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Bruijn, Y. de; Yang, Y.; Mesman, J.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

'Dutch' according to children and mothers: Nationality stereotypes and citizenship representation

Ymke de Bruijn¹  | Yiran Yang^{2,3} | Judi Mesman^{3,4}¹Department of Interdisciplinary Social Science, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University, Utrecht, Netherlands²Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs, Leiden University, Den Haag, Netherlands³Institute for Management Research, Department of Geography, Planning and Environment, Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands⁴Institute of Education and Child Studies, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Leiden University, Den Haag, Netherlands**Correspondence**Ymke de Bruijn, Padualaan 14, 3584 CH, Utrecht, the Netherlands.
Email: y.debruijn@uu.nl**Funding information**

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Abstract

This research examines the endorsement of the nationality stereotype Dutch = White among children and associations with citizenship representations of their mothers (Study 1). Additionally, Study 2 explores how mothers include the concept of Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of their children. Study 1 shows that children ($n = 197$, 57% girls, 7–13 years old) from different ethnic-racial backgrounds (White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, Black Dutch, Chinese-Dutch) all endorsed the nationality stereotype and did so to a similar extent. Most mothers rated civic citizenship as more important than ethnic citizenship, but maternal citizenship representations were unrelated to child nationality stereotype. Study 2 shows that mothers often do not actively and consciously include the topic of Dutch citizenship in their upbringing, but might confirm the nationality stereotype in more implicit ways. Future studies are needed to examine how to work towards a more inclusive view of nationality among children in the Dutch context.

KEYWORDS

children, citizenship representation, mothers, nationality stereotypes, the Netherlands

1 | INTRODUCTION

From a young age, children demonstrate the nationality stereotype equating being American with being White (Brown et al., 2017), which limits the possibility of developing nationality-based common identities that are beneficial for intergroup relations (Gaertner et al., 2016). Paralleling work on the development of ethnic-, racial- and nationality-based prejudice (Degner & Dalege, 2013), one potential route through which children may acquire nationality stereotypes, is through beliefs held by their parents. Particularly relevant are citizenship representations which can be based on ethnic (descent and ancestry) or civic (respect and adherence to laws) principles (Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010), but research examining the link between these representations and children's nationality stereotypes is missing. The present study aims to shed light on the beliefs of Dutch parents and

children of diverse ethnic-racial backgrounds in terms of who belongs to the national group and therefore examines (1) the endorsement of the nationality stereotype Dutch = White among children of different ethnic-racial backgrounds in the Netherlands, (2) the endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship representations among their mothers, (3) associations between maternal citizenship representations and children's nationality stereotypes and (4) the way in which mothers include the subject of Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of their children.

1.1 | Nationality stereotypes

Humans tend to automatically categorize people into social groups in order to quickly process incoming information (Lieberman et al., 2017).

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Often, social categories reflect a distinction between the ingroup (the social group to which one belongs themselves) and outgroups. According to social identity theory, this categorization impacts views of and behaviours towards others in a process of enhancing self-esteem, which plays out more positively for ingroup and more negatively for outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, categorizations can be altered, and thus bias reduced, through recategorization, which is the basis for the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner et al., 2016). According to this model, through recategorization, a social ingroup and outgroup are made to be perceived as part of one larger, more inclusive ingroup, after which the former outgroup members can benefit from ingroup favouritism (Gaertner et al., 2016). One important characteristic that guides social categorization and prejudice from a very young age is ethnic-racial background (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Common ingroup identities might help to reduce this type of prejudice. One potential common ingroup membership that can reduce children's prejudice is shared national group membership (Guerra et al., 2010, 2013).

Although legally, definitions of nationality are fixed, they do not necessarily match psychological representations of nationality (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Despite having legal citizenship, members from ethnically underrepresented groups are at risk of being seen as foreigners (Juang et al., 2021), with negative consequences for their psychological well-being (Kiang et al., 2019; Wu et al., 2020). Research in the United States has clearly documented the nationality stereotype equating being American with being White: White Americans are perceived as more American than Americans of colour (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010; Nosek et al., 2010). In fact, even famous White Europeans are regarded as more American than famous Americans of colour (Devos & Ma, 2008; Devos & Ma, 2013). This stereotype is quite consequently found with implicit measures and is expressed by members of different ethnic-racial groups (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010; Nosek et al., 2010).

Children display similar nationality stereotypes: 5- to 11-year-old White American children rate White Americans as most prototypically American, followed by African, Asian and Latinx Americans, even when all targets were described as being born in America (Brown, 2011). Similarly, 6- to 11-year-old American children rate White Americans as most prototypically American, followed by African and Latinx, Asian and Muslim Arab Americans (Brown et al., 2017). In fact, it is the only racial stereotype that is consistently demonstrated by White American children aged 4- to 8-years-old (Sierksma et al., 2022). Although research on children's reasoning about nationality shows that 5- and 6-year-olds prioritize language over racial cues (DeJesus et al., 2018), when information on language is not available, children revert to ethnic-racial cues.

To our knowledge, there is no research on nationality stereotypes among children outside the United States, although children clearly develop ethnic-racial biases in other countries too (de Bruijn, Amoureux, et al., 2020) and thus common national identities might also be helpful (Gaertner et al., 2016). Additionally, knowledge of nationality stereotypes among children of colour is limited, given that previous

studies included White American children only (Brown, 2011; Sierksma et al., 2022) or did not examine ethnic-racial differences (Brown et al., 2017). As children of colour can have similar levels of prejudice towards children from an underrepresented ethnic-racial outgroup as White children (Pektas et al., 2023), a common national identity might benefit all.

1.2 | The European and Dutch context

Although previous work from the United States contributes to the understanding of nationality stereotypes among children, generalization to European countries is limited, given large differences in population demographics and historical backgrounds (Zick et al., 2008). Europe provides interesting contexts for the topic, as whiteness is described as an essential part of what is thought of as the European identity (Ammaturo, 2018; Begum, 2023; Hansen, 2004). Similarly, work from France delineates that it is race in particular that defines who is included in citizenship representations (Beaman, 2023). Relatedly, national labels are often used to refer to White people, albeit at an implicit level (Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Moffitt & Juang, 2019; Müller, 2011). As a consequence, ethnic-racial minorities in different European countries are often perceived and treated as foreigners, despite having legal citizenship (Beaman, 2023; Juang et al., 2021). At the same time, national identities in Europe are argued to be least inclusive of Muslim minorities (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2018). Nonetheless, being perceived as Muslim in the European context is strongly conflated with ethnic-racial background (Lauwers, 2019).

The population in the Netherlands, the national context of the present study, is highly diverse in terms of ethnic-racial background. Approximately a quarter of the population in the Netherlands has a non-Dutch immigrant background¹ of which two-thirds have a non-European background (CBS, 2022). The most frequently represented non-European backgrounds are Turkish and Moroccan, both making up 2.4% of the Dutch population (CBS, 2022). Migration from Turkey and Morocco mostly stems from labour migration starting in the 1960s (Akgündüz, 1993). Additionally, 2.1% of the population has a migration background from Surinam, 2.1% from Indonesia and 1.1% from the Dutch Caribbean² (CBS, 2022), mostly because of postcolonial migration albeit for a variety of reasons (van Amersfoort & van Niek-erk, 2006). Despite this ethnic-racial diversity of the population and the fact that the Dutch Caribbean is actually still a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, white normativity is reflected in the standard image of being Dutch (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). Research among Moroccan-Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Surinamese-Dutch adults confirms this image: participants view 'native Dutch' people as most representative of the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016).

¹ The Central Bureau for Statistics in the Netherlands defines immigrant background as both first- and second-generation immigrants, meaning that either they are born in another country themselves or have at least one parent who was born in another country. Additionally, 12% of people with a Dutch heritage are children of second-generation immigrants.

² The Dutch Caribbean refers to the constituent countries Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten and the special municipalities Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba.

Explicitly talking about whiteness or race, however, is considered taboo and colour-evasiveness is a prevailing social norm (Hondius, 2014; Weiner, 2014). Therefore, other racialized terms have been used to distinguish between groups of people. Until 2016, for example, the classifications 'autochtoon' and 'allochtoon' were commonly used (De Ree, 2016). Although the latter formally included all people who were born elsewhere or had at least one parent who was born elsewhere, it was mostly used to refer to 'non-Western' ethnic-racial groups (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). In this context, it is likely that Dutch children endorse a nationality stereotype equating being Dutch with being White. Some previous work with adults in the United States suggests that nationality stereotypes are stronger among members of the dominant ethnic group (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos et al., 2010). This might be true in the Dutch context too, as White Dutch people generally engage in less interethnic contact than other ethnic-racial groups (Huijts et al., 2013; Martinović, 2013) and thus likely see fewer examples of Dutch people of colour countering the white normative message.

1.3 | Parents and citizenship representations

Research on children's application of ethnic-racial stereotypes is lagging behind research on children's ethnic-racial attitudes and prejudice (Sierksma et al., 2022). Similarly, less work has studied antecedents of ethnic-racial stereotypes, let alone nationality stereotypes specifically. Work on other social and political attitudes, such as intergroup attitudes and ethnic bias, demonstrates that parents can transmit their attitudes and values towards their children (Degner & Dalege, 2013; Jennings et al., 2009; Jugert et al., 2015). These findings resonate with perspectives based on social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), which highlights the potential influence of socialization agents such as parents. Parents can transfer social and political attitudes through political socialization in the form of modelling and direct communication of their attitudes and values (Meeusen & Dhont, 2015). Possibly, children thus form their views on who belongs to the national ingroup based on input from their parents.

Ideas about who belongs to the national ingroup can manifest themselves in different ways. Whereas nationality stereotypes reflect a more implicit form, citizenship representations represent a more explicit form. Historically, representations of citizenship have been broadly defined as ethnic or civic (Brubaker, 1990; Hjerm, 1998). Ethnic representations define citizenship based on descent and ancestry, whereas civic representations define citizenship based on respect and adherence to civic principles (Reijerse et al., 2013; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Although both representations are exclusionary to some degree, the former is more exclusionary given that the basis of the criterion is fixed (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). Endorsement of ethnic citizenship representation is related to preference for restricted immigration policies (Reijerse et al., 2014), higher levels of prejudice (Pehrson et al., 2009) and anti-immigrant attitudes (Reijerse et al., 2013). Endorsement of civic citizenship representation, in contrast, relates to less restrictive immigration policies (Reijerse et al., 2014)

and more positive immigrant attitudes (Reijerse et al., 2013). Similarly, citizenship representations are related to behavioural intentions: ethnic citizenship representations relate to higher intentions to engage in pro-majority and lower intentions to engage in pro-minority collective action, while the opposite is true for civic citizenship representations (Kende et al., 2018).

Public support for citizenship representations varies across countries (Jones & Smith, 2001; Levanon & Lewin-Epstein, 2010) and between individuals (Meeus et al., 2010). Nonetheless, in numerous European countries, ethnic citizenship representation on average is labelled 'unimportant' (Reijerse et al., 2013). Similarly, White Dutch adults generally have a stronger civic than ethnic citizenship representation (Reijerse et al., 2013). How these representations differ between members of different ethnic-racial groups, however, remains unclear. One study in Greece showed that whereas both natives and migrants endorsed aspects of civic citizenship representation, only natives displayed ideas in line with ethnic citizenship representation (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017). Given the relevance of a common ingroup identity for all people in society in order to improve cohesion, more insight into the endorsement of different types of citizenship representation in diverse samples is needed.

Citizenship representations and nationality stereotypes are thus not equivalent. Rather, they can be thought of as explicit and implicit attitudes about who belongs to a national group. Explicit attitudes refer to largely conscious and intentional attitudes, whereas implicit attitudes are thought to reflect more automatic and unconscious processes (Brauer et al., 2000). Children's automatic categorization of people is likely impacted by their implicit ideas about national belonging (i.e., nationality stereotypes). In contrast, parents likely base their messages on direct political discussions on the topic of their explicit attitudes (i.e., citizenship representations) – highlighting the relevance of bringing the concepts together. Relating the conceptual meaning of the two, explicit ethnic citizenship representations are in line with implicit nationality stereotypes, as both value ancestry and descent in determining who belongs to a national group, whereas civic citizenship representations are not, as emphasis is put on civic principles. Meta-analytically, implicit and explicit attitudes are generally correlated, although there can be discrepancies, particularly when explicit attitudes are expressed less spontaneously (Hofmann et al., 2005). Applied to ideas about national belonging, research from the United States shows such discrepancies: White adults and children explicitly rate characteristics such as emotions (e.g., feeling American and loving America) and values (e.g., living by American laws, endorsing equality) as more important to being American than the time spent in the country, but still apply nationality stereotypes (Brown, 2011; Devos & Banaji, 2005). Nonetheless, individual variation in the endorsement of citizenship representations likely correlates with individual variation in nationality stereotypes. In turn, individual variation in explicit attitudes of parents likely relates to individual variation in implicit child responses, although associations are generally smaller when the conceptual overlap between measures is smaller (Degner & Dalege, 2013).

1.4 | Current research

The current research investigates (1) the endorsement of the national stereotype Dutch = White among children of different ethnic-racial backgrounds in the Netherlands, (2) the endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship representations among their mothers and (3) associations between maternal citizenship representations and children's nationality stereotypes (Study 1). Based on work with American children and adults, it is expected that children of all ethnic-racial backgrounds display the Dutch = White national stereotype (H1a) (Brown, 2011; Brown et al., 2017), but that White Dutch children do so to a larger extent (H1b) (Devos et al., 2010). The extent to which other ethnic-racial groups are perceived as Dutch (Exploration 1) and differences among children of different ethnic-racial backgrounds in doing so (Exploration 2) will be explored. Furthermore, it is expected that mothers have a stronger civic than ethnic citizenship representation (H2a) (Reijerse et al., 2013) and that mothers of colour have stronger civic and lower ethnic citizenship representations than White mothers (H2b) (based on work from Greece; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017). Lastly, based on conceptualizations of citizenship representations as explicit and nationality stereotypes as implicit forms of attitudes about nationality, and previous work demonstrating parent-child similarity on related forms of prejudice (Degner & Dalege, 2013), it is expected that maternal ethnic citizenship representation is associated with stronger (H3a) and maternal civic citizenship representation with weaker child nationality stereotypes (H3b). In addition, the current research will provide insight into mechanisms behind these potential associations, by exploring how mothers include the subject of Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of their children (Study 2).

The research uses a mixed-method design, with a quantitative (Study 1) and qualitative study (Study 2), in order to expand the breadth of the scope under investigation (Greene et al., 1989). In particular, whereas Study 1 can provide insight into the association between children's nationality stereotypes and maternal citizenship representations, Study 2 can provide insight into socialization processes regarding these topics. Therefore, Study 2 can add insights into explanations for potential associations found in Study 1.

2 | STUDY 1

2.1 | Methods

2.1.1 | Sample

White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch families participated in a three-wave study, and Chinese Dutch families participated in one wave. This larger research project aimed to examine how children and their parents think and talk about ethnic-racial diversity in society. Families were recruited face-to-face at events/locations aimed at children or the ethnic-racial target groups, through social media, snowballing or

the network of researchers. Inclusion criteria were (1) mother and child participate (participation of fathers is optional), (2) parents are the biological parents and live with the child, (3) parents do not have severe physical or mental illness, (4) child does not have a severe developmental disorder, (5) families are living in the urban Western region of the Netherlands,³ (6) the child is between 6 and 10 years old during wave 1 (for White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch families) or between 7 and 11 years old during wave 3 (for Chinese-Dutch families). Other criteria were specific to ethnic-racial background and are described in the Supporting Information.

Data are used from the third wave of data collection for White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch families and the one wave in which Chinese-Dutch families participated. Data were collected between May 2019 and October 2021 (see Supporting Information Figure S1 for a timeline). A total of 270 families participated in these waves. As the participation of fathers was optional, data on fathers were limited (26% of the final sample) and the present study, therefore, focuses on mothers and children only. Mothers are typically the primary caregivers of young children in the Netherlands (Portegijs et al., 2018) and thus it is crucial to comprehend particularly their role in shaping children's nationality stereotypes. Data for this study were complete⁴ for 197 families (106 White Dutch, 35 Turkish-Dutch, 32 Black Dutch, 24 Chinese-Dutch). Children (57% girls, 43% boys) were between 7 and 13 years old ($M = 9.75$, $SD = 1.08$), and mothers were between 28 and 55 years old ($M = 41.19$, $SD = 4.73$). Most mothers were living with a partner (84%), were highly educated (i.e., higher vocational education/bachelor's degree or higher; 72%) and reported an annual family income above the national mode (i.e., > 40,000, Cultureel Planbureau, 2022; 80%).

2.1.2 | Procedure

Most families participated digitally using their own devices due to regulations concerning the Covid-19 pandemic (i.e., four families were visited at home). The visit lasted around 1.5–2 h and was conducted by one researcher via a digital platform that allowed the researcher and families to see each other, and the researcher to share materials and instructions on the screen. Prior to the visit, parents were asked to give consent for participation and to fill out an online questionnaire. The visit started with parent-child interactive tasks, followed by standardized tasks the child did with the researcher, similar parent-child interactive tasks in the case of two participating parents and computerized tasks for parents. After participating, each parent received €20 and each child received €2.50. The study's procedures were approved by the Ethics committee of Education and Child Studies at Leiden University.

³ This criterion did not apply to the Chinese-Dutch families, and thus four families lived outside this region.

⁴ More information on missing data can be found in the Supporting Information.

2.1.3 | Measures

Child nationality stereotype. Children participated in a social categorization game twice (firstly using same-gender pictures; secondly using different-gender pictures). Twelve pictures of children with different ethnic-racial appearances (White, Black, South West Asian/North African (SWANA), East Asian) were presented on the screen, and children were asked to group pictures of children that 'look alike' together. Afterwards, children were asked follow-up questions: 'Who looks most like you?' (only in the same-gender round), 'Which children are Dutch?' and, 'Where are the other children from?' For this study, we are interested in responses to the question 'Which children are Dutch?' For each child in the pictures, it was scored whether they were named as Dutch (1) or not (0). Using these scores, percentages reflecting how many children in each ethnic group were named as Dutch were computed. A score of nationality stereotype was computed by calculating the proportion of White children in the total number of children named as Dutch.

Maternal citizenship representation. Maternal citizenship representation was measured with items from the citizenship representation questionnaire (Reijerse et al., 2013). Three items from the ethnic dimension, four from the cultural dimension and one from the civic dimension were included. Mothers rated these items in terms of their importance in order to regard someone as Dutch on a 7-point Likert-scale (1 = very unimportant, 7 = very important). Based on results from principal component and confirmatory factor analyses (see [Supporting Information Tables S1 and S2](#)), the items from the original cultural dimension were excluded. For ethnic citizenship representation, scores on the three items were averaged. Civic citizenship representation is represented by responses to the item "being (Dutch)" has nothing to do with origin/cultural background".

2.1.4 | Analyses

Prior to the main analyses, correlation analyses are conducted between all main variables. The main analyses start with repeated measures analyses of variance (RM ANOVAs) to examine differences in the frequency of being named as Dutch between different ethnic-racial groups in the pictures (regarding H1a and Exploration 1). This RM ANOVA was run (ANOVA 1) for the entire sample and (ANOVAs 2–5) for the ethnic-racial participant groups separately. After, ANOVAs were run to examine differences between ethnic-racial participant groups (ANOVAs 6–9) in the frequency of naming the ethnic-racial groups in the pictures as Dutch (Exploration 2) and (ANOVA 10) in their application of the nationality stereotype (i.e., the proportion of White children among all children named as Dutch; H1b). Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were conducted to examine differences between levels of ethnic and civic citizenship representations (H2a). ANOVAs were run to examine differences between ethnic-racial participant groups in maternal ethnic and civic citizenship representations (H2b). Associations between maternal citizenship representations and child nation-

ality stereotypes were analysed using multiple regression analyses, in which child nationality stereotype was the dependent variable and (centred) maternal citizenship representations (step 1), dummy variables representing ethnic-racial background and interactions between dummy variables and maternal citizenship representations (step 2) were included as predictors (H3a, H3b). Three dummy variables were created, each with one ethnic-racial participant group as a reference group (1: Turkish-Dutch, 2: Black Dutch, 3: Chinese-Dutch). If applicable, analyses were run with and without outliers. Results including outliers were reported if results were similar; otherwise, differences are described in the footnotes. Skewed distributions were identified, but thought not to harm the robustness of ANOVAs according to the central limit theorem (Norman, 2010). For ANOVAs, a Greenhouse–Geisser correction was applied if the assumption of sphericity was violated, and Welch's ANOVAs and Games–Howell post hoc tests were reported if the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated.

Effect sizes for ANOVAs (omega squared) and their confidence intervals are calculated with formulas provided by Kroes and Finley (2023). Effect sizes and their confidence intervals for the Wilcoxon signed rank test are calculated with the *rstatix* R package (Kassambara, 2023). Confidence intervals for effect size estimates from the regression analyses are calculated using the SPSS extension by Cheung et al. (2023).

2.2 | Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics of the main variables and correlations between them.

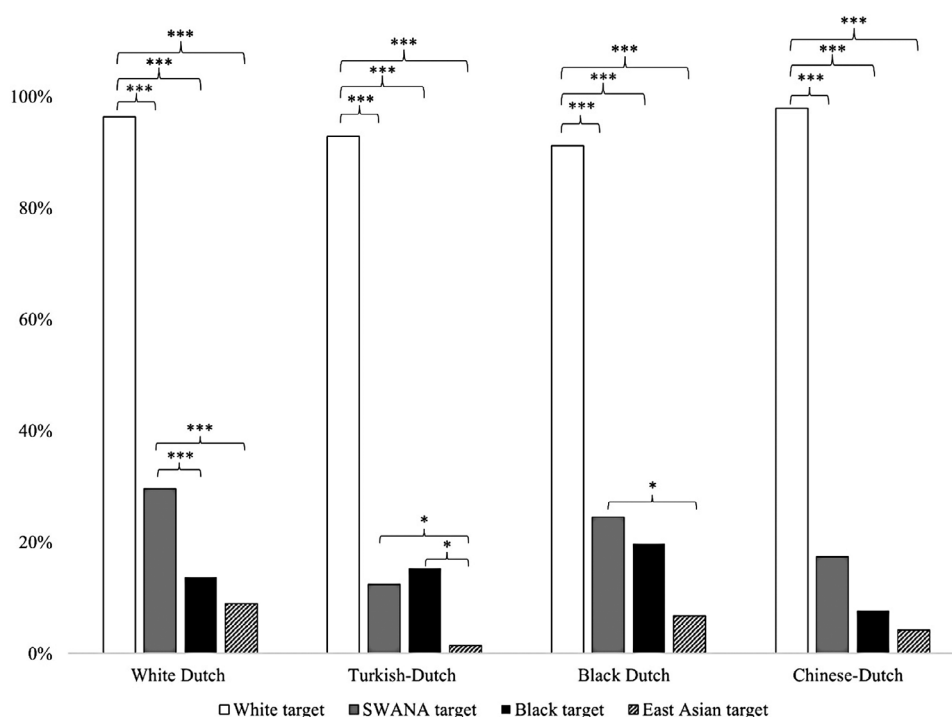
2.2.1 | Child nationality stereotype

Regarding H1a and Exploration 1, results from ANOVA 1 show a significant difference in how often children from different ethnic-racial backgrounds were named as Dutch ($F(2.45, 480.05) = 755.15, p < .001, \omega^2 = .67^5$). On average, 95% ($SD = 0.15$) of the White children, 24% ($SD = 0.32$) of the SWANA children, 14% ($SD = 0.28$) of the Black children and 7% ($SD = 0.21$) of the East Asian children were named as Dutch. All pairwise contrasts were significant ($ps < .001$). The pattern looked fairly similar for each ethnic-racial participant group (ANOVAs 2–5; see Figure 1 and Table S4 in the [Supporting Information](#)) but some contrasts did not reach significance. Among Turkish-, Black and Chinese-Dutch children, the contrast between naming SWANA and Black children as Dutch no longer reached significance ($ps > .05$). Additionally, there were no significant contrasts between naming East Asian and SWANA children as Dutch among the Chinese-Dutch children ($ps > .05$) nor between naming East Asian and Black children as

⁵ The assumption of sphericity was violated as indicated by Mauchly's test of sphericity ($\chi^2(5) = 69.62, p < .001$), and thus a Greenhouse–Geisser correction was applied ($\epsilon = .82$).

TABLE 1 Descriptive statistics of and correlations between main variables.

	Range	M	SD	r (p)	
				1	2
1. Child nationality stereotype	0–1	0.77	0.25		
2. Maternal ethnic citizenship representation	1–7	3.85	1.59	.08 (.242) ^a	
3. Maternal civic citizenship representation	1–7	5.34	1.48	.07 (.302) ^b	.03 (.671) ^b

^a Pearson correlation.^b Spearman's correlation (for skewed variables).**FIGURE 1** Percentage of children in pictures (target) named as Dutch per ethnic-racial participant group. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Dutch⁶ among White Dutch, Black Dutch and Chinese-Dutch children ($ps > .05$).

Regarding Exploration 2, no differences were found between ethnic-racial participant groups in how often they named White ($p = .276$) or Black ($p = .433$) children as Dutch, but there were differences in naming SWANA ($p = .009$) and East Asian ($p = .014$) children as Dutch (ANOVAs 6–9, Table S5 in the Supporting Information). Games-Howell post hoc tests revealed that White Dutch children on average named more SWANA ($p = .004$) and East Asian ($p = .020$) children as Dutch than the Turkish-Dutch children.⁷

On average, children named about eight children as Dutch ($M = 8.41$, $SD = 4.03$), of which 77% ($SD = 0.25$) were White, 13% ($SD = 0.15$) SWANA, 7% ($SD = 0.12$) Black and 3% ($SD = 0.08$) East Asian (Table 2).

⁶ After excluding outliers, there was a significant difference between naming East Asian and Black children as Dutch among the White Dutch children ($p = .018$) and Black Dutch children ($p = .035$) but no longer among Turkish-Dutch children ($p = .062$).

⁷ After excluding outliers, one additional significant difference emerged: Chinese-Dutch children named Black children as Dutch less often (Welch's $F(3, 73.86) = 4.27$, $p = .008$) than White Dutch ($p = .045$) and Black Dutch ($p = .031$) children did.

Results regarding H1b (ANOVA 10) showed that the proportion of White children among those who were named as Dutch did not differ between ethnic-racial participant groups ($F(3, 193) = 1.70$, $p = .169$, $\omega^2 = .01$, 95% CI [0, 0.07]).

2.2.2 | Maternal citizenship representation

Results regarding H2a demonstrate that mothers rated the civic dimension of citizenship ($Mdn = 6$, $M = 5.34$, $SD = 1.48$) as more important than the ethnic dimension ($Mdn = 4$, $M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.59$), $z = 8.40$, $p < .001$, $r = .59$, 95% CI [0.50, 0.69]. This pattern was found among White Dutch ($z = 7.31$, $p < .001$, $r = .72$, 95% CI [0.62, 0.80]), Black Dutch ($z = 3.01$, $p = .003$, $r = .53$, 95% CI [0.24, 0.75]) and Chinese-Dutch ($z = 2.85$, $p = .004$, $r = .57$, 95% CI [0.26, 0.78]) mothers but not among Turkish-Dutch mothers ($z = 1.44$, $p = .149$, $r = .23$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.53]; Figure 2). Regarding H2b, significant differences were also found in the rating of the ethnic ($F(3, 193) = 3.69$, $p = .013$, $\omega^2 = .04$,

TABLE 2 Number and ethnic-racial composition of children named as Dutch per ethnic-racial participant group.

	White Dutch (<i>n</i> = 106)	Turkish-Dutch (<i>n</i> = 35)	Black Dutch (<i>n</i> = 32)	Chinese-Dutch (<i>n</i> = 24)
Number of children named as Dutch	8.91 (4.57)	7.31 (2.22)	8.53 (3.59)	7.63 (3.83)
Percentage of White children	75	81	73	86
Percentage of SWANA children	16	8	12	10
Percentage of Black children	5	10	10	4
Percentage of East Asian children	3	1	4	1

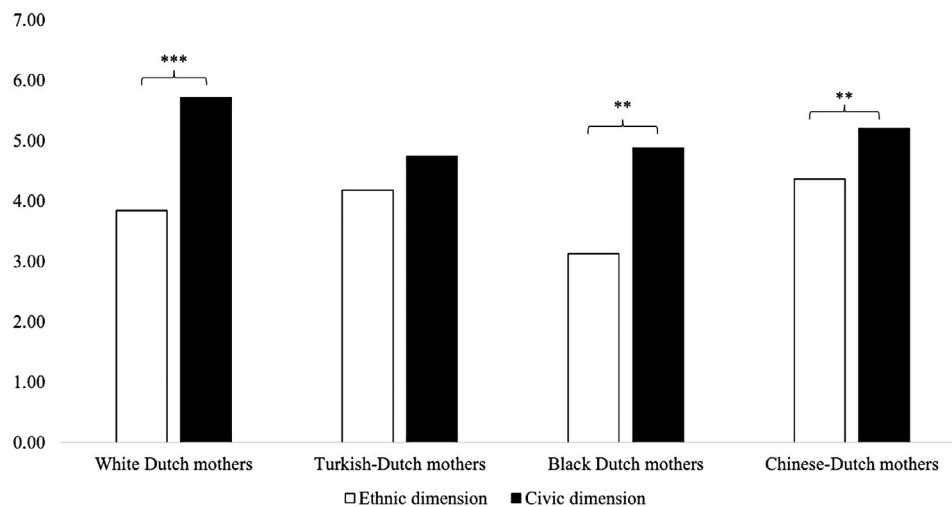


FIGURE 2 Rated importance of ethnic and civic citizenship per ethnic-racial participant group.

95% CI [< 0.01 , 0.12]) and civic dimension (Welch's $F(3, 59.70) = 5.09$, $p = .003$, $\omega^2 = .06$, 95% CI [< 0.01 , 0.14]) between mothers of different ethnic-racial backgrounds: Black Dutch mothers rated the ethnic dimension as less important than Turkish-Dutch ($p = .037$) and Chinese-Dutch mothers ($p = .022$), and White Dutch mothers rated the civic dimension as more important than the Turkish-Dutch mothers ($p = .008$).

2.2.3 | Mother-child associations

The multiple regression model predicting child nationality stereotype from maternal citizenship representations (H3a – H3b) was not significant ($F(2, 194) = 1.51$, $p = .224$, $R^2 = .02$, 95% CI [< 0.01 , 0.07]), and neither maternal ethnic ($\beta = .07$, 95% CI [-0.06 , 0.20], $p = .306$) nor civic ($\beta = .09$, 95% CI [-0.06 , 0.22], $p = .202$) citizenship were significant predictors. Adding dummy variables for ethnic-racial group membership and interaction terms between dummy variables and maternal citizenship representations similarly did not result in a significant regression model ($F(11, 185) = 0.90$, $p = .545$, $R^2 = .05$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.18]), and none of the interaction effects reached significance.

2.3 | Discussion

Study 1 investigated (1) the endorsement of the nationality stereotype Dutch = White among children of different ethnic-racial backgrounds in the Netherlands, (2) the endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship representations among their mothers and (3) associations between maternal citizenship representations and children's nationality stereotypes. Confirming H1a, children in all ethnic-racial participant groups displayed the Dutch = White nationality stereotype (i.e., more often named White than SWANA, Black or East Asian children as Dutch). Contrasting H1b, the proportion of White children among those who were named as Dutch was similar across ethnic-racial participant groups. An exploratory aim was to examine to what extent Black, SWANA and East Asian children would be perceived as Dutch. The overall results suggest that of these groups, SWANA children are seen as 'most Dutch' and East Asian children are seen as 'least Dutch'.

Partially confirming H2a, White Dutch, Black Dutch and Chinese-Dutch mothers rated civic citizenship (measured as the extent to which mothers agreed with the statement 'Being Dutch has nothing to do with origin/cultural background') as more important than ethnic citizenship. Turkish-Dutch mothers rated both dimensions as equally important. Additionally, mothers of colour were expected to

have stronger civic and weaker ethnic citizenship representations than White Dutch mothers (H2b), but this was not confirmed. White Dutch mothers' civic citizenship representations were similar to those of Black Dutch and Chinese-Dutch mothers, and stronger than those of Turkish-Dutch mothers, and their ethnic citizenship representations did not differ from the other mothers.

Furthermore, in contrast to hypotheses H3a and H3b, maternal citizenship representations were not associated with children's nationality stereotype. This suggests that in contrast to parent-child similarities in ethnic, racial and national prejudice or political attitudes (Degner & Dalege, 2013; Jennings et al., 2009), parents' explicit and children's implicit beliefs about who belongs to a national group are not necessarily similar. Study 2 examines maternal socialization practices in order to understand why these views do not align.

3 | STUDY 2

3.1 | Methods

3.1.1 | Sample

For Study 2, data stems from the second wave of data collection from the bigger research project among White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch families. Data were collected between May 2019 and December 2020 (Supporting Information Figure S1). Interviews from a subsample of mothers who participated in both the second and third waves were selected. Specifically, interviews with 20 mothers per ethnic group were randomly selected (out of 74 available interviews with White-Dutch mothers, 23 with Turkish-Dutch mothers and 31 with Black Dutch mothers).

3.1.2 | Procedure

In the second wave, families were visited either in person or through digital means, depending on whether they participated before or during the Covid-19 pandemic. Following the parent's completion of a consent form, the researcher conducted standardized child tasks for about an hour and conducted the interview with the parent present, which lasted about half an hour. Due to the sensitivity of the topics discussed in the interview, the ethnic-racial background of the researcher was matched to that of the mother. To limit screen time and efforts for families, not all parents were invited to participate in the interview during digital visits, based on prior established needed sample sizes per ethnic group. At the end of the visits, participating families received rewards valued at around 7.50 euros. Of the 60 included interviews in the present study, four were conducted online, and interviews were conducted by eight different researchers (four White Dutch, two Turkish-Dutch and two Black Dutch). The study's procedures were approved by the Ethics committee of the Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs at Leiden University.

3.1.3 | Measures

Mothers participated in an interview about their (1) perspectives on Dutch citizenship representations and (2) views on ethnic diversity in society. The interview was audio-recorded (and video-recorded for online visits) and transcribed afterwards. For this study, responses to one question about who is Dutch are of particular interest: 'To what extent do you include the concept of Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of your children, and how?'

3.1.4 | Analysis

The first and second authors participated in the coding process. Transcripts were analysed using an inductive thematic approach: codes and themes were generated from the data rather than set out a priori. In line with procedures outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Williams and Moser (2019), the coders first familiarized themselves with the data by reading and rereading transcripts and noting down initial open codes. These first two steps were done by the two coders separately. Afterwards, they discussed their open codes and combined them into one list. This included both the joining of similar codes developed by the separate coders as well as adding codes that were identified by only one of them. After having created this list of codes together, the first author re-read all interviews to re-examine whether codes were applied where needed. As such, this approach is most in line with a codebook thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Statements could belong to multiple themes at once. Next, the coders together generated themes, by collating codes and reviewing whether the themes reflected the data. The first author then produced the first draft of the results, and the second author read and provided feedback on the results section to ensure that the report accurately reflected the data. The coding process was executed for each ethnic-racial participant group separately to allow for different (interpretations of) themes.

3.2 | Results

Six themes were identified in maternal responses to the question of interest (see Table 3). One relevant theme was deducted from the rest of the interview: confirmation of nationality stereotype. An overview of codes in each theme can be found in the Supporting Information (Table S3). The content of the themes and similarities and differences across ethnic-racial groups are described below.

3.2.1 | Socialization strategies

This theme was identified in maternal responses to the 'to what extent' part of the question of interest. The codes included different types of socialization strategies, varying in the extent to which mothers saw an

TABLE 3 Themes identified in interviews across ethnic-racial participant groups (total $n = 20$ per group).

Theme	W	T	B
Socialization strategies (% active)	2	3	6
Transmission of Dutch culture and identity	11	17	15
Transmission of non-Dutch culture, identity, and religion	–	17	10
Preparation for racism	–	–	3
Teaching about cultural diversity	11	4	2
Messages about differences	8	4	7
Confirmation of nationality stereotype	8	16	13

Note. Numbers reflect in how many interviews across each group a theme was identified.

Abbreviations. W, White Dutch mothers; T, Turkish-Dutch mothers; B, Black Dutch mothers.

active role for themselves in teaching their children about the meaning or definition of Dutch citizenship.

Most White Dutch mothers did not see an active role for themselves: the majority ($n = 17$) indicated that Dutch citizenship is not a topic they actively and consciously incorporate in the upbringing of their children and only two indicated that they do ($n = 2$). Some mentioned that the topic might be incorporated unconsciously ($n = 5$) or described a passive approach in response to relevant events or questions from children ($n = 7$). Furthermore, some mothers ($n = 4$) mentioned other sources through which children might learn about Dutch citizenship, including media, other family members or educational environments. An example of a passive approach and other sources of socializing can be seen in the following quote:

White Dutch mother: Actually we don't really talk about that with the children very consciously. It might come up if it is talked about in the news, for example, an item that discusses it. But it's not the case that we really hammer at 'well this is a Dutch person' and, no not really consciously.

A similar pattern was found among Turkish-Dutch mothers, with the majority ($n = 12$) indicating that they did not consciously incorporate Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of their children. Moreover, one of the Turkish-Dutch mothers described consciously not to include the subject:

Turkish-Dutch mother: I don't include it, because she is not Dutch. She is a Muslim child. Our own culture comes first for me.

In contrast, the number of Black Dutch mothers indicating to actively or consciously incorporate the topic of Dutch citizenship ($n = 6$) was equal to the number of mothers indicating that they did not do this ($n = 6$). Additionally, one mother mentioned that the topic might be incorpo-

rated unconsciously or through other sources such as television or school.

3.2.2 | Transmission of Dutch culture and identity

This theme reflects one way in which mothers teach their children about Dutch citizenship. Among White Dutch and Black Dutch mothers, the theme generally reflects how children learn to 'be Dutch' themselves, from which they can infer what it means to be Dutch. Among Turkish Dutch mothers, two interpretations of the theme emerged: one similarly reflecting children learning to 'be Dutch' themselves, and one focusing on children learning *about* 'being Dutch', yet not internalizing this themselves.

More than half of White Dutch mothers ($n = 11$) described how they (passively) transfer aspects of Dutch culture to their children, and thus how children learn what it means to be Dutch themselves. Most often mothers ($n = 8$) described how children learned by engaging in Dutch habits and festivities. Mothers also described that children learn about Dutch culture and identity simply because they 'are Dutch' themselves ($n = 5$), by living in the Netherlands ($n = 3$) or by living or being abroad, causing a bigger emphasis on Dutch traditions ($n = 4$). Other aspects that were named by a few (i.e., one or two) mothers were the Dutch language, knowledge of Dutch history, the Dutch anthem and Dutch morals and values. The next quote illustrates this theme among White Dutch mothers.

White-Dutch mother: Uhm, well not really consciously, but maybe, yes I think we do include it because we are both Dutch. So we raise our children according to Dutch customs and culture, and norms and values like we learned from our parents. And, yes we celebrate the Dutch... We participate... We celebrate the Dutch holidays and uhm, yes like that actually. And we only speak Dutch at home.

Among Black Dutch mothers, an even bigger number of mothers described how children learn about Dutch culture and their own Dutch identity ($n = 15$). Patterns of what was emphasized looked different: Dutch habits and festivities were named by a smaller group of mothers ($n = 3$). In contrast, Black Dutch mothers more often mentioned Dutch norms and values ($n = 8$) and described that their children learn about Dutch culture by being born in or living in the Netherlands and participating in society ($n = 7$) and by 'being Dutch' themselves ($n = 4$). Lastly, two mothers referenced the Dutch language and two mothers referenced contact with 'Dutch people' as a means through which children learn about Dutch culture. It should be noted, however, that the majority of Black Dutch mothers who made comments within this theme also made comments in the theme 'transmission of non-Dutch culture and identity, and religion' (9 out of 15).

Among Turkish-Dutch mothers, the theme 'transmission of Dutch culture and identity' was also prevalent ($n = 17$). However, an important nuance was found distinguishing internalizing Dutch culture

versus being aware of Dutch culture. For example, when mothers mentioned Dutch norms and values ($n = 9$), some referenced them as a means through which children internalize Dutch culture. In contrast, other mothers described how they wanted their children to know and respect these norms and values, yet not necessarily internalize them as their own. Similar patterns were found for references to Dutch habits and festivities ($n = 3$) and speaking the Dutch language ($n = 2$). Moreover, participating in society was a code present in seven of the interviews and could either reflect how children learn what it means to be Dutch by participating in society or mothers' wish for children to be able to participate in Dutch society. Likewise, residence in the Netherlands was referenced by mothers ($n = 8$) either as a way of learning to be Dutch or as a reason why children should have some knowledge of Dutch culture. Although the balance was somewhat different for the various codes, generally the majority of mothers focused on being aware of rather than internalizing Dutch culture. The focus on the former emphasizes that these mothers perceived Dutch culture as belonging to others and not to them:

Turkish-Dutch mother: Because I live in their country, they have made the rules, he must obey the rules. But he does not have to live like the Dutch do. But if he goes to work, school, or outside, he must obey the rules.

3.2.3 | Transmission of non-Dutch culture and identity and religion

This theme reflects mothers' comments regarding learning about aspects of children's non-Dutch culture/identity and religion. Half of Black Dutch mothers ($n = 10$) described how children learn about their other (non-Dutch) culture and identity. For example, mothers described how their upbringing is influenced by their cultural heritage ($n = 6$) and how they and/or their children simply have this other cultural identity ($n = 6$). Additionally, two mothers explicitly linked teaching about their identity to making children aware and proud of ethnic-racial characteristics such as skin colour and hair structure ($n = 2$). As mentioned before, this theme often co-occurred with the transmission of Dutch culture and identity, illustrated in the following quote:

Black Dutch mother: My child is very aware that she is Dutch. And, no I also tell her, you are a Dutch person of color. You are also Surinamese. Her father is African. She is also African but she has little [affinity] with that because I raise her. So she feels Dutch and Surinamese. So for her, identity is very important, and yes, I teach her that.

Almost all Turkish-Dutch mothers ($n = 17$) described how children learn about their other identities. Importantly, Turkish-Dutch mothers described two types: (non-Dutch) cultural identity ($n = 12$) and religious identity ($n = 9$). In terms of transferring Turkish culture and

Islamic faith, mothers described how their children learn about it through influences of cultural or religious norms and values on upbringing, engaging in cultural or religious habits and traditions, and simply 'being' these identities. Similar to Black Dutch mothers, this theme often co-occurred with the transmission of Dutch culture and identity (in 14 out of 17 interviews). In contrast to the Black Dutch mothers, some of the Turkish-Dutch mothers explicitly described how learning about these other cultural or religious identities conflicts with Dutch habits, norms or values ($n = 7$). This conflict emphasizes us versus them, as illustrated in the following quote:

Turkish-Dutch mother: (...) when some things have happened, we certainly do make a distinction. For Dutch people it's like this, for us it's like that. So for them, according to their religion and according to our religion, these things are right and these things are wrong. But what's right for us, does not have to be wrong because they do it. But that's their religion. Not ours. So in that way we do try convey such things to our children.

3.2.4 | Preparation for racism

Related to their non-Dutch identity, three Black Dutch mothers described how they prepared their children for racism. All three mothers described that they wanted their children to be aware of risks due to their skin colour and ethnic-racial background, but at the same time have a positive view so that it should not hold them back.

Black Dutch mother: Well, what I do teach them is that we are all different and it can happen that, my eldest has had to deal with that too, but that it sometimes can look like you have to work harder to achieve something. So that is something I make her aware of. Not that they have to work harder, but that they must be aware that my friend who looks different does get it done and I don't. That I teach her: ok, that is sometimes just, yes how it goes in the Netherlands. And sometimes you have to take some different steps, but that doesn't mean that you cannot reach your goal.

3.2.5 | Teaching about cultural diversity

In contrast to the previous self-focused themes, this theme focuses on what children are taught about cultures other than their own. More than half of White Dutch mothers described instances of teaching children about cultural diversity ($n = 11$). Mothers most often ($n = 8$) referenced their children's interethnic contact and described their children's increasing knowledge about cultural differences ($n = 7$) either from discussions with them or from activities at school. Some mothers explicitly described their goals of normalizing other cultures and teaching their children to respect other cultures ($n = 4$) as well as

tackling prejudices when they occur by discussing them openly ($n = 2$). Lastly, a few White Dutch mothers mentioned that their children learn about cultural diversity by travelling abroad ($n = 2$). It should be noted, however, that responses within this theme did not explicitly link cultural diversity or different cultural backgrounds to being Dutch. Rather, mothers often described their socialization practices regarding cultural diversity as a contrast to how they do not actively or consciously incorporate Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of their children, as illustrated in this quote:

White Dutch mother: You know, I think, I think that who you are is already unconsciously part of what you transfer to your children. So they get that from their grandfather and grandmother, from family, but also from us. And I think that we, that I, do that unconsciously. And what I do try to do consciously, is to show that there are other cultures too and that that is also very normal.

This theme was a lot less prominent among Turkish-Dutch mothers ($n = 4$), who mostly described teaching their children to respect other cultures and religions and not discriminate. This theme was even less frequently identified among Black Dutch mothers, as it was only identified in two of the interviews ($n = 2$). One of the mothers referenced exposing her child to diversity in toys and books, whereas another mother referenced children learning about other cultures through travelling.

3.2.6 | Messages about differences

This theme reflects the messages that mothers teach their children with regard to differences between people or between social groups. In contrast to teaching about cultural differences, among White-Dutch mothers this next theme is fully characterized by mothers' opposition to emphasizing differences between people based on their background ($n = 8$). Mothers conveyed messages similar to colour-evasiveness ($n = 6$), stressing that all humans are equal and skin colour or ethnic-racial background is not important. One mother described that children do not see differences between people and indicated to focus on individual characteristics. Some mothers explicitly mentioned that they do not want to focus on differences or emphasize (non-)Dutchness ($n = 4$), as illustrated in this quote:

White Dutch mother: [...] we are more like 'all people are people', and whether they are fat, skinny, big or small, or have a color or something else, wear a headscarf or whatever, all people are people and you treat them a certain way, and not emphasizing that Dutch citizenship.

This theme was less prominent among Turkish-Dutch and Black Dutch mothers. Among Turkish-Dutch mothers, the theme was also fully

characterized by opposing to emphasizing differences between people based on ethnicity, race, culture or religion ($n = 4$) and instead focusing on the individual's characteristics or personality ($n = 2$). Some Black Dutch mothers described messages that did acknowledge differences ($n = 2$) but opposition to emphasizing differences was most prevalent. Again, mothers conveyed messages similar to colour-evasiveness ($n = 4$), mentioned that children do not see differences ($n = 2$) and did not want to make distinctions between people ($n = 2$), but rather focused on the individual ($n = 2$).

3.2.7 | Confirmation of the nationality stereotype

Although this theme was not developed from responses to the question of interest directly, it gives an interesting insight into the confirmation of the nationality stereotype equating being Dutch with being White. This nationality stereotype was applied by mothers in all three ethnic-racial groups, irrespective of their view on Dutch citizenship. For example, whereas White Dutch mothers' description of criteria for Dutch citizenship largely contradicted ethnic citizenship representations, quite a few mothers ($n = 8$) used Dutch or Dutch people to refer to White native Dutch people in contrast to people with a migration or other cultural background. To illustrate, one White Dutch mother described that for her, someone is Dutch when they live in the Netherlands and participate in society. Yet, later she says:

Interviewer: How do inhabitants of the Netherlands deal with cultural diversity according to you? And what do you think of this approach?

White Dutch mother: Eh well, some Dutch people should be more open to it, but some other cultures too. Because you do notice that in some cultures, they then too really just interact with each other, and yes it should come from both sides. At one point with colleagues who also just, that you think that they only interact with other family members or with people from their original country. Then I think well yes, then you also can not expect to make Dutch friends, so.

Similarly, 13 of Black Dutch mothers used Dutch or Dutch people to refer to White native Dutch people although most of them (11 out of 13) did feel (partly) Dutch themselves. For example, an Black Dutch mother who feels Dutch as 8 on a scale of 1 to 10 says:

Interviewer: How culturally diverse do you think the Netherlands is?

[...]

Black Dutch mother: Well I think it depends on where in the Netherlands. Because for example at work, well yeah everyone there is Dutch. White, blond or dark hair,

and so not that diverse at all. I'm the only one there of colour.

Confirmation of the nationality stereotype was most common among Turkish-Dutch mothers ($n = 16$). Although over half of these mothers (9 out of 16) did describe that they feel (partly) Dutch themselves, they often used the term Dutch or Dutch people to contrast their own cultural or religious group. For example, this mother who identifies as Dutch as a 9 on a scale of 1–10 says:

Turkish-Dutch mother: We are, we are a bit easier than Dutch people. If they say no, then it is no. That's not really the case with us.

3.3 | Discussion

Study 2 aimed to provide insight into maternal socialization regarding the subject of Dutch citizenship. Results from Study 2 provide a plausible explanation for the lack of association between maternal citizenship representations and children's nationality stereotypes in Study 1: the majority of mothers do not actively and consciously include Dutch citizenship in the upbringing of their children (although an active approach was more common among Black Dutch mothers). This suggests that children learn about who they should see as Dutch from other sources, such as the media. Given that people of colour are often underrepresented in Dutch television and children's books (de Bruijn, Emmen, et al., 2020; Koeman et al., 2007), this likely does not encourage an inclusive view of Dutch nationality.

Additionally, mothers often used the term 'Dutch' to refer to White native Dutch people or to contrast people with a migration background, irrespective of their explicit beliefs about whom they see as Dutch or the degree to which they feel Dutch themselves. This implies that the nationality stereotype is common among adults of different ethnic-racial backgrounds too, and that mothers commonly confirm this stereotype in their language, although potentially implicitly and in contrast to their explicit beliefs. According to developmental intergroup theory, such implicit attributions to groups may add to the development of stereotypes among children (Bigler & Liben, 2007).

4 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

The current mixed-method research examined the extent to which young Dutch children of different ethnic-racial backgrounds endorse the nationality stereotype Dutch = White, how their mothers view Dutch citizenship in terms of ethnic and civic citizenship representations, whether and how these child and maternal attitudes are interrelated (Study 1), and how mothers include the subject Dutch citizenship in their upbringing (Study 2).

Results from Study 1 show that all participating children (White Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, Black Dutch and Chinese-Dutch) named White

children as Dutch far more often than they did SWANA, Black or East Asian children, and that the endorsement of this nationality stereotype did not differ among the ethnic-racial participant groups. All children thus displayed the nationality stereotype to a similar extent, whereas White Dutch children (who are part of the dominant ethnic group) were expected to have stronger stereotypes. The study thereby extends previous work showing that young children in the United States display the nationality stereotype (Brown, 2011; Brown et al., 2017; Sierksma et al., 2022) to another national context and contrasts work with American adults that indicates that this stereotype is stronger among the dominant ethnic group (Devos et al., 2010; Devos & Banaji, 2005). Future research is needed to explore whether this discrepancy is due to the context (e.g., the Dutch = White stereotype is more pervasive than the American = White stereotype) or reflects a developmental pattern (e.g., all children display the stereotype to a similar extent, but as children of colour grow older their stereotype endorsement weakens). In any case, these results suggest that Dutch children are not likely to have a sense of shared national group membership with children of different ethnic-racial backgrounds.

Additionally, the results provide some insight into how 'Dutch' children perceive different underrepresented ethnic-racial groups to be, showing that SWANA children are perceived as 'most Dutch' and East Asian children 'least Dutch'. Although not all contrasts were significant in the separate ethnic-racial participant groups, the fact that East Asian children were least often named as Dutch reflects how people of Asian descent are often characterized as 'exotic others' in Dutch media (Takken, 2022). The finding that SWANA children were more often named as Dutch than Black children was mostly driven by results from White Dutch children, and rather surprising given that White Dutch adults generally rate Black Dutch people (i.e., of Surinamese or Antillean descent) as more similar to them than people of Moroccan and Turkish descent (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2011). Patterns do align with social preferences of White Dutch children (Pektas et al., 2023), highlighting that future research needs to examine whether social preferences are guiding whom White Dutch children select to be in 'their national ingroup'.

Most mothers (White Dutch, Black Dutch and Chinese-Dutch) rated civic citizenship as more important than the ethnic dimension. In the present study, this means that mothers more strongly agreed with the statement "Being Dutch" has nothing to do with origin/cultural background than with statements that described the importance of descent for 'being Dutch'. These results replicate earlier work among White Dutch adults in the Netherlands (Reijerse et al., 2013) and extend them to other ethnic-racial groups. However, Turkish-Dutch mothers rated both dimensions as equally important. Possibly, these mothers had weaker national identities themselves, as previous research has demonstrated national disidentification among Turkish-Dutch adults (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), consistent with their perception that civic criteria (which they can meet) are not more important than ethnic criteria (which they cannot meet). Unexpectedly, no support was found for the hypothesis that mothers of colour would have stronger civic and weaker ethnic citizenship representations than White Dutch mothers. Thus, similar to results from children, it is not necessarily the case

that White Dutch mothers have the most exclusionary views on who is Dutch. Maternal citizenship representations, however, were unrelated to children's nationality stereotypes. Results from Study 2 can partly explain this lack of association.

In Study 2, mothers often described that they did not include the topic of Dutch citizenship in their upbringing, although Black Dutch mothers more often described an active approach. These patterns extend earlier research on parental ethnic-racial socialization, which mothers of colour more frequently engaged in than White mothers (Priest et al., 2014), to socialization about nationality and citizenship. Additionally, mothers frequently used the term Dutch to refer to White native Dutch people, irrespective of their explicit beliefs of who they think is Dutch or their own Dutch identity. Often, however, this was done without explicitly mentioning whiteness, in line with colour-evasive social norms (Essed & Hoving, 2014; Hondius, 2014; Weiner, 2014) and white normativity in the Netherlands (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). These practices suggest that mothers confirm the nationality stereotype through their language use even if they do not intend to. In the absence of explicit messages, children might rely particularly on these implicit messages.

Although mothers largely claimed to not explicitly teach their children whom they should view as Dutch, the themes from Study 2 provide an insight into what mothers *do* teach their children. These themes sometimes indirectly link to the topic of Dutch citizenship. For example, more than half of White Dutch mothers described how their children passively learn about Dutch culture and what it means to be Dutch and most often referred to engaging in Dutch habits and festivities as means through which children do so. If not complemented with other perspectives on Dutch culture and being Dutch, this might mean that children internalize the idea that being Dutch means being like them and engaging in the same habits and festivities, strengthening norms of white normativity (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). Additionally, it was rather common among Turkish-Dutch mothers to contrast Dutch identity, norms or habits with Turkish or Muslim identity, norms or habits. These findings are in line with previous work demonstrating contrasts between social identities of Turkish-Dutch Muslims (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Turkish-Dutch children might, therefore, learn that Dutch and Turkish or Dutch and Muslim do not go together and have views on Dutch citizenship that exclude Turkish-Dutch or Muslim people. Black Dutch mothers did not contrast Dutch culture or identity with the other culture or identity they wanted their children to learn about, suggesting that these children might acquire a view of Dutch that includes their own ethnic-racial group. However, this possibly more inclusive view of Dutch nationality does not necessarily extend to other ethnic-racial groups. In fact, a majority of White and a minority of Black and Turkish-Dutch mothers taught their children about cultural diversity and thus about backgrounds other than their own but they did not link these backgrounds to being Dutch. In combination with a reluctance to talk about differences between people that were found in a substantial minority of mothers, in line with colour-evasive social norms (Essed & Hoving, 2014; Hondius, 2014; Weiner, 2014) and previous observational research in the Netherlands (Mesman et al., 2022), this suggests that children do not often receive

messages that promote seeing 'others' (with the exception of White others) as Dutch.

4.1 | Limitations and considerations

There are some limitations to the present research. To start, previous measures of children's nationality stereotypes used scales on which children could indicate *how* prototypical they thought ethnic-racial groups were (Brown, 2011; Brown et al., 2017; Sierksma et al., 2022), but our measure in Study 1 only allowed for less-fine grained binary scores of *whether* ethnic-racial groups were seen as Dutch. However, combining responses across multiple pictures alleviated this issue somewhat, and the use of pictures without ethnic-racial labels or information on country of birth increases ecological validity. The maternal citizenship representations measure in Study 1 is limited by the fact that not all items of the scale by Reijerse et al. (2013) were used, cultural citizenship could not be included, and civic citizenship representation was measured with a single item. Therefore, civic citizenship representation in the present study is a simplified version of the construct. A limitation to Study 2 is that no interviews with Chinese-Dutch mothers were available.

Additionally, some constraints on the generality of the results should be noted. Although the current research suggests that the nationality stereotype is widespread, not *all* ethnic-racial backgrounds could be included in the sample and the child measure. Furthermore, only socialization practices and citizenship representations of mothers were taken into account and future research should look into other caregivers too. Moreover, participating families mostly lived in the urban western region of the Netherlands, mothers were relatively highly educated and family incomes were often above modal. Although this is a general problem in developmental science (Nielsen et al., 2017), some of the recruitment strategies may have increased the bias. For example, some recruitment happened at sites that required payment fees (e.g., indoor playgrounds), though also more accessible sites were visited (e.g., free markets and events for children). The relatively high socio-economic status and educational levels may have affected the results, as these demographic characteristics relate to attitudes towards citizenship and national belonging (Trittlér, 2017). Possibly, mothers were more inclusive in their citizenship representations than the general population and had more resources available to influence their socialization strategies.

4.2 | Conclusions

Although views on the citizenship of Dutch mothers of different ethnic-racial backgrounds are not necessarily exclusionary, children tend to display the nationality stereotype equating being Dutch with being White. Children's endorsement of this nationality stereotype is not related to their mothers' citizenship representations, which may be due to the fact that mothers do not explicitly talk to their children about who they should see as Dutch, but implicitly often confirm the

nationality stereotype. Therefore, children are left to form their views on who they think is Dutch based on these more subtle messages from mothers as well as other sources, currently clearly resulting in a stereotypic view. Future studies are needed to examine how to counter children's nationality stereotype in order to work towards a more inclusive view of nationality so that all people who feel Dutch are actually seen as such.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data of this research are available upon reasonable request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

ETHICS STATEMENT

Informed consent was obtained from all participating families. Study procedures were approved by the Ethics committee of Education and Child Studies at Leiden University (file number ECPW2017/187) and the Ethics committee of the Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs at Leiden University.

TRANSPARENCY STATEMENT

The authors confirm that all results are reported honestly and that the submitted work is original.

ORCID

Ymke de Bruijn  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8921-4547>

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

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