

Racialization and Anti-Racist Contestations: Rearticulating Asian Diasporic Identity in Europe

Zhilin Wu^{1,3}, Hyunjung Lee^{2,3}, Yingran Guo³, Chenyue Li³

University of Groningen¹, Leipzig University², [Asian Voices Europe](#)³

Symposium: Who is Asian? Definitions, Representations, and Marginalizations
Universiteit Leiden



March 26, 2026



Asian: Forever foreigners or honorary White?

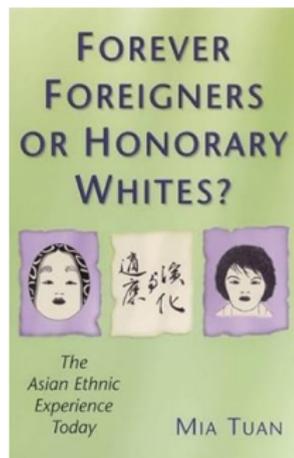


Figure 1: Mia Tuan, 1999

When I hear the phrase “Asians are next in line to be White,” I replace the word “White” with “disappear.” Asians are next in line to disappear. We are reputed to be so accomplished, and so law-abiding, we will disappear into this country’s amnesiac fog. We will not be the power but become absorbed by power, [...] we’re often listed as “Other” in polls and that’s why we’re hard to find in racial breakdowns on reported rape or workplace discrimination or domestic abuse. (Hong 2021: 35)

Research questions

Q:

How does the racialization of Asians in European discourse shape diasporic Asian identity?

A:

Diasporic **counter-frames** and anti-racist interventions challenge essentialized racialization and reveal **Asianness** as a **fluid and politically negotiated** diasporic identity.

The roadmap

1 Introduction

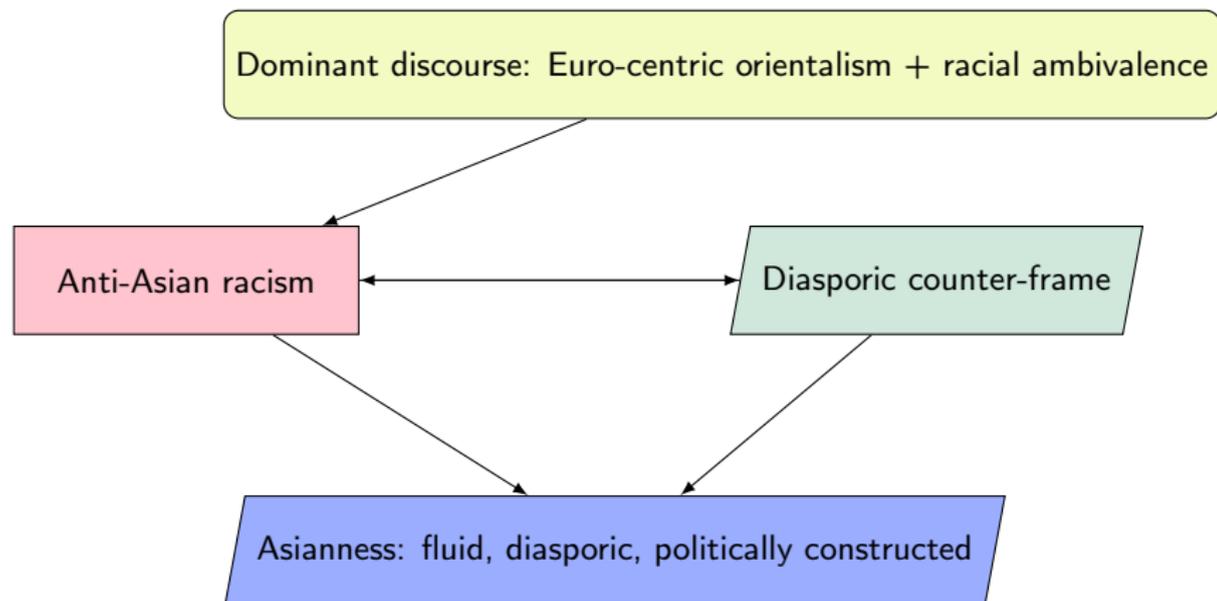
2 **Background**

3 Racialized representation

4 Counterframes and Asianness

5 Conclusion

Theoretical backgrounds



Racial ambivalence in the postcolonial context

- ★ Western representations of 'the East' operate as dominant colonial discourses that Europe define itself as rational, modern, and universal, while positioning Asian subjects as **exotic, passive, and fundamentally Other** (Said 1978, Chatterjee 1993, Hall et al. 1997).
- ★ Anti-Asian racism often operates through **contradictory racial positioning** (Kim 1999, Cheng 1997): Asians may be relatively **valorized** e.g., **model minority** while simultaneously **excluded from full belonging** e.g., **perpetual foreigner, Yellow Peril**.

Counter-framing and social movements

- ★ Counter-framing refers to processes through which **marginalized groups challenge dominant narratives** and **produce alternative** interpretations of social reality (Suda and Köhler 2023).
- ★ Drawing on social movement framing theory (Benford and Snow 2000) and epistemic justice frameworks (Fricker 2017, Medina 2011), counter-frames allow diasporic actors to **contest racialized representations** and articulate **alternative understandings of Asianness**.

Diasporic identity formation

- ★ For ethnically minoritized individuals, social identities can be **negotiated through collective action** and **solidarity** foster through shared experiences of marginalization (Dixon et al. 2015, Thomas et al. 2012, Okamoto 2003, Kim and Lee 2023, Kim et al. 2023).
- ★ These identities may develop as panethnic identities, coalitional identities or politicized identities

The Roadmap

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Background
- 3 Racialized representation**
- 4 Counterframes and Asianness
- 5 Conclusion

AVE Survey II - When Asian Voices Echo



(Asian Voices Europe 2024)

- ★ 855 out of 1,275 responses (consented and validated-all reside in Europe)
- ★ data collection: 14. June - 6. August 2021
- ★ via online survey in 10 different languages
- ★ the first Europe-wide survey of anti-Asian racism (AAR)
- ★ mix-method approach; on-probability convenience sampling/snowballing/double coder strategy

Experience of Discrimination by Asian Diaspora

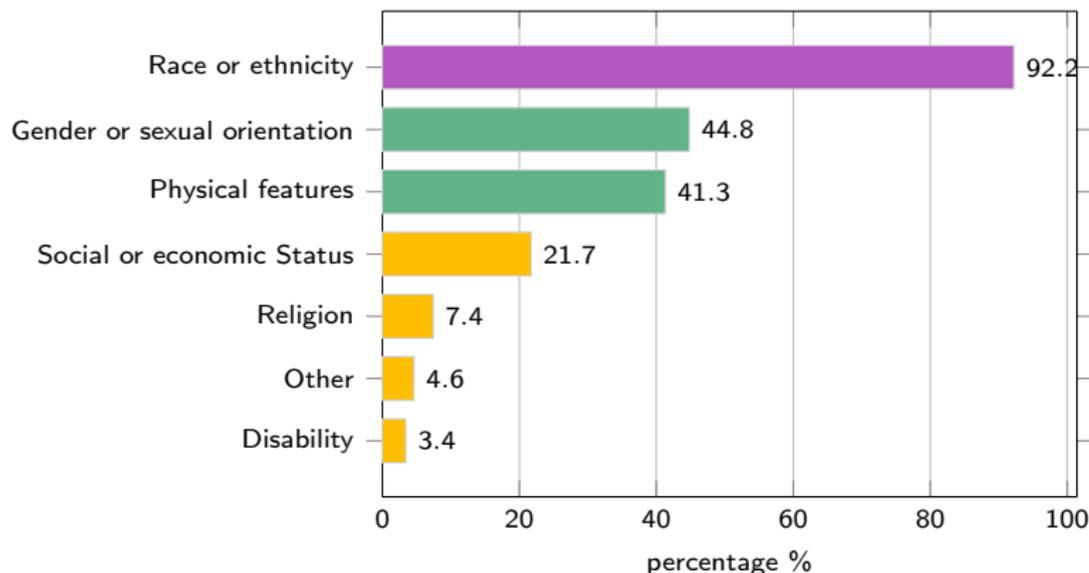


Figure 2: What type of discrimination have you ever been experienced?

★ This figures (92.2%) surpasses figures from studies of Asian Americans, where 79.68% have reported personal experiences of discrimination based on their race or ethnicity in the context of the US (Borja and Gibson 2021), serving as a reference point.

Media representation



Figure 3: 06.03.2020: ZDF Heute Show, 'Ching chang chong is empty in the box'

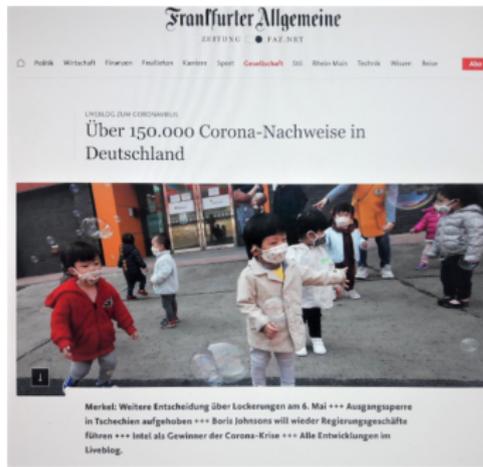


Figure 4: 24.04.2020: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 'Over 150,000 confirmed cases of coronavirus in *Germany*'

Representation in education



Figure 5: “Ni hao! Chinese tourists are blocking the cycle lane. To get around them, go back to square 39.” *My Birthday City**

* *My Birthday City* is a commemorative publication marking Amsterdam’s 750th anniversary, was distributed to around 30,000 primary school students.

Dream immigrants?: Model minority myth

- ★ Asians continue to be assigned to the ‘[model minority myth](#)’, which is used to stereotype Asians, who are considered to be financially successful, hard working and socially well-assimilated into White culture.

(Toupin and Son 1991, Daniels and Kitano 1988, Hsia 1988, Takagi 1992, Wei 2010, Hartlep and Bui 2020).

ZEIT ONLINE

Integration

Das vietnamesische Wunder

Die Kinder von Einwanderern aus Vietnam fallen durch glänzende Schulnoten auf. Ihr Erfolg straft Klischees der Integrationsdebatte Lügen

Von [Martin Spiewak](#)

22. Januar 2009 Quelle: DIE ZEIT, 22.01.2009 Nr. 05



The children of immigrants from Vietnam stand out with their brilliant school grades. Their success refutes clichés in the integration debate (Spiewak 2009).

Racialization hegemony

- ★ This dual portrayal, encompassing both the 'Yellow Peril' and 'model minority' myths, draws from [orientalist narratives deeply rooted in Europe's \(post-\)colonial history](#)
(Cho 2021, Hasunuma 2020, Kawai 2005, Shim 1998, Li and Nicholson Jr 2021).
- ★ These narratives, acting as instruments of [hegemony](#), reinforce simplistic stereotypes and overlook varied experiences of Asians in Europe (De Cook and Yoon 2021, Yeh 2014, De Leon 2020).

The Roadmap

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Background
- 3 Racialized representation
- 4 Counterframes and Asianness**
- 5 Conclusion

Social Movements: Counterframes

- ★ Despite facing racism, discrimination and homophobia, many individuals of the Asian diaspora are **empowered** and actively contribute positively to society **through their activism and advocacy efforts**, thereby facilitating a **counterframe** (Suda and Köhler 2023)*.

* See also Blum (2007) for 'pluralistic solidarity'; Wang and Li (2023) for 'networked solidarity'; or Gould (2007) for 'overlapping solidaristic networks'.

Transformative counter-frames in the public

- ★ Association des Jeunes Chinois de France initiated the # We belong here campaign.



Transformative counter-frames in education

- ★ People from Asian community protested against anti-Asian racist book in front of Amsterdam's city hall on June 5, 2025



Transformative counter-frames in the media



Figure 6: Podcast [Rice and Shine](#)



Figure 7: [Bin ich süßsauer?](#)

Transnational counter-frames



Figure 8: Poster: demonstration for the victims of the racist attack in Atlanta
#Solidarity with Atlanta



Figure 9: Protest by Asian German group
KorIENTATION 28.03.2021, photo credit by
Victoria Kure-Wu

Transformative counter-frames in policy

- ★ In 2022, the European Commission took its first steps in officially recognizing anti-Asian racism as a standalone hate crime category, following AVE's lobbying.



- ★ See [Asian Voices Europe \(2024: 56\)](#) for a list of organizations working on AAR.

Collective Asian identity

- ★ Asian diaspora mobilizes 'Asian' strategically as a **panethnic and politicized identity** that connects individuals with diverse national and migration backgrounds through shared experiences of **racialization and discrimination**.
- ★ Through such counter frames, Asian diaspora actors **do not merely respond to exclusion but actively reshape the epistemic and political terrain** in which Asianness is understood, transforming it into a **basis of solidarity, resistance, and sense of belonging**.
- ★ Asians challenge dominant racial narratives and **generate alternative interpretations of their collective positions in society**.
- ★ The term Asian is not a fixed ethnic category but emerges as a **relational and fluid identity articulated through collective action**. (e.g., policy advocacy, social campaigns, cultural productions, etc)

Key Takeaway

- ★ This discussion centers anti-racist mainstreaming and community-led counter-narratives to **rethink who defines 'Asian' in Europe**.
- ★ We argue that the **Asian diasporic counter-frame** functions as a proactive and critical intervention into Eurocentric racial discourse.
This allows us:
 - to recognize marginalization as a site of political articulation;
 - to reveal the violence embedded in representational simplification;
 - to challenge the static definition of **Asianness**.

ASIAN
VOICES
EUROPE



Thank you!

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to all of the respondents for sharing their opinions and experiences with us, to all volunteers for their amazing works and to AVE supports for their support and solidarity.

hello@asianvoiceseurope.org

References I

- Aldemir, A. (2024). Racism and sexism during pandemic times: Experiences, narratives, and coping mechanisms among chinese women in the netherlands. *Current Sociology*, page 00113921241307961.
- Anderson, P. (1962). Portugal and the end of ultra-colonialism. *New Left Review*, (15):83–114.
- Aryodiguno, H. (2020). Embedded Anti-Chinese Orientations: The Dutch Occupation and Its Legacies. In Manomaivibool, P., Shi, Z., Shih, C.-y., Tanigaki, M., and Singh, S., editors, *Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Studies of China and Chineseness: Unlearning Boundaries, Strategizing Self*, pages 121–146. World Scientific, Singapore.
- Asian Voices Europe (2024). When Asian Voices Echo: Anti-Asian Racism in Europe. <https://asianvoiceseurope.org/survey/>. Accessed: 17-02-2024.
- Balibar, E. and Wallerstein, I. M. (1991). *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities*. Verso.
- Benford, R. D. and Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, 26(2000):611–639.
- Blum, L. (2007). Three kinds of race-related solidarity. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 38(1):53–72.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). More than prejudice: Restatement, reflections, and new directions in critical race theory. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1):73–87.
- Borja, M. and Gibson, J. (2021). Virulent Hate + Reports: Anti-Asian Racism in 2020. <https://virulenthate.org/virulent-hate-reports/>.

Refereces II

- Boxer, C. R. (2022). Portuguese and Spanish Projects for the Conquest of South East Asia, 1580–1600. In Kratoska, P., editor, *South East Asia Colonial History*, pages 126–140. Routledge.
- Brocheux, P. and Hémery, D. (2011). *Indochina: an ambiguous colonization, 1858–1954*, volume 2. University of California Press.
- Chatterjee, I. and Eaton, R. M. (2006). *Slavery and south Asian history*. Indiana University Press.
- Chatterjee, P. (1993). *The nation and its fragments: Colonial and postcolonial histories*, volume 4. Princeton University Press.
- Cheng, A. A. (1997). The melancholy of race. *The Kenyon Review*, 19(1):49–61.
- Cho, E. D. (2021). From the yellow peril to the model minority and back again: Unraveling the orientalist representations of Asian Americans in the age of Covid-19. *Journal of Pastoral Theology*, 31(2-3):175–192.
- Conrad, S. (2011). *German colonialism: a short history*. Cambridge University Press.
- Daniels, R. and Kitano, H. L. (1988). *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice Hall.
- Daughton, J. P. (2006). *An empire divided: religion, republicanism, and the making of French colonialism, 1880–1914*. Oxford University Press.
- De Cook, J. R. and Yoon, M. H. (2021). Kung flu and roof Koreans: Asian/Americans as the hated other and proxies of hating in the white imaginary. *Journal of Hate Studies*, 17(1):119–132.

References III

- De Leon, A. (2020). The long history of US racism against Asian Americans, from “yellow peril” to “model minority” to the “Chinese virus”. <https://theconversation.com/the-long-history-of-us-racism-against-asian-americans-from-yellow-peril-to-model-minority-to-the-ch>
Accessed: 2020-04-08.
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., Thomae, M., Tredoux, C., Kerr, P., and Quayle, M. (2015). Divide and rule, unite and resist: Contact, collective action and policy attitudes among historically disadvantaged groups. *Journal of Social Issues*, 71(3):576–596.
- European Institute for Gender Equality, (2017). Gender Equality Index. <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2017/domain/violence>.
- Feldman-Bianco, B. (2001). Colonialism as a continuing project: the Portuguese experience. *Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 8(4):477–482.
- Fieldhouse, D. K. (2006). *Western imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*. Oxford university press.
- Fricker, M. (2017). Evolving concepts of epistemic injustice. In *The Routledge handbook of epistemic injustice*, pages 53–60. Routledge.
- Gang, S.-U. (2023). Bin Ich süßsauer? <https://binichsuesssauer.podigee.io/>. Accessed: 2020-05-06/2023-09-23.
- Ghaziani, A. (2021). TPeople, protest and place: Advancing research on the emplacement of LGBTQ+ urban activisms. *Urban Studies*, 58(7):1529–1540.
- Go, J. (2004). “Racism” and colonialism: Meanings of difference and ruling practices in America’s Pacific empire. *Qualitative Sociology*, 27(1):35–58.

References IV

- Gould, C. C. (2007). Transnational solidarities. *Journal of social philosophy*, 38(1):148–164.
- Hale, D. S. (2008). *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples, 1886–1940*. Indiana University Press.
- Hall, S. et al. (1997). The spectacle of the other. *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*, 7:223–290.
- Hartlep, N. D. and Bui, P. (2020). Vietnamese Students and the Emerging Model Minority Myth in Germany. In Steinberg, S. R. and Down, B., editors, *Handbook of critical pedagogies*, pages 518–536. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hasunuma, L. (2020). We are All Chinese Now: COVID-19 and Anti-Asian Racism in the United States. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 18(14):1–8.
- Hong, C. P. (2021). *Minor feelings: an Asian American reckoning*. One World: London.
- Hsia, J. (1988). *Asian Americans in higher education and at work*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Johnson, R. (2003). *British imperialism*. Springer.
- Juang, L. P., Moffitt, U., Schachner, M. K., and Pevec, S. (2021). Understanding ethnic-racial identity in a context where “race” is taboo. *Identity*, 21(3):185–199.
- Kawai, Y. (2005). Stereotyping Asian Americans: The dialectic of the model minority and the yellow peril. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 16(2):109–130.

References V

- Keel, T. (2017). Neanderthal-human hybridity and the frontier of critical race studies. In Rondilla, J. L., Guevarra, R. P., and Spickard, P., editors, *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown: Decentering whiteness in mixed race studies*, pages 201–218. Rutgers University Press.
- Keevak, M. (2011). *Becoming yellow*. Princeton University Press.
- Keller, R. (2001). Madness and colonization: Psychiatry in the British and French empires, 1800-1962. *Journal of social history*, 35(2):295–326.
- Kim, A. Y. and Lee, R. M. (2023). People of color are people of action: Asian american participation in own-group and african american-oriented collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 26(6):1368–1388.
- Kim, A. Y., Lee, R. M., and Zhou, X. (2023). Coalitional identity and collective action: Korean americans for black collective action. *Asian American journal of psychology*, 14(3):231.
- Kim, C. J. (1999). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & society*, 27(1):105–138.
- Kim, T. J. and Steinhilper, E. (2025). On the limits of antiracism: how antiracist opposition is connected to racism denial in germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, pages 1–19.
- Knoll, A. J. and Hiery, H. J. (1983). *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Knoll, A. J. and Hiery, H. J. (2010). *The German colonial experience: select documents on German rule in Africa, China, and the Pacific 1884-1914*. University Press of America.
- Laarman, C. (2013). Dutch colonization and settlement. In Ness, I., editor, *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, pages 1271–1275. Wiley-Blackwell.

References VI

- Li, Y. and Nicholson Jr, H. L. (2021). When “model minorities” become “yellow peril” - Othering and the racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 pandemic. *Sociology Compass*, 15(2):e12849.
- Marshall, P. J. (2001). *The Cambridge illustrated history of the British Empire*. Cambridge University Press.
- Medina, J. (2011). Toward a foucaultian epistemology of resistance: Counter-memory, epistemic friction, and guerrilla pluralism. *Foucault studies*, pages 9–35.
- Monro, S. (2020). Sexual and gender diversities: Implications for LGBTQ studies. *Journal of homosexuality*, 67(3):315–324.
- Mueller, C. (2022). German Dreams of Empire in the Far East: The German Expeditions to the East and Ferdinand von Richthofen's Encounters with Asia, 1850–1880. In Mueller, C. and Salonia, M., editors, *Travel Writings on Asia: Curiosity, Identities, and Knowledge Across the East, c. 1200 to the Present*, pages 175–209. Springer Nature Singapore.
- Okamoto, D. G. (2003). Toward a theory of panethnicity: Explaining asian american collective action. *American sociological review*, 68(6):811–842.
- Oostindie, G. and Paasman, B. (1998). Dutch attitudes towards colonial empires, indigenous cultures, and slaves. *Eighteenth-century studies*, 31(3):349–355.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western concepts of the Orient*. New York: Pantheon.
- Schmidt-Nowara, C. (2008). *The conquest of history: Spanish colonialism and national histories in the nineteenth century*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

References VII

- Shim, D. (1998). From yellow peril through model minority to renewed yellow peril. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 22(4):385–409.
- Spiewak, M. (2009). Das vietnamesische Wunder. <https://www.zeit.de/2009/05/B-Vietnamesen>. Die Zeit, Accessed: 2009-01-22.
- Stoler, A. (1992). Sexual affronts and racial frontiers: European identities and the cultural politics of exclusions in colonial Southeast Asia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34(3):514–551.
- Suda, K. and Köhler, J. (2023). Counter-Frames Against Anti-Asian Racism During the Corona Pandemic in Berlin—Coping With Exclusion, Creating Belonging and Organising Resistance. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, pages 1–36.
- Takagi, D. Y. (1992). *The retreat from race: Asian-American admissions and racial politics*. Rutgers University Press.
- Thomas, E. F., Mavor, K. I., and McGarty, C. (2012). Social identities facilitate and encapsulate action-relevant constructs: A test of the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 15(1):75–88.
- Toupin, E. S. and Son, L. (1991). Preliminary Findings on Asian Americans: "The Model Minority" in a Small Private East Coast College. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 22(3):403–417.
- Veevers, D. (2020). *The origins of the British empire in Asia, 1600–1750*. Cambridge University Press.

References VIII

- Walcott, R. (2007). Homopoetics: Queer space and the black queer diaspora. In McKittrick, K. and Woods, C., editors, *Travel Writings on Asia: Curiosity, Identities, and Knowledge Across the East, c. 1200 to the Present*, pages 233—245. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Wang, S. and Li, Y. (2023). Beyond National and Ethnic Boundaries: Transnational Solidarity during the Covid-19 Pandemic from the Case of the Chinese Diaspora in France. In Wang, S., editor, *Chinese in France amid the Covid-19 Pandemic*, pages 347–369. Brill.
- Wei, W. (2010). *The Asian American Movement*. Temple University Press.
- Wolgast, M. and Wolgast, S. N. (2024). Exclusionary and exploitative racism. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 14(1):1–19.
- Yeh, D. (2014). Contesting the 'model minority': Racialization, youth culture and 'British Chinese'/'Oriental' nights. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(7):1197–1210.

Appendix C: Colonial legacies

- ★ European colonialism in Asia, driven by imperialist countries such as Britain, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal invaded and colonized vast Asian nations through the use of military force, land acquisition, enslavement, exploitation of human and economic resources, and the imposition of political domination ([Chatterjee and Eaton \(2006\)](#), a.o.).
- ★ Britain exploited vast colonies including India, the Middle East (including present-day Oman, Yemen, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine), and Southeast Asia (Myanmar (Burma), Sri Lanka (Ceylon), the Maldives, Singapore, Malaysia (Malaya), Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo, and Hong Kong) ([Johnson 2003](#), [Veevers 2020](#), [Marshall 2001](#), [Keller 2001](#), [Fieldhouse 2006](#)). France stretched its colonization to Zhanjiang in China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia (then called French Indochina) ([Hale 2008](#), [Daughton 2006](#), [Brocheux and Hémerly 2011](#)). While The Netherlands built their imperialism through the Indian Ocean trade routes, especially Indonesia ([Aryodiguno 2020](#), [Oostindie and Paasman 1998](#), [Laarman 2013](#)), Germany colonized Jiaozhou in China as well as in the Pacific islands ([Knoll and Hiery 2010](#), [Mueller 2022](#), [Conrad 2011](#)). Portugal, once invaded India and Southeast Asia, colonized Goa, Macau, and East Timor until the mid-20th century ([Anderson 1962](#), [Feldman-Bianco 2001](#)). Spain engaged in colonization, extending invasion to areas such as what is now the Philippines, and northern Taiwan ([Boxer 2022](#), [Schmidt-Nowara 2008](#)).



Appendix D: Experience of Discrimination by Asian Diaspora

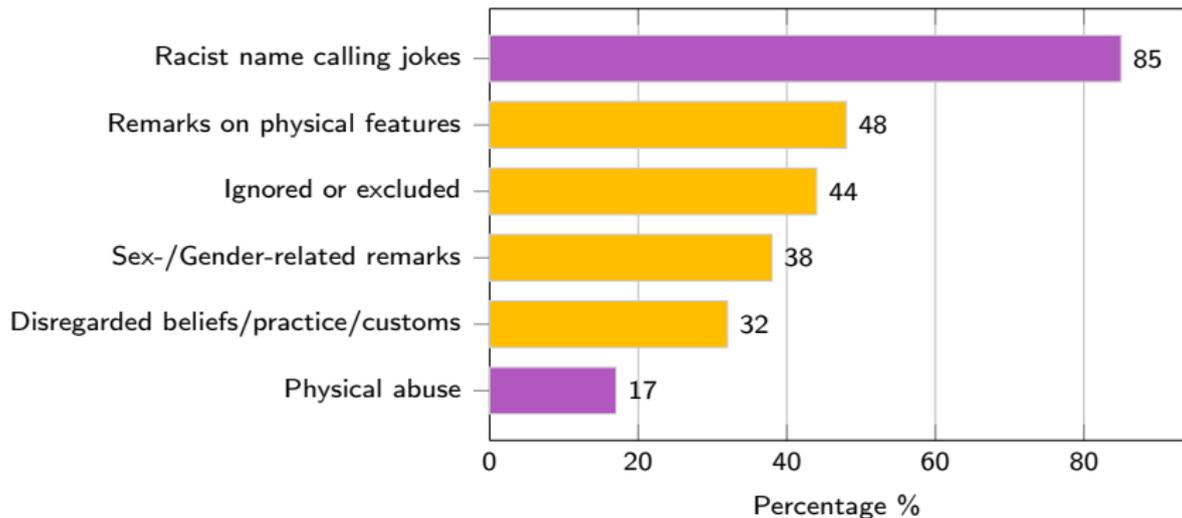


Figure 10: What kind of racial harassment have you experienced?

★ Reported AAR incidents most frequently occurred on the streets (71%), public transport (61%), but also in educational institutions (14%) and the work place (25%).

Appendix E: Frequency of Racial Discrimination and Harassment

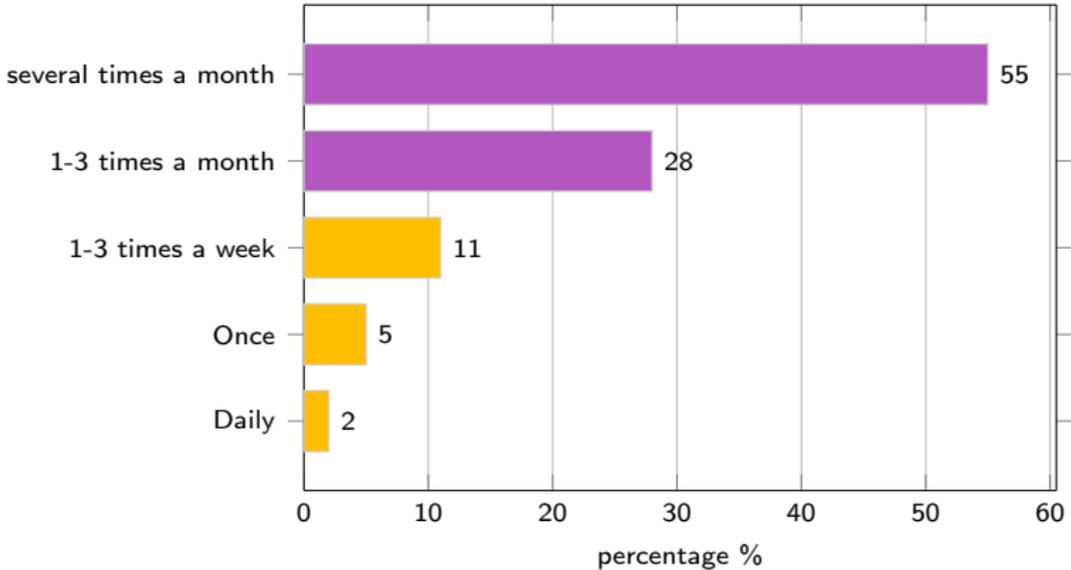
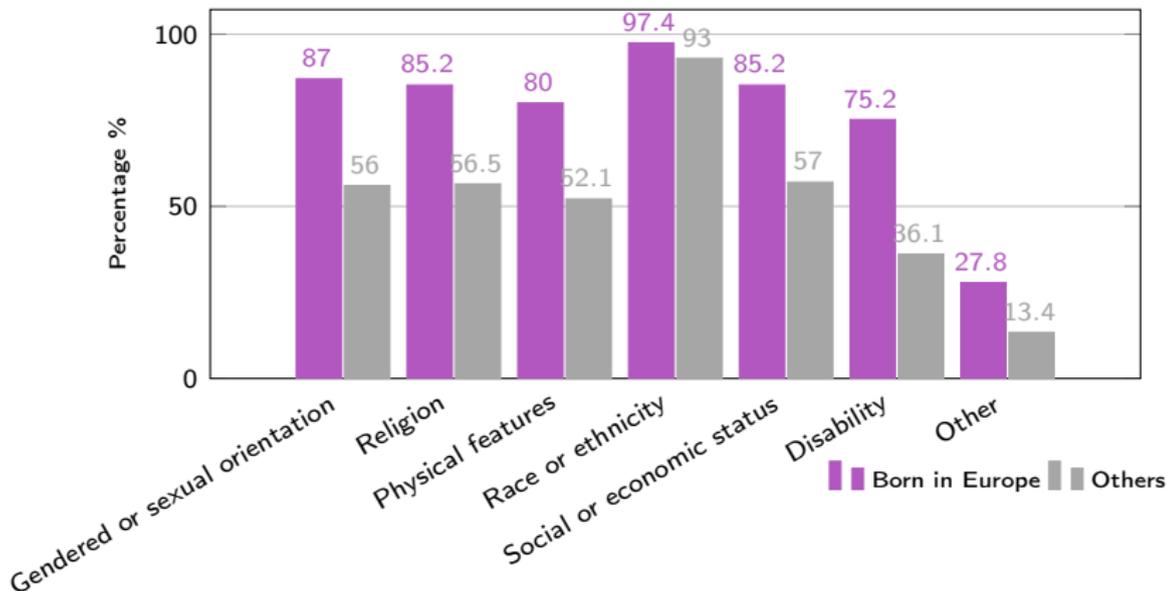


Figure 11: How many times/often have you been harassed?

Appendix F: Generational experience of Discrimination by Asian Diaspora

This suggests that those who have lived in Europe for a longer period of time are more likely to be exposed to situations of racism and discrimination.



Appendix G: Gendered Discriminatory Experiences

The AAR trends have **intersectional** faces: **Women & Non-binary and gender diverse (NBGD)** groups more often, severely experience racism and discrimination.

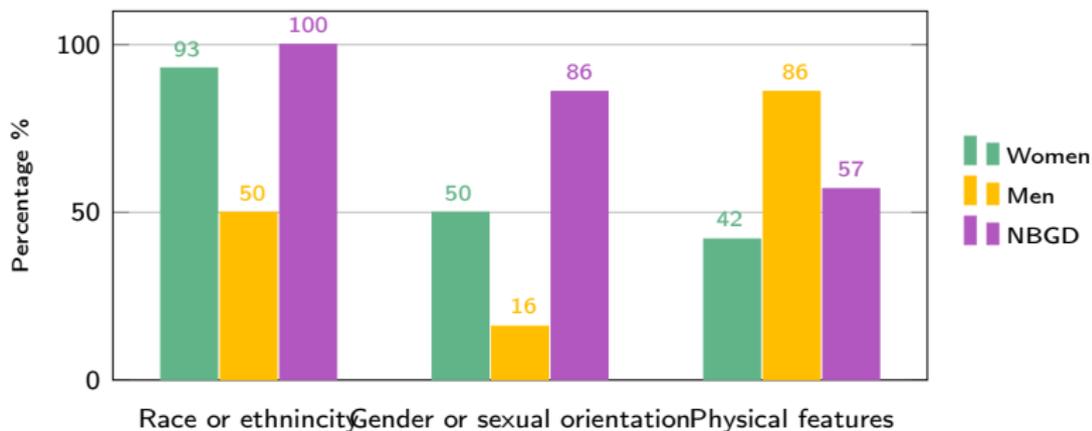


Figure 13: How do individuals across gender groups experience the top 3 forms of discrimination?

Appendix H: Gendered Discriminatory Experiences

There were clear **gendered patterns of AAR**, in particular with regard to incidents of sexual and physical remarks.

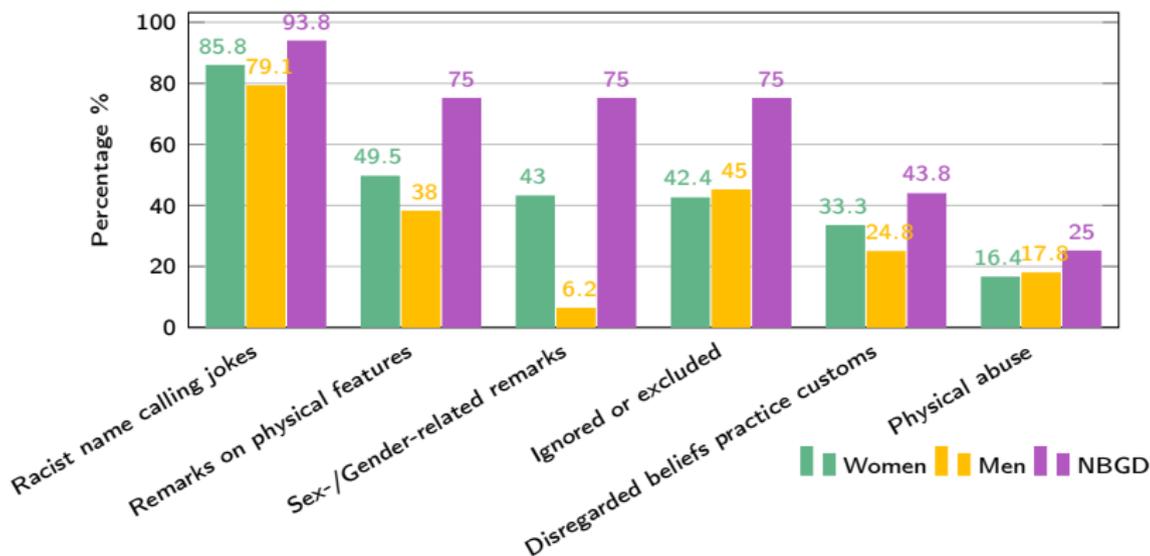


Figure 14: Forms of Racial Harassment and Discrimination - by Gender

Appendix I: Gendered Discriminatory Experiences

Country	EU Survey (2017) [†]	AVE Survey II (2021)
The Netherlands	44.9%	44%
France	44%	40%
United Kingdom	43.9%	62%
Germany	35.1%	63%
EU average	33%	50%

[†] Violence; Gender Equality Index, [European Institute for Gender Equality, \(2017\)](#)

Figure 15: Comparison of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Index

cf. See [Aldemir \(2024\)](#) for sexism and racism in NL

Appendix J: Racialized Queerness

Queer spaces in Europe are created predominantly White circles, which were deeply ingrained in **systematic racial biases** and the subsequent **exclusion of racial minorities** from queer communities have enforced discriminatory practices against people of color (Monro 2020, Knoll and Hiery 1983, Ghaziani 2021, Walcott 2007).

- (1) I've thought for a long time why I was never active in queer groups in Europe. There are plenty of youth groups and clubs for queers, but I realized that they are predominantly whites, and **I didn't feel like I belonged** as I often received **racial slurs** there [...] I've come to understand that it means a lot to me to identify as non-White individuals in a White society, especially in terms of our queerness. -
20s, NBGD, in Germany (Gang 2023)

Appendix K: Impacts of racial discrimination

The cumulative effect of such seemingly minor, insidious acts can lead to significant psychological and emotional distress for those targeted.

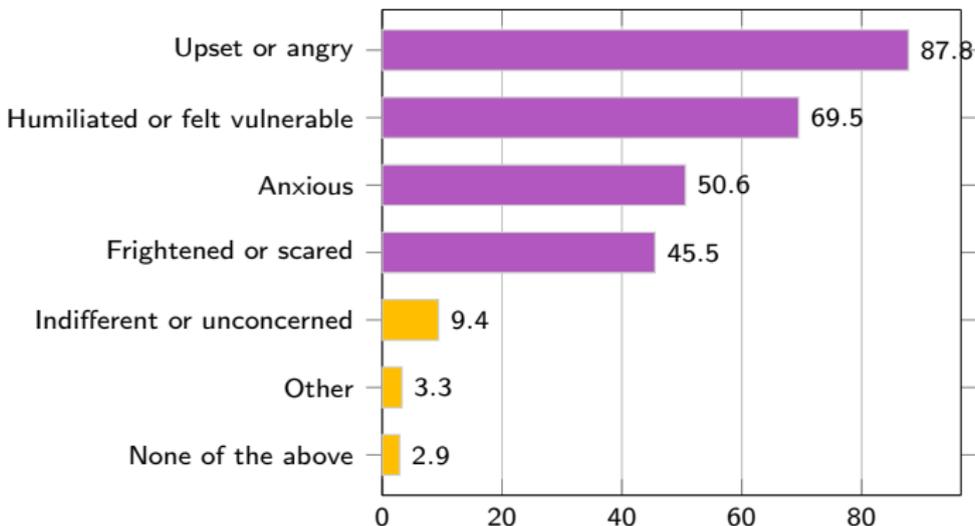


Figure 16: In general, how did you feel when you were harassed? Select all that apply.

Appendix L: Existential Impact of Racial Prejudice

Confronted with constant marginalization, individuals may **internalize these biases, leading to self-blame**. In an effort to assimilate into predominantly White societies, they may suppress their identities and conform to Western cultural norms, perpetuating feelings of invisibility and exclusion.

- (2) Reflecting on my background as the child of Vietnamese guest workers, [...] I wasn't even conscious of it, or of how I had **internalized racism** to the extent that I now understand. [...] I always **avoided (asian) community events** and any contact with Asian-looking people to **deny my origins and blend in with White people**. I even longed for a German name and resented my parents for not being German. [It was a result of] what I learned from my surroundings and society - this **persistent desire to fit in the White society**. [...] When I realized early that I looked different from my peers, I was frustrated [...] You had to prove your worth], so to speak. [...] The confirmation that my value is solely tied to my productivity has always forced me to **justify my existence**, especially under such princely guilt. - *30s, NBGD, Germany* (Gang 2023)

Appendix M: Normalization of embodied racism

- ★ The **persistence** of racial discrimination **reinforces** new form of racism and social dominance.

“[R]ather, racialized identities embedded in other salient social categories such as migration status, religion, or cultural heritage” (Juang et al. 2021: 186).

- ★ The **systematic denial of AAR** disrupts inclusive societal structures by positioning Asian individuals as outsiders to the discourse on racism. They are not recognized as equal participants in this social dialogue, and their voices are often **dismissed or minimized**.
- ★ Systematic denial of racism acts as a **strategic adaptation** that enables exclusionary practices to continue in seemingly less discriminatory ways (Bonilla-Silva 2015).

Appendix N:Neo-racism

- ★ Scholars of racism have highlighted the ambivalences of antiracism, arguing that it can sometimes serve as a strategy to immunize racism from criticism, thereby contributing to its perpetuation (Kim and Steinhilper 2025).
- ★ It may turn out as a *neo-racism* where traditional racial hierarchies are recast as narratives of incompatibility, maintaining the same exclusionary racial ideologies while escaping direct references to the discredited idea of biological race (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991, Wolgast and Wolgast 2024)

Appendix P: Reaction to AAR

The discrepancy between the high rate of experiences of racism and the low rate of access to the police may contribute to individuals' hesitance in seeking intervention from official authorities, such as law enforcement, due to limited confidence in the effectiveness of these measures.

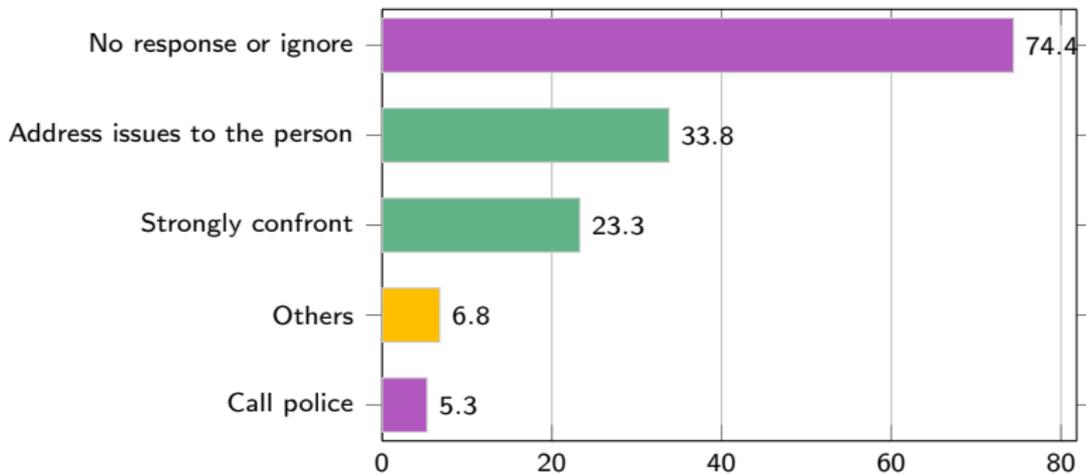


Figure 17: In general, how do you respond to racial harassment?

Appendix Q: Data on anti-Asian racism in NAPAR

- ★ EU-level surveys or data collection on AAR are either nonexistent or scarce.
- ★ (e.g., European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, European Values Study (EVS), European Social Survey (ESS), Eurobarometer)
- ★ Engagement with civil society organizations is not adequately facilitated.

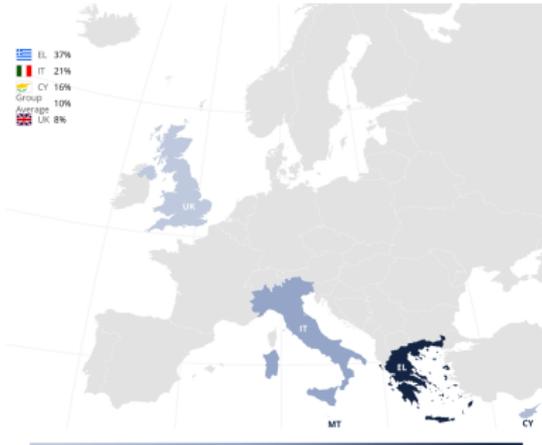


Figure 18: FRA's Survey on Minorities and Discrimination in EU - (South-)Asian Group

Appendix R: Impact of Pandemic

Our findings suggest that while the pandemic may have acted as a trigger and exacerbated AAR, it is not the sole or ultimate cause of racism against Asians in Europe.

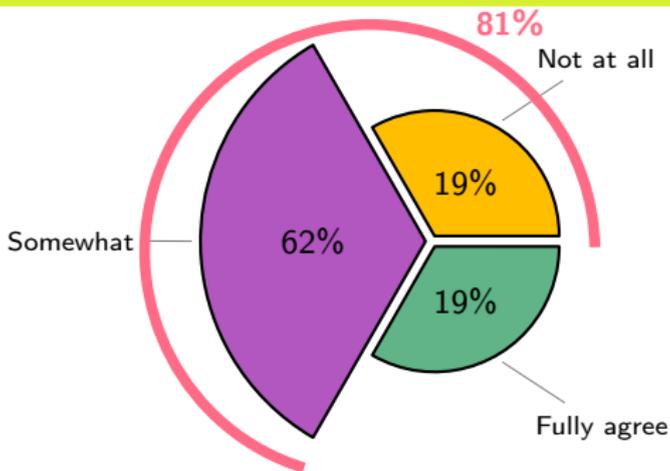


Figure 19: To what extent do you believe the racism you experienced in the last 12 months was the result of the pandemic?

Appendix S: Racism Denial Statements

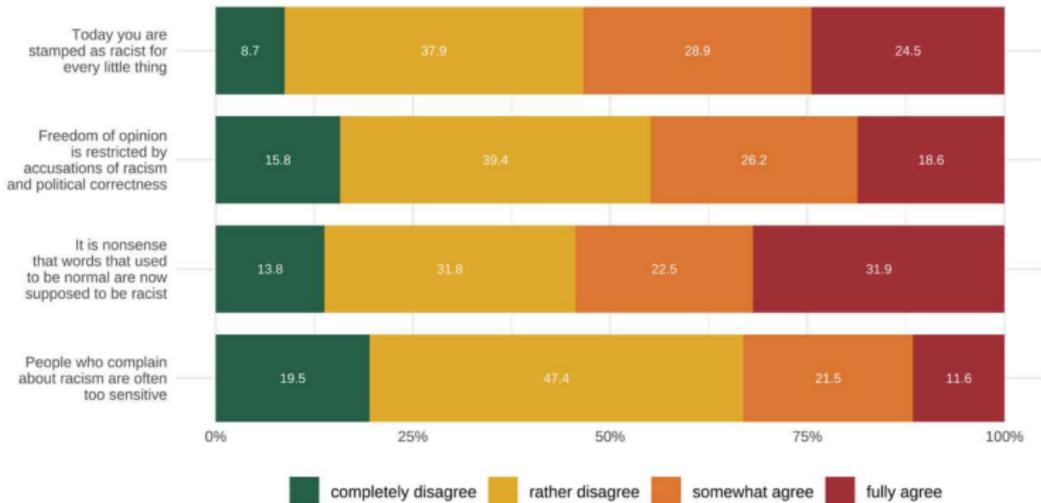


Figure 20: (Dis-)agreement with racism denial statements in Germany (N = 4.906–4.968).

- ★ Kim and Steinhilper’s (2025) racism denial index revealed that 67% of respondents expressed agreement, which underlines that the majority of the population continues to harbour defensive or dismissive attitudes towards the existence of racism.

