

Park, Joohyun Justine; Lee, Ah-Hyun Angela; Park, Lynne Soon-Chean; Jaung, Rebekah; Song, Changzoo

Article — Published Version

Korean Residents' Experiences of Racism in Germany During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Association with Life Satisfaction and Sense of Belonging

Journal of International Migration and Integration

Provided in Cooperation with:

Springer Nature

Suggested Citation: Park, Joohyun Justine; Lee, Ah-Hyun Angela; Park, Lynne Soon-Chean; Jaung, Rebekah; Song, Changzoo (2024) : Korean Residents' Experiences of Racism in Germany During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Association with Life Satisfaction and Sense of Belonging, Journal of International Migration and Integration, ISSN 1874-6365, Springer Netherlands, Dordrecht, Vol. 25, Iss. 4, pp. 2299-2320,
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-024-01169-2>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/315687>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



Korean Residents' Experiences of Racism in Germany During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Association with Life Satisfaction and Sense of Belonging

Joohyun Justine Park^{1,2} · Ah-Hyun Angela Lee³ · Lynne Soon-Chean Park⁴ · Rebekah Jaung⁵ · Changzoo Song⁴

Accepted: 1 July 2024 / Published online: 13 July 2024
© The Author(s) 2024

Abstract

Since the outbreak of COVID-19, more incidents of anti-Asian racism have been reported in Europe. Asians in Germany have been directly and indirectly exposed to racism, with potential implications for their well-being and sense of belonging. This study aimed to explore racism experiences among Korean residents in Germany since the outset of the pandemic. It also examines how racism is associated with their life satisfaction and sense of belonging to the host society. Our online survey of 552 Koreans residing in Germany shows that since the beginning of the pandemic nearly 80% of them experienced direct and/or indirect racism mainly in public places, public transportation, social media, and mainstream media. Women, younger people, and temporary visa-holders were more likely to experience racism than other groups. While the experience(s) of racism was associated with lower life satisfaction, a stronger sense of belonging to local communities and German society as a whole appeared to alleviate the negative effect of the racism experience. This study shows the pervasiveness of anti-Asian racism in Germany, and thus urges German society and local communities to commit to creating inclusive and diverse environments alongside anti-racism efforts.

Keywords Racism experience · Life satisfaction · A sense of belonging · Korean residents in Germany · Anti-Asian racism · COVID-19 pandemic

✉ Joohyun Justine Park
parkjj@inha.ac.kr

- ¹ Interdisciplinary Center for East Asian Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt, Frankfurt, Germany
- ² Present Address: Department of Multicultural Education, Inha University, Incheon, Republic of Korea
- ³ Korean Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt, Frankfurt, Germany
- ⁴ School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand
- ⁵ Te Kupenga Hauora Māori, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

Introduction

Amidst the global dissemination of coronavirus disease (hereafter COVID-19), a surge in incidents of racism targeting individuals of Asian descent was observed. The discriminatory experiences endured by the Asian ethnic group during this period tended to diminish life satisfaction (e.g., Lee & Waters, 2021; Litam & Oh, 2021) and sense of belonging within the host society (e.g., Kamp et al., 2022; Park et al., 2023). In the German context, the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency documented a noteworthy influx of discriminatory incidents, with one hundred cases reported within the initial three months of the pandemic's onset (Antidiskriminierungsstelle, 2020). This surge entailed an impact on the Asian ethnic group, constituting nearly half of the reported cases. Individuals of Asian descent found themselves unjustly associated with the virus, thereby subjected to insults, threats, and discriminatory treatment across public spaces, workplaces, and government agencies (Antidiskriminierungsstelle, 2020).

Based on an online survey method, the present study endeavours to delineate the experiences of racism among Korean residents in Germany since the advent of the pandemic. Furthermore, it seeks to illustrate the negative relationship between their racism experiences and life satisfaction while exploring the crucial role played by a sense of belonging to German society in mitigating the harmful impact of racism. In concentrating on this specific and underrepresented demographic, our research contributes to the paucity of research concerning racism encountered by Asian populations in both Germany and the broader European context (Dollmann & Kogan, 2021; Jaspal & Lopes, 2021; Wang et al., 2021). Thus, this study aims to address the following two research questions: (1) What have been the experiences of racism among Korean residents in Germany since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic? (2) How does a sense of belonging within local communities and in Germany at large help mitigate the negative impacts of racism on the life satisfaction of Korean residents?

Beyond its immediate demographic focus, our study augments the discourse on racism by repositioning it as a contemporary social concern. Discussions surrounding racism in Germany have been inextricably linked to its association with the National Socialist era, fostering a prevailing narrative that positions it as a historical rather than a contemporary societal problem (Scharathow, 2017). This historical framing has led to the perception of recent instances of racism as individualised phenomena, thereby neglecting the broader systemic dimensions that underpin the issue (Jones, 2000). In addition to documenting cases of racism, our study underscores the mitigating role of a sense of belonging within the host society, particularly in the German context. The identified role of a sense of belonging extends beyond the Korean community and holds relevance for other ethnic groups within Germany and, by extension, within multicultural/-ethnic contexts globally. Alongside theoretical approaches used in this paper to bring the problem of racism into contemporary space, the positionality of the research team as members of the Korean diaspora located in the West contributes insight and lived experience to the discussion. This novel perspective broadens the applicability of

our findings, rendering them not only insightful within the realm of anti-Asian racism but also relevant to the broader discourse on social cohesion in diverse societies.

The structural organisation of this paper unfolds across four distinct sections. Initially, it furnishes a brief introduction to anti-Asian racism within the context of German society. Subsequently, the paper elucidates upon two pivotal conceptual frameworks, namely, life satisfaction and sense of belonging — contextualising these constructs within the framework of racism experiences, drawing upon extant literature. The methodological section systematically delineates the procedure, measures, and data analysis applied in this study, followed by the empirical results derived from the online survey of 552 Korean residents in Germany. The latter part of this paper engages in a comprehensive discussion that endeavours to illuminate the association between racism, sense of belonging, and life satisfaction, including the limitations in this study and offering directions for future research.

Anti-Asian Racism in Germany

Racism against individuals of Asian descent in the European context is not a recent development precipitated by the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic; instead, it has deep-seated historical roots, tracing back to the Yellow Peril discourse of the nineteenth century (Wang et al., 2021). This historical narrative encompassed the characterisation of people from regions such as China, Japan, and the broader Eastern region as inherently subordinate and distinct (Said, 1978, as cited in Roberto et al., 2020). This framework aligns with classic racism, a paradigm entwined with the legacy of colonialism, which stratifies individuals based on natural, biological, and physical attributes (Wieviorka, 2018).

In the German context, racism has notably manifested in the sphere of physical appearance that deviates from the established 'normative idea of a typical German appearance' (Beigang et al., 2017, p. 289). Consequently, individuals from the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia encounter racial discrimination in various forms, including disadvantages, exclusionary practices, and social marginalisation, as well as instances of verbal and physical aggression, both in public and private domains. Compared to other ethnic groups, Asians, when phenotypically identified, often confront the phenomenon of what is referred to as positive racism (Suda et al., 2020; Mediendienst Integration, 2021). They are frequently considered *model migrants*, a stereotype similarly applied to Asians in the United States, where they are often typecast as 'healthier, more hard-working, better educated, and more affluent than other racial and ethnic groups' (Cho, 2021, p. 2). In contrast, for instance, Turkish immigrants in Germany tend to be underrated and face disadvantages in employment markets due to their ethnic background (Uslucan, 2017).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, anti-Asian racism has been indelibly linked to the historical construct of the Yellow Peril, wherein individuals of Asian origin have been unjustly held responsible for the emergence and spread of the plague, and more recent outbreaks like Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) (Suda et al., 2020). This racialised idea has been substantiated by a recent survey conducted by

the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research during the pandemic. The study aimed to collate the experiences of racism among individuals self-identifying as Asian and the attitudes of German society towards externally identified Asian individuals. The findings revealed that 49% of the 703 Asian respondents reported experiences of racism in the form of non-verbal and verbal abuse, physical assaults, as well as institutional exclusion during the pandemic. Moreover, responses from German participants indicated that 15% of the 803 German respondents agreed that 'Asians are responsible for the rapid spread of the coronavirus pandemic in Germany'. Approximately 38% of self-identified white respondents also agreed with the notion that Asians are fundamentally different or culturally inferior (Medien-dienst Integration, 2021). These results underscore the profound racial discrimination experienced by individuals of Asian descent in Germany during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the persistence of racialised and culturalised prejudices against this group remains a salient issue.

Experience of Racism and Its Impact on Life Satisfaction

Experiencing racial discrimination exerts a profound and enduring detrimental impact on an individual's life satisfaction. In this study, life satisfaction is operationally defined as the cognitive assessment of subjective well-being, as proposed by Diener (1984). This construct is contingent upon a myriad of determinants, encompassing, though not exhaustively, demographic characteristics, interpersonal relationships, social engagement, and mental and physical well-being. Extensive prior research has consistently demonstrated a negative association between the experience of racism and an individual's psychological and physical health (Harris et al., 2006; Jaspal & Lopes, 2021; Lee & Waters, 2021; Straiton et al., 2019; Vines et al., 2017). For instance, individuals who have been subjected to racial discrimination report adverse psychological and physical consequences, such as feelings of insecurity, sleep disturbances, or depression (Lee & Waters, 2021). These manifestations of racism-induced psychological and physiological distress can lead to pronounced disparities in health and life satisfaction.

Against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, characterised by reduced life satisfaction stemming from imposed social isolation (Clair et al., 2021) and amplified concerns related to health (Singh et al., 2020; Soest et al., 2020), it is reasonable to posit that the harmful effects of racism experiences may be more pronounced on the decrease of life satisfaction among Asian people who have been subjected to racism. Hence, it is imperative to deliberate upon strategies for mitigating the diminished life satisfaction resulting from encounters with racial discrimination and to scrutinise the prospective roles that social communities in Germany shall assume in this regard.

Sense of Belonging

A sense of belonging serves as a crucial psychological construct that provides a buffer against the detrimental effects of racism on individual well-being (Choi et al.,

2021; Daley et al., 2018; Huang, 2020; Lewis et al., 2021; Park et al., 2023; Straiton et al., 2019). This construct is defined by the degree to which individuals see themselves as integral members of a community. Here, a community is conceptualised as a complex system encompassing relationships, organisations, and various environments (Hagerty et al., 1992). Therefore, the sense of belonging can manifest in diverse contexts, such as families, neighbourhoods, organisations, religious groups, ethnic communities, and nations.

This study focuses on two specific domains of belonging: the local community (sense of neighbourhood belonging) and the overarching society (sense of national belonging). A local community or neighbourhood functions as a microcosm where belonging or exclusion is shaped by social interactions with fellow residents (Young et al., 2004). Correspondingly, a sense of national belonging operates within a macro context, determined by one's relationship with the nation's culture, political system, and social fabric (Donnalaja & McAvay, 2022).

The foundational tenets of belonging can be illuminated through Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to this theory, affiliations with specific social groups—like neighbourhood communities or national societies—influence an individual's self-concept and emotional security (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These affiliations act as psychological buffers, alleviating racial discrimination's negative emotional and psychological impacts (Branscombe et al., 1999). Social Identity Theory thus clarifies how group membership can enhance resilience by providing validation, social support, and a means to positively reframe negative experiences (Haslam et al., 2011).

Within the scope of this study, the bifocal lens of neighbourhood and national belonging allows for a nuanced evaluation of protective factors at different social scales. Specifically, neighbourhood belonging offers insights into immediate, localised social structures, which can be sources of direct social support and community resilience (Barwick & Beaman, 2019). Conversely, national belonging enables a broader exploration into how alignment with a larger societal construct can act as a protective factor (Wu & Finnsdottir, 2021).

Method

Positionality of the Research Team

This study¹ was conducted by researchers who are Korean migrants residing in the West (specifically in Aotearoa New Zealand and Germany) and who are familiar with the racism experienced by Asian settlers in Western countries. We represent various generations of the Korean diaspora and examine the racism faced by Korean

¹ This research project involved using and adapting survey questionnaires from an earlier study on the COVID-19 experiences of 'Asians' in New Zealand, initiated in early 2021. Efforts were made to preserve the fundamental structure of the survey questions used in New Zealand, with careful modifications to both the survey instrument and response items to ensure relevance to the German context.

migrant communities in Western countries through diverse disciplines, including Asian Studies, Social Work, History, and Public Health). We collectively undertook this project from an anti-racist standpoint, acknowledging that while we provide a unique account of racism's impact on one community, the ever-changing nature of racism implies that no single account can be comprehensive. Furthermore, we aim to emphasise the interconnectedness of racism's diverse manifestations and the harm they inflict on all racialised communities, along with the potential for shared solutions to eliminate racism.

Procedure

As described in the introduction, this research was conducted during a time of heightened anti-Asian racism in Germany, and our first-hand observations of these events emphasised the need to record and examine these experiences of racism. This quantitative research utilised a self-reported cross-sectional online survey. The target group was ethnic Koreans (regardless of their nationality or their parents' nationality) who were 16 years or older at the time of the survey. The questionnaire was translated into German from the original Korean version. A professional translator and bilingual researcher checked the accuracy of the translation of the questionnaire. A convenience sampling method was used in the present study. In light of the absence of prior quantitative research conducted with Koreans in Germany, the research team chose to employ a dual approach, integrating both traditional and online sampling methods to study a population that is challenging to reach (Baltar & Brunet, 2012). The team contacted organisations and associations related to the Korean community in Germany and distributed the survey flyers through their networks. In addition to this traditional snowball sampling method, the research team posted Korean and German versions of the survey advertisement via Facebook groups and websites frequently used by Koreans in Germany. In addition, the online-based survey targeting Koreans living in Germany was carried out between 17 September and 24 October 2021 through the Qualtrics survey platform. Initially, a total of 587 people fully or partially participated in the survey. After eliminating 35 cases with missing data (6%), 552 cases with complete responses were analysed for the current study. Nearly 90% of respondents used the Korean language version of the questionnaire, while the rest (10%) used the German version.

Measures

To measure the prevalence, setting, and responses to racism, we adapted the existing questionnaires from the General Social Survey (GSS) (Statistics New Zealand, 2018), the New Zealand Health Survey (NZHS) (Ministry of Health of New Zealand, 2017), and the Human Rights Commission's survey (Nielsen, 2021). As designed in the GSS, we designed questions on the experience of racism via a two-step process. First of all, participants were given a question asking their direct and/or indirect racism experience after the COVID-19 outbreak (From January 2020 to the time of survey participation), with response options *yes*, *no*, and *prefer not to*

answer. To only those who selected *yes* to this question, follow-up racism-related questions were given to the respondents.

By modifying some questions about racism (e.g., the experience of verbal or physical abuse, treated unfairly) from the NZHS (Ministry of Health of New Zealand, 2017), participants were asked to indicate the subject who experienced the following racism types: verbal/written comments, physical attack, unfair treatment, and/or microaggression. The response options for these questions were *directed at me*, *directed at a family member or a friend*, *directed at an individual or group within the Korean community*, and *none of the above*. In addition, to understand the situation when racism happens and respond to the situation, we adapted some questions from the Human Rights Commission's survey (Nielsen, 2021). Participants were asked to indicate the setting(s) where they had experienced racism among the list (e.g., public place, workplace, school, public transport, online/social media, or mainstream media) and their reaction(s) to the racism experience (e.g., I ignored it/ did nothing at the time, talked to a friend/family member, stayed at home, or tried to talk or challenge the person at the time).

By adopting a question on life satisfaction from the COVID-19 Health and Well-being Survey (Ministry of Health of New Zealand, 2021), we designed questions about life satisfaction as follows. Participants rated their overall life satisfaction in Germany before and after the pandemic on a five-point scale (*very dissatisfied*, *dissatisfied*, *neutral*, *satisfied*, and *very satisfied*). As a measure of sense of belonging in German society, participants were asked to rate their perceived belongingness in a German local community where they reside and in Germany on a five-point scale (*strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *neither agree nor disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*). These questions were adapted from the Human Rights Commission's survey (Nielsen, 2021). In addition, participants were asked to provide their socio-demographic information on their gender, age group, country of birth, age at the time of arrival to Germany, fluent language(s) for communication, visa status, educational status, family and household in Germany, and current residential area.

Data Analysis

Data analyses were conducted in IBM SPSS ver.27. Descriptive statistics were used to present participant socio-demographic characteristics, racism experience (i.e., prevalence and setting of, and response to racism), and the levels of life satisfaction and sense of belonging in a local community and Germany. Concerning a question about the racism experience, the research team excluded the two cases that preferred not to answer the question and created a binary variable (i.e., *yes* or *no* options to the racism experience question).

To examine the relations among racism experience, life satisfaction, and sense of belonging, we compared mean levels of life satisfaction and sense of belonging by racism experience (yes/no) and checked correlations between life satisfaction and sense of belonging variables. In addition, we implemented a sequential logistic regression to study the effect of racism experience and sense of belonging in Germany on life satisfaction. Sequential logistic regression analysis offers the advantage

of specifying the order in which predictor variables are introduced into the model (Sawtelle et al., 2011). For logistic regression analysis, a five-point Likert point scale of questions about a sense of belonging was converted to a binary variable as follows: *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, and *neither agree nor disagree* were transformed to a 'low sense of belonging', while *agree* and *strongly agree* options were changed to a 'high sense of belonging'. Similarly, a binary variable of life satisfaction was created by transforming the response options *very dissatisfied*, *dissatisfied*, and *neutral* into a 'low satisfaction' and the possibilities *satisfied* and *very satisfied* into a 'high satisfaction'.

Results

Population: Korean Residents in Germany

South Korean miners and nurses who arrived in West Germany as *Gastarbeiter* in the 1960s founded the Korean community in the country (Shim, 2021), and today, the Korean community in Germany is the largest one in Europe (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). According to the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, there are 47,428 Korean residents in Germany, including ethnic Koreans holding German nationality and Korean nationals (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, 2021). There are 58.5% female and 41.5% male. More than half of the Korean residents are temporary visa holders (e.g., work visa, student visa, or business visa) (54.4%), and the rest are permanent visa holders of either German nationality or permanent residency (45.6%). The five largest Korean communities in Germany are in the following federal states: Hesse (25.1%), North Rhine-Westphalia (21.2%), Berlin (12.9%), Bayern (9.7%), and Baden-Württemberg (9.3%) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, 2021).

Sample: Participant Characteristics

Table 1 summarises the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Of the total respondents ($N=552$), 71.9% were female, and 27% were male. The percentage of those who are gender diverse or those who did not state their gender identity was only 1.1%. With regards to the age group, most of the respondents were *adults* aged from 30 to 59 years old (accounted for 65%), followed by *youth and young adults* aged from 16 to 29 years old (32.6%) and older adults aged 60 years old or older (2%).

Nearly all respondents reported that they could use Korean fluently for their communication (97.1%), while those who selected English and German were 42.9% and 38.2%, respectively. The respondents were predominantly the 1st generation who came to Germany after the age of 18 (85.3%). A large number of respondents were temporary visa holders (65.8%) and non-students (61.1%). More than 40% of the respondents reported that they do not have family members

Table 1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Socio-demographic information	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	397	71.9
Male	149	27.0
Other	6	1.1
<i>Age group</i>		
Youth and young adults (16–29 years)	180	32.6
Adult (30–59 years)	359	65.0
Older adult (60+ years)	13	2.4
<i>Fluent language for communication (multiple responses)</i>		
Korean	536	97.1
English	237	42.9
German	211	38.2
<i>Generation</i>		
1st generation	471	85.3
1.5 generation ^a	45	8.2
2nd generation	36	6.5
<i>Visa status</i>		
Permanent (citizen, permanent residency visa)	189	34.2
Temporary (work visa, student visa, partner visa, etc.)	363	65.8
<i>Student status</i>		
Student	215	38.9
Non-student	337	61.1
<i>Family in Germany</i>		
Yes	318	57.6
No	234	42.4
<i>Household in Germany</i>		
Household with more than two people	331	59.9
One-person household	221	40.1
<i>State of residence</i>		
Hessen	169	30.6
North Rhine-Westphalia	75	13.6
Berlin	69	12.5
Bayern	58	10.5
Baden-Württemberg	50	9.1
Other States	131	23.7

Note. $N = 552$. ^a1.5 generation: those migrated aged between 6 and 18 years (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008)

in Germany and are one-person households. Hessen was the state where the most significant proportion of the survey respondents resided (30.6%), followed by North Rhine-Westphalia (13.6%), Berlin (12.5%), Bayern (10.5%), and Baden-Württemberg (9.1%).

Table 2 Prevalence of racism types

Types of racism	Experience of racism (<i>n</i> = 441; 79.9%)	
	Directly (<i>n</i> = 392; 71.0%)	Indirectly (<i>n</i> = 385; 69.7%)
Verbal/written	339 (61.4%)	339 (61.4%)
Physical	101 (18.3%)	291 (52.7%)
Unfair treatment	178 (32.2%)	225 (40.8%)
Microaggression	351 (63.6%)	292 (52.9%)

Note. *N* = 552

Racism Experience

Regarding experiences of racism since the start of the pandemic (From January 2020 to the time of survey participation), eight in ten respondents (*n* = 441; 79.9%) reported that they had experienced racism directly and/or indirectly in Germany. Specifically, Table 2 shows that 392 respondents (71% of the total) reported their direct experience of racism during the pandemic period. Those who directly experienced microaggression and/or verbal/written types of racism account for more than 60% of the total respondents. It should be noted that nearly 18% of the participants reported being physically attacked during the same period. Next, nearly 70% of the total respondents (*n* = 385) reported their indirect experience of racism directed at a family member or a friend and/or at an individual or group within the Korean community. Notably, almost half of the participants reported their indirect experience of physical attacks on their family, friends, and/or other Korean community members in Germany.

We analysed the prevalence of racism experience by category to investigate whether there was any statistically significant difference by sub-groups in each category. Table 3 presents that the respondents from female, youth and young adult, temporary visa holders, and student groups had a statistically higher frequency of experiencing racism than their counterparts. There were no statistically significant differences in the groups for fluent communication language (those who use Korean only vs those who use German, English, and/or Korean) and in the groups for the immigrant generation (1st, 1.5, and 2nd generations).

Follow-up questions about the settings of and responses to racism were given to those who had experienced racism since the outbreak of COVID-19. Table 4 shows that a public place was the most prevalent racism setting (92.3%), followed by public transportation/uber/taxi (48.3%), social media (35.1%), and mainstream media (34.9%). In a situation when they experienced racism directly or indirectly, a majority of participants (72.3%) reported that they ignored or did nothing in the situation, and nearly 60% talked to a friend and/or family member about their racism experience (participants could choose multiple responses). More than 30% of the respondents reported that they reacted by staying home and not going out as much (37.4%). A significant proportion of participants also reported proactively speaking to or challenging the person who committed racism (34.2%).

Table 3 Prevalence of racism by sub-category

Prevalence of racism by the total cases and by category	Racism experience (%)		Significance of difference
	Yes	No	Chi-square (<i>df</i>)
<i>Gender</i>			
Female	336 (84.6)	61 (15.4)	18.66 (1)***
Male	100 (68.0)	47 (32.0)	
Other	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	
<i>Age group</i>			
Youth and young adults (16–29 years)	161 (89.9)	18 (10.1)	23.20 (1)***
Adult (30–59 years)	274 (76.5)	84 (23.5)	
Older adult (60+ years)	6 (46.2)	7 (53.8)	
<i>Fluent language for communication</i>			
Korean only	172 (80.8)	41 (19.2)	ns
Other (German, English, and/or Korean)	269 (79.8)	68 (20.2)	
<i>Immigrant generation</i>			
1st generation	382 (81.4)	87 (18.6)	ns
1.5 generation	33 (73.3)	12 (26.7)	
2nd generation	26 (72.2)	10 (27.8)	
<i>Visa status</i>			
Permanent	123 (65.1)	66 (34.9)	41.33 (1)***
Temporary	318 (88.1)	43 (11.9)	
<i>Student status</i>			
Student	186 (86.9)	28 (13.1)	10.00 (1)**
Non-student	255 (75.9)	81 (24.1)	

Note. $n = 550$. Two cases selected 'prefer not to answer' to this question were excluded in this analysis
 ns not significant ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Relationships Between Racism, Sense of Belonging, and Life Satisfaction

The respondents' life satisfaction significantly dropped from $m = 3.55$ ($sd = 0.79$) before-COVID to $m = 3.09$ ($sd = 0.98$) post-COVID. This section aimed to identify potential factors that positively/negatively affect life satisfaction since COVID-19. Table 5 compares the sense of belonging and life satisfaction according to (in)experience of racism since the outbreak of COVID-19. Those who had experienced racism post-COVID reported a significantly lower sense of belonging in the local area/neighbourhood and Germany and significantly lower life satisfaction compared to their counterparts. The mean score differences were moderate (*Cohen's* $d = 0.51$ and 0.53) or nearly moderate ($d = 0.49$) in size. Koreans' experiences of racism in Germany seem to negatively affect their sense of belonging in the local community and the host society, as well as their life satisfaction. Next, by checking correlations between the sense of belonging and life satisfaction, we found positive associations between the variables of interest. Participants' life satisfaction post-COVID was

Table 4 Settings of and responses to racism

Category	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Settings of racism</i>		
Public place	407	92.3
Public transportation/uber/taxi	213	48.3
Social Media	155	35.1
Mainstream Media	154	34.9
School/Institution/University	57	12.9
Medical centre	47	10.7
Work	39	8.8
Bank, financial institution	27	6.1
Police office, court, prison	7	1.6
Home	3	0.7
<i>Responses to racism</i>		
I ignored it/did nothing at the time	319	72.3
I talked to a friend/family member	264	59.9
I stayed at home. Didn't go out as much	165	37.4
I tried to talk or challenge the person at the time	151	34.2
I talked about it/shared it with others on social media	74	16.8
I changed the way I behaved/	22	5.0
I changed the way I looked/ my appearance	19	4.3
I reported it to the police	16	3.6

Note. $n = 441$

Table 5 Mean score differences in sense of belonging and life satisfaction depending on the (in)experience of racism

	Racism experience m (sd)		Effect size
	Yes	No	$Cohen's d$
<i>Sense of belonging</i>			
I feel a sense of belonging in my local community	2.64 (1.06)	3.16 (0.96)	0.51
I feel a sense of belonging in Germany	2.54 (1.04)	3.03 (0.98)	0.49
<i>Life satisfaction post COVID-19</i>	2.99 (0.96)	3.50 (0.95)	0.53

Note. $n = 550$. Two cases selected 'prefer not to answer' to this question were excluded from this analysis

positively correlated with a sense of belonging in their local area/neighbourhood ($r = 0.38$, $p < 0.001$) and in Germany ($r = 0.44$, $p < 0.001$).

A sequential logistic regression was performed to ascertain the effects of racism experience and sense of belonging in a local community and Germany on the likelihood that participants experience low life satisfaction (see Table 6). Model 1 shows that those who experienced racism post-COVID were 2.36 times more likely to experience low life satisfaction than their counterparts. In Model 2 and Model 3,

Table 6 A sequential logistic regression analysis

Covariate(s)	β	SE	Wald	df	Odds Ratio	P-value	95% CI on Odds Ratio
<i>Model 1</i>							
Racism experience	.86	.28	9.19	1	2.36	.002	[1.36, 4.12]
<i>Model 2–1</i>							
Racism experience	.74	.29	6.61	1	2.10	.010	[1.19, 3.71]
Sense of belonging in Germany	−1.54	.37	17.83	1	.21	<.001	[0.11, 0.44]
<i>Model 2–2</i>							
Racism experience	.76	.29	6.86	1	2.13	.009	[1.21, 3.75]
Sense of belonging in the local community	−1.21	.29	17.51	1	.30	<.001	[0.17, 0.53]
<i>Model 3</i>							
Racism experience	.71	.29	5.98	1	2.04	.014	[1.15, 3.60]
Sense of belonging in Germany	−1.14	.40	8.26	1	.32	.004	[0.15, 0.70]
Sense of belonging in the local community	−.76	.32	5.84	1	.47	.016	[0.25, 0.87]

Note. The dependent variable of this analysis is life satisfaction post-COVID

β regression coefficient, *SE* standard error, *df* degrees of freedom, *CI* confidence interval

by adding covariates of sense of belonging in Germany and the local community sequentially, we found that these variables of sense of belonging were associated with a decreased likelihood of experiencing lower life satisfaction. In addition, these two covariate variables seem to have a buffering effect on the negative association between the experience of racism and life satisfaction by reducing the odds ratio from 2.36 (model 1) to 2.10 (model 2) and 2.04 (model 3).

Discussion

Korean Residents' Racism Matter in Germany in the Era of COVID-19

Although multiple mainstream and social media sources reported an increase in Anti-Asian attacks and hate crimes in Germany and other European countries since the outbreak of COVID-19, there have only been a limited number of studies on Asians' experiences of racism. The main contribution of this study is that it is the first study empirically demonstrating the prevalence of racism experienced by Korean residents in Germany. We found that racism is a widespread problem for the Korean community in Germany. Strikingly, nearly 70% of the 552 Korean respondents reported a direct experience of racism. This rate is significantly higher than the previous studies on Asians in Germany (49% of the respondents), Chinese American parents and youths in America (51% and 50%, respectively), Chinese in France (33%), and Asians in New Zealand (31%) (Cheah et al., 2020; Jaung et al., 2022; Mediendienst Integration, 2021; Wang et al., 2021). While

our study does not provide definitive evidence on whether Korean residents in Germany tend to experience more racism compared to other Asian ethnic groups in Germany, our data provide convincing evidence that the experience of racism among Koreans living in Germany is widespread and salient.

Another contribution of this study is that it shows which groups of Koreans tend to be more exposed to racism in Germany. We found that females, younger people (16–29 years old), temporary visa holders, and student groups are more likely to experience racism than other groups. These findings are partly consistent with Wang et al.'s (2021) study conducted in France, which indicates that young people aged 30 years old or younger are more inclined to experience racism compared to their counterparts. Variables such as language fluency and generation of immigration did not show significant between-group differences in racism experience. These results imply that the participants' exposure to racism is likely to be provoked by appearance characteristics associated with groups experiencing discrimination within German society (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity) (Beigang et al., 2017), no matter how well they speak German or how long they have settled in Germany.

This paper also provides an overview of the types and settings of racism Korean residents experienced in Germany. In terms of the types of racism (i.e., verbal attack, physical attack, treated differently, and microaggression), verbal attacks and microaggression tend to be more prevalent in the current study, consistent with the study on Asians in Germany (Mediendienst Integration, 2021). Moreover, while approximately 11% of Asian respondents in Germany reported encountering physical attacks (Mediendienst Integration, 2021), this study reveals that nearly 18% of all Korean respondents experienced direct physical attacks. Notably, nearly half of the total respondents reported that they saw and/or heard the Koreans' incidents of physical attacks. This finding suggests that there was a high level of awareness about incidents of anti-Asian violence among Korean residents in Germany. Furthermore, this finding highlights the similar experiences of Korean residents in Germany and Chinese residents in the US and France during the COVID-19 pandemic. Both groups experienced similar patterns of racism, both directly and indirectly, including discriminatory treatment, verbal abuse, and physical assaults (Cheah et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2021). This suggests common challenges faced by Asian communities in various regions during the pandemic.

Racism against Korean people mainly manifests in public spaces (e.g., parks, cafés, and restaurants), public transport (e.g., subway, bus, and taxi), social media, and mainstream media. Still, racism towards Korean residents in Germany appeared predominantly in public settings, with approximately 90%, different from the case of the Asian Australians' racism experience in the online platform, illustrating the characteristic of the environment where racism occurs in the German context (Ballantyne & Giarrusso, 2023). Moreover, consistent with previous research conducted with Asian residents in Germany (Mediendienst Integration, 2021), we also identified that Korean residents in Germany experienced institutional types of racism at academic, medical, and financial institutions and workplaces. Taken together, our findings demonstrate the severity of racism experienced by Korean residents in Germany and show that most racism happens in public spaces and essential institutions. Nevertheless, generalising these findings to the broader

German society requires careful consideration of the unique circumstances and challenges posed by the pandemic period.

Association Between Racism, Sense of Belonging, and Life Satisfaction

Another purpose of this study is to see if and how much the racist experience contributes to a sense of belonging. Those who experienced racism during the pandemic reported a lowered sense of belonging in their local communities and general German society than those who did not experience racism. A sense of belonging involves how much a person feels secure, accepted, and being a part of one's group or nation (Wu et al., 2011). Lowered sense of belonging in their local communities after experiencing discrimination is consistent with previous research, which demonstrated a link between the experience of racism and a lowered sense of belonging in one's group or country (Carvallo & Pelham, 2006; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hus-sain & Jones, 2019). The mechanism of the relationship between the experience of racism and the sense of belonging to the local community has not yet been clearly proven. However, given the finding that a public place was the most prevalent racism setting (i.e., nine out of 10), the racism experience seems to threaten their sense of safety and acceptance in their local community, and this, in turn, might weaken their sense of belonging to the local neighbourhoods. In addition, consistent with the literature on racial discrimination and national sense of belonging (Chow, 2007; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Wu & Finnsdottir, 2021), our study posits that racism experiences are related to a lowered sense of belonging in German society. Considering that racism experiences occurred among the participants regardless of their fluency level in the German language and length of residence period, the experience of racism seems to trigger a question on whether they are accepted as a member of Germany, resulting in a lowered level of sense of belonging in German society among those who experienced racism during the pandemic.

In this study, we also explored the effects of the experiences of racism on Korean participants' satisfaction with life in Germany during the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic, even without experiences of racism, has significantly impacted the overall life satisfaction of the population in Germany and other countries (Ammar et al., 2020; Möhring et al., 2021; Zacher & Rudolph, 2021). In a cross-continental study encompassing Europe, North Africa, Western Asia, and the United States, a sample of 1,047 participants was examined to gauge the impact of the pandemic and associated lockdown measures on life satisfaction. The findings revealed a significant decline in life satisfaction levels, with the proportion of individuals reporting satisfaction with their lives decreasing from 61 to 30% following the implementation of pandemic-related restrictions (Ammar et al., 2020). Our study also confirms that the participants' overall levels of life satisfaction significantly dropped after the pandemic outbreak. Though the COVID-19 pandemic lowered the general level of life satisfaction, it did not affect everyone equally. Drawing on data from the current study, we identified that eight out of 10 Korean participants directly and/or indirectly experienced racism. Those who experienced racism during the pandemic reported moderately lower life satisfaction than those who did not experience racism. The

results of this research are consistent with previous studies, which demonstrate a link between the experience of racism and lower life satisfaction in the context of the pandemic outbreak (Cheah et al., 2020; Jaspal & Lopes, 2021; Lee & Waters, 2021; Litam & Oh, 2021; C. Wu et al., 2021). By looking at how life satisfaction is influenced by the experiences of racism induced during the COVID-19 outbreak, this study suggests that great attention needs to be paid to supporting the psychological well-being of individual Asians who face increasing anti-Asian discrimination and hate incidents across Germany and in other countries (Antidiskriminierungsstelle, 2020; Dollmann & Kogan, 2021; Jaspal & Lopes, 2021; Lee & Waters, 2021; Wang et al., 2021).

Even though these findings confirm that experiencing racism is negatively related to a sense of belonging in local communities and German society and life satisfaction, the findings from the sequential logistic regression suggest a possible buffering effect of the sense of belonging on the negative association between experience of racism and life satisfaction. Participants with a high sense of belonging in either their local community or German society reported a diminished probability of experiencing a low level of life satisfaction, and those with a high sense of belonging in their local community and German society reported the weakest probability of experiencing low levels of life satisfaction. This is consistent with the body of work emphasising the importance of a sense of belonging in one's community or the country for life satisfaction (Chow, 2007; Clair et al., 2021). It can, therefore, be assumed that having a sense of belonging to the local neighbourhood and German society is protective in the current climate of anti-Asian racism and could help prevent experiencing a low level of life satisfaction among Koreans living in Germany. However, it should be noted that having a sense of belonging may not be easy for those who have experienced racism (Carvallo & Pelham, 2006; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hussain & Jones, 2019; Liu et al., 2014; Z. Wu & Finnsdottir, 2021). The decreased life satisfaction in those who experienced racism reveals a significant need for social interventions to ensure they feel safe, accepted, and supported by the society they belong to (Wu et al., 2011).

Limitations

The cross-sectional design of this survey limits our ability to comment on causal relationships based on our findings or conduct formal mediation analyses. This is particularly important to note in the ever-changing context of the social impacts of COVID-19, which a single survey cannot capture. Additionally, the self-reported nature of survey data may have introduced bias related to recall or social acceptability. The latter point was minimised by designing the survey to collect de-identified data only. Another limitation of this survey is the convenience sampling technique, which resulted in an overrepresentation of female and temporary visa-holding participants. We note that these groups are also overrepresented in the overall population of Korean residents in Germany, although the degree of overrepresentation is more significant in our participant pool. The results of our study also suggest that there may be increased interest in racism in these groups as they are disproportionately

exposed to these experiences. Additionally, the regional distribution of participants reflects the distribution of the Korean population in Germany, suggesting that our sample population is a reasonable representation of the broader population in this sense. In particular, the online-only survey format and use of Korean community networks to recruit participants may have excluded potential participants with limited internet access or literacy and Korean residents who are not connected to a Korean community in Germany, respectively.

The way in which experiences of racism are identified in this survey is limited by its predominant focus on interpersonal racism. Although structural or institutional racism causes harm on a much wider scale, these forms are more difficult to detect as they are often ubiquitous. Therefore, the prevalence of racism reported in this study is likely to underestimate the scale of racism to which participants are exposed. Furthermore, our survey is also limited in considering how experiences of racism intersect with other types of discrimination, such as gender and sexual identity, socioeconomic deprivation and disability (see Li & Chen, 2021; Mereish, 2012; Wei, 1995). We also note that our survey focuses on the victims of racism rather than those who enact racism. Although our findings help identify where anti-racism actions are most needed, they are limited in getting to the 'root cause' and proposing preventative strategies to reduce and eliminate racism.

Future Directions and Implications

Given the strong association between racism and life satisfaction demonstrated by our study and reflected in other research into the impact of racism, we support recommendations around strengthening data collection on racism. This includes measuring structural, interpersonal, and other levels of racism and longitudinal measures that assist in determining causal relationships between racism and a range of health (disease-specific, access, quality of services) and well-being outcomes, as well as variables which mediate these relationships (e.g., sense of belonging, protective relationships, socioeconomic position). These findings will inform how best to support communities experiencing racism. Quantitative research findings such as the current survey must be complemented by qualitative data, which highlights the unique voices and lived experiences of communities affected by racism, especially those who are identified as being exposed to disproportionately high levels of racism or face intersecting forms of discrimination.

Although our research approach and context are novel, the harm of racism in all its forms is already extensively researched. Research that moves beyond reporting racism to address racism is needed. This should include approaches that involve the participation of affected communities and work toward eliminating sources of racism in society, including policies, institutions, and cultural norms. Establishing community support services specifically designed for people who have experienced racism is also essential. These initiatives play a critical role in creating safe spaces in the community, encouraging the sharing of experiences, and providing channels for obtaining social assistance. A sense of belonging can be developed and strengthened by such initiatives, as can general well-being. In addition, it is critical to fortify

national and local anti-racism initiatives at the policy level. This means putting in place educational campaigns and training programs for businesses, public areas, and institutions. These initiatives foster a more inclusive society while also increasing knowledge of cultural variety. Recognising the urgency of this focus area, especially given the prevalence of racism in physical and virtual public spaces, local and national governments have a responsibility to support this work.

Future research should delve deeper into the subtle shifts in identity and community dynamics, especially the transition from being perceived as a model minority to experiencing increased racialisation. Investigating the impact of these experiences on Koreans' life satisfaction, sense of belonging, community cohesion, and self-identification can yield more profound insights into the intricate relationship between racism and ethnic identity. Additionally, it is crucial to examine whether the racialisation process has strengthened community bonds among Koreans and other Asian groups, potentially fostering a more unified stance against racism. Moreover, understanding how these experiences have intensified self-identification as Korean or Asian can aid in developing targeted support systems and interventions to enhance the well-being of these communities.

Author Contribution Joohyun Justine Park: conceptualisation of the manuscript, methodology of the manuscript, data collection, data analysis, writing, editing, and project administration. Ah-Hyun Angela Lee: conceptualisation of the study, data collection, writing, review, and project administration. Lynne Soon-Chean Park: Conceptualisation of the study, methodology of the manuscript, writing, and review. Rebekah Jaung: conceptualisation of the study, methodology of the manuscript, writing, and review. Changzoo Song: conceptualisation of the study, writing, and editing.

Funding Open Access funding enabled and organized by Projekt DEAL. This work was funded by the Core University Program for Korean Studies of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the Korean Studies Promotion Service at the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2021-OLU-2250003).

Data Availability The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author.

Declarations

Competing Interests The authors declare no competing interests.

Open Access This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons licence, and indicate if changes were made. The images or other third party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons licence, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons licence and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this licence, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>.

References

- Ammar, A., Chtourou, H., Boukhris, O., Trabelsi, K., Masmoudi, L., Brach, M., Bouaziz, B., Bentlage, E., How, D., Ahmed, M., & Mueller, P. (2020). COVID-19 home confinement negatively impacts social participation and life satisfaction: A worldwide multicenter study. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(17), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17176237>
- Antidiskriminierungsstelle. (2020). *Diskriminierungserfahrungen im Zusammenhang mit der Corona-Krise*. Antidiskriminierungsstelle. Retrieved 7 February, 2022, from https://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/Dokumente_ohne_anzeige_in_Publikationen/20200504_Infopapier_zu_Coronakrise.pdf?jsessionid=BDF4E95900E81E1E7ABC00639C02D966.intranet212?__blob=publicationFile&v=1
- Ballantyne, G., & Giarrusso, V. (2023). Asian Australian experiences of racism during the COVID-19 in pandemic in Victoria: A preliminary analysis. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 24, 1437–1453. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-023-01018-8>
- Baltar, F., & Brunet, I. (2012). Social research 2.0: virtual snowball sampling method using Facebook. *Internet Research*, 22(1), 57–74.
- Bartley, A., & Spoonley, P. (2008). Intergenerational transnationalism: 1.5 Generation Asian migrants in New Zealand. *International Migration*, 46(4), 63–84.
- Barwick, C., & Beaman, J. (2019). Living for the neighbourhood: Marginalization and belonging for the second-generation in Berlin and Paris. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0105-3>
- Beigang, S., Fetz, K., Kalkum, D., & Otto, M. (2017). *Diskriminierungserfahrungen in Deutschland. Ergebnisse einer Repräsentative – und einer Betroffenenbefragung*. Nomos. Retrieved 10 February, 2022, from https://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/publikationen/Experten/expertise_diskriminierungserfahrungen_in_deutschland.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=6
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 135–149. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.135>
- Carvalho, M., & Pelham, B. W. (2006). When fiends become friends: The need to belong and perceptions of personal and group discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(1), 94–108. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.1.94>
- Cheah, C. S. L., Wang, C., Ren, H., Zong, X., Cho, H. S., & Xue, X. (2020). COVID-19 racism and mental health in Chinese American families. *Pediatrics*, 146(5), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-021816>
- Cheng, H., Kim, H. Y., Reynolds, J. D., Tsong, Y., & Wong, Y. J. (2021). COVID-19 anti-Asian racism: A tripartite model of collective psychological resilience. *American Psychologist*, 76(4), 627–642. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000808>
- 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, 1–18.
- Choi, S., Weng, S., Park, H., Lewis, J., Harwood, S. A., Mendenhall, R., & Hunt, M. B. (2021). Sense of belonging, racial microaggressions, and depressive symptoms among students of Asian descent in the United States. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 91(2), 115–141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00377317.2021.1882922>
- Chow, H. P. H. (2007). Sense of belonging and life satisfaction among Hong Kong adolescent immigrants in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(3), 511–520. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701234830>
- Clair, R., Gordon, M., Kroon, M., & Reilly, C. (2021). The effects of social isolation on well-being and life satisfaction during pandemic. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 8(1), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-021-00710-3>
- Daley, A., Phipps, S., & Branscombe, N. R. (2018). The social complexities of disability: Discrimination, belonging and life satisfaction among Canadian youth. *SSM - Population Health*, 5(May), 55–63. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2018.05.003>
- Deepa, R., & Mansurali, A. (2020). Life satisfaction during COVID-19. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 71(1–3), 127–138. <https://doi.org/10.31901/24566608.2020/71.1-3.3252>

- Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, 95(3), 542–575. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.95.3.542>
- Dollmann, J., & Kogan, I. (2021). Covid-19-associated discrimination in Germany. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 74, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2021.100631>
- Donnalaja, V., & McAvay, H. (2022). The multidimensionality of national belonging: Patterns and implications for immigrants' naturalisation intentions. *Social Science Research*, 106, 102708. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2022.102708>
- Froio, C. (2018). Race, religion, or culture? Framing Islam between racism and neo-racism in the online network of the French far right. *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(3), 696–709. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592718001573>
- Gover, A., Harper, S. B., & Langton, L. (2020). Anti-Asian hate crime during the COVID-19 pandemic: Exploring the reproduction of inequality. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45, 647–667. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09545-1>
- Hagerty, B. M. K., Lynch-Sauer, J., Patusky, K. L., Bouwsema, M., & Collier, P. (1992). Sense of belonging: A vital mental health concept. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, 6(3), 172–177. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0883-9417\(92\)90028-H](https://doi.org/10.1016/0883-9417(92)90028-H)
- Harris, R., Tobias, M., Jeffreys, M., Waldegrave, K., Karlsen, S., & Nazroo, J. (2006). Racism and health: The relationship between experience of racial discrimination and health in New Zealand. *Social Science and Medicine*, 63(6), 1428–1441.
- Haslam, C., Jetten, J., & Alexander, S. H. (2011). *The social cure: Identity, health and well-being*. Psychology Press.
- Huang, L. (2020). Peer victimization, teacher unfairness, and adolescent life satisfaction: The mediating roles of sense of belonging to school and schoolwork-related Anxiety. *School Mental Health*, 12(3), 556–566. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-020-09365-y>
- Hurtado, S., & Carter, D. F. (1997). Effects of college transition and perceptions of the campus racial climate on Latino college students' sense of belonging. *Sociology of Education*, 70(4), 324–345. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2673270>
- Hussain, M., & Jones, J. M. (2019). Discrimination, diversity, and sense of belonging: Experiences of students of color. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 14(1), 63–71. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000117>
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Solheim, E. (2009). To identify or not to identify? National disidentification as an alternative reaction to perceived ethnic discrimination. *Applied Psychology*, 58(1), 105–128. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00384.x>
- Jaspal, R., & Lopes, B. (2021). Discrimination and mental health outcomes in British Black and South Asian people during the Covid-19 outbreak in the UK. *Mental, Health, Religion and Culture*, 24(1), 80–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2020.1871328>
- Jaung, R., Park, L. S., Park, J. J., Mayeda, D. T., & Song, C. (2022). Asian New Zealanders' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic and its association with life satisfaction. *The New Zealand Medical Journal*, 135(1565), 60–73.
- Jones, C. P. (2000). Levels of racism: A theoretic framework and a gardener's tale. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90(8), 1212–1215. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.90.8.1212>
- Kamp, A., Denson, N., Sharples, R., & Atie, R. (2022). Asian Australians' experiences of online racism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Sciences*, 11(227), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11050227>
- Lee, S., & Waters, S. F. (2021). Asians and Asian Americans' experiences of racial discrimination during the Covid-19 pandemic: Impacts on health outcomes and the buffering role of social support. *Stigma and Health*, 6(1), 70–78. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000275>
- Lewis, J. A., Mendenhall, R., Ojiemwen, A., Thomas, M., Riopelle, C., Harwood, S. A., & Browne Hunt, M. (2021). Racial microaggressions and sense of belonging at a historically white University. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 65(8), 1049–1071. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219859613>
- Li, H., & Chen, X. (2021). From “Oh, you’re Chinese...” to “No bats, thx!”: Racialised experiences of Australian-based Chinese queer women in the mobile dating context. *Social Media Society*, 7(3), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211035352>
- Litam, S. D. A., & Oh, S. (2021). Effects of COVID-19-related racial discrimination on depression and life satisfaction among young, middle, and older Chinese Americans. *Adultspan Journal*, 20(2), 70–84. <https://doi.org/10.1002/adsp.12111>

- Liu, D., Yu, X., Wang, Y., Zhang, H., & Ren, G. (2014). The impact of perception of discrimination and sense of belonging on the loneliness of the children of Chinese migrant workers: A structural equation modeling analysis. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 8(1), 4–9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1752-4458-8-52>
- Mediendienst Integration. (2021). *Anti-asiatischer Rassismus in der Corona-Zeit*. Mediendienst Integration. Retrieved February 10, 2022, from <https://mediendienst-integration.de/desintegration/rassismus.html>
- Mereish, E. H. (2012). The intersectional invisibility of race and disability status: An exploratory study of health and discrimination facing Asian Americans with disabilities. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, 5(2), 52–60. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17570981211286796>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea. (2021). *2021 Overseas Koreans*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea. Retrieved 10 February, 2022, from <https://www.mofa.go.kr/viewer/skin/doc.html?fn=20211224041637593.pdf&rs=/viewer/result/202205>
- Ministry of Health of New Zealand. (2017). *Content Guide 2016/17: New Zealand Health Survey (Adult Questionnaire)*. Ministry of Health of New Zealand. Retrieved 10 February, 2022, from www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/nzhs-adult-questionnaire-may08.pdf
- Ministry of Health of New Zealand. (2021). *COVID-19 Health and Well-being Survey*. Ministry of Health of New Zealand. Retrieved 10 February, 2022, from <https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/diseases-and-conditions/covid-19-novel-coronavirus/covid-19-resources-and-tools/covid-19-health-and-wellbeing-survey>
- Möhring, K., Naumann, E., Reifenscheid, M., Wenz, A., Rettig, T., Krieger, U., Friedel, S., Finkel, M., Cornesse, C., & Blom, A. G. (2021). The COVID-19 pandemic and subjective well-being: Longitudinal evidence on satisfaction with work and family. *European Societies*, 23(1), 601–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2020.1833066>
- Nielsen. (2021, 16 February). *Racism and Xenophobia Experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand during COVID-19: A Focus on Chinese and Asian Communities*. New Zealand Human Rights Commission. Retrieved 10 February, 2022, from <https://apo.org.au/node/311028>
- Park, L. S.-C., Jaung, R., Park, J. J., & Song, C. (2023). Asian communities' well-being in Aotearoa during COVID-19: The mitigating role of sense of belonging in the relationship between racism and life satisfaction. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work*, 35(1), 95–112. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.099637776535037%0Ahttps://search.informit.org/doi/pdf/10.3316/informit.09963776535037%0Ahttps://search.informit.org/doi/full/10.3316/informit.099637776535037>
- Roberto, K. J., Johnson, A. F., & Rauhaus, B. M. (2020). Stigmatisation and prejudice during the Covid-19 pandemic. *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, 42(3), 364–378. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2020.1782128>
- Sawtelle, V., Brewé, E., & Kramer, L. H. (2011). Sequential logistic regression: A method to reveal subtlety in self-efficacy. In M. S. Plakhotnik, S. M. Nielsen, & D. M. Pane (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual College of Education & GSN Research Conference* (pp. 216–225). Miami: Florida International University. http://coeweb.fiu.edu/research_conference/
- Scharathow, W. (2017). Jugendliche und rassismuserfahrungen. kontexte, handlungsherausforderungen und umgangsweisen. In K. Fereidooni, & M. El (Eds.), *Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen* (pp. 107–127). Springer VS.
- Shim, S. (2021). Immigration as personal and cultural interchange: South Koreans in Germany, United Kingdom and France. In N. Casarini, A. Fiori, N. Kim, J. Lee, & R. P. Pardo (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Europe-Korea Relations* (no page). Routledge.
- Singh, D., Gupta, K., & Bakhshi, A. (2020). Covid-19 and life satisfaction: An exploratory study among youth. *The International Journal of Indian Psychology*, 8(2), 350–355. <https://doi.org/10.25215/0802.042>
- Soest, T. V., Bakken, A., Pedersen, W. & Sletten, M. A. (2020). Life satisfaction among adolescents before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Journal of the Norwegian Medical Association*, 140(10). <https://doi.org/10.4045/tidsskr.20.0437>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2018). *General Social Survey 2018: Final content*. Stats NZ. Retrieved 25 January, 2022, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/methods/general-social-survey-2018-final-content>
- Straiton, M. L., Aambø, A. K., & Johansen, R. (2019). Perceived discrimination, health and mental health among immigrants in Norway: The role of moderating factors. *BMC Public Health*, 19(325), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-6649-9>

- Suda, K., Mayer, S.J., & Nguyen, C. (2020, 9 October). *Antiasiatischer Rassismus in Deutschland*. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Retrieved February 10, 2022, from <https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/antirassismus-2020/316771/antiasiatischer-rassismus-in-deutschland/>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In J. A. Williams, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33–47). Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (2nd ed., pp. 7–24). Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Tessler, H., Choi, M., & Kao, G. (2020). The anxiety of being Asian American: Hate crimes and negative biases during the COVID-19 pandemic. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45, 636–646. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09541-5>
- Unknown. (2020). *Erster Corona-Fall in Deutschland bestätigt*. Deutsche Welle. Retrieved January 27, 2022, from <https://www.dw.com/de/erster-coronavirus-fall-in-deutschland-bestaetigt/a-52168989>
- Uslucan, H. (2017). Diskriminierungserfahrungen türkeistämmiger Zuwander_innen. In K. Fereidooni & M. El (Eds.), *Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen* (pp. 129–141). Springer VS.
- Vines, A. I., Ward, J. B., Cordoba, E., & Black, K. Z. (2017). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and mental health: A review and future directions for social epidemiology. *Current Epidemiology Reports*, 4, 156–165. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40471-017-0106-z>
- Wang, S., Chen, Y., Li, Y., Luu, C., Yan, R., & Madrisotti, F. (2021). ‘I’m more afraid of racism than of the virus!’: Racism awareness and resistance among Chinese migrants and their descendants in France during the Covid-19 pandemic. *European Societies*, 23(S1), S721–S742. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2020.1836384>
- Wei, V. W. (1995). Asian women and employment discrimination: Using intersectionality theory to address title VII claims based on combined factors of race, gender and national origin. *Boston College Law Review*, 37(4), 771–812.
- Wieviorka, M. (2018). Europe facing evil: Xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and terrorism. In M. Castells, O. Bouin, J. Caraça, G. Cardoso, J. Thompson, & M. Wieviorka (Eds.), *Europe’s crises* (pp. 205–223). Polity Press.
- Wu, Z., & Finnsdottir, M. (2021). Perceived racial and cultural discrimination and sense of belonging in Canadian society. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 58(2), 229–249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12339>
- Wu, Z., Hou, C., & Schimmele, C. (2011). Racial diversity and sense of belonging in urban neighborhoods. *City and Community*, 10(4), 373–392. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2011.01374.x>
- Wu, C., Qian, Y., & Wilkes, R. (2021). Anti-Asian discrimination and the Asian-white mental health gap during COVID-19. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 44(5), 819–835. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1851739>
- Young, A. F., Russell, A., & Powers, J. R. (2004). The sense of belonging to a neighbourhood: Can it be measured and is it related to health and well being in older women? *Social Science and Medicine*, 59(12), 2627–2637. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.05.001>
- Zacher, H., & Rudolph, C. W. (2021). Individual differences and changes in subjective well-being during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. *American Psychologist*, 76(1), 50–62. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000702>

Publisher’s Note Springer Nature remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.