Media Narratives of Hate Speech and Crimes in Portugal

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Resumo

Crimes e discursos de ódio são uma ameaça proeminente nas sociedades Ocidentais, atualmente. Esta expressão extrema de discriminação, preconceito e intolerância tem-se tornado mais recorrente, uma vez que o racismo persiste a desempenhar um papel estrutural no funcionamento da sociedade. Esta dissertação conduz à discussão sobre a representação de crimes e discursos de ódio de motivação racial e étnica nos meios de comunicação social portugueses, com uma visão acerca das suas especificidades. Este fenómeno está intimamente relacionado com o racismo estrutural que caracteriza a sociedade portuguesa, que remonta ao passado colonial da nação. Tendo isto por base, este projeto irá realizar análise temática de notícias de quatro jornais portugueses – Correio da Manhã, Jornal de Notícias, Observador e Público, com o período temporal compreendido entre os anos de 2018 a 2021. Deste modo, este projeto envolve ainda uma análise do contexto sociopolítico em que estes fenómenos acontecem, abordando uma possível relação entre a sua ocorrência e a pandemia COVID-19 e a ascensão do partido político populista de extrema-direita CHEGA.

Abstract

Hate speech and crimes are a prominent threat in today's Western societies. This extreme expression of discrimination, prejudice and intolerance has become more recurrent, shedding light on the structural role racism plays in society. This dissertation guides the discussion on the representation of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in the Portuguese news media, with an insight in its specificities. These occurrences are intimately related to the structural racism that characterizes the Portuguese society, which trace back to the nation's colonial past. With this in mind, this project will undertake a process of thematic analysis from news of four Portuguese newspapers – *Correio da Manhã, Jornal de Notícias, Observador* and *Público*, with the time-frame from the years of 2018 to 2021. Thus, this project involves an analysis of the sociopolitical context in which racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes occur, touching upon a possible relationship between its occurrence and the COVID-19 pandemic and the rise of the populist far-right political party CHEGA.

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Glossary of Acronyms

CICDR – Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial/Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination

CRT – Critical Race Theory

ECRI – European Commission against Racism and Inequality

EU – European Union

FRA - European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

KKK – Ku Klux Klan

PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador/National Renewal Party

OSCE – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

OSCE/ODIHR – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

TVI – Televisão Independente/Independent Television

UN CERD – UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

Introduction

There are a vast variety of challenges that result from the globalization process the world is emerged in. Among these, hate speech and crimes are certainly an arising concern for today's societies. Both these phenomena stem by virtue of an extreme expression of prejudice, intolerance and discrimination. Although hate speech and crimes can have several different motivations, there is a remarkable strength of racist and xenophobic motives, which will be the focus of this project. In 2020, the FBI registered that the United States experienced the highest number of hate crimes reports in a decade, accounting for over five thousand racially or ethnically motivated hate crimes (U.S. Department of Justice 2021). As for the sphere of the European Union, the OSCE ODIHR registered the highest number of racist and xenophobic hate crimes in 2019, counting over 3 thousand reports (OSCE ODIHR 2020). As for hate speech, there is a lack of statistical data to indicate its occurrence. Yet, it is known that hate speech is easily spread through the cyber sphere, partly due to how there are no real consequences to whoever propagates violent and hateful thoughts online (PRISM 2015).

This project focuses on conducting a thematic analysis of Portuguese news articles about racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, concerning a time frame of four years (2018-2021). This will direct an analysis that understands the growth in racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal under the general political and social context that period of time contemplated, marked by two significant phenomena: the COVID-19 pandemic and the rise of populist far-right in Portugal's political sphere. This ought to be understood within the underlying principle of Benjamin Bowling (1993) that presents the idea that crime would be better understood as a process rather than an episode, as it does not happen in a cultural or social void. This translates into the thought that hate crime should be framed as a socially placed, dynamic process that entails context, actors, framework and agency (Bowling 1993). With this in mind, the analysis of the reality of hate propagation through the form of speech and crimes in Portugal from 2018 until 2021 should be understood under the context in which it occurred.

With the primary objective to explore the news characterization of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal, this dissertation intends to give a contribution to this unexplored field of research. The aim to provide a general outlook on the news media representation of hate speech and crimes is achieved through the description of the different particularities of the occurrences, as well as the way structural racism is represented in the

dataset. It also plans to grasp whether the sociopolitical context has an influence in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes.

Hence, this project answers the following research questions.

Q.1. How are racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes portrayed by the news media in Portugal?

Q.2. How is structural racism addressed in the news media?

Q.3. Is there an influence of the COVID-19 pandemic in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal?

Q.4. Is there an influence of the political party CHEGA in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal?

This research seeks to answer the research questions through a thematic analysis approach, which results in retrieving the most prevalent ideas seen and discussed in the news corpus analyzed. Thus, this assists the purpose of understanding the general context of hate violence in Portugal reported in the news from 2018 to 2021, with a particular emphasis on its specificities and relationship with the sociopolitical context in which the incidents occur.

This dissertation will be divided into the following chapters. In chapter 1, the literary foundation of this dissertation is presented, through the expression of the primary ideas of hate speech and crimes motivated by racism and xenophobia, touching upon the particularity of the Portuguese case. This chapter finishes with the introduction of Critical Race Theory as the theoretical framework that guides the dissertation. Chapter 2 concerns the methodological approach of this project, by explaining the research design, the research questions, the process of data collection and the technique of data analysis, which is thematic analysis. Next, chapter 3 encompasses the analysis of the data set of news about racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal, accompanied by a discussion of the specificities at analysis. Lastly, I present the conclusion of the dissertation project, with the most relevant remarks to determine the Portuguese reality when it comes to racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

Hate crimes and hate speech have gained a significant amount of attention among scholars, with a broadening of the scope of the debate over the years. With the common motive of discriminatory bias, the difference between hate crimes and hate speech is that hate crimes are a product of conduct and hate speech is a product of expression (Lawrence 1993). However, it is also relevant to point out that the role of "hate" in hate speech is very different from the role of "hate" in hate crimes, meaning that a hate crime is always classified as a crime before the factor of hate is addressed. The same does not apply to hate speech, as the "hate" in hate speech is the primary constitutive aspect of it. As Gould (2019, p.7) states "while hate is intrinsic to the (perceived) criminality of hate speech, it is merely an aggravating factor in determining the severity of a hate crime".

In this chapter, I delineate the most relevant contributions to the study of hate speech and crimes, in order to understand the nature and effects of the concepts that guide this project. As such, since the focus of this dissertation falls upon racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, it is crucial to understand racism and xenophobia as the root cause of this issue, interlinking it with the ideological standpoint of the far-right and the role of the media when it comes to the portrayal of racism and hate violence. Then, the chapter follows with a brief description of the context of the European Union's action against hate speech and crimes. Thereupon, the context of hate violence in Portugal is represented through expressions of the condition of structural racism in Portugal that stems from the historical colonial background of the country. Lastly, Critical Race Theory is presented as the dissertation's theoretical framework, which comprehends the general lens through which the project is understood.

Hate Crimes

Hate crimes have sparked up a debate in the literature, as they are difficult to conceptualize (Prutzman, 1994). Hate crimes are considered a criminal act that result from the strong motivation felt behind a sentiment of hatred and intolerance toward the victim's group affiliation (Gerstenfeld 2013), as they act upon prejudice and discrimination. According to this, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has defined hate crime as "criminal acts motivated by bias or prejudice towards particular groups of people" (OSCE/ODIHR 2020). Using OSCE's definition as a starting point, I believe it is important to address other complementary contributions to the study of hate crimes. On that account, hate

crimes are any act to cause physical injury, emotional pain or property damage through the means of intimidation, harassment, employment of bigoted insults, vandalism, the exercise of force or the threat of force motivated by animosity to the victim's race, ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation (Bodinger-DeUriarte & Sancho 1991).

Hate crimes are defensive in nature, since they are an affront to one group by another. This premise stems from the perpetuation of violence against someone because of what they represent to the offender, resulting from the victim's group identity (Hamm 2004). Taking this into consideration, the term of hate crimes includes the propagation of symbols, words or activities that are historically related to hateful threats, such as burning crosses and swastikas, the circulation of jokes that perpetuate negative stereotypes, or any act that is considered hateful or biased by the victim (Bodinger-DeUriarte & Sancho 1990).

Minority communities tend to be subjected to this type of occurrences, whether the reason behind the crime is race, ethnicity, gender, disability, language, nationality, physical appearance, religion, or sexual orientation (Hamm 2004). In this type of violence, the focus is not only the relationship that the victim and the offender share but most importantly, the relationship that the communities that they belong to share. Thus, hate crimes are not committed to physically damage the other person but instead to instill fear among the general community that the victim represents. Therefore, hate crimes are considered to be symbolic, as offenders target an entire community through the process of hurting individual people. The victims are thus immaterial and interchangeable (Perry 2001).

Hate Speech

In the wide spectrum of hate crime studies, there is an ongoing debate on hate speech. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) General Policy Recommendation no. 15 defines it as expressions that promote or incite hatred, through any harassment, insult, negative stereotyping or threat of someone, that is based on race, color, language, religion or belief, nationality or national or ethnic origin, as well as descent, age, disability, sex, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation (ECRI 2016).

Therefore, hate speech is driven by bias, prejudice and aggression that is directed at someone or multiple people specifically due to their personal identities. Thus, the perpetrator of hate speech acts upon their discriminatory and bigoted opinions and attitudes with the goal to harm and invalidate the victims (Cohen-Almagor 2011). Hate speech is growing its impact in the social and political sphere all across the Western world, as this problem is cultivated through intolerance to what is different. By perpetuating hate speech, one desires to magnify

their identity against other people's identity, which can oftentimes lead to violent acts, as it is known that widespread hate speech contributes to a greater likelihood of radicalization against vulnerable and marginalized groups (Tulkens 2013; Bilewicz & Soral 2020). The current debate on hate speech hinges on its limitations, as it potentially constitutes a danger for democracies due to the difficulty in establishing a limit on freedom of expression (Tulkens 2013).

It is also interesting to point out that a common place for the proliferation of hate speech is the cyber sphere, as people feel free to express their opinions online without experiencing true consequences for any offensive remarks (Anderson & Hitlin 2016; Brown 2017). Social media platforms are gaining a more significant space for discussions on racism, and that can influence the easy spread of racial hate among the cyber environment, which can be both a manifestation and result of increasing xenophobia (Anderson & Hitlin 2016; Brown 2017; Kopytowska & Baider 2017). The online sphere is also a place where far-right activists are motivated to engage in hateful acts, by the promotion of political violence (Wahlström et al. 2020). Lastly, racial hate can also circulate in online settings through the dissemination of disinformation (Anderson & Hitlin 2016; Silva 2019).

The ideological frames of racism and its impact on Hate Speech and Crimes
Whether in the form of action or speech, it is crucial to point out these phenomena are a continuation of the prejudice that determines privilege among different groups of people. With this in mind, it becomes pertinent to address Carole Sheffield's definition of hate crimes. She states hate violence is motivated by social and political factors and is reinforced by belief systems that accept and recognize such violent actions (Perry 2001). By such belief systems one could point out ideologies as legitimating factors of violent action, for ideology is related to power reproduction and social practices (Van Dijk 1998).

Ideological frames are more than abstract ideas, for they constitute a powerful force of mobilization of people by targeting at their moral and emotional side (Jasper 2011; Wahlström et al. 2020). Racism is considered an ideology by Wilson (1973), as he believed it constituted "an ideology of racial domination or exploitation that 1) incorporates beliefs in a particular race's cultural and/or inherent biological inferiority, and 2) uses such beliefs to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for that group" (p.32). Following that line of thought, the ideology of racism conditions human action and identity, with the intent to maintain the hierarchies of difference that perpetuate claims of racial superiority (Perry 2001).

This idea of racial supremacy is often associated with far-right ideals of cultural homogeneity. Violence takes a predominant role in the action of extremist groups, whether on the basis of action or discourse (Petrou & Kandylis 2016)

. On the one hand, there is evidence pointing far-right hate groups as a great threat to public safety, for the violent attacks they conduct (Chermak, Freilic & Suttmoeller 2011). On the other hand, the increasing presence of far-right in political discourse legitimizes the hate they propagate. Therefore, the growing presence of hate speech among the political sphere could very plausibly arise sentiments of hatred in people and consequently, provoke such incidents (Petrou & Kandylis 2016; Lazaridis & Skleparis 2015). However, Parkin, Freilich and Chermak (2015) contribute to the discussion by opposing the strict relationship between hate crimes and far-right motivated violence, by stating that hate crimes are not exclusively committed by elements of far-right organizations, but instead by youths that act partially on the basis of the bias against the victims. The reality is that the most diverse world that we have lived in still carries racist and discriminatory beliefs, which shows that the racial paradigm is nowhere near to be dismissed as a thing of the past (Meddaugh & Kay 2009).

The role of news media in the portrayal of Hate Speech and Crimes
In order to conduct a study that concerns the news media, it is essential to establish some of its key concepts. Firstly, it is remarkable that the role that media display in today's society is fundamental, as Cohen (1963) proposes the idea that the media "may not be successful in telling their readers what to think, but are stunningly successful in telling their readers what to think about" (Ogbonna & Okafo 2020, p.209). This effect is mostly known as agenda-setting, which reflects a focus of the media on a specific topic to bring more awareness into media professionals, political actors and general society. This is a fluid effect, as new topics keep emerging in an unquiet world (Dearing & Rogers 1996).

Besides this concept, it is important to address framing as it concerns a dynamic process in which frame-building and frame-setting are involved. As news frames are built through a process of interaction between different social and political actors, news frames are set through a process of interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions into looking at a certain topic. Framing concerns the possibility of different interpretations of news stories and this can result in differences at an individual level and a societal one, as frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions (Vreese 2005).

Lastly, the concept of priming presents itself as a continuation of agenda-setting, as it allows for people to create judgements about the political actors that touch and act upon the topic in question (Holbrook & Hill 2005). The difference between priming and framing is "the difference between whether we think about as an issue and how we think about it" (Scheufele &Tewksbury 2007, p.14). The effect of priming presumes that people are most likely to form judgments based on a limited set of information recently stored in their memory (Brug, Semetko & Valkenburg 2007).

Media theories are very relevant to this project, since hateful rhetoric spreads and can be perpetuated by the media, in order to perpetuate privileges of race (Daniels 1997). By "telling readers what to think about", it is important to address that the news is an interpretative mechanism that constructs a reality for the viewers to take on as their own perspective of the world (Warren-Gordon et al. 2020). As such, the exhibition of stereotypes in the media is a reflection of the prevalence of racism in society, as racial and ethnic minorities tend to be described in a negative and stereotypical way (Bristor, Lee and Hunt 1995). These stereotypes may range from a consideration of racial minorities as a "problem", to treating them like a "burden", or even as a threat to the resources of a homogenic society (Van Dijk 2008).

For example, the mediatic discourse perpetuates associations of racialized communities and crime, alongside the reproduction of the contrasting notions of center and periphery, where radicalized communities belong in the latter. These associations contribute to the continuing prejudice that leads to marginalization of these communities (Alves 2016). This is intrinsically related to the fact that the representation of racialized populations contrast with the representations of the Western European populations, which result in a dichotomous model that opposes civilized and primitive populations, which is nothing but a historical continuation of the colonial order (Van Dijk 1993).

These actions represent a tendency of the media to follow the hegemonic order of ideas, thus reproducing the ideas of racism dictated by the structural political order (Ba 2021). With this in mind, there are different ways that the media can play an influential role in the occurrence of hate speech and crimes. among which the coverage of triggering events can "combine the ingredients of hate into a combustible brew" and consequently, trigger someone to engage in hate speech or crime (Hall 2014, p.82).

The context of hate violence in the European Union

The European democracies have witnessed substantial changes in their political reality. The populist far-right forces have risen in relevancy in issues such as the repudiation of globalization

and immigration, the rise of Euroscepticism, backlash against progressive values such as multiculturalism and economic insecurity (Noury & Roland 2020; Algan et al. 2017). It is undeniable that this transformation has challenged the way European values are perceived in the public eye, as the EU was created on the ground of defense of human rights and tolerance, which are defied by the growing populist far-right powers. By spreading their political agenda of intolerance against minority groups, they enable a higher incidence of hate crimes, as their agenda becomes more accepted into each country's political sphere (Shaw & Kibitlewski 2001).

The political ideology of populism strives off the concept of a society divided into two antagonistic groups, the "people" versus the "elite", following a logic of "we" against "them", where "we" represents the good people and "they" represent the enemy (Mudde 2004). The populist debate is marked by social divisions made on the basis of many aspects of identity, in which race is included (Vieten & Poynting 2016). A particularity about populist leaders is their speech, as it can sometimes relate to hate speech, through a rough way of addressing certain issues and targeting minority groups, who are often portrayed as the cause of a country's problems. In the European Union, hate speech is an established limit to the right of freedom of expression, which emerges from the absolute necessity to protect democratic values and human rights (Keen & Georgescu 2016), such as human dignity, non-discrimination and equality or freedom of religion, association, among others (McGonagle 2013).

These issues constitute a priority for the EU, as there has been great progress in working towards effective combat of hate speech and crimes. Besides the fact that there is a higher frequency of hate crimes nowadays, they are not a new phenomenon. In 1999, the EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia stated that "there are ethnic, religious and cultural minorities, immigrants and refugees in all the Member States who are vulnerable to racist crimes and discrimination" (Shaw & Kibitlewski 2001, p.5). Several years later, in 2016 the European Union has established the EU Code of conduct on countering illegal hate speech online, which consists in regular activities of inspection in collaboration with many organizations in different EU countries, in order to tackle this problem (European Commission 2021). Most recently, in March 2021 the European Commission elaborated a proposal concerning the inclusion of hate speech and hate crime into the list of EU crimes, which would demand a harmonization of their definition and penalties, according to Art. 83(1) TFEU (Wahl 2021).

There is a growing endeavor on the production of statistical data on hate crimes by several EU agencies, as the lack of knowledge on their occurrence discourages victims to come forward and leads law enforcement authorities to ignore such occurrences. For instance, the European

Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) has stated that people in the EU suffer from experiences motivated by hate on a daily basis, although there is not enough data to analyze this (FRA 2018). Its main work on racism, xenophobia and intolerance against minorities has reached an understanding about how difficult it is for victims to report hate crimes, and how the police and the criminal justice system are reluctant to acknowledge them (FRA 2018).

Although the definitions of hate crimes contemplate motives from different origins, the racial and ethnic reasoning is one of the most prominent among the European context, in particular directed at Roma people (ENAR 2018). Tracing the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate crimes into its primary problem – racism -, it is essential to address a speech at the European Parliament Plenary in June 2020, where the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen clearly positioned the EU against all forms of discrimination by stating:

> "I am glad to live in a society that condemns racism. But we should not stop there (...) The motto of our European Union is: 'United in diversity'. Our task is to live up to these words, and to fulfill their meaning" (European Commission 2020).

As such, the EU defends the promotion of a tolerant, plural and progressive society. In particular, hate crimes related legislation is a common fight for all European Member States, yet there are discrepancies when it comes to each country's legal representation of hate crimes. As they are not legally framed in similar terms and are particularly flawed for the lack of an approach that considers the intersectionality of vulnerabilities of the victims. This type of approach requires an analysis of the structural elements of discrimination, in order to break the tendency for the separate assessment of them (ENAR 2020).

The context of hate violence in Portugal

Hate speech and crimes in Portugal must be understood in the light of the country's perspective on racism. Portugal has been profoundly characterized by a myth of tolerance regarding people of African descent, which has differentiated the country from the rest of European nations. This myth symbolizes the idea that racism does not exist in Portugal, tracing back to the ideology of lusotropicalism that marked the country's colonial period. This considers a predisposition on behalf of the Portuguese population to relate to the colonized people and thus, establish social relations based on integration (Castelo 1998). In this sense, "the lusotropicalist rhetoric constructs Portugality as essentially non-racist and historically oriented for good relationships

with other cultures and people and it has been renewed" (Maeso 2019, p.2047). The lasting character of these relationships "originated a tolerant, ontologically intercultural democratic State" (Araújo & Maeso 2010; Alves 2016). This resulted in the propagation of an idea of exceptionality in the Portuguese case, up to the point where it was a significant trait of the national character (Henriques 2017). Yet, the discourse associated with this has continuously favored the perpetuation of racism, through the silencing and naturalization of discrimination (Araújo 2008). This has prevented the possibility for open discussion about the persistence of institutional racism as a mechanism of exclusion in the access to rights and resources from racialized communities (Araújo & Maeso 2010; Alves 2016). With this in mind, "racism circulates in a powerful way in every sphere of everyday life in the sequence of social and historic representations that persist in the Portuguese society due to its colonial past" (Araújo 2008, p.33).

The political response to racism has been insufficient throughout the years, as racist events have been treated as individual behaviors and isolated cases, instead of signs of a structural issue that has diverse ramifications and representations (Rocha 2021; Maeso 2019; Henriques 2017). This cannot easily be changed, as it would imply "the alteration of a historic narrative, a collective regret and a cultural change" (Rocha 2021, p.63).

The difficulty of recognition of racism as a structural issue and recurrent practice in the Portuguese society granted a lack of studies on racism and racial discrimination in the country's social sciences research until the very beginning of the new millennium (Marques 2012). Yet, more recently, there have been various studies and reports showing that racialized communities are exposed to several inequalities and prejudice in Portugal. For example, there is evidence that shows minority groups such as African and Roma communities to be more prone to suffer from exclusion in processes of education, resulting in abandonment and low success rates (Roldão 2015). This cannot be understood without acknowledging the dynamics that surround these communities, addressing the contexts of marginalized territories in which they reside, alongside with the difficulties in the entrance into the labor market (Roldão 2015).

With that in mind, it is also crucial to understand the segregation from urban centers to live in the peripheries that African descent and Romani communities are subject to leads to a higher exposition to police violence, vulnerability to isolation and social exclusion, which have not been followed up with political action in order to mitigate this reality (Dias 2021; Maeso 2021). Police violence is a clear indication of racism's pervasive character in the Portuguese society, as Portugal had been alerted by the Commitee for the Prevention of Torture of the Council of Europe to the fact that it is one of the few EU countries with higher levels of police

violence, were Afrodescendants and migrants are the most at risk (Council of Europe 2017). This reality often manifests itself through the police officer's poor treatment during the process of detention and the stay at the police station, where the detainees are either physically or verbally attacked. These attacks concern "slaps, punches and kicks to the body and/or head as well as, on occasion, the use of batons or sticks. Allegations were also received of verbal insults and excessively tight handcuffing" (CPT/Inf 2020, p.4).

In this case, police violence must be understood as a recurrent situation instead of an exceptional one, which is intrinsically related to broader processes of racialization and criminalization of the periphery. This happens through the establishment of an association between its residents and problems of delinquency and crime in the news media. As such, this type of mediatic discourse has contributed to a justification of the more vigilant and violent conduct of the police in these peripheric neighborhoods (Alves 2016).

As for Portugal's legal framework, the Portuguese Penal Code does not contemplate hate crimes as a specific crime. However, crimes can be judged with an aggravation by hate. Specifically, the qualification of crimes motivated by racial hate and crimes motivated by the skin color or ethnical/national origin are only applied to homicides and offenses against the physical integrity of the victim (Maeso 2020). As for the crime of qualified murder, it is judged under Artº. 132, comprehending a paragraph that shows that there is a special censurability or perversity if the crime is committed on the basis of racial, religious, political hate or generated by colour, ethnical or national origin, by sex or by the sexual orientation of the victim. The crime of aggravated assault is judged under Art.º 145 in case the offenses to physical integrity are also caused under the ground of hate, in its different variations mentioned in Artº. 132 (FRA 2018). Besides this, Artº. 240 considers a crime of racial, religious or sexual discrimination that is committed by organizations, or a person or group of people who develop or participate in propaganda activities that incite or encourage discrimination, hate or violence against a person or a group of people. Furthermore, whoever provokes acts of violence, defamates or injuries and threatens a person or a group of people in public or in written form with an intent of divulgation with the underlying motives of such practices lies on race, color, ethnic origin, religion, sex or sexual orientation can be considered under Artº. 240. The problem with this is that there is almost no direct application of it, since the crimes of defamation and injury are only considered into this qualification when it is provenly related to activities of collective organization and political propaganda. As such, this article has been used to criminalize far-right groups for racial discrimination (Marchi & Silva 2019). This constitutes a serious problem in the Portuguese legislative framework since it does not give an effective response to the issue

of racism, as pointed out by antiracist activists who have proclaimed their distrust in the juridical mechanisms to combat racism (Rosário, Santos & Lima 2011; Maeso 2020).

When addressing the reality of discriminatory practices in Portugal, there are serious difficulties in this regard, as there is insufficient data on the occurrence of hate speech and crimes in Portugal (Gonçalves et al. 2021). FRA's 2018 Report does not disclose any statistical information on the subject and refers UN CERD's recommendation on efforts towards a more effective registration of complaints on discrimination (FRA 2018). However, it is important to stress that the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR) has received 655 complaints in 2020, being the highest number since 2014 and corresponding to a 50% increase of the reports from 2019. The vast majority of discriminatory offenses reported occurred in traditional mainstream media and the Internet (61,7%), which alerts to a high frequency of hate-motivated reported incidents that took place either in television, press and radio or in blogs and social media. A reason pointed out for the growing numbers is the fact that the Portuguese society has become more aware of racial and ethnic discriminatory practices. Despite this, that same number does not, in any way, represent the harsh reality that minorities face in Portugal due to how many offenses go unknown (CICDR 2020). The racial injury is one of the most predominant practices reported in complaints, as the verbal abuse is a clear indicator of the discriminatory motivation behind the offense (Maeso 2021).

Looking at Hate Speech and Crimes through the lens of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an intellectual movement that focuses primarily on the study of the relationship between race, racism and power, as one of the dominant premises of this theoretical approach concerns how racism is a systemic component of the social structure the world is embedded in (Delgado & Stefancic 2001). The racial and ethnic oppression that overwhelms Western societies, and consequently diminishes their values of freedom and equality, are a prominent claim for CRT theorists in their fight for racial and ethnic equality (Mocombe 2017). Racism is a concept that embraces the beliefs, procedures or structural systems that operate in order to oppress racial groups, as it is nonetheless a societal construct that is conducted and perpetuated on the basis of ideology in order to contribute to the social and economic stratification of minority groups (Delgado and Stefancic 2001).

Thus, the primary idea of CRT is the conception that racism is ordinary, not exceptional. Racism is applied in every common life experience of most people of color on a daily basis, which implies that racism is hard to recognize and even harder to confront (Delgado & Stefancic 2007). This goes onto the idea that concerns the understanding of race as a social construct,

which reveals racism to be a phenomenon that is highly complex yet very subtle, as it comes in different forms, contexts and associates different minority groups with different stereotypes. In this sense, racism is not exceptional due to how natural it appears to be since it is a common part of our reality (Gillborn 2015).

The notion that there is a convergence of interests into the persistence of racism is also a very relevant notion of this theoretical approach. As racism continues to perpetuate the prevalence of the interests of both white elites and the working-class people, it is not in the best interest of those who are powerful to effectively combat and eradicate racism (Delgado & Stefancic 2007).

CRT theorists claim that race is a product of social thought, since races do not correspond to any simple biological or genetic reality. In that sense, society is responsible for the racial categorization of people, which intended the specific purposes of discrimination. It is common for people who share their origins to have some physical traits in common, such as skin color, facial features, and more, but those factors constitute such a small portion of our genetics and share no correlation with personality, intelligence or moral behavior. With this being said, CRT theorists argue that it is in societies' best interest to continue to ignore these scientific facts, as the concept of race lives off of the allocation of pseudo-permanent characteristics to certain people so discrimination can be continued (Delgado & Stefancic 2001).

Furthermore, it is essential to mention that intersectionality and anti-essentialism are crucial in the understanding of CRT. The fact that no person has a single and unitary identity is also an important contribution to the understanding of CRT, as the possibility for several cross-overs of many different minority groups can result in a convergence of opposing identities and loyalties, which can lead to different approaches to some discriminatory practices (Delgado & Stefancic 2007). For instance, a black woman will not prioritize being black over being a woman, particularly in a discriminatory scene, for race and gender cannot cancel out one another, since both factors are similarly relevant.

These aspects all come together to exemplify the constant perpetuation of discriminatory practices that minorities are subject to experience daily. The severe prejudice and negative stereotypes directed at minority groups is a key factor in the occurrence of hate crimes, despite it being so common. Perry (2001, p.638) explains "stereotypes are loaded with disparaging associations, suggesting inferiority, irresponsibility, immorality, and non-humanness… Consequently, they provide both motive and rationale for injurious verbal and physical assaults on minority groups". Following that line of thought, Hunt (2007) defies the premise that hate crime offenders are aware of their negative beliefs and act consciously according to such, by

harming someone solely on the basis of those beliefs. It has been demonstrated that prejudice and stereotypes are not always explicit and thus, subject to conscious control, as often times people have what is considered an implicit bias, which is characterized by lack of awareness, intention and conscious control. The idea that implicit stereotypes can be related to hate crimes was expressed by Kovera, with the underlying belief that implicit negative feelings can lead to unintentional and uncontrolled discrimination and aggression towards stigmatized minorities (Hunt 2007).

As racism is considered a mechanism that produces a systemically engraved relation of domination and subordination among racialized groups and perpetuates an unequal relation of power (Kubota, Banaji & Phelps 2012), it can be demonstrated in several different ways, and hate speech and crimes show one of the most extreme demonstrations of intrinsic racism and discrimination (Perry 2001). Critical race theorists argue that speech acts cause racism, which not only indicates the general relevance of hate speech, but also points out that solutions to problems resulting from racism require the use of language to reshape reality (Olmsted 1998). This goes accordingly to Delgado and Stefancic's (2012) views on racism and discrimination as "matters of thinking, mental categorization, attitude, and discourse" (p.21). This shows how political discourse that can be considered hate speech can have a significant role to play in terms of people's perception of racism and discrimination.

An interesting example of how the media portrays racism concerns propaganda. As propaganda is dependent on preexisting beliefs, it takes on firmly established negative stereotypes to be a product of the perpetuation of racial ideologies in media settings (Corbin 2017). This is related to how the media portrays blackness through the representation of the social problems that African communities experience as a product of their own actions, neglecting the structural condition in which most of those problems emerge (Crichlow & Lauricella 2018).

Concluding Remarks

In order to sum it up, hate speech and crimes are a product of sentiments of hatred and intolerance motivated by racist and xenophobic beliefs, that consist in targeting vulnerable minority groups due to their personal identities (Gerstenfeld 2013; Cohen-Almagor 2011). This dissertation intends to relate hate speech and crimes with the ideological structure of racism, by pointing out the far-right's role in the propagation of racial hate, particularly through populist political forces that occupy European Union's political spheres (Petrou & Kandylis 2016). It follows a discussion on the media's contribution to the perpetuation of racial stereotypes, which

can foster incitement to hate (Van Dijk 2008; Hall 2014). The general understanding of the context of hate speech and crimes in the EU leads the way to grasp the Portuguese reality, that is emphasized by the structural character of racism in every realm of society. The perpetuation of racism in the country is achieved through the silencing and naturalization of discriminatory practices (Araújo 2008). Lastly, the approach of Critical Race Theory illustrates the guiding principles of this dissertation, highlighting the basic premise that racism is a pervasive element of society that permeates every aspect of the life of racialized communities (Delgado & Stefancic 2001; Kubota, Banaji & Phelps 2012).

Chapter 2. Methodological Approach and Research Design

This dissertation project focuses on analyzing racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes portrayed by the mainstream Portuguese news media, concerning the period of time from 2018 to 2021. As such, this chapter will explain every step of the process of the construction of this project, addressing the research philosophy that guides the analysis and the character of the project - a case study. Next, I present the research questions proposed to answer in this dissertation, which is complemented by a description of the research design that guides the project. It follows an explanation of the process of the data collection and data analysis, which comprehends the methodology of thematic analysis and the process of codification of news articles I conducted. Lastly, I present some limitations this study has.

Research Philosophy

CRT will serve as the theoretical framework for this dissertation. The main premise of CRT concerns the structural character of racism that pervades every aspect of the regular functioning of society. In the light of revealing the history behind racial subordination, CRT grasps how ideology and the "language as racism and the experience of racism" (Bartolome & Macedo 1997, p. 225) are linked to political and legal decisions (Parker & Gillborn 2020). As social reality is shaped by a racial paradigm, CRT believe race is a matter of relations (Bonilla-Silva 1999). Having CRT as a strong component of a methodological approach breaks the pattern of oppression that silenced the voices of victims (Hylton 2012). This is crucial in order to understand the way it shifts into a more political focus, with the purpose to uncover the historical consequences of racialization and the sociohistorical contexts in which these exist, as well as its specificities in different geographic areas (Crenshaw, 1991).

This creates an adequate framework to advance in the analysis of the media representation of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, with the intent to assess its particularities with the present notion that race must be recognized as an interactive factor that has diverse repercussions in events that mark the sociopolitical sphere.

Case study

This project will be based upon a case study, as I will be specifically addressing the Portuguese news media's representation of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes that took place in Portugal.

In order to situate the methodological approach of case studies, it is relevant to point out that this method concerns the exploration of contemporary phenomena that are not widely known, in order to create an extensive and varied understanding of it (Hartley 1994; Crowe1 et al. 2011). The selection of a case to analyze demands a clarification of the nature of the specificities – the time period, the geographical area, the priorities of analysis, among other factors (Crowe1 et al. 2011). As such, it is through exploratory questions that case studies "investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and addresses a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 1993, p.59).

With this in mind, it is interesting to conduct a case study in Portugal touching upon racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes since the country has seen an incredible rise in this type of occurrence, which constitutes a great concern to the European authorities (Moreira 2021).

Research Questions

The following research questions aim to grasp the way Portuguese news media portray the issue of hate speech and crimes.

Q.1. How are racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes portrayed by the news media in Portugal?

Q.2. How is structural racism addressed in the news media?

Q.3. Is there an influence of the COVID-19 pandemic in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal?

Q.4. Is there an influence of the political party CHEGA in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal?

With these research questions, I propose to articulate of Portuguese news media's representation of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes that happened in Portugal over a span of 4 years (2018-2021). In that sense, this dissertation conducts a thematic analysis of a corpus of news articles collected from the following newspaper sources – *Correio da Manhã, Jornal de Notícias, Observador* and *Público.*

Research Design

This dissertation project is developed under a qualitative method of analysis, with news articles as primary sources that will allow for the conduction of the research concerning the Portuguese news media representation on racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes.

The methodological approach chosen to conduct this dissertation project accounts for a thematic analysis of the reported news on hate speech and crimes. This research bears upon the gathering of news articles published in four Portuguese newspapers between the years of 2018 and 2021, granting 4 years of data to proceed with this analysis. With this time frame, this analysis provides an outlook on the racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes 2 years prior to the pandemic, which coincides with the election of the first deputy of the Portuguese populist party *CHEGA* in 2019, and the 2 years of COVID-19 pandemic (2020-2021). Thus, this time frame helps understand the role that both the populist far-right influence in Portuguese's political sphere and the COVID-19 pandemic display in the increase of hate speech and crimes. The assessment of whether or not these external factors may contribute to this phenomenon is crucial to the comprehension of the importance of the encompassing social and political context in this issue. This idea comes from the idea that the COVID-19 pandemic has aroused social divisions (Chiriboga et al. 2020; Martinez-Juarez et al. 2020), and the turn to far-right populism is associated with a political rhetoric of violence (Petrou & Kandylis 2016; Lazaridis & Skleparis 2015).

The news articles were collected from four Portuguese newspapers: *Correio da Manhã, Jornal de Notícias, Observador* and *Público*. This choice is based upon data available by Bareme Impresa (Marktest) that shows a ranking of the most read newspapers in 2020 in Portugal[1]. It is important to point out that *Correio da Manhã, Jornal de Notícias* and *Público* are at the top of the list. However, I decided to include *Observador* as well, since it is only an online newspaper that has shown significant growth in audiences in the last year (Observador 2020). This choice of newspapers grants a significant variety of news, allowing for a more balanced and unbiased analysis.

Data Collection

The thematic analysis of news is achieved through a process of manually selecting articles from the newspapers' websites within the time frame of 2018 to 2021. The search contemplated the following set of expressions: "hate crime", "hate speech", "racial hate", "racial discrimination",

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[1] The data on the 2020 ranking on most read newspapers in Portugal, by Bareme Impresa – a regular study from Marktest – was disclosed by request.

"discrimination against migrants", "racist act", "racist crime" and "xenophobic crime", in order to enable the process of collecting news about racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal.

This process culminated in the collection of 398 news articles. The first step to conduct this analysis was the coding of the news article's titles. However, the extensive number of news retrieved made it impracticable to analyze in-depth the entire set of news collected, which resulted in the selection of 10 per cent of the news articles from each of the themes. Thus, this process culminated into conducting a rigorous and in-depth analysis of 55 news articles, chosen arbitrarily, yet with the intent to guarantee diversity in terms of the news' source and year.

Data Analysis

The research technique chosen to carry out this project was thematic analysis. Considered one of the main methods for qualitative analysis, thematic analysis is a procedure that concerns the identification, analysis and report of patterns within a set of information. Therefore, these patterns consist of themes that capture relevant aspects of the data in analysis. Through the process of thematic coding, this technique of analysis constitutes a flexible tool for research, as it provides a complex and abundant set of data and allows for a greater interpretation of the phenomena at analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006).

Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis method contemplate the following process: 1) becoming familiar with the data available, by the process of transcription or review of it; 2) generating coding categories, by the assessment of relevant features of the data in a systematic way; 3) generating themes, by organizing the codes used into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each of them; 4) reviewing themes, by assessing the correspondence between the themes and the coded extracts, as well as the entire data set; 5) defining themes, by naming the theme and thus, understanding what it does or does not convey; 6) locating exemplars, by selecting compelling examples that provide evidence of the theme in relation to the research questions (Scharp & Sanders 2018).

Therefore, it is essential to address the coding process applied in the current study. First, a code can be considered a label that is used to retrieve and categorize data that share similar features, in a way that the researcher can examine all the data pointed out with that code. This demands the researcher to ask a lot of questions to the data, in a way that the primary aspects of the general data are identified and addressed together. There must be a coding strategy based on the literature review, which points out the primary themes related to the issue (Castleberry & Nolen 2018). However, the construction of themes can also be based on the actual data that

is used in the analysis – the news articles. Thus, the semantic approach to the construction of themes contemplates that "the themes are identified within the explicit or surface meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond" (Braun & Clark 2006, p.13). The identification of themes must be conducted in a broad way, as themes can be used as "an attribute, descriptor, element and a concept", which accounts for the attentive nature that the process demands (Braun & Clark 2006, p.13). The analysis of a data set acclaims for a definition of topics that organize a set of similar ideas, in order to facilitate the overall analysis to be conducted under a comprehensive view (Vaismoradi et al. 2016). Using this qualitative method of analysis will allow this project to pursue an examination of the ways in which real life events have an effect in the discourse within the society (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The coding strategy adopted to conduct this project was mostly based on the data – the news corpus at analysis. The thematic analysis of the Portuguese news media's coverage of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes enables the creation of a general panorama of the issue, contemplating primary remarks about the specificities of this phenomena, and the assessment of the relationship of said phenomena with external factors, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the rise of the populist far-right party *CHEGA*.

Limitations

The collection of 55 news article that constitute this corpus of analysis is a relatively small data set, which imposes serious limits to the possible conclusions to retrieve from a qualitative study. Besides this, I would also stress that there are significant gaps in the literature and data concerning studies on the Portuguese reality of hate speech and crimes. I consider this a limitation, as it is not yet a well explored area of studies, which means that there are not a lot of certainties on this issue.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, the conduction of this project will rely on the process of thematic analysis of 55 news articles from four different national newspapers, accounting for the time frame of 2018 to 2021. This will create an opportunity to explore the reality of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, attending to its various specificities explained in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. Data Analysis and Discussion

The data analysis and discussion in this chapter provides a general overview of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in the Portuguese news press in light of the research questions posed above.

Firstly, this chapter comprehends a brief general description of the news corpus used for the analysis. Next follows the analysis to the research question, with sections for the specificities of hate speech and crimes, in which various themes are addressed. Then, the next research question addresses the representation of structural racism in the Portuguese news media. On top of that, the last sections of analysis address the social context in which hate speech and crimes occur, exploring the relationship between the racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal and two factors: the COVID-19 pandemic and the rise of the populist political party CHEGA. Lastly, a brief conclusion sums up the responses to the research questions proposed in this study.

General description of news corpus

The news corpus under analysis is composed of 398 news articles retrieved from four mainstream Portuguese newspapers during a time span of 4 years (2018-2021). The distribution of the news collected is shown in Figures 1 and 2. The analysis contemplates 31% of data retrieved from *Público*, 22% from *Jornal de Notícias*, 31% from *Correio da Manhã*, followed by 19% from *Observador* (Figure 1). Figure 2 is indicative of the higher presence of news covering racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in the years of 2020 and 2021, when compared to 2018 and 2019. This may be motivated by a generally increased attention of the media to these phenomena that have concerned Western societies, as well as it may be a result of external sociopolitical factors, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the far-right party CHEGA, as it will be assessed later in this chapter.

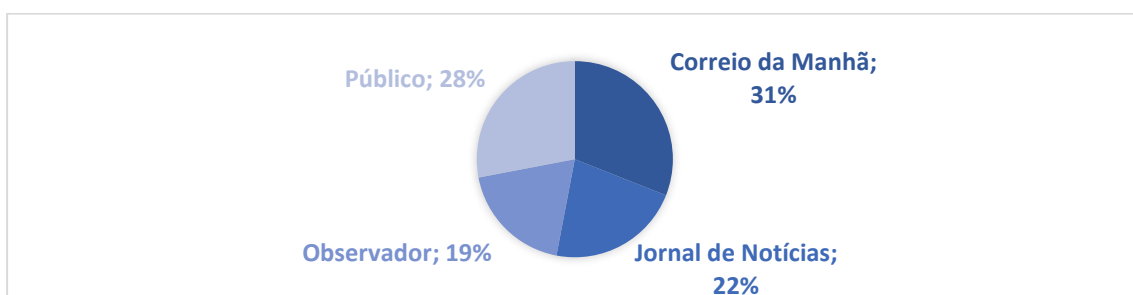**Figure 1.** Distribution of news articles by newspaper

Figure 2. Distribution of news articles by year and newspaper
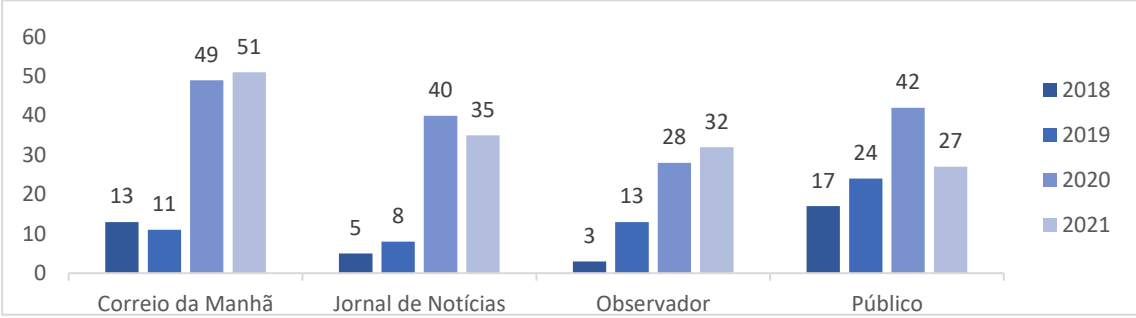
The collection of 398 news articles that concern racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes was followed, in a first instance, by a process of codification of the news articles titles, which resulted in 15 different themes (Figure 3). Most of the news articles titles (15%) involve actual accusations of hate speech and crimes, followed by public statements from political personalities and organizations (14%), and by the Portuguese context on racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes (10%) (Figure 3). In a second instance, 10% of the news articles under each category were retrieved, corresponding to a total of 55 news articles, which were fully coded and whose analysis will be explored in the following sections.

Figure 3. Thematic distribution of news articles' titles
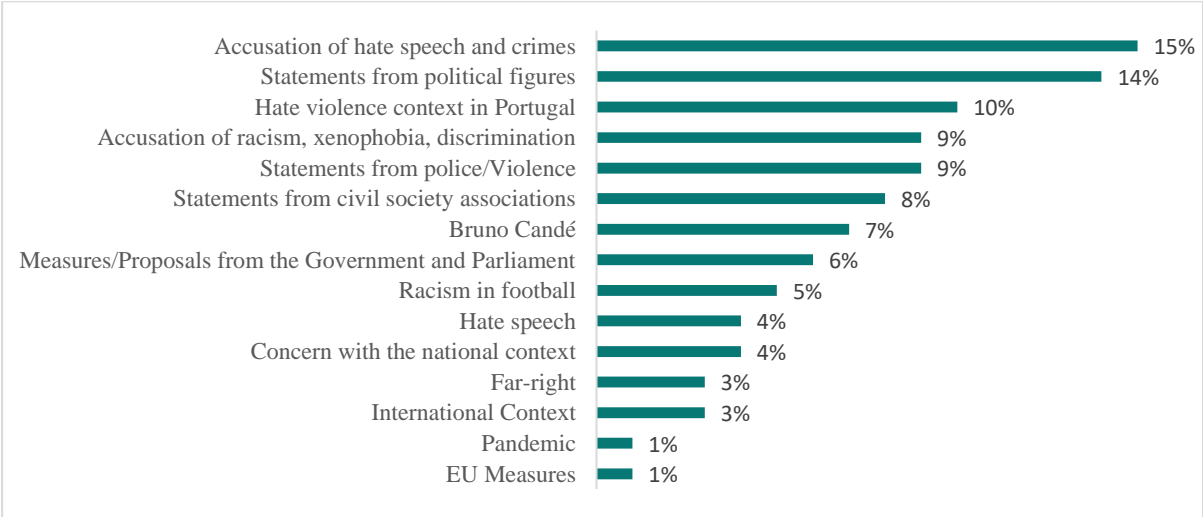
The portrayal of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes by the news media in Portugal

This section will begin the in-depth analysis of the 55 news articles. Firstly, the first research question "How are racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes characterized in

the news media in Portugal?" contemplates a general tone, as it proposes a comprehensive analysis of the many topics discussed in the Portuguese news press.

In order to address how racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes are considered in the Portuguese news press, one must consider the roots of such occurrences and thus, trace back to the representation of racism, xenophobia and discrimination in the Portuguese news. This association stems from the belief that prejudice and negative stereotypes towards racialized communities are a key factor in the instance of hate speech and crimes (Perry 2001). Nevertheless, the media coverage of racism in Portugal is complex. Despite the fact that there has been a more direct attention towards racist crimes in the Portuguese media, it has historically mirrored the marginalization of racialized communities in a racist society (Maeso 2021). It has naturalized associations of black people with crime, through the propagation and consolidation of a narrative that describes peripheric neighborhoods as spaces of exclusion and criminality populated by racialized communities (Dias 2021). The mediatic discourse has reproduced the contrasting notions of center and periphery, with the prevailing idea that racialized communities belong in the latter, which contributes to the continuing prejudice that prevails in the Portuguese society (Alves 2016).

In order to understand the characterization of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, it is most important to grasp the specificities of the reported crimes, with an understanding on who the victims are, what criminal acts were most commonly committed, to which institutions were formalized complaints, who were the perpetrators of such crimes and what were the motivations behind them. Furthermore, this section will proceed with an analysis of how structural racism is most present in the Portuguese society. Then, the focus will reside in the political measures pointed out as possibilities to combat racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes.

1. Who are identified as victims and how are they portrayed?

With the intent to explore who the victims of hate speech and crimes in Portugal are in this news corpus, Figure 4. shows that Afrodescendants are the most common targeted community to hate speech and crimes (25%). This community is mostly characterized by the word negros [black people] in the news, with the indication of the racial motive of the reported act being expressively pronounced. However, in some situations, the targeted people are only addressed by their name in the article, which happens when the incident occurs to well-known people, such as the football player Marega, when he faced racist insults in the midst of a football match:

> "Marega abandoned, this Sunday, the field in the duel with Vitória de Guimarães (…), that F.C. Porto won (2-1), after hearing racist insults coming from the benches." (Sérgio A. Vitorino, Jornal de Notícias, 2020)

In an episode of racially motivated hate crime, a woman named Cláudia Simões was physically assaulted by three police officers whilst they repeatedly stated "F****** black", "S*** illegal black", "The black is tough" (Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2021). In this news article, there are no mentions to the woman's nationality or skin tone, except for the above mentioned insults.

The incident where universities, schools and institutions were vandalized with racist and xenophobic messages illustrates the kind of acts that have marked Portugal in the latest years:

> "'Death to blacks, for a White university'; 'Zucas (Brazillians), get back to the slums! We don't want you here!'; 'Portugal is white. Blacks go back to Africa'; 'Death to gypsies. Portuguese people say yes to racism'; 'Yes to white Europe' - are a few of the hate messages that incite discrimination, spread across education institutions in Lisbon" (Inês Moura Pinto, Público, 2020).

In the case of Bruno Candé, he was considered a "black born in Portugal" by the news reporting his death (JN/Agências, Jornal de Notícias, 2020):

> "Bruno Candé Marques, a 39 year-old actor (…) was shot to death in the street, this Saturday during lunch time, by a 80 year old elder, already arrested by PSP. The crime happened in Moscavide, county of Loures, days after the supposed murderer had a misunderstanding with the victim about the dog that accompanied him. The case may also have racist contours: even before the disagreement, the elder, white, had previously insulted several times Bruno Candé Marques, a negro born in Portugal, telling him to go back to his homeland and threatening that one day he would kill him." (JN/Agências, Jornal de Notícias, 2020).

Then, the news analyzed show immigrants (12%) and Roma people (8%) are mentioned considerably less frequently than African communities. Lastly, criminals and civil society associations appeared as the least frequent target of hateful acts, in equal terms (2%).

This set of data clashes with existing literature that consider the Roma community the biggest victims of racism in Portugal, with deep roots in the social structures of Portuguese

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society. Studies show that Roma communities experience racism daily, accompanied by a significant susceptibility to suffer from socio-economic vulnerability, attitudes and discourse of xenophobic and racist nature by far-right political parties and discriminatory remarks on social networks (Mendes 2007; Bastos et al. 2007; Marques 2013). Yet, there is an underrepresentation of the discrimination this community faces in the news analyzed.

Despite this, it is essential to mention that more recent literature tends to indicate a higher focus on the Afrodescendant community in Portugal as the biggest victim of racism in Portugal, whether on the basis of higher risk of being a victim of police violence (Raposo et al. 2019), living excluded in peripherical neighborhoods (Alves 2016) or living without protection against racial discriminatory crimes (Ba 2021).

Figure 4. Distribution of the identified victims of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes
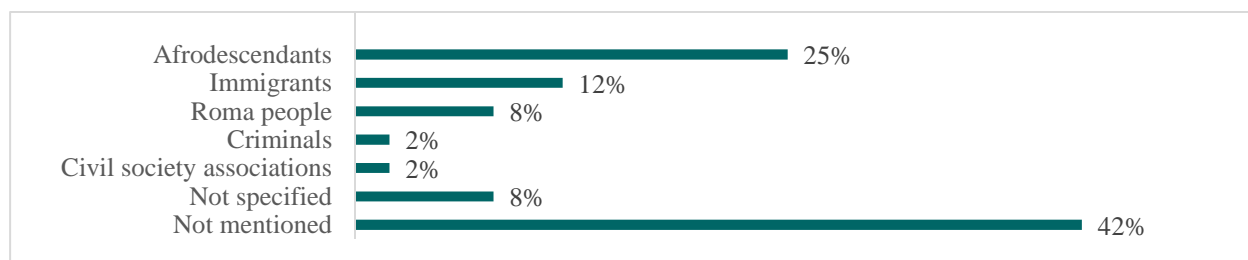
2. What type of criminal acts were the victims of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes subject to?

When addressing the type of criminal act reported in the corpus of news articles collected, Figure 5 shows that the most frequently mentioned is racial discrimination (13%), in a broader sense that implies the legal framework of the characterization of these crimes. Verbal insults are also commonly addressed in the news corpus (11%), accounting for several instances where racist and/or xenophobic comments are made towards a member or a group of people inserted in a racialized community, as exemplified by the reporting statements made by a deputy of Oporto Municipal Assembly:

> "SOS Racismo criticized this Monday the 'serious racist and xenophobic messages' of David Ribeiro, deputy in Oporto Municipal Assembly (…), by allegedly calling 'ignoramus' and 'Romanian gypsies' to a 'group of citizens'" (No author, Jornal de Notícias, 2018).

Moreover, the acts of intimidation, harassment and injury are equally mentioned as the act of incitement of hate and violence (10%). Offenses against someone's physical integrity appear next (8%), followed by sequestration (5%), abuse of power (3%) and online threats (3%).

As for the latter, it is relevant to point out that the COVID-19 pandemic played a significant role in the spread of online hate, due to a more frequent use of online networks. This created space for false narratives to be rapidly spread, about the relationship between the propagation of the virus and racialized communities. Consequently, this idea serves the dissemination of disinformation and stereotypes against specific communities, resulting in hate speech incidents (Costa 2021). The data show that 2020 was a particular year, in the sense that it gathered a significant increase in these kinds of complaints:

> "The requests for help to the APAV's Safe Internet Line, for support to victims of cybercrime and report of illegal contents, have increased 575,49% between 2019 and 2020, with a peak of phone calls in March last year (…). There have equally been 'several threats through social media or instant messaging platforms (SMS, Whatsapp), where there are also lots of threats to offense of physical integrity and even death threats', a phenomenon 'associated to the increase of reports of hate speech'" (Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2021).

Lastly, the least frequent criminal acts are vandalism (2%), manifestations/propagation of symbols (1%), theft (1%), religious discrimination (1%) and sexual discrimination (1%).

Figure 5. Distribution of types of criminal act reported in the news articles
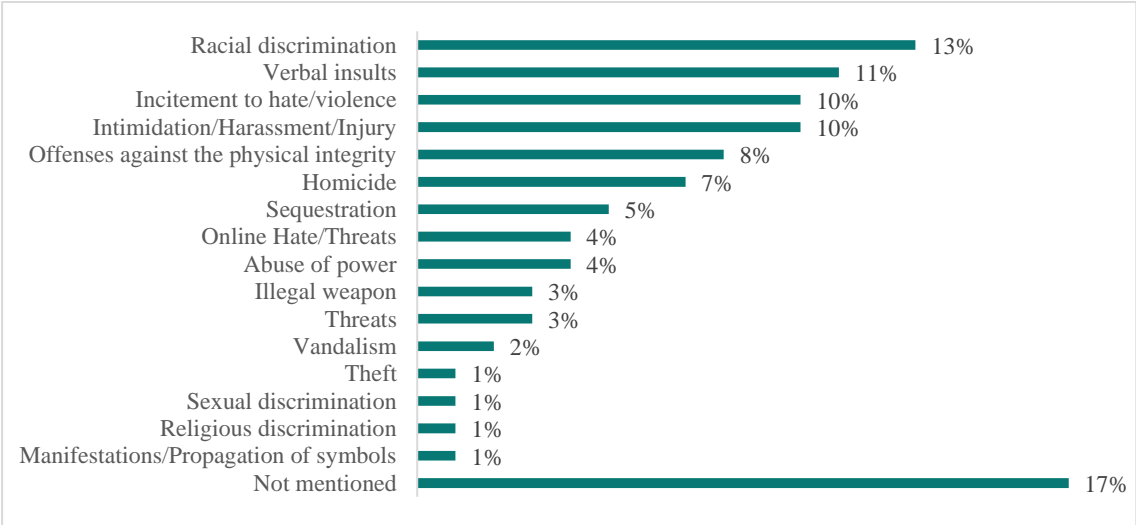
3. Which institutions received complaints of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes?

The formalization of complaints can be processed by different entities. Thus, Figure 6. indicates that the Public Ministry is the most commonly mentioned entity to file complaints over discriminatory hate speech and crimes in Portugal (21%), which is shown in the news corpus through the indication of a formalized complaint as the aftermath of the racist or xenophobic act reported. It has been stated that the Public Ministry has "opened more than 160 questionnaires on discrimination and incitement to hate and violence", which is the procedure the Public Ministry follows "when, after analyzing the complaint, there is evidence of crime" (Joana Gorjão Hneriques, Público, 2020). An example considers a "KKK parade" starred by members of a new far-right group – *Resistência Nacional* [National Resistance] – outside the headquarters of *SOS Racismo* that resulted in a formalized complaint to the Public Ministry:

> "*SOS Racismo* presented a complaint to Public Ministry after the headquarters had served as stage for a far-right manifestation last weekend (…). The 'Ku Klux Klan parade' – as the institution called it – was the most recent episode of an affront of the extremist movement to *SOS Racismo*, which accuses the participants of threats to physical integrity, moral offenses and patrimonial damage, and incitement to hate and violence". (Marta Leite Ferreira, Observador, 2020).

Next in the analysis, there is a low number of complaints formalized to law enforcement officials and *Procuradoria-Geral da República* [Prosecutor General of the Republic] (5%), and lastly to *CICDR* (4%).

Figure 6. Distribution of the complaints of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes per entities
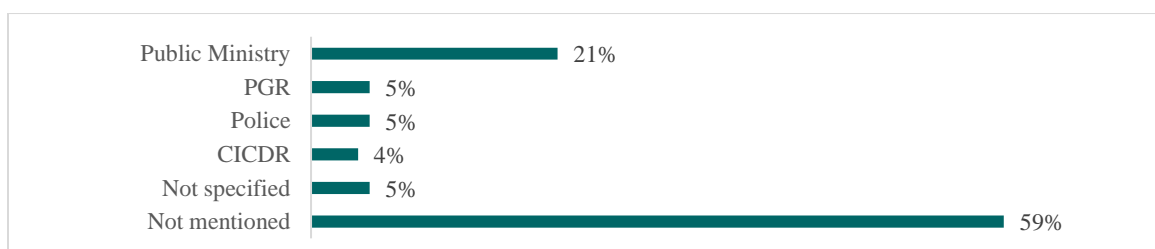
4.   Who are identified as perpetrators and how are they portrayed?

The data set analyzed led to a focus on the profile of who commits racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes. Figure 7. identifies the perpetrators of discriminatory hate speech and crimes, and indicates that the most common offenders are regular citizens (11%) and the police (11%).

The fact that this news corpus shows regular citizens to be the most prone to be responsible for racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes must be understood as a manifestation of racism, which is a phenomenon that occurs daily, making it hard to identify. This is a strong premise of CRT, as it relates the ordinary character of racism with the perpetuation of negative and racist stereotypes (Delgado & Stefancic 2007; Perry 2001). With this in mind, the fact that racism is an intrinsic part of the everyday life experience does not make it unexpected that regular citizens are the primary perpetrators of such incidents.

In spite of this, regular citizens are more difficultly judged for an instance of a discriminatory hate crime. According to an article covering the criminalization of hate in Portugal regarding the homicide of Bruno Candé (Ana Henriques, Público, 2020), it is considered that regular citizens as individual entities are more difficult to prosecute on the grounds of racial discrimination or hatred:

> "When you are met with not skinheads on the dock but citizens who have never been a part of xenophobic organizations, to prove the racist motivation from a certain crime becomes a complicated task" (Ana Henriques, Público, 2020).

As for the law enforcement officials, there are different representations of several incidents reported in the news articles where the police are the responsible party for committing racially and ethnically motivated hate crimes. This usually happens in the sequence of criminal occurrences to racialized communities in which the police officers often make racial offenses and hateful comments. The case of the police officers from GNR who allegedly assaulted and tortured immigrants in Odemira that came public in late 2021 is an example of these occurrences. This is contested by relevant actors of the Portuguese antiracist movement, such as the NGO *SOS Racismo*, that consider there is a larger issue to be addressed when it comes to the action of the police in matters of racism, which involve the far-right and an abusive use of power:

> "'The police cannot constitute an instrument of the far-right for the organization of militias to attack immigrants. Xenophobia, abuse and violence of the police cannot

remain unpunished', refers *SOS Racismo,* in a statement. The association demands 'the total and unequivocal condemnation of the responsible people for the reported facts and the appropriate political and institutional consequences, with the adoption of measures of real combat to these forms of violence and of measures that prevent security forces to be infiltrated by criminal far-right groups'" (Manuel Almeida, Observador, 2021).

Considerations such as the one above contributes to the characterization of the Portuguese police as a racist, xenophobic and overall discriminatory entity. However, the former national director of PSP, Chief Superintendent Luís Farinha, contests this perspective through the denial of the settlement of prejudiced and discriminatory values in the institution by stating:

"'(…) We refuse the classification that you pretend to attribute a xenophobic, racist or any other offense to the dignity of the human person characterization to the police officers or to the police by not corresponding to the practice of the police institution, nor to the principles that rule the action of its professionals'" (No author, Jornal de Notícias, 2019).

Despite that, Portugal has received previous warnings from international entities about the conduct of police officers during the process of detention. This is a serious problem that must be addressed by the Portuguese Government, in order to implement action to prevent this incident. As such, there are several recommendations of CPT that concern processes of recruitment, training, accountability and the establishment of a police culture that determines these malpractices as unprofessional (CPT/Inf 2020).

Proceeding the analysis, individuals who are member of far-right organizations hold up 5% of the commission of racially and ethnically discriminatory hate crimes under the news collected, which entail news about Mário Machado and the Hammerskins. Equal number is pointed out to account for André Ventura's prejudiced comments (5%) conducted in online platforms, targeting mostly the Roma community or Joacine Katar Moreira, former deputy of the political party *Livre* [Free]. Football supporters are also addressed as perpetrators of racist speech (5%), through the case of F.C. Porto's player Marega who abandoned the field in the middle of the match due to racist comments from the supporters of the opponent team. Next, politicians are mentioned due to making generally discriminatory statements (4%). Lastly, there is a reference to media professionals (2%), which considers an investigation on a reporter of TVI of discrimination and incitement to hate crimes due to usage of racist "language and

interpretations" in the association of an ethnicity with violence in a news story (Ropio, Jornal de Notícias, 2019).

Figure 7. Distribution of the perpetrators of the reported racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes
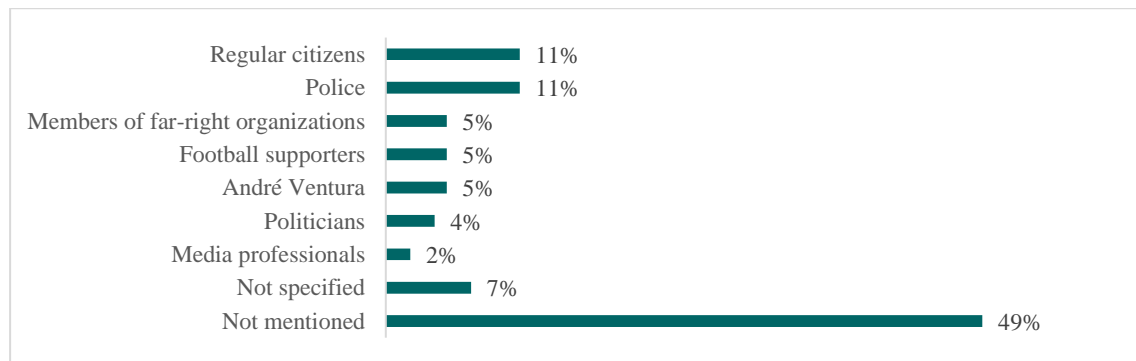
5. What is the motivation behind racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes?

When addressing the discriminatory motivations of the reported actions in the news, Figure 8. shows it is essential to point out racism is the most common motive to unleash hate violence (43%), followed by xenophobia (17%). As such, an example of racist hate speech contemplates a statement by André Ventura, leader of political party CHEGA, that stated that former deputy of *Livre* [Free] Joacine Katar Moreira, should be "returned" to her country of origin, as "it would be much more peaceful for everyone…" (Rita Penela, Observador, 2020). This incident was condemned publicly by Portuguese political parties and recognized directly as a case of hate speech:

> "The party PAN repudiated the words of André Ventura, qualified as 'hate speech'. 'It is up to us to primarily say no to hate speech and no to violence, verbal or physical'. (…) 'The declarations of André Ventura about Joacine Katar Moreira are abject and must earn repudiation from everyone who defend an empathic, evolved and open society of the 21st century'" (Rita Penela, Observador, 2020).

Besides this, ideology is mentioned next as a reason of motive for reported acts of hate speech and crimes (10%), which comprehends the acts of far-right and neo-Nazi extremist groups. In this sense, the news corpus grasps the way that the integration of these ideologically charged groups can result in the committing of racially motivated hate crimes, as shown next:

> "The Public Ministry requested the judgement of 27 defendants for crimes of racial, religious or sexual discrimination, offenses to physical integrity, incitement to violence, qualified murder, theft, traffic of narcotics and weapons, in a process related to Hammerskins. (…) According to the Public Ministry, it is 'sufficiently indicted that the defendants acted with the purpose to belong in a group that exalts the superiority of the white 'race' compared to other races, knowing that, belonging to that group they would develop violent actions against racial minorities, as well as against everyone who had different sexual and political orientations from them'" (No author, Correio da Manhã, 2020).

As previously shown, there was an incident of a "Ku Klux Klan parade" in the headquarters of *SOS Racismo,* which is characterized as such due to the similarity of the ornaments used by the participants of the parade and the North-American white supremacist group. This is an indicator of a racist hate crime conducted by influence of the far-right ideology that motivates the participants which was exposed by Mamadou BA, director of the NGO *SOS Racismo*:

> "'This is an escalation. It is one thing to do a manifestation in public space in which you assume a political stance against antiracism, what is unacceptable in democracy, but choosing an antiracist organization as a target to knock down, make death threats and (…) make a military parade like Ku Klux Klan surpasses all limits of ideological confrontation'" (Marta Leite Ferreira, Observador, 2020).

Figure 8. Distribution of the discriminatory motivation of the reported act hate speech and crimes
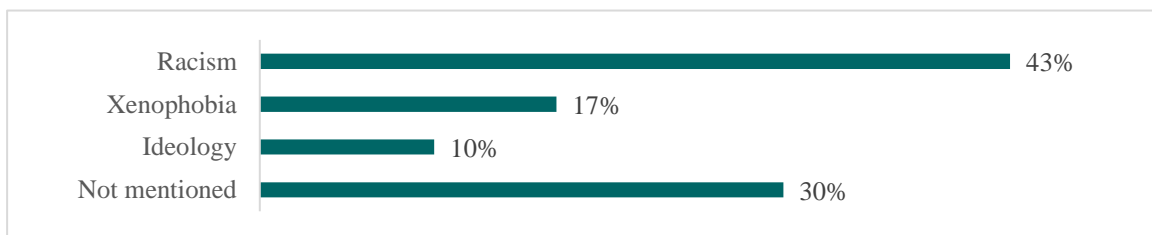
6. What are the political measures identified in the news media to combat hate speech and crimes?

There are several mentions of considerations and proposals to improve the general combat of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in the news analyzed. Out of the various political measures discussed in the Portuguese news media on combatting racism,

Figure 9. indicates public discussion and awareness as the most frequently mentioned (18%). This category accounts for a necessity to bring the issue of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes into the public debate. There is a need to educate the general population on the issue of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, as a concern to be taken seriously. Therefore, one may point out an absence of political openness about the racist acts that marked the latest years of the country:

> "'The systemic denial and inaction is the basis of the impunity of racism that has escalated in levels that we had already not gotten used to. Our lives matter. The silence of the institution is complicit', highlights the document [of a letter from *Movimento Negro Portugal*] (…). The initiative (…) stresses that 'in the short time of four weeks, the Portuguese society was a stage for manifestations of racism', defending that this escalation demands 'a rapid response and a clear statement from competent entities in the democratic state of law'" (Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2020).

This relates to how Portugal is not institutionally considered a racist country. There has always been a tone of relativization in the debate of racism, which turned into a spiral of denial around Portuguese exceptionalism. Therefore, racial violence is politically diminished and not addressed in a way that proposes the serious discussion and active movement towards combatting this reality (Ba 2021). This is related to Portugal's colonial historical past, as it has difficulted the self-recognition of racist behaviors (Henriques 2017). The subtlety of racism pointed out by Critical Race theorists can be interlinked with the difficulty of political institutions to encounter the problem. This, in turn, introduces the issue of convergence of interests, in which racism is not presented as a priority to political elites, for they benefit from the perpetuation of racism (Delgado & Stefancic 2007).

The lack of political discussion about racism and racial violence directly influences the little general knowledge that the Portuguese society has on these issues. There is a remarkable ignorance on what constitutes an act of racial discrimination, as well as on how to proceed with formalizing a complaint in regard to that act. This also touches upon the code of mechanisms of reporting complaints (4%), as there is a primary need to educate people on what constitutes a crime and consequently, implement a robust support system to the victims of racial or ethnical hate. This reality is testified by Joana Menezes from APAV'S Migrant Victim and Discrimination Support Unit in an interview to Lusa, where she gives an alert about the lack of awareness of the general population around this issue:

"'We have realized that people don't know to which entities they should report the situations they were exposed to, don't know if these situations constitute a crime or not, don't know which are their rights'. [She] defended the necessity for more mechanisms that promote reporting, as well as the divulgation of information about where can be filed complaints, so that later there can be established concrete measures of support and protection to victims, highlighting that the data show there is a lack of support structures" (Lusa, Observador, 2019).

These first categories add onto a general and evident lack of an anti-racist agenda (13%) from the political institutions of the Portuguese Republic. The inability to indicate racism as a structural concern of the Portuguese society is responsible for the reproduction of racist behavior. This is one of the main points of antiracist activists, as the constant demand of active engagement with the racial issues from the Portuguese political institutions constitutes a significant part of the fight against racism. The primary step to take in the direction of change is the acknowledgement of the problem itself (Ba 2021), as addressed next:

"'It seems absurd that the Portuguese society and its democratic representatives and its democratic representatives assist to a debate about racism without there being a proactive anti-racist agenda that affirms that Portugal positions itself as an anti-racist country in relation to its history and the inequalities in the present'" (Sena Martins interviewed by Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2020).

In the news set prevails a common tendency to address the need for effective political consciousness and action in the discussion and combat of hate speech and crimes. The condemnation of certain incidents from the political institutions must be of clear repudiation, which does not correspond to the reality. As a manifestation of the inability to recognize the issue, the political institutions of the Portuguese Republic do not frontally condemn the reality that is embedded into the lives of racialized communities. This was seen when Bruno Candé was brutally murdered in the streets of the capital of the country, where there was no statement regarding this crime:

"The institutional silence and 'the denial of our institutions that should be guardians of the principles of democracy, equality and non-discrimination and that do not do so proactively (…) They remain afraid that assuming the antiracist fight as a priority in

politics is a fracturing element and leads to loss of a more conservative electorate (…)'" (Cristina Roldão, interviewed by Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2020).

Furthermore, the behavior from the law enforcement officials (13%) is also considered as an issue that should be followed up with measures in order to be improved. It has been reported that the police may sometimes be dismissive of the severity of a racially or ethnically based hate crime. However, despite that, there is also a known problem of police violence directed at racialized communities in Portugal (Dias 2021). The improvements proposed to implement in the police are declared by Manuel Morais, a police officer that states:.

> "It is 'urgent' to remodel the programs of the police schools and enrichen them with a component of formation in humanism (…). He reinforced the necessity to apply psychotechnical tests in the recruitment of police officers and a monitorization inside PSP that allows to identify and filter who 'clearly demonstrates sentiments of hate'". (Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2019).

Furthermore, legislation has also been recognized as a serious challenge for the Portuguese society's ability to response to discriminatory hate crimes, since it has been considered alongside with public policies to replicate depoliticized and Eurocentric notions of racism that narrows it to mere discriminatory practices (Maeso & Baldi 2019). The data analysis of the news articles reveals that this is one of the most frequently mentioned aspects (9%), as there is a debate concerning the improvement of the Portuguese legislation, due to the deficit of direct legislative application to racially discriminatory crimes, as it is demonstrated:

> "(…) the Art. 240.º of the Penal Code (…) predicts jail sentence to acts of violence, defamation, threats and constitution of organizations of propaganda that incites discrimination. However, its practical application has been rare" (No author, Público, 2018).

This limited applicability of the legislation led to the sole condemnation of 13 people for the crime of racial discrimination, from the years of 2017 until today. This reality does not mirror a low occurrence of discriminatory crimes, it instead mirrors the Portuguese legal framework of the fight against racism that discredits both its victims and the fight itself, being profoundly marked by the nation's colonial past (Ba 2021).

The dissatisfaction of the antiracist social movement with the Portuguese legal framework has culminated in efforts into turning hate crimes into a crime punishable by its own individual law, with the underlying belief that this would symbolize a rupture with the current paradigm:

> "'It is time to improve the legislative framework and spread a very clear message of non-permission and combat. In that order, it must exist a crime that is called 'hate crime', a new crime (…)" (João Lázaro, president of APAV, interviewed by Lusa, Público, 2018).

Lastly, there is also a necessity to invest in research on racial and ethnic data (7%). This proposal contemplates the collection of data on the ethnical and racial background of the Portuguese society through census of the population, which would guarantee an assessment of ethnical and racial diversity and the inequalities in the Portuguese population. This idea has been highly mentioned in the literature on racial inequalities and discrimination in Portugal, as it has been recommended by various international organizations and simultaneously, requested by the antiracist movement (Dias 2021). As such, Francisca Van Dunnem, the former Minister of Justice, believed there was a lot of information to be retrieved from this type of research:

> "Listed no answer to 'simple questions, such as knowing how many are members of these communities; how old they are, how many were born in Portugal; how many were not, for how many years have they lived here, where and how they live, how much do they earn, which education level do they have, what access to employment, housing, healthcare or good and services are they denied'" (Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2019).

Figure 9. Distribution of the political measures mentioned in the news to combat racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes
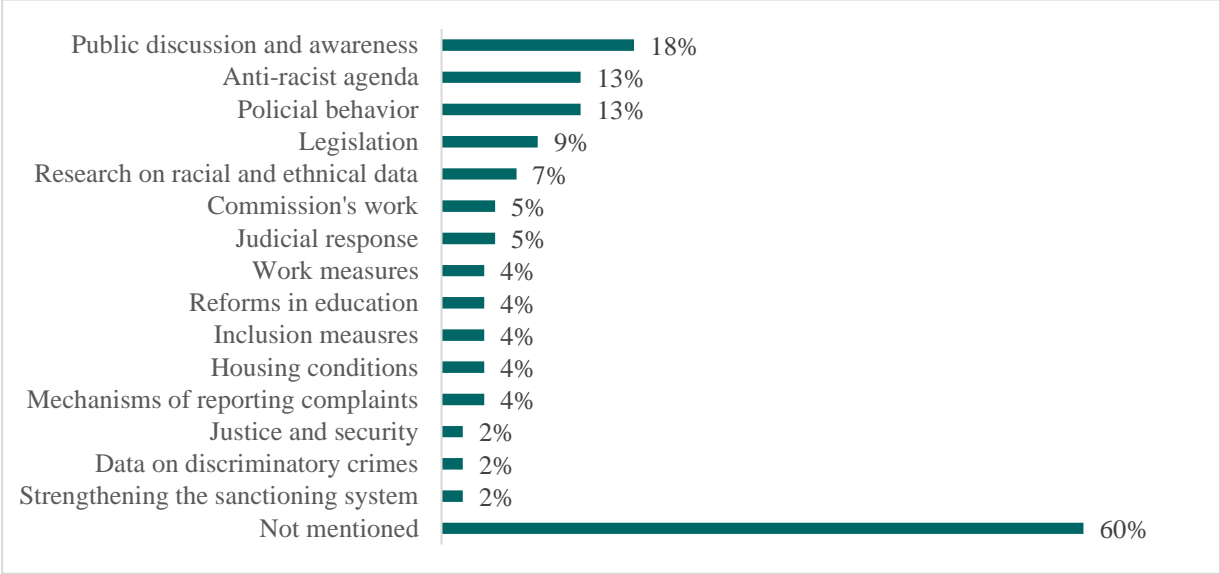
How is structural racism addressed in the Portuguese news media?

Portugal has had trouble recognizing and understanding racism as a structural component of society, but this section of analysis attempts to grasp the news' demonstration of the permeation of racism into the various areas of everyday life. This is intimately related to Critical Race Theory's main idea that "race and power are shaped by and shape socioeconomic and legal systems and institutions" (Matamoros-Fernández & Farkas 2020, p.207), which results in racism being "a system of structural inequalities and a historical process, both created and recreated through routine practices" (Essed 2002, p.181). The structural character of racism in Western societies results in a socially and economically marginalization and oppression of racial minority groups (Delgado and Stefancic 2001).

The social, political and economic conditions of racialized communities in Portugal are influenced by the perpetuation of a system that negatively affects these individual's everyday practices. This reality demonstrates crucial inequalities that challenge racialized people's access to general fundamental rights, such as the right to security, health services, education, housing, justice, the right to work and to earn a fair salary (Dias 2021).

With this in mind, this section of analysis will grant an overview of the problems most commonly mentioned, in a way that it can provide a general idea of what areas of inequality are most recognized by the Portuguese news media. The racialized communities who are mostly exposed to structural racism are predominantly the Afrodescendants and Roma communities (Maeso 2021).

As for the data analysis, security was the most mentioned aspect in the news articles, which alerts to the fact that racialized communities are more subject to seeing their right to security violated and consequently, be the target to violent attacks (15%). This state of insecurity that racialized communities are immersed in may be justified by the belief of association of these individuals with criminality, which derives from the belief that they constitute a threat to the general society's security (Vala, Brito & Lopes 1999). It has been pointed out by a European report that "racism in Portugal has been evident in a series of violent acts (…)" (Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2021). For instance, the murder of Bruno Candé spread the spotlight in this issue, as an indicative of the presence of racism in Portugal, as declared Mamadou Ba:

> "For Mamadou Ba, of *SOS Racismo*, a 'black man was murdered because he was black'. 'If 25 years ago a black man was murdered by the color of his skin [Alcindo Monteiro] at night, in 2020 there are black men being murdered in day light, simply because they are black. There are responsible people for this. It's the trivialization of racism, the naturalization of hate speech. It shows how hate speech has practical consequences in people's lives'" (Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2020).

Following the line of the data analysis, there are several areas of inequalities that are equally mentioned in the news articles. Inequalities in work, housing and access to public services are addressed in equal number (5%), with education being closely mentioned (4%). The family setting in which marginalized communities deal with unemployment and poor working conditions, alongside with poverty, naturally conditions the youth (Seabra et al. 2016). As such, a study conducted by Roldão (2015) points out that the African and Afrodescendant youth are significantly more exposed to educational exclusion. Lastly, health and justice are addressed (2%). All these aspects are highly correlated with one another, since they tend to happen simultaneously, as they are manifestations of the more complex issue of structural racism and its various ramifications. For instance, the Roma people are highly discriminated by the general society, which results in a state of segregation:

> "The Portuguese gypsy community is still discriminated and living on the margins of society in Portugal. There are plenty elements of this ethnicity living in precarious housing conditions and the majority (especially girls) presents lower levels of education than the rest of the population, which contributes to a higher unemployment rate amongst gypsies" (Roberto Bessa Moreira, Jornal de Notícias, 2020).

The antiracist movement is actively fighting against this reality, alongside representatives from racialized and migrant communities by pressuring political actors, into taking an active stance in the defense and promotion of equal rights for everybody (Dias 2021).

Adding onto this, the sanitary context of the COVID-19 pandemic contributed negatively into this discriminatory reality. In general terms, the COVID-19 policies have disproportionately affected people of color and migrants, as often they are inserted in settings of low social protection (Magano & Mendes 2021). Therefore, the pandemic revealed the severe inequalities that Afrodescendants, Roma and immigrant communities dealt with daily and provoked an incitement to hate and violence to these groups of people:

> "Racism is a 'pressing challenge in the Portuguese society' states the Government, recognizing that the pandemic 'exacerbated the structural inequalities and aggravated the discrimination and the incitement to hate and violence (…)'" (Lusa, Observador, 2021).

> "'The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated and highlighted what needs to be done in terms of human rights, promoting the disorganization of communities and being the terrain fertile for the rise of xenophobic and antisemitic practices and speeches' (…) 'This has exacerbated social exclusion, stigmatization of those who were already in a vulnerable situation', besides 'compromising social cohesion and development' (…)" (Francisco André, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, interviewed by Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2021).

Figure 10. Portrayal of structural racism in the Portuguese news media
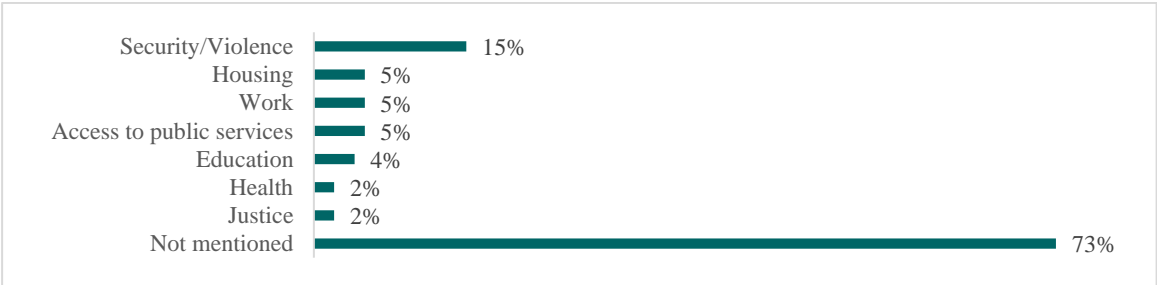
The socio-political context of hate speech and crimes in Portugal

This section touches upon the premise that the general political and social context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the rise of populist far-right in Portugal's political sphere may have affected the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes. The figures

11 and 12 analyze the relationships behind both factors and hate speech and crimes, separately. The sociopolitical context of these occurrences is a relevant point of this analysis, as Perry (2001) states "socio-political spaces cannot be disentangled from the incidence of hate crime", due to a subliminal "permission to hate" that can be fostered in certain environments (Allen 2021, p.67). As such, the social and political surroundings can influence the understanding of this phenomena of hate speech and crimes.

Is there an influence of the COVID-19 pandemic in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal*?***

Taking into consideration the time frame of the analysis being 2018 to 2021, it is important to highlight that there was a more significant number of news reporting hate speech and crimes from the years of 2020 and 2021 than from the other years. This can possibly indicate a higher incidence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes, or just a generally higher awareness on this issue.

However, there was not a clear correlation between the two phenomena explicitly pointed out in the analysis of the news articles. Despite that, I still find it relevant to point out that 20% of the news analyzed contain segments illustrating this correlation, out of which 9% link the COVID-19 pandemic and hate speech occurring particularly in online settings (Figure 11).

Figure 11. The relationship between the rise in hate speech and crimes and the COVID-19 pandemic
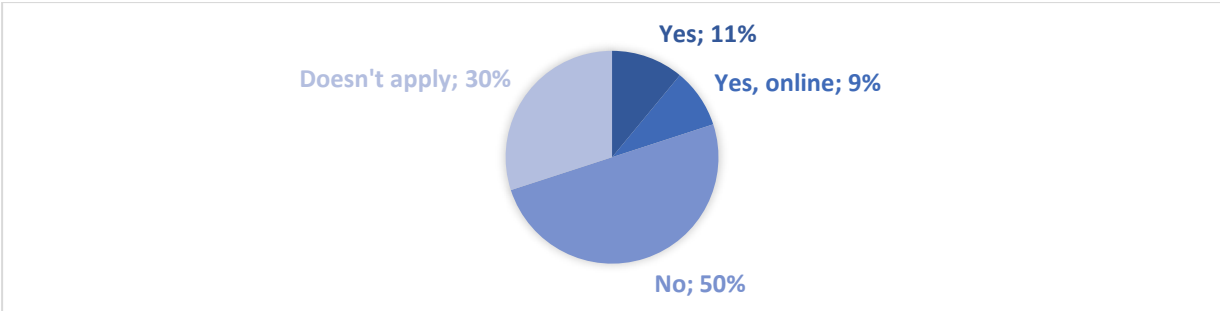
In fact, the COVID-19 pandemic is stated to be a factor of provocation of such complaints, accounting for social media content deemed as xenophobic or racist. When addressing the incidence of hate speech on online networks, one must recognize the online sphere as the most common place of activity during the times of social distancing and quarantining. The spread of online hate during the pandemic context was primarily motivated by the creation and reproduction of false ideas that concern a link between the propagation of the virus and

racialized and immigration communities. Consequently, the dissemination of these type of ideas perpetuates disinformation and stereotypes against specific communities, which simultaneously constitute incidents of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech (Costa 2021).

The cyber sphere is a place that requires special attention, as it constitutes an unexplored realm of possibilities, where everyone is free to inflict hate against other people, many times through the use of fake identities (Farkas et al. 2018). This reproduction of hate can be demonstrated by personal threats to specific individuals or groups of people. But nonetheless, hate can also be spread in more general terms, through the declaration or apology of racist or xenophobic statements. Hate speech must be understood as a form of both directly inciting to violence and spreading prejudice (Rudnicki and Steiger 2020).

With that being said, there was an increase in the year of 2020 concerning the registration of complaints of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes. This may comprehend an actual increment on discriminatory violence and crime, or a more significant awareness of what this issue constitutes and whether an individual has been a victim of such incident. This has alerted the Portuguese Government to act upon the protection of the victims, as demonstrated in the following quotations:

> "The police registered 132 crimes of discrimination and incitement to hate and violence in 2020, which represents more 37% than last year. (…) 12,5% of the complaints are related to COVID-19: out of which almost half refer to social media pages or groups with xenophobic, racist or hate inciting contents against certain immigrant communities in Portugal" (Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2021).

> "There have equally been 'lots of threats via social media or via instant messaging platforms (sms, whatsapp), where there are also several threats of offenses to physical integrity and even death threats', a phenomenon 'associated to the increase of reports of hate speech'" (Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2021).

> "The minister of Justice, Francisca Van Dunem, highlighted this monday the increase of cases of violence and crime in the sequence of the COVID-19 pandemic (…). 'In another dimension, it also potentiated an increase of the victims of racism and xenophobia and hate speeches'" (Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2021).

Is there an influence of the rise of populist party CHEGA in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal?

The relationship between racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes and the rise of Portuguese populist far-right political party *CHEGA* has also not been confirmed by the data analyzed. Accordingly, Figure 12. proves that only 18% of the articles contemplate this relationship, whether on the basis of occasions of hate speech and crimes from the political party's president or considerations from political actors on the influence of *CHEGA* in violence. This number is opposed to most of the articles not pointing in that direction (56%).

Figure 12. Distribution of the relationship between *CHEGA* and occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal
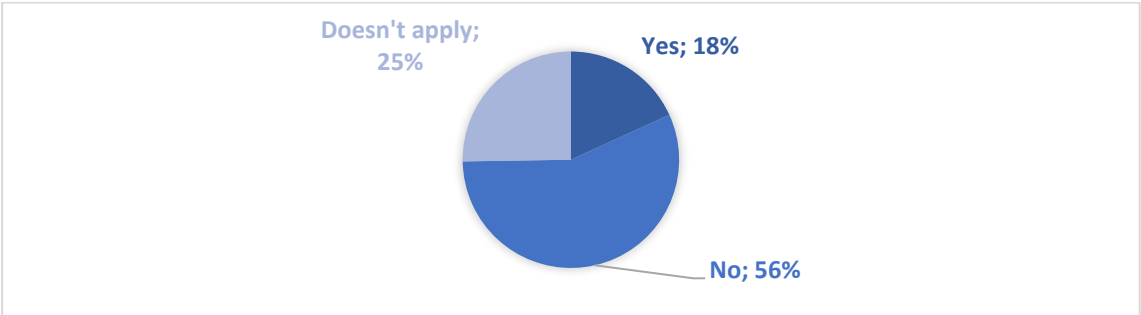
Despite this relationship not being proclaimed in much of the data analyzed, I believe it is still a pertinent factor to equate into this analysis and overview what type of correlation between the two aspects is exposed in the data. Thus, I trace back to the idea that the presence of far-right movements entails violent and anti-systemic approaches and agendas, which is an influential factor in the committing of racially and ethnically motivated hate crimes (Adamczyk et al. 2014). This serves the purpose of analyzing the relationship between populist far-right ideology and the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal, as this constitutes a concern that is spread all across the EU, as the general panorama points in the direction of a significant rise in hate speech and crimes (Shaw & Kibitlewski 2001). As such, the intent is to analyze whether the Portuguese far-right shares some similar beliefs to the populist far-right, in matters of racism and discrimination:

> "Any analysis of CHEGA can only conclude that it is a far-right party and that it is very close to the ideas and values of the radical far-right and the violence of those who manifested in front of *SOS Racismo*" (Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2021).

> "'The racist discourse kills, it is violence and it has been trivialized in Portugal, assumed by CHEGA, had the complicity of many people from the Portuguese society, without the institutions of the Republic to make a frontal repudiation.' (…) Far-right parties such as CHEGA propitiate the emergence of more radical sections. Those sections 'start to think they are more well accepted, find joy in the trivialization of racist speech', he affirms 'that incites them, excites them, radicalize themselves and get into action'" (Álvaro Vasconcelos, Founder of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies of Lisbon, interviewed by Joana Gorjão Henriques, Público, 2020).

This dissertation does not carry the intention of evaluating the actual influence of the populist far-right political party CHEGA in the Portuguese climate of hate violence. Instead, this analysis begins by pointing out that the far-right ideological beliefs and racially and ethnically motivated hate are coincidental aspects, through the ideas of racial superiority and consequent values of prejudice and discrimination. The relationship between populist far-right political parties and hate crimes is yet to be addressed clearly, but I consider it relevant to address European Network Against Racism's (ENAR) concern about CHEGA's presence and relevance in the Portuguese political scene. In 2020, ENAR expressed such concern, yet that was before the latest legislative elections that consecrated CHEGA as the third most voted political party in Portugal, accounting for 12 parliamentary seats (Figueiredo 2022):

> "The European Network Against Racism has pointed out that, 'since 2019, when the far-right Portuguese party conquered for the first-time seats in Parliament, far-right activists have been encouraged to commit racially motivated crimes against people of color in Portugal'" (Lusa, Correio da Manhã, 2020).

In the current scene in Portugal, hate speech is mainly starred by the political party CHEGA's leader, André Ventura, who is notoriously known for the propagation of ideas that consider the marginalization and exclusion of racialized community groups out of the country. With a particular incline to link minority groups to legal impunity and dependency on state subsidies, CHEGA has targeted the Roma community continuously (Mendes 2021).

The last legislative election granted the overview that there is a large section of the Portuguese electorate that is susceptible and receptive to the message spread by the populist far-right political party. However, this can be justified by the notion of insecurity that concerns the arrival of non-European immigrants into European borders. This reflects a great element of the CHEGA agenda, as migration issues and cultural heterogeneity are relevant flags of the

political party. This stems from the belief that racial and ethnical diversity are not a positive constituent of a democracy and a guarantee of security (Costa 2021; Mendes 2021). Following this line of thought, I propose Mudde's theory on nativism – a combination of nationalism and xenophobia – that stems from the belief that non-native people are a threat to the ethnic and/or cultural homogeneity of the country (Mudde 2007). As such, the preservation of the nation would be damaged through ethnic and/or cultural mixing (Mendes 2021), which relates heavily to CHEGA's political ideology.

It is curious how the previous studies did not predict a threat out of the evolution that the Portuguese far-right expressed in the political sphere of the country when this space was occupied by National Renewal Party (PNR - now *Ergue-te* [Rise]). It has been considered that since PNR did not achieve a solid position in Portuguese politics, it was possible for a more popular political party to adopt their nationalist agenda, marked by a strong anti-immigration discourse and a discourse centered on race and ethnicity as major concepts in the discussion of culture and identity (Kumar 2010). This is now the case of CHEGA, as the political party shares PNR's ideological standpoint, with the difference that it has successfully occupied a relevant place in the Portuguese political landscape. The party has stirred discussions about race and ethnicity, and consequently has contributed to transform racism into a divisive issue in the Portuguese society, through the propagation of the belief that Portugal is not a racist country. An example of this concerns the organization of a counterprotest stating "Portugal is not racist", in the aftermath of the murder of Bruno Candé (Observador 2020; Mendes 2021; Alvares et al. 2021).

Concluding Remarks

In general terms, the data analysis corresponds to the indications retrieved from the literature of racist and xenophobic acts in Portugal. The news media characterization of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes contemplates that the most common victims are Afrodescendants, that are mostly targeted by regular citizens and police officers. As such, racism against people of African descent is considered the most frequent type of bias that motivates an act of hate speech or crime in the Portuguese society. As a particularity, I would suggest that there is a general underrepresentation of Roma people in the data set of analysis, as literature points out that this is the most discriminated community in Portugal (Mendes 2007; Bastos et al. 2007; Marques 2013), yet this discrimination does not translate into a higher incidence of hate speech and crimes.

Given the fact that the sociopolitical context of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes is marked by complex issues, such as COVID-19 pandemic and the presence of far-right ideologies in the country's political realm that are still ongoing, it is better to refrain from drawing absolute conclusions. Yet, there is sufficient evidence to consider the external context as a possible factor of influence in the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal.

Conclusion

To trace back to CRT's idea that racism is an unequivocal component of everyday life, I would like to conclude this dissertation by complementing this thought with Essed's (2002) contribution to the study of racism. By the starting point that considers race as an ideological foundation with structural expressions of power, racism is comprehended as three different elements, with common inequalities manifested in the social structures of society. First, racism must be understood as an ideology, since the idea of race never was a part of society outside of the framework of a group interest. Then, racism may also be seen as a structure, since racial dominance is reproduced in a system, in aspects such as the implementation of rules, laws and regulations, as well as the access to resources. Lastly, racism is considered a process, since neither structures or ideologies can exist outside the common practices that corroborate the racial dynamics of society (Essed 2002).

As shown throughout this dissertation, Portugal has struggled with the acknowledgment of racism as a structural and fundamental issue in its society. Having this in perspective is absolutely crucial in order to understand this research, as racist discrimination is the prevalent denominator of the occurrence of incidents of hate speech and crimes in Portugal. As discriminatory based actions, it is essential to trace back to the general perception that the country holds on racism. With this being said, the Portuguese's Republic democratic institutions have yet to make a clear statement against racial discrimination and violence, that distances itself from the nation's colonial past and needs to be accompanied by actively fighting against racism and xenophobia. In reality, the nation has been confronted with an ever-present denial of the existence of racism within the Portuguese society for a very long time, which leads to somehow a dismissal of the serious ramifications of racial discrimination and its implications into the lives of racialized communities (Ba 2021; Dias 2021).

This is the most prevailing obstacle to moving forward into the effective combat of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal. The democratic institutions of the Portuguese Republic have not clearly addressed the issue as one of relevance to the improvement of the normal functioning of society, while more and more people are becoming victims of racist and xenophobic speech and crimes in our country. With this in mind, there must be a shift in the way democratic institutions face and resolve acts of racism, as they are only understood as a result of isolated and individual actions, that derive from a place of personal ignorance and intolerance. However, reducing racism to individual behavior does not

allow for a structural response to confront racism. The fight against racism demands the recognition of its nature, effects and different possible outcomes. Yet, this can only succeed through the implementation of extensive measures that promote its prevention and combat, in every element of social life (Dias 2021).

The lack of credibility of the antiracist fight in Portugal concerns the way the Portuguese media represent the issue of racism. Therefore, it is relevant to point out that "the media have remained politically and ideologically aligned with the hegemonic narrative that is observed in Portugal" (Almeida & Varela 2021, p.246). This contributes to the main idea of the media theory of framing, as it grants the notion that the way news articles on racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes are framed to the public influence social processes (Vreese 2005). Despite that, there has been a considerable newspaper coverage of the racist and xenophobic practices that have happened in the latest years, with a particular emphasis on police brutality. However, the newspaper coverage of those incidents often times establishes the association of black communities with criminality and violence, which contributes to the perpetuation of lack of recognition of the critical place racism holds in the Portuguese society. With the continuation of these racist stereotypes, the media tend to approximate racism to antiracism, which leads to the hegemonic premise that racism is only to be morally condemned in society. With a constant denial of the structural character of racism in Portugal, the media tend to preserve the racially established hierarchies, by diminishing the antiracist fight (Almeida & Varela 2021).

The general context of the Portuguese challenges on the realm of racial and ethnical discrimination described above constitutes the foundation for the exploration of the media narratives of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal. As such, in order to address the questions outlined for this dissertation, I present a general overview of the main contributions from this analysis of the media characterization of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal. First, the most common victims of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal are Afrodescendants, which are mostly targeted by regular citizens and police officers. In essence, anti-negro racism is considered the most frequent type of bias that motivates an act of hate speech or crime in the Portuguese society, according to the news set analyzed.

In matters of the political measures that are addressed in the news analyzed as indicators of contributions to the fight against hate speech and crimes in Portugal, there is a higher emphasis on the need for public discussion and awareness on the issue. This is also directly interlinked with the lack of an anti-racist agenda from the Portuguese democratic institutions and

Governments. Under the light of what was mentioned above, it is shown in the news analyzed that there is a necessity for the Portuguese society to openly discuss the issue of racism and racial hate, as there is both a lack of knowledge and understanding of what this issue constitutes and what a threat actually looks like. As shown in the data, the people lack information on the procedures to conduct when they have been exposed to a situation of discrimination.

This lack of transparency and openness about the phenomena of racial and xenophobic discrimination and hate stems from the country's past, that has not yet been ruptured by the prevailing system that perpetuates structural inequalities. This touches upon the analysis of indicators of structural racism in Portugal, which shows the most common inequality concerns the climate of insecurity racialized communities are exposed to, by a higher propensity to suffer from police violence. This is ultimately related to the peripheric neighborhoods in which these communities live, as "spaces of poverty and immigration, associated to deviation, tension, violence, criminality, illness and illegality" (Alves 2016, p.102).

Concerning the relationship between the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal and the COVID-19 pandemic, there is not enough evidence to contemplate an actual link between the two in the news set analyzed. However, I believe this topic of analysis should not be disregarded completely, since the pandemic context aroused a climate of social divisions in the EU, which may contribute to a greater state of discrimination (Chiriboga et al. 2020; Martinez-Juarez et al. 2020). Besides, the pandemic context is the most significant mark in the social context of the last two years, which relates to the belief that hate crimes must be understood in the light of the social dynamics in which they happen (Bowling 1993).

The same can be applied while addressing the relationship between the occurrence of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal and the rise of a populist far-right political party CHEGA. Likewise, the shifts in the Portuguese political scene can be considered a factor for changes in the country's social and political context. Notwithstanding, there is also not enough evidence to consider a solid link between the two factors in the news analyzed. Despite this, the presence and the rapid growth of a far-right political party is certainly something to be alert to, as the turn to far-right populism has been associated with a political rhetoric which supports ideologically motivated violence (Petrou & Kandylis 2016; Lazaridis & Skleparis 2015).

On a brief note, I would like to conclude my dissertation with a citation retrieved from a news article that explains the relevance in addressing racially and ethnically motivated hate

speech and crimes as a part of a broader and more complex issue, so that awareness is spread in hope that change would be upon us.

> «"Although the fight against xenophobia, antisemitism and antigypsyism have their own specificities, they are all strains of the same virus"» (Francisco André - Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Correio da Manhã 2021).

All things considered, it is important to note that the present study does not make it possible to extract broad conclusions to generalize the Portuguese reality of hate speech and crimes, due to the limited data set analyzed. However, I believe it gives a fair contribution to the study of hate speech and crimes in Portugal, which is still unequivocally a relatively unexplored area of research. By shedding light on the particularities of racially and ethnically motivated hate speech and crimes in Portugal seen in the news corpus analyzed, this dissertation concludes that there is a clear predominance of racism against people of African descent, which relates to how the country's standpoint on racism is inseparable from this discussion. In view of this, I consider that there are still a lot more topics of discussion that were left unaddressed, pointing to a need for further research to be conducted in order to grasp a more precise understanding of the specificities of this phenomenon in Portugal.

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