

Between Legacies and Justice: The Role of Lusotropicalism in Shaping Support for Reparations through Historical Blame and In-Group Glorification

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September, 2025

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To Nicole, who continues to fuel my passion
Obrigada por todas as conversas inspiradoras sobre ciência e vida

Acknowledgement

Over the past year, I have learned many new ways to think about research, discuss papers, and incorporate different perspectives into broader social psychology. For this, I would first like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Cícero Roberto Pereira, who has guided me with more dedication than I could have hoped for. I am also deeply grateful for the opportunity to be integrated into different research groups, where I had the chance to discuss this thesis and learn from others who sparked a joy in the discussion of psychological research that I am eager to continue. A special thanks, in this turn, goes to the LUSO Project and all its members.

I would also like to extend heartfelt thanks and a huge hug to my friends, who pushed me to keep going and motivated me to overcome challenges. Thank you, Nicole, Ema, and Emmi. A very special thanks goes to Carina, my wonderful roommate, who enthusiastically joined me in collecting data when I found it difficult to approach potential participants in public. Everyone needs a sunshine like you for emotional support and for making every step of the process lighter and more fun.

Resumo

Os legados coloniais continuam a moldar as desigualdades, redirecionando os debates públicos para as reparações pelos danos coloniais do passado. No entanto, pesquisas anteriores não exploraram totalmente como ideologias coloniais culturalmente específicas se relacionam com o suporte que as pessoas dão a diferentes projetos de políticas reparatórias. Para abordar essa lacuna, esta dissertação examina se o lusotropicalismo, um mito legitimador que retrata o colonialismo português como não discriminatório, benevolente e integrador, modera a reação das pessoas a propostas de política de reparação que ameaçam ou preservam as hierarquias de poder intergrupais existente e se a culpa histórica e a glorificação intragrupal atuam como fatores mediadores nesse processo. Pré-registramos e realizamos um experimento entre sujeitos manipulando o enquadramento da política (atenuação da hierarquia vs. manutenção da hierarquia vs. controle) com participantes portugueses ($N = 267$), testando as vinhetas para confirmar que elas alteram as relações de poder percebidas. Os resultados fornecem algumas evidências experimentais de que o confronto com ações reparatórias que são potencialmente ameaçadoras às relações de poder intergrupais reduz o apoio, revelando que a hierarquia de poder desafiadora provocou um apoio marginalmente menor do que o controle neutro. Contrariamente às hipóteses, o modelo de moderação mediada não foi apoiado, e os efeitos indiretos condicionais foram geralmente insignificantes. Análises complementares mostraram que o tropicalismo luso previu negativamente o apoio às reparações coloniais e que essa relação foi estatisticamente mediada pela culpa histórica, sugerindo que os mitos legitimadores reduzem o apoio às políticas reparadoras, ressaltando a necessidade de propostas para abordar as defesas ideológicas. Notavelmente, a glorificação do grupo atua como um mecanismo condicional de apoio, indicando uma importante sobreposição na forma como as ideologias coloniais moldam as atitudes. As limitações na força da manipulação justificam a replicação com um enquadramento mais forte, enquanto pesquisas futuras devem se concentrar na distinção entre políticas de reparação que desafiam ou reforçam o status quo.

Palavras-Chave: luso-tropicalismo, domínio social, justiça transformadora, glorificação do grupo, culpa histórica

Abstract

Colonial legacies continue to shape inequalities, refocusing public debates on reparations for former colonial harms. However, prior research has not fully explored how culturally specific colonial ideologies shape public responses to different reparative policy frameworks. To address this gap, this dissertation examines whether luso-tropicalism, a legitimizing myth that portrays Portuguese colonialism as non-discriminatory, benevolent, and integrative, moderates public support for reparative policies framed to either challenge or preserve existing intergroup power hierarchies and whether historical blame and in-group glorification act as psychological mechanisms. A between-subjects experiment was preregistered and executed, manipulating policy framing (hierarchy-attenuating vs. hierarchy-maintaining vs. control) with Portuguese participants ($N = 267$), piloting the vignettes to confirm that they alter perceived power relations. Results provide some experimental evidence that confrontation with reparative actions that are potentially threatening to intergroup power relations reduces support, as revealed by the power-hierarchy-challenging vignette eliciting marginally lower support than the neutral control. Contrary to the hypotheses, the mediated-moderation model was not supported, and conditional indirect effects were generally nonsignificant. Complementary analyses showed that luso-tropicalism negatively predicted support for colonial reparations, statistically mediated by historical blame, suggesting that legitimizing myths reduce support for reparative policies, underscoring the need for proposals to address ideological defenses. Notably, in-group glorification acts as a mechanism for support, indicating an important overlap in the way colonial ideologies shape attitudes. Limitations in manipulation strength warrant replication with stronger framing, while future research should focus on the distinction between reparation policies that challenge or reinforce the status quo.

Keywords: luso-tropicalism, social dominance, transformative justice, in-group glorification, historical blame

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Between Legacies and Justice: The Role of Lusotropicalism in Shaping Support for Reparations through Historical Blame and In-Group Glorification

History echoes in the present, as past events continue to shape social structures and influence individuals' experiences today. Consider Europe's disproportionate material and economic wealth as a direct result of colonial exploitation and enslaved labor. These historical acts continue to fuel global power imbalances and social inequalities, impacting relationships between nations and racialized groups and influencing societal hierarchies (Parnreiter & Hoerder, 2024; Nvuh-Njoya et al., 2023).

In response to these enduring legacies, demands for justice through reparations have gained prominence from settler colonial contexts like Canada to the African Diaspora worldwide (Lu, 2017). In January 2025, the African Union declared the year's theme as "Justice for Africans and People of African Descent through Reparations", urging meaningful dialogue around justice, apologies, and opening the discussions around reparative actions (African Union, 2025). Yet, reparations remain a contested issue, as there is no universally agreed-upon policy model for how historical justice should be enacted. According to Thompson (2005), the notion that reparative justice should restore moral equality and address harm by rebuilding trust and equity in relationships can be traced back to ancient philosophers and persists among contemporary thinkers. However, in the context of reparations for colonial histories, the normative aims of justice frequently collide with ingroup interests (Abramson & Asadullah, 2023). Dominant-group members may therefore rely on system-justifying ideologies to resist policies that threaten their status (Liaquat, Jost, & Balcells, 2023). This produces a core tension between universal justice claims and group-based motives to defend existing advantages, making the issue critical for research and public debate. Unlike many post-conflict harms, colonial wrongs are temporally distant and entwined with national identity (Peetz et al., 2010; Čehajić-Clancy & Brown, 2014).

The question of how societies benefiting from past injustices perceive their responsibility to repair them remains contentious, often clouded by common rationalizations like "it wasn't my fault". Recent reactions in Portugal to proposed reparations for its colonial past underscore existing societal tensions, revealing a stark division between acknowledging moral responsibility and defending national identity. Political parties have dismissed the proposals as "imported issues" and even labeled them "a betrayal of the country," highlighting

this fundamental conflict (Jones & Kassam, 2024). These political stances reflect deeper social psychological processes tied to understanding a nation's history, where narratives can activate cognitive and emotional responses that in turn shape support or resistance for reparative policies (Cyr & Hirst, 2024).

Such narratives are elaborated on the basis of ideologies that become a society's dominant story. In Portugal, for example, the colonial history is often characterized as benevolent and harmonious (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). This portrayal, known as luso-tropicalism, serves to justify the status quo and legitimize existing power structures (Vala et al., 2008; Valentim, 2021). While reconciliation in post-conflict societies has been studied (e.g., Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2017; Mullet, López López, & Pineda Marín, 2021), less is known about how colonial ideologies, like luso-tropicalism, shape perceptions of justice and political responsibility in modern policy contexts, specifically regarding reparative policies that either maintain or transform group hierarchies. This gap is significant given Fraser's (1996) argument that perceptions of fairness and responsibility are shaped by both the material and cultural legacies of injustice, with historical memories and social identities rooted in past hierarchies continuing to influence how justice is understood in the present. A Meta-Analysis by Hakim et al. (2021) further calls for differentiating between reparative intentions and the role of hegemonic social representations in shaping support for such measures.

To address this gap, the present research uses an experimental design to test whether support for reparations depends on policies that challenge versus reinforce existing hierarchies, and whether endorsement of luso-tropicalist beliefs shapes these perceptions. Moreover, to advance our understanding of the social psychological processes underlying the role of luso-tropicalism, it further examines social psychological mechanisms, specifically historical blame and in-group glorification. These mechanisms, which are central to defending and enhancing a positive in-group identity (Roccas et al., 2006; Vallabha et al., 2024), may mediate the relationship between perceived shifts in group hierarchy through reparations and support for such policies. By integrating ideological narratives with social psychological mechanisms, the study bridges theories of reparative justice with empirical research in political and social psychology, offering a novel contribution to understanding how former colonial powers, such as Portugal, respond to calls for historical justice.

CHAPTER 1

Theoretical Framework

1.1. Conceptual Foundations of Reparations

Global relations are shaped not only by current interactions between individuals and nations but also by the historical dynamics that structured the world order over centuries of cooperation and conflict (Acharya, 2023). Across societies, systems of justice evolved to restore moral order after harm, anchored in ever-evolving cultural and moral norms (Tyler, 2012; Csordas, 2013). When societal rules are broken, justice both protects victims and reaffirms shared norms (Okimoto & Wenzel, 2009). Two psychological notions guide people's responses: retributive justice, which involves punishing the offender to restore moral balance, and restorative justice, which emphasizes healing and rebuilding consensus among those affected through dialogue, restitution, and acknowledgment (Wenzel et al., 2008). For example, if someone breaks into your home, retributive justice might involve prison time or a fine, whereas restorative justice might center on a dialogue between victim and offender, including an apology and restitution, such as compensating the victim for damages and emotional distress.

While moral principles guide societies, on an intergroup level, they also reflect the dominant sociopolitical order of their time. For instance, Aristotle defended slavery as part of a supposed “natural order”, arguing that justice entailed corresponding social roles and resource distribution based on perceived natural abilities within the existing social hierarchy. On this basis, he argued that enslaved people were suited for servitude, while nobles were suited for privilege, thereby demonstrating how dominant norms have historically legitimized oppressive social structures embedded into hierarchical thinking (Nabolsy, 2019; Jhingran, 2012). Thereby illustrating that the principles of law and justice are shaped by prevailing moral understandings, i.e., what a society deems right or wrong at a given time (Moka-Mubelo, 2016). Colonialism, slavery, and genocide were justified through dominant ideologies of their time, even though they violated human dignity (King & Stone, 2007).

So what happens when the wrongdoing occurred so far in the past, when the laws and moral values of the time permitted acts, we now recognize as deeply unjust? A challenge of historical justice lies in reconciling present-day moral standards with distant past actions compared to more recent ones. Temporal distance can diffuse feelings of responsibility, generating uncertainty over who should repair historic harms, especially when denial or

deflection are at play (Vallabha et al., 2024; Peetz et al., 2010). Yet while direct perpetrators are no longer alive, the structures they created still define power relations and everyday life (Fasakin, 2021; Tomićić & Berardi, 2017). For this reason, differentiating between individual and group levels of victims and perpetrators is crucial. Colonial crimes involve collective perpetrators (e.g., the state) and victim groups whose members still experience consequences, while perpetrator group members enjoy privileges. This collective responsibility reflects the principle of correlativity, where reparative claims are specifically directed from victim groups to perpetrator groups (Truccone-Borgogno, 2022). Accounting for group wrongdoings and individual consequences distinguishes colonial wrongdoing from interpersonal transgressions and complicates assigning responsibility for redress.

Contemporary justice must therefore include a retrospective dimension, addressing how historical wrongs continue to harm and privilege individuals within groups in the present. Considering these enduring injustices, reparations have emerged as a key concept for redressing the long-term consequences of past crimes like colonialism. From a social justice perspective, fairness entails both equitable distribution of rights and resources, as well as recognition and dignity for all groups on a global social level (Jost & Kay, 2010). Thus, to ensure social justice for colonialism, it is necessary to address ongoing systems of discrimination and power imbalances. According to Immler (2021), reparative justice must be transformative because a narrow focus, such as on simple apologies or financial compensation, tends to address only part of the harm and risks leaving the underlying structures of inequality intact. Drawing on Laplante's (2013) continuum model, several dimensions of reparations can be distinguished, each reflecting different justice aims: Retributive – e.g., compensation for damage; Restorative – e.g., restoring dignity between victimized groups and perpetrators; Civic – e.g., rebuilding trust and ensuring the inclusion of formerly excluded groups in political and social life; Socioeconomic/Distributive – e.g., addressing wealth gaps and structural inequality such as discrimination. These approaches reflect different but overlapping goals, such as restoring dignity, acknowledging harm, and enabling future coexistence (Moffett, 2024). Reparations, in this sense, do not need to be limited to financial transfers. They include material measures like wealth redistribution or land return, and symbolic measures such as apologies or truth commissions (Goldstone, 2024; Klein & Fouksman, 2021; Marconi, 2024). Immler (2021) emphasizes that differentiating between types of reparation is crucial because each addresses distinct needs and levels of injustice; by integrating these different levels, reparations become not only a matter of redressing historical harm but also of reshaping power relations and dismantling systems of exclusion. The overarching aim of transformative reparations is to

dismantle the global hierarchies established through colonization and create more equitable societies by offering those historically harmed “relief from the disadvantages that now inflict them and assurance that they and their children will be respected and have an equal place in their society” (Thompson, 2005, p. 8). As de Greiff (2006) emphasizes, truly reparative measures must avoid reinforcing existing power dynamics. Symbolic gestures or development aid may have reparative effects, but unless they challenge structural inequalities, they risk becoming performative rather than transformative (Leyh & Fraser, 2019). Many former colonial powers acknowledge historical injustices but carefully avoid accepting legal responsibility, framing measures as voluntary moral obligations rather than legal ones. Sometimes, they are positioned more like grants, as in the case of Germany’s payments to Namibia, maintaining the systems of power that colonialism has created (Marconi, 2024). Moreover, as de Greiff (2009) notes, symbolic acts framed as reconciliation, if unaccompanied by deeper structural reforms, risk becoming “cheap talk” that undermines trust, reinforces existing power imbalances, and allows those responsible for or benefiting from historical wrongs to avoid meaningful change.

In sum, confronting colonial legacies requires taking multiple intersecting factors into account: the temporal distance between the original crime and the reparation claim; the group-based identification of victims and perpetrators; and the reparative intent, that is, whether efforts genuinely aim to transform structures or merely protect the status quo. These conceptual foundations set the stage for examining the social-psychological mechanisms that shape public support for reparations.

1.2. Understanding Hierarchy Through Group Ideologies

While the theoretical case for reparation addressing colonial crimes is strong, the reality of implementing such policies reveals a web of resistance with members of the perpetrator group protecting existing privileges and power structures. Transformative policies require restructuring intergroup hierarchies, which conflicts with motivations to preserve the current favorable position of the ingroup (Scheepers et al., 2010). Hence, policies that threaten an ingroup’s privileged social or economic position typically evoke perceived intergroup threat and violated-entitlement concerns, whereby the possible experience of status-loss predicts reduced support for those policies among dominant-group members (Durrheim et al., 2011; Waldzus et al., 2022). Wilkins and Kaiser (2014) describe this pattern as status-hierarchy threat, whereby dominant-group members interpret racial or social progress not as moral correction

but as an assault on their group's standing. This dynamic reflects what Blumer (1958) termed a sense of group position, a historically rooted belief in the ingroup's superiority, proprietary claims over resources, and vigilance against outgroup encroachment, which frames equality measures as positional threats. Extended to multiracial contexts, such positional beliefs are linked to perceptions of zero-sum competition over status and resources, which in turn predict opposition to policies seen as benefiting an outgroup (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). These historically conditioned, threat-based reactions are rarely raw: to understand why transformative reparations face opposition in high-status groups, we can consider multiple social psychological processes.

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests individuals organize their social world through processes of social categorization, that is, classifying themselves and others into social groups, including the self as a member of one or more categories. This classification is sufficient to activate social comparison, the process of evaluating one's in-group relative to relevant out-groups, and with it, the motivation for positive distinctiveness, the drive to see one's own group as positively differentiated from others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When group identity is salient, individuals are motivated to maintain a positive social identity, leading to in-group bias and out-group derogation, and resisting threats to their status or privileges. This motivation can hinder support for reparative justice, as individuals defend their group's advantages to maintain a distinct and positive social identity. However, historical injustices threaten the ingroup's positive self-image by exposing a gap between the group's past actions and their contemporary consequences, and its professed values (Morton & Sonnenberg, 2011). Members of the dominant group may see their advantaged position as the fair and proper outcome of past effort, or cultural superiority (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996), strengthening motivations to defend the existing hierarchy, interpreting challenges to it, such as transformative reparations, as unjust or undeserved. System-justifying ideologies and related motivational beliefs work to reduce the cognitive and moral dissonance evoked by historical harms by legitimizing existing inequalities and reframing past harms. Thereby, they protect in-group status and attenuate support for transformative justice principles.

The Belief in a Just World (BJW) theory (Lerner, 1977) posits that people are motivated to see the world as fair, such that individuals get what they deserve and deserve what they get. This motive organizes perceptions of the social world (theirs and others) and guides moral reasoning about harm and responsibility. Central to Lerner's account is the "personal contract", an implicit socio-psychological agreement individuals form with themselves, based on the expectation that following rules, delaying gratification will yield deserved rewards. In this way,

it functions as a form of sublimation, creating an idea of long-term, legitimate, and deserved benefits. However, this contract makes people vulnerable to the aversive implications of others' undeserved suffering, and therefore, they respond adaptively. When objective, low-cost corrections are possible and do not threaten their own standing, people will act to restore justice. By contrast, when restoring justice would threaten this belief in a just world by implying moral responsibility or requiring the redistribution of valued power and resources, people deploy justificatory strategies such as victim-blaming, denial, or minimizing the harm (Lerner, 1977). Applied to reparations, this process opens the door for a bifurcated response: support when remedies can be framed as nonthreatening, limited, or procedural, but resistance when policies openly redistribute power or highlight collective perpetration. Similarly, System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) proposes that in addition to motives to protect the self and the in-group, people are motivated to defend and legitimize the larger social, political, and economic system, even when that system produces or sustains inequality to their own disadvantage. This counterintuitive tendency, often referred to as false consciousness, occurs when members of disadvantaged groups adopt and endorse belief systems that rationalize their subordinate position, thus helping to preserve the very structures that limit their opportunities (Jost & Banaji, 2004). At the system-level, this motive encourages strategies that make the status quo appear natural, deserved, or inevitable, thereby reducing the psychological discomfort that arises when structural injustice is made salient, thus providing explanations for social structures (Jost, 2019).

Besides providing theoretical assumptions, guiding people's motives, scholars note how social and institutional mechanisms embed these motives. Social Dominance Theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) links these system-justifying tendencies and motivation to maintain a positive in-group identity to the way that these motives become concrete barriers to transformative reparations. SDT posits that human societies are organized into group-based hierarchies, wherein dominant groups enjoy privileged access to resources and power, while subordinate groups bear social, economic, and political disadvantages. Across history, these hierarchies have typically taken three forms, based on age, gender, and arbitrary social sets (e.g., race, ethnicity, nationality, class), with the latter being shaped by the specific historical and cultural context (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; see Sidanius et al., 2016, for a synthesis of the theory). This hierarchical system is sustained by "hierarchy-enhancing" (or maintaining) forces, which include individual and institutional discrimination, legitimizing myths and ideologies, and is resisted or mitigated by "hierarchy-attenuating" forces, which seek to reduce inequality, such as policies that redistribute resources (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Besides ways of

maintaining hierarchies, the theory identifies inter-individual differences in the motivation to preserve hierarchical relations between groups, a concept termed Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), which captures “the generalized orientation toward group-based social hierarchy” (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 39). High-SDO individuals tend to support social structures that advantage higher-status groups and maintain intergroup inequality (Jost & Thompson, 2000; Kteilya et al., 2011).

From the perspective of SDT, reparation policies can be framed as either hierarchy-enhancing (or maintaining) or hierarchy-attenuating, based on their impact on group-based power relation dynamics (Bergh et al., 2020); hierarchy-attenuating policies directly threaten the privileged position of dominant groups and disrupt legitimizing myths that make the current distribution of resources seem fair, or deserved (Kunst et al., 2020). Hierarchy-maintaining mechanisms can take the form of policy or help that appears benevolent while reproducing inequality (Amis et al., 2020). Research highlights that high-SDO individuals may favor policies that ultimately reinforce hierarchies (Ho & Unzueta, 2015), and advantaged groups may provide dependency-oriented help that preserves ingroup dominance (Nadler et al., 2009). Consequently, based on SDT, resistance to transformative policies can be expected, as they disrupt the order perpetuated by hierarchy-enhancing forces. Empirical research shows that hierarchy-preferring individuals, i.e., those higher in SDO, resist reparative acts that would attenuate hierarchy by showing lower support for hierarchy-attenuating apologies (Karunaratne & Laham, 2019). Sibley and Duckitt (2010) show that SDO increases endorsement of an equality-as-meritocracy legitimizing ideology over time, and that this ideology in turn produces increased opposition to resource-specific, redistributive policies

Taken together, SDT supplies both the macro-level mechanisms (institutions) and the micro-level individual differences (SDO) that explain why transformational reparations are likely to elicit stronger resistance from dominant-group members than performative measures that leave structural advantage intact (Kunst et al. 2020). Thus, we expect that when reparation policies directly challenge social hierarchies and aim to decrease in-group power relative to formerly colonized societies, support will decrease among members of dominant groups compared to the tolerance of policies with performative reparation design or reparative measures that are not related to colonialism (H1).

1.3. Luso-tropicalism: From Colonial Myth to Contemporary Resistance

Assuming Social Dominance Orientation is conceived as an individual difference that motivates people to preserve group-based hierarchies and opposing group-based egalitarianism, how do entire societies embed these motives into a broader societal level? Social Dominance Theory specifies how hierarchy-enhancing forces include "legitimizing myths" that justify and reproduce inequality at the collective level and operate as narratives or institutional logics (Pratto et al., 2010). Such legitimizing myths in turn shape collective beliefs and attitudes, whereas endorsement of these myths is stronger for individuals with a higher social dominance orientation (Quist & Resendez, 2002). These myths can take various forms, from justifying the use of animals as a necessity (Hyers, 2006), ethnic victimization among dominant group members (Thomsen et al., 2009), to refutation of historical responsibility (Sibley et al., 2007).

Historical representations shape contemporary attitudes and, in turn, support for policies. In Portugal, one of the most enduring examples of historical representations is the romanticized memory of the colonial past as an "Age of Discoveries", which minimizes or erases accounts of the violence, exploitation, and dispossession inflicted upon colonized populations (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). The idea that Portuguese colonizers presumably had the ability to adapt to the tropics originates from the seminal book "Casa-Grande e Senzala" (The Masters and the Slaves) by Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre (1933), in which he compared race relations in Brazil with those in the United States. While the latter had been defined by rigid racial segregation, he portrayed Portuguese colonization in Brazil as producing harmonious relations through widespread biological and cultural mixing (Bastos, 2019). This difference, he argued, stemmed from Portugal's own history of ethnic and cultural mixing, which had created a natural predisposition towards adaptation and cultural integration. This concept became known as "lusotropicalism" as it was developed further in his work "The Portuguese and the Tropics" (Freyre, 1961), where he describes the mode of Portuguese colonization in which extensive miscegenation and cultural exchange produced a distinctive lusotropical civilization that he celebrates as integrative rather than segregationist. However, although originally conceptualized as a revolutionary academic thesis for race relations, this account was politically appropriated during the Estado Novo dictatorship under Salazar and transformed into an ideology, used to portray Portuguese colonialism as uniquely benevolent and racially tolerant, thereby legitimizing colonial rule (Bastos, 2019). Salazar's regime reframed Freyre's account, transforming it into a state-backed doctrine framed as a moral project of benign miscegenation, viewing colonies not as separate but as one large

intercontinental Portugal, rather than as an exploitative system, as a way to deflect criticism of the ongoing colonization. Bastos (2019, p. 257) describes this narrative as "a distorting mirror that provided the viewer a positive image while eclipsing from sight and cognition the harsh realities of racism and colonialism". Beyond its function as a historical narrative, research has identified that luso-tropicalism extends into a modern dimension, with effects on current intergroup relations (Vala et al., 2008; Valentim, 2021). A principal component analysis identifies distinct aspects: "*harmonious relations with other groups*" "*good colonial past*", "*ability to adapt to other cultures*", and "*easy cultural integration of other groups into Portuguese society*" (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). Specifically, this ideology presents Portuguese society as multiracial and harmonious, correlates with less critical appraisals of the Portuguese as historical colonizers, while failing to valorize colonized peoples, indicating luso-tropicalism helps preserve a positive ingroup image (Valentim & Heleno, 2018).

Social Representations Theory (Moscovici, 1988), helps explain how luso-tropicalism becomes an institutionalized ideology, by explaining how claims like Freyre's move from scholarly discourse into common sense through processes of anchoring (i.e., assimilation of the new object into pre-existing categories and norms) and objectification (i.e., process by which abstract ideas are turned into concrete images or metaphors that make them visible and discussable in ordinary language). Through these processes, complex concepts become shared frameworks that guide society's interpretation of the past as well as present intergroup relations. Through the dissemination through education, media, and political discourse, the luso-tropicalism narrative has persisted across regime change and generations, where textbook analyses reveal systematic omissions or softening of colonial violence, reproducing luso-tropicalism into a "common sense" (Valentim, 2021). This myth acts as a social representation of Portugal's way of being, structures perception (making certain facts less visible), and legitimates practices (by providing a normative narrative of Portuguese exceptionality) (Valentim, 2021). Empirical research shows that luso-tropicalism is positively associated with prejudice and tendencies to explain immigrants' disadvantages as stemming from the other rather than structural inequality, such as lack of effort, or even racial explanations, signaling that LT operates ideologically to justify contemporary inequalities (Valentim & Heleno, 2018).

Besides Portugal, social representations about colonial times in other contexts, such as Belgium's colonization of Congo, also show that depending on the representation of colonial times as bringing development to a population or exploiting them, shifts the attitudes towards the population and support for reparations (Lastrego et al., 2023). Research shows that perceived in-group moral superiority, as well as lower perception of victim suffering, reduces

reparation intentions (Starzyk & Ross, 2008; Szabo et al., 2017). Whereas perceptions of inequality increase demands for redistribution, where's this effect is strongly shaped by political ideology (Bussolo et al., 2021).

So, while Social Dominance Theory explains individual motivation to preserve hierarchical social structures and legitimizing myths as a way to stabilize these hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Social Representation Theory addresses how these legitimizing myths, like luso-tropicalism, are disseminated at the societal level to transmit pro-hierarchy narratives (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). Together, these perspectives position luso-tropicalism as a societally shared legitimizing myth whose core elements justify existing hierarchies, functioning beyond the individual level of SDO to shape cultural and institutional narratives. Homer-Dixon et al. (2013) conceptualize ideologies, such as luso-tropicalism as multi-level networks: cognitive-affective systems within individuals embedded in broader social networks of communication and institutions. This dynamic can be understood through a micro, meso, macro pathway: (a) at the micro level, SDO motivates preference for hierarchy in individuals; (b) at the meso level, luso-tropicalism provides culturally available justifications for that hierarchy; and (c) at the macro level, social networks and institutions distribute and stabilize luso-tropicalism as a policy-relevant narrative.

Consequently, support for reparational policies addressing historical crimes cannot be assessed solely in terms of their intent for hierarchical change but must also be viewed through an ideological lens that considers specific cultural narratives, such as luso-tropicalism (Pratto et al., 2006; Valentim & Heleno, 2018). As a pervasive social representation, luso-tropicalism is embedded within Portuguese collective identity, from which the Portuguese are socialized from early life into this narrative (Valentim, 2021). Through processes of socialization, individuals internalize luso-tropicalist ideas to different extents, leading to variation in endorsement. These endorsement levels shape how individuals interpret and evaluate issues concerning Portugal's colonial past: those high in luso-tropicalism are more inclined to emphasize positive historical narratives, to resist acknowledging structural injustice; those low in Luso-tropicalism are more open to critical historical perspectives (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). When debates or policies concerning the colonial legacy become salient, for instance, through proposals for reparations, these underlying orientations are activated. High-luso-tropicalism individuals' defensive interpretive lens will be most strongly triggered by hierarchy-attenuating reparation designs that threaten the cherished image of Portugal as a benevolent colonizer, thereby reducing their support, whereas in performative or control conditions, where no such threat is posed, endorsement of luso-tropicalism is expected to exert

little influence. This conditional influence presents a moderation mechanism: the impact of reparation policy framing on support is expected to vary systematically depending on luso-tropicalism endorsement (H2). Specifically, we expect that the negative effect of reparations framing as hierarchy-attenuating on support will be stronger at higher levels of luso-tropicalism: for participants high in luso-tropicalism, exposure to either reparations condition (CSQ or RSQ) will be associated with lower support for reparations relative to the control condition (H2a). The moderating effect of luso-tropicalism is hypothesized to be specific to the colonial context. Therefore, we predict no significant association between Luso-tropicalism endorsement and policy support within the control condition, as the policy presented is unrelated to Portugal's colonial past (H2b). Lastly, we assume the moderating role of luso-tropicalism will be greater for the CSQ vs. Control contrast than for the RSQ vs. Control contrast: that is, the negative effect of CSQ on support at high luso-tropicalism will exceed the negative effect of RSQ at high luso-tropicalism (H2c).

1.4. How Identity Processes Mediate the Impact of Reparations Design

The specific mechanisms of how challenges to the status quo through policies and cultural ideologies influence support for reparations remains an important area of exploration for psychological research. According to dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), people have multiple ways of dealing with the discomfort that can arise when confronted with information that threatens their worldview. They may justify their existing beliefs or attitudes — for example, claiming that colonization was not harmful — or they may change their behavior or attitudes to align their in-group's views with the information, such as by supporting reparations and indeed promoting harmonious relationships. Social Identity Theory adds that when a person's social identity is salient, threats to the moral image of their ingroup are often regulated in ways that maintain a positive group image (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Confrontation with historical harm can therefore motivate either moral emotion-based responses (e.g., guilt, shame) that support reparations, or defensive identity strategies that protect the ingroup from blame (Bilewicz, 2016; Doosje et al., 2006).

Vallabha et al. (2024), define historical blame as a moral judgement that occurs when current groups are held responsible for the past wrongs of a group where the original oppressors are already deceased, thus taking into account actions of their in-group in the past. However, they theorize that antecedents of historical blame, namely perceived connectedness between past and present perpetrator groups, continued harm to victims, continued benefit to

perpetrators, and unfulfilled obligations, and how political narratives can mobilize these factors to increase perceptions of blame to then support reparations (Vallabha et al., 2024). Much of the psychological research on reconciliation is based on an emotion-regulation perspective, which explores how collective emotions shape support for reparations (Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2016; Hakim et al., 2021). Different emotions work differently; for instance, Hakim et al. (2021) find that shame has a bigger impact on symbolic reparations, whereas both guilt and shame are undermined by high-effort demands for reconciliation, highlighting the need to disentangle different types of policies and the mechanisms that lead to support or opposition. Additionally, individuals must hold their ingroup responsible for the past harmful or illegitimate actions for guilt to occur (Doosje et al., 2006). Understanding cognitive appraisals of in-group blameworthiness in response to calls for reparation is, therefore, an important antecedent for further research. Vallabha et al. (2024) state that the factors of historical blame “can be thought of as the possible contents of historical narratives” (page 643) and can thus be influenced by policy frames, for example, a call for reparations highlighting ongoing injustices and continued benefits.

However, historical narratives can also distort perceptions of the in-group's responsibility. Previous studies identify the belief in the legitimacy of accepting responsibility for the ingroup's past actions as an important moderator between perceiving ingroup responsibility and personally accepting it (Čehajić-Clancy & Brown, 2014). This reflects psychological defenses that allow people to avoid moral burden by rejecting or reframing responsibility. If a society's dominant historical account treats past atrocities as illegitimate subjects for collective responsibility, people may not see acceptance as fair, thereby distorting moral judgment, reducing guilt, and hindering reconciliation. While a positive in-group image can be affirmed by supporting reparations for past atrocities, historical narratives can also be used to maintain that image by justifying the status quo and promoting moral disengagement.

Confrontation with the ingroup's past transgressions through reparations could therefore have different cognitive effects depending on the narrative people have about their past. Empirical evidence supports this idea that dominant historical accounts often resist change, even when confronted with moral-image threats. Cyr and Hirst (2024) found that while salient racial injustices, such as the murder of George Floyd, briefly increased the salience of race-relevant events in Americans' collective memories, core “charter events” like the nation's founding remained resistant to change. This persistence of identity-anchoring narratives may limit sustained shifts toward supporting reparations. Strong social identity can lead group members to express collective moral emotions to a lesser extent, show more ethnocentric biases,

and support the silencing and denial of negative historical actions. Specifically, “Social identity is not only a source of collective moral emotions but also a source of historical defensiveness, a system that often encourages the downregulation of aversive emotions, such as guilt, shame, or remorse” (Bilewicz, 2016, p. 93).

One form of defensive identification is in-group glorification, which idealizes the ingroup’s history and portrays it as superior to others. Roccas et al. (2006) distinguish glorification from attachment to the ingroup, defining it as an idealized allegiance to the ingroup that elevates perceived superiority, fosters unquestioning support for ingroup authorities, and promotes resistance to moral criticism. Glorification is associated with exonerating cognitions, beliefs that deny, downplay, or reframe ingroup wrongdoing, thereby reducing the perceived moral responsibility of the ingroup (Figueiredo et al., 2011). In the Portuguese context, luso-tropicalism serves as a key ideological resource for such exonerating cognition, by being culturally entrenched. It provides ready-made moral justifications that recast colonial history as benevolent and mutually beneficial. As Figueiredo et al. (2011) observe, high glorifiers may draw on luso-tropicalist representations to neutralize moral threat, suppress guilt, and sustain opposition to costly reparations. For example, participants high in glorification were more likely to agree with statements such as “*The Portuguese were victims of the colonial war*” and “*The descriptions of the colonial war are too negative in relation to the role of the Portuguese.*” Policy designs that strongly signal hierarchy-threatening redistribution are likely to provoke identity-protective responses among those who endorse luso-tropicalist narratives, increasing in-group glorification and reducing attributions of historical blame. In-group glorification, therefore, functions as a cognitive–motivational filter that screens policy information through an identity-protective narrative, while historical blame represents the opposite route, making responsibility salient and increasing reparative impulses.

Based on this reasoning, we expect that the cognitive mediator activated by a given policy design will interact with participants’ levels of luso-tropicalism, leading us to predict multiple pathways. Exposure to a reparations policy framed as threatening to Portugal’s power (CSQ) will decrease collective historical blame compared to control and RSQ, whereas RSQ will reduce blame to a lower extent (H3). Exposure to a reparations policy framed as threatening to Portugal’s power (CSQ) will increase in-group glorification compared to control and RSQ (H4). The effect of manipulations on support for reparations will be mediated by (H5a) historical blame and (H5b) in-group glorification; specifically, greater historical blame will predict greater support, whereas greater in-group glorification will predict lower support. The indirect effects in H5 will be conditional on participants’ endorsement of luso-tropicalism: the

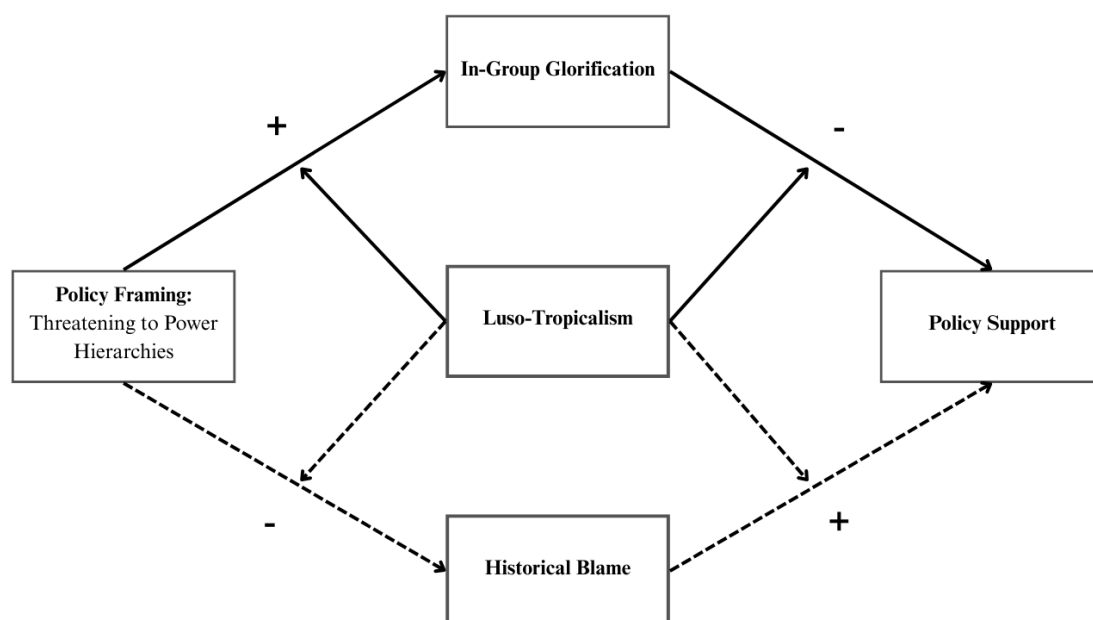
indirect effect via historical blame will be stronger for participants low in luso-tropicalism, while the indirect effect via in-group glorification will be stronger for participants high in luso-tropicalism (H6).

1.5. Study Overview: Linking Ideology, Identity, and Policy Design

While theory has concentrated on who to hold responsible for colonial reparations (Chan, 2025), the question of how ideologies that shape perceptions of the past, such as luso-tropicalism, affect public support for reparative measures remains insufficiently addressed (Hakim et al., 2021). This disseration proposes the following theoretical model, depicted in Figure 1, to examine this relationship and explore the psychological processes involved. The model clarifies the hypothesized relationship between exposure to different reparation policy designs, those that challenge versus reinforce existing power hierarchies, and individual support for reparative measures. Furthermore, it illustrates how this relationship is moderated by ideological endorsement of luso-tropicalism and mediated by collective historical blame and in-group glorification.

Figure 1.

Conceptual Model of the Main Study.



Note: Policy Framing manipulated with three conditions (CSQ; RSQ; Control). For the depiction of the hypothesized directional effects, the concepts these manipulations are addressing, threatening current power hierarchies. Solid lines present the hypothesized mechanism for individuals high in luso-tropicalism, dashed lines for low luso-tropicalism.

Two sequential studies test these assumptions through an experimental approach. The first, a pilot study, serves two purposes: conceptually, it explores how reparation policy framing affects perceived changes in national hierarchy, thus defining the independent variable for the main study; methodologically, it validates the manipulation for the main study by predicting activation of perceived change in power. One benefit of examining the effectiveness of a manipulation through a pilot study, instead of conventional manipulation checks, is to avoid confounding with the intended manipulation (Hauser et al., 2018). Building on these findings, the main experimental study tests the full theoretical model. Table 1 in Appendix A summarizes the hypothesized effects. It investigates whether and how perceived changes in social power brought about by the framing of reparations policies affect support for those policies, as well as how these effects are moderated by personal endorsement of luso-tropicalist ideologies. By experimentally manipulating the independent variable, we can establish the temporal order of influence chain and minimize confounding influences, thereby attributing observed differences in the dependent variable to the manipulation. The clear connection between the manipulation and the dependent variables further strengthens the study's internal validity and supports causal inference.

1.6. Positionality Statement

This research is situated within an academic context in the Global North and conducted in Portugal, which inevitably shapes the framing and focus of the study. As a White woman from Europe, although not directly embedded in the historical or cultural context of Portuguese colonialism, I acknowledge benefiting from privileges shaped by colonialism. These factors, along with my political stance, influence my approach to the topic, including the questions I ask, the literature I use, and my data collection. It is important to recognize that truly transformative reparative justice initiatives should be shaped by those affected by historical injustices, rather than imposed by former oppressors under the guise of reparation (Leyh & Fraser, 2019). Research on colonialism should center these voices. In this study, I engage with a discourse that, while embedded in my broader European context, is not mine to define. Rather than prescribing what justice should look like, I aim to critically examine how dominant narratives in Portugal function to resist historical accountability.

CHAPTER 2

Pilot Testing

The pilot study was designed to ensure that the experimental manipulation in the main study would elicit the intended psychological construct of perceived challenging vs. maintaining social power/hierarchy relations. Social ranks in humans have two interrelated bases, power and status, referring to control of resources and respect from others. These bases shape social processes on multiple levels, from interpersonal, to intergroup to societal, and are established throughout intergroup history (Van Kleef & Cheng, 2020). In formerly colonizing contexts, such as Portugal's, reparation policies can be perceived as a challenge to these social ranks, however these perceptions can differ on multiple levels of hierarchy (e.g. Chakrabarti, 2022). The first study in this research pilot-tests the manipulation to determine whether exposure to different reparation policy framings (challenging, reinforcing, or unrelated to the current hierarchy of Portuguese society) produces measurable changes in participants' perception of Portugal's relative hierarchy, i.e., power/status. The results of the pilot study further enhance the manipulation and define the independent variable of the main study, i.e. the underlying psychological construct of these manipulations.

2.1. Methods

To assess whether the manipulation effectively differentiates perceptions of hierarchy, a 2×4 mixed-design experiment was conducted, with Time (T1 vs. T2) as the within-subjects factor and Reparations Policy Framing (four levels: Challenge the Status Quo (CSQ) Reinforce the Status Quo (RSQ), Control (Version 1), Control (Version 2)) as the between-subjects factor. The CSQ condition framed reparations as hierarchy-attenuating and aimed to reduce global inequalities rooted in colonial hierarchies; the RSQ condition framed reparations as hierarchy-maintaining and emphasized stability and continuity; and the Control condition presented a policy unrelated to colonial history. "After an initial round of data collection, analysis indicated that the first control vignette (Version 1) needed revision. A second control vignette (Version 2) was therefore developed, and the design was adapted to a four-group comparison to test all framings.

2.1.1. Participants

An a priori sample size analysis using G*Power determined the required sample size (Faul et al., 2007). Assuming a medium effect of the manipulation for Analysis of Variances (ANOVA), across all conditions, with two measurements of the dependent variables, a minimally required sample size of 66 participants was estimated (G*Power parameters: $f = 0.4$, $\alpha = .05$, $1-\beta = 0.80$, correlation among repeated measures $r = 0.99$; originally calculated for three groups, more participants were recruited based on adaptation to the Control group). To participate in the study, participants had to be at least 18 years old, have Portuguese nationality, and indicate that their parents and grandparents were born in Portugal. These criteria were implemented to minimize the potential influence of multicultural family backgrounds on participants' adherence to luso-tropicalism.

In total, 216 participants began the experiment. After accounting for those who discontinued or were excluded, a final sample of 95 participants was obtained and randomly assigned to one of the four conditions. Participants were mainly recruited at ISCTE University and the University of Lisbon. Additionally, personal relations and social media were used. Sample characteristics and an overview of the experimental groups are demonstrated in Table 1 for the distribution of gender and Table 2 for other demographic variables.

Table 1.

Gender Distribution between Experimental Conditions.

Experimental Condition	Total		Challenge Status Quo		Reinforce Status Quo		Control (Version 1)		Control (Version 2)	
	<i>N</i> = 95		<i>n</i> = 25		<i>n</i> = 24		<i>n</i> = 25		<i>n</i> = 21	
Gender										
Female	58	61.1%	11	44%	16	66.7%	17	68%	14	66.7%
Male	34	35.8%	13	52%	8	33.3%	6	24%	7	33.3%
Other Definition	2	2.1%	0	0%	0	0%	2	8%	0	0%
Prefer not to say	1	1%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

Table 2.*Sample Demographics between Experimental Conditions.*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max
Age				
Challenge Quo	28.9	14.71	19	73
Reinforce Quo	24	5.35	18	36
Control (Version 1)	23.83	7.41	19	49
Control (Version 2)	23.47	4.99	19	41
Total (<i>n</i> = 71)	25.21	9.45	18	73
Political Orientation				
Challenge Quo	4.24	2.65	0	10
Reinforce Quo	3.26	2.13	0	7
Control (Version 1)	4.81	2.16	1	10
Control (Version 2)	5.52	2.64	0	10
Total (<i>n</i> = 86)	4.48	2.52	0	10
Education (in years)				
Challenge Quo	14.56	3.89	1	24
Reinforce Quo	16.88	4.54	12	30
Control (Version 1)	16.48	5.64	4	30
Control (Version 2)	15.38	2.77	10	21
Total (<i>n</i> = 95)	15.83	4.42	1	30

Note. M = mean; SD = standard deviation; Min = minimum; Max = maximum. Sample sizes differ across variables because participants were not required to provide all demographic information.

2.1.2. Procedure and Materials

All participants completed the experiment on the online platform Qualtrics. After providing informed consent and demographic information to confirm their eligibility, they completed a questionnaire organized in 3 blocks of tasks.

First, participants responded to questions about perceived relative hierarchical positioning of Portugal (serving as the baseline T1 against which change was analyzed), potential covariates, such as Social Dominance Orientation, Right Wing Authoritarianism, and

System Justification, as well as demographic data to mitigate any potential effects of the measures. Next, participants were randomly assigned to read a vignette in which we manipulated the frame of reparation policies. These manipulations were developed to systematically vary how reparations policy proposals are framed relative to social hierarchy, aligning with Social Dominance Theory's distinction between hierarchy-attenuating and hierarchy-enhancing policies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al., 2006) and the reparations literature's distinction between transformative and performative approaches (Immler, 2021; Leyh & Fraser, 2019).

The Challenge the Status Quo (CSQ) vignette framed reparations as a moral duty to end colonial-era hierarchies, explicitly aiming to reduce inequalities and redistribute resources to formerly colonized groups. The Reinforce the Status Quo (RSQ) vignette emphasised stability and progress over disruption and explicitly warned against “radically transforming” the existing social order, instead focusing on symbolic or narrowly targeted support. The Control condition presented an unrelated policy proposal, whereas version one and two differed in topic. Control (version 1) read a text on library reforms and Control (Version 2) on urban park developments. Because of this modification, data were collected in two rounds, and in the second-round participants were only assigned to the revised control condition. These were later merged with the other conditions into the final dataset. The exact vignettes and their translation are displayed in Figures 1 - 4 in Appendix B. Though the goal of a pilot is not hypothesis testing but the collection of preliminary data to further inform follow-up hypothesis testing, it is possible to formulate expectations about the effectiveness of the manipulation. Specifically, an effective manipulation would predict that participants in the CSQ condition, compared to those in the RSQ and Control conditions, would perceive a significant decrease in Portugal's global hierarchy from pre- to post-manipulation.

In the subsequent phase, they completed the second measurement of the hierarchy measures (T2) as well as other control variables introduced to explore potential confounding effects that the manipulation may have, namely relative deprivation and intergroup threat. To ensure that the manipulation does not have any negative consequences, participants were debriefed in the end and had the opportunity to give anonymous feedback in an open question (materials available in the Appendix B, Figures 5 & 6). Because the study was presented to the participants in Portuguese language, all materials were translated back-and-forth twice with the help of the online translator DeepL. Additionally, they were reviewed by three native speakers from Brazil and Portugal to ensure accuracy and minimize potential bias.

2.1.3. Measures

Multiple measures were used to explore the effect of the manipulation. To assess the internal consistency of the scales, Cronbach's alpha (α), with a cut-off value of .70 to determine acceptable reliability, was calculated (Streiner, 2003). In addition, participants were requested to provide demographic data such as their age, gender, education, and political orientation. A summary of all the operationalizations and measurement scales used can be found in Table 1 in Appendix B.

Group Hierarchy Measures

Three different measures assess the relative hierarchy of Portugal compared to former colonies. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, these measures capture different aspects of group hierarchy, allowing for a deeper analysis of the variable. First, a five-point Likert scale used by Outten et al. (2018) in the Portuguese context to measure perceived legitimacy of status was adapted and expanded to three items as recommended by Marsh et al. (1998). An example item is “Native Portuguese people have a higher social status in society than people from the former Portuguese colonies.” Which participants rated from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.

The second measure assesses relative status and power between Portuguese and people from former colonies with three self-created items each on a five-point bipolar scale, where one extreme represents Portuguese and the other people of the former colonies. Participants were asked to indicate the group of people to whom they believe these aspects apply most. Example items are “Power to influence relevant political decisions” and “They are more socially respected”. The items are based on the difference between power and status that make up social group hierarchies (Van Kleef & Cheng, 2020). The items are coded so that higher numbers indicate more status/power perception for people from the former colonies and lower numbers for Portuguese.

Lastly, the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler et al., 2000) was adapted to assess a group status instead of an individual. For this measure, participants placed Portugal on a visual ladder where the top represented countries with high global status (e.g., “great influence, many resources”) and the bottom represented countries with low status (e.g., what people classify as “weak countries”).

Reliability analysis revealed very good internal consistencies for the composite hierarchy measures at pre- and post-measurements of the experiment. The corresponding values

for Cronbach's alpha are the following: legitimacy of status $T1\alpha = .81$; $T2\alpha = .91$; comparative status and power $T1\alpha = .86$; $T2\alpha = .92$.

Relative Deprivation

As an exploratory dependent variable Relative Deprivation (Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981) is assessed as a post-manipulation measure to check whether the different reparation policies differ in regard to perceived deprivation for Portugal. Participants rated five items on a five-point Likert scale which were adapted to an intergroup context from the Personal Relative Deprivation Scale (Callan et al., 2011). An example item is “The Portuguese would be treated less favorably than people from the former colonies.”. The scale shows a lower internal consistency ($\alpha = .64$), which increases by removing one item to $\alpha = .78$.

Intergroup Threat

Another exploratory measure are intergroup threat appraisals that the reparation policies may evoke differently, depending on whether they aim to shift Portugal's hierarchical position or not. Four items, such as “Portugal's achievements would be threatened by the implementation of reparations to the former colonies.”, based on a scale developed by Outten et al. (2018) assess perceived threat to the ingroup on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). The scale showed a good internal consistency, $\alpha = .76$.

Motivational Ideologies

To control for the possible effect of ideologies Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), and System Justification were measured before the manipulation. These ideologies reinforce hierarchical thinking through different mechanisms (e.g. Duckitt, 2006; Gaubert & Louvet, 2021). All three variables were assessed with validated scales on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. SDO was measured with 8 items of the SDO-7 scale (Ho et al., 2015), reflecting both dominance and egalitarianism orientations. RWA was measured with 6 items of the Very Short Authoritarianism Scale developed by Bizumic & Duckitt (2018). Finally, System Justification was measured using four items from the System Justification Scale (Kay & Jost, 2003). These specific items were selected based on their successful validation across multiple countries by Vargas-Salfate and colleagues (2018).

In the present sample, the constructs present a very good internal consistency for SDO, $\alpha = .85$, and System Justification, $\alpha = .82$, and a good one for RWA, $\alpha = .72$.

2.1.4. Data Analysis Strategy

For data analysis, the statistical software SPSS (Version 29) was used. Due to the revised control vignette, data were collected in two waves. These datasets were then merged to create a single, integrated file for the final analysis.

Prior to running the analysis, outliers in the residuals of the model were detected and removed as described by Judd et al. (2017), to prevent a small number of extreme cases from disproportionately influencing parameter estimates. The results only present the most relevant analysis for the study; additional exploratory analysis was run and can be presented upon request.

2.2. Results

2.2.1. Preliminary Analyses

To assess whether randomization of participants to the three experimental conditions was balanced between the experimental conditions, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the T1 measurements of the dependent variables. The results indicate no significant differences between the groups, supporting randomization, Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.899$, $F(9, 214.32) = 1.07$, $p = .387$, $\eta^2_p = .035$. Follow-up univariate effects (ANOVA) tested differences between the groups on demographic variables. All ANOVAs showed no significant differences, except for one on political orientation, $F(3, 82) = 3.1$, $p = .031$, where participants in the second control group ($M = 5.52$, $SD = 2.64$) reported more extreme right-leaning positions than those in the maintain-quo group ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 2.13$), $p = .022$. Inspection of the data indicated that this difference was due to a small number of extreme scores within the second control group, however removing these outliers would have resulted in a too small number of participants within the group for further analysis. Since there are no differences in the pre-measurement of the dependent variable the difference in political orientation may be disregarded, however should be considered when interpreting the results. Table 3 provides an overview of the means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of all the examined factors and measurement times.

Table 3.*Descriptives and Intercorrelations.*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Legitimacy Status (T1)	3.59	.96	1								
2. Legitimacy Status (T2)	3.38	.92	.534**	1							
3. Status & Power (T1)	1.71	.67	-.514**	-.455**	1						
4. Status & Power (T2)	2.04	.79	-.263*	-.584**	.644* *	1					
5. SDO	2.14	.77	-.196	.018	.168	.090	1				
6. RWA	2.31	.73	-.340**	-.232*	.147	.051	.639**	1			
7. System Justification	2.02	.65	-.092	-.075	.160	.306*	.441**	.457**	1		
8. Relative Deprivation	2.49	.73	-.266*	-.450**	.271*	.432**	.464**	.558**	.428**	1	
9. Intergroup Threat	2.61	.92	-.034	-.016	.195	.073	.656**	.550**	.442**	.470**	1

Note: ** - Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * - Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

2.2.2. Test in Hierarchy Measures

To test the effect of the manipulation on the hierarchy perception measures between the different experimental groups mixed-design ANOVAs with group as the between factor and time (i.e. pre or post manipulations) serving as the within-subjects factor were run. Table 4 depicts descriptive statistics for each condition at both time points.

Table 4.*Between-group Means on Hierarchy Measurements.*

Experimental Conditions	Legitimacy of Status		Power and Status	
	T1: $M \pm SD$	T2: $M \pm SD$	T1: $M \pm SD$	T2: $M \pm SD$
CSQ	3.44 $\pm$.23	3.28 $\pm$.22	1.47 $\pm$.17	1.77 $\pm$.19
RSQ	3.58 $\pm$.22	3.40 $\pm$.21	1.88 $\pm$.16	1.91 $\pm$.17
Control (1)	3.68 $\pm$.21	3.42 $\pm$.20	1.77 $\pm$.16	2.23 $\pm$.17
Control (2)	3.52 $\pm$.24	3.40 $\pm$.23	1.67 $\pm$.17	1.94 $\pm$.19
Total	3.60 $\pm$.92	3.38 $\pm$.91	1.72 $\pm$.67	1.97 $\pm$.73

Note: CSQ = Challenge Status Quo, RSQ = Reinforce Status Quo.

Initial analyses on the broader measures of hierarchy perception on legitimacy of status and a combined power and status scale, did not reveal a significant interaction effect between time and experimental group. This indicated that the manipulation did not produce differential effects on these general measures. For legitimacy of status, there was a significant main effect of time, $F(1, 72) = 3.76, p = .056, \eta^2_p = .05$, indicating that scores decreased significantly from T1 to T2. The main effect of group as well as the interaction between the time and group was not significant, $F(3, 72) = 0.17, p = .914, \eta^2_p = .007$; $F(3, 72) = 0.089, p = .966, \eta^2_p = .004$. This suggests that the manipulation did not significantly impact participants' perceived legitimacy of status. This effect stays stable even when including political orientation, SDO, RWA and System Justification into the model as covariates. For the measure combining status and power, there was again a significant main effect of time, $F(1, 62) = 17.50, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .220$, with an increase between T1 ($M = 1.696$) to T2 ($M = 1.965$), indicating that participants perceive the manipulation to shift the power and status from Portuguese to people of former colonies. The analysis shows no significant main effect of group, $F(3, 62) = 1.02, p = .391, \eta^2_p = .047$, or interaction between group and time, $F(3, 62) = 2.04, p = .118, \eta^2_p = .09$, indicating that the manipulation does not affect a shift in perceived power and status.

However, when the power and status components of hierarchy were analyzed separately, the manipulation demonstrated its intended effect specifically on the dimension of perceived power ($\alpha T1 = .801$; $\alpha T2 = .871$). Analyses indicate a marginally significant interaction effect for group and times, $F(3, 62) = 2.54, p = .065, \eta^2_p = .109$, besides the

significant main effect of time, $F(1, 62) = 13.91, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .183$, and non-significant main effect of group, $F(3, 62) = 0.836, p = .479, \eta^2_p = .039$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons clarify this interaction. As predicted, participants in the Challenge Status Quo (CSQ) condition perceived a significant shift in power from T1 ($M = 1.378, SD = .184$) to T2 ($M = 1.8, SD = .211$), $b = -.422, SE = .17, p = .015$. While in the first control group, there is a significant shift in perceived power from T1 ($M = 1.63, SD = .168$) to T2 ($M = 2.167, SD = .192$), $b = -.537, SE = .155, p < .001$, the adjustments to the control group manipulation make this difference non-significant, $b = -.289, SE = .170, p = 0.093$, indicating that the adjustments were necessary and successful. Additionally, there is no significant shift in perceived power in participants in the RSQ condition from T1 ($M = 1.963, SD = .168$) to T2 ($M = 1.926, SD = .192$), $b = .037, SE = .155, p = .812$.

Although there is a significant shift in perceived status ($\alpha T1 = 0.809; \alpha T2 = 0.895$) change, so that participants perceive people from former colonies to have a higher status after the reparation manipulation, $F(1, 62) = 12.07, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .163$, there is no difference between the groups, $F(3, 62) = 1.32, p = .275, \eta^2_p = .06$, or an interaction between group and time, $F(3, 62) = 0.845, p = .474, \eta^2_p = .039$.

2.2.3. Exploratory Analysis

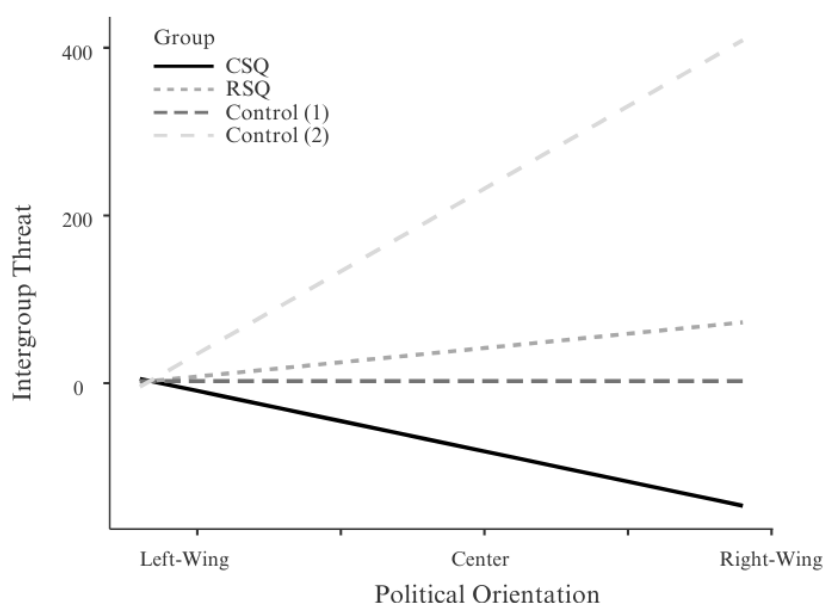
To examine whether participants differed in perceived intergroup threat and relative deprivation across experimental conditions, two separate one-way ANOVAs were conducted. For relative deprivation, there was no statistically significant effect of condition, $F(3, 57) = 0.02, p = .996, \eta^2_p = .001$, suggesting that perceptions of deprivation did not differ across groups. However, for perceived intergroup threat, there was a significant effect of condition, $F(3, 57) = 3.327, p = .026, \eta^2_p = .149$, suggesting that the procedure manipulated intergroup threat. Post hoc comparisons using Tukey's HSD indicated that participants in the RSQ condition ($M = 2.20, SD = 0.90$) reported significantly lower intergroup threat than those in second Control ($M = 3.17, SD = 0.85$), $b = -.97, SE = .324, p = .021$.

Given the baseline imbalance in political orientation noted in the preliminary analyses, an Analysis of Covariances (ANCOVA) was conducted to assess whether political orientation and social dominance orientation may have influenced the results. Both covariates were mean-centered prior to analysis. The analysis revealed that SDO was a significant predictor of perceived intergroup threat, $F(1, 40) = 15.652, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .281$, indicating that higher SDO was associated with greater threat perception across conditions. In addition, there was a significant interaction between group and political orientation, $F(3, 40) = 4.113, p = .012, \eta^2_p =$

.236. This suggests that the relationship between a participant's political views and their level of perceived threat was different depending on which policy vignette they read. Figure 2 depicts this interaction.

Figure 2.

Political Orientation on Intergroup Threat.



Note. Political Orientation was measured on a 10-point scale where lower numbers aligned with more left-wing orientation and higher with right-wing.

2.3. Discussion

The primary objective of the pilot study was to determine whether the experimental manipulation effectively corresponded to participants' perceived change in Portugal's hierarchical position based on the vignette they read. Specifically, it tested whether the CSQ condition was perceived as hierarchy-attenuating, the RSQ condition as hierarchy-maintaining, and the control condition as hierarchy-maintaining, as it is unrelated to colonial relations.

Results indicate that the manipulation achieved its primary goal, providing targeted validation for the key theoretical construct. Initial analyses of the broader hierarchy measures revealed that the manipulation did not distinctly shift perceptions of legitimacy of status or a combined measure of power and status. While there was a general decrease over time in perceived legitimacy, the lack of significant interactions indicated that these broader constructs were not sensitive to the specific policy framings. However, a more detailed analysis revealed the mechanism of the manipulation. As predicted, the CSQ condition created a significant

increase in the perception that power would shift from Portugal to former colonies from pre- to post-manipulation. This effect did not occur in the RSQ condition, suggesting that it is not the notion of reparations in general that drives perceived power shifts, but specifically the aim of the policy to alter existing intergroup structures. This finding provides direct support for the core theoretical distinction being tested. While there was also a significant change in power perceptions in the Control group (Version 1), adjustments to the experimental manipulation rendered the T1–T2 change within the Control group (Version 2) non-significant, indicating the manipulation revisions were effective.

These findings support that the changes made to the control group vignette were successful. In retrospect, the Control (Version 1) vignette emphasizes access to libraries, which can be read as a form of reparative intervention that is both material, i.e., redistribution of educational resources, and epistemic/hermeneutical, i.e., enabling marginalized groups to access and contribute to shared knowledge and meanings (Horsthemke, 2025). Libraries play a central role in the democratization of knowledge by enabling people to access critical information and strengthening people's ability to question and resist dominant power structures (Irving, 2020). In contrast, no significant group differences emerged for perceived status. This suggests that participants may conceptualize status as more stable than power, making it less susceptible to immediate change via policy interventions, especially when these are only presented in a short vignette. Power, on the other hand, may be viewed as more directly linked to redistribution and therefore more reactive to explicit policy framing (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Additionally, perceived intergroup threat varied by experimental group, with RSQ participants reporting lower threat than the adjusted control group. However, because we replaced the control vignette between rounds, the observed difference may reflect intervention selection bias, hinting to the systematic differences in participant composition or dispositional characteristics (and their interaction with the vignette) rather than a causal effect of the manipulation (Larzelere et al., 2004). This is a limitation of the study and cannot be explored further because of the small sample size.

Overall, the pilot suggests that the manipulation explicitly shifts perceptions of power. Therefore, the materials in the main study were revised to stress this distinction more clearly while reducing non-relevant content by shortening side information in the vignettes to strengthen the manipulation (Zukier, 1982). Additionally, based on the notion that manipulation checks can act as interventions that impact participants' processing, we included a very brief comprehension check to reinforce the manipulation's focal information about hierarchy (Hauser et al., 2018).

CHAPTER 3

Main Study

To test the hypothesized relationships between different reparation policies, luso-tropicalism, cognitive mediators, and support/opposition for reparations, we used an experiment informed by the pilot study. Specifically, the main study examines the effect of threat to power relations through reparations on support for these policies and looks at lusotropicalism as a moderator and historical blame and in-group glorification as mediators for this relationship.

3.1. Methods

The experiment implements a one-factorial between-subjects design with three levels (Policy Framing: threatening to power relations / Change Status Quo (CSQ) vs. non-threatening to power relations/ Reinforce Status Quo (RSQ) vs. Control) and luso-tropicalism as a continuous moderator. As the pilot study confirmed, the vignettes effectively manipulated the perceived shift in power between Portugal and its former colonies. The CSQ vignette was successfully identified as hierarchy-attenuating (threatening to power relations), while the RSQ and control vignettes were perceived as non-threatening to the existing power structure.

As part of Open Science and good research conduct, as laid out by Nosek et al. (2018), the hypotheses and methods for the study were registered on the Open Science Framework prior to starting data collection (see <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/DCVBY> for public registration document).

3.1.1. Participants

A preliminary power analysis, using Monte Carlo Power Analysis for Indirect Effects, with parallel mediators, and assuming a small effect size of .04 (equivalent to $r = .20$), indicates that at least 278 participants are needed to achieve a statistical power of 0.80 or higher to detect a mediating effect. The analysis was run using the web app by Schoemann, Boulton & Short (2017).

Because the pilot study revealed issues with the data collection with the first set up inclusion and exclusion criteria these were adapted for the main study after consulting with the ethics committee and theoretical reasoning. Specifically, participants did not need to show two generations of birth in Portugal, but only themselves had to have Portuguese nationality and

have been born in Portugal, making it easier to reach the necessary number of participants. Rationale for this being that cultural narratives, such as luso-tropicalism are transmitted through social institutions, such as schools and media, making it reasonable to focus the sample on those socialized in Portugal to ensure the presence of this culturally embedded ideology (Valentim, 2021). Analyses on history education in Portugal highlight the presence of traditional national narratives and limited critical insights into the colonial past (Castro et al., 2019). Additionally, all participants had to be at least 18 years old. After data collection, the data were assessed visually for any participants who “rushed through” the experiment, i.e., answered the same thing on every item.

During the data collection process from 22.03.2025 to 17.07.2025 a total of 693 participants accessed the study link, of which 598 started the study, however 305 were excluded because they did not complete the survey, and 24 were excluded additionally because they did not fit the inclusion criteria, specifically because they were not born in Portugal and did not have Portuguese nationality. Another 2 were identified as rushing through the experiment by providing consistently the same answers. The final sample, therefore, consisted of 267 participants between the three experimental groups, which was slightly below the target.

Participants had an average age of 27 ($SD = 9.26$; range: 18-62), completed 14.5 years of schooling ($SD = 3.04$; range: 4-26), and 3 participants had an additional nationality to Portuguese, 56% identified as women. On average, participants placed themselves near the political center ($M = 4.64$; $SD = 2.35$) on a 10-point scale where 0 represented *Far Left* and 10 represented *Far Right*. They also reported relatively low levels of religiosity ($M = 2.94$; $SD = 2.69$) on a similar 10-point scale. (see Table 5 for an overview of demographics per group).

Table 5.*Overview Demographic Variables per Group.*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max
Age				
Challenge Quo	26.37	9.24	18	60
Reinforce Quo	25.95	9.31	18	62
Control	23.80	9.16	18	53
Political Orientation				
Challenge Quo	4.82	2.47	0	10
Reinforce Quo	4.69	2.31	0	10
Control	4.37	2.25	0	9
Education (in years)				
Challenge Quo	14.25	2.97	4	25
Reinforce Quo	14.26	2.92	12	26
Control	14.89	3.22	4	23
Religiosity				
Challenge Quo	2.82	2.67	0	10
Reinforce Quo	3.08	2.95	0	10
Control	2.95	2.45	0	9

Note. *n*CSQ = 102; *n*RSQ = 81; *n*Control = 84.

3.1.2. Procedure and Materials

The study was reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (ICS–ULisboa), ensuring adherence to established ethical standards and scientific rigor (see Figure 2 in Appendix A for the approval document, identification number: 32768419). The materials were reviewed by native Portuguese speakers ($n = 2$) to ensure linguistic correctness. Data were collected online via Qualtrics, and participants were recruited mainly via the distribution of QR-codes at public places like train stations and fairs via convenience sampling, where people either had time to fill out an online

survey or may be interested in engaging with public policy discussions. Participation was voluntary and uncompensated.

The experimental procedure followed a clear sequence. After providing informed consent, participants completed a pre-manipulation block of measures that included: (a) the Luso-tropicalism scale and (b) demographic questions. Following this, they were randomly assigned to read one of the three experimental vignettes (CSQ, RSQ, or Control). Immediately after the vignette, participants completed a post-manipulation block of measures assessing (a) the proposed mediators (historical blame and in-group glorification), (b) the primary dependent variables (policy support), and (c) Right-Wing Authoritarianism as a covariate.

The CSQ condition read:

“Recently, the issue of reparations for Portugal's colonial past has emerged in public debate. The proposed policies aim to address historical injustices and combat structural inequalities rooted in colonialism. For example, Portugal could redirect national resources to prioritize access to education, health, and employment for formerly colonized communities. These actions seek to rebalance social and economic power, challenging colonial hierarchies that continue to influence current opportunities. The focus is on actively correcting inequalities and taking responsibility for Portugal's colonial past by committing to a fair distribution of resources and power. Proponents of this approach argue that true justice requires addressing inherited inequalities. They contend that no group should maintain power over others based on history.”

The RSQ condition read:

“Recently, the issue of reparations for Portugal's colonial past has emerged in public debate. The proposed reparatory policies aim to recognize specific and proven injustices while promoting fair and feasible measures. For example, Portugal could offer scholarships and support reconciliation initiatives while responding to more immediate social challenges. These actions seek to repair the damage caused to affected individuals, recognizing that both the Portuguese and the colonized peoples suffered during this historical period. The focus is on reinforcing a balanced international order, ensuring that recognition of the past through reparations does not compromise stability or progress. Proponents of this approach argue that applying the same solutions to different contexts is unfair. They defend the importance of preserving the social structures that have ensured stability over time.”

Participants in the control condition read a next unrelated to colonial relations, specifically:

“Recently, the issue of improving urban public parks in Portugal has come up in public debate. The proposed policies aim to modernize infrastructure, preserve gardens, and improve local management of green spaces. For example, municipalities could renovate footpaths, install public restrooms, and upgrade irrigation systems. These actions seek to make parks more functional and accessible for everyday use, filling gaps in maintenance and ensuring their proper upkeep. The focus is on ensuring shared spaces that promote daily urban well-being and long-term sustainability. Advocates argue that quality public spaces are fundamental to the well-being of the population in an increasingly digital world. They argue that we need welcoming spaces that encourage a balance between urban life and nature.”

Additionally, participants answered two questions regarding their understanding of the text. Participants were automatically randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions or the control group in Qualtrics. The study concluded with a full debriefing, including access to two additional resources on decolonization and the history of Portugal, in case the study sparked their interest in this topic (see full materials in Figures 1 to 3 Appendix C).

3.1.3. Measures

Participants provided general demographics, like age, gender, political orientation, level of education, and religiosity, through multiple questions. Additionally, participants provided information on their family heritage for 2 generations. Participants assessed how much they agreed with questions on a five-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*), unless specified otherwise. For measures consisting of multiple items, an index was created and internal consistency calculated using Cronbach’s Alpha, with a cut-off value of .7 (Streiner, 2003). All measures, with original and translated versions, are depicted in Appendix C, Table 1.

In addition to the measures, two directed query attention checks were included in the questionnaire, in which participants had to select the answer corresponding to the check (Abbey & Meloy, 2017).

Luso-tropicalism

Luso-tropicalism was measured with 16 items created for the European Social Survey (CRONOS, 2024) and further provided content, factorial, convergent-discriminant and predictive validity and reliability by Cabrita et al. (2025). The scale is originally in the Portuguese language and therefore did not need to be translated; an example item in English is

“Portuguese colonial history was characterized by the ability of the Portuguese to mix with the colonized peoples”. The items were averaged into a composite index, showing an internal consistency of $\alpha = .85$.

Historical Blame

Collective Historical Blame was measured with a scale developed to measure Historical Guilt (Branscombe et al., 2004), which was adapted by Kamau et al. (2013) to assess in-group blame attributions for historical events. Originally, five items assessed acceptance of collective guilt, one of which was eliminated for this study because of conceptual overlap with the dependent variable (item: “*I believe that I should repair the damage caused to others by my group*”), and five items for assigning responsibility to the whole group.

An exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring was conducted to assess the factorial validity. The initial eigenvalues in accordance with the Kaiser criterion suggested a two-factor solution (Factor 1 = 5.77; Factor 2 = 1.04). However, visual inspection of the scree plot (Figure 4, Appendix C) depicts a clear elbow after the first factor, on which all items loaded from .84 to .64. Given this, and the strong theoretical coherence of the items as a single construct, a one-factor solution was decided on, accounting for 64.16% of variance. Cronbach’s alpha showed an internal consistency value of $\alpha = .93$ for a composite score of both sub-scales, which is the index score used to run the analyses. An example item for the scale is “Today’s Portuguese should feel remorse for the injustices that Portugal committed against the peoples of the countries it colonized”.

In-Group Glorification

Participants indicated their level of in-group glorification of the past by replying to eight items, drawn from a subscale of the Identification Scale with Attachment (Roccas et al., 2006). The single use of Glorification as an independent measure has been used in different contexts, including Portugal (Figueiredo et al., 2011), which finds that high glorifiers were more likely to justify the Portuguese colonial past, and perceive it as positive. The items were adapted to the context of glorification of Portugal’s historical past, for example, “In general, Portugal has a more admirable history than most other nations”. EFA extracted a single factor explaining 47.63% of variance (eigenvalue = 3.8; factor loadings from .80 to .28). Internal consistency for this measure, in this data, is good with $\alpha = .83$.

Policy Support

To show how much participants supported the proposed reparation ideas, 6 items were adapted from a Support for Program scale (Cundiff et al., 2018), which evaluates support for differently framed diversity initiatives in the work context. This internal match of showing a

framing and looking at how support differs corresponds with the present experiment, making this a reasonable measure. The EFA confirmed the use of a single factor, explaining 72.23% of variance (eigenvalue = 4.33; factor loadings from .90 to .66). Calculation of Cronbach's Alpha for the aggregated scale shows a very high internal consistency, $\alpha = .92$. An example of the scale includes: "It is important to have this plan, as it contributes to resolving inequalities", and "Something about the plan makes me uncomfortable" which is reverse coded.

In addition to this self-report scale, a forced-choice preference measure was designed to capture participants' policy preferences in a more concrete, decision-oriented format. Drawing conceptually from vignette-based experiments in Affirmative Action (AA) research, which present participants with specific, hypothetical policy scenarios and solicit a choice or rating (e.g. Teney et al., 2023), this task was adapted to the post-colonial context of Portugal and its former colonies. Participants were presented with three graphs depicting changes in the status of Portugal and its former colonies over time under each of three different hypothetical policy interventions (see Table 1 in Appendix C); Policy 1: Maintains the current hierarchy, with Portugal's status remaining higher than the former colonies; Policy 2: Brings the two groups to equality over time; Policy 3: Reverses the hierarchy so that former colonies surpass Portugal's status. This measure served multiple objectives. First, it created a forced-choice context where participants selected the policy, they would most like to see implemented, thereby reducing the likelihood of socially desirable or noncommittal "middle" responses that can occur in rating scales. Second, the explicit portrayal of current inequality (status gap) and projected change allowed the measure to surface preferences even among participants who may not consciously perceive or acknowledge the status discrepancy, a challenge identified in past AA research on general versus specific policy support (Aberson, 2007). Third, they operationalize the principle, drawn from AA literature, that support is shaped not only by stated values but also by projected outcomes and perceived fairness of those outcomes (Aberson, 2021).

Right-Wing Authoritarianism

The same measure as in the Pilot Study assessed Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) using the Very Short Authoritarianism Scale created and validated by Bizumic & Duckitt (2018) in multiple countries. After recoding the reverse coded items, a total of six items were averaged into a composite score, with an internal consistency of $\alpha = .77$, indicating a good unidimensionality of the score. An example item of the scale is "It's great that many young people today are prepared to defy authority" (reverse-coded).

Comprehension Check

Two items immediately followed the vignette to assess how participants perceived the manipulation and to emphasize the hierarchical content of the texts. On each item, participants selected the single statement that best reflected the main point of the vignette from three options (one option mapped onto the power-attenuating frame, one onto the power-maintaining frame, and one indicated that the text did not address these issues). The statements were directly derived from the core tenets of Social Dominance Theory (Ho et al., 2015), where a preference for hierarchy is contrasted with a preference for egalitarianism. This ensured that the comprehension check was not merely a memory test, but a direct assessment of whether participants had processed the central theoretical content of the manipulation. The item targeting perceived stability of social structures had following options: a. *“Societies function best when existing social structures remain stable”*; b. *“Social hierarchies must be actively challenged and changed”*; c. *“The text does not address these issues”*. The second item targeted egalitarianism with the statement options: a. *“We must acknowledge the past rather than focusing on making all groups equal”*, b. *“Even if it requires sacrifice, we must correct inequalities to ensure that everyone has the same opportunities in life”*, c. *“The text does not address these issues”*. Because participants selected one option per item, responses were coded at the item level as correct/incorrect relative to the assigned vignette. Responses could additionally create a perceived-manipulation variable (participant-reported condition: CSQ / RSQ / Control) for sensitivity analyses.

3.1.4. Data Analysis Strategy

The statistical analyses were run on the software SPSS, with additional modelling for graphs in the open-source software Jamovi.

As in the pilot analyses, extreme cases that may distort the analyses and interpretation were assessed by detecting the outliers in the residuals of the model (Judd et al., 2017). Depending on the analysis’s different models (either including the moderator or the mediators) were run to detect the outliers. The identified cases were not dropped consistently but temporarily excluded from the corresponding analysis.

Two attention checks, were distributed in the study, whereas one was embedded early in the study, to detect careless or noncompliant responses, and a second was included after the manipulation and within the same scale used to measure the dependent variable. Because this check was integrated into the dependent variable (DV) measure itself, it was not used for exclusion. As Mathur (2025) explains, when an attention check is placed after the manipulation

and is part of the dependent measure, attentiveness may be influenced by the treatment condition or by the DV responses themselves. This violates the assumption that attentiveness is independent of the outcome, and exclusion under such conditions can introduce selection bias. However, excluding participants who failed the first attention check ($n = 13$) would have resulted in a loss in power, and since experiments rarely show consistent improvement in the statistical significance of manipulation effects following such exclusions, all analyses were run twice (Abbey & Meloy, 2017). Once excluding participants who failed the first (pre-DV) attention check, and another time, including the full sample without attention-check-based exclusions. The results of the analysis did not differ meaningfully from one another.

3.2. Results

The results of the analysis, including and excluding attention check fails did not differ from one another. As the results did not differ meaningfully when participants who failed the attention check were included or excluded, the following analyses are reported on the full sample to maintain statistical power.

3.2.1. Preliminary Analysis

Prior to conducting the main analyses, the dataset was examined for outliers. Standardized residuals were saved from a univariate ANOVA with support as the dependent variable, Group as a between-subjects factor, and Blame, Glorification, and Luso-tropicalism included as covariates. Cases with residuals exceeding $|2.0|$ ($n = 8$) were considered outliers and were excluded from all subsequent analyses.

Shapiro-Wilk tests on the standardized residuals indicated that the dependent variables deviate from a normal distribution (Glorification: $W(259) = .987, p = .017$; Blame, $W(259) = .984, p = .004$; Policy Support, $W(259) = .981, p = .002$). However, visual inspection of histograms (Figures 5 to 7, Appendix C) indicated that the residuals follow a rough normal distribution. Additionally, given the large sample size, these deviations are unlikely to bias results (Knief & Forstmeister, 2021). In fact, both the skewness (from -0.27 to 0.19) and kurtosis (from -0.50 to 0.91) estimates suggested that the residual distributions did not deviate from what would be expected in a normal distribution. A visual inspection of the residuals by group suggested that heteroscedasticity was not a concern, with only minimal deviations in variability across groups (Figures 8, 9, 10 in Appendix C).

To check whether participants in the three experimental conditions differ significantly regarding their levels of luso-tropicalism, or if randomization was successful, an ANOVA tests the difference of means between the groups. The ANOVA is not significant, $F(2, 256) = 0.555$, $p = .575$, $\eta^2_p = .004$. This non-significant result confirms that the random assignment to experimental conditions was successful, and any observed differences between groups in the main analyses are unlikely to be due to pre-existing differences in adherence to luso-tropicalism. Lastly, preliminary analysis indicated that multicollinearity was not an issue with the predictor variables, as the zero-order correlations did not exceed 0.8 (Table 2 Appendix C) (Myers, 1990). To provide an overview of the data, Table 6 reports the key descriptive statistics by group, while Table 7 presents the partial correlations among variables, controlling for experimental condition.

Table 6.

Mean and Standard deviation key variables by group.

Experimental Conditions	Luso-tropicalism	Historical Blame	In-Group Glorification	Policy Support
	<i>M ± SD</i>			
CSQ ($n = 99$)	3.0 ± .64	2.46 ± .99	2.94 ± .85	2.96 ± .95
RSQ ($n = 78$)	2.91 ± .59	2.42 ± .94	2.82 ± .61	3.05 ± .77
Control ($n = 82$)	2.98 ± .59	2.39 ± .88	2.90 ± .72	3.24 ± .59
Total ($n = 259$)	2.97 ± .61	2.42 ± .94	2.89 ± .74	3.08 ± .80

Table 7.*Partial Correlations – Controlling for Experimental Group.*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Luso-tropicalism	1				
2. Historical Blame	-.367**	1			
3. In-Group Glorification	.606**	-.282**	1		
4. Policy Support	-.264**	.578**	-.162*	1	
5. RWA	.447**	-.333**	.636**	-.290**	1

Note: ** - Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * - Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

3.2.2. Hypotheses Testing

Effect of Manipulation

We expected participants who read the reparation threatening the power (CSQ) to support the policy less than those in the RSQ and control group, regardless of their level of luso-tropicalism (H1). Additionally, we expected the policy framing manipulation to affect historical blame (H3) and in-group glorification (H4). To test this assumption, a MANOVA was conducted to test group differences in support for reparations and the mediators, historical blame, and in-group glorification based on manipulation. Multivariate tests indicate a marginally significant effect for group, Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.954$, $F(6, 508) = 1.996$, $p = .065$, $\eta^2_p = .023$. Follow-up univariate between-subjects analyses revealed a marginally significant effect of group onto support, Type 3 SSq = 3.48, $F(2, 256) = 2.73$, $p = .067$, $\eta^2_p = .021$, whereas, group did not affect historical blame (Type 3 SSq = 0.257, $F(2, 256) = 0.128$, $p = .865$, $\eta^2_p = .001$) and in-group glorification (Type 3 SSq = 0.640, $F(2, 256) = 0.320$, $p = .563$, $\eta^2_p = .004$). Figures 11 – 13 (Appendix C) depict the differences in these variables comparing the manipulated conditions.

Estimated marginal means revealed that participants in the CSQ condition showed lower support for the reparation policy ($M = 2.963$, $SE = .080$) compared to those in the control condition ($M = 3.238$, $SE = .0858$), $b = .275$, $SE = .119$, $p = .022$. However, support for policies in the CSQ condition did not significantly differ from support in the RSQ condition ($M = 3.047$,

SE = .090), $b = .084$, SE = .121, $p = .487$. Likewise, the difference between participants in the RSQ condition and the control condition was not significant ($b = .191$, SE = .126, $p = .132$).

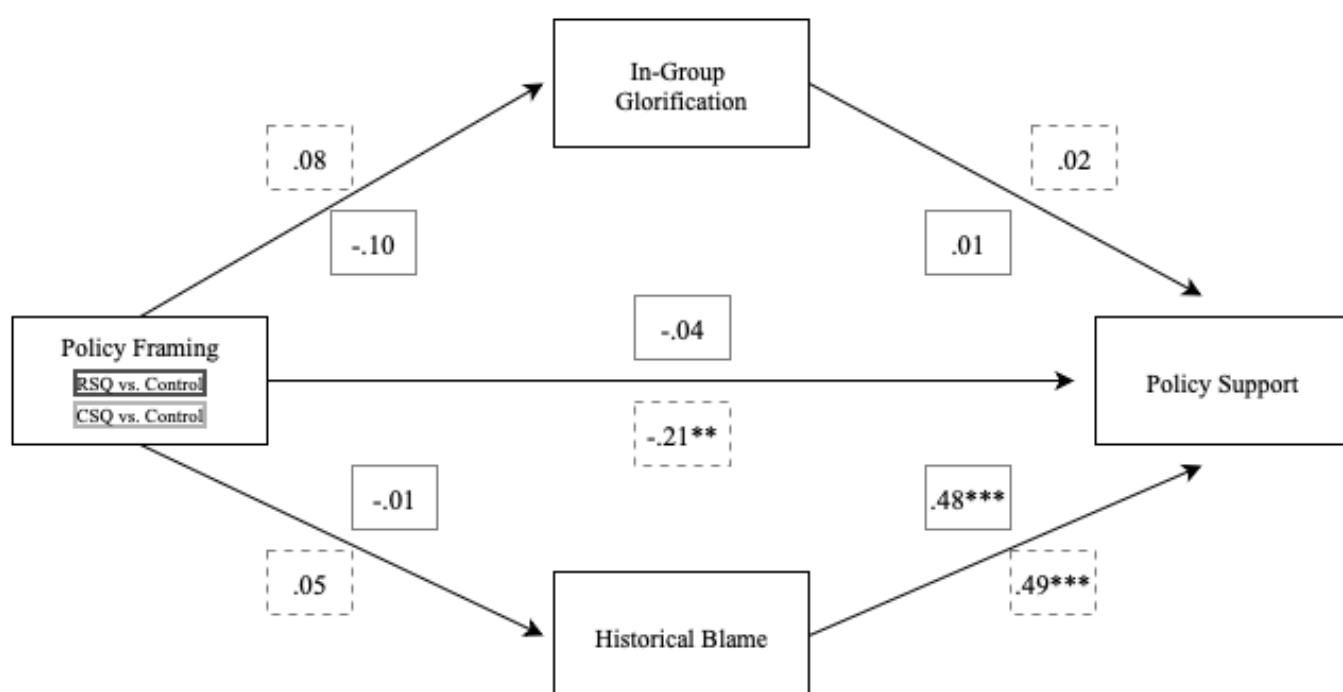
Mediating Mechanisms of Historical Blame and In-Group Glorification

To examine the how historical blame and in-group glorification relate to support for Reparations (H5a and H5b), a parallel mediation analysis was conducted using SPSS Process Model 4 (Hayes, 2022), as the manipulation did not have a causal effect on the mediators, these analyses are exploratory and correlational. The manipulation was dummy-coded to compare each experimental group to the control group (D1: CSQ vs. Control; D2: RSQ vs. Control).

The overall models were significant for CSQ ($R^2 = .332$, $F(3, 255) = 42.42$, $p < .001$) and RSQ ($R^2 = .317$, $F(3, 255) = 39.43$, $p < .001$), explaining roughly one-third of the variance in support for reparations. The analyses show that in both conditions, the manipulation did not influence the proposed mediators, however, historical blame positively predicted support (see Figure 3 for full paths and Table 3 in Appendix C for detailed results).

Figure 3.

Parallel Mediation Model.



Note. Dotted Line: CSQ vs Control Dummy; Continuous Line: RSQ vs Control Dummy. Boxes show the regression coefficients, whereby ** $p < .01$ and *** $p < .001$.

For the RSQ, neither the total effect ($B = -.04$, $SE = .11$, $p = .71$), direct effect ($B = -.04$, $SE = .09$, $p = .69$), nor the indirect effects via blame ($B = -.004$, 95% CI $[-.12, .12]$) or glorification ($B = -.001$, 95% CI $[-.02, .02]$) were significant. When blame was removed from the model, the path from glorification to support became significant, suggesting that in RSQ, blame may have obscured the unique effect of glorification.

For the CSQ, the total effect was marginally significant ($B = -.18$, $SE = .10$, $p = .08$). Importantly, the direct effect was significant ($B = -.21$, $SE = .08$, $p = .013$), indicating that when power relations were threatened, participants expressed lower support compared to the control. However, indirect effects via blame ($B = .03$, 95% CI $[-.09, .15]$) and glorification ($B = .001$, 95% CI $[-.01, .02]$) were not significant. The stronger direct effect relative to the total effect indicates a suppression effect of blame. Follow-up analyses confirmed that suppression occurred primarily due to blame. Controlling for blame in an isolated model increased the negative effect of the CSQ on support, whereas glorification only became significant when blame was removed. Table 8 depicts the change in effects of these follow-up models.

Table 8.*Comparison of Mediation Models for the CSQ vs. Control Effect on Policy Support.*

Predictor Path	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	(Blame; Glorification)	(Only Blame)	(Only Glorification)
	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>
Direct Effect of CSQ (<i>c'-path</i>)	-.21 (.08) *	-.21 (.08) *	-.17 (.10) †
Mediator Paths			
<i>a-path:</i> CSQ → Historical Blame	.06 (.12)	.06 (.12)	-
<i>a-path:</i> CSQ → In-group Glorification	.08 (.10)	-	.08 (.10)
<i>b-path:</i> Historical Blame → Support	.49 (.06) ***	.49 (.04) ***	-
<i>b-path:</i> In-group Glorification → Support	.02 (.06)	-	-.16 (.07) *
Indirect Effects (95% CI)			
via Historical Blame	.03 [-.09, .15]	.03 [-.09, .15]	-
via In-group Glorification	.00 [-.01, .02]	-	-.01 [-.05, .02]
Total Effect of CSQ (<i>c-path</i>)	-.18 (.10) †	-.18 (.10) †	-.18 (.10) †
<i>R</i> ²	.33	.33	.04

Note. $N = 259$. The dependent variable is Policy Support. CSQ vs. Control is a dummy-coded variable (1 = CSQ, 0 = Control). *B* represents the unstandardized regression coefficient; *SE* represents the standard error. Indirect effects were calculated using 5,000 bootstrap samples. The table illustrates a suppression effect: the direct effect of the CSQ frame becomes stronger and statistically significant (-0.21*) compared to the total effect (-0.18†) only after controlling for Historical Blame (see Model 2). The stability of the coefficients for the direct effect and the blame-to-support path between Model 1 and Model 2 confirms that Historical Blame is the primary and stable suppressor variable. † $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Moderating Role of Luso-Tropicalism

In the second set of analyses we examined whether individual differences in luso-tropicalism moderated the effect of the manipulated framing of reparatory policies. Because we hypothesized that the effect of policy framing would vary as a function of participants' level of luso-tropicalism (i.e., that luso-tropicalism would moderate the framing effect), we tested

moderation directly by estimating Group $\times$ Luso-tropicalism interactions and probing conditional simple slopes and Johnson–Neyman regions.

As predicted in H2a, higher adherence to luso-tropicalism was associated with lower support for reparations in both the Change Status Quo condition ($b = -0.374$, $SE = 0.122$, 95% CI $[-0.615, -0.134]$, $\beta = -0.284$, $t(253) = -3.07$, $p = .002$) and the Reinforce Status Quo condition ($b = -0.421$, $SE = 0.149$, 95% CI $[-0.715, -0.127]$, $\beta = -0.320$, $t(253) = -2.82$, $p = .005$). In contrast, luso-tropicalism did not significantly predict support for reparations in the control condition ($b = -0.206$, $SE = 0.145$, 95% CI $[-0.491, 0.079]$, $\beta = -0.157$, $t(253) = -1.43$, $p = .156$), consistent with H2b.

Although the negative association between luso-tropicalism and support for reparations was slightly stronger in the experimental conditions compared to the control condition, these differences were not strong enough to be captured by the estimated interaction effect. Indeed, while the overall model for policy support was significant ($R^2 = .091$, $F(5, 253) = 5.04$, $p < .001$), the analysis revealed only a significant main effect of luso-tropicalism, $F(1, 253) = 17.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .064$, with no significant interaction between group and luso-tropicalism, $F(2, 253) = 0.61$, $p = .543$, $\eta^2_p = .005$. Additionally, the results reveal a marginally significant main effect of group, $F(2, 253) = 2.904$, $p = .057$, $\eta^2_p = .022$.

An Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) controlling for luso-tropicalism was conducted, to estimate adjusted group means. This model tested whether the three manipulation conditions differed in mean support after statistically adjusting for luso-tropicalism, probing the main effect of group. Descriptive adjusted means at the mean of luso-tropicalism indicated that, in line with our theorizing, participants supported the control group policy the most ($M = 3.241$, $SE = .085$), followed by the reinforce status quo policy ($M = 3.022$, $SE = .088$), and the reparation policy which aims to shift power from Portugal the least ($M = 2.975$, $SE = .078$). Pairwise comparisons, adjusted for multiple comparisons with Bonferroni, revealed that only the difference between the Change Status Quo Reparation and the control group was marginally significant, mean difference = .266, 95% CI $[-.012, .545]$, $p = .066$, however support for policies in Change Status quo did not significantly differ from the support in Reinforce Status Quo, mean difference = .046, 95% CI $[-.237, .330]$, $p = 1.0$. Table 9 presents the full regression results.

Table 9.*Linear Regression Model with Luso-tropicalism included.*

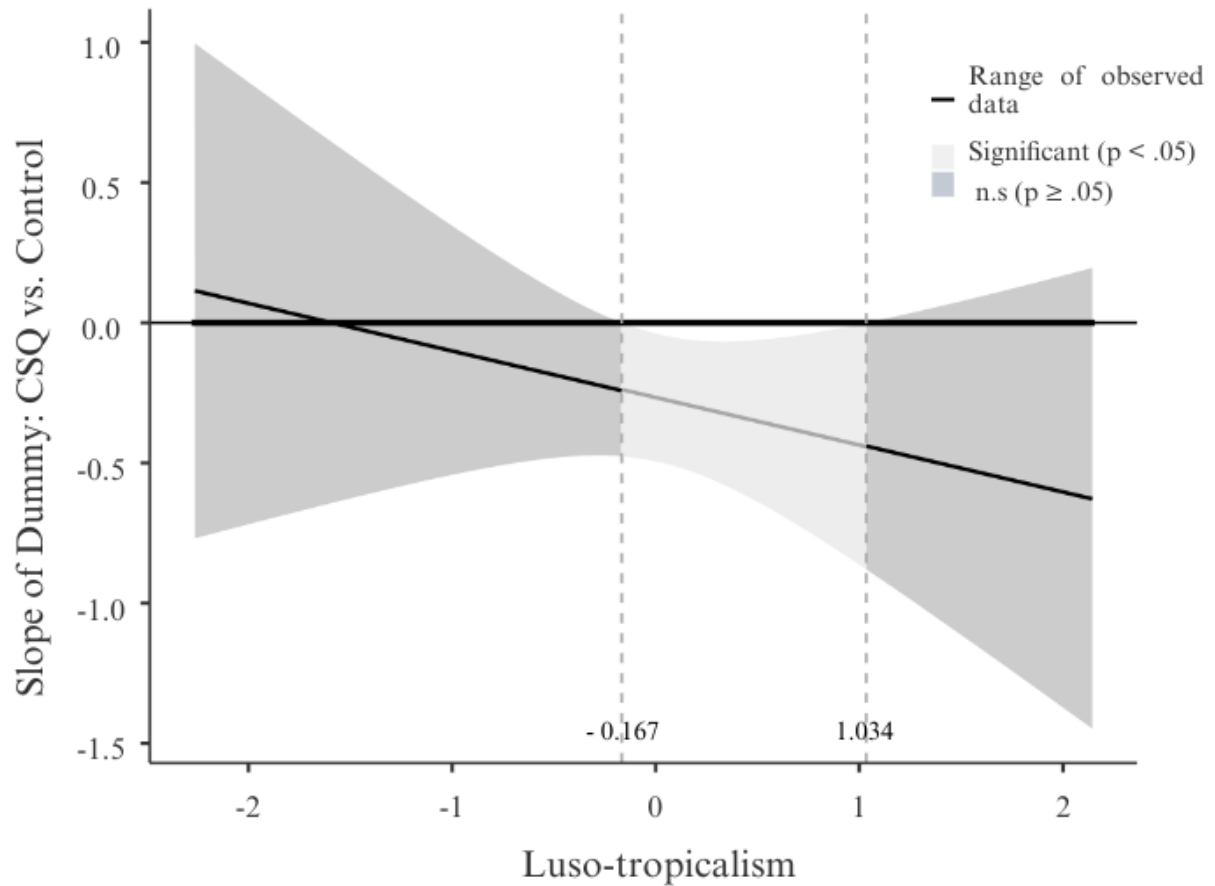
Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI [LL, UL]
Constant (Intercept)	3.24	0.09		38.00	<.001	[3.073, 3.410]
Main Effects						
RSQ vs. Control	-0.22	0.12	-0.27	-1.79	.07	[-0.461, 0.022]
CSQ vs. Control	-0.27	0.12	-0.33	-2.30	.02	[-0.494, -0.039]
Luso-tropicalism	-0.21	0.15	-0.16	-1.43	.16	[-0.491, 0.079]
Interaction Effects						
RSQ $\times$ Luso-tropicalism	-0.22	0.21	-0.16	-1.03	.30	[-0.624, 0.195]
CSQ $\times$ Luso-tropicalism	-0.17	0.19	-0.13	-0.89	.38	[-0.541, 0.205]

Note. $N = 259$. Overall Model Statistics: $R^2 = .09$; $F(5, 253) = 5.04$, $p < .001$. Luso-tropicalism is mean-centered.

Johnson–Neyman analysis identified the luso-tropicalism ranges where each Colonial Reparation vs. Control contrast had a statistically significant effect on support: RSQ vs. Control was significant for $LT \approx 0.15$ to 0.57 , whereas CSQ vs. Control was significant for $LT \approx -0.17$ to 1.03 . These bounds show that the CSQ effect is significant across a broader range of adherence to luso-tropicalism than RSQ, which is only significant for moderate LT scores. Figure 4 and Figure 5 depict the Johnson-Neyman Plot for the slope of each probes contrast. A. additional contrast for both experimental groups vs. the control group confirmed the robustness of these effects. Figure 6. Illustrates the significance boundaries in a Johnson-Neyman Plot.

Figure 4.

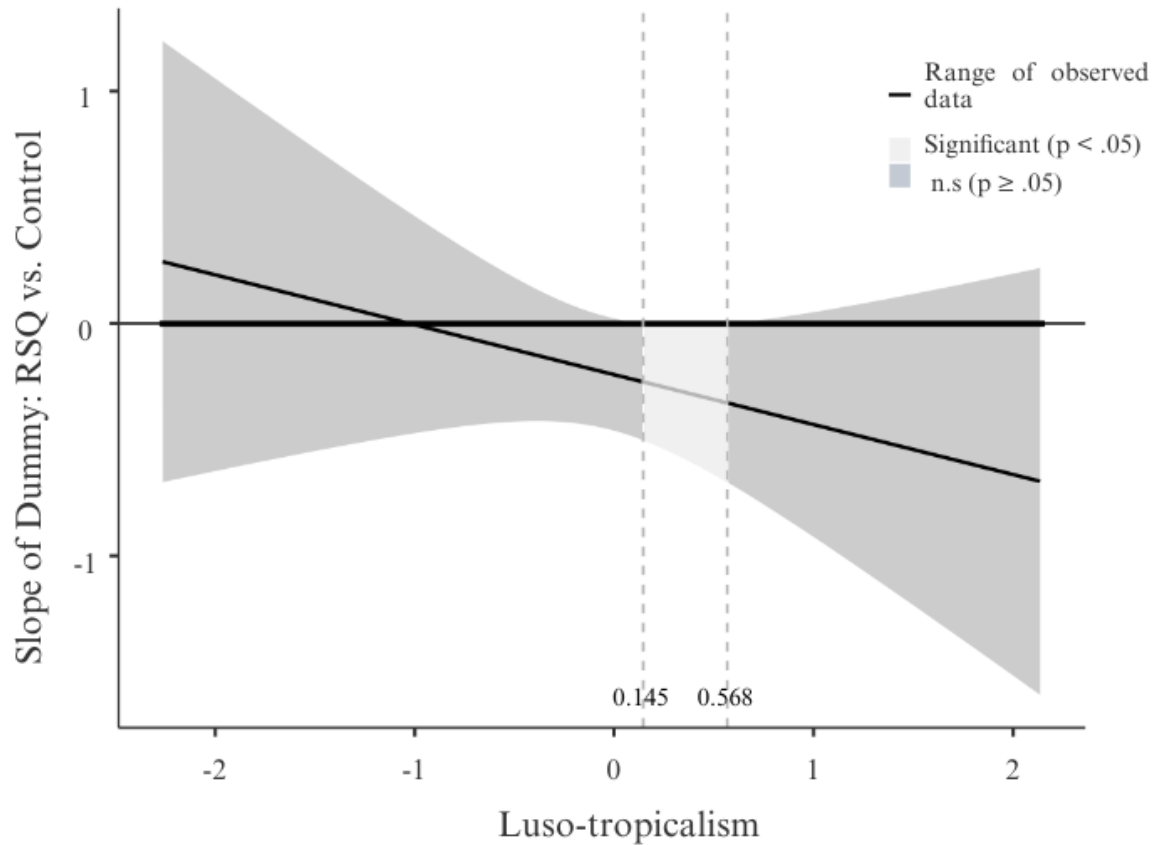
Region of Significance for the Effect of the Change Status Quo (CSQ) Condition Versus Control on Policy Support.



Note: The shaded area represents the 95% confidence interval for the slope. The vertical lines indicate the boundaries of the region of significance. The effect is statistically significant ($p < .05$) for values of luso-tropicalism falling between -0.17 and 1.03 . In extreme cases the effect becomes non-significant, potentially due to a lack of sample size in high luso-tropicalism individuals.

Figure 5.

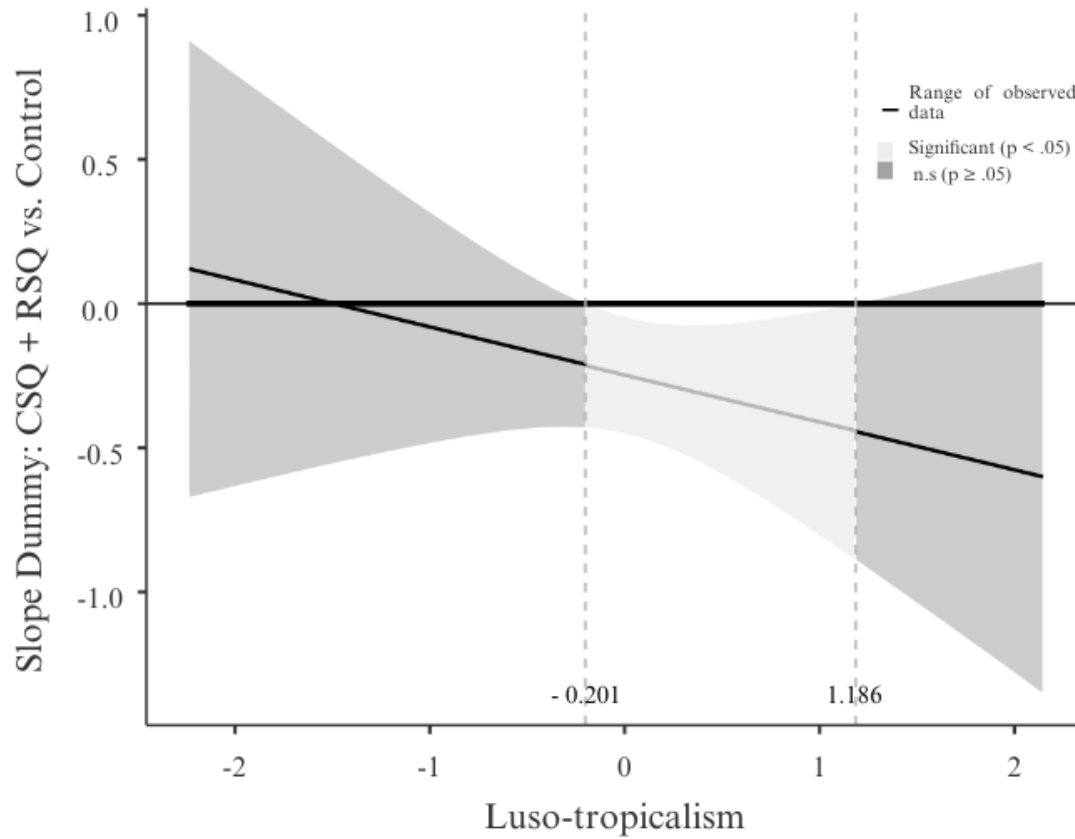
Region of Significance for the Effect of the Reinforce Status Quo (RSQ) Condition Versus Control on Policy Support.



Note: The shaded area represents the 95% confidence interval. The vertical lines indicate the boundaries of the region of significance. The effect is statistically significant ($p < .05$) for values of luso-tropicalism falling between 0.15 and 0.57. In extreme cases the effect becomes non-significant, potentially due to a lack of sample size in high luso-tropicalism individuals.

Figure 6.

Region of Significance for the Effect of the Experimental Conditions (RSQ & CSQ) Condition Versus Control on Policy Support.



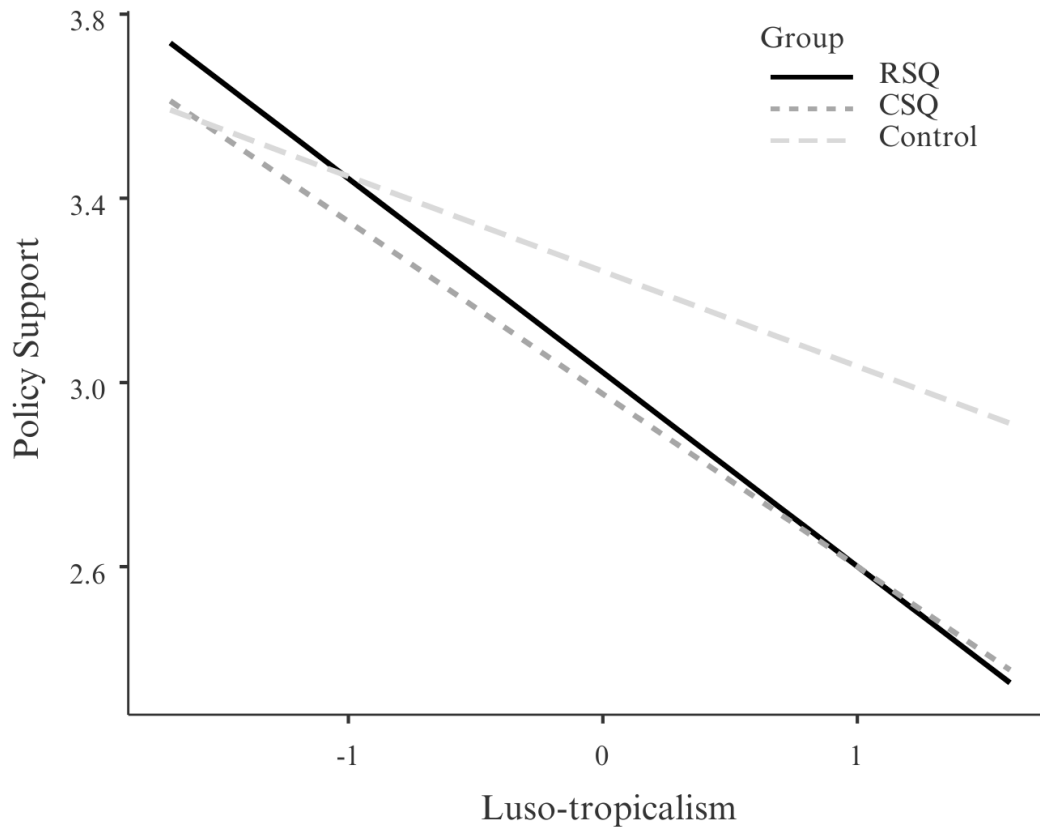
Note: The shaded area represents the 95% confidence interval. The vertical lines indicate the boundaries of the region of significance. The effect is statistically significant ($p < .05$) for values of luso-tropicalism falling between -0.20 and 1.87. In extreme cases the effect becomes non-significant, potentially due to a lack of sample size in high luso-tropicalism individuals.

Finally, we tested H2c, that the moderating effect of luso-tropicalism acts as a buffer, reducing support for reparations more when a reparation threatens power relations (CSQ) than in performative, less disruptive policies to the power of Portugal (RSQ). The interaction term directly contrasting the two experimental groups, CSQ and RSQ, with luso-tropicalism was not significant ($b = 0.047$, $SE = 0.193$, 95% CI $[-0.333, 0.426]$, $\beta = -0.035$, $t(253) = 0.24$, $p = .809$), indicating that the strength of the moderation did not differ between these two groups.

Figure 7 depicts the negative association between luso-tropicalism and policy support, in the three different conditions, illustrating that the slope is steeper in the experimental groups than in the control group.

Figure 7.

Interaction of Experimental Group and Luso-tropicalism Predicting Policy Support.



Note: Simple slopes showing the relationship between luso-tropicalism (mean-centered) and support for reparations policies across the three experimental conditions.

Interaction between Luso-tropicalism, Historical Blame and In-Group Glorification

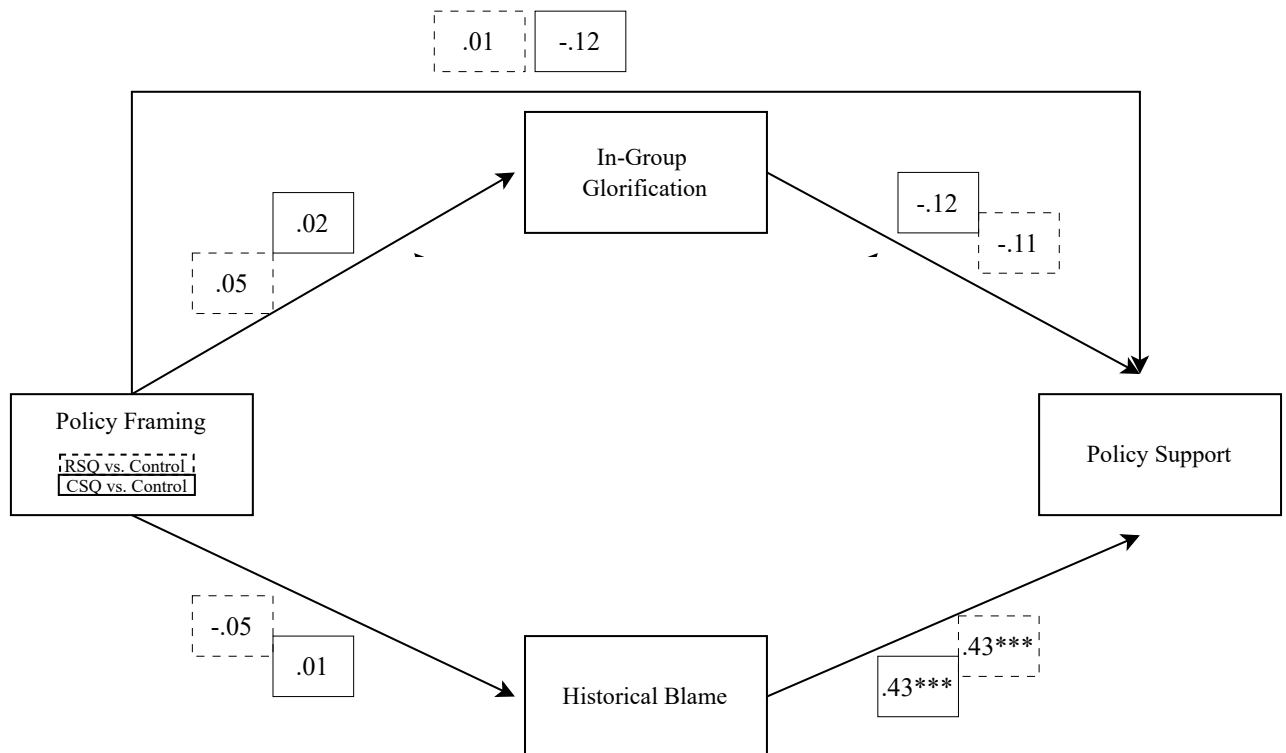
To test the mediators' historical blame and in-group glorification, and the interaction with luso-tropicalism (H6), we ran a moderated mediation model with two parallel mediators, as depicted in the conceptual model (Figure 1 in Study Overview). To run the analysis, we used Model 59 in SPSS Process (Hayes, 2018). We ran the analysis twice using the same dummy-coded group variables as in the previous mediation model (D1: CSQ vs Control; D2: RSQ vs Control) as the predictor, mean-centered luso-tropicalism as the moderator, historical blame and in-group glorification as mediators, and support for reparation as the outcome variable.

The overall moderated mediation models were significant for D1 ($R^2 = .37$, $F(7, 251) = 20.74$, $p < .001$) and D2 ($R^2 = .34$, $F(7, 251) = 18.91$, $p < .001$), indicating that the predictors explained 37% and 34% of the variance in support for reparations, respectively. Figure 8a and

8b present the full conceptual path model, illustrating the specific effects on high and low levels of luso-tropicalism for both dummies. Tables 4 and 5 in Appendix C describes the results of the analyses in more detail.

Figure 8a.

Moderated Mediation Model for Participants with Low Endorsement of Luso-tropicalism.

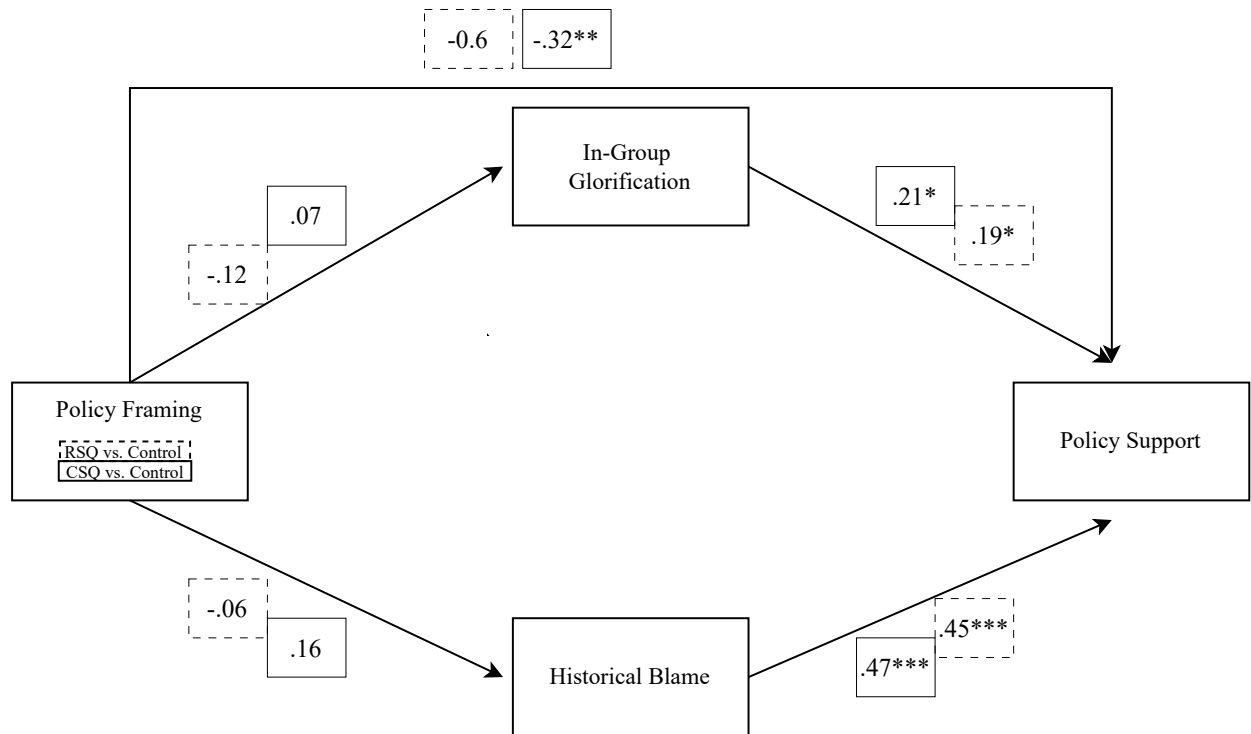


Note. Effects for Luso-tropicalism at -1SD. Unstandardized regression coefficients are shown. Solid/dashed lines from Policy Framing represent the CSQ/RSQ vs. Control comparisons, respectively. Historical blame is a strong, significant predictor of policy support, while in-group glorification is not.

*** $p < .001$.

Figure 8b.

Moderated Mediation Model for Participants with High Endorsement of Luso-tropicalism.



Note. Effects for Luso-tropicalism at +1SD. Unstandardized regression coefficients are shown. Solid/dashed lines from Policy Framing represent the CSQ/RSQ vs. Control comparisons, respectively. For this group, historical blame remains a strong predictor of support. In contrast, the effect of in-group glorification becomes significantly positive, and the direct effect of the CSQ framing becomes significantly negative. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

To examine whether policy design predicted the cognitive mechanisms, we assessed the effects of the dummy-coded groups on historical blame and in-group glorification. For both D1 (change vs control) and D2 (reinforce vs control), the main effect of Luso-tropicalism on the mediators was significant: higher Luso-tropicalism predicted lower blame (D1: $b = -.61$, $SE = 0.118$, 95% CI $[-0.845, -0.382]$, $t(251) = -5.21$, $p < .001$) (D2: $b = -.56$, $SE = 0.106$, 95% CI $[-0.767, -0.350]$, $t(251) = -5.27$, $p < .001$) and higher glorification (D1: $b = 0.74$, $SE = 0.079$, 95% CI $[0.580, 0.890]$, $t(251) = 9.3$, $p < .001$) (D2: $b = 0.792$, $SE = 0.071$, 95% CI $[0.653, .932]$, $t(251) = 11.12$, $p < .001$). The effects of the policy design dummies on the mediators were, and none of the interactions with Luso-tropicalism were significant, indicating that the

influence of policy design on blame and glorification did not vary by participants' adherence to Luso-tropicalism (see Tables 4 & 5 in the Appendix C).

Contrary to our hypothesized direction, the conditional effects show a minimal tendency for the change policy (D1) to increase blame at higher levels of Luso-tropicalism. In contrast, the effect on glorification across levels of the moderator is smaller. In the reinforce status quo group (D2), this pattern is reversed: the conditional effects on blame remain stable across Luso-tropicalism levels. At the same time, glorification becomes more negative at higher levels of Luso-tropicalism. The conditional effects of the policy manipulations on blame and glorification are presented in Table 10.

Table 10.

Conditional Effects of Policy Framing on Mediators at Different Levels of Luso-tropicalism.

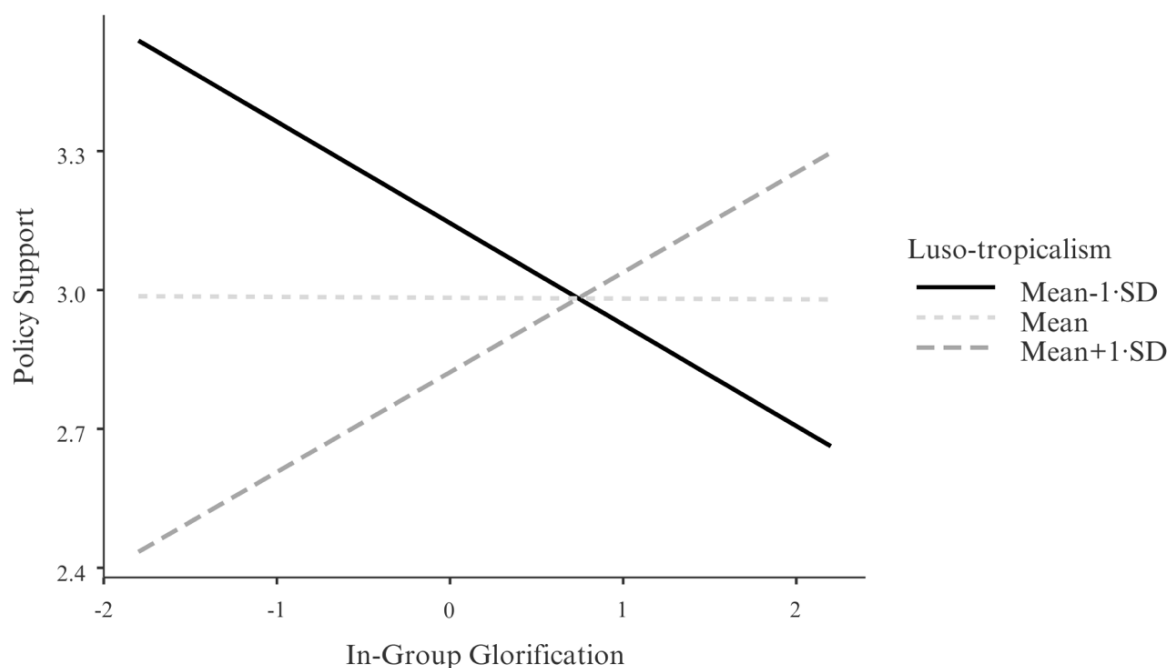
Outcome & Policy Frame	Level of Luso-tropicalism	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
In-Group Glorification						
CSQ vs. Control	Low	.02	.11	.15	.88	[-.20, .23]
	Mean	.05	.08	.63	.53	[-.10, .20]
	High	.07	.10	.67	.50	[-.13, .27]
RSQ vs. Control	Low	.05	.11	.47	.64	[-.17, .28]
	Mean	-.05	.08	-.64	.52	[-.21, .11]
	High	-.12	.12	-1.06	.29	[-.35, .10]
Historical Blame						
CSQ vs. Control	Low	.01	.17	.03	.97	[-.32, .33]
	Mean	.10	.11	.88	.30	[-.12, .32]
	High	.16	.15	1.05	.29	[-.14, .47]
RSQ vs. Control	Low	-.05	.17	-.30	.76	[-.39, .29]
	Mean	-.06	.12	-.47	.64	[-.30, .18]
	High	-.06	.17	-.35	.72	[-.40, .28]

Note. Simple slope (effect) of the policy framing dummy on each mediator at three levels of the moderator, luso-tropicalism (Low = -1 *SD*, Mean, High = +1 *SD*).

Historical blame significantly predicted greater support for reparations, and its interaction with Luso-tropicalism was not significant (Tables 4 & 5, Appendix C). Conditional effects of blame on support at different levels of luso-tropicalism indicate that the effect is significant regardless of participants' adherence to luso-tropicalism. In-group glorification did not predict support independently, but it significantly interacted with luso-tropicalism. Conditional effects reveal a cross-over interaction, where glorification had a significant negative effect at low levels of luso-tropicalism and a significant positive effect at high levels. This pattern was consistent across both policy conditions. Figure 9 illustrates the interaction between luso-tropicalism and glorification on support for reparations across all groups, while Figure 10 presents the significance regions using a Johnson-Neyman plot (Finsaas & Goldstein, 2021). Table 11 reports the exact statistical outcomes for the conditional effects of the mediators on support for reparation policies.

Figure 9.

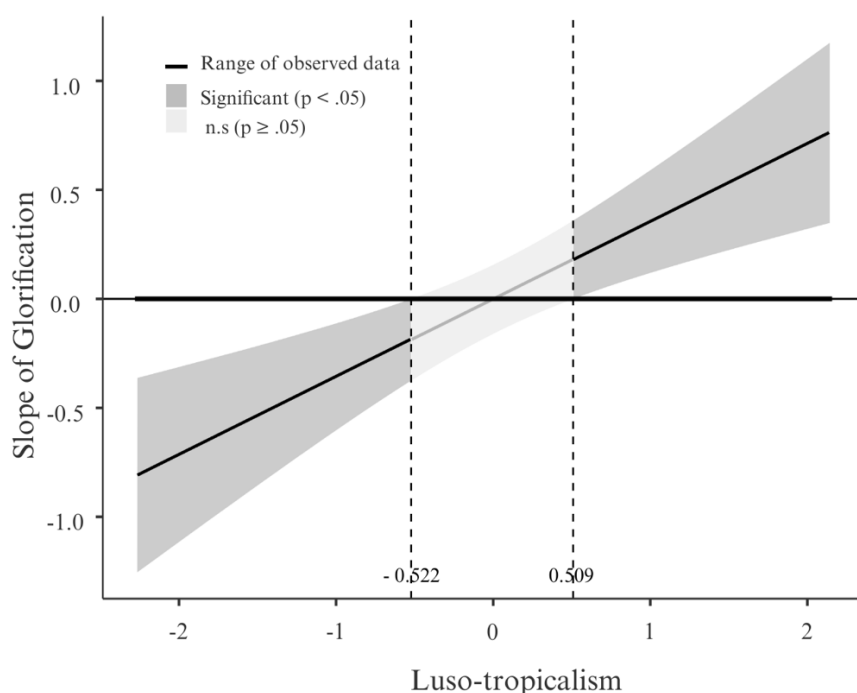
Interaction between In-Group Glorification and Luso-tropicalism Predicting Policy Support.



Note. Simple slopes are plotted at low (-1 SD), mean, and high (+1 SD) levels of luso-tropicalism. Luso-tropicalism was mean-centered. Data is based on combined model, with CSQ, RSQ, and Control.

Figure 10.

Johnson-Neyman Plot of the Conditional Effect of In-Group Glorification on Policy Support.



Note. The shaded area represents the 95% confidence interval. The dashed vertical lines mark the Johnson-Neyman points, indicating the regions of statistical significance

Table 11.

Conditional Effects of Mediators on Policy Support at Different Levels of Luso-tropicalism.

Mediator	Level of Luso-tropicalism	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
<i>In-Group Glorification</i>						
	Low	-.12	.09	-1.26	.21	[-.29, .06]
	Mean	.08	.07	1.14	.25	[-.06, .22]
	High	.21	.08	2.56	.01	[.05, .37]
<i>Historical Blame</i>						
	Low	.43	.07	6.45	< .001	[.30, .57]
	Mean	.45	.05	9.67	< .001	[.36, .55]
	High	.47	.06	7.67	< .001	[.35, .59]

Note. -1 SD, Mean, +1SD levels of luso-tropicalism. Unstandardized coefficients (*b*) are reported from the model testing the CSQ vs. Control contrast. The model testing the RSQ vs. Control contrast showed an identical pattern of results, confirming the robustness of these findings.

Drawing back to the overall model, the conditional direct effects of the policy manipulations on support for reparations varied by Luso-tropicalism in the change status quo (D1) and reinforce status quo (D2) conditions. In the change status quo condition, the effect was non-significant at low Luso-tropicalism but became significantly negative at medium ($b = -0.24, p = .005$) and high levels ($b = -0.32, p = .007$), indicating stronger opposition to reparations among participants with higher adherence to Luso-tropicalism. In the reinforce status quo condition, the direct effect was non-significant at all levels of Luso-tropicalism. The conditional indirect effects via historical blame and in-group glorification were not significant in either policy condition, across all levels of luso-tropicalism (all 95% bootstrapped *CI*s included zero). Notably, there was a tendency in the change group for the positive effect of blame on support to be stronger at higher levels of Luso-tropicalism, whereas in the reinforce status quo group, the negative effect of glorification tended to be stronger at higher Luso-tropicalism. However, the analyses indicate that neither mediator significantly accounted for the influence of policy design on support, providing no support for H6a or H6b. Table 12 presents the conditional direct and indirect effects of policy design on support for reparations at low, medium, and high levels of luso-tropicalism.

Table 12.*Conditional Direct and Indirect Effects of Policy Framing on Support for Reparations.*

Effect Path & Condition	Level of Luso-tropicalism	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
<i>Conditional Direct Effect</i>				
CSQ vs. Control	Low	-.12	.12	[-.37, .12]
	Mean	-.24	.08	[-.40, -.07]
	High	-.32	.12	[-.54, -.08]
RSQ vs. Control	Low	.01	.13	[-.24, .27]
	Mean	-.03	.09	[-.21, .15]
	High	-.06	.13	[-.32, .20]
<i>Conditional Indirect Effect via Historical Blame</i>				
CSQ vs. Control	Low	.01	.08	[-.17, .14]
	Mean	.05	.05	[-.06, .15]
	High	.08	.08	[-.08, .23]
RSQ vs. Control	Low	-.02	.08	[-.17, .13]
	Mean	-.03	.05	[-.14, .08]
	High	-.03	.08	[-.19, .13]
<i>Conditional Indirect Effect via In-Group Glorification</i>				
CSQ vs. Control	Low	-.002	.02	[-.05, .03]
	Mean	.003	.01	[-.02, .02]
	High	.01	.03	[-.05, .07]
RSQ vs. Control	Low	-.01	.02	[-.04, .03]
	Mean	-.004	.01	[-.02, .013]
	High	-.023	.02	[-.08, .02]

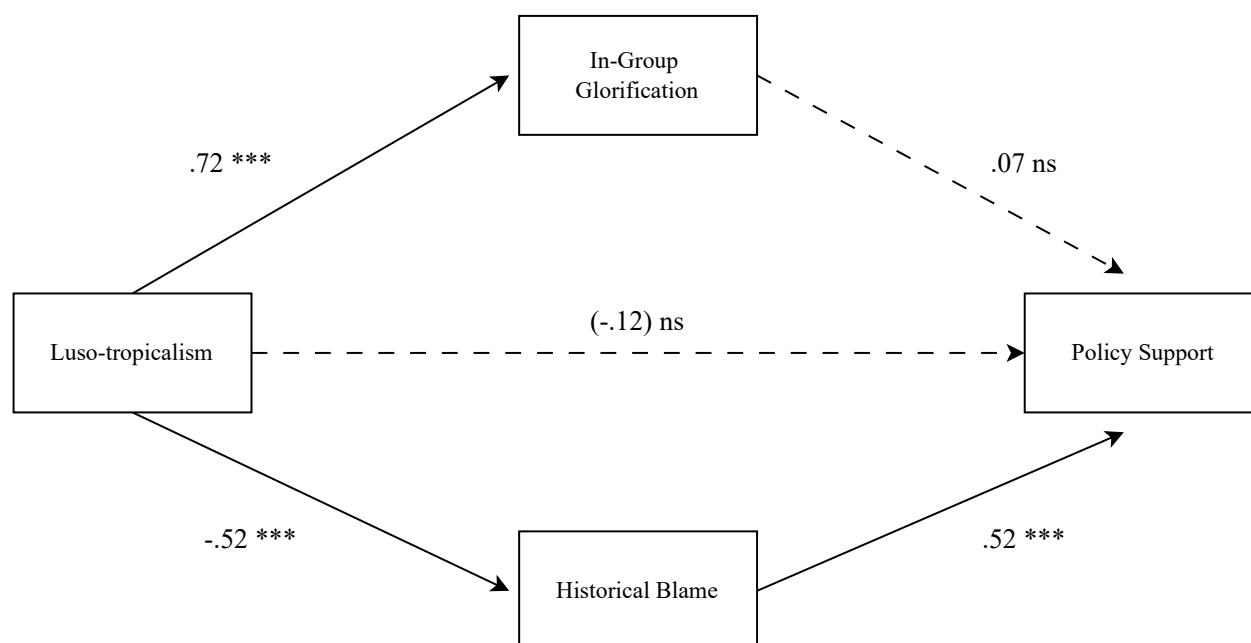
Note. Confidence intervals (CI) for the indirect effects are bias-corrected 95% bootstrap CIs based on 5,000 samples. -1 SD, Mean, +1SD levels of luso-tropicalism.

3.2.3. Supplementary Exploratory Analysis

Given that the experimental manipulation yielded only weak effects while luso-tropicalism emerged as a robust predictor, we conducted a series of planned exploratory analyses to better understand these patterns. A complementary alternative model was run using luso-tropicalism as the IV, historical blame and in-group glorification as mediators, and support for reparations as the DV. The analysis was conducted in SPSS Process (Model 4), including participants from both colonial reparation conditions (CSQ & RSQ), as well as both groups separately. The path coefficients and indirect effects were largely similar across groups, with no substantial differences in significance. Therefore, the following results are reported for the combined experimental groups, with key differences between conditions noted. Figure 11 depicts the tested model and regression coefficients. The results show that luso-tropicalism significantly predicted both mediators, higher luso-tropicalism was associated with lower historical blame and greater in-group glorification. Historical blame significantly predicted support, whereas glorification did not. Historical blame significantly predicted support, whereas glorification did not.

Figure 11.

Parallel Mediation Model of Luso-tropicalism on Policy Support.



Note. The direct effect of luso-tropicalism on policy support is shown in parentheses. ns = not significant. *** $p < .001$.

The mediation analyses indicated that luso-tropicalism was associated with lower support for reparations indirectly through historical blame. The direct effect of luso-tropicalism was non-significant, indicating a full mediation through blame, whereas in-group glorification did not mediate the effect. Main differences between the groups are that luso-tropicalism has a stronger effect on Glorification in the CSQ condition ($b = 0.92, p < .001$) than the RSQ condition ($b = 0.65, p < .001$). Although the indirect effect via glorification remained non-significant in both conditions, it is noteworthy that the effect was directionally stronger in the RSQ condition (Effect = .11, 95% CI [-.09, .31]) than in the CSQ condition (Effect = .05, 95% CI [-.19, .34]).

Based on the comprehension check, we created a variable to categorize participants based on whether they correctly perceived the manipulation as hierarchy-attenuating, shifting power; hierarchy-maintaining, reinforcing power; or not addressing hierarchies; and the same for addressing equality. Participants were coded as either correct or incorrect. About half of the participants failed comprehension check 1 ($n = 132, 51\%$) and comprehension check 2 ($n = 136, 52.5\%$). When participants were required to correctly respond to both checks, 68.7% failed ($n = 178$), leaving a sample of 77 participants. We explored whether luso-tropicalism was related to participants' perception of the manipulation as "correct". Logistic regression revealed that luso-tropicalism significantly predicted comprehension performance, $\chi^2(1) = 11.88, p < .001$. Higher adherence to luso-tropicalism was associated with reduced odds of correctly answering both comprehension checks ($B = -0.78, SE = 0.23, p < .001; OR = 0.46, 95\% CI [0.29, 0.72]$), indicating that each 1-unit increase in luso-tropicalism decreased the odds of correct responses by approximately 54%. In other words, for every one-point increase on the luso-tropicalism scale, a person was less than half as likely to correctly identify the policy proposals. The model accounted for $\sim 6\%$ of the variance in comprehension accuracy (Cox & Snell $R^2 = 0.046$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.064$).

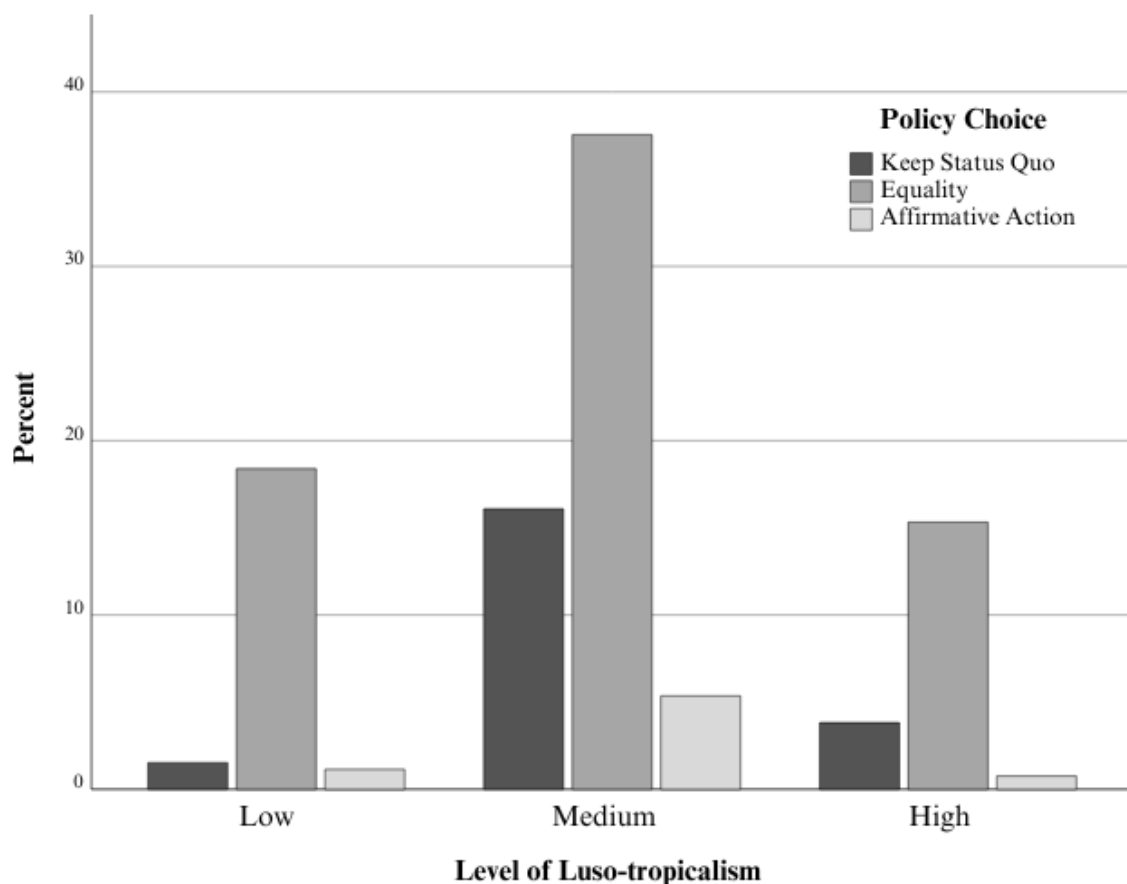
To test whether luso-tropicalism predicts support/rejection of reparation policies above RWA, we ran a hierarchical linear regression. In the first step, we entered mean-centered RWA and the experimental group. In the second step, we added mean-centered luso-tropicalism to see the change in the model. Model one (RWA & Group) accounts for 8.3% of the variance in support for reparation policies, whereas model two (RWA, Group, Luso-tropicalism) accounts for 10.2% of variance. Although the additional variance explained by Luso-tropicalism was modest ($\Delta R^2 = .022$), it was statistically significant ($F(1, 244) = 6.132, p = .014$), indicating a unique contribution beyond RWA and reparation design. Results show that RWA had the strongest effect on support for reparations ($\beta = -.214, p = .002$). Importantly, Luso-tropicalism

remained a significant predictor even after controlling for RWA and group ($B = -0.224$, $SE = 0.090$, $\beta = -0.167$, $p = .014$), indicating that higher Luso-tropicalism is associated with lower support for reparations.

To explore how participants responded to different proposed policies based on affirmative action principles (support measure 2), we examined descriptive frequencies. Most participants favoured a policy that promotes equality (69.9%), followed by policies that maintain the status quo of inequality (where Portugal and former colonies develop in parallel) (20.5%). Only 7.3% favoured policies where former colonies gain more status than Portugal. Figure 12. shows the distribution of choices by high, medium, and low levels of Luso-tropicalism.

Figure 12.

Bar Graph depicting distribution of choice for Policy by levels of Luso-Tropicalism.



Note: Low: lowest until -0.5; Medium -0.5 until 0.5; high 0.5 until highest; luso-tropicalism was mean-centred.

Lastly, we examined the partial correlations of luso-tropicalism with demographic variables, namely political orientation, religiosity, and years of education (see Table 13). In line with theory, luso-tropicalism is strongly correlated with political orientation (more luso-tropicalism, more right-winged orientation) and moderately with religiosity. There is no correlation between adherence to luso-tropicalism and the number of years of education.

Table 13.

Partial Correlations – Controlling for Experimental Group.

Variables	1	2	3	4
6. Luso-tropicalism	1			
7. Education (School Years)	.033	1		
8. Political Orientation	.448**	.029	1	
9. Religiosity	.282**	-.080	.357**	1

Note: ** - Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.3. Discussion

In the presented study, we tested whether the framing of reparation policies as hierarchy-maintaining (RSQ), hierarchy-attenuating (CSQ), or unrelated to colonial history (Control), based on perceived shifts in power, affected support for reparative policies (H1) and whether these effects were moderated by endorsement of Luso-tropicalism (H2) while also testing historical blame and in-group glorification as potential mediators and moderators (H3).

Consistent with the predictions of Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the hierarchy-attenuating (CSQ) vignette produced marginally lower support than the control condition. This pattern, though not statistically robust, suggests that policies explicitly framed as redistributive of power provoke defensive resistance from dominant group members. However, as the effect was small and the difference between the two reparation framings (CSQ and RSQ) was not significant, the primary hypothesis (H1) was not supported.

In the second set of analyses, we tested the moderating effect of luso-tropicalism. The expected interaction between the experimental manipulation and luso-tropicalism was not

observed (no significant Manipulation $\times$ luso-tropicalism interaction), so the conditional relationship of luso-tropicalism did not differ reliably across CSQ versus RSQ. Nevertheless, a critical pattern emerged: luso-tropicalism significantly predicted lower support for both reparation policies, but did not predict support for the unrelated control policy. This finding is crucial, as it provides strong insights into luso-tropicalism's function as a domain-specific legitimizing myth (Valentim, 2021). As predicted by social representations theory, its power to shape attitudes was activated only when the relevant context, Portugal's colonial past, was made salient (Moscovici, 1988; Valentim, 2021). This supports the core premise of H2a and H2b. Hypothesis 2c assumes a difference between the reparation policies challenging or reinforcing the status quo in the way that luso-tropicalism lowers support for policies when these are challenging. The results do not support this claim, as the effect that adherence to luso-tropicalism has on policy support does not differ between the two conditions. The lack of a significant interaction means the overall moderation hypothesis (H2) was not fully supported.

Finally, we investigated the moderated mediation process with multiple models. Although historical blame and in-group glorification did not produce significant conditional effects and H6, therefore, needs to be rejected; the analyses indicate noteworthy exploratory effects. Historical blame was a consistent positive predictor of support for reparations across models, and its conditional effects did not vary systematically with luso-tropicalism, suggesting that acknowledging collective responsibility reliably increases reparative support. Importantly, a suppression pattern emerged in models testing the CSQ effect: the CSQ direct negative effect on support was stronger after controlling for historical blame, and follow-up analyses indicate that blame functions as a suppressor that attenuated the observable negative effect of the CSQ manipulation. This suggests that the hierarchy-challenging frame may have had two subtle, opposing effects: while it provoked resistance (the negative direct effect), it may have also slightly increased a sense of blame. By statistically controlling for blame, the model revealed the strength of the defensive resistance that was otherwise being masked. Critically, the psychological function of in-group glorification was dependent on one's adherence to luso-tropicalism, as revealed by a significant crossover interaction. For those who reject luso-tropicalism, glorifying Portugal's past is associated with less support for reparations, suggesting a classic defensive stance (Figueiredo et al., 2011). However, for those who strongly endorse luso-tropicalism, higher glorification was linked to greater support. This reversal suggests that luso-tropicalism may allow for a form of paternalistic co-optation, where supporting reparations is framed as an expression of Portugal's 'benevolent' and 'harmonious' nature, glorifying the nation by demonstrating its generosity.

Table 2 summarizes the hypothesized analyses with the key results, on whether the hypothesis is supported or needs to be rejected. However, the patterns must be interpreted under consideration for methodological caveats identified in the pilot and main study: the CSQ manipulation reliably shifted power perceptions but not status perceptions in the pilot, many participants failed the comprehension checks in the main study, and critically, higher luso-tropicalism predicted lower odds of correctly understanding the manipulation's intent. This suggests that the ideology may function as a cognitive filter, leading to motivated reasoning where information that threatens a cherished worldview is not processed accurately. Therefore, it is likely that weak manipulation strength combined with this ideologically driven differential comprehension attenuated the detectable framing effects. Overall, the data point to two consistent findings: acknowledging historical blame robustly increases support, while the legitimizing myth of luso-tropicalism generally reduces it. Furthermore, our results suggest luso-tropicalism is a complex ideology that can re-channel in-group glorification from a defensive mechanism into a tool for paternalistic support. The practical and theoretical implications of these findings will be discussed in the general discussion.

General Discussion

4.1. General Discussion

The ongoing debates over colonial reparations expose deep societal fault lines by highlighting a confrontation of competing narratives about historical justice, asking what it means to repair the past, and when people support policy changes. At the heart of this debate is the distinction between transformative and performative redress (Immler, 2021; Leyh & Fraser, 2019). Transformative reparations aim to dismantle the enduring power structures established by colonialism, placing a direct responsibility on former colonizing nations to fundamentally alter the status quo. In contrast, performative measures may acknowledge harm symbolically while leaving these core hierarchies intact (de Greiff, 2009). Answering recent academic calls to differentiate between these policy types (Hakim et al., 2021), this dissertation investigates the psychological mechanisms that underpin resistance to transformative justice.

Public debates illustrate how historical arguments often sustain resistance to reparations. For instance, the German government recently justified its refusal to pay reparations for the genocide in Namibia by arguing that the acts did not violate international law at the time of their commission (Society for Threatened Peoples, 2025). This temporal reasoning shows how moral responsibility can be sidestepped and further highlights a lack of retrospective perspective. In that way, notions of the past, in this case distance to the past, are used as tools to guide contemporary policy opinions (Peetz et al., 2010). In the case of reparations for Portugal, narratives of benevolent colonialism and harmonious relations as notions of the past shape contemporary attitudes (e.g. Vala et al., 2008). The dominant narrative of a uniquely benevolent colonialism, luso-tropicalism, similarly functions as a historical notion that shapes modern attitudes toward reparations. Siliunas and Pugh (2025) argue that debates over historical justice involve a tension between national history and cultural identity.

This research, to our knowledge, is the first to investigate this tension of transformative justice and colonial ideologies by experimentally testing how Portuguese participants responded to reparative policies framed as either hierarchy-attenuating, hierarchy-maintaining, or unrelated to the colonial past. It further examined the moderating role of luso-tropicalism and the mediating effects of historical blame and in-group glorification. While the experimental manipulation yielded only weak direct effects, the overall pattern of results points to a more

profound conclusion: the deeply-rooted national myth, luso-tropicalism, functions as an ideological filter. This filter, this discussion will argue, actively defends against transformative reparative justice by shaping the very way individuals perceive and respond to calls for historical redress.

4.2. Theoretical and Practical Implications

The empirical investigation of this study shows that the experimental framing of reparation policies, on its own, was not a strong driver of support for these policies or a direct influence on the hypothesized mediators of historical blame and in-group glorification. All relational subsequent findings are therefore not causal but indicate interesting correlational insights that are more hypothesis-generating (Hauser et al., 2018) and expanding ideas worth exploring in future research. The marginal difference in the CSQ frame to the control condition points, and additional mediation analyses, point to a deeper mechanism about the interplay of power-shifting policy proposals about historical harms. While power-shifting policies, as depicted in the CSQ frame, initiated defensive reactions (direct negative effect), thus lowering support, they also activated notions of historical blame, a motivator for support. This suppression effect can be explained as the CSQ manipulation pressing the accelerator for support (blame) and the brakes (threat to power hierarchy) at the same time (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). By statistically controlling for blame, the negative effect of power-shifting policies became clearer. This suppression effect reveals historical blame as a central psychological construct in the reparations debate. Vallabha et al. (2024) highlight historical blame as important for support for compensation. Further, they address historical blame as a foundation for moral emotions, whereas these, like collective guilt and shame (Vallabha et al., 2024, Hakim et al., 2021). The findings of this study confirm the idea of historical blame serving a foundational function for moral responsibility. Whereas previous empirical work focused on the key factors that cause historical blame, namely the connection between the past and the present (Vallabha et al., 2024), this study expands these findings to what hinders it the cognition. Specifically, we identify, colonial ideologies, in this case luso-tropicalism, to have the potential to neutralize notions of historical blame. The negative relationship between luso-tropicalism and historical blame suggests the myth operates to dismantle the cognitive foundation upon which moral emotions and reparative motivations are built, thereby protecting the in-group from accountability.

This neutralization of blame can be understood as a form of moral disengagement. Luso-tropicalism provides a set of cognitive justifications (e.g., our colonialism was benevolent) that allows individuals to reframe harmful historical acts in a way that detaches them from moral sanction, thereby pre-empting the experience of blame. What these findings indicate is how luso-tropicalism can dismantle the very mechanism that can overcome defensive resistance when policies are threatening, since blame functions to weaken the negative relationship of CSQ onto support. Future research should therefore address this relationship further to understand how to overcome such barriers.

Further, this research suggests that the ideological defense against transformative reparations begins not at the level of policy evaluation, but at the more fundamental level of perception and comprehension. The analysis of the comprehension task shows that luso-tropicalism reduced the likelihood of matching the manipulation with the intended aim. This supports the idea that luso-tropicalism filters information, which can be explained by Social Representations Theory (Moscovici, 1988). SRT argues that shared beliefs create a common sense that structures how individuals interpret reality (Moscovici, 1988). Luso-tropicalism, through its dissemination, provides a ready-made framework for understanding Portugal's colonial past (Valentim, 2021). This finding can further be linked to justice theories. The fundamental goal of restorative justice is to repair relationships and reaffirm a consensus on shared values that were broken by a transgression (Wenzel et al., 2008). However, if one's social representation of history is that colonial relations were harmonious and mutually beneficial, then from that perspective, no fundamental transgression occurred. There are no broken relationships to mend and no violated norms to reaffirm. Policies that highlight the need to reconcile are conceptually incoherent with luso-tropicalism. While research has shown that colonial narratives shape historical memory and attitudes (e.g., Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010), future research should investigate how colonial narratives shape information perception.

Additionally, research on intergroup relations consistently finds that glorification, as an idealization of the in-group's history, predicts defensive opposition to reparative measures (Figueiredo et al., 2011; Szabó et al., 2017). High glorifiers are motivated to protect their group's immaculate image and therefore engage in exonerating cognitions, moral disengagement, and outright denial when faced with evidence of historical wrongdoing (Bilali et al., 2019; Roccas, 2006). Indeed, at low levels of luso-tropicalism, this study replicated this expected negative relationship between in-group glorification and support for reparations. However, the central puzzle emerging from this research is a paradox that emerges when people strongly endorse luso-tropicalism, higher glorification, and high luso-tropicalism create greater

support for reparations. This raises the question: why would individuals who are most proud of Portugal's history and who subscribe to a romanticized view of its colonial past be more supportive of reparations? To explain this finding, we argue that this is not a genuine embrace of transformational justice but rather a sophisticated ideological defense mechanism, we can explain as paternalistic co-optation. Supporting reparations is not an admission of wrongdoing or an act of justice, but it is an expression of the benevolent, harmonious, and culturally superior identity that the luso-tropicalist myth itself promotes (Vala et al., 2008; Valentim, 2021). Paternalistic co-optation can be understood as a combination of two frameworks. Paternalism through the “velvet glove” theory, in which Jackman (1994) theorizes how dominant groups prefer to mask coercion in affection. Paternalism allows the dominant group to define the needs of subordinates and to reinforce its own perceived moral superiority by benevolently providing for them (Jackman, 1994). Supporting reparations becomes a classic paternalistic act, by embodying a performance of the mild manners and exceptional capacity for harmonious relations that luso-tropicalism celebrates (Valentim, 2021). This paternalistic act simultaneously functions as co-optation, a process where the transformative aims of a justice movement are appropriated by opponents to serve a different, often neutralizing, agenda (Belibou, 2025).

An example of co-optation is Black Lives Matter movement, where Esposito and Romano (2016) describe identifying a process of benevolent racism. They describe how critics of the movement appropriated the movement's language of "valuing Black lives" but subverted its transformative intent by shifting focus away from systemic police violence to issues like "Black-on-Black crime". This reframing was then used to legitimize calls for aggressive policing, effectively using the movement's own rhetoric to reinforce the punitive status quo it opposed (Esposito & Romano, 2016). Similarly, the demand for transformative reparations can be co-opted and reframed as an opportunity for the dominant group to perform its magnanimity, aligning with what De Greiff (2009) warns can become "cheap talk" that reinforces power imbalances. The psychological logic underpinning this paradox is rooted in the dynamics of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For a high luso-glorifier, there is no fundamental clash between their positive group identity and supporting reparations, because the ideology has already reframed the past as non-exploitative. If one believes the national past is admirable and benevolent, then supporting reparations is not a threatening admission of guilt but a powerful confirmation of that benevolent character. This finding directly challenges interpretations that frame support for reparations primarily as a guilt-driven act of atonement (Figueiredo et al., 2011; Martinovic et al., 2021). The present research reveals an alternative pathway to support,

one rooted not in guilt, but in pride and the affirmation of the in-group's perceived moral superiority. Consequently, support for reparations from this group may not signal an acknowledgment of wrongdoing but could instead be a strategic performance that reinforces, rather than dismantles, the ideological foundations of historical hierarchies.

While the experimental findings were not conclusive, the correlational and mediational patterns uncovered, offer several significant contributions to theories of intergroup relations, particularly Social Dominance Theory (SDT), Social Representation Theory (SRT), and the study of reparative justice. Social Dominance Theory posits that group-based hierarchies are stabilized by "legitimizing myths", ideologies that provide moral and intellectual justification for inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sibley & Duckitt, 2010). This dissertation moves beyond merely identifying luso-tropicalism as such a myth and provides a fine-grained account of how it operates to defend the social hierarchy against transformative challenges. It acts as a cognitive filter that pre-emptively neutralizes threats, by biasing comprehension, and promoting moral disengagement by neutralizing historical blame. Additionally, the findings show how to interaction of luso-tropicalism and in-group glorification align with SDT's concept of behavioural asymmetry, where dominant group members adapt their strategies to maintain hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). A key contribution of this research is that it provides an empirical illustration of Social Representations in action, demonstrating how a socially shared representation of history actively maintains intergroup hierarchies. Our findings show this "structuring" of Portugal's relations is an active defensive process. The representation functions as a filter that makes certain realities, such as the transformative aims of reparative justice, less accessible, while making others, like the paternalistic performance of benevolence, seem natural and justified (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). This aligns with Homer-Dixon et al.'s (2013) conceptualization of ideologies as multi-level networks, where macro-level narratives shape meso-level justifications and micro-level cognitive processes. The interaction between Luso-tropicalism and glorification reveals that the psychological pathways (such as blame and glorification) are not independent. Future research should address this interplay further.

Lastly, this study theorizes that luso-tropicalism, as a colonial ideological system is powerfully sustained by manipulating the psychological perception of time. As Peetz et al. (2010) demonstrated, creating subjective temporal distance from a past transgression is a defensive strategy to reduce collective guilt and the willingness to make amends. By promoting a view of the past as separate and finished, people can distance the contemporary in-group from the harm itself (Peetz et al., 2010). Simultaneously, luso-tropicalism creates a sense of timeless

continuity regarding the benevolent character of the Portuguese people, suggesting a harmonious relationship that needs no repair.

This psychological notion of time has profound practical implications for activists, educators, and policymakers wanting to evolve work on transformative justice. This present study suggest that simply reframing reparative policies is unlikely to create genuine change. To build genuine support for transformative reparations, one must first disrupt the ideological filter that pre-emptively neutralizes such efforts. In the context of Portugal, this filter is luso-tropicalism. The primary challenge, therefore, is to re-establish the connection between the past and the present. Philosopher Bevernage (2008) argues that traditional Western views of time create a false binary, treating the past as something sealed off from the present, limiting our understanding of justice, as it allows for the dismissal of historical claims as "too long ago to matter". This is where the sociopsychological framework proposed by Tomicic and Berardi (2017) differentiates. They distinguish *colonialism* as the historical doctrine of exploitation, and *coloniality* to describe how these power imbalances persist in the present. Their analysis of academic literature reveals a telling bias: much of the research on historical injustice is fundamentally past-oriented, focusing on moral emotions like guilt and apologies for historical events, often without addressing the ongoing societal structures of coloniality (Tomicic and Berardi, 2017). To counter this, justice initiatives must actively promote a non-dichotomous understanding of time, demonstrating that the past is not truly past but continues to shape present-day social structures, inequalities, and privileges. This shift suggests an interesting question for future research: would framing reparations explicitly as a policy to address contemporary inequalities, rather than as atonement for past atrocities, be more effective in creating support?

Additionally, bridging the theory-policy divide is fraught with challenges. Academic knowledge is not neutral, it is biased by the researchers, and it can be changed to make it fit current needs. The intellectual work of Gilberto Freyre, for instance, was co-opted by Portugal's Estado Novo regime to legitimize its colonial project (Bastos, 2019). This historical example serves as a cautionary tale for researchers, highlighting how academic knowledge, once it enters the public, can be appropriated to serve political ends that may run counter to the researcher's original intent. This leads to a crucial question about how research can inform society, and policies made: Is it a net good if people support reparative policies for the "wrong" reasons? The paternalistic co-optation shown by high luso-glorifiers may lead to support for certain measures, which could produce material benefits. Yet, we do not know if the support is based on a truly transformative successful reparation, which requires that redress and accountability

be the central, motivating aims of the policy (Edwards et al., 2024). Instead, this form of support reinforces the core tenets of a harmful ideology: the myth of benevolence, a colourblind narrative that erases the lived experiences of racialized groups, and the paternalistic right of the dominant group to define the terms of redress.

4.2. Limitations and Future Directions

As with any empirical study, the present research has limitations that offer important caveats for interpretation and clear pathways for future inquiry. The primary methodological limitation stems from the experimental design itself. Although the aim was to establish a causal relationship between policy framing and public support, the manipulation was not strong enough to produce statistically robust effects. Consequently, the findings need to be interpreted cautiously and correlatively. Although the pilot study informed changes, supported the manipulated construct, the different vignettes did not produce highly impactful differences.

This may be the case due to multiple problems. First, the study had a very large sample attrition, indicating that it's hard to find participants who are willing to engage with the topic. This can bias the results, showing that only participants who were willing to share their opinion on such a topic stayed, and the results cannot be generalizable. Galesic (2006) explains how participants' decision to continue or drop out is a dynamic process influenced by their subjective experience of interest in the topic and the burden of the task. In the case of this online experiment, the costs of dropout are non-existent. Therefore, participants are more likely to discontinue the study (Zhou & Fishbach, 2016). Besides limiting sample size, the dropout selectively biases who participates in the study. Dropout is not random but described as a decision that can be based on participants' characteristics, creating a threat to the internal validity of experiments (Zhou & Fishbach, 2016). Therefore, the high attrition rate likely introduced a selective bias, as the final sample probably overrepresents individuals with high intrinsic interest in the topic, limiting the generalizability of the results. Future studies should therefore aim to replicate these findings with a larger sample size to detect the complex interactions that were found, and additionally keep participants engaged.

Additionally, the experimental manipulation may have been ineffective because the vignettes, to isolate the variable of power-shifting potential, remained abstract and lacked the tangible, emotionally resonant details that shape public opinion. We based the manipulation on the theoretical construction of hierarchy-attenuating and hierarchy-maintaining policies. But the large failure in comprehension check shows that the manipulation in over half the cases did

not match the intended understanding. This points to a broader challenge, that is described in the field of science communication. As researchers, concepts that are clear to us may not have been worded in a way that was accessible to a lay audience. A systematic review of science communication strategies strongly recommends avoiding jargon and using simple language to improve understanding and engagement (König et al., 2024). Rather than assuming an audience is incapable of understanding, effective communication requires adjusting the way information is presented to laypeople, also when it comes to policies (König et al., 2024).

These limitations, however, illuminate several promising avenues for future research designed to build a more nuanced understanding of the psychological barriers to reparative justice. The failure of the experimental manipulation highlights a critical gap: we know little about how laypeople interpret the intent and impact of different reparative policies. This can be addressed through multiple methods. Future research should employ qualitative methods like discursive analysis to explore the language, metaphors, and narratives individuals use to make sense of justice, responsibility, and hierarchy. This approach moves beyond predefined scales to capture why people feel what they feel. For instance, Shayegh et al. (2025) analyzed online comments regarding the removal of a statue in Canada, identifying key argumentative resources used to resist reconciliation, such as claims of "rewriting history" and attacks on "political correctness". Furthermore, a critical discourse analysis on Canadian public apologies found that official apologies created a "temporal split" between a "wrong past" and a "benevolent present," a strategy that acknowledges historical harm while simultaneously absolving the contemporary state of ongoing colonial responsibility (Lee and Johnstone, 2021). This discursive move is remarkably similar to the ideological function of Luso-tropicalism. Similar studies in the Portuguese context could analyze public discourse surrounding potential reparations to reveal how luso-tropicalist narratives are deployed to justify or oppose specific measures. Complementary, quantitative methods such as conjoint experiments could systematically unpack the policy attributes that drive public opinion. As Leeper et al. (2019) demonstrate, conjoint designs are a powerful tool for studying the independent effects of many features of complex, multidimensional choices. Instead of a single vignette, participants could be presented with policy profiles that vary on multiple dimensions, such as the type of benefit (e.g., financial vs. educational), the target recipient (e.g., individuals vs. communities), and the stated goal (e.g., acknowledging past harm vs. creating future equality). This would allow for a precise estimation of which factors are most influential in shaping support or opposition. Crucially, this methodology is ideal for examining subgroup differences (Leeper et al., 2019), allowing a direct

test whether individuals who endorse Luso-tropicalism weigh policy attributes differently than those who do not.

Finally, a key limitation of this research that should be addressed is that the theoretical basis on which we describe the mechanism of luso-tropicalism is on social dominance theory. We theorize that luso-tropicalism plays the role of a legitimizing myth (Valentim, 2021). The theoretical framework relied on luso-tropicalism as a culturally specific legitimizing myth without directly measuring Social Dominance Orientation. Future research must disentangle the effects of a general preference for inequality (SDO) from the specific narratives of a cultural myth. Karunaratne & Laham (2019) find that the anti-egalitarianism sub-dimension of SDO is particularly resistant to hierarchy-attenuating apologies; future work could test whether luso-tropicalism functions primarily by activating this anti-egalitarian sentiment. Such an investigation would clarify whether the observed resistance is rooted in a desire for dominance or in the defence of a specific cultural identity, a question with profound implications for how we understand justice itself. Taking this back to the basis of justice, future research can expand this onto the basis of retributive and restorative justice, as previous findings indicate that generally crimes against status or power enforce retributive principles, whereas values tend to evoke preferences of restorative justice (Wenzel et al., 2008). Future research could explore whether hierarchy-attenuating reparations are perceived primarily as a threat to in-group status (triggering retributive opposition), whereas hierarchy-maintaining reparations are successfully framed as an affirmation of shared benevolent values (aligning with restorative impulses). This would connect the ideological functions of luso-tropicalism directly to the fundamental psychological motivations that underpin the pursuit of justice itself.

4.3. Conclusion

This dissertation set out to disentangle the web of psychological constructs that create resistance to transformative colonial reparations in Portugal. While experimental manipulations of policy framing showed limited effects, the overall pattern of results revealed a underlying mechanism of luso-tropicalism that functions as a multi-level ideological filter. This filter operates not simply by justifying the status quo, but by neutralizing the moral and cognitive foundations of historical blame, a key precursor of support for reparations, and co-opting the very notion of justice. The finding that high in-group glorification, when combined with luso-tropicalism, can lead to more support for reparations reveals a mechanism that can be explained as paternalistic

co-optation, whereby reparative acts could be reframed as performances of benevolence that reinforce, rather than dismantle, the in-group's perceived moral superiority.

The common thread that connects this web of constructs is the psychological connection between the past and the present. This research illustrated how a socially-constructed narrative about colonial history is not only a memory but an active psychological defence system against contemporary calls for accountability and moral responsibility. The narrative, shaped by society and disseminated through shared representations, influences perceptions.

Ultimately, this draws the focus of reparations away from being solely about the past. As Spinner-Halev (2007) argues, true reparative justice is concerned with the enduring injustices that persist today. The challenge for the future, therefore, is not to design better policies, but to dismantle the ideological barriers that reproduce historical hierarchies in the present. Without addressing the underlying myth, even well-intentioned reparative gestures risk being absorbed and neutralized. As Immler (2021) powerfully questions, any act of recognition is deeply entangled with power, risking the affirmation of the very hierarchies it seeks to transform. The ultimate task is to deconstruct:

"...the 'logic of "who acknowledges" and "who is acknowledged", of "who gives" and "who receives", which in itself carries the signature of historical violence and power relationships'" (Immler, 2021, p. 14).

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Appendix A: Study Overview

Table 1.

Summary of Hypotheses.

Mechanism	Hypothesis
<i>Experimental Main Effects</i>	
H1	Support for policies is lower in the CSQ condition, than the RSQ condition and Control group.
H3	Collective Historical blame is lower in the CSQ condition relative to the Control and RSQ conditions, while the RSQ condition will not reduce blame to the same extent
H4	In-group glorification is higher in the CSQ condition relative to the Control and RSQ conditions
<i>Moderating Role of Luso-Tropicalism</i>	
H2a	Participants with higher adherence to luso-tropicalism show lower overall support for reparations in both the CSQ and RSQ conditions, compared to participants with lower luso-tropicalism adherence.
H2b	In the Control group, luso-tropicalism has no effect on support for reparations, indicating that its moderating role is specific to the experimental conditions.
H2c	The moderating effect of luso-tropicalism is stronger in the CSQ condition compared to the RSQ condition, such that luso-tropicalism acts as a buffer, reducing support for reparations more in the CSQ group than in the RSQ group.
<i>Mediating Mechanisms</i>	
H5a	The effect of policy framing on support for reparations will be mediated by historical blame, such that greater historical blame predicts greater support.
H5b	The effect of policy framing on support for reparations will be mediated by in-group glorification, such that greater in-group glorification predicts lower support
H6a	The indirect effect of policy framing to support for policy via historical blame will be stronger for participants low in adherence to luso-tropicalism, particularly in the RSQ condition.
H6b	The indirect effect of policy framing to support for policy via in-group glorification will be stronger for participants high in adherence to luso-tropicalism, particularly in the CSQ condition.

Note: CSQ = Challenging Status Quo; RSQ = Reinforcing Status Quo; Control. H3, H4, H5a & H5b not specified in preregistration, but added to make the process of moderated mediation more complete.

Figure 1.

Ethics Approval Document.



Ref. 2025/03

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The Ethics Commission of the Instituto de Ciências Sociais of the University of Lisbon (ICS-ULisboa) reviewed a request submitted by Cícero Roberto Pereira and Mayleen Luisa Schack, regarding an online study that “investigates how lusotropicalism—a colonial ideology unique to Portugal—may either trigger or buffer support for reparations” (from the request form).

The proposed activities involve the voluntary recruitment of 300 online participants, aged 18 and over, with Portuguese nationality and without a migration background (this being defined as individuals born in Portugal and whose parents and grandparents were also born in Portugal). The study includes a questionnaire to assess lusotropicalism and including questions on socio-demographic data; followed by the presentation of vignettes on reparation policies and another questionnaire. Further clarifications have been provided by via email exchange.

Based on the information provided, the Ethics Commission considered the following:

- Participation is entirely voluntary, and participants will be asked to give explicit consent to advance in the online study.
- The informed consent will include all the relevant information concerning the objectives of the study, contacts of the Principal Investigator, and the procedure to withdraw own participation at any moment and without any consequences.
- The data collection and storage strategy, as well as the design of the study, are adequate to the collection of sensitive data and information, namely about subjective assessments of Lusotropicalism and racial reparations.
- After the completion of the study, the database will be downloaded after excluding any variables that are not pertinent to the participants' response, while the complete database will be permanently deleted.

Based on the information provided by the applicant, the Ethics Commission of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon considers that the conditions are set for compliance with both European Union and Portuguese law, and with the standard ethical requirements for the practice of social science research with human beings.

Simone Tulumello

(on behalf of the commission)

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Note: Adaptations to the sample exclusion criteria were discussed with the committee after approval and insights from the pilot study.

Table 2.*Summary of Results.*

Hypothesis	Analysis	Interpretation	Supports Hypothesis?
H1	MANOVA on Policy Support	The hierarchy-challenging (CSQ) frame produced marginally lower support than the Control ($p = .022$), but did not differ from the hierarchy-maintaining (RSQ) frame ($p = .487$). The overall effect of the manipulation was small ($\eta^2_p = .021$)	Partially
H2a	Conditional simple slopes (Moderation)	Luso-tropicalism was a significant negative predictor of support for reparations in both the CSQ ($p = .002$) and RSQ ($p = .005$) conditions	Yes
H2b	Conditional simple slopes (Moderation)	Luso-tropicalism had no significant effect on support for the unrelated Control policy ($p = .156$)	Yes
H2c	Interaction Contrast (Moderation)	The negative effect of luso-tropicalism on support was not significantly stronger in the CSQ condition compared to the RSQ condition ($p = .809$)	No
H3	MANOVA on Historical Blame	The experimental policy framing had no significant effect on participants' levels of historical blame ($p = .865$)	No
H4	MANOVA on In-Group Glorification	The experimental policy framing had no significant effect on participants' levels of in-group glorification ($p = .563$)	No
H5a	Mediation Analysis (PROCESS Model 4)	No significant indirect effect of policy framing on support via historical blame. However, the path from blame to support was strong and positive.	No, (exploratory finding)
H5b	Mediation Analysis (PROCESS Model 4)	No significant indirect effect of policy framing on support via in-group glorification.	No
H6a	Moderated Mediation (Model 59, PROCESS)	The indirect effect of framing on support via historical blame was not conditional on luso-tropicalism.	No

H6b	Moderated Mediation (Model 59, PROCESS)	The indirect effect of framing on support via in-group glorification was not conditional on luso-tropicalism.	No
Exploratory Findings	Moderated Mediation (Interaction Term)	A significant Glorification $\times$ Luso-tropicalism interaction on policy support was found. For low-Luso individuals, glorification <i>decreased</i> support; for high-Luso individuals, glorification <i>increased</i> support	N/A
	Mediation Analysis (Suppression)	Historical blame acted as a suppressor on the CSQ manipulation. The direct negative effect of the CSQ frame on support became stronger and clearer after controlling for blame.	N/A

Note: Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 were not preregistered.

Appendix B: Pilot Study

Figure 1.

Experimental Vignette – Challenge Status Quo.

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a discussão sobre as reparações para o passado colonial de Portugal.

Foram propostas políticas reparativas com o objetivo de reconhecer as injustiças históricas, ao mesmo tempo que promovem medidas eficazes para corrigir desigualdades sistemáticas e incentivar mudanças estruturais.

Por exemplo, Portugal poderia aumentar o investimento na educação, saúde e oferecer oportunidades de empregos com remuneração adequada para pessoas provenientes das antigas colónias portuguesas, priorizando-as em relação a outras necessidades nacionais.

Estas iniciativas destacam a necessidade de Portugal priorizar as reparações para as antigas colónias, redistribuindo investimentos ao reduzir os recursos alocados para os interesses nacionais portugueses, a fim de garantir o financiamento para resolver as injustiças passadas.

O foco destas reparações está na necessidade de desafiar a ordem social herdada do colonialismo e promover uma distribuição justa de recursos e poder. O passado colonial de Portugal criou desigualdades que continuam a impactar as oportunidades das comunidades afetadas, sendo responsabilidade da sociedade portuguesa contemporânea corrigir ativamente essas desigualdades.

Ao implementar estas políticas, Portugal assume a responsabilidade pelo seu passado e compromete-se a construir um futuro mais equitativo.

Os defensores desta abordagem argumentam que tais políticas reparativas são justas porque a verdadeira justiça social exige o fim das hierarquias impostas pelo colonialismo. Nenhum grupo deve permanecer numa posição inferior devido à história, e devemos trabalhar para garantir a verdadeira igualdade entre as comunidades, independentemente da sua origem.

Recently, the discussion about reparations for Portugal's colonial past has emerged in public debate. Reparative policies have been proposed with the aim of recognizing historical injustices, while promoting effective measures to correct systematic inequalities and encourage structural changes. For example, Portugal could increase investment in education, health, and offer adequately paid employment opportunities to people from former Portuguese colonies, prioritizing them over other national needs.

These initiatives highlight the need for Portugal to prioritize reparations for its former colonies by redistributing investments and reducing the resources allocated to Portuguese national interests in order to secure funding to address past injustices.

The focus of these reparations is on the need to challenge the social order inherited from colonialism and promote a fair distribution of resources and power. Portugal's colonial past created inequalities that continue to impact the opportunities of affected communities, and it is the responsibility of contemporary Portuguese society to actively correct these inequalities.

By implementing these policies, Portugal takes responsibility for its past and commits to building a more equitable future.

Proponents of this approach argue that such reparative policies are fair because true social justice requires an end to the hierarchies imposed by colonialism. No group should remain in an inferior position because of history, and we must work to ensure true equality among communities, regardless of their origin.

Note: Vignette about policy proposal aiming to challenge existing hierarchies.

Figure 2.

Experimental Vignette – Reinforce Status Quo.

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a discussão sobre as reparações para o passado colonial de Portugal.

Foram propostas políticas reparativas com o objetivo de reconhecer as injustiças históricas em casos específicos e comprovados de exploração, ao mesmo tempo que promovem medidas eficazes que são justas e viáveis para garantir o equilíbrio social.

Por exemplo, Portugal poderia desenvolver um programa de apoio a indivíduos, como a atribuição de bolsas de estudo, juntamente com iniciativas que promovam a reconciliação em contextos potencialmente mais conflituosos, ao mesmo tempo que aborda questões mais imediatas em situações críticas.

Estas iniciativas destacam a necessidade de Portugal reparar aqueles afetados pelo seu passado colonial, reconhecendo que tanto os portugueses como os povos colonizados sofreram durante aquele período histórico.

O foco destas reparações está na necessidade de reforçar uma ordem internacional equilibrada, garantindo que o reconhecimento do passado não minore a estabilidade e o progresso. Cada sociedade tem a sua estrutura, e tentar transformar radicalmente essa ordem pode levar à divisão e à instabilidade.

Ao promover reparações individuais e gestos simbólicos, Portugal procura fomentar um caminho de crescimento e parceria partilhada.

Os defensores desta abordagem argumentam que tais políticas reparativas são justas porque reconhecem que fornecer os mesmos recursos a todas as comunidades de uma vez é inviável. Eles enfatizam a adaptação das reparações a contextos específicos, considerando as diferenças históricas e culturais que moldaram a estabilidade social e que evoluíram ao longo do tempo para manter a ordem.

Recently, the discussion about reparations for Portugal's colonial past has emerged in public debate.

Reparative policies have been proposed with the aim of recognizing historical injustices in specific and proven cases of exploitation, while promoting effective measures that are fair and feasible to ensure social balance.

For example, Portugal could develop a program to support individuals, such as awarding scholarships, along with initiatives that promote reconciliation in potentially more conflictual contexts, while addressing more immediate issues in critical situations.

These initiatives highlight the need for Portugal to make reparations to those affected by its colonial past, recognizing that both the Portuguese and the colonized peoples suffered during that historical period.

The focus of these reparations is on the need to reinforce a balanced international order, ensuring that recognition of the past does not undermine stability and progress. Each society has its own structure, and attempting to radically transform that order can lead to division and instability.

By promoting individual reparations and symbolic gestures, Portugal seeks to foster a path of growth and shared partnership.

Proponents of this approach argue that such reparative policies are fair because they recognize that providing the same resources to all communities at once is unfeasible. They emphasize tailoring reparations to specific contexts, considering the historical and cultural differences that have shaped social stability and evolved over time to maintain order.

Note: Vignette about policy proposal aiming to maintain existing hierarchies.

Figure 3.

Experimental Vignette – Control (Version 1).

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a discussão sobre as reparações para as bibliotecas de Portugal.

Foram propostas políticas reparativas com o objetivo de melhorar o acesso à informação e promover medidas eficazes para o desenvolvimento da infraestrutura digital e educacional.

Por exemplo, Portugal poderia expandir a infraestrutura de internet, aumentando o acesso online a bibliotecas e bases de dados, bem como promovendo a literacia digital através de workshops. Além disso, poderiam ser alocados fundos para adaptar as instalações das bibliotecas e atualizar as coleções, garantindo uma maior disponibilidade de recursos.

Estas iniciativas destacam a necessidade de Portugal dar prioridade às reparações para as bibliotecas, direcionando investimentos para o desenvolvimento das bibliotecas, garantindo recursos e alocando-os para a expansão dos serviços bibliotecários.

O foco destas reparações está na necessidade de investir em infraestrutura e garantir um acesso digital mais amplo, mantendo ao mesmo tempo o progresso já alcançado. A implementação destas políticas visa colmatar as lacunas no acesso à informação e aos materiais educativos para um público mais vasto.

Ao promover as reparações nas bibliotecas, Portugal aborda uma questão premente relacionada com a disponibilidade de conhecimento, que tem implicações para a população no quotidiano.

Os defensores desta abordagem argumentam que tais políticas reparativas são uma prioridade porque consideram o acesso à informação uma necessidade crescente num mundo cada vez mais digital. Eles defendem que expandir o acesso aos recursos educativos é um passo prático na adaptação a um mundo cada vez mais digital.

Recently, the discussion about reparations for libraries in Portugal has emerged in public debate.

Reparative policies have been proposed with the aim of improving access to information and promoting effective measures for the development of digital and educational infrastructure.

For example, Portugal could expand its internet infrastructure, increasing online access to libraries and databases, as well as promoting digital literacy through workshops. In addition, funds could be allocated to adapt library facilities and update collections, ensuring greater availability of resources.

These initiatives highlight the need for Portugal to prioritize reparations for libraries, directing investments toward library development, securing resources, and allocating them to the expansion of library services.

The focus of these repairs is on the need to invest in infrastructure and ensure broader digital access, while maintaining the progress already achieved. The implementation of these policies aims to bridge the gaps in access to information and educational materials for a wider audience.

By promoting repairs in libraries, Portugal is addressing a pressing issue related to the availability of knowledge, which has implications for the population in their daily lives.

Proponents of this approach argue that such remedial policies are a priority because they consider access to information a growing necessity in an increasingly digital world. They argue that expanding access to educational resources is a practical step in adapting to an increasingly digital world.

Note: Vignette about policy proposal not related to Portugal's colonial relations.

Figure 4.

Experimental Vignette – Control (Version 2).

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a discussão sobre melhorias nos parques urbanos nas cidades. Foram propostas políticas com o objetivo de melhorar a manutenção dos espaços verdes, modernizar infraestruturas e aumentar a eficiência da gestão local.

Por exemplo, as autarquias poderiam atualizar bancos e trilhos, investir na conservação dos jardins e instalar bebedouros, casas de banho públicas e sistemas de rega automáticos.

Estas iniciativas destacam a necessidade de tornar os parques mais funcionais e agradáveis para o uso diário, garantindo recursos e alocando-os ao conforto dos cidadãos.

O foco destas intervenções está na importância de investir na gestão urbana e na preservação dos espaços comunitários. A implementação destas políticas visa colmatar falhas na manutenção e garantir que os espaços públicos se mantenham acessíveis e bem cuidados para todos os utilizadores.

Ao promover melhorias nos parques urbanos, pretende-se abordar uma questão relacionada com o valor dos espaços verdes no quotidiano, oferecendo locais acessíveis para lazer, descanso e convívio. Os defensores desta abordagem argumentam que as melhorias nos parques são uma prioridade para o bem-estar diário da população num mundo cada vez mais digital. Defendem que precisamos de espaços práticos e acolhedores que incentivem o contacto social e o equilíbrio entre a vida urbana e a natureza.

Recently, the discussion about improvements to urban parks in cities has emerged in public debate. Policies have been proposed with the aim of improving the maintenance of green spaces, modernizing infrastructure, and increasing the efficiency of local management.

For example, local authorities could update benches and trails, invest in garden conservation, and install drinking fountains, public restrooms, and automatic irrigation systems.

These initiatives highlight the need to make parks more functional and enjoyable for everyday use, securing resources and allocating them to the comfort of citizens.

The focus of these interventions is on the importance of investing in urban management and the preservation of community spaces. The implementation of these policies aims to address maintenance shortcomings and ensure that public spaces remain accessible and well-maintained for all users.

By promoting improvements in urban parks, the aim is to address an issue related to the value of green spaces in everyday life, providing accessible places for leisure, rest, and socializing.

Proponents of this approach argue that improvements to parks are a priority for the daily well-being of the population in an increasingly digital world. They argue that we need practical and welcoming spaces that encourage social contact and a balance between urban life and nature.

Note: Vignette about policy proposal not related to Portugal's colonial relations. Version was adapted after first round of analyses, indicating threat perceptions in the Control group (Version 1).

Figure 5.

Informed Consent – Pilot Study.

Welcome!

Thank you very much for participating in this short online study.

Your contribution is very important and will play a crucial role in advancing research.

The purpose of this study is to understand how you perceive policies. Your participation will involve completing a single online session, which will take approximately 8 minutes. The study includes reading a short text, answering a series of questions, and providing some sociodemographic information.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason, without justification. There will be no negative consequences for discontinuing your participation.

This study involves social and political issues that are circulating in society.

Although there are no risks associated with your participation, you may feel some discomfort when reflecting on some of these opinions. If, at any time, you feel uncomfortable and prefer not to express your opinion, you can stop the study without any consequences.

Although there are no direct personal benefits to participating, your responses will contribute to future research and are crucial to understanding how reparations policies are understood.

All data collected in this study will be kept anonymous. We will not collect identifiable information such as names or IP addresses. Thus, the data cannot be traced back to you personally. The data will be used exclusively for research purposes and may be used in anonymized form in academic publications or presentations.

If you have any questions about the study or would like to discuss any issues, please do not hesitate to contact:

Mayleen Luisa Schack: mlska@iscte-iul.pt

Supervisor: Cícero Roberto Pereira: crp@labesp.org

Note: Translated version.

Figure 6.

Debriefing – Pilot Study.

Thank you for participating!

We appreciate your time and effort in completing this study. The aim of this study was to explore how different types of policy proposals addressing Portugal's colonial past are perceived. These proposals will later be used as manipulations in a larger-scale experimental study.

Participants were exposed to one of three conditions: two presented different forms of colonial reparations (challenging or reinforcing existing social hierarchies created by colonialism) and one group read a text unrelated to colonial history (control group).

This research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the long-term impact of historical narratives and colonial ideologies on policy-making and social attitudes in Portugal.

If you have any questions or comments about this study, or if you are interested in learning about the results, please do not hesitate to contact us. We will be happy to share the findings once the study is complete.

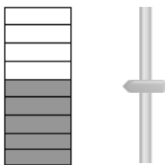
Mayleen Luisa Schack: mlska@iscte-iul.pt

Supervisor: Cícero Roberto Pereira: crp@labesp.org

Note: Translated version. Additionally, an open text-box gave participants the opportunity to give anonymous feedback.

Table 1.

Operationalizations: Pilot Study.

Portuguese Items	English Translation
Legitimacy of Status Please select to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements: (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> to 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>) Os portugueses nativos têm um estatuto social mais elevado na sociedade do que as pessoas oriundas das antigas colónias portuguesas. Os portugueses nativos têm uma posição melhor na sociedade do que as pessoas provenientes das antigas colónias portuguesas. De um modo geral, a sociedade portuguesa valoriza mais os portugueses do que as pessoas oriundas das antigas colónias.	Native Portuguese people have a higher social status in society than people from the former Portuguese colonies. Native Portuguese people have a better position in society than people from the former Portuguese colonies. In general, Portuguese society values Portuguese people more than people from the former colonies.
Power & Status Please indicate for each of the questions below the group of people to whom you believe the aspects apply most: to ‘Portuguese’ or to people from the ‘former colonies’. (1 = <i>the Portuguese</i> to 5 = <i>People of the former colonies</i>) Poder para controlar os recursos económicos: Poder para dominar o desenvolvimento científico, tecnológico e educativo: Poder para influenciar as decisões políticas relevantes: São mais respeitados socialmente: As suas opiniões são mais valorizadas: São mais valorizados socialmente:	Power to control economic resources: Power to dominate scientific, technological, and educational development: Power to influence relevant political decisions: They are more respected socially: Their opinions are more valued: They are more valued socially:
MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status 	Now, imagine that the bars shown below represent a ladder. At the top of the ladder are the best-positioned countries, with great influence, many resources, good recognition, and which people would classify as ‘great countries’. At the bottom of the ladder are the worst-positioned countries, with less influence, fewer resources, little recognition, and which people would classify as ‘weak countries’. Please move the cursor on the ladder to the height that best represents where you think Portugal is.

Social Dominance Orientation	Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each of the statements below by selecting an option ranging from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree” on the scale below. Answer as quickly as possible, expressing the first opinion that comes to mind. <i>(1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.)</i>
Uma sociedade ideal exige que alguns grupos estejam no topo e outros na base.	An ideal society requires that some groups be at the top and others at the bottom.
Alguns grupos de pessoas são simplesmente inferiores a outros grupos.	Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
Nenhum grupo deve dominar na sociedade.	No group should dominate society.
Os grupos na base são tão merecedores como os grupos no topo.	The groups at the bottom are just as deserving as the groups at the top.
A igualdade dos grupos não deve ser o nosso principal objetivo.	The equality of groups should not be our main goal.
É injusto tentar tornar os grupos iguais.	It is unfair to try to make groups equal.
Devemos fazer o que pudermos para igualar as condições dos diferentes grupos.	We should do what we can to equalize the conditions of different groups.
Devemos trabalhar para dar a todos os grupos a mesma hipótese de sucesso.	We should work to give all groups the same chance of success.

RWA	Continue to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the ideas below: <i>(1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.)</i>
É ótimo que muitos jovens de hoje estejam dispostos a desafiar a autoridade.	It's great that many young people today are willing to challenge authority.
O que o nosso país mais precisa é de disciplina, com toda a gente a seguir os nossos líderes em unidade.	What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity.
As leis de Deus sobre o aborto, a pornografia e o casamento devem ser rigorosamente seguidas antes que seja demasiado tarde.	God's laws on abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it's too late.
Não há nada de errado com as relações sexuais antes do casamento.	There is nothing wrong with premarital sex.
A nossa sociedade não precisa de um governo mais duro e de leis mais rigorosas.	Our society does not need a tougher government and stricter laws.
Os factos sobre a criminalidade e as recentes desordens públicas mostram que temos de reprimir mais duramente os desordeiros, se quisermos preservar a lei e a ordem.	The facts about crime and recent public disorder show that we must crack down harder on troublemakers if we want to preserve law and order.

System	Please continue to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the statements below. (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> to 5 = <i>strongly agree</i> .)	
Justification		
Pensando bem, a nossa sociedade é justa.		On reflection, our society is fair.
De uma maneira geral, as coisas acontecem como devem acontecer.		Generally speaking, things happen as they should.
Tudo somado, aqui é o melhor país do mundo para se viver		All things considered, this is the best country in the world to live in.
A maioria das coisas acontece por ser o melhor para a sociedade.		Most things happen because they are best for society.
Todo mundo tem as mesmas oportunidades para buscar riqueza e felicidade.		Everyone has the same opportunities to pursue wealth and happiness.
A sociedade está organizada para que as pessoas consigam o que merecem.		Society is organized so that people get what they deserve.
Relative Deprivation	Also, assuming that you are responding after Portugal has implemented the remedial measures we have presented, please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements: (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> to 5 = <i>strongly agree</i> .)	
Os portugueses seriam tratados de forma menos favorável do que as pessoas das ex-colónias.		The Portuguese would be treated less favorably than people from the former colonies.
Os portugueses seriam mais privilegiados em comparação com as pessoas das ex-colónias.		The Portuguese would be more privileged compared to people from the former colonies.
As pessoas das ex-colónias seriam mais beneficiadas do que os portugueses.		People from the former colonies would benefit more than the Portuguese.
Os portugueses receberiam muito mais do que as pessoas das ex-colónias receberiam com as políticas de reparação.		The Portuguese would receive much more than people from the former colonies would receive under the reparation policies.
A situação seria insatisfatória para os portugueses em comparação com a situação das pessoas das ex-colónias.		The situation would be unsatisfactory for the Portuguese compared to the situation of people from the former colonies.

Intergroup	Please continue to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the statements below. (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> to 5 = <i>strongly agree</i> .)	
Threat		
Enquanto portugueses, seria preocupante para mim a diminuição do lugar que Portugal ocuparia no mundo.	As a Portuguese citizen, I would be concerned about Portugal's diminished place in the world.	
As conquistas de Portugal seriam ameaçadas com a implementação de reparações às ex-colónias.	Portugal's achievements would be threatened by the implementation of reparations to its former colonies.	
Portugal beneficiaria com a implementação de reparações às ex-colónias.	Portugal would benefit from the implementation of reparations to its former colonies.	
Os verdadeiros valores culturais dos portugueses poderiam desaparecer com o passar do tempo.	The true cultural values of the Portuguese people could disappear over time.	

Note: Legitimacy of Status, Scale on Status and Power, and the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status, was measured before (T1) and after (T2) the manipulation.

Appendix C: Main Study

Figure 1.

Informed Consent – Main Study.

Welcome!

Thank you very much for participating in this brief online study. Your contribution is very important and will play a key role in advancing scientific knowledge. The results of this study may help improve the debate on public attitudes toward policies.

The purpose of this study is to understand your opinion on various topics related to policy proposals. Your participation will consist of a single online session, lasting approximately 10 minutes. The study includes reading a short text, answering a series of questions, and providing some sociodemographic information.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason, without having to provide justification. There will be no negative consequences for discontinuing your participation.

This study involves opinions on social and political issues that are circulating in society. Although there are no risks associated with your participation, you may feel some discomfort when reflecting on some of these opinions. If, at any time, you feel uncomfortable and prefer not to express your opinion, you may withdraw from the study without any consequences.

Although there are no direct personal benefits for your participation, your responses will contribute to a better understanding of people's opinions on the topics covered, which may help inform decision-making processes in Portugal.

All data collected in this study will be treated anonymously. We will not collect identifiable information such as names or IP addresses. Thus, the data will not be traceable to you in any way and therefore cannot be traced back to you. The data will be used exclusively for research purposes and may be used anonymously in academic publications or presentations.

If you have any questions about the study or would like to discuss any concerns, please do not hesitate to contact:

Mayleen Luisa Schack: mlska@iscte-iul.pt

Supervisor: Cícero Roberto Pereira: crp@labesp.org

Figure 2.

Debriefing – Main Study.

Thank you for participating!

We appreciate your time and effort in completing this study.

The aim of this study was to explore how different types of policy proposals addressing Portugal's colonial past are perceived. Specifically, we wanted to examine how colonial ideologies and social narratives about history influence support for reparations policies.

In this context, Lusotropicalism, a colonial ideology that portrays Portuguese colonialism as uniquely benevolent and harmonious, continues to shape perceptions of Portugal's colonial past. This study sought to understand whether this ideology moderates attitudes toward policies that challenge or support the status quo of the current social hierarchy, rooted in colonialism.

Participants were exposed to one of three conditions: two proposed different forms of colonial reparations (challenging or reinforcing existing social hierarchies created by colonialism) and one group read a text unrelated to colonial history (control group). By analyzing the responses, we aim to identify the psychological mechanisms—such as the attribution of historical blame or the glorification of the group to which one belongs—that influence support for or opposition to these policies.

This research contributes to a deeper understanding of the long-term impact of historical narratives and colonial ideologies on policy-making and social attitudes in Portugal.

If you have any questions or comments about this study, or if you are interested in learning more about the results, please do not hesitate to contact us. We will be happy to share the findings once the study is complete.

Mayleen Luisa Schack: mlska@iscte-iul.pt

Supervisor: Cícero Roberto Pereira: crp@labesp.org

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If this study has sparked your interest in Portugal's colonial history, reparations policies, or related topics, here are some additional resources to explore:

[Journal on Historical Discussions](#) & [Podcast on Decolonization in Portugal](#)

Once again, thank you very much for your valuable participation. Your contribution has had an important impact on our research.

Please feel free to share the link to this study, but we kindly ask that you refrain from discussing its full objectives until the study is complete.

Note: Journal: *Práticas da História* – Journal on Theory, Historiography, and Uses of the Past;

Podcast: *Justice Visions - Taking up space for decolonisation: civil society initiatives in Portugal.*

Figure 3.

Portuguese Versions of Experimental Manipulations.

CSQ:

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a questão das reparações pelo passado colonial de Portugal. As políticas propostas visam enfrentar injustiças históricas e combater desigualdades estruturais enraizadas no colonialismo. Por exemplo, Portugal poderia redirecionar recursos nacionais para dar prioridade ao acesso das comunidades anteriormente colonizadas à educação, saúde e emprego. Estas ações procuram reequilibrar o poder social e económico, desafiando hierarquias coloniais que continuam a influenciar as oportunidades atuais. O foco está em corrigir ativamente desigualdades e assumir a responsabilidade pelo passado colonial de Portugal, comprometendo-se com uma distribuição justa de recursos e poder. Os defensores desta abordagem argumentam que a verdadeira justiça exige enfrentar as desigualdades herdadas. Defendem que nenhum grupo deve manter poder sobre outros com base na história.

RSQ:

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a questão das reparações pelo passado colonial de Portugal. As políticas reparatórias propostas visam reconhecer injustiças específicas e comprovadas, promovendo simultaneamente medidas justas e exequíveis. Por exemplo, Portugal poderia oferecer bolsas de estudo e apoiar iniciativas de reconciliação, ao mesmo tempo que responde a desafios sociais mais imediatos. Estas ações procuram reparar os danos causados a indivíduos afetados, reconhecendo que tanto os portugueses como os povos colonizados sofreram durante esse período histórico. O foco está em reforçar uma ordem internacional equilibrada, garantindo que o reconhecimento do passado através das reparações não comprometa a estabilidade nem o progresso. Os defensores desta abordagem argumentam que aplicar as mesmas soluções a diferentes contextos é injusto. Defendem a importância de preservar as estruturas sociais que têm assegurado a estabilidade ao longo do tempo.

Control:

Recentemente, surgiu no debate público a questão da melhoria dos parques públicos urbanos em Portugal. As políticas propostas visam modernizar infraestruturas, preservar jardins e melhorar a gestão local dos espaços verdes. Por exemplo, os municípios poderiam renovar os caminhos pedonais, instalar casas de banho públicas e atualizar os sistemas de rega. Estas ações procuram tornar os parques mais funcionais e acessíveis para o uso diário, colmatando lacunas na manutenção e assegurando a sua boa conservação. O foco está em garantir espaços partilhados que promovam o bem-estar urbano diário e a sustentabilidade a longo prazo. Os defensores argumentam que espaços públicos de qualidade são fundamentais para o bem-estar da população num mundo cada vez mais digital. Defendem que precisamos de espaços acolhedores que incentivem o equilíbrio entre a vida urbana e a natureza.

Table 1.*Operationalizations: Main Study.*

Portuguese Items	English Translation
Luso-tropicalism	In this section, share your opinion on relations between the Portuguese and other countries and cultures. For each of the following statements, please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each one. Using a scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree,” select the option that indicates to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements: <i>(1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree)</i>
As pessoas de outras culturas integram-se mais facilmente em Portugal do que noutros países europeus.	People from other cultures integrate more easily in Portugal than in other European countries.
Comparando com os outros países europeus, pode dizer-se que em Portugal existe menos racismo.	Compared to other European countries, it can be said that there is less racism in Portugal.
As pessoas de outras culturas são mais respeitadas em Portugal do que noutros países europeus.	People from other cultures are more respected in Portugal than in other European countries.
Comparando com os outros países europeus, as tensões e conflitos entre os portugueses e as pessoas de outras origens que vivem em Portugal são menores.	Compared to other European countries, there is less tension and conflict between Portuguese people and people from other backgrounds living in Portugal.
Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias são muito mais semelhantes do que diferentes.	Portuguese people and people from the former colonies are much more similar than different.
Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias devem ser considerados como uma única comunidade linguística.	The Portuguese and people from the former colonies should be considered as a single linguistic community.
Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias devem ser considerados como um único povo.	The Portuguese and people from the former colonies should be considered as a single people.
Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias contribuem significativamente para uma única comunidade cultural.	The Portuguese and people from the former colonies contribute significantly to a single cultural community.

A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela capacidade de os portugueses se misturarem com os povos colonizados.	Portuguese colonial history was characterized by the ability of the Portuguese to mix with the colonized peoples.
A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela integração com os povos colonizados.	Portuguese colonial history was characterized by integration with the colonized peoples.
A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela capacidade dos portugueses se adaptarem à vida nas regiões tropicais.	Portuguese colonial history was characterized by the ability of the Portuguese to adapt to life in tropical regions.
A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela especial capacidade dos portugueses se adaptarem ao modo de vida dos povos ex-colonizados.	Portuguese colonial history was characterized by the special ability of the Portuguese to adapt to the way of life of the formerly colonized peoples.
O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento económico das ex-colónias.	Portuguese colonialism was fundamental to the economic development of the former colonies.
O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento social das ex-colónias.	Portuguese colonialism was fundamental to the social development of the former colonies.
O colonialismo português teve impactos positivos no desenvolvimento das ex-colónias.	Portuguese colonialism had positive impacts on the development of the former colonies.
O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento civilizacional das ex-colónias.	Portuguese colonialism was fundamental to the civilizational development of the former colonies.

Historical Blame

Please answer the following questions using a scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree.” Select the option that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements.
(1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*)

Os portugueses de hoje deveriam sentir arrependimento pelas injustiças que Portugal cometeu contra os povos dos países que colonizou.	The Portuguese of today should feel remorse for the injustices that Portugal committed against the peoples of the countries it colonized.
Os portugueses de hoje deveriam sentir-se culpados pelo mal que os seus antepassados fizeram durante o colonialismo.	The Portuguese of today should feel guilty for the harm their ancestors did during colonialism.

Os portugueses de hoje deveriam sentir arrependimento pela mal que Portugal fez às pessoas dos países que colonizou.	The Portuguese of today should feel remorse for the harm that Portugal did to the people of the countries it colonized.
Os portugueses de hoje deveriam sentir-se culpados pelo mal que os seus antepassados fizeram durante o período colonial.	The Portuguese of today should feel guilty for the harm their ancestors did during the colonial period.
Se uma nação causou danos a outras nações no passado, os seus cidadãos atuais deveriam assumir a responsabilidade por esses danos.	If a nation has caused damage to other nations in the past, its current citizens should take responsibility for that damage.
Um país deve ser responsabilizado pelas ações históricas daqueles que o representaram.	A country must be held accountable for the historical actions of those who represented it.
As pessoas de hoje devem ser responsabilizadas pelos danos que o seu país causou no passado.	The people of today must be held accountable for the damages their country caused in the past.
As nações devem ser responsabilizadas pelos danos que causaram ao longo da história.	Nations must be held accountable for the damages they have caused throughout history.
Acho que os cidadãos atuais de um país são responsáveis pelas injustiças históricas cometidas pelos seus antepassados.	I think that the current citizens of a country are responsible for the historical injustices committed by their ancestors.

In-Group Glorification

Please answer the following questions using a scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree.” Select the option that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements.
(1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*)

As outras nações podem aprender muito connosco.	Other nations can learn a lot from us.
No mundo atual, a única forma de saber o que fazer é confiar na sabedoria do passado glorioso da nossa nação.	In today's world, the only way to know what to do is to trust in the wisdom of our nation's glorious past.
O Exército português tem uma história orgulhosa e inigualável.	The Portuguese Army has a proud and unparalleled history.
Uma das coisas importantes que temos de ensinar às crianças é valorizar o legado histórico de Portugal.	Compared to other nations, Portugal has always distinguished itself by its high ethical responsibility.

Comparado com outras nações, Portugal sempre se distinguiu pela sua elevada responsabilidade ética.	Compared to other nations, Portugal has always distinguished itself by its high ethical responsibility.
É desleal para os portugueses criticar a importância da história de Portugal no mundo.	It is disloyal to the Portuguese to criticize the importance of Portugal's history in the world.
Em geral, Portugal tem uma história mais admirável do que a maioria das outras nações.	In general, Portugal has a more admirable history than most other nations.
Normalmente, as decisões tomadas pelos nossos dirigentes nacionais visam enaltecer a grandiosidade de Portugal no mundo.	Normally, the decisions made by our national leaders aim to highlight the grandeur of Portugal in the world.

Policy Support

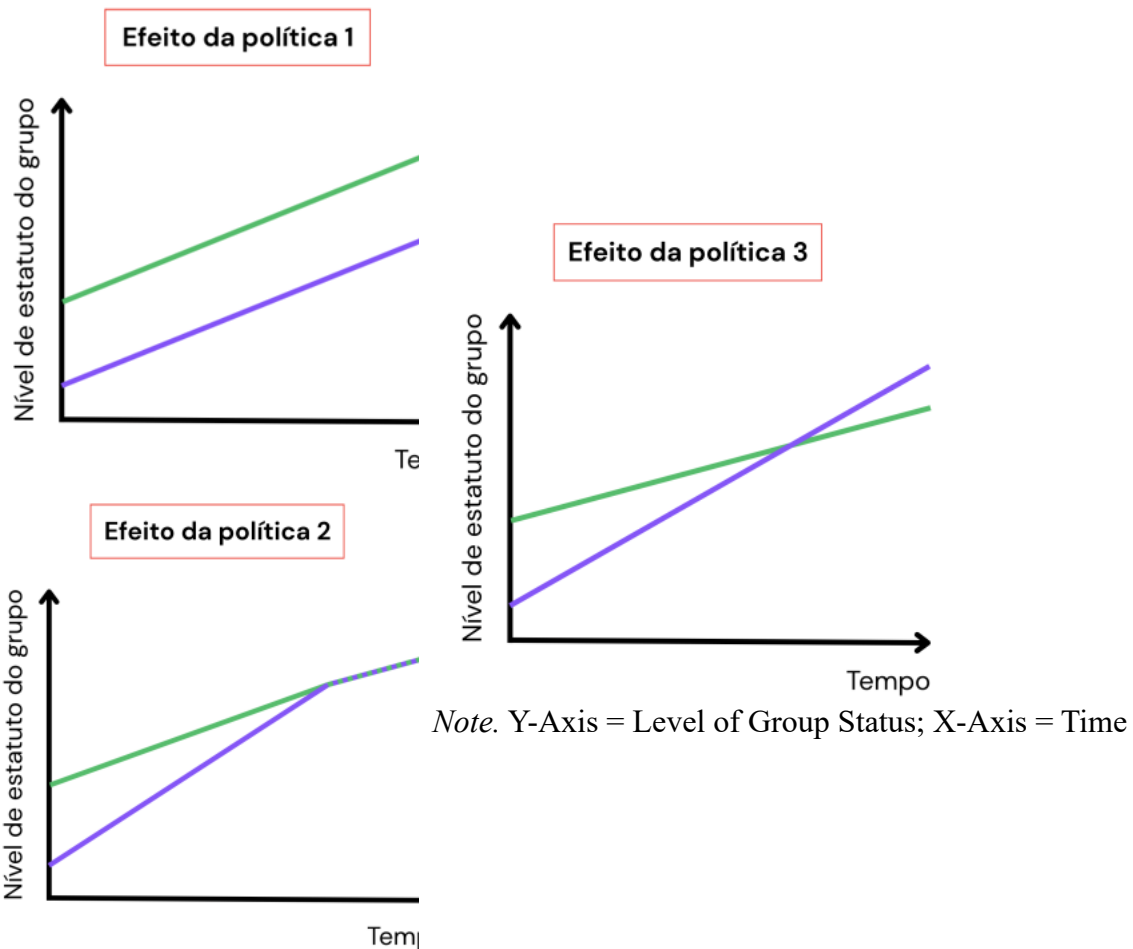
Now, we want to know your opinion on the proposed reparatory policies that we presented to you earlier. Please respond to the following statements using a scale from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree" and mark the option that best reflects your degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement.
(1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.)

O plano é muito bom	The plan is very good.
Algo no plano deixa-me desconfortável	Something in the plan makes me uncomfortable.
O plano parece-me justo	The plan seems fair to me.
É importante ter este plano, pois contribui para a resolução das desigualdades.	It is important to have this plan, as it contributes to the resolution of inequalities.
Gostaria de viver num país que implementasse uma política como esta	I would like to live in a country that implemented a policy like this.
Sou contra a implantação deste plano	I am against the implementation of this plan.

Policy Choice (Affirmative Action)

International policies have far-reaching implications, not only for the relations between the countries involved but also for their position on the world stage. Policy changes can influence a nation's status and power on the world stage, either enhancing or diminishing its position.
Below, you will find graphs that illustrate how different policies can affect the national status over time. These graphs represent Portugal (green line) and its former colonies (purple line).

Assuming the effects of these policies are clear, which policy - along with the corresponding change in status - would you like to see implemented?



RWA

Continue to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the ideas below:
(1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.)

É ótimo que muitos jovens de hoje estejam dispostos a desafiar a autoridade.

It's great that many young people today are willing to challenge authority.

O que o nosso país mais precisa é de disciplina, com toda a gente a seguir os nossos líderes em unidade.

What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity.

As leis de Deus sobre o aborto, a pornografia e o casamento devem ser rigorosamente seguidas antes que seja demasiado tarde.

God's laws on abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it's too late.

There is nothing wrong with premarital sex.

Não há nada de errado com as relações sexuais antes do casamento.

A nossa sociedade não precisa de um governo mais duro e de leis mais rigorosas.

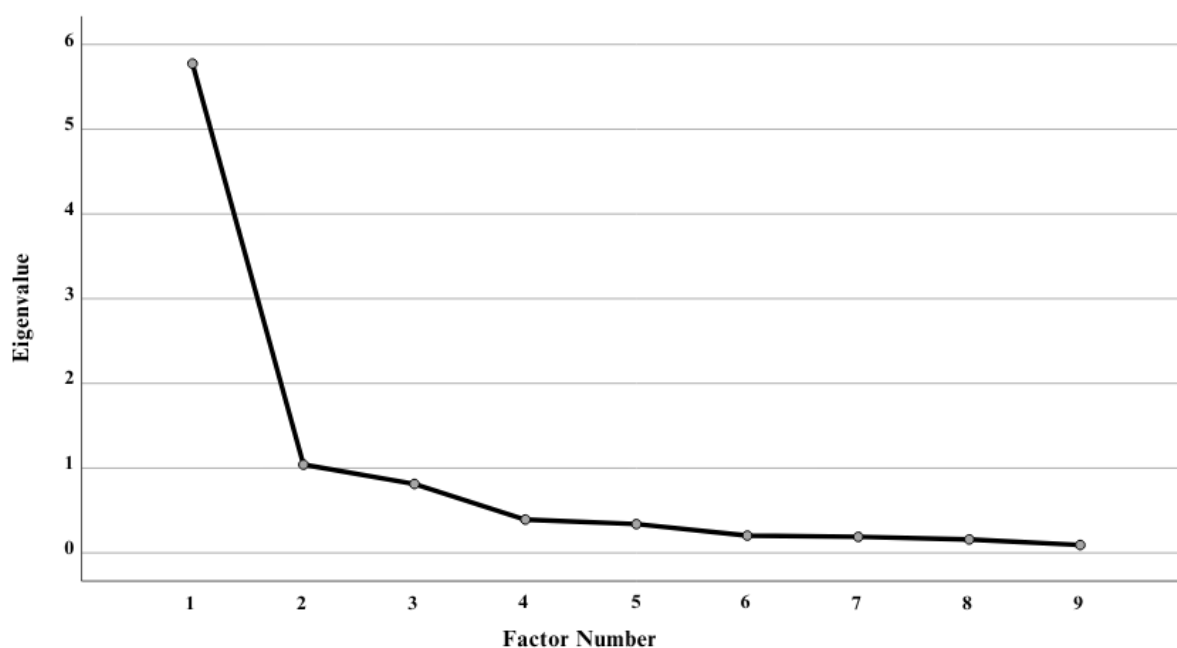
Os factos sobre a criminalidade e as recentes desordens públicas mostram que temos de reprimir mais duramente os desordeiros, se quisermos preservar a lei e a ordem.

Our society does not need a tougher government and stricter laws.

The facts about crime and recent public disorder show that we must crack down harder on troublemakers if we want to preserve law and order.

Figure 4.

Scree Plot Historical Blame.



Note: eigenvalue Factor 2 = 1.04.

Figure 5 .

Histogram: Residuals In-group Glorification.

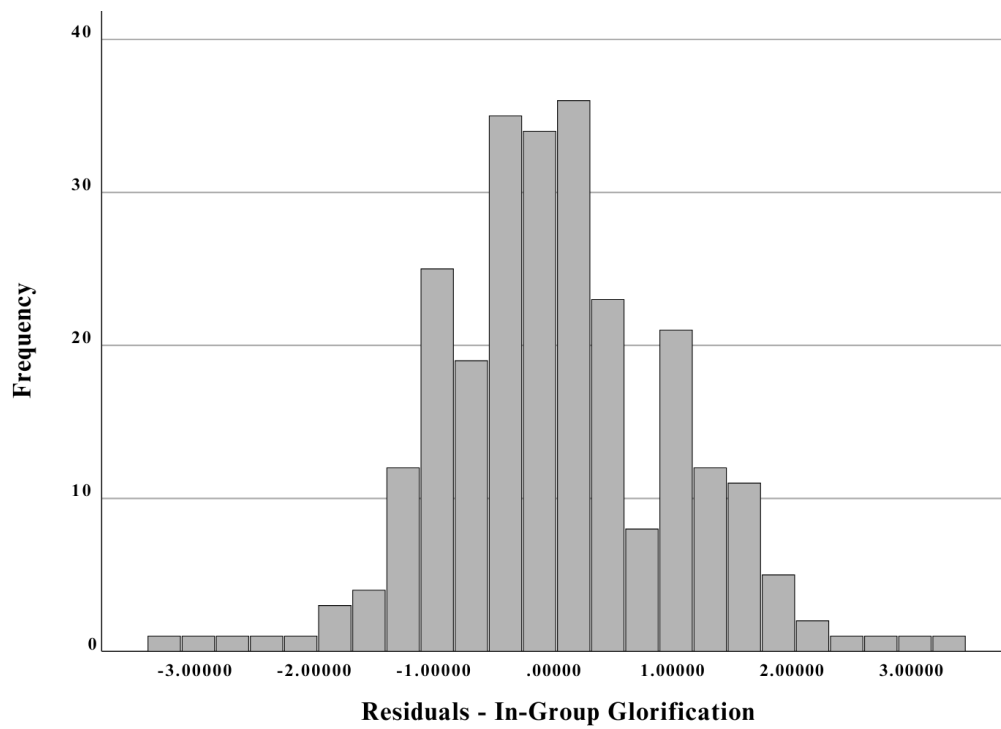


Figure 6.

Histogram: Residuals Historical Blame.

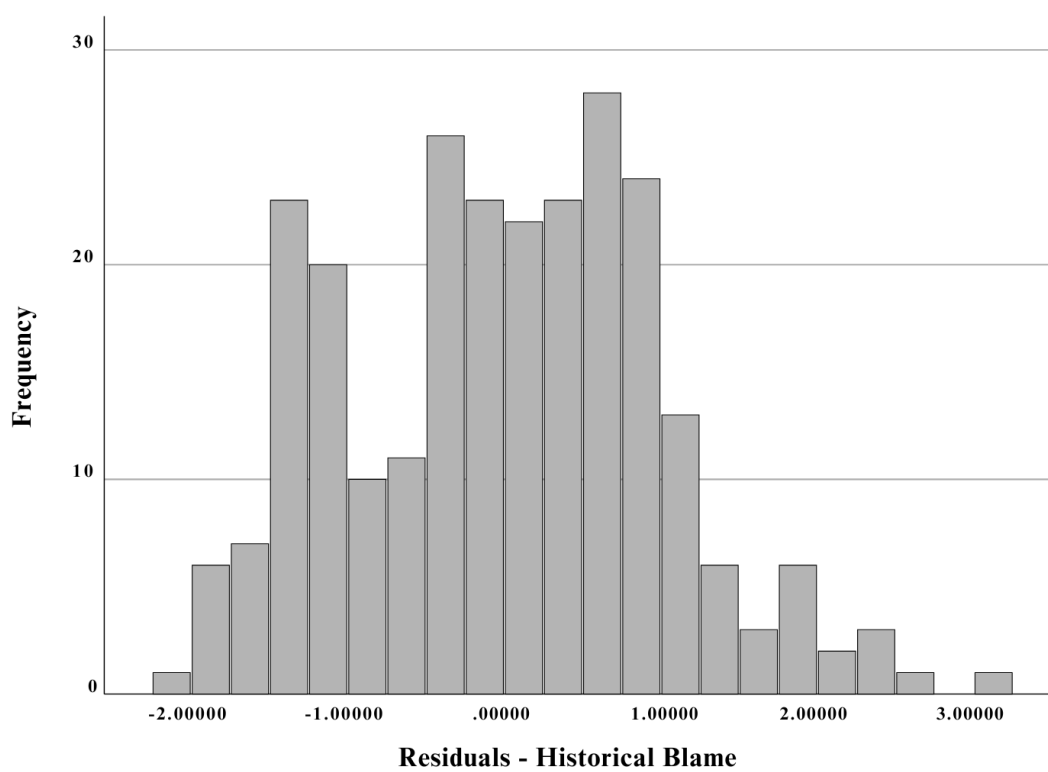


Figure 7.

Histogram: Residuals Policy Support

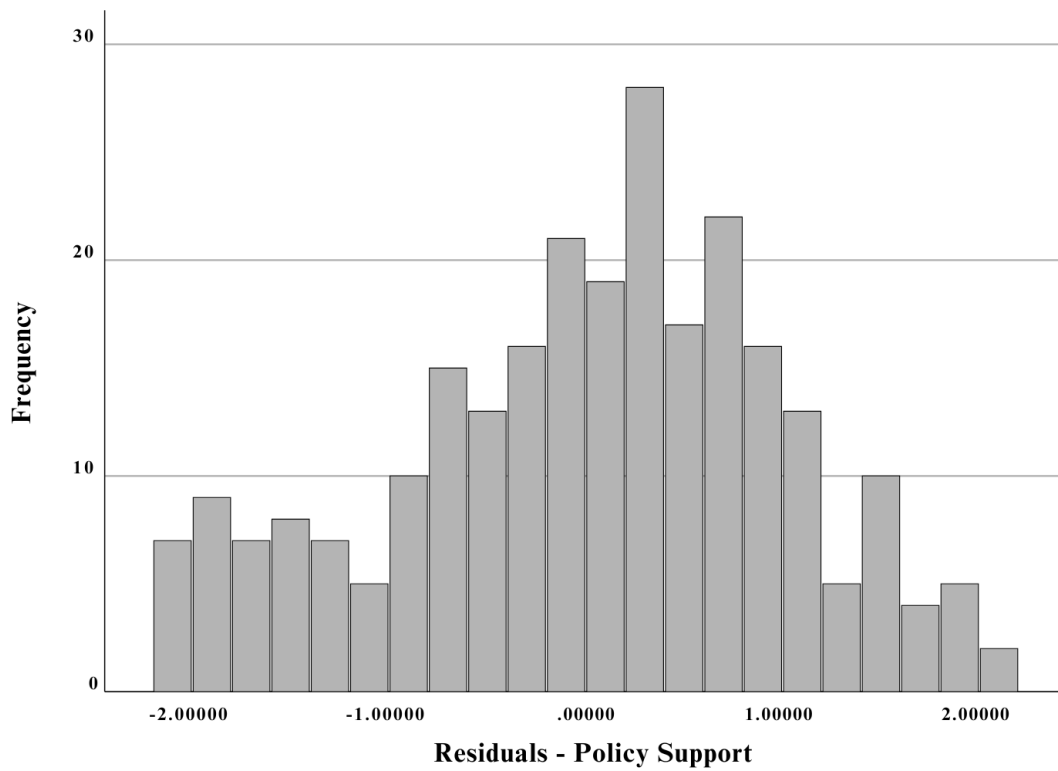


Figure 8.

Boxplot In-Group Glorification: Residuals between Groups.

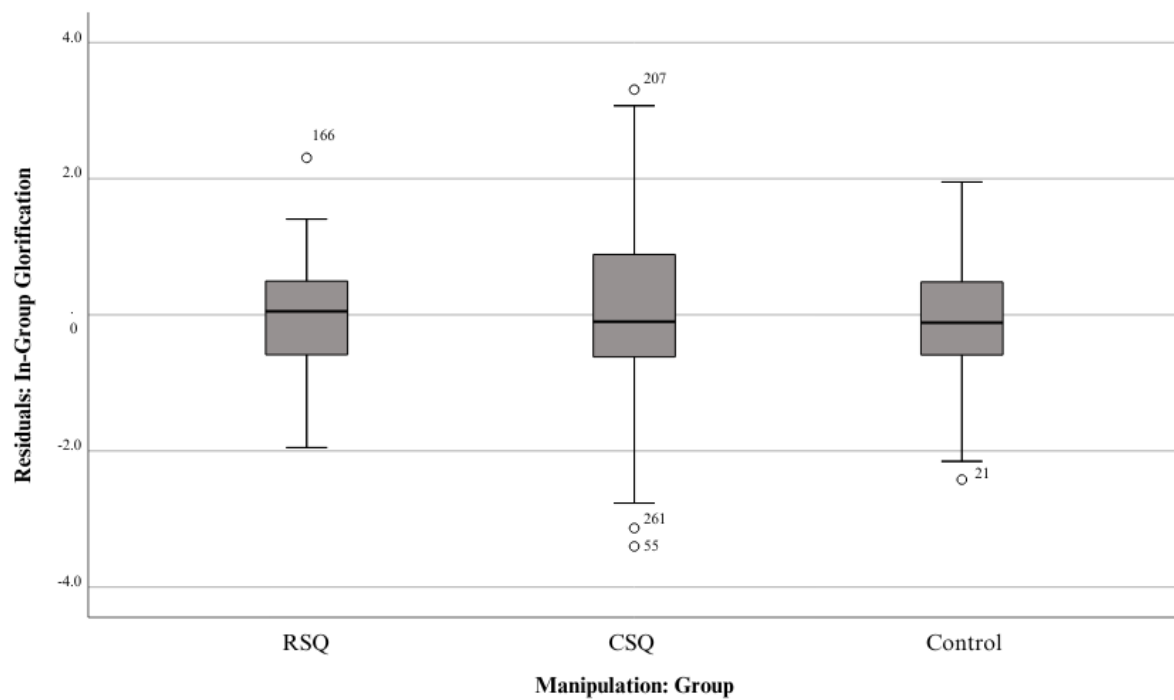


Figure 9.

Boxplot Historical Blame: Residuals between Groups.

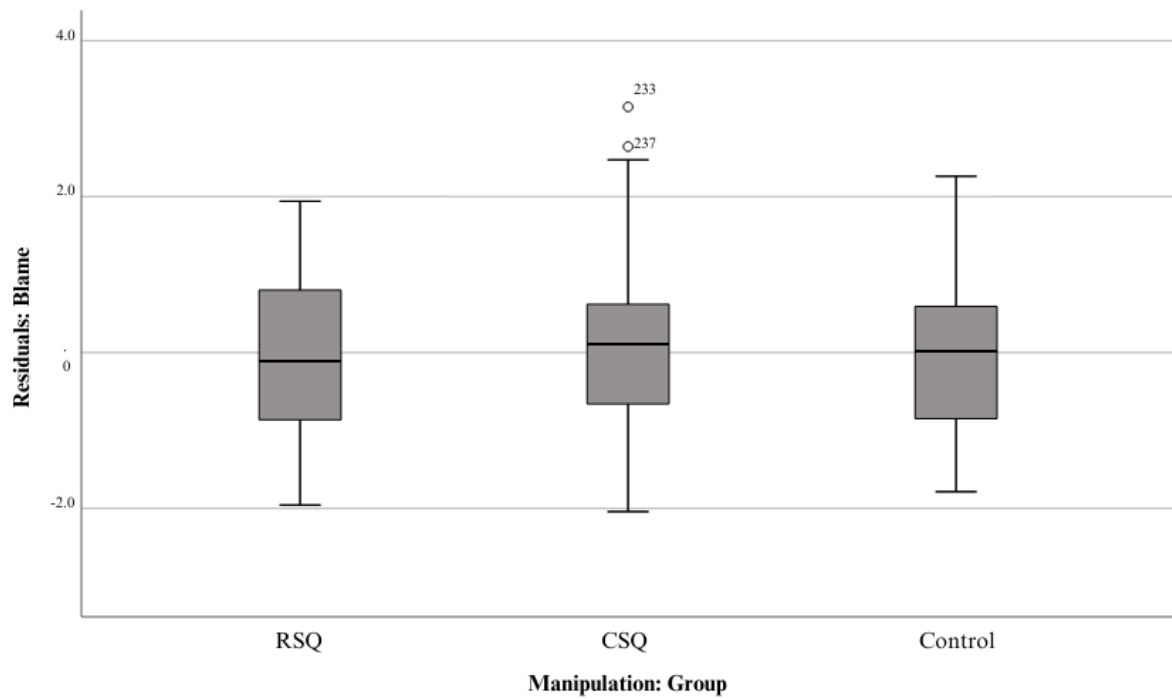


Figure 10.

Boxplot Policy Support: Residuals between Groups.

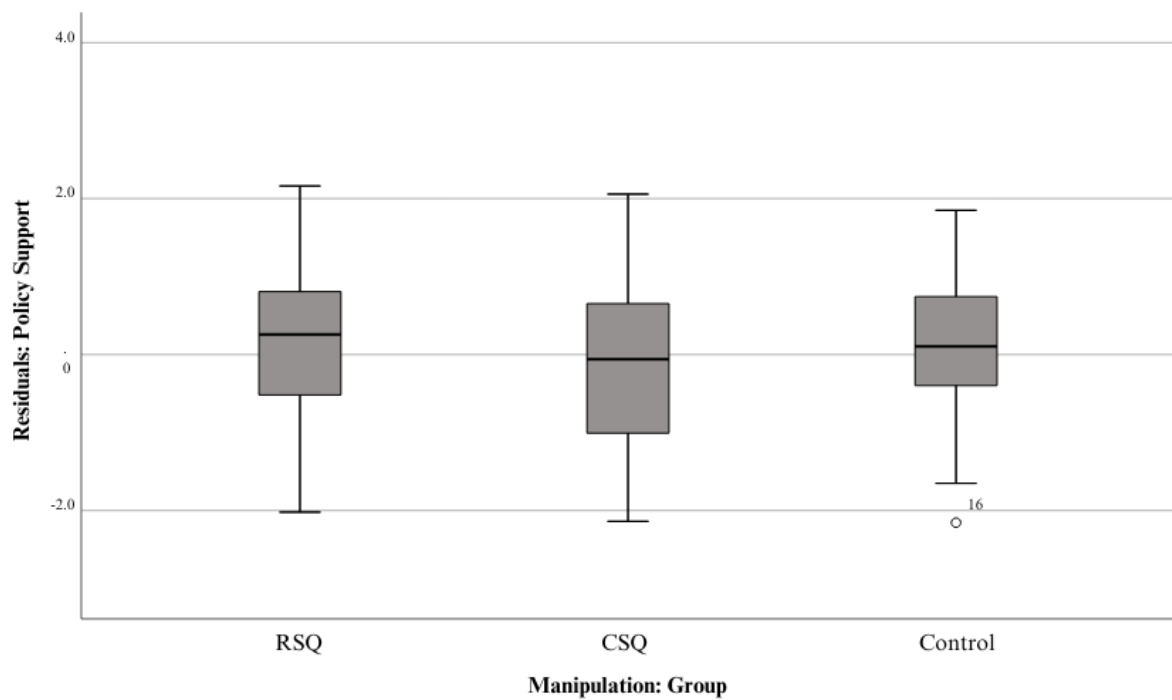


Table 2.*Zero-order Correlations.*

Variables	1	2	3	4
10. Luso-tropicalism	1			
11. Historical Blame	-.365**	1		
12. In-Group Glorification	.612**	-.275**	1	
13. RWA	.444**	-.322**	.628**	1

Note: ** - Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

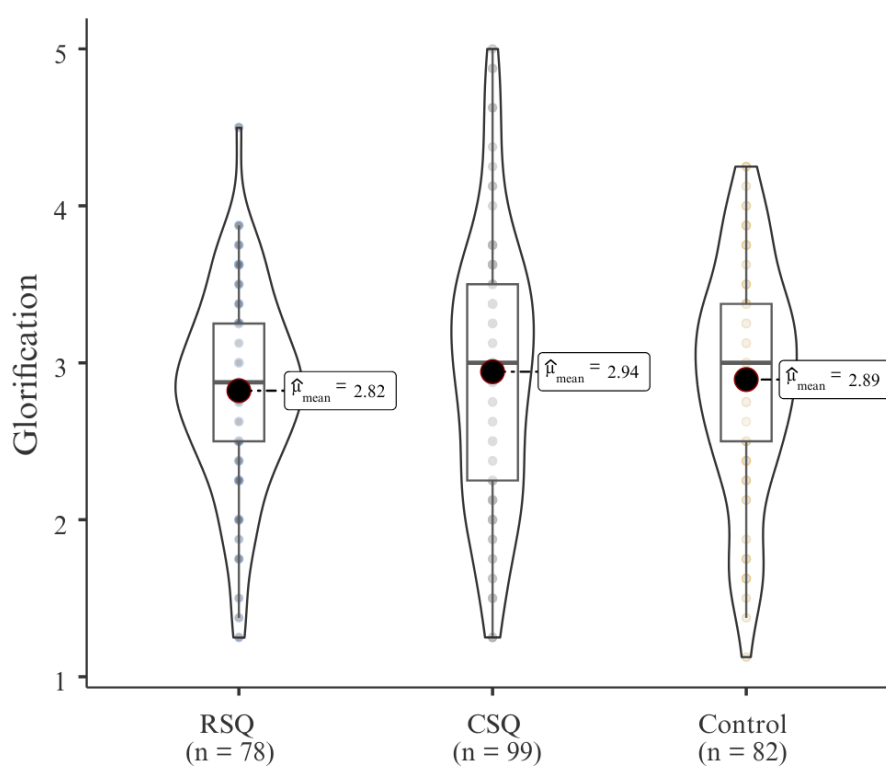
Figure 11.*Violin Plot – In-Group Glorification.*

Figure 12.

Violin Plot – Historical Blame.

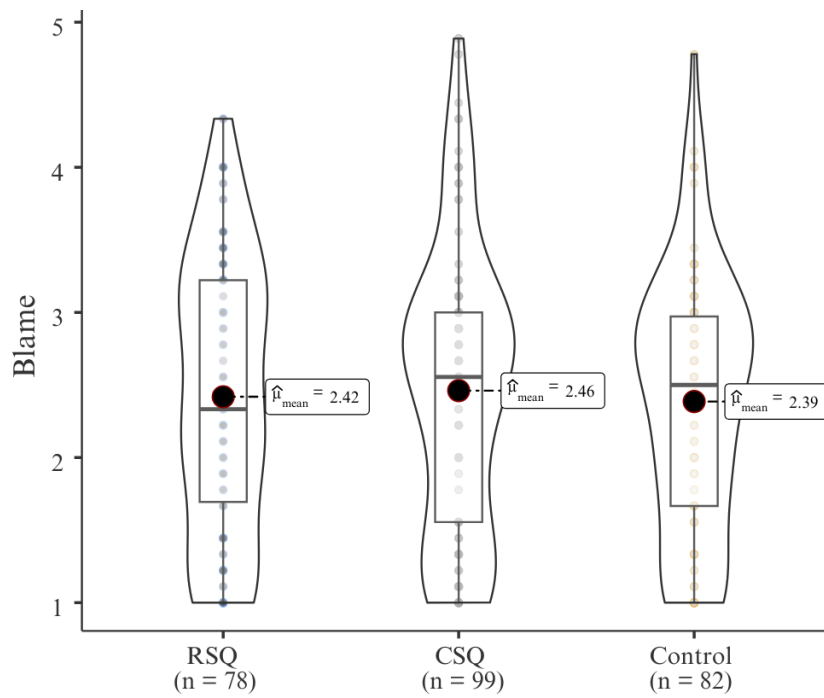


Figure 13.

Violin Plot – Policy Support.

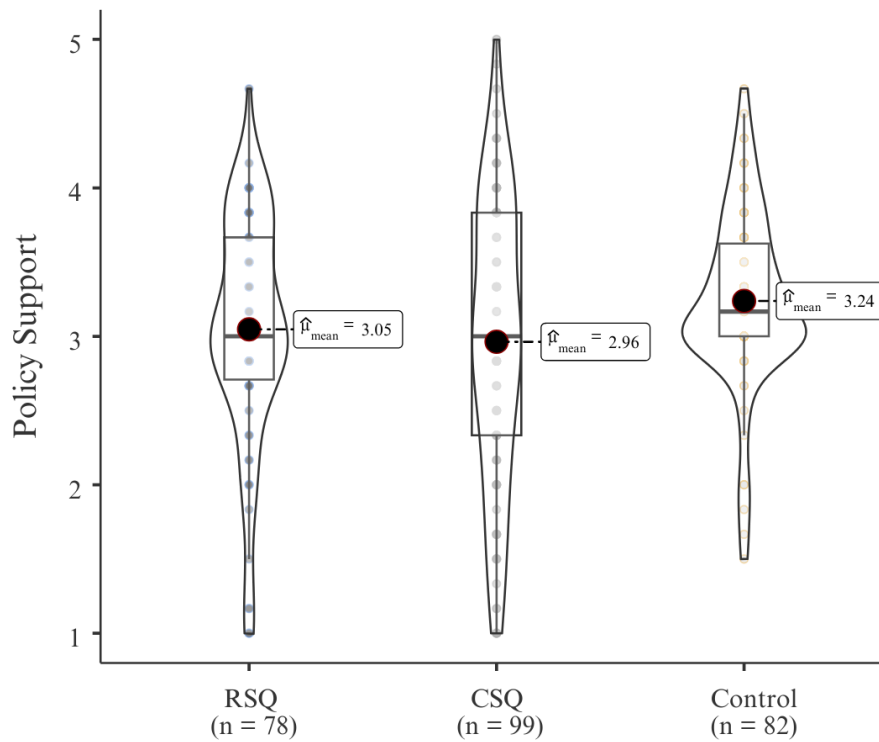


Table 3.*Parallel Mediation Analyses for the Effect of Policy Framing on Policy Support.*

Predictor Path	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI [LL, UL]
Panel A: CSQ vs. Control ($R^2 = .33$)					
<i>Paths to Mediators (a-paths)</i>					
CSQ → Historical Blame	.06	.12	0.49	.62	[-0.18, 0.30]
CSQ → In-group Glorification	.08	.10	0.89	.37	[-0.10, 0.27]
<i>Paths from Mediators to Outcome (b-paths)</i>					
Historical Blame → Policy Support	.49	.05	10.69	.00	[0.40, 0.58]
In-group Glorification → Policy Support	.02	-.06	0.28	.78	[-0.10, .13]
<i>Effects on Policy Support (DV)</i>					
Total Effect of CSQ (c-path)	-.18	-.10	-1.78	.07	[-0.38, 0.02]
Direct Effect of CSQ (c'-path)	-.21	.08	-2.51	.01	[-0.38, -0.05]
Indirect Effect via Historical Blame	.03	.06			[-0.09, 0.15]
Indirect Effect via In-group Glorification	.00	.01			[-0.01, 0.02]
Panel B: RSQ vs. Control ($R^2 = .32$)					
<i>Paths to Mediators (a-paths)</i>					
RSQ → Historical Blame	-.01	.13	-0.07	.95	[-0.26, 0.25]
RSQ → In-group Glorification	-.10	.10	-0.98	.33	[-0.30, 0.10]
<i>Paths from Mediators to Outcome (b-paths)</i>					
Historical Blame → Policy Support	.48	.05	10.45	.00	[0.39, 0.57]
In-group Glorification → Policy Support	.01	.06	0.09	.93	[-0.11, 0.12]
<i>Effects on Policy Support (DV)</i>					
Total Effect of RSQ (c-path)	-.04	.11	-0.37	.71	[-0.26, 0.17]
Direct Effect of RSQ (c'-path)	-.04	.10	-0.40	.70	[-0.21, 0.14]
Indirect Effect via Historical Blame	-.00	.06			[-0.12, 0.12]
Indirect Effect via In-group Glorification	-.00	.01			[-0.02, 0.2]

Note. Results are from two separate parallel mediation analyses using PROCESS Model 4 with 5,000 bootstrap samples. The independent variable was dummy coded (0 = Control). *B* = unstandardized coefficient; *SE* = standard error; *CI* = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit. DV = Dependent Variable (Policy Support).

Table 4.*Results of Moderated Mediation Analysis for the CSQ vs. Control (PROCESS Model 59).*

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
Outcome: In-Group Glorification					
<i>Overall Model: $R^2 = .38$, $F(3, 255) = 52.77$, $p < .001$</i>					
Constant	-.017	.046	-.37	.71	[-.11, .07]
Policy Framing (CSQ)	.04	.08	.59	.56	[-.10, .19]
Luso-tropicalism	.73	.08	9.31	<.001	[0.58, 0.89]
Policy Framing $\times$ Luso-tropicalism	.042	.12	.35	.73	[-.20, .28]
Outcome: Historical Blame					
<i>Overall Model: $R^2 = .14$, $F(3, 255) = 13.29$, $p < .001$</i>					
Constant	-.04	.07	-.51	.61	[-.17, .10]
Policy Framing (CSQ)	.09	.11	.78	.44	[-.13, .31]
Luso-tropicalism	-.61	.12	-5.21	<.001	[-0.84, -.38]
Policy Framing $\times$ Luso-tropicalism	.13	.18	.69	.49	[-.23, .48]
Outcome: Policy Support					
<i>Overall Model: $R^2 = .37$, $F(7, 251) = 20.74$, $p < .001$</i>					
Constant	3.10	.06	54.92	<.001	[2.99, 3.21]
Policy Framing (CSQ)	-.22	.08	-2.70	.008	[-.39, -.06]
Luso-tropicalism	-.01	.10	-.06	.95	[-.21, .20]
In-Group Glorification	.06	.07	.79	.43	[-.08, .19]
Historical Blame	.45	.05	9.65	<.001	[0.36, 0.55]
Luso-tropicalism $\times$ Blame	.03	.07	.42	.68	[-.11, .17]
Luso-tropicalism $\times$ Glorification	.26	.08	3.22	.001	[0.10, 0.42]

Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*) are reported. Policy Framing (CSQ) compares the Reinforce Status Quo condition to the Control condition. 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval.

Table 5.*Results of Moderated Mediation Analysis for the RSQ vs. Control (PROCESS Model 59).*

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
Outcome: In-Group Glorification					
<i>Overall Model: $R^2 = .39$, $F(3, 255) = 53.22$, $p < .001$</i>					
Constant	.01	.04	.21	.83	[-.08, .10]
Policy Framing (RSQ)	-.04	.08	-.49	.63	[-.20, .12]
Luso-tropicalism	.79	.07	11.19	<.001	[0.65, 0.93]
Policy Framing $\times$ Luso-tropicalism	-.14	.13	-1.06	.29	[-.41, .12]
Outcome: Historical Blame					
<i>Overall Model: $R^2 = .13$, $F(3, 255) = 12.95$, $p < .001$</i>					
Constant	.02	.07	.26	.79	[-.11, .15]
Policy Framing (RSQ)	-.06	.12	-.48	.63	[-.29, .18]
Luso-tropicalism	-.56	.11	-5.27	<.001	[-0.77, -0.35]
Policy Framing $\times$ Luso-tropicalism	-.01	.20	-.04	.97	[-.40, .39]
Outcome: Policy Support					
<i>Overall Model: $R^2 = .35$, $F(7, 251) = 18.91$, $p < .001$</i>					
Constant	3.02	.06	53.73	<.001	[2.91, 3.13]
Policy Framing (RSQ)	-.02	.09	-.26	.79	[-.20, .15]
Luso-tropicalism	-.06	.10	-.63	.53	[-.26, .13]
In-Group Glorification	.05	.07	.65	.52	[-.09, .19]
Historical Blame	.45	.05	9.34	<.001	[0.35, 0.54]
Luso-tropicalism $\times$ Blame	.02	.07	.23	.82	[-.12, .16]
Luso-tropicalism $\times$ Glorification	.24	.08	2.90	.004	[0.08, 0.40]

Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*) are reported. Policy Framing (RSQ) compares the Reinforce Status Quo condition to the Control condition. 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval.