270-287.

Kurz, R. F. (2012). Missing faces, beautiful places: The lack of diversity in South Carolina Picture Book Award nominees. *New Review of Children's Literature and Librarianship, 18*(2), 128-145. https://doi.org/10.1080/13614541.2012.716695

Lan, S. (2016). The shifting meanings of race in China: A case study of the African diaspora communities in Guangzhou. *City & Society, 28*(3), 298-318. https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12094

Lee, J. (2016). Coping with racial/ethnic discrimination: The role of color-blind racial ideology among Asian Americans. *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing*.

Lee, S., & Waters, S. F. (2021). Asians and Asian Americans' experiences of racial discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic: Impacts on health outcomes and the buffering role of social support. *Stigma and Health, 6*(1), 70–78. https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000275

Lee, Y., Lee, E., & Park, W. J. (2000). Anchor epicanthoplasty combined with out-fold type double eyelidplasty for Asians: Do we have to make an additional scar to correct the Asian epicanthal fold? *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery,105*(5), 1872-1880. https://doi.org/10.1097/00006534-200004050-00042

Leman, P. J., Ben-Hmeda, M., Cox, J., Loucas, C., Seltzer-Eade, S., & Hine, B. (2013). Normativity and friendship choices among ethnic majority- and minority-group children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 37*, 202–210. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025413477315

Leman, P. J., & Lam, V. L. (2008). The influence of race and gender on children's conversations and playmate choices. *Child Development, 79*, 1329–1343. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01191.x

Lemmens, K. (2017). The dark side of 'Zwarte Piet': A misunderstood tradition or racism in disguise? A legal analysis. *The International Journal of Human Rights, 21*(2), 120–141. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2016.1276448

Leslie, L. M., Bono, J. E., Kim, Y., & Beaver, G. R. (2020). On melting pots and salad bowls: A meta-analysis of the effects of identity-blind and identity-conscious diversity ideologies. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 105*(5), 453–471. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000446

Levy, S. R., & Hughes, J. M. (2009). Development of racial and ethnic prejudice among children. In T. Nelson (Eds.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination*, pp.23-42. Psychology Press.

Levy, S. R., West, T. L., Bigler, R. S., Karafantis, D. M., Ramirez, L., & Velilla, E. (2005). Messages about the uniqueness and similarities of people: Impact on US Black and Latino youth. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 26*(6), 714-733.

Lewis, A., Chesler, M., & Forman, T. (2000). The impact of "colorblind" ideologies on students of color: Intergroup relations at a predominately White university. *Journal of Negro Education, 69*, 74–91. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2696266

Li, A. (2021). Solidarity: The role of non-Black people of color in promoting racial equity. *Behav Analysis Practice, 14*, 549–553. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40617-020-00498-9

Li, C., Liu, Y., & Jian, W. (2018). Youer jiating qinzi huiben yuedu xianzhuang diaocha yanjiu [The Research on Parent-child Picture Book Reading Present Situation of Infant Family]. *Kashi Daxue Xuebao, 39*(1), 110-115.

Li, E. P. H., Min, H. J., Belk, R. W., Kimura, J., & Bahl, S. (2008). Skin lightening and beauty in four Asian cultures. *Advances in Consumer Research, 35*, 444-449. https://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/13415/volumes/v35/NA-35

Li, X., English, A. S., & Kulich, S. J. (2021). Anger among Chinese migrants amid COVID-19 discrimination: The role of host news coverage, cultural distance, and national identity. *PLoS ONE 16*(11), e0259866. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0259866

Li, Y., & Tse, C. (2016). Interference among the processing of facial emotion, face race, and face gender. *Frontiers in Psychology, 7*, 1700.

Lichter, D. T., & Qian, Z. (2018). Boundary blurring? Racial identification among the children of interracial couples. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 677*(1), 81–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716218760507

Lindström, B., Jangard, S., Selbing, I., & Olsson, A. (2018). The role of a "common is moral" heuristic in the stability and change of moral norms. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 147*(2), 228.

Liu, W., Wang, X., Lai, W., Li, L., Zhang, P., Wu, Y., Lu, Y., Li, Y., Tian, Y., Wu, Y., & Chen, L. (2007). Skin color measurement in Chinese female population: Analysis of 407 cases from 4 major cities of China. *International Journal of Dermatology, 46*(8), 835-839. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-4632.2007.03192.x

Liu, Y., & Croucher, S. (2022). Becoming privileged yet marginalized Other: American migrants' narratives of stereotyping-triggered displacement in China. *Asian Journal of Social Science, 50*(1), 7–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajss.2021.06.006

Lou, N. M., Noels, K. A., Kurl, S., Zhang, Y. S. D., & Young-Leslie, H. (2021). Chinese Canadians' experiences of the dual pandemics of COVID-19 and racism: Implications for identity, negative emotion, and anti-racism incident reporting. *Canadian Psychology = Psychologie Canadienne.* https://doi.org/10.1037/cap0000305

Lui, P. P., & Rollock, D. (2018). Greater than the sum of its parts: Development of a measure of collectivism among Asians. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 24*(2), 242-259. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000163

Mak, A. K. Y. (2007). Advertising whiteness: An assessment of skin color preferences among urban Chinese. *International Journal of Phytoremediation, 21*(1), 144-157. https://doi.org/10.1080/15551390701670768

Mandin, J., Gsir, S. (2015). Turkish and Chinese immigration to the Netherlands - Corridor report, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute. https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/36061/INTERACT-RR-2015%20-%2016_Netherlands.pdf?sequence=1

Marinari, M. (2005). Racial formation and success among Korean high school students. *Urban Review, 37*(5), 375-398.

Meca, A., Gonzales-Backen, M., Davis, R., Rodil, J., Soto, D., & Unger, J. B. (2020). Discrimination and ethnic identity: Establishing directionality among Latino/a youth. *Developmental Psychology, 56*(5), 982–992. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000908

References

Meissner, C., & Brigham, J. (2001). Thirty years of investigating the own-race bias in memory for faces - A meta-analytic review. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 7*(1), 3–35. https://doi.org/10.1037//1076-8971.7.1.3

Menjivar, C. (2016). Immigrant criminalization in law and the media. *The American Behavioral Scientist (Beverly Hills), 60*(5-6), 597–616. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764216632836

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

Meyers, C., Williams, A., Pauker, K., & Apfelbaum, E. P. (2021). The impact of social norms on navigating race in a racially diverse context. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220984228

Molero, F., Silván-Ferrero, P., Fuster-Ruiz de Apodaca, M. J., Nouvilas-Pallejá, E., Pérez-Garín, D. (2017). Subtle and blatant perceived discrimination and well-being in lesbians and gay men in Spain: The role of social support. *Psicothema, 29*(4), 475-481. doi: 10.7334/psicothema2016.296. PMID: 29048306.

Morris, M. (2016). Standard White: Dismentaling White normativity. *California Law Review, 104*(4), 949-978. https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38F55G

Moscovici, S. (1963). Attitudes and opinions. *Annual Review of Psychology, 14*, 231-260. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.14.020163.001311

Mukkamala, S., & Suyemoto, K. L. (2018). Racialized sexism/sexualized racism: A multimethod study of intersectional experiences of discrimination for Asian American women. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 9*(1), 32–46. https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000104

Nagata, D. K., & Cheng, W. J. Y. (2003). Intergenerational communication of race-related trauma by Japanese American former internees. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 73*(3), 266–278. https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.73.3.266

National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (NBS). (2020a). Di qi ci quanguo renkou pucha gongbao (di ba hao) [Report for the seventh national population census (number 8)]. http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/zxfb/202105/t20210510_1817184.html

National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China (NBS). (2020b). Di qi ci quanguo renkou pucha zhuyao shuju qingkuang [Main Data situations of the seventh national population census]. http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/zxfb/202105/t20210510_1817176.html

Neal, A. (2001). The naming: A conceptualization of an African American connotative struggle. *Journal of Black Studies, 32*(1), 50-65. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193470103200103

Nesdale, D., & Flesser, D. (2001). Social identity and the development of children's group attitudes. *Child Development, 72*(2), 506-517.

Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., & Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology: Theory, training, and measurement implications in psychology. *American Psychologist, 68*(6), 455-466. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033282

Norton, M. I., Sommers, S. R., Apfelbaum, E. P., Pura, N., & Ariely, D. (2006). Color blindness and interracial interaction: Playing the political correctness game. *Psychological Science, 17*(11), 949-953. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01810.x

NOS Jeugdjournaal (2019, November 9). Geweld bij bijeenkomst actiegroep tegen Zwarte Piet [Violence at meeting campaign group against Black Pete]. https://jeugdjournaal.nl/artikel/2309711-geweld-bij-bijeenkomst-actiegroep- tegen-zwarte-piet.html

Olson, K. R., Shutts, K., Kinzler, K. D., & Weisman, K. G. (2012). Children associate racial groups with wealth: Evidence from South Africa. *Child Development, 83*(6), 1884–1899. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01819.x

Orlandi, G. (2020, March 19). *Bergamo hospitals full as Italy's coronavirus nightmare worsens*. Euronews. https://www.euronews.com/2020/03/19/bergamo-hospitals-full-as-italy-s-coronavirus-nightmare-worsens

Park, M., Choi, Y., Yoo, H. C., Yasui, M., & Takeuchi, D. (2021). Racial stereotypes and Asian American youth paradox. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 50*(12), 2374–2393. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-021-01519-8

Pascoe, E. A., & Richman, L. S. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health. *Psychological Bulletin, 135*(4), 531–554. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016059

Pauker, K., Apfelbaum, E. P., & Spitzer, B. (2015). When societal norms and social identity collide: the race talk dilemma for racial minority children. *Social Psychologal and Personality Science, 6*(8), 887-895. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550615598379

Paul, I., Parker, J. R., & Dommer, S. L. (2020). The influence of incidental tokenism on private evaluations of stereotype-typifying products. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 83*(1), 49-69. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272519865502

Pektas, F., Emmen, R. A. G., & Mesman, J. (2022). Ingroup and outgroup preference and rejection among young children of different ethnic groups in the Netherlands. *Social Development, 00*, 1– 16. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12636

Perry, S., Skinner-Dorkenoo, A., Abaied, J. L., Waters, S.,& Osnaya, A. (2020). *Initial evidence that parent-child conversations about race reduce racial biases among White U.S. children*. PsyArXiv. https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/3xdg8

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Pew Research Center. (2019). *Race in America 2019*. https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2019/04/09/race-in-america-2019/

Phinney, J. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. Chun, P. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research,* pp. 63–81. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(3), 493–510. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00225

Polkamp, M. (2020). Anti-zwart racisme in de regio Amsterdam [Anti-Black racism in the Amsterdamregion]. *Meldpunt Discriminatie.* https://mdra.nl/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/MDRA-rapport-anti-zwart-racisme-in-regio-Amsterdam-DEF.pdf

Qian, M. K., Heyman, G. D., Quinn, P.C., Fu, G., & Lee, K. (2019). Differential developmental courses of implicit and explicit biases for different other-race classes. *Dev Psychol, 55*(7), 1440-1452. doi: 10.1037/dev0000730.

Qian, M. K., Heyman G. D., Quinn P. C., Messi F. A., Fu, G., Lee, K. (2016) Implicit racial biases in preschool children and adults from Asia and Africa. *Child Development, 87*(1), 285–296.

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

Rattan, A., & Ambady, N. (2013). Diversity ideologies and intergroup relations: An examination of colorblindness and multiculturalism. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 43*(1), 12–21. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1892

Reny, T. T. & Barreto, M. A. (2020). Xenophobia in the time of pandemic: Othering, anti-Asian attitudes, and COVID-19, *Politics, Groups, and Identities, 10*(2), 209-232, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2020.1769693

Rhee, S. C., Woo, K. S., Kwon, B. (2012). Biometric study of eyelid shape and dimensions of different races with references to beauty. *Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, 36*(5), 1236-1245. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00266-012-9937-7

Rice, K., Prichard, I., Tiggemann, M., & Slater, A. (2016). Exposure to Barbie: Effects on thin-ideal internalisation, body esteem, and body dissatisfaction among young girls. *Body Image, 19*, 142-149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2016.09.005

Rosenthal, L., & Levy, S. R. (2010). The colorblind, multicultural, and polycultural ideological approaches to improving intergroup attitudes and relations. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 4*(1), 215–246. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-2409.2010.01022.x

Rumbaut, R. G. (2008) Reaping what you sow: Immigration, youth, and reactive ethnicity, *Applied Development Science, 12*(2), 108-111, DOI: 10.1080/10888690801997341

Russell, K. Y., Wilson, M., & Hall, R. E. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African Americans*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Ryan, C. S., Casas, J. F., & Thompson, B. K. (2010). Interethnic ideology, intergroup perceptions, and cultural orientation. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*(1), 29–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01631.x

Ryan, C. S., Hunt, J. S., Weible, J. A., Peterson, C. R., & Casas, J. F. (2007). Multicultural and colorblind ideology, stereotypes, and ethnocentrism among Black and White Americans. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 10*(4), 617-637. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430207084105

Schiappa, E., Gregg, P. B., & Hewes, D. E. (2005). The parasocial contact hypothesis. *Communication Monographs, 72*(1), 92-115. https://doi.org/10.1080/0363775052000342544

Sconiers, N.D. (2018). Color-struck: A look at the influence of skin tone on the racial identities and self-perceptions of African-American women (Doctoral dissertation). https://search.proquest.com/openview/eee37c0b735cac261f7e80ad2d69e0d7/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y

Scott, J. F. (1971). *Internalization of norms: a sociological theory of moral commitment.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ [etc.]: Prentice-Hall.

Simon, C. (2021). The role of race and ethnicity in parental ethnic-racial socialization: A scoping review of research. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 30*(1), 182. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-020-01854-7

Slater, M. D., & Rouner, D. (2002). Entertainment-education and elaboration likelihood: Understanding the processing of narrative persuasion. *Communication Theory, 12*(2), 173-191. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2002.tb00265.x

Smith, L. E., Potts, H. W. W., Amlôt, R., Fear, N. T., Michie, S., & Rubin, G. J. (2022). Holding a stigmatizing attitude at the start of the COVID-19 outbreak: A cross-sectional survey. *British Journal of Health Psychology, 27*(2), 588–604. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjhp.12564

So, J. K. (2016). Opening up spaces for early critical literacy: Korean kindergarteners exploring diversity through multicultural picture books. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy, 39*(2), 176-187.

Speight, S. L., Hewitt, A. A., & Cook, H. R. (2016). Color-blind racial ideology and internalized racism among people of color. In H. A. Neville, M. Gallardo & D.W. Sue,

The Myth of Racial Colorblindness: Manifestations, Dynamics, and Impact. Washington, DC: APA.

Steele, J. R., George, M., Williams, A., & Tay, E. (2018). A cross-cultural investigation of children's implicit attitudes toward White and Black racial outgroups. *Developmental Science, 21*(6), e12673. https://doi.org/10.1111/desc.12673

Stephan, W., & Stephan, C. (2016). Intergroup Threats. In C. Sibley, & F. Barlow (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice (Cambridge handbooks in Psychology)*, pp. 131-148. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316161579.007

Stevens, P., Crul, M., Slootman, M. W., Clycq, N., & Timmerman, C. (2019). The Netherlands: From diversity celebration to a colorblind approach. *Palgrave Macmillan.* https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94724-2_19

Stohry, H. R., Tan, J., & Aronson, B. A. (2021). The enemy is White supremacy. In: C. Hayes, I. M. Carter, & K. Elderson (Eds.), *Unhooking from Whiteness*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004389502_013

Supplee, L. H., & Duggan, A. (2019). Innovative research methods to advance precision in home visiting for more efficient and effective programs. *Child Development Perspectives, 13*(3), 173–179. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12334

Syed, M., Juang, L. P., & Svensson, Y. (2018). Toward a new understanding of ethnic-racial settings for ethnic-racial identity development. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 28*(2), 262–276. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12387

Tadmor, C. T., Berger, R., Brenick, A., Abu-Raiya, H., & Benatov, J. (2017). The intergenerational effect of maternal multicultural experience on children's tolerance: An example from Palestinians and Jews in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 48*(9), 1342–1348. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022117721973

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, pp. 33-47. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Tan, J., Yang, Y., Tang, K., Sabeti, P. C., Jin, L., & Wang, S. (2013). The adaptive variant EDARV370A is associated with straight hair in East Asians. *Human Genetics, 132*(10), 1187-1191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00439-013-1324-1

The Netherlands Institute for Human Rights. (2013). Racial Discrimination in the Netherlands. In *Human rights in the Netherlands - Annual Status Report 2013*, pp. 16-35. https://mensenrechten.nl/nl/publicatie/5b46fcfc748c2212a5451890

The Netherlands Institute for Human Rights (2021). *Report: To the 104th session of the committee on the elimination of racial discrimination (CERD) concerning the*

examination of the 22nd to 24th periodic reports of the Netherlands.
https://mensenrechten.nl/nl/publicatie/611bd3435d726f72c45f9c71

Thompson, J. K., & Heinberg, L. J. (1999). The media's influence on body image disturbance and eating disorders: We've reviled them, now can we rehabilitate them? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*(2):339-353. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00119

To Cover China, There's no substitute for WeChat (2019, January 9). *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/09/technology/personaltech/china-wechat.html

Todorova, I. L., Falcón, L. M., Lincoln, A. K., & Price, L. L. (2010). Perceived discrimination, psychological distress and health. *Sociology of Health & Illness, 32*(6), 843–861. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9566.2010.01257.x

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., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., ... Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development, 85*, 21–39. https://doi.org/ 10.1111/cdev.12196

Van Osch, Y. M., & Breugelmans, S. M. (2012). Perceived intergroup difference as an organizing principle of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 43*(5), 801–821. http://doi.org/10.1177/0022022111407688

van Veen, D., 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

Vedder, P., Sam, D. L., & Liebkind, K. (2007). The acculturation and adaptation of Turkish adolescents in North-Western Europe. *Applied Development Science, 11*(3), 126-136. DOI: 10.1080/10888690701454617

Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification and group evaluation among minority and majority groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*(1), 121–138. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.121

Verkuyten, M., Hagendoorn, L., & Masson, K. (1996). The ethnic hierarchy among majority and minority youth in the Netherlands. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 26*(12), 1104–1118. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1996.tb01127.x

Verkuyten, M., & Kinket, B. (2000). Social distances in a multi ethnic society: The ethnic hierarchy among Dutch preadolescents. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 63*(1), 75–85. https://doi.org/10.2307/2695882

Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2016). Dual identity, in-group projection, and out-group feelings among ethnic minority groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 46*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2131

References

Vittrup, B., & Holden, G. W. (2011). Exploring the impact of educational television and parent–child discussions on children's racial attitudes. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy (ASAP), 11*(1), 82–104. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2010.01223.x

Wagner, W. (2020). Social representation theory: An historical outline. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology, Social Psychology, History and Systems of Psychology*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.013.606

Weiner, M. F. (2014). The ideologically colonized metropole: Dutch racism and racist denial. *Sociology Compass, 8*(6), 731–744. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12163

Weiner, M. F. (2016). Racialized classroom practices in a diverse Amsterdam primary school: The silencing, disparagement, and discipline of students of color. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 19*(6), 1351–1367. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1195352

Welch, B. F. (2016). The pervasive whiteness of children's literature: Collective harms and consumer obligations. *Social Theory and Practice, 42*(2), 367–388. https://doi.org/10.5840/socth eorpr act2016422 20.

Whitley, B. E., & Webster, G. D. (2019). The relationships of intergroup ideologies to ethnic prejudice: A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 23*(3), 207–237. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868318761423

Wilder, J., & Cain, C. (2011). Teaching and learning color consciousness in Black families: Exploring family processes and women's experiences with colorism. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(5), 577-604. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X10390858

Wilt, C. L., Annamma, S. A., Wilmot, J. M., Nyegenye, S. N., Miller, A. L., & Jackson, E. E. (2022). Performing color-evasiveness: A DisCrit analysis of educators' discourse in the U.S. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 117*, 103761. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2022.103761

Winings, K. (2019). Recognizing white normativity and brave spaces 2018 REA presidential address. *Religious Education, 114*(3), 189–200. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2019.1608679

Witmer, B. G., & Singer, M. J. (1998) Measuring presence in virtual environments: A presence questionnaire. *Presence, 7*(3), 225-240. https://doi.org/10.1162/105474698565686

Wong, B. (2015). A blessing with a curse: Model minority ethnic students and the construction of educational success, *Oxford Review of Education, 41*(6), 730-746, DOI: 10.1080/03054985.2015.1117970

Wong, H. K., Stephen, I. D., & Keeble, D. (2020). The own-race bias for face recognition in a multiracial society. *Frontiers in Psychology, 11*, 208. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00208

World Health Organization. (20 May 2021). Global excess mortality associated with COVID-19 (modelled estimates). https://www.who.int/data/sets/global-excess-deaths-associated-with-covid-19-modelled-estimates

Wu, C., Qian, Y., & Wilkes, R. (2021). Anti-Asian discrimination and the Asian-white mental health gap during COVID-19. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 44*(5), 819–835. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1851739

Yang, A. (2012). Zhongguo yuanchuang tuhua shu: Lixiang yu daolu [Chinese original picture books: The ideal and the road]. *Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexueban), 39*(4), 156-160.

Yang, Y., Emmen, R., van Veen, D., & Mesman, J. (2022). Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization in Chinese immigrant families before and after the COVID-19 outbreak: An exploratory natural experiment. *International journal of intercultural relations, 91*, 27–37. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.09.001

Youngs, E. (2015). Effects of multicultural literature on children's perspectives of race and educator implementation of multicultural literature. *Education Masters*. Paper 319.

Yu, T. (2021). Examining colourism in China. In: C. Halse & K. J. Kennedy (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in turbulent times (1st ed).* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003090090

Zeiders, K. H., Bayless, S. D., Derlan, C. L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Updegraff, K. A., & Jahromi, L. B. (2019). Discrimination and ethnic-racial identity: Understanding direction of effects using within- and between-person analyses. *Child Development, 90*(3), e373–e385. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12978

Ziller, C. (2015). Ethnic diversity, economic and cultural contexts, and social trust: Cross-sectional and longitudinal evidence from European regions, 2002–2010. *Social Forces, 93*(3), 1211–1240. http://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sou088

Titelpagina

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material Chapter 3

The larger research project: The parenting origins of prejudice

The main aim of the larger research project is to test whether sensitive parenting, parental ethnic ideologies, and ethnic socialization practices predict ethnic prejudice in children from different ethnic groups in the Netherlands. The participation of the research project includes a home visit (data not included in the current study) and an online questionnaire afterwards (data used in the current study).

Home visit procedure:

The home visit lasted about 1.5 to 2 hours, including several standardized parent-child interactive tasks and child individual tasks. All tasks were recorded for post hoc coding. Specifically, one of the parents (if both participate; counter balanced whether mother or father started) and child firstly conducted parent-child interactive tasks, including a game Guess Who?, cooperating to build blocks (before COVID-19) or fold origami (during COVID-19), and together reading a picture books designed for the study. Meanwhile the other parent conducted two Implicit Association Tests (IATs) with a computer and filled in a questionnaire under the support of the other researcher. Afterwards the child finished several individual tasks: two IATs, a social attribution task, the social preference task, the preschool occupations activities traits task, and a story stem task. Then the parent-child interactive tasks and parent individual tasks were repeated with the parent role reversed. All the parent-child interactive tasks and IATs had different versions and version orders were all counterbalanced. The home visit consistently ended with a mother-child interactive task, during which the mother and the child assigned different names towards different (cartoon) figures from the picture book.

Thirty-nine families were recruited and visited in person from June, 2019 to March, 2020. After the lock down due to COVID-19 started in the Netherlands, the physical home visits stopped and all the task materials were adapted into digital forms, as similar as possible to those in the physical home visit. The parent-child cooperative task was adapted from building with blocks together to folding origami together, because not all families have (standardized) blocks at home, but do generally have a piece of (A4) paper. All other tasks were exactly the same with the same purpose and rules in the physical (before the pandemic) and the online (during the pandemic) versions of the 'home' visits. Forty-two families were 'visited' online from November, 2020 to May, 2021. The overall goals of the study as presented to the participants were identical before and during the pandemic, and all the goals were not COVID-19 related.

Supplementary material Chapter 5 A

Book List

Nr	Title	Author(s)	Illustrator(s)	Target Age
1	Yan (Eyes)	Iwona Chmielewska*	Iwona Chmielewska*	3-6
2	Da wenti (Big Questions)	Wolf Erlbruch*	Wolf Erlbruch*	3-10
3	Hechuan (The River)	Satoshi Kako	Satoshi Kako	3-6
4	Xin xuetang ge (New School Songs)	Gu Jianfen	Cai Gao	3-6
5	Xiao labi da bagong (The Day the Crayons Quit)	Drew Daywalt*	Oliver Jeffers*	3-6
6	Yaoshi tuoluo zhuan qilai (If the Top Spins)	Hiro Miyagawa	Akiko Hayashi	3-10
7	Zai lai yici (Again!)	Emily Gravett*	Emily Gravett*	3-10
8	Shang cesuo (Going to the Bathroom)	Zhou Xiang	Zhou Xiang	3-6
9	Maxi tuan (Peter Spier's Circus)	Peter Spier*	Peter Spier*	3-6
10	Women qu diaoyu (We Go Fishing)	Qiu Chengzong	Qiu Chengzong	3-10
11	Jiasidong: Wen ge bu ting de xiao hai (Gaston, the little boy who kept asking questions)	Gwenaelle Boulet*, Marie Aubinais*, Matthieu de Laubier*, Catherine Proteaux-Zuber*	Gwenaelle Boulet*, Marie Aubinais*, Matthieu de Laubier*, Catherine Proteaux-Zuber*	3-10
12	Sugeladi yu fuqin de duihua (Socrates and Dad)	Einar Øverenget*	Øyvind Torseter*	3-10
13	Haizi men de shi (Children's poems)	Different Chinese children	Different Chinese illustrators	3-6
14	Meiguo jingdian zhuanzhu li peiyang da shu (Highlights™ Magazine [8 books])	Highlights for Children, Inc.*	Different American illustrators*	3-6

15	Shu zhi zi (A Child of Books)	Oliver Jeffers*, Sam Winston*	Oliver Jeffers*, Sam Winston*	3-10
16	Da gezi shushu de yeshou dao (The Beast Island of a Big Uncle)	Bai Bing	Amin Hassanzadeh Sharif (Arab)	3-6
17	La la la (La La La)	Kate DiCamillo*	Jimyung Kim	3-10
18	Maque (Sparrow)	Mei Zihan	Man Tao	3-10
19	Hui shuohua de shou (Talking Hands)	Zhu Ziqiang	Zhu Chengliang	3-6
20	Bu yao he qingwa tiaosheng (Don't Skip Rope with a Frog)	Peng Yi	Jiu'er	3-6
21	Xiao yu hou (After Drizzle)	Zhou Yawen	Zhou Yawen	3-6
22	Fang lian gonggong he yuan lian popo (The square-face Grandfather and the round-face Grandmother)	Wu Yugui, Xiang Zi	Wang Tiantian	3-6
23	Xia ye yinyue hui (The Concert in Summer)	Han Han	Han Han	3-6
24	Qimiao de shu (The Wonderful Book)	Yang Sifan	Yang Sifan	3-6
25	Mingtian jian (See You Tomorrow)	Mi Jika	Wang Ke	3-6
26	Qiao men xiao xiong (The Bear Knocking at the Door)	Mei Zihan	Tian Yu	3-10
27	Wo shi Hua Mulan (I am Hua Mulan)	Qin Wenjun	Yu Rong	3-6
28	Xiaohei he Xiaobai (Xiaohei and Xiaobai)	Zhang Zhilu, Sun Qingfeng	Yael Frankel(Latin American)	3-10
29	Yi wazi (Child Yi)	Liu Xun	Liu Xun	3-10
30	Dajiao guniang (The Girl with Big Feet)	Wan Wan, Yan Xinyuan	Wan Wan, Yan Xinyuan	3-10
31	Da denglong (Lanterns)	Wang Yage	Zhu Chengliang	3-6
32	Yinghuochong nühai (Firefly Girls)	Peng Yi	Li Haiyan	3-6

33	Nali cai shi wo de jia (Where Is My Home)	Jin Jiehong, Lin Shan	Liu Hao	3-6
34	Ewenke de tuolu (Reindeer in Ewenki)	Gerelchimeg Blackcrane	Jiu'er	3-10
35	Waipo jia de ma (Grandma's Horses)	Xie Hua	Huang Li	3-10
36	Guaiwu baba (Monster Dad)	Peng Yi	Han Han	3-10
37	Jin Cheng (Into Town)	Lin Xiusui	Liao Jianhong	5-12
38	Men (Door)	Tao Juxiang	Tao Juxiang	5-8
39	Qingwa yu nanhai (The Frog and the Boy)	Xiao Mao	Chen Wei, Huang Xiaomin	3-12
40	Zui kepa de yi tian (The Most Terrible Day)	Tang Mu Niu	Tang Mu Niu	3-8
41	Kada Kada Kada (Kada Kada Kada)	Lin Xiaobei	Lin Xiaobei	5-not known
42	Mian popo shui bu zhao (Grandma Mian Can't Sleep)	Liao Xiaoqin	Zhu Chengliang	3-8
43	Yachi, yachi, reng wuding (Teeth, Teeth, Onto the Roof)	Liu Xun	Liu Xun	3-8
44	Pan zhong can (Dishes)	Yu Hongcheng	Yu Hongcheng	5-12
45	Lin Tao nainai de taozi shu (Grandma Lin Tao's Peach Tree)	Tang Mu Niu	Tang Mu Niu	5-8
46	Hua Mulan (Hua Mulan)	A Chinese folk song	Cai Gao	3-9
47	Ruguo ni xiang kan jingyu (If You Want to See a Whale)	Julie Fogliano*	Erin E. Stead*	3-6
48	Tebie kuaidi (Special Delivery)	Philip C. Stead*	Matthew Cordell*	3-6
49	Paopao zhen (Running Town)	Ya Dong	Maikexiaokui	3-10
50	Bianzi (Pigtails)	Hei Mi	Hei Mi	3-6
51	He feng yiqi sanbu (Walking with Wind)	Xiong Liang	Xiong Liang	3-6

52	Qiji xiao baobao (Miracle Baby[11 books])	Yoshihito Takeuchi	Yoshihito Takeuchi	0-2
53	Ying'er youxi huiben (Baby Play Books[10 books])	Yuichi Kimura	Yuichi Kimura	0-2
54	Haizi de di yi ben zhishi huiben (First Information Picture Book for Young Child[18 books])	Yun So Yeon	Seo Suk Hui	0-2
55	Zhang da wo zui bang xilie (Learning to Get Along[15 books])	Cheri J. Meiners*	Meredith Johnson*	3-6
56	You'er liyi peiyang tuhua shu, canting liyi deng (Manners in the Lunchroom, etc.[10 books])	Amanda Doering Tourville*	Chris Lensch*	3-6
57	Ke'ai de shenti (Lovely Body[8 books])	Jun Nanao	Yumiko Imai	0-2
58	Baobei jihua (Poppy Series[48 books])	Froebel Child Research Institute	Baek Eun Hee	0-2
59	Ying'er huabao diancang ben, xiao xiao koudai shu (Baby Pictorial Collection·Small Pocket Books[100 books])	Gao Hongbo	Yu Qing	0-6
60	Xiao Kuaihuo Kayou (Caillou[12 books])	Nicole Nadeau*	Pierre Brignaud*	0-6
61	Yeshou guo (Where the Wild Things Are)	Maurice Sendak*	Maurice Sendak*	3-10
62	Limian waimian (Inside Outside)	Lizi Boyd*	Lizi Boyd*	3-6
63	Aixin shu guoji da jiang huiben, shitou tang deng (Stone Soup, etc. [20 Books])	Jon J Muth*	Jon J Muth*	3-6
64	Mengxiangjia Weili (Willy the Dreamer)	Anthony Browne*	Anthony Browne*	3-6

65	Qi xiansheng Miao xiaojie (Mr. Men Little Miss[83 books])	Roger Hargreaves*	Roger Hargreaves*	3-6
66	He pengyou men yiqi xiang banfa (Finding Solutions with Friends [8 books])	Gaby Goldsack*	Steve Smallman*	3-6
67	Susi boshi jingdian huiben (A Classic Case of Dr. Suess[15 books])	Dr. Seuss*	Dr. Seuss*	3-6
68	Feishu chuanqi (Lindbergh)	Torben Kuhlmann*	Torben Kuhlmann*	3-10
69	Zhe jiu shi ershisi jieqi (24 Solar Terms[4 books])	Gao Chunxiang, Shao Min	Xu Mingzhen, Li Jing	3-6
70	Wo baba + wo mama (My Dad+My Mum[2 books])	Anthony Browne*	Anthony Browne*	3-6
71	0-4 sui you'er renzhi xiao baike (Cognitive Encyclopedia of 0-4 years Old Children[3 books])	Not applicable	Yoshida Junko	0-4
72	Shenqi xiaoche (The Magic School Bus[12 books])	Joanna Cole*	Bruce Degen*	3-10
73	Tuomasi he pengyou, baobao shui qian gushi (Thomas the Tank Engine & Friends [30 books])	HIT Entertainment*	HIT Entertainment*	0-2
74	Bai nian tonghua huiben, diancang ban (Lü ye xian zong, deng) (The Wizard of Oz, etc. [30 books])	Lyman Frank Baum*	Serena Riglietti*	3-6
75	Yuehan Danfo ziran yinyue huiben (Yangguang zhao zai wo jianbang, deng) (Sunshine On My Shoulders, etc.[5 books])	John Denver*	Christopher Canyon*	3-6

Nr = book number *The ethnicity of the authors or the illustrators is White. All other authors and illustrators with no ethnic background indication in brackets are East Asians.

Supplementary material Chapter 5 B

Coding Variables

Variable	Description
Character Name	(1) yes, (0) no
If Character Name	Specification of name
Explicit Mention Ethnicity/Nationality	(1) yes, (0) no
If Explicit Mention Ethnicity/Nationality	Specification of mention ethnicity/nationality
Ethnic Appearance	(1) East Asian, (2) White, (3) other, (4) unclear
If Non-East Asian Non-White Ethnic Appearance	Specification of ethnic appearance
If Characters with Inconsistent Ethnic Appearance and Names/Explicitly Mentioned Ethnicity*	(1) yes, (0) no
Gender Character	(1) male, (2) female, (3) unknown
Age Group Character	(1) child, (2) teenager, (3) adult, (4) senior adult, (5) unknown
Role Character	(1) protagonist, (2) secondary, (3) background
If Supporting or Background	Specify role in the story
Representation Pages	Number of pages on which character is shown
Representation Pictures	Number of pictures on which character is shown
Representation Cover	(1) yes, (0) no
Eyes*	(1) with epicanthal folds, (0) without epicanthal folds
Skin Tone*	(0) light, (1) mid-tone, (2) tanned, (3) very tanned
Hair Color*	(1) black, (0) not black
Hair Style*	(1) straight, (0) not straight

*exclusive for East Asian characters

Titelpagina

Nederlandse Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

De begrippen 'modelminderheid' en 'voor altijd vreemden' zijn gebruikt om wereldwijd Chinese immigranten te omschrijven. Na het uitbreken van COVID-19 leek het laatste de overhand te krijgen, aangezien anti-Aziatische vooroordelen hoogtij vierden in Noord-Amerika en West-Europa. Protesten zoals Stop Anti-Asian Hate als reactie op rassendiscriminatie van mensen met Aziatische oorsprong trokken veel aandacht voor de impact van interetnische vooroordelen op Aziatische mensen in de diaspora. Deze bewegingen hebben tot veel discussies geleid over het verbeteren van interetnische relaties en het bouwen van een meer inclusieve samenleving voor alle etnische groepen, inclusief Aziaten.

In de afgelopen jaren is er steeds meer onderzoek gedaan naar hoe interetnische vooroordelen zich ontwikkelen en hoe de interetnische relaties tussen witte en zwarte groepen in de Verenigde Staten kunnen worden verbeterd. Onderzoek naar Aziatische groepen en in de Europese context is echter veel minder omvangrijk, maar ook dringend nodig. Bovendien is het onduidelijk hoe kinderen worden beïnvloed door de etnische socialisatiecontext op basis van de sociaal leren theorie (Levy & Hughes, 2009). De sociaal leren theorie richt zich op de rol van de bronnen waarvan kinderen leren, zoals ouders, de media en wereldveranderende gebeurtenissen. Onderzoek wijst uit dat de ontwikkeling van etnische vooroordelen begint vanaf heel jonge leeftijd. Etnische vooroordelen van kinderen uit de witte dominante groep en kinderen uit gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen en hun ontwikkelingspatronen lijken echter afhankelijk van de populatie en context (de Bruijn, 2022). Meer onderzoek is nodig om patronen te identificeren in de ervaringen en vooroordelen van kinderen uit gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen en om de potentiële invloed te begrijpen van verschillende sociaal-contextuele factoren waaraan ze worden blootgesteld. Dit proefschrift heeft tot doel om inzicht te geven in de ontwikkeling van etnische vooroordelen onder een grotendeels genegeerde gemarginaliseerde etnische groep: de Chinees-Nederlandse groep, door middel van drie sociaal-contextuele factoren (ouders, kinderboeken en COVID-19).

Chinese diaspora in Nederland

Nederland is een multi-etnisch land waarin meer dan een kwart van de inwoners een migratieachtergrond heeft. De migratie vanuit China begon vanaf de aankomst van de eerste Chinezen in 1911 per zeilboot. De Chinezen kwamen eerst voor werk naar Nederland, daarna voor gezinshereniging en geleidelijk steeds vaker voor studie (Gijsberts et al., 2011). In de afgelopen eeuw is de Chinese culturele groep (0,6% van de totale Nederlandse bevolking) uitgegroeid tot de grootste Oost-Aziatische gemeenschap in Nederland, en de zevende niet-westerse migrantengroep na mensen met wortels in Turkije, Marokko, Suriname, Indonesië, de (voormalige) Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba, en Syrië (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2021a). Bovendien is sinds 2007 de immigratiestroom van China naar Nederland groter dan die vanuit Turkije, de grootste migrantengroep in Nederland (Mandin & Gsir, 2015). De afgelopen jaren is bijna de helft van de immigranten in Nederland afkomstig uit Europa, gevolgd door 18% uit Azië, voornamelijk India en China (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020).

Volgens verschillende indicatoren is de situatie van Chinese immigranten in Nederland als positief te omschrijven. Zo ligt de arbeidsparticipatie (73,2%) van Chinese immigranten (gedefinieerd als geboren in China) op de arbeidsmarkt dicht bij die van autochtone Nederlanders, en zijn zowel de Chinees-Nederlandse als de autochtone Nederlandse groep oververtegenwoordigd in hooggekwalificeerde beroepen en minder vertegenwoordigd in minder gekwalificeerde beroepen (Mandin et al., 2015). Daarnaast waren Chinese immigranten qua opleiding zowel vaker laag- als hoogopgeleid (diploma's behaald in China of in Nederland). Concreet heeft een hoger percentage Chinese immigranten maximaal basisonderwijs genoten

(27%) dan migranten met een Surinaamse of Antilliaanse achtergrond (20%), maar lager dan migranten met een Turkse en Marokkaanse achtergrond (45-47%). Ondertussen volgden meer Chinese immigranten tertiair onderwijs (28%) dan de andere vier migrantengroepen (6-19%, Gijsberts et al., 2011). Dit komt vooral door het feit dat de meeste Chinese immigranten die arriveerden voor het jaar 2000 naar Nederland kwamen voor werk of gezinshereniging, en over het algemeen lager opgeleid waren. Nieuwe immigranten (ingekomen na 2000) kwamen echter vaker voor studie naar Nederland en waren vaker hoogopgeleid (47%). Als we deze studentmigranten buiten beschouwing laten, is het opleidingsniveau van Chinees-Nederlanders nog steeds hoger dan dat van de andere grootste migrantengroep en vergelijkbaar met dat van autochtone Nederlanders (Gijsberts et al., 2011). Verder bleek uit het rapport dat Chinese immigranten in Nederland zich over het algemeen meer geaccepteerd en minder uitgesloten voelen, en minder discriminatie rapporteren in vergelijking met andere migrantengroepen (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

Er zijn echter ook veel uitdagingen voor de Chinese groep op het gebied van integratie. Zo is er onder Chinese immigranten een lager percentage mensen met de Nederlandse nationaliteit (Mandin et al., 2015). Omdat China de dubbele nationaliteit niet erkent en Chinese immigranten die de Nederlandse nationaliteit verwerven hun Chinese nationaliteit moeten opgeven, heeft bijna de helft van de eerste generatie Chinese immigranten nog steeds de Chinese nationaliteit in plaats van de Nederlandse (Mandin et al., 2015). Daarnaast wordt gemeld dat de Chinese gemeenschap over het algemeen minder gericht is op autochtone Nederlanders dan andere migrantengroepen. De meeste Chinese immigranten hebben minder dan wekelijks vriendschappelijk contact met autochtone Nederlanders, wat minder vaak dan de andere grote migrantengroepen (bijvoorbeeld met Marokkaanse, Surinaamse, Turkse achtergrond, etc., Gijsberts et al., 2011). Contact tussen groepen lijkt vaker voor te komen als we kijken naar de Chinese groep van de tweede generatie; ruim de helft heeft een autochtone beste vriend en driekwart heeft minimaal één keer per week contact met autochtone vrienden of kennissen (Gijsberts et al., 2011). Het aantal etnisch gemengde relaties (gehuwd en ongehuwd) van Chinese immigranten in Nederland is relatief laag maar begint sinds 2001 toe te nemen. Ongeveer een kwart van de relaties in de Chinese groep is etnisch gemengd, wat lager is dan bij de Surinaamse groep, maar hoger dan bij de Turkse en Marokkaanse migrantengroepen (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

De uitbraak van COVID-19 in China in december 2019, als een belangrijke maatschappelijke gebeurtenis, heeft de afgelopen jaren het leven van de Chinese diaspora beïnvloed. Sinds het aanhoudende negatieve beeld in de nieuwsmedia over de uitbraak van COVID-19 in Wuhan, China, hebben Chinese immigranten meer discriminatie-ervaringen dan vóór de pandemie (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021). Ten minste 314 COVID-gerelateerde discriminatiegebeurtenissen werden gemeld door mensen met een Oost-Aziatisch uiterlijk, goed voor ongeveer 12% van alle gemelde rasgerelateerde discriminatie-incidenten in 2020 in Nederland (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021). Discriminatiegebeurtenissen omvatten verbaal geweld, belediging en bedreigingen, laster van hun etnische afkomst en vreselijk fysiek geweld (Asian Raisins, 2020). Bovendien ontving het discriminatiebureau in Nederland meer dan 5000 meldingen naar aanleiding van een lied op een openbare radioshow waarin het wantrouwen en de uitsluiting van Chinese immigranten werd gepropageerd, wat leidde tot de petitie 'We zijn geen virussen!' die ruim 65,000 keer is ondertekend (Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen, 2021). De recente maatschappelijke veranderingen, met name de COVID-uitbraak en discriminatie van mensen met een Chinese achtergrond (of een Oost-Aziatisch uiterlijk), maken deze gemarginaliseerde etnische groep dus een urgente minderheidsgroep om aan onderzoek naar interetnische vooroordelen toe te voegen. Vergeleken met de toenemende aandacht in de Verenigde Staten voor interetnische attitudes en relaties in

de Aziatische culturele groep, zijn er minder studies gedaan in de Europese context en zelfs nog minder studies betrekken kinderen van deze etnische groep. Het onderzoeken van kinderen is bijzonder belangrijk omdat kinderen de toekomst van de samenleving vertegenwoordigen. Het is belangrijk om hun leven en de problemen die ze kunnen tegenkomen te begrijpen om positieve verandering te identificeren.

Etnische vooroordelen onder Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen

Etnische vooroordelen kunnen worden beschreven door niveaus van voorkeur en afwijzing met betrekking tot zowel de etnische ingroup (eigen groep) als outgroups (andere groepen). De resultaten van Hoofdstuk 2 lieten zien dat Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen de voorkeur gaven aan hun etnische ingroup en de witte outgroup-kinderen boven kinderen uit andere gemarginaliseerde etnische outgroups (d.w.z., kinderen uit het Midden-Oosten en Noord-Afrika (MENA) en zwarte kinderen). Er werden geen verschillen gevonden tussen voorkeur voor de Oost-Aziatische ingroup-kinderen en voorkeur voor de witte outgroup-kinderen. Bovendien was de afwijzing hoger ten aanzien van de zwarte dan bij andere kinderen. In overeenstemming met eerdere bevindingen onder kinderen met verschillende etnische achtergronden in Nederland, vertoonden Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen, vergelijkbaar met Turkse en zwarte Nederlandse kinderen (6 tot 10 jaar oud), geen verschil in voorkeur of afwijzing tussen hun eigen etnische groep en de witte outgroup, d.w.z. beperkte ingroup-voorkeur (Pektas et al., 2022). Deze resultaten weerspiegelen de etnische hiërarchie die wordt waargenomen door gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen die in Nederland wonen, d.w.z. andere gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen volgen de ingroup en de witte Nederlandse groep (Verkuyten et al., 1996). Ten slotte impliceren de studies met kinderen met verschillende etnische achtergronden in Nederland dat met name zwarte kinderen het risico lopen bevooroordeeld en zelfs gediscrimineerd te worden door andere kinderen. Daarom is naast het onderzoek naar kinderen van dominante etnische groepen, onderzoek naar interetnische vooroordelen tussen verschillende gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen ook de moeite waard om interetnische spanningen vanuit meerdere perspectieven te begrijpen. Zo kunnen interetnische relaties verbeterd worden met de inspanningen van zowel dominante als gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen.

Maternale intergroepsideologie en socialisatiegedrag

Ouders zijn een van de belangrijke sociaal-contextuele factoren voor kinderen als het gaat om het bijbrengen van mogelijke vooroordelen en normen met betrekking tot etniciteit. In dit proefschrift worden etniciteitsgerelateerde ideologieën en gedragingen van ouders beschreven om mogelijke verbanden met individuele verschillen in etnische vooroordelen bij kinderen te begrijpen. De resultaten van Hoofdstuk 2 toonden aan dat steun van de moeder voor multiculturalisme gerelateerd was aan minder etnische vooroordelen bij kinderen in termen van minder ingroup-voorkeur in de Chinees-Nederlandse gezinscontext. Minder ingroup-voorkeur suggereert dat de Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen over het algemeen meer gelijkwaardig waren in hun keuzes voor leeftijdsgenoten, wat meer gelijkheid in interetnische attitudes weerspiegelt. Dit resultaat komt overeen met patronen uit eerder onderzoek, waar een sterker multiculturalisme verband hield met minder vooroordelen in het algemeen (Leslie et al., 2020).

Kinderen hebben de neiging om sociale normen en opvattingen over te nemen door observerend leren, sociale interacties of door deel te nemen aan verschillende culturele praktijken (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). Naast de zelfrapportagevragenlijst van de moeder over de multiculturalisme-ideologie, heeft dit proefschrift een interactief sociaal categoriseringsspel tussen moeder en kind gebruikt om het gedrag van de moeder te onderzoeken. De inhoud van Hoofdstuk 4 betrof onderzoek naar gedrag van moeders dat wijst op 'kleurenblindheid' (het

vermijden van het benoemen van huidskleur of etniciteit) en witte normativiteit met behulp van video-geobserveerde onderzoeksmethoden. Hoewel de meeste Chinees-Nederlandse moeders in beide versies van het spel etnisch-raciale vragen stelden, werden gendervragen vaker, eerder en korter geformuleerd, vooral in de versie met afbeeldingen van witte en zwarte volwassenen. Aangezien mensen tegelijkertijd etniciteit en geslachtskenmerken verwerken, waarbij etniciteit zelfs sneller wordt verwerkt (Ito & Urland, 2003), lijkt het erop dat Chinees-Nederlandse moeders het praten over etnisch-raciale achtergronden wellicht als een taboe beschouwen, mogelijk uit angst om het verkeerde te zeggen.

Bias in etnisch-raciale focus die witte normativiteit weerspiegelt (d.w.z. het formuleren van etnisch-raciale vragen gericht op niet-witte dan op witte huidskleur) werd gevonden in beide versies van de spellen in Hoofdstuk 4. Dit kan een indicatie zijn dat Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen thuis worden blootgesteld aan witte normativiteitsboodschappen, naast de bestaande blootstelling vanuit witte onderwijzers op school (Weiner, 2016). Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen zullen daarom witte normativiteit mogelijk eerder internaliseren dan deze betwisten (Gross & Vostroknutov, 2022; Lindström et al., 2018). Deze sociale norm suggereert een vorm van hedendaags racisme waarbij mensen van kleur blootgesteld worden aan het risico van afwijzing of marginalisering als ze afwijken van de witte standaard of norm (Bhandaru, 2013).

Als we de beschrijvende resultaten combineren met de sterke multiculturalistische ideologie van Chinees-Nederlandse moeders en het waargenomen gedrag dat vasthoudt aan 'kleurenblindheid' en witte normativiteit, kunnen we zien dat de zelfrapportage van ouders van hun intergroep ideologie en hun omgang van kinderen niet altijd consistent is.

In toekomstig onderzoek kunnen meerdere indicatoren worden onderzocht om een nauwkeurigere beschrijving te krijgen van de etnische socialisatiecontext van kinderen thuis. Daarnaast is toekomstig onderzoek nodig om vast te stellen in welke mate verschillende indicatoren, zoals de etniciteitsgerelateerde ideologie en het gedrag van de moeder, verband houden met de interetnische vooroordelen, identiteit en de bereidheid van Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen om te gehoorzamen aan (of in te gaan) tegen bepaalde witte sociale normen.

Kinderboeken: Parasociale contacthypothese

Chinese kinderboeken vertegenwoordigen een andere sociaal-contextuele factor die Chinese immigrantenmoeders kunnen gebruiken als onderdeel van hun etnische socialisatie. Volgens de parasociale contacthypothese kunnen frequente representatie en positieve afbeeldingen van outgroup-leden in verschillende sociaal-culturele kanalen (bijv. gedrukte media, boeken, al dan niet met interacties met ingroup-leden) de intergroepsattitudes beïnvloeden (Schiappa et al., 2005). Hoofdstuk 5 onderzocht de etnische representatie van auteurs, illustratoren en personages van de meest populaire Chinese kinderboeken van 2011 tot 2018, en de prominentie van verschillende etnische personages. De resultaten toonden aan dat de auteurs en illustratoren in de Chinese kinderboeken overwegend Oost-Aziatisch zijn, terwijl er meer witte dan Oost-Aziatische personages werden gevonden. Oost-Aziatische personages (vooral vrouwen) waren prominenter volgens sommige indicatoren, terwijl witte personages (vooral mannen) prominenter waren volgens de andere indicatoren. Aangezien bijna de gehele Chinese bevolking Oost-Aziatisch is (> 99,4% van de bevolking op het vasteland van China; NBS, 2020a), weerspiegelt dit resultaat een oververtegenwoordiging van witte (en een ondervertegenwoordiging van Oost-Aziatische) auteurs, illustratoren en personages vergeleken met de bevolking in China. Het is goed om te benadrukken dat witte oververtegenwoordiging in witte dominante samenlevingen, zoals in Canada, Nederland en de Verenigde Staten (de Bruijn et al., 2020; Dionne, 2014; Koss, 2015) te maken heeft met kwestie van etnische gelijkheid. Daarentegen weerspiegelt de witte oververtegenwoordiging in een niet-witte

dominante samenleving, zoals in China in de huidige studie, mogelijk een uiting van postkolonialisme. Een oververtegenwoordiging van witte auteurs, illustratoren en personages in Chinese kinderboeken kan een positieve invloed op hebben de witte outgroup-attitudes van Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen, terwijl het ook een negatieve invloed kan hebben op hun zelfbeeld, omdat ze afwijken van de witte norm die ze in de boeken zien.

Natuurlijk experiment: COVID-impact

Grote sociale gebeurtenissen, zoals de COVID-pandemie, kunnen ook worden gezien als een sociaal-contextuele factor die van invloed is op ontwikkelingen in etniciteitsgerelateerde ervaringen en attitudes, die in principe invloed hebben op de hele groep. De resultaten uit Hoofdstuk 3 bevestigden de resultaten uit eerdere onderzoeken (e.g., Elias et al., 2021; Ittefaq et al., 2022) dat Chinees-Nederlandse moeders die de pandemie meemaakten meer discriminatie-ervaringen rapporteerden, met name subtiele discriminatie, en een sterkere etnische identiteit hadden dan vóór de pandemie. In de vroege pandemie zorgde de angst voor de fysieke dreiging van het virus voor grotere vooroordelen en raciale intolerantie jegens de Chinese groep (Bavel et al., 2020; Elias et al., 2021). Op basis van het afwijzing-identificatiemodel (RIM, Branscombe et al., 1999) gaan gemarginaliseerde etnische groepen om met de pijn van vooroordelen en discriminatie door de identificatie binnen de groep te vergroten, en dit wordt weerspiegeld in de bevindingen van het huidige onderzoek.

Bovendien kunnen kinderen vanaf de middelbare schoolleeftijd (met cognitieve vaardigheden om mensen in verschillende etnische groepen te categoriseren) worden beïnvloed door hun sociale omgeving (bijvoorbeeld familiegesprekken, mediaconsumptie; Levy & Hughes, 2009) en wordt op zijn beurt de sociale omgeving beïnvloed door grote maatschappelijke gebeurtenissen. De resultaten toonden aan dat de afwijzing van de Oost-Aziatische groep door de Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen na de uitbraak lager was dan vóór de uitbraak. Het verschil in afwijzingsscores binnen de groep kan te wijten zijn aan een focus op de Chinese (of Oost-Aziatische) groep in de COVID-situatie, met name op het veroordelen van discriminatie van Oost-Aziaten wat zich vervolgens vertaalt naar minder negatieve houdingen van de Chinese Nederlanders ten opzichte van hun eigen groep. Het verschil in houding van kinderen voor en na de covid-uitbraak in Hoofdstuk 2 suggereert dat maatschappelijk gebeurtenissen, als een sociaal-contextuele factor, ook van toepassing zijn op de ontwikkeling van interetnische attitudes van kinderen.

Conclusies

Concluderend geeft dit proefschrift inzicht in de interetnische vooroordelen van Chinees-Nederlandse kinderen, en in de ideologieën en normen waaraan ze mogelijk worden blootgesteld door middel van drie verschillende sociaal-contextuele factoren: ouders, boeken en de COVID-pandemie. Dit proefschrift levert een belangrijke bijdrage aan het begrijpen van de context van de ontwikkeling van etnische vooroordelen bij kinderen, met name in een te weinig bestudeerde, gemarginaliseerde etnische groep. Het benadrukt het belang van bewustwording van de oververtegenwoordiging van witte mensen en cultuur in de Chinese kinderliteratuur, en een socialisatiepatronen van Chinese moeders waarin een witte standaard wordt gezet. Het laat ook zien dat de ideologie van het multiculturalisme van de moeder een rol speelt bij positievere interetnische attitudes bij kinderen. Ten slotte benadrukken de bevindingen het belang om bij het bestuderen van interetnische relaties bij kinderen en volwassenen rekening te houden met maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen die impact hebben op specifieke etnische groepen, zoals COVID-19. De resultaten van dit proefschrift kunnen bijdragen aan een beter begrip van de interetnische relaties van de Chinese groep en de etniciteitsgerelateerde gevolgen van de pandemie. De belevenissen van deze Chinees-

Nederlandse families tijdens de pandemie zijn misschien voorbij, maar hun stem is te horen via dit proefschrift, wat zowel wereldwijde als regionale ontwikkelingen weerspiegelt in intergroepsrelaties, attitudes en culturele diversiteit in de veranderende sociale wereld.

Acknowledgements

If there were a time machine, I would like to fly back to four years ago and tell myself: Yiran, you will never imagine how beautiful your PhD journey will be; enjoy yourself because there are colleagues, friends and families who will support you consistently from the beginning to the end.

I firstly would like to thank all the participating families. Thanks for every single yes to being part of the project. Without you, I could never have finished this research or made the voices of the Chinese-Dutch group be heard. I also thank all the research assistants and students for supporting the data collection and the coding work, especially Sherrill and Zhaoyang. Moreover, this research could only have been done well with my direct colleagues: Daudi, Fadime and Ymke. You are sometimes colleagues, sometimes role models, and sometimes more like old friends. I also would like to mention the ERC colleagues, and I improved my Dutch and got much fun and energy with you girls during many lunches. Last but not least, the most special thanks are to my (co)supervisors Judi and Rosanneke. Judi, thanks for showing so many possibilities that I can discover myself in research. Also, when I learned Dutch, you recommended some research-related Dutch books and encouraged me to 'Yiran, go!' Whenever we had lunch colloquiums, Me Asian workshops or all kinds of group meetings, you were always active and insightful and showed me that research is scientific but joyful. Rosanneke, thank you for your enormous support in research and my personal life. You can always remove my stress and guide me to find a solution. It's been my honor to work with you. My PhD journey was unforgettable, and so are you.

I also want to thank all my friends and family for showing kindness and support to me during my PhD journey. Many friends have already left the Netherlands, but the memory never fades. Dear Lili and Jing, we took turns taking care of the children for almost two years. We always made a joke about calling it an *exchange program*. My dear friends, Akiko, Berend and Nancy, Danielle, Edlin and Yogi, Elisabeth, Ferby, Frank, Hua, Huihui, Jian, Jiaxin, Junfei, Kexin, Kim, Lin, Olli-pekka, Putri, Qingting, Ruifang, Sepideh, Tamara, Wei, Xiaowen and Yuxi. Thanks for all the lovely get-gathering. We walked in Leidse Hout; We travelled to different vacation parks; We celebrated Christmas and Chinese New Year; We had much coffee and tea. Because of you, there is always sunshine in my life. Papa and mama, thanks for showing me many possibilities from when I was young. You taught me to be myself and always be curious about this world. I grow up in the way that I like to be, and I know it is because of your unstoppable courage and love. Finally, it is definitely you, Jialong. You are my soul mate. I am happy that whenever I turn around, you are always there, just right there. Thank you. My son, Daniel, you will forget most of the memories in the first several years of your life, but your papa and me, we are so proud and thankful to have you.

Curriculum Vitae

Yiran Yang was born in Beijing, China, on 13 November 1989. In 2008, she graduated from the Second High School attached to Beijing Normal University. She later obtained her Bachelor's degree in History from Renmin University of China in 2012 in Beijing. During her Bachelor's study, she attended an exchange program at Kyungpook National University for half a year in Daegu, South Korea. Afterwards, she studied for a Master of Science in Education at the University of Edinburgh and graduated in 2013. After working as an English teacher at New Oriental Education & Technology Group Inc. for two years in Beijing, she came to Leiden, the Netherlands, in 2015 and worked as a freelance (online) English teacher. In 2018, Yiran started her PhD project on 'The parenting origins of prejudice: The case of Chinese immigrant families in the Netherlands'. This dissertation presents the results of her research project. When she had almost finished her dissertation, she started working on a new research project, 'Artificial intelligence and discrimination risk in the context of immigration', as a postdoctoral researcher at Radboud University in the Netherlands. Between 2019 and 2022, she also worked as a volunteer newsletter editor for de Leidse stichting ter bevordering van de uitwisseling van de Chinese Nederlandse taal en cultuur (LUCN) and from 2022 she worked as a volunteer for Speel-o-theek Klapstuk in Leiden.

List of Publications and Presentations

Publications

Yang, Y., Emmen, R.A.G., van Veen D., Mesman, J. (2022). Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization in Chinese immigrant families before and after the COVID-19 outbreak: An exploratory natural experiment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 91*(5), 27-37, DOI:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.09.001

Yang, Y., Emmen, R.A.G., de Bruijn, Y, Mesman, J. (2022). White prevalence and white preference in children's books in China. *SN Social Science 2*, 228, https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-022-00540-3

Work in progress

Yang, Y., Emmen, R.A.G., de Bruijn, Y, Mesman, J. (2023). Ethnic prejudice among Chinese-Dutch children: The role of maternal multiculturalism ideology and COVID-19. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Yang, Y., de Bruijn, Y, Emmen, R.A.G., Mesman, J. (2023). Color-evasiveness and white normativity in Chinese-Dutch families. Manuscript submitted for publication.

de Bruijn, Y., **Yang, Y.**, Mesman, J. (2023). 'Dutch' according to children and parents: Nationality stereotypes and citizenship representation. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Presentations

Yang, Y., de Bruijn, Y, Emmen, R.A.G., Mesman, J. (2023, February 3). Color-evasiveness and white normativity in Chinese immigrant mothers in the Netherlands. (Oral presentation). The China in Europe Research Network online seminar "Chinese Educational Mobilities in Europe and Beyond" WG5 – Chinese Migration, online.

Yang, Y., Emmen, R.A.G., van Veen, D., Mesman, J. (2022, February 3-4). Pre- and post-COVID-19: Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic-racial socialization in Chinese immigrant families. (Oral presentation). VNOP-CAS Research Days, online.

Yang, Y., Emmen, R.A.G., de Bruijn, Y, Mesman, J. (2021, July 31). Mom, who are they? White prevalence and white preference in children's books in China. (Oral presentation). International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology 2020+, online.

Yang, Y., Emmen, R.A.G., de Bruijn, Y, Mesman, J. (2020, May 4-6). White prevalence and white preference in children's books in China. (Poster session). Society for Research in Child Development Special Topic Meeting: Construction of the 'Other': Development, Consequences, and Applied Implications of Prejudice and Discrimination, Puerto Rico, United States (conference cancelled due to covid-19).

Pektas, F., **Yang, Y.** (2020, March 19). Children in society: Research design & measures (Pitch presentation). VNOP Symposium, Utrecht, the Netherlands (conference cancelled due to covid-19).