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Representations of Colonialism and Racism in Portugal: The Role of Luso-Tropicalism and Historical Defensiveness

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Master in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

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Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

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*To my grandparents who were always proud of me.
I love you Oma and Opa.*

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Resumo

A investigação mostra que a narração da história serve o objetivo de manter estruturas hierárquicas dentro dos grupos nacionais para beneficiar um grupo historicamente perpetrador e prejudicar um grupo historicamente vitimizado. No caso do colonialismo, isto conduz frequentemente a diferentes versões da forma como o colonialismo é contado. O presente estudo investigou os efeitos das representações positivas e negativas do colonialismo português na aceitação do racismo biológico e cultural. Adicionalmente, também se explorou se o impacto das representações históricas do colonialismo português no racismo ocorreu através de mecanismos de defesa histórica. Além disso, foi explorado o papel moderador das crenças luso-tropicalistas no racismo e na defesa histórica. 221 participantes portugueses foram aleatoriamente distribuídos por uma de três condições experimentais: representações positivas do colonialismo português vs. representações negativas do colonialismo português vs. controlo. Os resultados revelaram que o racismo biológico foi mais elevado na condição de representações negativas, não tendo sido encontradas diferenças no racismo cultural. Contrariamente à hipótese formulada, os mecanismos de defesa histórica não mediaram o impacto das representações do colonialismo no racismo, e este efeito também não foi moderado pelas crenças no luso-tropicalismo.

Abstract

Research shows that history telling serves a purpose of maintaining hierarchical structures within national groups to benefit a historical perpetrator group and disadvantage a historically victimized group. In the case of colonialism, this often leads to different versions of how colonialism is told. The present study investigated the effects of positive vs. negative representations of Portuguese colonialism on the endorsement of biological and cultural racism. Additionally, it also explored if the impact of historical representations of Portuguese colonialism on racism occurred via historical defensiveness mechanisms. Moreover, the moderating role of luso-tropicalism beliefs on racism and historical defensiveness was explored. 221 Portuguese participants were randomly allocated to one of three experimental conditions: positive representation of Portuguese colonialism vs. negative representation of Portuguese colonialism vs. control. Results revealed that biological racism was higher in the negative representation condition whereas no differences were found for cultural racism. Contrary to the hypothesized, historical defensiveness mechanisms did not mediate the impact of representations of colonialism on racism, and luso-tropicalism did not moderate the effect of representations of colonialism on historical defensiveness, biological racism, and cultural racism.

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Introduction

When we talk about historical events, we quickly realize a fascinating network of human events and choices that have evidently shaped the world that we live in right now. By learning history, human beings make sense of a contemporary world, and develop identities with respect to their cultural background (Bhat et al., 2023). However, historical narratives are not always accurate, as they stem rather subjective sources (Bhat et al., 2023). Consequently, history telling is shaped by certain factors which result in a biased representation of a historic occurrence. Said (1993) for example argued that power is a relevant factor when knowledge is created, with dominant groups writing up historical events, and marginalized groups being underrepresented as historical narrators (Teltumbde, 2020).

Consequently, historical representations hold crucial significance in the formation of intergroup relations, for example, by determining rules and regulations, and therefore, exerting influence on the creation of social hierarchies (Liu et al., 2014). Indeed, scholars point out that history is not just about the past resembling a tale to be told in the present, but rather that it negatively impacts marginalized groups, the most influential historical event being colonialism, and the most affected groups being those from former colonies (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2017). For example, historical texts often reinforce stereotypes and discrimination towards groups from former colonized areas (Teltumbde, 2020). Moreover, the use of terms such as “discovery” or “exploration” induces Eurocentric perspectives, which represent European colonial powers as superior to other cultures (Araújo & Maeso, 2012a; Araújo & Maeso, 2012b). Overall, it can be concluded that historical representations of colonialism reinforce colonialist perspectives which negatively affect those communities already marginalized.

By acknowledging the historical bias in dominant colonial representations and comprehending the impact those representations have on intercultural relations, this study aims to look at historical representations of colonialism from the perspective of Portugal. Although there is clear evidence about varying results on historical representations in different national contexts (Liu & Hilton, 2005), to our knowledge, no study experimentally looked at colonial representations and their impact on intergroup relations in Portugal so far. The present study, therefore, aimed to address this gap. When examining the impact of historical representations on intergroup relations, we focused specifically on its impact on more overt and subtle forms of racism. We did so, based on Vala and Pereira’s (2018) recent call for investigations into

biological and cultural racism in Portugal, to better understand how these phenomena are currently so prevalent in the country. Additionally, we also considered the potential role of luso-tropicalism, a common Portuguese ideology that talks about the tolerant and inclusive nature of Portuguese colonialism (Alexandre, 1999), as it has been shown to be a relevant factor in the endorsement of both types of racism (Vala & Pereira, 2018). Furthermore, we wanted to provide deeper understanding on the underlying mechanisms that can account for these effects. We considered historical defensiveness, an emotion regulation process in response to negative historical reminders (Bilewicz, 2016), as a mediating variable.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

1.1. Historical Representations and Racism

Historical representations, and specifically history telling involves the incorporation of multiple perspectives (e.g., Cabecinhas & Feijo, 2010). Often, those perspectives include a negative version of a historical representation which depicts a perpetrator group in a negative light, and a positive version of a historical representation which depicts a perpetrator group in a positive light (Roth et al., 2017). Consequently, the valence of these historical representations determines intergroup relations in a specific national context. Roth et al. (2017) for example showed that by manipulating a negative historical representation of Germany, and by representing German individuals as historical perpetrators, participants from that national context experienced increased levels of identity threat. Results from the Netherlands showed that a historical representation focusing on the country as being rooted in Christianity, revealed more negative attitudes of Dutch participants towards Muslim expressive rights compared to a historical representation that focused on a tradition of religious tolerance (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014).

Results like those find their roots in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and its core tenet that peoples' self-concept is based on group membership, driving them for a positive social identity. This can be achieved through favorable comparisons between the ingroup and relevant outgroups. By positively differentiating from external groups, people may encounter favorable impacts on their self-concept. One way to accomplish that is through the narration of historical representations (Jetten & Hutchison, 2011). By underlining national heritage through a positive history, people can show how uniquely distinct they are from others. Conversely, the studies from the Netherlands and Germany showed that a negative history can lead to distinct effects. For example, social identity can be endangered, if a representation of history induces threat through the arrival of a threatening outgroup (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), or if history represents the ingroup in such a negative light that it prevents positive group distinctiveness to arise (Roth et al., 2017). Consequently, historical representations about the ingroup's past can become a value threat, and people may engage in coping strategies to deal with that (Bilewicz, 2016). Importantly, to study such effects of historical representations, the

importance of specific historical events in a specific national context must be determined (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Only those historical representations that are most relevant to a national context will have impact on social identity (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Cabecinhas and Feijó (2010) identified those important historical events in the Portuguese and Mozambique context. They found that colonial past plays a significant role in both national histories. Moreover, the perspectives of both countries altered the way historical events related to colonialism were told (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). Whereas one perspective comes from the historically colonized, the other originates from the historically colonizing. In the former, the suffering of ancestors during Portuguese rule was emphasized, whereas in the latter, participants idealized that specific part of history and focused on “voyages of discovery” and the “golden age”. Therefore, two historical representations are created, one stemming from a victimized group, the other from a perpetrating group. For the Portuguese context, this means that the most prevalent version of colonialism in contemporary Portugal romanticizes that part of national history, focuses on discoveries, and downplays the violence executed in that time (Cabecinhas and Feijó, 2010). In fact, this perspective on colonial history reflects a deeply rooted ideology that contemplates on Portuguese dealings with its colonial history.

Luso-tropicalism was introduced by Gilberto Freyre (1933), and subjectively interpreted by the Portuguese dictatorial regime (Alexandre, 1999) to explain how Portugal fostered its unique relations with the colonies. Luso-tropicalist conceptions included, among others, the idea that Portugal as a “multiracial” and “multicontinental” nation possesses that natural ability to establish peaceful relations with others, therefore naturally possesses an ability to be free from prejudice. In this theory, colonialism in comparison to other European nations such as Spain, is considered as less violent, and more kind (Vala et al., 2008). The reason for downplaying colonialism and demonstrating it as something positive can in part be explained by political circumstances at that time. As a response to liberation movements’ demand to decolonize in the 1950s, luso-tropicalism was used by Portugal to legitimize its colonies as part of the Portuguese “empire”. The at that time ruling dictatorship of the Portuguese new state, the “Estado Novo”, was responsible for luso-tropicalist conceptions to spread through the country, inter alia, by means of media and history books (MacQueen, 2017). Especially in school history books, dictatorial propaganda is still visible nowadays.

To illustrate that, a research project based in Portugal aimed to study school history books, and identified how colonialism is represented in these works (Araújo et al., 2013). Results showed that in the most commonly used publications, colonial events such as the transatlantic slave trade are downplayed by describing them as natural phenomena that were

the result of an economic circulation at that time (Araújo & Maeso, 2012a). Hence, slavery is represented as a necessity for economic growth, suggesting that it has been overcome nowadays. Nonetheless, colonialism still preserves inequalities in contemporary society (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2017), such as economic inequalities on the African continent, or socio-economic disadvantages and discrimination faced by migrants from former colonies in Europe (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2017). Instead of providing information that would hint towards such disproportional distribution of power (Araújo & Maeso, 2012a), those history books tend to represent Portuguese colonizers as intercultural mediators during times of “discovery” (Araújo & Maeso, 2012b). A history of cultural pluralism is celebrated, and a reality of brutal exploitation neglected (Araújo & Maeso, 2012 b). Considering that schools impact identity building variables such as political (Peisakhin, 2014), or racist attitudes (Pine & Hilliard, 1990), it becomes crucial to understand how such written reminders of historical representations relate to intergroup relations.

For example, research found that written reminders of anti-Jewish atrocities in postwar Poland increased negative attitudes towards Jewish individuals, decreased desire to engage in contact with that community, and led to an increase in dehumanizing those individuals by Polish participants (Kofta & Slawuta, 2013). Other studies also found that reminders on ingroup historical wrongdoing decreased participants’ willingness to compensate for those misdeeds (e.g., Peetz et al., 2010), and even increased levels of blatant forms of prejudice such as antisemitism (Hirschberger et al., 2016). Realizing that one’s national ingroup engaged in unjust behavior is a painful process (Doosje et al., 1998) and may be seen as a threat to the ingroup’s positive image, with the perpetrator group being motivated to defend the ingroup and derogate the outgroup (Branscombe et al., 2007). Although a reminder of ingroup historical wrongdoing can lead to moral behaviors towards the victimized outgroup as well, these behaviors seem to be rather rare (Leach et al., 2013) and depend on certain conditions such as the perceived level of similarity between perpetrator and victimized group (Kofta & Slawuta, 2013). Indeed, recent research highlighted the importance of considering cultural contexts and examining the effects of historical representations in different national contexts (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022). Considering that Portugal is one of the European countries with higher endorsement of biological racism, a form of racism that relates to rather blatant forms of racial prejudice (Vala & Pereira, 2018), the present research specifically focused on Portuguese historical representations, and the endorsement of biological and cultural racism.

The bidimensional construct of biological and cultural racism can be differentiated as the former being a more blatant form of racism which focuses on the belief that human beings

are naturally different from each other. Social hierarchies are justified by natural, racial differences, leading to the attribution of certain characteristics to specific racial groups (Vala et al., 2009). Because racial-based ideologies are not conforming to existing anti-racist norms, societies moved away from biological differences to the domain of culture (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Conversely, the latter expression of racism describes the more subtle form of racism, although cultural racism still assumes that some cultures are superior to others (Vala & Perreira, 2018). Despite the development of an anti-racist norm, it has recently been argued that many European countries, including Portugal, undergo a new outbreak of biological racism. By analyzing data from ESS8 (2016), it was shown that more than 50% of Portuguese participants agreed to at least one of two items which expressed an adherence to racial-based racism (Vala & Perreira, 2018).

The increase in such racial beliefs can partly be explained by perceptions of cultural identity and economic threats, which play a crucial role in the association between racism and discrimination. Notably, while the threat of economic instability appears to have decreased in the last two decades (Vala & Perreira, 2018), concerns related to cultural identity have increased. Identity threats contribute to the legitimization of racism and discriminatory practices, such as using ethnic criteria for the selection of immigrants towards a specific country (Pereira et al., 2009). Consequently, an anti-racism norm weakens because of those threat perceptions, often facilitated by specific political circumstances. Some European countries, including Portugal are characterized by an increase in cultural identity threats and, therefore, racial-based beliefs (Vala & Perreira, 2018). Another factor that might contribute to the high endorsements of biological racism is specific to the national context and the corresponding appearance of luso-tropicalism (Vala & Perreira, 2018). This ideology proposes that Portuguese people are naturally not racist. Ironically, the belief that racism doesn't exist, might facilitate spontaneous, racist expressions (Vala & Perreira, 2018).

Vala and Perreira (2018) expressed an urgent need to better understand the outbreak of racial-based ideologies in Portugal. Building on research suggesting that identity threats facilitate discrimination towards marginalized groups (Pereira et al., 2009) and research showing that negative historical representations are associated with threat perceptions (Roth et al., 2017) and discriminatory reactions (e.g., Hirschberger et al., 2016; Kofta & Slawuta, 2013), we proposed that Portuguese historical representations on colonialism might contribute to the endorsement of biological and cultural racism. Hence, the present study investigated if historical representations of Portuguese colonialism affect biological and cultural racism. We proposed that a historical representation which portrayed the Portuguese colonial past in a

negative light, and therefore devalued the Portuguese national group, would increase the endorsement of biological and cultural racism for Portuguese participants. Specifically, we hypothesized that a negative historical representation that focuses on historical wrongdoing and the crimes carried out by the Portuguese during colonialism triggers higher endorsement of biological and cultural racism, compared to a positive historical representation condition where colonialism is represented as the voyages of discovery and a neutral, unrelated control condition (H1).

1.2. Historical Representations and Historical Defensiveness

To gain a deeper understanding of the causal pathway and underlying process between representations of history and racism, we focused on historical defensiveness, an emotion regulation process that arises after a violent conflict ended (Bilewicz, 2016). After such conflicts, perpetrator and victimized groups aim to restore threatened identities (Nadler & Schnabel, 2015; Schnabel & Nadler, 2008), whereby the motivations between the groups differ from each other. A victimized group is motivated to gain a sense of control, whereas perpetrator groups aim to restore a sense of morality within their perpetrating ingroup. Those divergent motives, however, pose a threat towards both sides. Instead of conflict resolution, the divided motives may worsen intergroup relations (Nadler & Schnabel, 2015). Consequently, exposure to a negative historical representation of a perpetrator group might lead to an emotion regulation process, namely historical defensiveness, which in turn can affect attitudes towards the victimized group (Bilewicz, 2016). In what follows, we will provide a deeper understanding of how historical representations affect individual levels of historical defensiveness, and how such emotion regulation processes influence intergroup variables in various contexts.

The basis of historical defensiveness can be explained by employing principles of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Once moral behaviour was undermined through negative historical representations, perpetrator group members use strategies to restore a positive self-concept. Those strategies might include contact avoidance with victimized groups, detachment from the past, historical censorship, silencing victimized groups, dehumanizing victimized groups, and group-based emotional reactions such as guilt or shame (Bilewicz, 2016). To better understand such strategies, a study conducted by Peetz et al. (2019) used an experimental approach. In that context, German participants whose social identity was threatened by a reminder of German atrocities during the Holocaust, were more likely to indicate those events to be more distant from the present (Peetz et al., 2010). According to

Bilewicz (2016), subjectively distancing a historical event that involved misdeeds by some ingroup describes a defence mechanism to regulate collective self-esteem. Hence, those individuals who indicated higher subjective distance, also reported higher collective self-esteem (Peetz et al., 2010). Moreover, by manipulating subjective distance as a defensive strategy, Peetz et al. (2010) showed that participants were less willing to compensate for historical misdeeds when engaged in such defensive strategies. In sum, this study hints towards historical defensiveness possibly being a mediating variable for the present context. It was demonstrated that negative historical representations could influence defence mechanisms by creating a sense of subjectively distancing a historical event. These defence mechanisms in turn affected intergroup variables, such as the willingness to make amends for historical misdeeds.

The concept of historical defensiveness suggests that creating subjective distance from a historical event leads to emotional detachment from ingroups' negative representations of history (Bilewicz, 2016). Likewise, completely closing a historical chapter serves the same purpose, while also playing a significant role in political discourses and conflict resolution, particularly in the context of addressing the enduring effects of colonialism (Hinton, 2011). In those cases, victimizing nations may reject the benefits gained from colonial action while demanding historical closure, while perpetrator groups still live with the associated costs of colonialism (Rata et al., 2008). Moreover, similar demands for historical closure can arise from victimizer groups in other historical contexts. For instance, surveys conducted between 1991 and 2013 indicated that a significant amount of German people agreed that the chapter of Nazi Germany should be closed (55-60 %; Bertelsmann Foundation, 2015). Additionally, this mindset of historical closure was associated with ingroups to be perceived as moral, some evidence suggesting that perceived ingroup morality increases the need for historical closure (Kazarovytska et al., 2022). Turning to the present Portuguese context, we mentioned that two existing representations of Portuguese colonialism represent the Portuguese either as moral or as immoral (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). We presumed that those distinct representations might induce different adherence to defensive strategies that demand for historical closure.

Besides adherence towards historical closure being dependent on perceived ingroup morality, Kazarovytska and Imhoff (2022) tested how such defensive expressions of historical closure related to intergroup outcomes. They did so by defining 3 separate dimensions of historical closure, namely defensive historical closure as a desire to maintain a positive social identity and avoid feelings of collective guilt, reconciliatory historical closure as a desire to create a good relationship with the victimized groups, and future-oriented historical closure as a demand to use resources for present and future issues. Results indicated that the demand for

historical closure relates to the act of avoiding confrontation with ingroup historical misdeeds and victim-based prejudice, wherefore Kazarovytska and Imhoff (2022) highlighted the need to better understand its role within intergroup contexts. Results further showed that interestingly, all 3 dimensions of historical closure were not distinct, but rather tapped on the same defensive desire to protect once social image, reduce guilt, and devalue the victimized outgroup (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022). The authors concluded that historical closure could be used as a measurement for historical defensiveness.

Building on these findings, the present study investigated whether historical representations of Portuguese colonialism impact the defensive desire to close the chapter of Portuguese colonialism, and if this in turn relates to racism. We highlighted past research which showed that representations on historical misdeeds reinforced defensive behaviours that protect social identity (e.g., Bilewicz, 2016; Peetz et al., 2010). People who experience social identity threat in form of a historical representation focusing on ingroup misdeeds might therefore be motivated to close this chapter of history (Bilewicz, 2016). We hypothesized that compared to a positive historical representation of Portuguese colonialism and no such representation (control neutral condition), people exposed to a negative representation focusing on historical wrongdoing during colonial times will be more motivated to act defensively, and consequently have higher defensive desire to close the historical chapter of Portuguese colonialism (H2). Considering that past research showed the relation between historical defensiveness and victim-based prejudice (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022), we also hypothesized that historical representations impact racism via historical defensiveness, such that a negative representation of history increases historical defensiveness and this in turn relates to higher endorsement of biological and cultural racism (H3).

1.3. The Role of Luso-Tropicalism

The theory of luso-tropicalism (Freyre, 1933) played a significant role during times of Portuguese dictatorship by arguing that the Portuguese empire was not an empire, and the Portuguese colonies were no colonies. Instead, it was claimed that Portugal as a singular nation spanned across parts of Africa, South America, Asia, and Pacific Islands (Bastos, 2019). Luso-tropicalist rhetoric in terms of a unique Portuguese character being non-racist and humanistic was then imposed via propaganda and censorship (Bastos, 2019). Although Portuguese dictatorship ended in 1974, and African colonial rule a year later, luso-tropicalist conceptions hold until today (Bastos, 2019). For example, when the European social survey in 2017

indicated high levels of subtle racism in the country, those findings were disregarded by arguing that Portuguese people cannot be racist (Henriques, 2017). Rui Rio, former mayor of Porto and previous leader of the social democratic party PSD stated in 2020 “não há racismo na sociedade portuguesa” (Rui, 2020), which translates to “There is no racism in Portuguese society”. Luso-tropicalist conceptions can also be seen in common Portuguese discussions on intergroup relations. Among the general Portuguese public, it has been shown that luso-tropicalism still plays a role in Portuguese society. In particular, a general adherence to luso-tropicalist conceptions has been identified in 2018, among the older, but also among the younger generation in Portugal (Valentim, 2003; Valentim & Heleno, 2018).

Psychological research on the ideology further indicated the dynamics between prejudice and luso-tropicalism in Portugal. It was shown that adherence to the unique luso-tropicalist national character, which consists of the belief to possess a natural ability to relate to people from diverse cultural backgrounds, impacted the relationship between immigrants and the Portuguese. On the one hand, luso-tropicalism seemed to weaken a common association observed in many European nations between a sense of national identification and explicit prejudice (Vala et al., 2008). Vala et al. (2008) explain that people who adhere to luso-tropicalism are less likely to be explicitly prejudiced, due to the development of an antiprejudice norm that has its roots within the luso-tropicalist ideology. On the other hand, it was shown that this antiprejudice norm didn't protect people from more subtle forms of prejudice. In addition, more recent research expressed concerns about the Portuguese antiprejudice norm protecting against the expression of explicit prejudice (Valentim & Heleno, 2018), as new findings indicate a different trend.

More specifically, by studying luso-tropicalism, results from Valentim and Heleno (2018) showed that Portuguese participants were using racial-based explanations for the failure of immigrants to integrate into Portuguese society. Moreover, biological racism is among European countries significantly higher in Portugal (Vala & Perreira, 2018). Valentim and Heleno (2018) suggested that luso-tropicalist conceptions may have shifted over time, from solely cultural factors to both, cultural and racial factors. This shift towards racial-based beliefs and its connection with luso-tropicalism made it inevitable to consider this ideology for the present research. Consequently, the present study explored whether luso-tropicalism moderates the impact of historical representations of Portuguese colonialism on historical defensiveness, biological racism, and cultural racism.

1.4. The Present Study

The present study aimed to shed light on the complex interplay between historical representations and intergroup relations, by studying the unique Portuguese context. It was examined how historical representations of Portuguese colonialism (negative vs. positive. vs. control) impact biological racism, cultural racism, and historical defensiveness. Moreover, we investigated whether historical defensiveness mediates the effect of historical representations of Portuguese colonialism on biological and cultural racism. Lastly, we explored the moderating role of luso-tropicalism on the impact of historical representations on historical defensiveness, biological racism, and cultural racism. Based on previous research outlined in the literature review, we hypothesized the following:

H1: A negative historical representation condition that focuses on historical wrongdoing and the crimes carried out by the Portuguese during colonialism triggers higher endorsement of biological and cultural racism, compared to a positive historical representation condition where colonialism is represented as the voyages of discovery, and a neutral, unrelated, control condition.

H2: Compared to a positive historical representation of Portuguese colonialism and no such representation (control neutral condition), people exposed to a negative historical representation are more motivated to close the chapter of Portuguese colonialism, and consequently have higher levels of historical defensiveness.

H3: Historical defensiveness mediates the effect of historical representations of Portuguese colonialism on racism such that a negative representation of Portuguese colonialism (vs. positive and control) triggers higher endorsement of historical defensiveness, and this in turn relates to higher endorsement of biological and cultural racism.

Finally, we also explored if luso-tropicalism moderates the impact of historical representations of Portuguese colonialism on historical defensiveness, biological racism, and cultural racism, not having any directional hypotheses for the potential effects.

CHAPTER 2

Methods

2.1. Design

The present experiment used a between-subject design: Positive representation of Portuguese colonial history vs. negative representation of Portuguese colonial history vs. control.

2.2. Participants

An analysis with G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) revealed that 244 participants were necessary to get a medium effect size ($f^2 = .2$) with power of .80. To participate in the study, a minimum age of 18 and Portuguese nationality were required. During the data collection process, a total of 319 participants was collected. Of these responses, 98 were excluded because they did not properly fill out the questionnaires ($n = 82$), or they were not of Portuguese nationality ($n = 16$). The final sample size consisted of 221 Portuguese individuals randomly assigned to the three experimental conditions (see Table 2.1). Participants had a mean age of 34.23 years ($SD = 13.54$, range: 18-99). Most participants identified as women, were employed, completed a bachelor or postgraduate degree, and indicated their financial situation to be comfortable or enough to survive (see Table 2.1 for detailed demographics).

Table 2.1.*Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants*

	Total	Control Condition	Condition 2	Condition 3
	<i>N</i> = 221	<i>n</i> = 74	<i>n</i> = 76	<i>n</i> = 71
Gender				
Female	140 63.3 %	46 62.2 %	55 77.5 %	39 51.3 %
Male	77 34.8 %	26 35.1 %	14 19.7 %	37 48.7 %
Non-Binary	3 1.35 %	2 2.7 %	1 1.4 %	
“by what I feel”	1 .45 %		1 1.4 %	
Employment Status				
Employed	132 59.7 %	44 59.5 %	46 64.8 %	42 55.3 %
Unemployed	14 6.3 %	2 2.7 %	5 7 %	7 9.2 %
Student	58 26.2 %	22 29.7 %	16 22.5 %	20 26.3 %
Retired	9 4.1 %	4 5.4 %	1 1.4 %	4 5.3 %
Other	8 3.6 %	2 2.7 %	3 4.2 %	3 3.9 %
Education				
2 nd Cycle ¹	2 .9 %		1 1.4 %	1 1.3 %
3 rd Cycle ²	3 1.4 %	1 1.4 %		2 2.6 %
Secondary Level ³	67 30.3 %	25 33.8 %	20 28.2 %	22 28.9 %
Bachelor’s Degree	72 32.6 %	23 31.1 %	27 38 %	22 28.9 %
Postgraduate Degree	77 34.8 %	25 33.8 %	23 32.4 %	29 38.2 %
Satisfaction with current Income				
Comfortable	76 34.4 %	28 37.8 %	19 26.8 %	29 38.2 %
Enough to Survive	91 41.2 %	32 43.2 %	34 47.9 %	25 32.9 %
Difficult	41 18.6 %	12 16.2 %	15 21.1 %	14 18.4 %
Very Difficult	13 15.9 %	2 2.7 %	3 4.2 %	8 10.5 %

Note. Condition 2 = positive colonial representation, Condition 3 = negative colonial representation.

¹ In the Portuguese school system, 2nd Cycle students are in middle school, usually in year 5 to 6.

² In the Portuguese school system, 3rd Cycle students are in middle school, usually in year 7 to 9.

³ In the Portuguese school system, the secondary level refers to the teaching of adolescents, usually in year 10 to 12.

2.3. Procedure

All materials of this study were approved by the ethics committee of ISCTE (05/2023). Because materials were presented to the participants in Portuguese language, materials were pretested ($n = 5$) as some measures were translated from English into Portuguese. Data were collected online using Qualtrics (2020). Participants were recruited via e-mail, social media, using QR-Code distribution, convenience sampling, or directly approached on the streets of Lisbon. Participants were firstly presented with the informed consent, which included the contact information of the researchers, the duration of the study, and information on the voluntary, anonymous, and confidential nature of participation. Once accepted, participants answered to the demographic questions. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions: positive representation of Portuguese colonialism, negative representation of Portuguese colonialism, or a control, neutral, condition. After being exposed to the manipulation, participants answered to all measures of interest: historical defensiveness, luso-tropicalism, cultural racism and biological racism, presented in random order. At the end, participants were debriefed and thanked for participation (see full materials in Appendix A-K).

2.4. Materials and Measures

2.4.1. General Demographics

Participants indicated their age, level of education, employment status, gender identification, nationality, country of birth, satisfaction with present income, and political orientation (see Table 3.1.).

2.4.2. Manipulations

In the positive and negative colonial representation conditions participants first read a short introduction informing about a current debate in Portuguese society on how history should be transmitted in the educational context. They were instructed to carefully read the forthcoming excerpts about which follow up questions would be asked later. Following this introduction, participants were presented with one of the fabricated excerpts in Portuguese language: a positive or negative representation of Portuguese colonial past (for the Portuguese versions, see Appendix D-E).

In the positive representation condition, the text that described the Portuguese colonial

past regarding its voyages of discovery was retrieved from a Portuguese school history book (Alves & Jesus, 2022). The information was edited in a way that a fluid text emerged. Despite these edits, the content of the schoolbook extracts remained the same retrieved from the book: "The 15th century witnessed the start of the great adventure that made it possible to discover the world. The Portuguese colonial empire was the first global maritime empire in history and Portugal was the first power to effectively and hegemonically control an intercontinental maritime trade route, the Cape Route. The opening of this route initiated economic globalization and the first phase of globalization."

"The Portuguese Discoveries introduced Europeans of the 15th and 16th centuries to a much larger world, with other peoples and cultures. The Portuguese brought their customs, religion, language - in short, their culture - to the peoples of Africa, Asia and America. In these territories, new cultures were born as a result of mixing local traditions with Portuguese and European influences. The Portuguese left their mark on every continent they visited. The meeting of civilizations was not always peaceful, but it was always fruitful, and the Portuguese were generally well received in Africa and Brazil."

"When exploring the African coast, the Portuguese sought to establish trade relations with the local population and settled in strategic locations along the coast. They quickly realized that slavery was a lucrative activity for the Portuguese and for the African rulers with whom they established commercial partnerships. The slaves were initially destined for Portugal, the Atlantic islands and the Mediterranean countries."

In the negative representation condition, the text of the positive condition was edited in a way that the text included specific references to the violence executed during colonialism: "In the 15th century Portugal took the first steps to colonize various regions of the world. Portugal was the first country to control a maritime trade route, the Cape route, where not only goods but also human beings were trafficked over many years. The opening of this route led to many deaths and suffering, especially in Africa, Asia, as well as Brazil."

"The Portuguese forced their customs, religion, language, in short, their culture, on the peoples of Africa, Asia and South America. In these territories, local cultures were destroyed and altered, while Portuguese and European culture were imposed. The Portuguese presence brought suffering and death, as many locals suffered and died from diseases brought by the Portuguese, as well as from slavery. In various parts of Africa, Asia and Brazil, the arrival of the Portuguese was followed by chaos and violence, such as the Battle of Calicut which resulted from the resistance of the local ruler Samorin in 1502."

"In exploring the African coast, the Portuguese sought to benefit from the local population.

Strategic locations were built along the coast to begin an era of human trafficking. The enslavement of millions of human beings was a brutal activity. The first prisoners arrived in Lagos in 1441. Over the course of three centuries, the Portuguese made around 11,000 journeys, and enslaved 5 million Africans. To limit the transatlantic slave trade to other European countries, Portugal initially developed slave trade partnerships with African leaders, but later used military force."

Finally, in the control condition, participants read a text, similar in length, but unrelated to the topic (neutral topic). This text contained the following newspaper article (retrieved from Público) about glass frogs (Ramalho, 2023; for the Portuguese versions, see Appendix C):

"Glass frogs are a small terrestrial animal that can become practically invisible. We now know that the liver is the organ responsible for these animals' ability to hide. There could be no more appropriate name for these rather rare animals: they are called glass frogs, precisely because they become translucent while they sleep (and, like pristine glass, we can see through them to the other side). These thumb-sized amphibians become translucent to camouflage themselves from possible predators. But we didn't know how it was done - until now. During the day (when these frogs sleep), most of the red blood cells accumulate in the liver, removing them from the bloodstream, and so these animals can camouflage themselves while resting on green leaves. "When glass frogs are resting, the muscles and skin become transparent, and only the bones, eyes and internal organs are visible," explains Carlos Taboada, a researcher at Duke University (United States) and one of the authors of the article explaining this phenomenon, published in the scientific journal "Science". "These frogs sleep on large leaves and, when they are transparent, they blend in perfectly with the colours of the vegetation," he added in a statement".

2.4.3. Historical Defensiveness

Historical defensiveness was measured with an adapted version of a scale developed by Kazarovytska and Imhoff (2022). Participants indicated, on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*) their agreement with 14 items. The scales comprised two of the three sub-dimensions (future-oriented historical closure and defensive historical closure), but the authors argue that both refer to the same historically defensive desire and recommend the use of a single, composite score (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022). We created a composite score, where higher values mean higher levels of historical defensiveness ($\alpha = .90$). An example item

of the scale includes: “We should rather address current problems than deal with occurrences that happened decades ago” (see full scale in Appendix G).

2.4.4. Luso-Tropicalism

Luso-tropicalism was measured by using the Portuguese version of a scale developed by Valentim and Heleno (2018). Participants indicated their level of agreement with 17 items on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*; see full scale in Appendix F). This scale measures luso-tropicalism based on 4 sub-dimensions. Internal consistency for harmonious relations ($\alpha = .80$) and ability to adapt ($\alpha = .85$) was good, acceptable for colonial past ($\alpha = .65$), and poor for cultural integration ($\alpha = .59$). Internal consistency for the combination of all sub-scales was found to be highest ($\alpha = .90$), and the decision was made to create a composite index with the full scale for subsequent analyses, where higher values mean higher endorsement of luso-tropicalism beliefs. An example item of the scale includes “Tensions and conflicts between Portuguese people and people from other cultures are less than in other countries.”.

2.4.5. Biological and Cultural Racism

Biological racism was measured using 2 items adapted from the “European Social Survey 9” (ESS9): “Some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent than others.”, and “Some races or ethnic groups are born harder working than others.” (5-point Likert scale, 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). We created a composite score, where higher scores indicate higher adherence to biological racism ($r_s = .69, p = .00$). For cultural racism, we also adapted two items from ESS9 and participants indicated their agreement (5-point Likert scale, 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*): “Some cultures are, by nature, more civilized than others.”, and “Humanity is divided into very different cultures.”. The two items were weakly correlated ($r_s = .24, p = .00$) thus no composite score was created. We tested our hypotheses using “Some cultures are, by nature, more civilized than others.” We chose this measurement based on the facial validity of the item, to ensure it aligns with what we wanted to measure. A focus on some cultures being more civilized than others better reflected the notion of an existent social hierarchy, compared to a statement which only emphasized the existence of cultural differences. For the chosen item, a higher score indicates more adherence to cultural racism.

2.4.6. Manipulation Check

Participants had to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very negative* to 5 = *very positive*) whether they felt the text they read in the beginning of the study portrayed a positive or a negative representation of Portuguese history (“ In the excerpts you just read, how was Portuguese history presented to the readers?”).

CHAPTER 3

Results

Statistical analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics (26). We first conducted an independent sample t-test to evaluate the efficacy of the manipulation, then to test H1 and H2 we conducted One-way Analyses of Variance with orthogonal contrasts. Hypotheses 3 and 4 were tested with regression-based analysis using SPSS Process macro (Hayes, 2018).

3.1. Preliminary Analysis – Manipulation Check and Test of Assumptions

To test the efficacy of the manipulation, we ran an independent sample t-test comparing the negative representation of colonialism condition against the positive representation of colonialism. In line with our expectations, participants in the positive representation condition ($M = 3.43, SD = 1.01$) relative to those in the negative representation condition ($M = 2.30, SD = .89$) rated the excerpt to be significantly more positive regarding the way Portuguese history was represented ($t(123) = 6.67, p = .00$).

Furthermore, preliminary analyses were conducted to inspect if the assumptions of the present study were met. For the manipulation check, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicated no normal distribution, $D(125) = .2, p < .001$. By looking at the histogram, however, we could see that the data was approximately normally distributed. Assumption of equal variances was met according to Levine's test for homogeneity of variance, $F(123) = 2.47, p = .12$. Regarding the hypotheses of this study, the assumption of normality was met according to a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for historical defensiveness, $D(200) = .06, p = .2$, and luso-tropicalism, $D(204) = .05, p = .2$, and violated for biological, $D(208) = .28, p < .001$, and cultural racism, $D(210) = .24, p < .001$. By looking at the histograms, visual inspection of the variables indicated similar results. However, ANOVA is rather robust against a violation of normality (e.g., McCarthy and Wood, 1985). Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was insignificant for historical defensiveness, $F(2, 197) = .84, p = .44$, luso-tropicalism, $F(2, 201) = .53, p = .59$, biological racism, $F(2, 205) = 2.6, p = .08$, and cultural racism, $F(2, 207) = 1.89, p = .15$, suggesting equal variance among those variables. Additionally, no multicollinearity was given since correlations between the predictor variables were below .85 (see table 4.4). Furthermore, by revising three outliers in the sample, we concluded that those values were not caused by any errors during data entry. Durbin-Watson scores close to the value of 3 indicated that the assumption of

independence was met, and scatter plots and partial regression plots showed nothing of interest regarding shape and direction, so we could assume linearity.

3.2. Historical Representations of Colonialism and Racism

To test H1 we conducted two One-way between-subject ANOVAs with condition (negative representation of colonialism, positive representation of colonialism, control) as the independent variable and biological and cultural racism as the dependent variables. To test this hypothesis, we computed two orthogonal contrasts: C1 pooled control and positive representation vs negative representation, C2 positive representation vs control. For biological racism, the effect of condition was significant, $F(2, 205) = 4.07, p = .02$. Contrasts showed that, contrary to the hypothesized (H1), biological racism was lower in the negative condition ($M = 1.63, SD = .93$) compared to the pooled positive ($M = 1.81, SD = .96$) and control ($M = 2.11, SD = 1.1$) conditions, $t(205) = 2.23, p = .03$. Moreover, no significant difference was found between the control condition and the positive condition, $t(205) = -1.76, p = .08$. Results for cultural racism (“Some cultures are by nature more civilized than others.”) revealed no significant effect of condition, $F(2, 207) = .33, p = .72$.⁴ Contrast 1 further indicated, contrary to our hypothesis (H1), no significant difference, $t(207) = .79, p = .43$, between the negative condition ($M = 2.7, SD = 1.41$) compared to the pooled positive ($M = 2.84, SD = 1.3$) and control conditions ($M = 2.87, SD = 1.34$). Similarly, contrast 2 showed no significant difference between the positive and the control condition, $t(207) = .15, p = .88$.

3.3. Historical Representations of Colonialism and Historical Defensiveness

To test H2, we ran a one-way ANOVA with condition (negative representation of colonialism, positive representation of colonialism, control) as the independent variable, and historical defensiveness as the dependent variable. Once more, two orthogonal contrasts were computed: C1 pooled control and positive representation vs negative representation, C2 positive representation vs control. Results revealed no significant effect of condition on historical defensiveness, $F(2, 197) = .03, p = .97$. Contrary to our hypothesis (H2), contrast 1 revealed no significant difference, $t(197) = .04, p = .97$, between the negative condition ($M = 3.12, SD = .76$), and the pooled positive ($M = 3.14, SD = .69$), and control conditions ($M =$

⁴ We conducted a similar analysis for the other item of cultural racism, (“Humanity is divided into very different cultures.”). The findings closely paralleled the results found for the item used in the main analysis.

3.11, $SD = .64$) on historical defensiveness. Moreover, contrast 2 revealed no significant difference between the positive and the control condition, $t(197) = .25$ $p = .81$ ⁵.

3.4. The Indirect Effect of Historical Defensiveness

To examine the indirect effect of condition on biological and cultural racism via historical defensiveness (H3), we used Model 4 of SPSS Process macro (Hayes, 2018). Condition was contrast coded as in previous analyses (C1 pooled control and positive representation vs negative representation, C2 positive representation vs control). The contrast of interest compares the negative condition with the pooled control and positive conditions. We used bootstrapping with 5,000 samples and 95% bias corrected confidence intervals to assess indirect effects. Contrary to the hypothesis, the indirect effects of condition were not significant for biological and cultural racism (see Table 3.1. and 3.2.).

Table 3.1.

Indirect Effects of Condition on Biological Racism via Historical Defensiveness

					R ²
Model 1	Outcome: historical defensiveness				.27
		Coeff.	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	C1	.03	.1	.31	.76
	C2	-.03	.12	-.25	.81
Model 2:	Outcome: biological racism				
		Coeff.	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	C1	.37	.13	2.87	.00
	C2	.31	.15	2.07	.04
	Historical defensiveness	.69	.09	7.69	.00
<i>Bootstrapping results for indirect effect</i>					
		Effect	SE	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI
	Indirect effect of C1 on biological racism <i>via</i> historical defensiveness	.02	.08	-.13	.17
	Indirect effect of C2 on biological racism <i>via</i> historical defensiveness	-.02	.08	-.19	.14

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. 5000 bootstrap samples; LL – lower limit; UL – upper limit; CI – Confident interval; C1 = pooled control and positive representation vs negative representation, C2 = positive representation vs control

⁵ We computed the same analysis for the separate dimensions of the historical defensiveness scale. The results were not any different from the main analysis, where the mean score of the full scale was used.

Table 3.2.*Indirect Effects of Condition on Cultural Racism via Historical Defensiveness*

					R ²
Model 1	Outcome: historical defensiveness				.35
	Coeff.	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
	C1	.02	.1	.2	.84
	C2	-.05	.12	-.39	.7
Model 2:	Outcome: cultural racism				
	Coeff.	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
	C1	.19	.17	1.16	.25
	C2	.12	.2	.61	.54
	Historical defensiveness	1.17	.12	10.08	.00
<i>Bootstrapping results for indirect effect</i>					
	Effect	SE	LL 95% CI	UL 95% CI	
	Indirect effect of C1 on biological racism <i>via</i> historical defensiveness	.02	.12	-.22	.27
	Indirect effect of C2 on biological racism <i>via</i> historical defensiveness	-.06	.14	-.33	.21

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. 5000 bootstrap samples; LL – lower limit; UL – upper limit; CI – Confident interval; C1 = pooled control and positive representation vs negative representation, C2 = positive representation vs control

3.5. The Moderator Luso-Tropicalism

To explore the moderating role of luso-tropicalism (H4), we used Model 1 in SPSS Process (Hayes, 2018). With condition as the predictor variable (contrast-coded as in previous analyses), and luso-tropicalism as the moderator, we ran three models, one for each outcome variable: biological racism, cultural racism, and historical defensiveness. The overall models for biological racism ($R^2 = .21$, $F(5, 192) = 9.9$, $p < .001$), cultural racism ($R^2 = .31$, $F(5, 192) = 17.09$, $p < .001$), and historical defensiveness ($R^2 = .32$, $F(5, 192) = 17.53$, $p < .001$) were significant. Contrary to the hypothesized (H4) no significant interaction effects were found between condition and luso-tropicalism for any of the outcome measures (see Table 4.3).⁶ Nonetheless, luso-tropicalism was positively and significantly associated with biological and cultural racism, as well as with historical defensiveness, that is, the more participants endorsed luso-tropicalism beliefs the more they endorsed cultural and biological racism and historical defensiveness (see Table 3.3).

⁶ We replicated the analysis using each sub-dimension of luso-tropicalism as a moderator. We found similar results for biological racism, historical defensiveness including its sub-dimensions, and cultural racism.

Table 3.3.*Moderation Analyses Luso-Tropicalism and Condition*

					R ²
Outcome: Biological Racism					.21
	Coeff.	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
C1	.33	.14	2.39	.02	
C2	.31	.16	1.91	.06	
Luso-Tropicalism	.68	.11	6.08	.00	
C1 x Luso-Tropicalism	.35	.24	1.46	.14	
C2 x Luso-Tropicalism	.03	.27	.12	.9	
Outcome: Cultural Racism					.31
C1	.14	.17	.84	.40	
C2	.15	.20	.73	.47	
Luso-Tropicalism	1.26	.14	9.02	.00	
C1 x Luso-Tropicalism	.30	.30	1.02	.31	
C2 x Luso-Tropicalism	-.07	.34	-.20	.84	
Outcome: Historical Defensiveness					.32
C1	-.01	.09	-.12	.91	
C2	.02	.1	.16	.87	
Luso-Tropicalism	.67	.07	9.29	.00	
C1 x Luso-Tropicalism	-.08	.15	-.51	.61	
C2 x Luso-Tropicalism	-.1	.18	-.54	.59	

C1 = control and positive representation vs negative representation, C2 = positive representation vs control

3.6. Exploratory Analyses

Correlation coefficients between the variables of interests were calculated (see Table 3.4.). In line with the previous results of the moderation models, luso-tropicalism was strongly correlated with cultural racism, and historical defensiveness (> .50), and moderately correlated with biological racism (> .30), that is higher endorsement of luso-tropicalism beliefs were related to higher cultural and biological racism as well as stronger historical defensiveness.

Table 3.4.*Correlations*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Historical Def.	3.12	.69	-			
2. Biological Racism	1.85	1.02	.475**	-		
3. Cultural Racism	2.8	1.35	.587**	.553**	-	
4. Luso-Tropicalism	3.37	.59	.561**	.397**	.548**	-

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

Narrating history involves more than just reproducing the occurrences of past events. Rather, it entails a diverse set of interpretations, resulting in several representations of a specific historical event, each created by various national groups (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). People who tell history wield a unique form of power that could potentially determine hierarchies within a specific nation (Liu et al., 2014), determine national identities (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998), or just influence individual opinions (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). Representations of history, therefore, play an important role in making sense of the world, but also aim to benefit dominant groups, and disadvantage marginalized groups (Liu et al., 2014). Even though it was shown that various historical representations of a violent ingroup past differently affect how outgroups are perceived (e.g., Peetz et al., 2010; Kofta & Slawuta, 2013), to the best of our knowledge, no previous study focused on Portuguese colonialism and racism up to this point. The current study examined the effect of historical representations of Portuguese colonialism on endorsement of biological racism, cultural racism, and historical defensiveness. It further investigated whether this effect occurred indirectly via individuals' historical defensiveness. Lastly, the moderating role of luso-tropicalism on the impact of historical representations on historical defensiveness, biological racism, and cultural racism was also explored.

Regarding the present study's findings, overall, results were not in line with proposed hypotheses. We highlight three major findings: historical representations impacted biological racism, but not cultural racism and historical defensiveness; historical defensiveness did not mediate the relationship between historical representations and racism. Lastly, luso-tropicalism, did not moderate the influence of the historical representations on historical defensiveness, biological racism, and cultural racism. However, luso-tropicalism was positively associated with cultural racism, biological racism, and historical defensiveness. In what follows, we will discuss these findings and provide insights for future research.

Raising awareness on historical wrongdoings by the Portuguese and the hardships endured by the former colonized (i.e., negative representation of colonialism) reduced adherence towards an overt type of racism, biological racism, that currently, seems to be on the rise again in Portugal (Vala and Pereira, 2018). Biological racism is considered as a precursor of racial prejudice (Vala et al. 2009), which in turn contributes to increasing

intergroup conflict (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), or discriminatory actions towards marginalized groups (Dovidio et al., 2002). Although the finding was in the opposite direction of the hypothesized, as it was expected that a negative reminder of Portuguese colonialism would increase racism, nor decrease, this finding offers an interesting avenue for future research. If replicated, this finding suggests that revising history books might be advantageous for contemporary Portuguese society composed of a large amount of cultural diversity.

Nevertheless, the finding regarding biological racism went against the originally proposed hypothesis. Negative reminders of colonialism did not increase biological racism, but rather had the opposite effect. We expected biological racism to increase because of previous research showing that reminders on ingroup misdeeds did worsen attitudes towards the affected outgroup, a phenomenon explained through a threatened social identity (e.g., Petz et al., 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Hirschberger et al., 2016). A possible explanation for the present unexpected finding can be found by looking at research conducted on emotions experienced as a response to historical ingroup wrongdoing. More specifically, intergroup emotions theory (Mackie et al., 2008) suggests that people can experience emotions based on ingroups' actions during conflict. One such emotion includes collective guilt (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004), an unpleasant emotion that people seek to diminish. Because of this inherent motivation to manage emotional wellbeing, collective guilt emerges as a powerful tool to promote social change (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014), and has been associated with prosocial orientations as a response to ingroup historical wrongdoing reminders (Wohl et al., 2006).

Collective guilt typically emerges when people, first and foremost, share a social identity with the historical perpetrator group, secondly, hold the belief that the harm experienced by a historically victimized group was illegitimate, and thirdly, acknowledge the harm produced by the perpetrator group (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014). For example, research on Dutch colonial oppression (Doosje et al., 1998), or the treatment of Aborigines in Australia (McGarty et al., 2005) showed that if participants belonging to the perpetrator group felt responsibility for those events, collective guilt increased. Moreover, Ferguson and Branscombe (2014) suggested that negative ingroup descriptions of a significant historical event increased perceived illegitimacy of harm experienced by the victimized group. Correspondingly, Doosje and colleagues (1998) found that such negative descriptions in the context of Dutch colonial oppression (e.g., murder, exploitations, and abuse) led to higher collective guilt, compared to rather benevolent descriptions (e.g., providing physical and social infrastructure).

In the context of the current study, Portugal, we suggest that the necessary conditions for collective guilt to arise could have been met. Firstly, the sample consisting solely of participants with Portuguese nationality might suggest ingroup perpetrator identification. Secondly, the text in the negative representation condition was explicitly negative in describing the violence that was executed by the Portuguese at that time, suggesting that the harm experienced by the colonized people was perceived as illegitimate. While drawing up the manipulation texts, attention was given to the wording, intended to convey this. This resulted in phrases such as “The enslavement of millions of human beings was a brutal activity” or “The Portuguese presence brought suffering and death”. Thirdly, the manipulation text also included passages such as “many locals suffered and died from diseases brought by the Portuguese” or “the Portuguese sought to benefit from the local population”, which might have facilitated that the third condition of ingroup harm responsibility was met. (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014). Ultimately, our manipulation text portraying a negative representation of colonialism eventually induced feelings of collective guilt, which resulted in prosocial orientation of our participants in form of decreased biological racism. We did not empirically assess collective guilt, and future studies would do well in doing.

Whereas biological racism was impacted by our manipulation, no significant effects were found for the item on cultural racism. However, mean scores close to the midpoint of cultural racism showed no rejection of the statement which indicated that some cultures naturally exhibit a greater deal of civilization compared to others. Interestingly, such statements were part of the dictatorial propaganda (Alexandre, 1999), where Portugal’s colonial actions were often justified by describing them as a mission to bring progress, civilize, or enlighten the former colonies (Vala et al., 2008). The response given by our participants might reflect the consequences of an imperialist, colonial mindset that is still part of Portuguese contemporary society. Indeed, according to research on post-dictatorial mindsets in Portugal (e.g., Bastos, 2019), opinions on colonialism that were transferred during times of dictatorial rule still play a significant role in Portuguese contemporary society. We suggest that the statement used to assess cultural racism might reflect a stable belief among the participants in this study.

Moreover, we found a strong correlation between cultural racism and the measure of luso-tropicalism. Luso-tropicalism as an ideology that represented the Portuguese as cultural mediators on a mission to peacefully civilize the tropics, provides the main theory of colonial legitimization in Portugal (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). Its focus specifically lies on culture over race and explains that Portuguese colonialism and its goal of civilizing the tropics can be

achieved through cultural mixing (Bastos, 2019). In the present case, the strong correlations found between cultural racism and luso-tropicalism might be indicative for the significant role luso-tropicalism plays in Portuguese contemporary society, with a specific focus on expressing social hierarchies through cultural differences. Again, we speculate that cultural racism is more difficult to be influenced in the Portuguese context, as it describes a more stable construct in a luso-tropicalist society. However, contrary to our hypotheses, luso-tropicalism did not moderate the impact of historical representations on racism, nor on historical defensiveness. Therefore, we cannot conclude that luso-tropicalism affected the effect of the conditions on cultural racism.

Nevertheless, ideological beliefs that thematize the nature of intercultural environments play a significant role in studies on intergroup relations (Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2012). For example, a multicultural ideology moderated the relationship between category salience and intergroup attitudes. Without considering such ideology, no such relationship was found (Costa-Lopes et al., 2014). Based on previous research, we thus assumed that a luso-tropicalist ideology that focuses on distinct cultural groups and their relationship with each other, would impact the effects of historical reminders. However, there might be reasons for why no such effect was found. First, our measurements of racism were composed of two items for biological racism, and one item for cultural racism. To have a moderation effects, we may need more comprehensive measures of racism that better reflect those two dimensions of biological and cultural racism. Another relevant point relates to the power of the present study. The minimum sample size to detect the predicted effects with a power of 0.80 was not achieved (Memon et al., 2019), mainly due to restrictions in data collection and difficulty in engaging participants in the study. A larger, well-powered sample is needed to further examine the hypothesized moderation effect, and future studies could replicate this study with a larger sample.

Based on previous research (e.g., Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022; Peetz et al., 2010), we assumed that the negative historical representation, focusing on past wrongdoings of the Portuguese, would increase levels of historical defensiveness, which would in turn relate to increased adherence to racism. Contrary to our hypotheses, the results showed no impact of our manipulation of historical representations on historical defensiveness, and consequently, no significant indirect effects. That is, historical defensiveness did not change regardless of whether participants were reminded of a positive or negative historical event. One explanation for this could be the measurement used to assess historical defensiveness. Historical defensiveness refers to an emotion regulation process, as a response to outer influences that

threatened social identity (Bilewicz, 2016). As a response, people might engage in regulative behaviours to gain back self-esteem and control over their social identity (Bilewicz, 2016). By undermining group morality through our negative historical representation manipulation, we expected that participants would be more likely to engage in the defensive desire to close the historical chapter of colonialism. This means that we measured a specific type of historical defensiveness, namely the need to close a historical chapter and continue with present and future. However, past research showed that historical closure is a quite stable construct, especially among perpetrator groups (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022), and thus potentially difficult to be contextually activated. The stability of historical closure can be attributed to the socio-historical conditions surrounding a specific historical event, and the manner in which this event is discussed within a specific nation (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Hence, the current socio-political context of the historical event studied in the current research needs to be looked at with more detail. In December 2022, it was the first time in Portuguese history that a Portuguese president apologized for the massacre in Wiriyamu, one among numerous colonial crimes which caused the death of 385 adults and children (Lopes, 2022). It was described as the furthest a Portuguese president ever has gone in acknowledging war crimes from Portuguese colonial past (Lopes, 2022). Subsequent reactions to the apology followed instantly, some acknowledging, some others, however, disagreeing with the president's words. For example, the far-right party "chega!", which holds positions in the Portuguese parliament, stated to not feel represented by the words of the president. Conversely, Paula Cardoso, journalist and activist in Portugal, stated that she would have expected more than just an apology (African American Reparations Commission, 2023). Currently, the discourse surrounding reparation intentions in Portugal is a dominant one, some people speaking of a turning point in Portugal's dealings with a colonial past (Lopes, 2022). In line with previous research (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022; Liu & Hilton, 2005), we suggest that the current debate about historical reconciliation and reparation might be a reason for historical closure to be a relatively stable, and a difficult to change construct in Portuguese society.

Lastly, we discuss a pattern of findings that we believe deserves further attention and discussion. In our main analyses, we created a contrast which compared the positive condition with the control condition. Overall, results showed that mean scores of all our outcome variables were similar in the control and positive condition. This finding aligns with prior research indicating that highly prevalent historical representations fail to produce significant alterations in intergroup variables (Liu et al., 2014). Previous research in New Zealand for

example showed that a deeply ingrained historical representation thematizing the liberal and democratic nature of the country, did not lead to any significant differences in bicultural attitudes (Liu et al., 2014). One explanation for this phenomenon suggests that such widespread representations are embedded in specific intergroup attitudes, thereby maintaining the stability of these variables following exposure to the historical representation (Liu et al., 2014). In our context, we conclude that a positive representation of Portuguese colonial history is deeply intertwined with attitudes related to Portuguese intergroup relations, supporting the notion that this positive representation is deeply ingrained in Portuguese society (e.g., Araújo & Maeso, 2012a; Araújo & Maeso, 2012 b).

4.1. Limitations and Future Directions

The current study has, as all studies, some limitations that we would like to highlight. Firstly, we were unable to achieve the sufficient number of participants to ensure a statistically satisfying power. Consequently, the results of this study should be interpreted with caution, and future studies are needed to replicate the findings. Secondly, when looking at the demographics of the participants, it becomes clear that the research sample may not be representative of the general Portuguese population, and findings should not be generalizable. Rather, our participants were generally highly educated, most identified as female, and mostly lived around Lisbon. However, intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989) proposes that women are more likely to experience interacting forms of discrimination, making them more aware of the harm discrimination induces, and therefore, making them less likely to express behaviours related to racism (e.g., Hooks, 1981). Research also shows that people who possess higher education, are also less likely to express racist attitudes (e.g., DiAngelo, 2018), as they are more likely to have information about the history and consequences of racism (e.g., DiAngelo, 2018). Moreover, public attitudes in Portuguese rural areas are different compared to the urban areas (Teixeira & Pereira, 2011). Thus, future studies on representations of history in Portugal could aim to include a more diverse sample regarding gender, education, and geographical location.

Additionally, we used items for cultural and biological racism that stem from ESS9 (European Social Survey, 2021). The reason for this was that the ESS measures were frequently used in the study of biological racism, cultural racism, and luso-tropicalism in Portugal (e.g., Valat et al., 2018; Vala et al., 2008). Moreover, a total of 4 items suited the present study's context, since we had to be cautious about how long it takes to fill out the

survey. However, 2 items for each construct might not have been ideal for covering the full spectrum of biological and cultural racism. Moreover, the weak correlations between the items of cultural racism left us with a total number of three items. There might be other measures, with better psychometric properties that could be used to assess racial-based and culture-based theories. The modern racism scale for example (McConahay, 1986) covers several components of racial prejudice, stereotypes, and discriminatory attitudes. Moreover, the ethnocentrism scale (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997), with its focus on cultural superiority, might have been a more suitable measure to assess how our participants look at social hierarchies and inequalities.

In light of the present study's insights, we want to highlight future directions for the topic of historical representation and intergroup relations. Firstly, we highlight the importance of continuing the study of Portuguese school history books. We found that information about colonial history used in contemporary schoolbooks decreased adherence towards biological racism. However, we did not assess the direct effect of school history books, but rather created paragraphs from information provided by those books. Assessing how full chapters, or even participation in history classes may affect attitudes towards marginalized groups in Portugal would be worth to study. Moreover, Portugal is becoming increasingly culturally diverse, many coming from former colonies (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2022). Previous research, in other national contexts showed how marginalized communities are trivialized in schoolbooks, affecting the wellbeing of students from diverse cultural backgrounds (e.g., Hickman & Porfilio, 2012). Thus, future studies that focus on the impact of representation of colonial history should also focus on its impact on marginalized groups, especially those with a cultural background from former Portuguese colonies.

Future research could also examine the role of collective guilt in the Portuguese context. We proposed a possible pathway from historical representations towards the expression of biological racism, via feelings of collective guilt. Moreover, other variables that could explain a pathway from historical representations towards intergroup relations are explained by Bilewicz (2016). In this model on historical defensiveness, several strategies on ingroup wrongdoing exposure are described, which could suit the context of Portugal and colonialism. For example, people might be motivated to avoid information that is different from their ingroup perception, or even avoid contact with historical victims (Bilewicz, 2016). The present study is one of many examples that illustrates the complexity of negative and positive representations of history. We suggest to further examine this, building on models that can explain the conditions under which history telling can improve intergroup relations.

A final word on luso-tropicalism. The present study illustrated, in line with previous research, that luso-tropicalism seems to play an important role in racial attitudes among the Portuguese. However, most studies are correlational, and we highlight the need to further examine luso-tropicalism using experimental methods, in order to make causal relationships between luso-tropicalism and intergroup variables. Besides the carnation revolution ending Portuguese dictatorial rule in 1974, luso-tropicalism still, silently makes its way through society, affecting racism in the country, and preventing historical reparations to develop (Gerador, 2023). Fortunately, luso-tropicalism seems to be increasingly more studied. Projects such as the one from “Gerador” (2023), an independent journalism platform, aim to raise awareness towards the topic of luso-tropicalism. We highlight to continue the study of luso-tropicalism, to improve how colonial history in Portugal is addressed.

4.2. Conclusion

By investigating the causal pathway between historical representations of colonialism and racism, as well as a possible mediation effect of historical defensiveness, and by exploring the moderating role of luso-tropicalism, the present research added valuable insights to the study of colonial representations and intergroup relations. The present study showed that different versions of the same historical event affect how marginalized outgroups are perceived. We acknowledged the call to further investigate the development of biological and cultural racism in Portugal and found that representations of colonial history play a significant role in such racist expressions. Whereas biological racism was significantly affected by a negative historical representation, cultural racism remained unaffected by the manipulation texts. However, strong correlations between luso-tropicalism and cultural racism suggest that cultural racism still plays a unique role in Portuguese society. For historical defensiveness, no mediation effect was found, however, defensive reactions to negative historical representation reminders are multifarious, and future research should focus on different defensive emotion regulations processes. Moreover, no moderation effect of luso-tropicalism was found. Still, reliability issues of the present study should be considered, and we urge future research to continue the study of luso-tropicalism and intergroup relations in experimental settings. In summary, despite its limitations, the present study contributed to a timely, and growing field of research that examines prominent representation of colonialism, and recognizes the enduring hierarchies born from colonialism, which continue to disadvantage marginalized groups.

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Appendix A – Informed Consent

O presente estudo surge no âmbito de um projeto de investigação a decorrer no Iscte-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa. O estudo tem como objetivo explorar como diferentes materiais de leitura influenciam a atenção e concentração das pessoas. Vamos pedir-lhe que leia um pequeno texto e responda a algumas perguntas.

O estudo é realizado por Felix Meuer (Felix_Meuer@iscte-iul.pt) e supervisionado cientificamente pela Dr. Rita Guerra (ana_rita_guerra@iscte-iul.pt), que poderá contactar caso pretenda esclarecer alguma dúvida ou partilhar algum comentário. A sua participação no estudo, que será muito valorizada pois irá contribuir para o avanço do conhecimento neste domínio da ciência, consiste em ler um pequeno texto e depois responder a algumas perguntas. O estudo demorará menos de 15 minutos. Não existem riscos significativos expectáveis associados à participação no estudo.

A participação no estudo é estritamente voluntária: pode escolher livremente participar ou não participar. Se tiver escolhido participar, pode interromper a participação em qualquer momento sem ter de prestar qualquer justificação. Para além de voluntária, a participação é também anónima e confidencial. Os dados obtidos destinam-se apenas a tratamento estatístico e nenhuma resposta será analisada ou reportada individualmente. Em nenhum momento do estudo precisa de se identificar.

Declaro ter compreendido os objetivos de quanto me foi proposto e explicado pelo/a investigador/a, ter-me sido dada oportunidade de fazer todas as perguntas sobre o presente estudo e para todas elas ter obtido resposta esclarecedora.

- Aceito participar (1)
- Não aceito participar (2)

Appendix B – Demographics

Qual é a sua idade (por favor use números para representar anos)?



Qual é a sua idade (por favor use números para representar anos)?



Qual é a sua idade (por favor use números para representar anos)?



Qual é a sua idade (por favor use números para representar anos)?

Qual é o nível de educação mais elevado que completou?

- 1º Ciclo do Ensino Básico (1º ao 4º ano) (1)
 - 2º Ciclo do Ensino Básico (5º ao 6º ano) (2)
 - 3º Ciclo do Ensino Básico (7º ao 9º ano) (3)
 - Ensino Secundário (10º ao 12º ano) (4)
 - Bacharelato (5)
 - Licenciatura (6)
 - Pós-graduação/ Grau Avançado (Mestrado, Doutoramento, Pós-Doutoramento) (7)
 - Não sei (8)
-

Qual a sua situação laboral actual?

- Estudante (1)
 - Desempregado/a (2)
 - Empregado/a (3)
 - Reformado/a (4)
 - Outra (5) _____
-

Género

- Mulher (1)
- Homem (2)
- Identifico o meu género como (por favor especifique): (3)
-

Tem nacionalidade portuguesa?

- Sim (1)
- Não (Por favor, indique a sua nacionalidade) (2)
-

Nasceu em Portugal?

- Sim (1)
- Não (Por favor, indique o país onde nasceu) (2)
-

Qual das seguintes descrições se aproxima mais do que sente relativamente ao rendimento actual do seu agregado?

- O rendimento actual permite viver confortavelmente (1)
- O rendimento actual dá para viver (2)
- É difícil viver com o rendimento actual (3)
- É muito difícil viver com o rendimento actual (4)
-

Appendix C – Control

As rãs-de-vidro são um pequeno animal terrestres que consegue tornar-se praticamente invisível. Agora sabemos que o fígado é o órgão responsável pela capacidade de estes animais se esconderem.

Não haveria nome mais apropriado para estes animais bastante raros: chamam-se rãs-de-vidro, precisamente por se tornarem translúcidas enquanto dormem (e, como um vidro imaculado, conseguimos ver o lado oposto através destes animais). Estes anfíbios com o tamanho de um polegar tornam-se translúcidos para se camuflarem dos possíveis predadores – mas não sabíamos como isso era feito. Até agora. Durante o dia (período no qual estas rãs dormem), a maioria dos glóbulos vermelhos acumula-se no fígado, retirando-os da corrente sanguínea e, assim, estes animais conseguem-se camuflar enquanto descansam em folhas verdes.

“Quando as rãs de vidro estão a descansar, os músculos e a pele tornam-se transparentes, e só os ossos, olhos e órgãos internos é que são visíveis”, explica Carlos Taboada, investigador da Universidade de Duke (Estados Unidos) e um dos autores do artigo que explica este fenómeno, publicado na revista científica Science. “Estas rãs dormem em folhas grandes e, quando estão transparentes, confundem-se perfeitamente com as cores da vegetação”, acrescenta em comunicado.

Appendix D – Positive Manipulation

Atualmente, existe um debate sobre a forma como a História é transmitida. Especialmente no contexto educativo, têm surgido questões sobre a forma como a história deve ser retratada nos manuais escolares e transmitida aos estudantes. De seguida, apresentamos pequenos excertos retirados de manuais de História do 5º ao 8º ano. Por favor, leia atentamente os excertos, pois iremos colocar algumas perguntas sobre o conteúdo apresentado.

“No século XV começou a grande aventura que permitiu descobrir o Mundo. O império colonial português foi o primeiro império global marítimo da História e Portugal foi a primeira potência a controlar de forma eficaz e hegemónica uma rota comercial intercontinental marítima, a Rota do Cabo. A abertura desta rota deu início à globalização económica e à primeira fase da globalização.”

“Os Descobrimentos portugueses deram a conhecer aos europeus dos séculos XV e XVI um mundo muito maior, com outros povos e culturas. Os portugueses levaram os seus hábitos, religião, língua, em suma, a sua cultura, aos povos de África, da Ásia e da América. Nesses territórios nasceram novas culturas resultantes da mistura das tradições locais com as influências portuguesas e europeias. Os portugueses deixaram a marca da sua presença em todos os continentes por onde passaram. O encontro de civilizações nem sempre foi pacífico, mas foi sempre proveitoso e os portugueses foram geralmente bem recebidos em África e no Brasil.”

“Ao explorar a costa africana, os portugueses procuraram estabelecer relações comerciais com a população local e estabeleceram-se em locais estratégicos ao longo da costa. Perceberam rapidamente que a escravatura era uma actividade lucrativa para os portugueses e também para os governantes africanos com os quais estabeleceram parcerias comerciais. Os escravos destinavam-se inicialmente a Portugal, às ilhas atlânticas e aos países mediterrânicos”.

Appendix E – Negative Manipulation

Atualmente, existe um debate sobre a forma como a História é transmitida. Especialmente no contexto educativo, têm surgido questões sobre a forma como a história deve ser retratada nos manuais escolares e transmitida aos estudantes. De seguida, apresentamos pequenos excertos retirados de manuais de História do 5º ao 8º ano. Por favor, leia atentamente os excertos, pois iremos colocar algumas perguntas sobre o conteúdo apresentado.

"No século XV Portugal deu os primeiros passos para colonizar e explorar várias regiões do mundo. Portugal foi o primeiro país a controlar uma rota comercial marítima, a rota do Cabo, onde não só mercadorias, mas também seres humanos foram traficados ao longo de muitos anos. A abertura desta rota levou a muitas mortes e sofrimento, especialmente em África, Ásia, assim como no Brasil".

"Os portugueses forçaram os seus hábitos, religião, língua, em suma, a sua cultura, aos povos de África, Ásia e América do Sul. Nestes territórios, as culturas locais foram destruídas e alteradas, enquanto a cultura portuguesa e europeia foram impostas. A presença portuguesa trouxe sofrimento e mortes, já que muitos habitantes locais sofreram e morreram de doenças que os portugueses trouxeram bem como em consequência da escravatura. Em várias partes de África, da Ásia e Brasil, a chegada dos portugueses foi seguida de caos e violência, como por exemplo a Batalha de Calicut que resultou da resistência do governante local Samorin, em 1502."

"Ao explorarem a costa africana, os portugueses procuraram beneficiar da população local. Foram construídos locais estratégicos ao longo da costa para iniciar uma época de tráfico de seres humanos. A escravização de milhões de seres humanos foi uma actividade brutal. Os primeiros prisioneiros chegaram a Lagos em 1441. Ao longo de 3 séculos, os portugueses fizeram cerca de 11 mil viagens, a maioria para o Brasil, e escravizaram 5 milhões de pessoas africanas. Para limitar o comércio transatlântico de escravos para outros países europeus, Portugal desenvolveu inicialmente parcerias de tráfico de escravos com líderes africanos, mas mais tarde utilizou a força militar."

Appendix F – Luso-Tropicalism

Apresentamos de seguida algumas afirmações sobre os/as portugueses/as. Indique em que medida concorda com cada uma delas.

	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Nem Concordo Nem Discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo Totalmente (5)
As características da cultura portuguesa facilitam a integração de pessoas de outras culturas na sociedade portuguesa contemporânea.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comparando com os outros países europeus, pode dizer-se que em Portugal existe menos racismo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela integração cultural com os povos colonizados.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>As tensões e conflitos entre os portugueses e as pessoas de outras origens são pequenas comparadas com as de outros países.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>Faz parte da tradição portuguesa relacionar-se bem com outros povos.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela mestiçagem com os povos colonizados.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>As pessoas de outras culturas são mais respeitadas em Portugal do que noutros países.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>A história colonial portuguesa foi mais pacífica e benevolente do que a de outras potências coloniais.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>As pessoas de outras culturas têm mais dificuldade em integrar-se na sociedade portuguesa do que noutros países.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>O passado colonial de Portugal foi uma história de violência e barbaridade.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

De uma forma geral, a impressão que os imigrantes que vivem em Portugal têm dos portugueses é boa.

As características dos portugueses favoreceram um processo de colonização marcado pelo convívio harmonioso entre povos.

De uma forma geral, a impressão que os portugueses têm dos imigrantes que vivem em Portugal é boa.

Ao longo da história da colonização, os portugueses demonstraram uma singular capacidade de adaptação à vida nas regiões tropicais.

A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela exploração e segregação dos povos colonizados.

Hoje em dia, a harmonia entre os portugueses e as pessoas de outras culturas é pequena comparada com a de outros países.

A colonização portuguesa não teve o carácter opressivo que se verificou no caso de outras nações.



Appendix G – Historical Defensiveness

Utilize a seguinte escala para indicar o seu nível de concordância (ou desacordo) com os seguintes itens.

	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Nem Concordo Nem Discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo Totalmente (5)
Devemos antes resolver os problemas atuais do que lidar com ocorrências que aconteceram há décadas atrás.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como sociedade, devemos deixar o passado para trás e concentrar-nos no aqui e agora.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como sociedade, devemos deixar o passado para trás e concentrar-nos no aqui e agora.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
É melhor falar de acontecimentos do presente do que de acontecimentos do passado.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>Devemos lidar com os problemas que existem hoje e não com acontecimentos do passado.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>Vale a pena, como sociedade, concentrarmos principalmente no presente.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>Para nós, como sociedade, o que conta é o presente, não o passado.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>Como não se pode mudar o passado, nós, enquanto sociedade, devemos concentrar-nos no futuro.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Nem Concordo Nem Discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo Totalmente (5)
<p>É importante preservar a memória dos crimes históricos cometidos pelos Portugueses contra as antigas colónias.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>É a nossa obrigação como Portugueses garantir que os crimes históricos cometidos contra os povos das antigas colónias não serão esquecidos.</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Apenas se cada geração estiver disposta a lidar com os crimes históricos cometidos pelos portugueses contra as antigas colónias, cada geração pode aprender com esses crimes.

É necessário um envolvimento contínuo com os crimes cometidos pelos portugueses contra as suas antigas colónias para assegurar que a injustiça não continue do lado da vítima.

As pessoas das antigas colónias deveriam deixar de se queixar constantemente do que Portugal lhes fez em tempos antigos.

O povo português não deveria ter de lidar tanto com os crimes históricos cometidos contra as antigas colónias.

Estou cansado/a de ouvir repetidamente os crimes históricos cometidos por Portugal contra as suas antigas colónias.

Appendix H – Biological Racism

Em que medida concorda ou discorda com cada uma das afirmações seguintes?

	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Nem Concordo Nem Discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo Totalmente (5)
Há raças ou grupos étnicos que são, por natureza, menos inteligentes do que outros. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Há raças ou grupos étnicos que são, por natureza, mais trabalhadores do que outros. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix I – Cultural Racism

Em que medida concorda ou discorda com cada uma das afirmações seguintes?

	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Nem Concordo Nem Discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo Totalmente (5)
A humanidade está dividida em culturas muito diferentes entre si. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Algumas culturas são, por natureza, mais civilizadas do que outras. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix J – Manipulation Check

Nos excertos que acabou de ler, de que forma foi apresentada a história portuguesa aos leitores.

- Muito Negativa (1)
- Negativa (2)
- Nem Negativa Nem Positiva (3)
- Positiva (4)
- Muito Positiva (5)

Appendix K – Debriefing

Muito obrigado por ter participado neste estudo. Estamos geralmente interessados em explorar como diferentes materiais de leitura podem influenciar a forma como as pessoas pensam e se comportam em relação aos outros. Especificamente, neste estudo examinámos se a leitura de materiais sobre a história portuguesa e as suas representações atuais afetam as atitudes das pessoas em relação ao seu país e a grupos minoritários em geral. O objetivo foi examinar se a forma como a história é apresentada em manuais de história tem impacto na forma como as pessoas com diversos antecedentes culturais são vistas pelos outros, bem como as representações das pessoas sobre o seu país.

Para tal, utilizámos um procedimento comum na investigação psicológica, onde alguns participantes são distribuídos aleatoriamente de forma a verem diferentes informações. Neste caso, algumas pessoas participantes receberam um texto com uma representação positiva da história colonial portuguesa, outras receberam um texto com uma representação negativa da história colonial portuguesa, e outras um texto neutro, sem qualquer relação com este tema.

Os textos utilizados para descrever a história colonial portuguesa como positiva ou negativa foram fabricados pela equipa de investigação para efeitos deste estudo e não são excertos reais extraídos de livros de história. Contudo, toda a informação incluída nestes textos foi extraída de livros de história existentes do 5º ao 8º ano, bem como de outras fontes académicas e jornalísticas.

Reforçamos os dados de contacto que pode utilizar caso deseje colocar uma dúvida, partilhar algum comentário, ou assinalar a sua intenção de receber informação sobre os principais resultados e conclusões do estudo: Felix Meuer (Felix_Meuer@iscte-iul.pt)

Se tiver interesse em aceder a mais informação sobre o tema do estudo, pode ainda consultar as seguintes fontes:

<https://hutchinscenter.fas.harvard.edu/trans-atlantic-slave-trade-database>

<https://www.ces.uc.pt/projectos/rap/pages/intro>

[html https://gerador.eu/lusotropicalismo/](https://gerador.eu/lusotropicalismo/)

Uma vez mais, obrigado pela sua participação.